Demographic Engineering, Forced Migration and Resettlement Policies in General Inspectorates

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Abstract

"Demographic Engineering, Forced Migration and Resettlement Policies in General Inspectorates"

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for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2019

Professor Cengiz Kırlı, Thesis Advisor

This thesis attempts to focus on General Inspectorates which were active institutions between 1927-1952, by looking at them in context of demographic engineering, forced migration and resettlement policies.

Population policies which are inevitable requirement for the nation-building process, are tried to be understood with this institution. The effectivity of General Inspectorates in the Eastern parts of Turkey are tried to be shown, even if they create a small part of this broader project. In addition to these, this thesis highlights the importance of the General Inspectorates' intermediary role to impose the centralized power as decentralized units.

This thesis which mostly bases on information from the Republican archive, attempts to examine nation-building process and demographic engineering policies by giving examples from the implementations of the General Inspectorates in the Eastern provinces.

24,000 words

Özet

"Umumi Müfettişliklerde Nüfus Mühendisliği, Zorla Göçertme ve Yeniden İskan Politikaları"

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Profesör Cengiz Kırlı, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez, 1927-1952 yılları arasında faaliyet göstermiş olan Umumi Müfettişliklere nüfus mühendisliği, zorla göçertme ve yeniden iskan politikaları bağlamında odaklanmaya çalışmıştır.

Erken dönem Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde ulusal kimlik inşasının kaçınılmaz bir gerekliliği olan nüfus politikaları bu kurum özelinde anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Umumi Müfettişlikler, bu büyük projenin küçük bir parçası olsa da özellikle Doğu illerinde yaşanan yoğun göçlerde bu kurumların etkisi gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak merkezi otoritenin bölgedeki aracı kurumu olarak temsiliyetinin de üzerinde durulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Ağırlıklı olarak Cumhuriyet arşivinden elde edilmiş bilgilerle oluşturulan bu çalışma, ulusal kimlik inşasını ve nüfus mühendisliği kavramlarını Umumi Müfettişliklerin Doğu illerindeki uygulamaları üzerinden örnekleyerek anlatmaya çalışmıştır.

24.000 kelime

To all missing people of the exile…

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BCA	Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (Prime Ministiry Republican Archive)
TBMM	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Turkish Ground National Assembly)

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Greetings…
And a kiss for your cheeks
I have nothing else to add
Where should I begin? Or end?
Time's wheel turns endlessly
And all I have in my exile
Is a stale loaf of bread, longing
And a notebook which carries
Some of the things I couldn't carry

–Mahmud Darwish, *A Letter from Exile*

Oh my body, make of me a man
who always questions!

–Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*

1

Introduction

Where should I begin?
And all that was said
And will be said tomorrow
Cannot end with an embrace
Or a handshake It cannot repatriate the exile
Or bring rain It cannot fledge
The wing of a lost bird
A fallen bird
Where should I begin?
Greetings... kisses ... and then?

–Mahmud Darwish, *A Letter from Exile*

Human groups have been, voluntarily or involuntarily, moving for centuries. The reasons of these movements vary from cases of emergencies like armed conflicts, natural disasters, epidemics and forced migrations to discretionary desires like better opportunities of education, employment, etc. Forced migrations are specifically interesting for political scientists and historians to investigate as civil, governmental and/or military authorities are involved. Forced migrations are generally initiated, influenced and controlled by

these authorities. In the contemporary world politics, these authorities are embodied by the states. During the transition from empires to nation-states, these authorities tried to homogenize their population under a common identity. Forced migrations and demographic engineering are used to support each other and to achieve the ultimate goal, homogenization.

Although the concept of demographic engineering is a, relatively, new term[1], forced migration and resettlement policies can be traced back to the age of empires. For example, in the Ottoman Empire, resettlement is a commonly used tool to strengthen the central authority. In order to balance the millet system, Muslim populations of Anatolia were resettled to the newly conquered lands, while non-Muslims of the new lands were transferred and resettled to the Muslim dominated regions of the Empire.[2] Moreover, the nomadic tribes like Yörüks were forced to settle.[3] Demographic policies and population movements became intense during the last century of the Empire. Methods of the CUP government were quite different than what was used before. They followed scientific methods and looked at the societies of the Empire one by one as if they were in a laboratory. Non-Turkish population in the Eastern *Vilayets*, like Armenians and Kurds, were forced to leave their lands and move to where the central authority wanted them to move. When the Empire's territory was shrinking, for example Balkan Wars created a huge problem of immigrants, some of the Turkish-speaking groups of these lost grounds were resettled into the evacuated lands. By this means, consistency of Muslim-Turkic density over the Empire's domain is tried to be ensured.

Nevertheless, there was a significant difference between Armenians and Kurds, as the latter were mostly Muslim and seen as one of the primary components of the Ottoman society. First, the exclusion of non-Muslim elements was implemented, then, it was required to redefine the of Ottomanism with

1 The first use of this term: Milica Zarkovic Bookman, *The Demographic Struggle of Power The Political Economy of Demographic Engineering in the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1997

2 Murat Yüksel, *Forced Migration and the Politics of Internal Displacement in the Making of Modern Turkey: The Case of Dersim, 1937-1947*, Columbia University, Unpublished doctorate Thesis, 2008, p.56.

3 Yüksel, *Ibid*, p.63

the loss of lands, especially in Balkans. Turkification became dominant in the construction of a national core in Anatolia, between 1913-1918.[4]

The demographic engineering over the Kurdish-speaking population concentrated when the secular and nation-based Turkish state was established, yet, the tools that demographic policies used were quite similar. There was a logic and memory inherited by the young republic from the Empire. Kurds were forced to migrate to the Western *Vilayets* while Turkish-speaking immigrants from Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, etc. were resettled to the Eastern *Vilayets*. These movements were closely controlled by the central authority in both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. In the late Ottoman era "[the immigrants] were settled in a dispersed pattern across Middle and Eastern Anatolia, where they were not allowed to form more than 10% of the local population in anyone area"[5]. Permanency of these movements were ensured by prohibiting these groups to move back. The young republic continued this practice and established special authorities to control demographic engineering in the Eastern Region, called the General Inspectorates.

A total of five General Inspectorates have been established in Turkey, between 1927-1952. They were designed as regional administrations and their position in the governmental hierarchy was above the governorships. All of them, but one[6], were established in the Eastern and Southeastern region, which was mostly populated by the Kurds, encircling Ağrı, Dersim, Diyarbakır, Van, Muş, Mardin etc. General Inspectorates were established right after the Kurdish rebellions with the aim of consolidation of security and order. At the end of the martial law that was declared after the Sheikh Said rebellion, General Inspectorates were founded.

The General Inspectorates are quite important to study as both they were the most significant agents of the central authority in the region and there is a

4 Ülker, "Contextualising 'Turkification': Nation-Building in the late Ottoman Empire, 1908–18", *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (4), 2005, 613–636, 2005, p.621

5 Joost Jongerden, *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds*, Leiden:Brill, 2007,p.179

6 The establishment of the General Inspectorate in the Thrace Region was mostly related with the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, therefore, is out of the context of this study.

lack of literature specifically focusing on these agents in the basis of the concept of demographic engineering.

There is an extended literature of academic studies investigating the demographic policies of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, and the continuity of these policies through the transition from empire to nation-state. Fuat Dündar focuses on the era of Committee of Union and Progress and the forced migration policies of this period[7]. Erol Ülker mentions and analyzes the Turkification in the last years of the Empire[8]. Nesim Şeker compares and contrasts the demographic engineering policies in the late Ottoman and the early republican periods[9]. Uğur Ümit Üngör focuses on Diyarbekir, an Eastern *Vilayet* of Turkey, and investigates the demographic engineering in the context of nation building process in Turkey between 1913-1950[10]. All these studies are significant to understand the forced migrations, resettlement of immigrants and, in general, the demographic engineering policies from the Empire to the Republic.

There are a few studies about the General Inspectorates. Cemil Koçak's *Umumi Müfettişlikler 1927-1952*[11] *(The General Inspectorates 1927-1952)* is based on the archival resources. It gives information about the general principles of the Inspectorates. Hüseyin Koca's *Yakın Tarihten Günümüze Hükümetlerin Doğu-Güneydoğu Anadolu Polikaları: Umumi Müfettişliklerden Olağanüstü Hal Bölge Valiliğine (Governments' Policies on Eastern and Southeastern Regions from Recent History to Today: From the General Inspectorates to Governorships of the State of Emergency of Region.)* makes a comparison between General Inspectorates and Governorship of the State of Emergency which

7 Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite ve Nüfus Mühendisliği (1913-1918)*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2015

8 Erol Ülker, "Contextualising 'Turkification': Nation-Building in the late Ottoman Empire 1908-1918", *Nations and Nationalism*, 11(4), 2005, p. 613-636

9 Nesim Şeker, "Forced Population Movements in the Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic: An Attempt at Reassessment through Demographic Engineering", *European Journal of Turksih Studies (Online)*, 16, 2013

10 Uğur Ümit Üngör, *Modern Türkiye'nin İnşası: Doğu Anadolu'da Ulus, Devlet ve Şiddet (1913-1950)*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2016

11 Cemil Koçak, *Umumi Müfettişlikler 1927-1952,* İstanbul: İletişim, 2010

were founded after the Coup of 1980 in 1990s by looking at the differences and similarities between these two periods. Another remarkable work is collection of the official reports of the General Inspectorates meeting that was organized in 1936, edited by Bülent Varlık in 2016[12]. Varlık, portraits the political atmosphere of the Turkey in that period through these reports. All these works combined are providing an informational source to investigate the General Inspectorates in the basis of demographic engineering.

The general framework of this thesis is the forced migration and resettlement policies, carried out by the General Inspectorates, over the Eastern *Vilayets,* which were mostly populated by the Kurds. Thus, it will exclude the Second General Inspectorate, established in the Thrace Region. Through the cases of these institutions, this thesis will analyze the demographic policies of the young republic, implemented to homogenize the nation and create a national identity.

In terms of methodology, this thesis will mostly be based on archival research. The Prime Ministry Republic Archive, the Official Newspaper, official correspondences and the reports of the state officers, and, various newspapers will be used. The secondary sources related with the state's demographic and national identity policies will be followed. In addition to these, academic research studies related with the General Inspectorates, which are mentioned above, will be benefitted from. Findings will be expressed, in the structure of this thesis, in three steps: (1) putting forth the theoretical concepts related to the case at hand, (2) revealing the intellectual, political and historical steps towards the establishment of the General Inspectorates, (3) analyzing the demographic policies implemented by these institutions, in detail.

To make clear the main basis of this thesis, some concepts are important to focus on. First of all, the theoretical background of the nations, nationalism and nation-states will be scrutinized. Then, the ideas behind the national identities constructed by these nation-states will be investigated, focusing especially on the Western model and the non-Western model. Another important

12 Bülent Varlık, *Umumi Müfettişler Toplantı Tutanakları-1936*, Ankara: Dipnot, 2010

concept is nation-building process, or in Walker Connor's words: "nation-destroying"[13]. When it comes to the case of Turkish identity and nation-building, before and after the collapse of the Empire, voluntary and involuntary movements of the populations attract attention. Forced migration was one of the main tools of the General Inspectorates. Therefore, finally, theoretical background of population movements and migration will be studied.

The focus of the next chapter will be on the creation of the Turkish national identity and the nation-building process in the first years of the republican era. What specifically important to focus on are the causes and the effects of the early Kurdish rebellions. They were affected by the previous nationalist policies of the central authority while they were affecting the subsequent policies. In addition to these, the history and the main features of the General Inspectorates will be mentioned. By this means, this chapter will provide an extended background of the establishment of these institutions.

The main focus of this thesis will be studied in the fourth chapter. The General Inspectorates and the demographic policies implemented by these institutions will be analyzed. Investigating the forced migration and resettlement policies in the domains of the Inspectorates will provide an understanding over the demographic engineering towards the Eastern *Vilayets* and non-Turkish speaking population, especially Kurdish speakers. Moreover, the bureaucratic structures and their relationship with the central authority will be mentioned.

When it comes to the question why the General Inspectorates are important to investigate while trying to understand the demographic engineering policies of the young republic, some specifications should be reminded. The interesting thing about these institutions is that the central authority used these decentralized agents to follow its desire to create a centralized administration. They were used to impose the authority of central government on the periphery. Moreover, these decentralized agents were supported with a remarkable budget. It is a proof of the significance given to these institutions by the government. On the other hand, the appointed inspectors were given a

13 Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?", *World Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Apr., 1972, pp. 319-355

partial self-reliance. Their personal impressions and decisions were effective on the policies implemented. They had the authority to observe and report suspected people and groups of people to remove them from their lands. All these, together with the direct implementations of policies explained in this thesis, shows that the General Inspectorates were one of the most significant agents of the demographic engineering policies over the Eastern and South-eastern region, mostly populated by the Kurdish speaking citizens.

2

Theoretical Analysis on Nation-State, National Identity and Demographic Engineering

I heard on the radio
"Letters from Home"
Everyone said: I'm fine
No one is sad!

–Mahmud Darwish, *A Letter from Exile*

The history of nation-states can be traced back to 1648, the Treaty of Westphalia. Nation-state is a concept that produces nationalism and intertwines with it. Ernest Gellner defines the nationalism as "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent."[1] The political unit, in this definition, refers to the state. Nationalism was considered "parasitic on state and nation"[2] by Gellner. Elie Kedourie describes nationalism by beholding it as a doctrine as follows: "Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known

1 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, p.1

2 Ernest Gellner, *Ibid*, p.3

by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government."[3]

This definition reflects an ideal form of nation-states suggested by this doctrine. It argues that, a nation has a state and it is governed by this state. In addition to what Kedourie states, Hobsbawm refers to the nation-state as a fundamental component of a nation: "[Nation is a] social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the 'nation-state'."[4] It is, though, ambiguous and disputable to argue that all nation-states have this kind of a formation. "(…) the organization of political space along national lines seemed increasingly ill-matched to social, economic, and cultural realities."[5] Especially after the World War I, distinctive dynamics and forms of nationalisms arose with the emergence of the nation-state that replaced multiethnic empires like the Ottoman Empire. The distinctive dynamics and forms of the nationalisms are called as *nationalizing nationalism* by Rogers Brubaker:

> Nationalizing nationalisms involve claims made in the name of a "core nation" or nationality, defined in ethnocultural terms, and sharply distinguished from the citizenry as a whole. The core nation is understood as the legitimate "owner" of the state, which is conceived as the state *of* and *for* the core nation.[6]

Brubaker's approach contributed to Kedourie's approach with ethnocultural meaning. What brings these two interpretations together is to argue that the nation-state tries to create an ideal nation in order to reach to the ideal formula. Nation-states, therefore, try to homogenize the nation as much as possible. In order to achieve a homogeneous nation, national identity politics have an important position. "Possibly national identity simply involves *not* being something? In other words, it is less about *what* you are than *who* you are

3 Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, London: Hutchinson University Library, 1961, p.9

4 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms Since 1780 Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 9-10

5 Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.1-2

6 *Ibid*, p.5

not?"[7]. Thus, this process both contains exclusion and inclusion. Since any definition of a group creates its own outgroup, determining a conceptual nation first causes an exclusion. Yet, what have been excluded in the first phase are tried to be included by means of homogenization.

A nation-state tries to create a national identity in order to consolidate itself around a homogeneous nation. It is also important to make the state governable. These are the main goals for nearly all the nation-states, although there are different spatial and temporal methods to achieve them.

Anthony Smith describes the national identity by separating it into two models: The Western model of the national identity and the non-Western model of the national identity. He divides the Western model of the nation under these categories: "Historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members, and common civic culture and ideology."[8] According to Smith, non-Western model of national identity is influenced by the Western model, but furthermore the concept of ethnic model of the nation is articulated with the Western model. "In the ethnic model the people, even where they are not actually mobilized for political action, nevertheless provide the object of nationalist aspirations and the final rhetorical court of appeal."[9] At first glance, this statement can be seen assertive. The dose of this generalization is reduced by him as follows: "In fact, every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms. Sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasized."[10]

Smith's interpretation suits with the case of Turkey. The concept of nation contains civic, territorial, cultural and religious elements as well as ethnic components. Especially in minority conflicts, ethnocentric nationalism was predominant. Various coercive methods were used to assimilate the non-

7 David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer, *Understanding National Identity*, Cambridge: Cambride University Press, 2015, p.7

8 Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, London: Pinguin Books, 1991, p.11

9 Anthony D. Smith, *Ibid*, p.12

10 *Ibid*, p.13

Turkish speaking populations, especially Kurds. These coercive methods of assimilation were used as tools for nation-building process. This process is called by Walker Connor as "nation-destroying"[11]. The main argument in this theory is the ethnocentric part of the nation-building process as double-sided. On one side, nation-building process is proceeded, and on the other side, this process causes nation-destroying except the core nation.

During the first years of the Republican era, the Turkish state determined a national identity which was shaped around the Turkish-ethnic nationalism. Brubaker accepts the identifier role of the state by beholding it as "one of the most important agents of identification and categorization"[12]. Benedict Anderson's understanding of the modern nations is remarkable in this context. He sees the nation as a cultural product, therefore, imaginary [13]. Like Anderson, there are also other theoreticians who identify the nation as imaginary[14]. The identification of the Turkish nation proves Benedict right. Nevertheless, Anderson's theory is mostly based on the industrialization. It is, therefore, Eurocentric, just like Gellner's theory Deniele Conversi interprets and criticizes Gellner's approach as follows: "Homogenization is to massify the society and the driving power of homogenization is industrialization"[15]. Nevertheless, Gellner's approach is quite suitable in case of Turkey, because of his definition of nation. According to Gellner: "(…) nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them and often obliterates pre-existing cultures."[16] At this point, the first part of this statement is useful to see the path of the creation of national-identity in context of this study. Barış Ünlü also accepts the creator role of the state in Turkish

11 Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?", *World Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Apr., 1972, pp. 319-355

12 Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004, p.42

13 Benedict Anderson, Hayali Cemaatler Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması, İstanbul: Metis, 2017, p.18

14 Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class*, London/New York: Verso, 1991, p. 93

15 Daniele Conversi, "Homogenisation, Nationalism and War: Should We Still Read Ernest Gellner?", *Nations and Nationalism*, 13 (3), 2007, p. 372

16 Ernest Gellner, *Ibid*, p. 48-49

national identity, but this identity is not created from scratch. He takes the starting point as the Turkishness contract[17]. In this respect, this study will follow the intersection points of this interpretations above.

One of the tools used to homogenize the population and to shape it around a national identity by assimilation is population policies. In fact, population is a relatively new term, in other words, it is almost nation-states' peer. According to Foucault, the term population takes its place on the scene of history in eighteenth century. It is seen as "absolutely modern in relation to the functioning of political power"[18] by him. In his lectures on Collége de France, Foucault set a relation between discipline and governmentality in context of population. In fact, the cores of the population give its nucleus in discipline. "Discipline is a mode of individualization of multiplicities rather than something that constructs an edifice of multiple elements on the basis of individuals who are worked on as, first of all, individuals."[19] Nevertheless, multiplicities does not correspond to population. Population is a new political personage for Foucault and it "(…) makes a remarkable entrance and, what's more, is very quickly noted in the eighteenth century, is the population."[20] Briefly saying, population is pertinent as a tool for political power, according to Foucault. In this sense, population can be accepted as a category that can be managed or regulated by the authority.

As mentioned above, population policies are used as a tool to create a homogeneous nation. This process is called demographic engineering. This term is first used by Milica Zarkovic Bookman[21]. Demographic engineering is used as a tool by the states in population policies. Weiner and Teitelbaum also highlight this aspect of demographic engineering. According to them, demo-

17 For more details about the theory of Turkishness contract: Barış Ünlü, *Türklük Sözleşmesi*, Ankara: Dipnot, 2018, p.173-174

18 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population,* New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2009, p.11

19 Michel Foucault, *Ibid*, p.12

20 *Ibid*, p.67

21 Milica Zarkovic Bookman, *The Demographic Struggle of Power The Political Economy of Demographic Engineering in the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1997

graphic engineering "is deliberately induced by the state; it is not the consequence of another policy or program."[22] Thus, demographic engineering can be seen as a reason or as a tool for states in order to achieve a goal. By looking at Bookman's approach, it can be said that this process goes hand in hand with the social engineering process. The agent of these processes is state for Bookman. Moreover, James C. Scott interprets the social engineering with the concepts of high modernism and authoritarianism[23]. Another explanation of demographic engineering belongs to Paul Morland as follows:

> Demographic engineering is the intentional pursuit by ethnic groups in conflict of strategies aimed at increasing their demographic strength either as an end in itself – thus ensuring the group's presence, persistence and proliferation –or as a means to military or political power, which itself may be considered as a means to the ultimate group ends of presence, persistence and proliferation[24].

This definition of demographic engineering, portrayed by Paul Morland, can be accepted as the most expanded and general interpretation. Moreover, Morland identifies the owner of demographic engineering techniques as "[T]he groups pursuing demographic engineering is aiming to increase its numbers in absolute terms and/or relative to its rival group. This can be termed the pursuit of 'demographic power'"[25]. In the scope of this study, states are accepted as the authority which hold the demographic power in Morland's approach. Then, it can be said that population movements led by states are important figures in demographic engineering processes as tools for creation of a homogeneous nation. According to Bookman:

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22 Myron Weiner and Michael S. Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2001, p. 63

23 For more details: James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.

24 Paul Morland, *Demographic Engineering: Population Strategies in Ethnic Conflict*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, p.3.

25 Paul Morland, *Ibid*, 2014, p.3.

> Population transfers are made to achieve several goals: first, people may be resettled in an area in order to dilute the pre-existing population (ethnic dilution); second, people may be resettled in an area in order to strengthen the desired ethnic group (ethnic consolidation); and third, people may be expelled from an area to cleanse the existing population of 'undesirables' (ethnic cleansing)[26].

As seen in Bookman's categorization, states try to reduce the number, density and effectiveness of ethnic groups, which are perceived as threats by the state. The term *threat* is related with the security of that state. With the establishment of the nation-states, the need of security over the territory increased. State directed population movements in other words demographic engineering process is also defined by Weiner and Teitelbaum in five forms: addition, subtraction, substitution, outmigration, and restriction of entry[27]. In almost every method of these forms of demographic engineering policies, the undesirable ethnic groups are tried to melt in the core nation which is described by ethnic borders. Moreover, nationalism enhances the need to create a national identity. For this reason, states want to shape the populations around a national identity. Except the official nationalism that is accepted by the state, the other nationalisms or the possible nationalisms are wanted to be crumbled. To achieve this idea, populations are moved to dissolve them into the national-identity. All these goals of states are linked and related with each other because a possible undesirable nationalist movement may threaten the unity of territory, this means it can cause shatter of the security. The relationship between the nation-states and population movements is also associated by John McGarry, who is also one of the first users of the term demographic engineering. According to McGarry, "the state-directed movement of ethnic groups has been inextricably linked to the rise of ethnically-based nationalisms.[28]" This interpretation shows the need of preventing nationalism, except the core nation.

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26 Milica Zarkovic Bookman, *Ibid*, p. 122

27 Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Ibid*, p. 55-56

28 John McGarry, "'Demographic engineering': the state-directed movement of ethnic groups as a technique of conflict regulation", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1998, 21:4, p.623

In short, demographic engineering is a tool used to create homogeneous nations, to shape the populations around a national-identity, to prevent undesirable nationalist actions and to consolidate the security over the territory. All these processes are linked with each other.

In the light of all these insights, the demographic engineering policies in the first years of the Turkish state will be analyzed by keeping in mind the theories and concept mentioned above. Here, this study will focus on the population movements in Eastern Provinces. Forced migration and resettlement policies of non-Turkish speaking population will be analyzed. While doing this analysis, the General Inspectorates will be studied. Their roles on population movements in context of forced migration and resettlement will be focused.

3

Nation Building Process in Turkey and General Analysis of the General Inspectorates

I heard on the radio
"Letters from Home"
Greetings from one exile to another
They said they were all fine.

–Mahmud Darwish, *A Letter from Exile*

§ 3.1 Nation-Building Process in The Early Republican Period

With the end of the World War I, Mustafa Kemal pioneered the Turkish Independence War. To be prepared to this war, he organized congresses in Amasya, Erzurum and Sivas in which local elites from all across the Anatolia gathered together. The main emphasis in these congresses was to unite all Muslim components in struggle against the non-Muslim occupying forces. The necessity of saving the sultan and the caliphate was also emphasized. Through this "Ottoman patriotism" mobility of people was assured and,

by this way "Ottoman patriotism" provided the mobility of people.[1] To emphasize the Muslimism was significant to persuade the Turks, Kurds, Circassians, Lazs and all other Muslim populations to collaborate against the Entente powers. As the same way, Mustafa Kemal also had emphasized this idea once while he was giving a speech to the local powers. He referred to the "Islamic ethnic elements" and stated that "the nation, the preservation and defense of which we have undertaken, is not only composed of one ethnic element. It is composed of various Islamic elements."[2]

Moreover, during these congresses, an autonomous Kurdish region was portraited in the frame of Islamism to consolidate the involvement of the Kurds who composed of the 20 percent[3] of the total population. Especially in context of Kurds, Beşikçi thinks that the emphasis of Islamism was vitally important during the Turkish War of Independence. According to him, the Kurdish tribal leaders and chieftains agreed with Mustafa Kemal and took side with him to save the caliphate and the Ottoman sultan.[4] Thus, it can be deduced that, as a strategy of the new Turkish government, the non-Turkic Muslim population was tried to be kept away from the idea of nationalism, which was a great struggle for the Empire to deal with.

Even, in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), which was established in 23 April 1920, a draft named as Kurdistan Autonomous Administration (*Kürdistan Muhtar İdaresi*), that promised an autonomous governance for the Kurds, was discussed in 10 February 1922[5]. In that vein, Constitution of 1921, which was established during the Turkish Independence War by the assembly, had cores about the autonomy.

In November 1922, as soon as the War of Independence ended, the sultanate was abolished by the new government. It means that the Ottoman heritage

1 Kemal Kirişçi and Gareth M. Winrow, *Kürt Sorunu Kökeni ve Gelişimi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p.95

2 Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey the Quest for Identity*, Oxford: Oneworld Prublications, 2003, p.81

3 Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2015, p.252

4 İsmail Beşikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temeller*, Ankara: e yayınları, 1970, p.274

5 For more details: Robert Olson, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Kaynakları ve Şeyh Said İsyanı*, Ankara: Öz-Ge, 1992

was started to abandoned. This situation can also be seen as the beginning of the removal of the Muslim unity from the all components of the society, replacing it with ethnically Turkish based society in the short run.

Aftermath of the War of Independence, Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed by Entente powers and the new Republic of Turkey. With this treaty the new state was internationally recognized. After the recognition, the abandonment of the commitment to the component populations inside came into question. External sovereignty was constituted, and the next step was the consolidation of the internal sovereignty by annihilating the internal *threats*. From the last years of the Ottoman Empire onwards, the annihilation of the Armenian threat and the withdrawal of the Entente powers from its lands the non-Muslim threats had disappeared for the Turkish state. It was the time for the Kurds who were in a leading position of these internal threats in the mindset of the state. During and after the Lausanne period, the commitments for autonomous Kurdish administration obviously came to light as a tactic for the sake of the permanence of the Islamism at least to the end of the war. As it is seen in the Treaty of Lausanne and the Constitution of 1924, the absence of any indication about the autonomy or any other rights for the Kurds in Turkey affirms this hypothesis.

On the other side, the abolition of the caliphate, in March 1924, had certainly clarified the relinquishment of the Ottoman heritage. At the same time, the loss of the validity of the "Muslim contract"[6] was become definite. This term is used by Barış Ünlü and he remarks that it was occurred at the same time when the idea of Ottomanism could not find itself a place among the varied sections of society. Thus, under these conditions, the Muslim contract came into existence in order to find a solution to hold at least the Muslim sections of the society together just like a glue. From the rule of Abdul Hamid II to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, this contract was adopted and tried to be injected to the Muslim population. After the Turkish War of Independence, the leaders of the young republic replaced the Muslim contract with Turkification.[7]

6 To see more details: Barış Ünlü, *Türklük Sözleşmesi Oluşumu, İşleyişi ve Krizi*, Ankara: Dipnot, 2018

7 Barış Ünlü, *Ibid*, p.165

Additionally, with the abolition of the caliphate, it can be said that the transformation from Islamism to Turkism started irreversibly. Hereafter, the new republic's compass was the Turkism. The other adopted ideas like Ottomanism and Islamism had frustrated or had been frustrated step by step from the last days of the Ottoman state to this period. In the early 20th century, the Islamism was replaced by the Turkism as the national identity.

As of this replacement, the process of nation building was proceeded swiftly. The borders of this new identity started to be drawn. The next step was to maneuver the society into the adaptation of the new national identity. This new *identity* was designed in order to shape it around Turkish ethnicity and it would constitute the *nation* that can be defined one of the components of the modern state. Anthony Smith emphasizes that in non-Western societies, the ethnic identity outweighed rather than the Western societies.[8] So, Turkish ethnicity became a distinctive position in determination of the new identity.

In addition to these, the abolition of the caliphate detached the last link between the Turks and the Kurds that gathered them together.[9] According to Kirişçi and Winrow, the caliphate was already a legitimate source for Muslim citizens in general to define themselves.[10] These two societies were quite different from each other, although they have lived in the same geography for a long time. According to Bruinessen, there was only two conditions capable of keeping them together: religion and the Ottoman citizenship.[11] So, it can be deduced that the only bases keeping them together were shaken with the last moves of the new Turkish republic.

In the following years, the nation-building process had continued with different implementations and methods. To create a homogeneous nation that was based on Turkish ethnicity was quite important for this process. Some institutions were used to consolidate the homogeneous nation. These institutions can be counted as Halkevleri, Türk Dil Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu,

8 Anthony Smith, National Identity, London: Penguin Books, 1991, p.11

9 Martin van Bruinessen, *Kürdistan Üzerine Yazılar*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2013

10 Kirişçi and Winrow, *Ibid*, p.99

11 Bruinessen, *Ibid*, p.107

Köy Enstitüleri which can be explained with Althusser's theory of the ideological tools of state.[12] These new institutions of the young Republic became the main agents of initiating and imposing the new way of life that was suitable with the mindset of the new regime.[13]At the same time, especially in Eastern provinces, it can be seen that these institutions undertaken the mission of civilizing the population. "To orbit the position of Turkish society into the modern civilization circle"[14] was a quite prevalent discourse among both authorities and intellectuals of the state.

These institutions were not the only tools used to create a homogeneous nation; demographic interventions were also used in this mission. In other words, it was necessary to create a homogeneous population to create a homogeneous nation. According to Foucault, population was a modern reality "in relation to the functioning of political power, but also in relation to knowledge and political theory" in the context of modern administrative techniques.[15] If we interpret Foucault's idea, it can be briefly said that before the usage of the modern administrative practices, the discipline had been practiced on multiplicities. In a new subject we counter with the population with the use of new techniques.

> The multiplicity of individuals is no longer pertinent, the population is. (…) The final objective is the population. The population is pertinent as the objective, and individuals, the series of individuals, are no longer pertinent as the objective, but simply as the instrument, relay, or condition for obtaining something at the level of the population.[16]

Nation building process not only contained social engineering techniques but also it was related with the population and demographic engineering tech-

12 Louis Althusser, *On the Reproductionof Capitalism Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, London:Verso, 2014, p.75

13 Mesut Yeğen, *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2013, p.206

14 Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018, p.522

15 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College De France, 1977-78* , Edited by Michel Senellart, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.25

16 Foucault, *Ibid*, p.65

niques. Forced migration, involuntary displacement, relocation and resettlement can be accepted as some of the methods of these techniques. Additionally, the Republic had used these methods to assimilate the non-Turkish populations. By doing these, the population could be first homogenized and governable, then civilized easily.

Demographic interventions were made by various legal, institutional and/or violent tools. Moreover, all these tools mentioned above could be used at the same time. It is especially important to dwell on the General Inspectorates in the context of demographic engineering.

3.1.1 *Sheikh Said Rebellion and the Road to the General Inspectorates*

The nation-building process mentioned above and the implementations of the state in this process led to a tension between the Kurds and the state. Abolition of caliphate and unsatisfied commitments made during the war had already created a tension. Kurds started to be aware of that they are targeted by the assimilation policies in the nation-building process.

As a reaction to these, Kurdish rebellions had started. Sheikh Said Rebellion was one of the most important one of them. This crisis had turned into an opportunity for the government. As it is stated in the following sections, this rebellion accelerated the demographic interventions in the Eastern provinces and the establishment of the General Inspectorates.

The Sheikh Said Rebellion[17] which erupted in 1925 was a milestone for the government to operate a so-called solution for the crises in the Eastern provinces and to create a homogeneous national identity. The new government had successfully suppressed the rebellion with military means, yet, this was not an end. After the rebellion was supressed, the government started a migration and settlement policy in the Northern Kurdistan. This policy led to a massive population to move from the Northern Kurdistan, which constituted the

17 For more details see: Robert Olson, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Kaynakları ve Şeyh Said İsyanı 1880-1925*, Ankara:ÖzGe, 1992. Martin Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and the State the Social and Poltical Structures of Kurdistan*, London:Zedbooks,1992. Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi Kökenleri ve Gelişimi*, İstanbul:İletişim,2012.

southern border of the new state, and made it easy for the government to control and govern the population. Starting from this implementation, this way was applied to the other Kurdish rebellions in the early republican era. Almost after every rebellion in the region, the assimilation policies have gone hand in hand with the forced migration and settlement policies. In fact, these implementations continued increasingly in the other parts of Kurdish region during the early republican period.

3.1.2 *The Eastern Reform Plan and Its Importance for General Inspectorates*

After the rebellion, "The Law for Maintenance and Order" (*Takrir-i Sükûn)* and "The Eastern Reform Plan" (*Şark Islahat Planı)* were declared. "The Law for Maintenance and Order" *(Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu)* enacted in that year and it paved the way to implement the authoritarian rules in the country, especially in the Eastern provinces, which were mostly populated by Kurdish-speaking people. The reason to implement this law immediately after the rebellion, according to the government authorities, was to suppress the reactionist insurrections against the secular reforms. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Kurdish nationalist cores of this rebellion formed the basis of these implementations. Also, The Eastern Reform Plan and its pre-plans have characteristics to claim this approach.

The Eastern Reform Plan was a collection of some pre-plans. These were the reports of Abdülhalik Renda (the MP of Çankırı and the president of assembly) and Cemil Uybadın (the Minister of Interior). The Eastern Reform Plan was prepared as a synthesis of these two pre-plans by the Eastern Reform Comission and presented in 24 September 1925.

Abdülhalik Renda had prepared his report after the Sheikh Said Rebellion by traveling Gaziantep, Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbekir, Siirt, Bitlis, Van, Muş, Genç (Bingöl), Elazığ, Dersim and its all districts, Ergani, Mardin, Malatya, Maraş and Adıyaman[18]. In his report, Abdülhalik Renda highlights that this rebellion

18 *Ibid*, p.198

was "a nationalist rebellion behind a veil of religion and reactionism".[19] To avoid this threat, Renda offers to assimilate[20] Kurds by resettling Turkish immigrants who came from Balkans. Because he believes that the main problem in this region was the development of the national consciousness among the Kurdish people.[21] Renda claims that The Turkish people constituted the one fifth of the total population in the zone of rebellion and its periphery. According to his report, the total population of the region was 1.360.000 and 993.000 people of this population consisted of Kurdish people in 1925.[22] These numbers contains the cities that Renda travelled. According to these numbers, Renda offers that it should be changed by the government interventions and a set of demographic engineering processes.

Another pre-plan was prepared by the Minister of Interior Cemil Uybadın. Like Renda's report, Uybadın highlights the threat of Kurdish nationalism in the Eastern provinces. According to Uybadın, the people who lived in this region were bounded up with their languages and cultures[23]. To avoid this threat, Uybadın offers some reforms for Eastern provinces. The main logic in this report was the same with Abdulhalik Renda's report. In order to diminish this threat, Uybadın offers that the Turks who settled in Eastern provinces should be protected and the new Turkish immigrants should be settled in this region[24]. Moreover, the weapons in the region should be collected and the government officials shouldn't be selected from local (Kurdish) people.[25] Kurdish speaking population should be reduced by resettling Turks to Kurdish villages[26]. This resettlement was examined by splitting the Eastern provinces into

19 Mehmet Bayrak, *Kürtlere Vurulan Kelepçe Şark Islahat Planı*, Ankara: Öz-Ge, 2009, p.93

20 This refers the word *temsil* in Turkish.

21 Bayrak, *Ibid*, p.97

22 Zafer Toprak, "Sunuş: Toplumsal Mühendislik ve Necmeddin Sahir Sılan", in *Doğu Sorunu Necmeddin Sahir Sılan Raporları*, ed. Tuğba Akekmekçi and Muazzez Pervan, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012, p.xiii

23 Bayrak, *Ibid*, p.110

24 İba, *Ibid*, p.201

25 Nevzat Onaran, *Ermeniler, Rumlar ve Kürtler Türk Nüfus Mühendisliği 1914-1940*, İstanbul: Kor, 2018, p.257

26 Bayrak, *Ibid*, p.116

three domains in this report. For each domain, Uybadın offers special governance. Moreover, he proposes a General Inspectorate for this region.[27] It was to make it easy to control these domains during the resettlement.

So, The Eastern Reform Plan was prepared with all these ideas and inquiries. At the request of Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, these pre-plans were prepared by Renda and Uybadın, and a commission was established to prepare "The Eastern Reform Plan". This commission was established by the decree Nr. 2536[28] and it consisted of Minister of Justice Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt), Abdulhalik Renda, Cemil Uybadın and the Second General of Army Kazım. With contribution of them and suggestions of these two reports, the final plan was created, and it took the name of "The Eastern Reform Plan". It is obvious that the implementation of this plan had been the predecessor of the next implementation on the Kurdish populated regions in context of assimilation policies. The Kurdish people who lived in the region was forced to migrate to the Western provinces. This plan had accelerated the demographic engineering applications under the one-party regime.

The Eastern Reform Plan was also significant for another reason: the establishment of the General Inspectorships was first described quite distinctly in this plan. Although it was mentioned in the 1921 Constitution, the description was superficial. Moreover, it couldn't be made actual immediately after this constitution declared. On the contrary, in the Eastern Reform Plan, it was suggested that the country should be divided into five General Inspectorship areas. Although the Kurdish region was predicted to be the Fifth General Inspectorate in the pre-plans, finally the areas where mostly populated by Kurdish speaking people had been divided into three General Inspectorate areas.

Especially in the regions that was populated by Kurdish speaking people, the General Inspectorates had served to the goal of creating a homogeneous population under the Turkish national identity. In order to put into practice, the General Inspectorates had taken the mission of spreading Turkish language among non-Turkish speaking populations, collecting weapons, building railways and carrying out the activities of Halkevleri.

27 *Ibid*, p.119

28 İba, *Ibid*, p.210

The other way of creating a homogeneous population and nation was to force the non-Turkish speaking population living in the Eastern provinces to migrate to the Western provinces. In order to assimilate these people, they were forced to live together with the Turkish speaking population. Yet, it was a bilateral process. Balkan immigrants and other Turks started to be settled in the Eastern provinces So, in this context, the General Inspectorates had served the government in processes of demographic engineering and population movements.

As remarked in the previous chapter, population movements, forced migration and resettlement were important policies to create a homogeneous population. From the Ottoman Empire to the Early Republican era, as demographic interventions; population exchange, resettlement and forced migration policies became prominent in creation of a homogeneous nation in the social context and creation of nation-state in the political context.[29] So, General Inspectorates had become a step of this series of demographic engineering policies. By using decentralization, the General Inspectorates, which were established as regional governments complemented with the special authority, were aimed to constitute the centralized state authority in order to make the non-Turkish speaking population, especially Kurdish speaking population, governable. In other words, decentralization was used as a tool of governance in the regions that state could not consolidate its authority upon them.

§ 3.2 The General Inspectorates

3.2.1 *Historical Origins of the General Inspectorates from Ottoman Empire to the Republican Turkey*

It is possible to say that there is an institutional continuity between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic in terms of the General Inspectorates. The link between them can be traced to the administrative reforms in the nineteenth century.

29 Ercan Çağlayan, *Cumhuriyetin Diyarbakır'da Kimlik İnşası (1923-1950)*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2014, p.115

Briefly explained, the old Ottoman system was relied on the Eyalet system that was combined of the districts (Sancak). They were relatively autonomous units while they were linked to the central authority. As a result of the regulations and reforms that were brought by Tanzimat, the centralization process was tried to make them mediating institutions for the imperial authority. In other words, the decentralized regional units had started to be used as a tool of centralized governance. Its main function was going to be to facilitate the construction of the necessary local infrastructural means, which would then help further implementations of the political centralization in the long run.[30]

As Hüseyin Koca mentioned, this situation related with the international diplomatic pressures.[31] So, both to provide the maintenance of order in centralization process and to reduce the international pressure, the General Inspectorates were put into practice. Mithat Pasha, who had gone to the inspection tour to Rumelia, was appointed to the governor of Niš.[32] By this way, Mithat Pasha was appointed to as its first Governor General.[33]

Moreover, Ahmet Şakir Paşa was appointed to Anatolian General Inspectorate and he stayed in this position between 1895 and 1899.[34] It should not be forgotten that the international diplomatic pressures were quite important on this issue. Especially, in accordance with Britain, Russia and France's requests were related with the status of Armenian population which lived in the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the General Inspectorates came into the question once again. A regulation defined the General Inspectorates

30 Murat Yüksel, *Forced Migration and the Politics of Internal Displacement in the Making of Modern Turkey: The Case of Dersim, 1937-1947*, Columbia University Unpublished phD Thesis, 2008, p.135

31 Hüseyin Koca, *Yakın Tarihten Günümüze Hükümetlerin Doğu-Güneydoğu Anadolu Politikaları*, Konya: Mikro Yayınları, 1998, p.36-37

32 Hakan Bacanlı, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi olağanüstü Bölge Yönetimi Uygulamaları (Umumi Müfettişliklerden Olağanüstü Hal Bölge Valiliğine*), Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Unpublished PHd Thesis, 2012, p.22

33 Murat Yüksel, *Ibid*, p.136

34 Cemil Koçak, *Umumi Müfettişlikler 1927-1952,* İstanbul: İletişim, 2010, p.26

in the administrative history first was prepared in 1902.[35] In that year, Huseyin Pasha was appointed as the General Inspectorate of the Vilayet-i Selase included Salonika, Monastir and Kosovo.[36] According to this regulation, Huseyin Pasha was assigned to control monetary and administrative issues; to develop prosperity, industry and trade in his domain. He had administrative and military officers under his command. Pasha could also use the military power in his domain when it is needed.[37] These duties were important because as it will be seen in the next chapters, there was an intersection point between the institutions of General Inspectorates in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey in terms of the duties of the General Inspector.

After the declaration of the Second Constitution in 1908, the institution of the General Inspectorates was abolished. Nevertheless, before the World War I, the General Inspectorates were again on the agenda in 1913. In Eastern provinces, especially in Van, Bitlis, Mameratül-Aziz and Erzurum, Sivas, two General Inspectorates were established.[38] This design was again related with the Armenian issue. This time, the exterior power that pressured was Britain.

In the Law on the General Administration of Provinces (İdare-i Umumiye Vilayet Kanunu) in 1913, the General Inspectorates were mentioned. According to this law, it was indicated that the Ottoman lands would be divided into domains of general Inspectorates and a General Inspector would be appointed for each domain.[39] Nevertheless, this law could not be applied because of the eruption of the First World War.

Nonetheless, this law is important in the context of this study because it represents the continuity between these institutions from the Ottoman State to the Republic. The Ottoman centralization process was tried to mediate via these local administrative units. The General Inspectorates were just an example of these units and it could be posited in the early republican period.

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35 Çağatay Arpaçay, *Birinci Umumi Müfettişlik ve Ağrı İsyanı*, Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Unpublished Master Thesis, 2010, p.50

36 Cemil Koçak, *Ibid*, p.27

37 *Ibid*, p.28

38 *Ibid*, p.31

39 Arpaçay, *Ibid*, p.51

If the differences between these continuities are examined, any international diplomatic pressure cannot be observed in the early republican era. As mentioned above, the implementation of the General Inspectorates in the late Ottoman period was related with the external powers like Britain, France and Russia. So, it can be said that the General Inspectorates in the Republic of Turkey was institutions that served to centralized state and tried to tackle with the internal threats.

The conditions of war had brought the General Inspectorates on the agenda. The Ottoman government had decided to establish the General Inspectorates again which covered Erzurum, Van, Bitlis and Erzincan. This time the reason was a fear of an independent Armenian state and Russian occupation to Eastern provinces. On 23 August 1918, "Vilayet-i Müstahlise Müfettiş-i Umumiliği" was established and Tahsin (Uzer) was appointed as the General Inspectorate to this domain.[40] It is important to keep this name in mind because Tahsin Uzer was appointed as the Third General Inspectorate in Republic of Turkey in 1935.

However, Tahsin Uzer's assignment lasted very short. Only after one month, in September, Uzer was appointed as the Governor of Syria. His task had come to end and no one was appointed to his position[41]. There were some other attempts of the Ottoman government about General Inspectorates but they were all failed.

During the War of Independence, the government in Ankara had also tried to prepare a constitution for the new state that was designed. Because of this reason, the parliament established a constitution in 1921. In the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), when the articles of the constitution were discussed, the General Inspectorates came into the question again. As a result of this, the General Inspectorates could find a place itself in the constitution. According to the article Nr.22, provinces were combined in context of their economic and internal conditions and these combined provinces constituted the General Inspectorates[42]. Although Teşkilat-ı Esasiye contained the articles

40 Koca, *Ibid*, p.18

41 Koçak, *Ibid*, p.34

42 Articles Nr. 22 and 23 of 1921 Constitution, *https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa21.htm*

about General Inspectorates, they couldn't be put into practice. The next encounter with the General Inspectorates occurred in 1927.

3.2.2 *The General Inspectorates in the Republican Turkey*

The General Inspectorates were established as a result of the martial law declared after the Sheikh Said Rebellion and the Takrir-i Sükun Law. Looking at these points chronologically, it is possible to say that the establishment of the General Inspectorates after these processes was not a coincidence. Declaration of the General Inspectorates aimed to create a permanent pressure and martial law in the region. Current policies of the government, implemented in the region, were tried to be spread to the long term. Tunçay supports this idea by specifying the main reason of the declaration of the General Inspectorates as creating an authority which could find the gap/vacuum emergent after the ending of the martial law in the region in 23 October 1927[43]. Cemil Koçak agrees with Tunçay and he sees the General Inspectorates as a "substitution of the martial law".[44] On the other hand, when we look from the government's point of view, the main reason for the General Inspectorates' establishment was "separating the provinces into groups according to natural, social, economic features in order to maximize the governmental functions."[45]

So, under these conditions, the draft law for establishment of General Inspectorates was prepared in 30 January 1927 by the Ministry of Interior. Then, in 25 June 1927, the General Inspectorates was declared by the law number 1164. According to the law, the General Inspectorates could be founded by council of ministers and the inspectors would be appointed as the same way (Article 1)[46]. Also, as it is mentioned in Article 3, the Inspectors had depended to the Ministry of Interior and they had obliged to provide security and discipline in their territories[47].

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43 Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması 1923-1931*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015, p.179

44 Koçak, *Ibid*, p. 65

45 *Güneydoğu Birinci Genel Müfettişlik Bölgesi*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1939, p.68

46 *Ibid*, p.68

47 *Ibid*, p.68

In addition to this, in 27 November 1927 an enactment was issued about the duties and authority of the General Inspectors[48] *(Umumi Müfettişlik Teşkiline Dair Kanun Mucibince Tanzim Olunan Umumi Müfettişlik Vazife ve Salahiyetlerine Dair Talimatnamenin Meriyeti Va'zi Hakkında Kararname)*. With this enactment, the General Inspectors were started to be accepted as the representatives of the government and deputies along the borders of their territories (Article 7)[49]. Also, governors and all officers had to be responsible to them and they had accountability to the Inspectors. So, the hierarchical positions of the General Inspectors were posited between the Ministry of Interior and governors. Koçak also summarizes the position of the General Inspectorates as a new organization which located between these institutions by looking at this article[50].

Moreover, the same enactment enabled the Inspectors to use gendarmerie and police as a police force. (Article 9).[51] This statement is linked with the article 11 which defines the General Inspectors' mission to constitute the security. This allowed the Inspectorates to use military force as a tool to provide the security. So, this confirms the ideas about General Inspectorates that they relied on and involved in military regulations[52], and they were administrative-military apparatuses with unprecedented powers[53]. In this context, there is another article that enabled the General Inspectors to demand a martial law in case of a threat to the security (Article 12)[54]. Taking all these into consideration, the government equipped the General Inspectorates with these competencies and "this phenomenon led to even more authoritarian rule in large parts of the country"[55].

48 *Ibid*, p.69

49 *Ibid*, p.69

50 Koçak, *Ibid*, p.65

51 *Güneydoğu*, p.70

52 Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2016, p.257

53 Soner Çagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey Who is a Turk?*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p.48

54 *Güneydoğu*, p.71

55 Çagaptay, *Ibid*, p.48

The security problem was one of the main themes of General Inspectorates in the context of their establishment. Without any doubt, this problem had been arised in the aftermath of the Sheikh Said Rebellion followed by small scale rebellions in the Kurdish provinces. By looking at these articles in the enactment, it can be said that the security problem coincides with the threat of rebellious activities in the Kurdish provinces.

Another mission of the General Inspectors was related to the issue of settlement. This mission was detailed in the Article Nr.11[56]. In short, this article states that the General Inspectorates were appointed to distribute and settle people into their domains. This duty was quite important and remarkable in this context as the resettlement of the Turkish immigrants to the domains of the General Inspectorates was subjected. On the other hand, the resettlement of the Kurdish speaking population who lived in these domains and were a possible threat to the security to the Western provinces would be carried out and controlled by these institutions. Murat Yüksel supports this interpretation: "Inspectorates-General[57] is particularly important for demographic changes because it was the Inspectorates-General that were responsible for carrying out the state's policies at the regional and local levels, including organizing the settlement both of immigrants coming from outside and of internal migrants, forced or otherwise."[58]At this point, the institution of General Inspectorates served to the demographic engineering policies and processes by carrying out and controlling the resettlement of the immigrants and removal of the current Kurdish population from their domains.

3.2.3 *Organizational Structure and Cadres of the General Inspectorates*

The organizational structure of the General Inspectorates and their personnel cadres was specified in the "Umumi Müfettişlik Teşkiline Dair Kanun and Umumi Müfettişliklerin Vazife ve Salahiyetlerine Dair Talimatname". These

56 *Güneydoğu*, p.71

57 The author writes the General Inspectorates as Inspectorates-General.

58 Murat Yüksel, *Ibid*, p.133

specified cadres consisted of principal consultants, consultants, departmental managers, other officials and servants.

The main arrangements of the General Inspectorates' organizational structure and personnel cadres were made by the law nr.2865 and law nr.2883. The law nr.2865 was promulgated in 16 November 1935 and it was related with the structure of the First, Third and the Fourth General Inspectorates' organizations. Another law dated in 25 December 1935 also determined the Second General Inspectorate's organizational scheme. The Second Inspectorate was different from the other Inspectorates in the context of its organizational structure. The other Inspectorates had various units such as order, intelligence and settlement. On the other hand, the Second General Inspectorate had composed of mostly the units which concerned with the health and education services.[59]

Both the functions and the organizational features of the General Inspectorates which were found in Kurdish provinces show that there were special implementations upon Kurdish speaking people. In other words, by looking at the regions concentrated by General Inspectorates and their organizational form, it is possible to say that the main goal was the Turkification of people and project of building a homogeneous nation in these provinces.

In the following sections, the importance of General Inspectorates in the context of demographic engineering and population movements is mentioned, starting with a rough explanation of their establishment and formation by looking at each inspectorate.

3.2.4 *Foundation of the First General Inspectorate*

After the enactments and laws mentioned above, İbrahim Tali (Öngören) was appointed as the First Inspector[60] established in 11 December 1927.[61] Ibrahim Tali was a military surgeon and he was appointed to several positions by the new republican government such as surgeon in military, district governor and

59 İsmail Beşikçi, *Tunceli Kanunu (1935) ve Dersim Jenosidi,* İstanbul: İsmail Beşikçi Vakfı Yayınları, 2013, p.33. Hüseyin Koca, *Ibid*, p.183-185

60 The First Inspectorate was stated as General Inspectorate of Eastern Provinces (*Vilayet-i Şarkiye Müfettiş-i Umumilik*)

61 BCA, 30-18-1-1/ 26.67.17

Member of Parliament. However, the relation between Ibrahim Tali and the government was deep-rooted. He had taken sides with Mustafa Kemal while they were going to the Samsun in 1919 and he attended to the congresses in Amasya, Erzurum and Sivas before the Turkish War of Independence.[62] Immediately before he was appointed as the First General Inspector, he was MP of Diyarbakır.

After the Ibrahim Tali's appointment, Elazığ, Urfa, Bitlis, Hakkari, Diyarbakır, Siirt, Mardin and Van Provinces were determined as the region of the First General Inspectorate in 25 December 1927[63]. Later, Ağrı Province was annexed to the domain of the First General Inspectorate[64].

On 1 January 1928, the First General Inspectorate was started its mission with 29 officers[65]. During his five years in service, Öngören concerned with the migration of the Kurdish speaking population to the Western provinces in order to consolidate the security and "order". Meanwhile the Turkish immigrants were resettled to the villages that were evacuated by force. Shelters and seeds for these new habitants were provided. Roads and many primary schools were built. These projects were implemented to consolidate the new Turkish identity.

After İbrahim Tali Öngören, Ahmet Hilmi Ergeneli was appointed to this position on 12 January 1932 and he started to work in this position on 28 February 1933.[66] He stayed in this position until 1935 when Abidin Özmen was appointed on 11 June 1935.[67] During his eight years of duty, Abidin Özmen had tried to continue the settlement and forced migration policies and served to consolidate an authoritarian in this domain for the sake of security. Also,

62 Erdal Aydoğan and Şaban Ortak, *Dr. İbrahim Tali Bey'in (Öngören) Günlüğü*, İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 2000, p.ix

63 BCA, 30-18-1-1/ 27.70.7

64 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 2.15.20

65 Koca, *Ibid*, p.214

66 Ercan Çağlayan, *Ibid*, p.93

67 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 55.48.2

Özmen was known with his detailed reports giving information about security, order, agriculture, prosperity and settlement about his domain. It will be focused on in the following sections.

In 1943, Avni Doğan, MP of Çankırı, was appointed as the First General Inspector[68]. Like his predecessors, Avni Doğan had focused on the population movements and resettlement issues. He also paid attention to prosperity. Moreover, spreading of Halkevleri to his domain was also on Doğan's agenda. He stayed this position until the General Inspectorates were abolished.

3.2.5 *Foundation of the Second (Thrace) General Inspectorate*

Establishment of the General Inspectorates continued during the 1930s. In 19 February 1934, the Second General Inspectorate was found. This Inspectorate covered an area including Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ and Çanakkale Provinces and it was named as the Thrace Inspectorate[69]. Edirne Province was accepted as the centre of this inspectorate.[70]

In 18 March 1934, Ibrahim Tali Öngören, who was the First Inspector until he was elected to the MP of Istanbul in 1932, was appointed to this position[71]. Ismail Beşikçi says that chosen of Ibrahim Tali to this position is related with his experiment in the position of the First General Inspectorate. Moreover, for Beşikçi, many Kurdish speaking people were forced to resettle to Thrace region and Ibrahim Tali known this population.[72] So, this approach wants to highlight that the state wanted to implement its regional policy through the agency of Ibrahim Tali and by this way the logic of the General Inspectorates could be constituted in all regions chosen as the General Inspectorate areas.

Moreover, according to Soner Cagaptay, the Thrace Inspectorate was different from the others: "this fulfilled a major strategic goal: The Thrace Inspectorate provided a centralized military administration in an area of the country

68 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 102.44.19

69 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 42.8.10

70 Güneydoğu, p.66

71 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 43.15.7

72 Beşikçi, *Tunceli Kanunu (1935) ve Dersim Jenosidi,* p.62

that flanked Bulgaria, the chief revisionist power in post-First World War Balkans. Thus, the creation of this Inspectorate was a security move by Ankara."[73] Ismail Beşikçi also highlights the differences of this Inspectorate arguing that the Thrace Inspectorate was found in order to resettle the Kurdish people forced to migrate from Eastern provinces. According to him, all the General Inspectorates were established to colonize Kurdistan and Thrace Inspectorate created this colonization's other side: to resettle the involuntary displaced Kurds[74]. Considering all these, it can be said that the expressions were pointed out by Beşikçi are important and legitimated, nevertheless the General Inspectorates were served to a broader project. The resettlement of involuntary displacement of Kurds were quite important but the Thrace Inspectorates also concerned with the resettlement of the Balkan immigrants[75]. Moreover, agriculture was crucial for this Inspectorate's agenda[76]. Thrace Inspectorate worked on the agricultural productivity and many people were resettled to the farms in this region in order to strengthen the productivity.

In August 1935, Kazım Dirik, the Governor of Izmir, was appointed as the Thrace General Inspector.[77] He was a military officer and took place in the group that went to Samsun with Mustafa Kemal.[78] Kazım Dirik died in July 1941 and two years following his death, the old First General Inspector Abidin Özmen was appointed as the Thrace Inspector again.

3.2.6 *Foundation of the Third General Inspectorate*

After the establishment of the Thrace Inspectorate, the Third Inspectorate was founded in 1935. The exact date of the establishment of the Third Inspectorate is uncertain. According to state archives, the date of the foundation of the

73 Cagaptay, *Ibid*, p.47

74 İsmail Beşikçi, *Tunceli Kanunu (1935) ve Dersim Jenosidi,* p.33

75 Murat Burgaç, *Trakya Umumi Müfettişliği*, Eskişehir Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished phD Thesis, 2010, p.182-183

76 Burgaç, *Ibid*, p.218-257

77 BCA, 30-18-1/ 57.64.1

78 Koçak, *Ibid*, p.129

Third Inspectorate was 23 August 1935.[79] Nevertheless, this enactment number 2/3199 does not have any date. On the other side, "Güneydoğu Birinci Genel Müfettişlik Bölgesi" which was published by the First General Inspectorate in 1939 says that, the Third Inspectorate was found in 6 September 1935.[80] Cemil Koçak also mentions the same problem.[81] Hüseyin Koca states that the Third Inspectorate was found in 6 September 1935 and Tahsin Uzer, the MP of Erzurum, was declared as the Third Inspector.[82] Yet, the state archives dated the appointment of Tahsin Uzer to the Third Inspector as 23 August 1935.[83] Nevertheless, this study accepts the dates which were taken from the state archives. It was important to remember Tahsin Uzer since, as it is mentioned above, he had been appointed as the General Inspector to the Eastern provinces by the Ottoman government in 1918. Nevertheless, this attempt had failed.

As already shown above, the Third Inspectorate was found after the Thrace Inspectorate. This Inspectorate had covered Erzurum, Kars, Gümüşhane, Çoruh, Erzincan, Trabzon and Ağrı provinces. It is important to note that Ağrı province was taken from the First Inspectorate's domain. Also, Erzurum province was accepted as the center of the Inspectorate.

After Tahsin Uzer, on 30 July 1940, the undersecretary of Minister of Interior Nazif Ergin was appointed as the Third General Inspector. Koçak states that he could not find any appointment to this position after the Nazif Ergin but this study can say that there was a third inspector after the Nazif Ergin. The document that titled as "the telegraph from the Third General Inspector Osman Sabri Adal to the Prime minister Recep Peker and his answer to the Third General Inspectorate"[84] can be accepted as an evident to my argument.

The Third General Inspectorate also concerned with the migration and resettlement issues. It worked on the resettlement of the populations which were

79 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 57.70.15

80 *Güneydoğu*, p.66

81 Koçak, *Ibid*, p.155

82 Koca, *Ibid*, p.175

83 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 57.70.16

84 BCA, 30-1-0-0/ 17.97.7

resettled to the districts where were involuntary displaced by Kurds. This Inspectorate also concerned with the prosperity and construction of public buildings.

3.2.7 *Foundation of the Fourth General Inspectorate*

In 1930s, the Fourth General Inspectorate was established. Just like the First and the Third ones, an area where populated by Kurdish speaking people was declared as the General Inspectorate region in 1936. The Fourth General Inspectorate, which covered Tunceli (Dersim) as center, Elazığ, Bingöl, Erzincan, was found on 6 January 1936 by the enactment Nr. 2/3823.[85]

It should be noted that the Tunceli Law was created and promulgated for this region before the establishment of the Fourth Inspectorate as the Dersim region was seen as an area that must be assimilated and the demographic engineering must be implemented to here as soon as possible. The Alevi Kurdish population who lived in this region was an element of threat to the security according to the government

For all these reasons, Tunceli Law was promulgated on 25 December 1935[86] to enable the implementions of the special authority upon this region. Also, Ismet Inonü's notes on his Eastern Journey and the reports of the General Inspectors influenced the preparation of this law.[87]

In the light of these bases, in order to implement this law on this area easily and to constitute the authoritarian rule, the Fourth General Inspectorate was found. This relation between the Law and the Inspectorate also takes place in Beşikçi's study. He mentions that the domain of the Fourth General Inspectorate and the execution area of the The Tunceli Law was the same[88]. Additionally, the authority which was responsible to carry out the law was the Fourth General Inspector Abdullah Alpdoğan[89]. By looking at this relation, it can be said that "proclamation of Tunceli Law and the establishment of the

85 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 61.1.8

86 Law Nr. 2884, Published in Official Journal in 2 January 1936

87 Mahmut Akyürekli, *Dersim Kürt Tedibi 1937-1938*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2011, p.105

88 Beşikçi, *Ibid*, p.72

89 *Ibid*, p.72

Fourth Inspectorate were conceived as complementary tools for instituting a special governance regime in Dersim".[90]

On the other side, the official resources justified the establishment of the Fourth General Inspectorate by stating the administrative and disciplinary governance.[91] In addition to this, "Güneydoğu Birinci Genel Müfettişlik Bölgesi" which were published by the First General Inspectorate, highlights that the Fourth General Inspectorate was established to be applicable for the region's common local necessities.[92] So, under these conditions, Abdullah Alpdoğan, a lieutenant general, was appointed as the General Inspectorate.[93] The Fourth General Inspector Aydoğan was called as the "Governor of Tunceli".[94] Abdullah Alpdoğan stayed this position until 1 February 1943.[95]

3.2.8 *Foundation of the Fifth General Inspectorates*

Lastly, the Fifth General Inspectorate was found on 23 June 1947 by the enactment Nr. 3/5899.[96] There is actually a divergency among the literature on whether the Fifth General Inspectorate was established or not. For instance, Ismail Beşikçi thinks that the number of the General Inspectorates was only four.[97] Hüseyin Koca accepts the Fifth General Inspectorate and says that the Fifth General Inspectorate was put into practice by the enactment Nr. 3/5899. Unlike Koca, Cemil Koçak argues that whether the Fifth General Inspectorate was found or not. Also, he says that he could not find any record in archives about this issue. Nevertheless, the report that written by Nizamettin Ataker who was called as the General Inspector in records was an evident for Koçak. As encountered this record in archives for this study, this report has title of

90 Murat Yüksel, *Ibid*, p.152

91 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 61.1.8

92 *Güneydoğu*, p.66

93 BCA, 30-18-1-2/61.2.12

94 *Ibid*

95 Hüseyin Koca, *Ibid*, p.176

96 *Ibid*, p.176

97 İsmail Beşikçi, *Tunceli Kanunu (1935) ve Dersim Jenosidi,* İstanbul: İsmail Beşikçi Vakfı Yayınları, 2013

"The Proposal of the General Inspector Nizamettin Ataker on South Anatolia"[98] the report includes Hatay, Mersin, Adana and Maraş's problems and their ways of solution and their needs. These provinces were shown as the Fifth General Inspectorate's domain.

The second and third page bears the name of the previous Prime Minister Recep Peker. Recep Peker submitted this report to the new Prime Minister Hasan Saka who was elected a few days before this report was submitted. It is seen that Nizamettin Ataker's oral notice about the South Anatolia had been asked by Recep Peker and after he had received this report, Peker submitted the report to Hasan Saka.

Shortly, this document made this study closer to the wing that accepts the existence of the Fifth General Inspectorate and the remaining part of this study, the Fifth General Inspectorate will have been accepted as the last General Inspectorate.

3.2.9 *Transformation of the Duties and Authorities of the General Inspectorates and Extinguishment of the General Inspectorates*

The General Inspectorates were de facto abolished in 1948 and the legal abolition executed in 1952. The establishment of the Fifth General Inspectorate had corresponded to the period when the General Inspectorates were argued about their abolition. On 28 February 1945, a new enactment Nr. 2222 about duties and powers of the General Inspectorates was issued.[99] This new enactment had replaced the previous enactment Nr.5858 which had been issued on 27 November 1927.

In contrast with the previous enactment Nr.5858, the new enactment limited the General Inspectors' authority in their domains. Inspectors' authorities upon the governors in their domains were restricted a little. Moreover, the position of the military officer was removed from the personnel cadres of the General Inspectorates. By this way, the relationship between the General Inspectorates and the military had started to dissolve.[100]

98 BCA, 30-1-0-0/ 128.831.2

99 BCA, 30-18-1/ 107-101-15

100 Koçak, *Ibid*, p.260

The hierarchical positions of the General Inspectorates were the same. Nevertheless, the discourse of the enactment about the powers of the General Inspectorates was softer than the previous enactment. This can be perceived as a decrease of their authorities. Koçak mentions that the new enactment Nr. 2222 made the General Inspectorates turn into a control mechanism.[101]

At the end of the 1947, assembly discussed the budgetary proposal. During these discussions, Koçak says that some newspapers started to discuss whether the General Inspectorates would be removed or not. On 31 December 1947, during the 28th sessions of the budget discussions, the personnel cadres of the General Inspectorates were discharged.[102] By this way, the General Inspectorates were extinguished de facto. Nevertheless, they legally remained in legal terms.

The legal abolition of the General Inspectorates was executed in the time when Democrat Party took over the government. Again, in budgetary discussions, the MP of the Democrat Party, Celal Yardımcı offered to abolish the institute of General Inspectorates. In his speech, he talked about despotic and tyrannical governors by addressing the General Inspectorates. He also drew attention to General Inspectorates' implementations of the policies by using a special violence upon the Eastern part of the country[103]. In the same speech, Yardımcı mentioned that the people of the East had to put up with an awful administration[104]. MP of Democrat Party, Mustafa Remzi Bucak submitted a draft law about the extinguishment of the General Inspectorates[105]. The law was accepted and published in the official journal on 21 November 1952. By the law Nr. 5990, the previous law Nr. 1164[106] was removed and all related laws, provisions and organizational cadres were removed. So, the General Inspectorates was totally abolished.

101 *Ibid*, p.262

102 *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Dönem VIII, v.VIII, 28. Birleşim, p.894

103 *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Dönem XI, v.5, 46. Birleşim, p.300

104 *Ibid*, p.300

105 *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Dönem XI, v.16, 87. Birleşim, p.318

106 Umumi Müfettişliklerin Teşkiline Dair Kanun, 25.06.1927

4

Demographic Engineering Process and the General Inspectorates

What have we done Mother,
To die twice-
Once in life
And once in death?

–Mahmud Darwish, *A Letter from Exile*

§ 4.1 Laws on Settlement

Before explaining the contribution of the General Inspectorates to the process of demographic engineering, it should be referred to the settlement laws which was declared right after the Sheikh Said Rebellion, as it provided the basis for the forced migrations that was planned on the region.

4.1.1 *The Settlement Law Nr. 885 (1926)*

The Law on Settlement Nr.885 was accepted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 31 May 1926 and published in 1 July 1926 in the Official Newspaper. Its third article is especially important in the context of this study. This law emphasized the importance of the migration and resettlement of the tribes, gypsies and nomads. It referred to the resettlement of people living in

mountainous districts (Article Nr.3)[1]. It also concerned with the resettlement of nomadic tribes to the proper districts (Article Nr.3)[2].

The law nr. 885 contained general provisions about the resettlement of immigrants, gypsies, nomads, besides, the distribution of the immovable properties left by the Armenians (*emval-i metruke*) to the new settlers was issued. To accept people as immigrants, their origin of culture and language is examined. Only those who were from Turkish culture and spoke Turkish language were accepted as immigrants. This inscription is, according to Murat Yüksel, is quite ambiguous and unclear[3]. He also thinks that the real legal regulations were made with the following laws. Indeed, the following laws, such as the law nr. 1097 and the law nr. 2510, has provided more specific and clearly bordered legal basis for the removal of the populations.

4.1.2 *The Settlement Law Nr.1097 (1927)*

The law on the removal of individuals from Eastern provinces to the Western provinces was enacted in 10 June 1927 and published in 17 July 1927 in the Official Newspaper[4]. There were a few months to the ending of the martial rule on region of rebellion. At this point, this law focused on this region and it provided sufficient conditions to implement forced migrations under the circumstances of the martial rule. As a matter of fact, the first article of this law clearly explained it. It authorized the government to remove around 1400 people and 80 rebel families from the martial rule region and the Bayezid provinces, and to resettle them to the Western provinces[5]. The date to initiate the was set as the August 1927[6]. These people were obliged to live in the regions

1 Naci Kökdemir, *Eski ve Yeni toprak, İskân Hükümleri ve Uygulama Klavuzu*, Ankara, 1952, p.518

2 Naci Kökdemir, *Ibid*, p.523

3 Murat Yüksel, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye'sinde Güvenlik Siyaseti ve Nüfus Politikaları, in *Türkiye'de Ordu, Devlet ve Güvenlik Siyaseti*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, p.298

4 Law Nr.1097

5 Naci Kökdemir, *Ibid*, p.28

6 Article Nr.2

that they were resettled in. It was forbidden them to move from there. Although they were free to travel, there were prohibited areas defined in the first article[7]. With this article, the permanency of the resettlements was targeted.

Nevertheless, the law nr. 1097 was not completely implemented. The point was not about the implementation of law after all. It was the permanence of the implementation that was targeted because it was known that the exiled people had returned to their previous locations after a while. Moreover, the government had to give permission to returns. The reason this was told was the people who were resettled to the Western provinces to leave their settlements and go to support the Ağrı uprisings[8]. Even though most of them had returned, the Turkish government prepared more extensive and large-scaled migrations by a new law on settlement after the Ağrı uprisings.

4.1.3 *The Settlement Law Nr. 2510 (1934)*

It is important to refer that this new law nr. 2510 did aim not only to remove the non-Turkish speakers, but also to settle Turkish immigrants and Turkish speakers to the regions where were evacuated from non-Turkish speakers. The aim of the government to do this was to prepare a Turkish-based citizenship and implement an assimilation policy. In this sense, it was more comprehensive and a double-sided project.

Sema Erder emphasizes the authoritarian characteristics of this law because of its comprehensive and permanent effects by stating that this law was amended many times[9]. In fact, it is possible to see this law as an important project in order to construct a homogeneous nation state at the first glance. The settlement law nr. 2510 formed a legal basis to rehabilitate population and make it governable in respect to the nation-state. For this reason, it has importance in the context of this study.

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7 Article Nr.5, Kökdemir, *Ibid*, p. 29

8 Salhadin Gök, *Tek Parti Döneminde Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'da İskân Politikaları (1923-1950)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2005, p.68

9 Sema Erder, *Zorla Yerleştirmeden Yerinden Etmeye Türkiye'de Değişen İskân Politikaları*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2018, p.115

The Law on Settlement was approved by the assembly in 14 June 1934 and it was published in the Official Newspaper in 21 June 1934. According to this law, Turkey was split into three domains. The main reason to split was to define the regions where were populated by Kurds, Arabs etc. It also defined the regions that could dissolve these populations[10]. These domains were described as follows: the domains nr.1 were the locations where Turkish culture-oriented populations would be gathered together. The domains nr.2 were reserved for the resettlement of those who would be assimilated into Turkish culture. The domains nr.3 were the forbidden zones which were prohibited to settle in[11]. These domains that were defined in the law, the Turkish population was wanted to be increased and resettled in the first domains. Thus, at first, the non-Turkish population would be removed, after then, Turkish populations would be resettled into these domains. According to article nr. 12, any tribe would not be resettled to there and anyone who did not bound up with Turkish culture would not be resettled in to these areas[12]. In the domains nr.2, non-Turkish population would be resettled and assimilated. According to article nr. 13, from the domains number 1 and 3 would be resettled to this domain. Neither the people who were not Turkish culture-oriented would be resettled to this region with drizzling method nor they would be permitted to establish districts, villages etc.[13] The domains nr.3 were forbidden zones as will be encountered frequently in this study such as Ağrı, Sason and Dersim regions. Looking from the viewpoint of this study, the domains nr. 2 were mostly included in domains of the First, Third and the Fourth General Inspectorates. Shortly, these are Southeastern and Northeastern provinces. In the same way, migrations from domains nr. 1 was inclusive of the domains of General Inspectorates. The migrations would be to the Western provinces.

As seen in the articles above, this was a broader project. While the non-Turkish speakers, notably Kurds, were displaced and exiled to the West, the locations where remained from non-Turkish speakers were settled by Turkish

10 Salhadin Gök, *Ibid*, p.75

11 Settlement Law, Official Newspaper

12 Article 12

13 Article 13

speakers. According to Joost Jongerden, "[t]he employment of the 1934 Settlement Act cannot be understood as an instrument to quell insurrection in the Kurdistan region, but must be analyzed as part of a larger, positive objective of creating a homeland of the Turks."[14] On the other side, Ismail Beşikçi thinks this law was directly a tool for assimilation of Kurds[15]. Jongerden's approach consider the double-sided function of this law. The general legal basis of this law shouldn't be forgotten while looking at this law as a tool of assimilation of Kurds. As the biggest non-Turkish speaking population, Kurds were tried to be kept away from the idea of nationalism and to be assimilated as soon as possible. In this respect, this point was ranked at the top of the to do list of the government. However, it should be noted that this theme was also an agent of the creation of a homogeneous nation project.

§ 4.2 Ağrı Rebellions

Although the most of the Kurds had been forced to migrate after the Sheikh Said rebellion, other rebellions had continued to occur in the region. Agri Rebellions followed the Sheikh Said rebellion and they happened as result of a Kurdish nationalist organization Xoybûn's nationalist demands and activities. Xoybûn was created by Kurdish local elites who succeeded to flee from Turkey. In 1927, these elites organized a congress in the capitol of Lebanon. As a result of this meeting, it is decided for all the Kurdish nationalist organizations to gather under the roof of the Xoybûn. One of the Kurdish local elites, Emir Celadet Bedirxan, was declared as the head of this organization. Then, Xoybûn started to be organized around Mount Agri and its neighborhood. It started to be accepted among people. The names like Ihsan Nuri, Feremez, Brahimê Heske Telli, who have supported the Sheikh Said Rebellion, played important roles to organize this region. They were effective to organize Kurdish military forces and national consciousness around Mount Agri. It is especially important to emphasize Ihsan Nuri since he appears in both Turkish and Kurdish

14 Joost Jongerden, *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds An Analysis of Spatial Policies, Modernity and War*, New York: Brill, 2007, p.174

15 İsmail Beşikçi, *Tunceli Kanunu (1935) ve Dersim Jenosidi*, İstanbul: İsmail Beşikçi Vakfı Yayınları, 2016, p.56

nationalist mainstream historiography. Ihsan Nuri, also known as Ihsan Nuri Pasha, was an Ottoman soldier. He had served to the Turkish army until the Sheikh Said Rebellion. When the rebellion erupted, he started to support it. He takes place in the Turkish nationalist historiography due to his experiences in the Turkish army.

Reasons why Mount Agri had chosen for the rebellion by Xoybûn is told by David McDowall as follows: "[T]he local tribes were already in revolt there, because of its proximity to the international border which ran across Ararat's northeastern foothills and because its rocky slopes afforded substantial shelter against military action and against the elements"[16].

With the first conflicts started in 1927, the Turkish government tried to drop the subject by compromising with the Kurdish rebels. The government offered the return of the exiles and amnesty. Moreover, it is stated that Ihsan Nuri was offered to some military positions in the Turkish army[17]. Nevertheless, the Kurdish rebellious leaders didn't give any positive response. The reason of the failure of the reconciliation efforts is told by McDowall as follows: "[…] they *(Turkish government)* were unwilling to concede the use of Kurdish as a sop to nationalist sentiment"[18].

After the reconciliation had failed, the struggle became violent. The Turkish air forces started to suppress the rebellion. Especially in the summer of 1930, many people were killed whether they participated the rebellion or not. These operations were declared proudly in the newspapers day to day. Akşam, one of these newspapers, wrote the airstrikes of the Turkish air forces in 10 June 1930[19]. Also, it stated that some of the rebels had fled to the Iran. According to the same newspaper, the annihilation[20] of the rebels continued, and the biggest annihilation would be started in the following days[21]. Even, the jour-

16 David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004, p.204

17 Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi Kökenleri ve Gelişimi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2012, p.412

18 McDowall, *Ibid*, p.204

19 *Akşam*, 6 Temmuz 1930

20 This term is used for the word *tenkil* in Turkish.

21 *Akşam*, 9 Temmuz 1930

nalists started to be sent to the region in order to give information via telegraph to the newspapers. Esat Mahmut, who was the journalist of the Akşam newspaper, reported the Zilan massacre with an enthusiasm in his telegraphs. The Zilan massacre was named as the Zeylan operation in the Turkish press and records has traumatic results. Almost every Kurdish speaker were targeted in these operations. The people killed consisted of mostly women and children in Zilan river located between Bayazid and Van. The number of losses differs in sources, generally from 1500 to 3000 lives. Esat Mahmut noted that just one platoon killed 1000 people in this operation. Moreover, according to Mahmut, around 3000 people died in these operations and the river was covered by the dead bodies[22]. Esat Mahmut's telegraph also highlights that the killed people consisted of mostly local Kurds, who were stirred by religious propaganda. Moreover, Cumhuriyet, another national newspaper, also gladly announced the Zilan massacre in July 1930 by stating that "the people in Zilan river was completely destroyed."[23] According to this newspaper, there was no one who could survive the rebellion, and the cleansing in Erçiş, Süphan and Zeylan river was finished.

In July, the rebellion was completely suppressed. Again, in the newspapers, the victory of the army was proudly declared in newspapers. People of the region were portraited like they have never seen a city in their lives, they have never eaten a meal by coming together, they have never taken a bath or wore a jacket[24]. The "white man's burden" took shape the "civilizing mission" after the rebellion was suppressed. To do this mission, various assimilation and Turkification methods were used.

Aftermath of this rebellion, Ibrahim Tali Öngören, the First General Inspectorate, visited Muş province. He gave a speech about the operations. Actually, Ibrahim Tali had already been visiting the region often. He considered these operations' mission as to discipline the brigandage.[25] It is also told that in the beginning of the rebellion, Ibrahim Tali underestimated the seriousness

22 *Akşam*, 16 Temmuz 1930

23 *Cumhuriyet*, 13 Temmuz 1930

24 *Akşam*, 27 Temmuz 1930

25 *Akşam*, 2 Ağustos 1930, "Şekavetin tedibi was translated as the discipline of brigandage."

of the rebellion and called it as a banditry act[26]. Nevertheless, when the rebellion started to spread, Ibrahim Tali had to visit the region frequently. In his visit in Muş, Öngören narrated his observations by emphasizing that he was proud of the soldiers[27]. The First General Inspector took place in the newspapers almost every day because of the rebellion.

The government's fear of Kurdish nationalism was increased by the Ağrı Rebellion. That's why the government started to take precautions against this perceived threat. It was the second break point after the Sheikh Said Rebellion, in the context of this study. Turkification and assimilation policies started right after the Sheikh Said Rebellion and they gain a strength after the Ağrı Rebellions. One of the methods used was the demographic policies to change the structure of the population in the Eastern provinces. The General Inspectorates was one of the institutions that carried out this method.

§ 4.3 Demographic Policies: Forced Migration and Settlement in General Inspectorates

In this section, records of the migrations and resettlements would be analyzed. Some records directly relied on the decisions or advises of the General Inspectorates. Secondly, the prohibited zones that located in the domains of the General Inspectorates would be analyzed.

Before looking at the General Inspectorates in context of the demographic engineering, to give some numbers are important for the analysis. According to the population census in 1927, the number of the total population was 13.648.270[28]. In addition to this data, the next census showed that there were

26 Sedat Ulugana, *Ağrı Kürt Direnişi ve Zilan Katliamı*, İstanbul: Peri Yayınları, 2010, p.71

27 *Akşam*, 31 Ağustos 1930

28 Başvekalet İstatistik Genel Direktörlüğü, *Türkiye Nüfusu Vilayet, Kaza, Şehirler ve Köyler İtibariyle Muvakkat Rakamlar*, Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935, p.4.

16.200.694 people who lived in the borders of Turkey in 1935[29]. The total number of the population of the Eastern provinces[30] in 1927 was 1.535.880. This number changed as 2.003.394 in 1935 census[31]. The number of the Kurdish speaking population was 1.184.446 in census of 1927.[32] According to Dündar, this number was 8.7 percent of the total population.[33] In 1935, the number of Kurdish speaking population was 1.480.246 people.[34] These number are important to see the bigger situation before analyzing the demographic engineering policies in the General Inspectorates' domains.

4.3.1 *Forced Migration and Resettlements Implemented by General Inspectorates*

The General Inspectorates were effective on removal of the populations in their domains. The non-Turkish speakers were forced to migrate by decisions or offers the General Inspectorates. In their domains, the General Inspectors tried to balance the population by reducing the non-Turkish population and increasing the Turkish immigrants. By doing this, the General Inspectors contributed to create a homogeneous nation.

For instance, 20 households from Koçuşağı Tribe immigrated to Çemişkezek in 1928[35]. They were resettled to Hazeri and Ahduk villages which had remained from Armenians. Nevertheless, after two years they wanted to be removed from there and resettled to Elazığ at the First General Inspector's request. Their villages had already started to be settled by Turks. In 1930, the settlers telegraphed Ismet Inonu. They underlined that the General Inspectorate did not approved their resettlement in Hazeri and Ahdurk villages. The Inspector wanted to exile them again. The telegraph signed by a peasant, who

29 *Ibid*, p.4.

30 Eastern Provinces were defined as *Şarki Anadolu,* according to the census. It included Kars, Elaziz, Gümüşhane, Diyarbekir, Erzurum, Erzincan, Muş, Siirt, Ağrı, Van.

31 *Ibid*, p.7.

32 Fuat Dündar, *Türkiye Nüfus Sayımlarında Azınlıklar*, İstanbul: Çivi Yazıları, 2000, p.101.

33 *Ibid*, p. 101.

34 *Ibid*, p.101.

35 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 81.530.18

was Ibrahim's son Ali and his friends emphasizes that before two years they were resettled to the *emval-i metruke* but they could not do agricultural activities yet[36]. For this reason, their children were starving. In the second telegraph, dated 27 March 1930, they underlined that they could have any answer to their first telegraph, and they needed help immediately. The third telegraph was written with a stronger language. They referred the district governor of Çemişkezek as a hypocritical person. They emphasized the effects of some rancorous people who caused to this decision[37]. Finally, a document dated 4 May 1930 and singed by Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya shows that if they approved, they would be resettled to the Elaziz.

Another record, dated in 20 September 1931, states that 200 households from Çıldır district of Kars province wanted their transfer because of the scarcity and infertility of their lands. This demand was approved by the First General Inspector Ibrahim Tali. He decided to transfer these 200 households, who belonged to Turkish race to Muş province[38]. This decision was also approved by the Ministry of Interior by relying on the Law of Settlement Nr. 885 and its Third Article, which referred to the resettlement of the nomadic tribes and the people who lived in mountainous districts. The important term here is "Turkish race"[39], that was written exactly by these words. Ibrahim Tali had accepted this demand by taking into consideration this expression. It was an opportunity to raise the Turkish population in this province.

In 5 September 1932, the First General Inspectorate reported the need to construct places of residence for 140 households resettled to peripheries of Van's from Sürmene[40]. According to the enactment nr.13292, Ibrahim Tali's report was answered. To build houses and shops were not possible but nevertheless, before the winter came, the houses and shops could be built by the General Inspectorate with bargaining.

36 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 81.530.18, p.2-3

37 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 81.530.18, p.6

38 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 23.66.5

39 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 23.66.5

40 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 31.61.8

The transfers from Sürmene to Van had continued. Next time, 20 households of handicraftsmen had demanded their transfers from Sürmene because of narrowness of their lands. Their demand was accepted. It and was decided for them to migrate to Van under a condition that they had to build their houses own their own[41]. Another document related with these 20 households remarks that the transfer was planned to be actualized in summer because of the stronger conditions of winter. Finally, it is decided that all the construction materials should be provided by the First General Inspectorate for the households who were to build their houses[42]. This shows how the General Inspectorates played an important role on these resettlements. Although sometimes they didn't build the houses, they provided the construction materials for the settlers. It means that, to achieve permanency and integrity, the General Inspectorates provided building materials, which was what they could do at least.

This was a common practice of the Turkish government which can easily be found in other cases. Immigrants who came from Romania, for example, were settled in a similar way. A document, dated 26 November 1932 and signed by the First General Inspector, states that the number of households of Romanian immigrants was reported as a hundred to the First General Inspectorate. However, Ibrahim Tali Öngören reported 120 households who emigrated from Köstence until that moment. Moreover, 200 households were awaiting to immigrate to the domain of the First General Inspectorate. The General Inspectorate was ready to provide shelter for these 120 households[43]. Since it wanted to make preparations, the General Inspectorate inquired about the number of prospective immigrants.

No record was found about how many households came afterwards and how they found shelter. In one way or another, as also seen in this case, the demographic structure of the region was tried to be changed by resettling Turkish population which came from the former lands of the Ottoman Em-

41 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 31.65.19

42 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 33.1.7

43 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 81.530.20.2

pire. At the same time, the General Inspectorates attracted attention as an important institution as they provided shelter (or building materials) for those who wanted to settle in these domains.

Naturally, to provide this kind of needs required a certain budget. There was already a budget assigned to the General Inspectorates, which was ranked high in the budget scale[44]. In addition to this, supplementary budgets were assigned to the General Inspectorates time to time, in various conditions. These supplementary budgets were also used in the resettlements. For instance, in 1932, 50.000 Turkish liras were assigned from the budget of that year to the First General Inspectorate's expenditures for the resettlement of the immigrants to Van, Muş and Elaziz. Yet, it was insufficient and an additional 200.000 Turkish liras were assigned from the budget of The Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Duyun-u Umumiye)[45]. In 1933, purchase of construction materials for resettlements in Van, Eleşkirt *(Ağrı)* and Elaziz was determined. According to the enactment, the required materials for the constructions in the First General Inspectorate's domain, which was valued at 200.000 liras, would be bought from Antalya and Mersin[46].

Moreover, the General Inspectors had reported and narrated impressions about some people, groups or tribes who lived in the General Inspectorate's domain. As a result of these expressions in the reports, General Inspectorates wanted the removal of these people from the domain. These people were stigmatized as suspects, tribal, possible bandits, etc. These stigmatized people were mostly non-Turkish speakers and they did not belong to the Turkish race. In the General Inspectorates' domains, those who were stigmatized were mostly Kurdish people.

In 1933, migration of the 350 households who lived in the Sason and Mutki domains was suggested by the First General Inspectorate. The General Inspector reported his expressions about the local population of these domains to

44 The ranking of the General Inspectorates' budget was high, especially its first years. In 1948, it ranked in (L) scedule of the budget scale. That means the was suspended including the wages and salaries of the officers.

45 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 31.61.9

46 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 36.37.1

the Ministery of Interior[47]. As a result of this report, the forced migration of this population was suggested. The report claims that after the Sheikh Said Rebellion, these villages were a kind of hotbeds. Also, according to assertions, the local population consisted of looters and they earned their lives with this activity. Giving these as reasons, the General Inspectorate wanted to exile these 350 households to the Thrace region[48]. The destination was also chosen by the General Inspectorate itself. If they were forced to migrate to Muş plain, or any other district in the Eastern provinces, they would have fled to the mountains again and would have never given up the banditry acts. This was the reason why the General Inspectorate wanted these people transferred from its domain to the Thrace region. This suggestion of the Inspectorate was literally approved by an enactment in 12 September 1933.

A similar case was encountered in another document dated 20 September 1934. The Governor of Mardin drew up a report to the Ministry of Interior and the First General Inspectorate, stating that he warned the district governor of Midyat to prevent Şerif Nehruz's acts[49]. Şerif Nehruz was living in Midyat and he was known as his relations with the Kurds from Qamişlo. After this report, the Minister of Interior asked the impressions and opinions about Şerif Nehruz. Then, the correspondence continued with the answer of the General Inspector. The General Inspector's report about Şerif Nehruz was more detailed than the Governor of Mardin's report. According to this document, there was a kinship between Şerif Nehruz and Haco, who was a member of Xoybûn organization and fled from Turkey. According to the claim, Haco had made Nehruz do all his jobs in Midyat. The First General Inspector emphasized that Nehruz had capacity to do all kind of diabolic acts without shadowing out to the police forces. That was the reason why the General Inspectorate suggested his exile[50]. Thereupon, Şerif Nehruz and his family were decided to be resettled

47 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 39.62.13, p.4

48 BCA,30-18-1-2/ 39.62.13, p.1

49 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 48.64.12, p.5

50 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 48.64.12, p.3

from Midyat to Malkara district of Tekirdağ [51]. An enactment, dated 20 September 1934, gives the reason why they were forced to migrate as the suspicion that Nehruz might be spying to the French forces

As seen above, Sheikh Said and Ağrı rebellions had caused traumatic effects on the Turkish state. The exile of 350 households to the Thrace region was related with the Sheikh Said Rebellion, and the exile of Şerif Nehruz, and his family, was related with the Xoybûn that was the propellent organization of the rebellion. The General Inspectorates believed that they could eliminate a new potential Kurdish nationalist rebellion by forcing these people to emigrate from the region. At time same time, they tried to assimilate these people in order to prevent a Kurdish nationalist consciousness. It is believed to solve this problem once and for all.

Moreover, issues of migration and resettlement was allocated with an extended section in *Güneydoğu Birinci Genel Müfettişlik Bölgesi*[52]. This book was published by the First General Inspectorate in 1939. It includes extended information about the all kind of activities of the First General Inspectorate until 1939. The First General Inspectorate presented its own data, listed the provinces in its domain alphabetically.

Table 1 Households resettled to Bitlis

Immigrants + Refugees+ Transfers	Households	Population
1929	32	149
1934	9	42
1935	24	119
1936	3	22
Total	68	322

According to this book, as seen in the Table 1, 68 households that consisted of *immigrants, refugees and transfers*[53] were resettled to Bitlis between 1929 and 1936. The number people who settled in was 149 in 1929, 42 in 1934, 119 in 1935

51 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 48.64.12

52 *Güneydoğu Birinci Genel Müfettişlik Bölgesi*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1939

53 Muhacir, mülteci ve nakiller

and 22 in 1936.[54] In addition to these, 32 houses were given to the settlers who came in 1932. Moreover, 49 houses were built in 1934 for 36 households who settled in from 1934 to 1936[55]. It was also noted that around 200 houses are planned to be built in Tatvan for the settlers[56]. The surface area of the distributed lands, the price of seed, the price of repair which were given to the settlers were also shown in the book.

Table 2 First General Inspectorate's demographic data on Diyarbakır[57]

Year	Immigrants	Refugees	Transfer to Outside the Diyarbakır	Place of Destination
1928	-	151	151	Adana
1929	4	-	-	
1930	-	12	-	
1931	-	315	315	Van and Muş
1932	71	303	303	Van and Muş
1933	189	178	140	Van and Muş
1934	152	112	-	
1935	62	-	-	
1936	7	-	-	
1937	1369	-	212	Van
Total	1854	1071	1121	

As already known, Diyarbakır was the focal point of the demographic policies especially after the Sheikh Said rebellion. There are dramatic statistics regarding with Diyarbakır. *Güneydoğu Birinci Genel Müfettişlik Bölgesi* represented the First General Inspectorate's ten years data about Diyarbakır in the context of demographic policies. These can be seen in the Table 2. Beside the number of people resettled, hometowns of those immigrants were indicated. According to this data, almost all immigrants came from the Balkan Peninsula. They mostly came from Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia. They were resettled to

54 *Güneydoğu…*, p.349

55 *Ibid*, p.349

56 *Ibid*, p.349

57 *Ibid*, p.358

the city center, Silvan, Bismil and Ergani districts[58]. As mentioned before, most of the immigrants were already from the Balkans. In the case of Diyarbakır, the circumstances were the same. On the other side, 15 households were Iranian, and 30 households were Azerbaijanian refugees[59]. They were also resettled to the various districts. Nevertheless, the hometowns of other households who came as refugees to Diyarbakır did not mentioned in the book. Moreover, it should be said that, even though the destinations of the transfers were defined as Van, Muş and Adana by the General Inspectorate, there are many studies which argue that there were many provinces as the destinations of the transfers, especially Western provinces.

As mentioned above, Muş had hosted many settlers in this period. According to the First General Inspectorate's data, immigrants who came from outside the Turkish territory and internally migrated people who faced a scarcity of lands were resettled to Muş. Starting from 1923, these settlers had come to this province and, until the book was published, 1263 households of 6030 people were resettled in Muş[60]. Houses were built for the 172 of the households. Lands were provided for the 50 of households. 430 houses were repaired, or the price of repair was given to the settlers[61]. While 96 households of refugees were resettled to Siirt between 1931 and 1936, the total number of people who were resettled to Urfa was 657 between 1928 and 1937[62]. Nevertheless, there was no information about the places that this population was coming from.

58 *Ibid*, p.358-359
59 *Ibid*, p.358-359
60 *Ibid*, p.370
61 *Ibid*, p.370
62 *Ibid*, p.372-378

Table 3 Demographics of populations resettled to Van[63]

Immigrants + Refugees +Transferred	Population
Küresunlu Tribe	5028
Bürükanlı Tribe	7373
Meskhetian Turks	217
Bulgarian	212
Crimean	15
Dispersed or Miscellaneous[64]	700
Total	13545

Van was one of the most receiving provinces in the First General Inspectorate's domain. According to the data of the Inspectorate, which can be seen in the Table 3, those who were resettled consisted of immigrants, refugees and transfers, yet they weren't differentiated. Only the total number of these are known. Nevertheless, this time their hometowns was notified. It was also notified that 185 houses were built over again for the settlers. 50 of them were built in Edremit, 50 of them were built in İskele, 40 of them were built in Muradiye and 15 of them were built in Erciş.[65] As mentioned above, the General Inspectorate gave importance to the issue of shelter for the settlers. On one side many houses were built and on the other side some houses were repaired, or the price of the houses were given to the settlers.

In *Güneydoğu Birinci Umumi Müfettişlik Bölgesi*, there were no population movements to Mardin or Hakkari. It is also important to note that Hakkari took the statute as a province in 1936. Before this, it was a district of Van. So, Hakkari's general statistics was included in Van's until 1936.

4.3.2 *Prohibited Zones in General Inspectorates and Demographic Policies in Their Domains*

After the Ağrı Rebellion and starting from the declaration of the Law on Settlement Nr.2510, many regions became forbidden zones, including the area of

63 *Ibid*, p.381

64 *Müteferrik* in Turkish. It means the populations which came from the various regions

65 *Ibid*, p.382

this rebellion. As already mentioned, Turkey was divided into three groups of zones one of which consisted of the prohibited areas. These prohibited areas included Ağrı, Sason, Tunceli, Zeylan, southern districts of Kars, western districts of Diyarbekir and some districts of Bitlis, Bingöl and Muş[66]. Based on this, the population living in these regions were forced to migrate, and they were left to the military control. The regions mentioned were the domains of the General Inspectorates. For this reason, the demographic interventions and population movements on these regions is also important in the context of this study.

In 6 October 1936, one of the prohibited zones Sason, which is a district of Batman today, located in west of Bitlis and south of Muş, was declared as a prohibited zone and it is decided to be evacuated. There were military operations on going in Sason, before it was declared as a forbidden zone. Removal of the population from this region started by these operations. In 1935, 696 people including 194 women, 160 men, 165 girls and 177 boys were captured, and they were sent to the regions where they would be resettled[67]. This information was given to the Ministry of Interior by the First General Inspectorate. Again in 1935, Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya conveyed the information that were given by the First General Inspectorate. According to this information, 25 women, 22 men, 25 girls were transferred from Koh, Şat, Harbat, Balo and Cindo villages of Sason to Silvan district in Diyarbakır[68]. The First General Inspectorate, in another report, stated that 22 women, 14 men and 16 girls and boys were expelled from Şat and Cindo districts; a little boy was also captured and expelled from Harbat[69]. In an additional document of these records, the General Inspectorate announced the removal of the population including 48 women, 38 girls and 65 boys from Melefan districts of Sason and their arrivals to firstly Garzan and then Silvan[70]. Also, the General Inspectorate gave information about the guns which were collected by the army, murdered and arrested people mostly included women and children from the region.

66 İsmail Beşikci, *Kürtlerin Mecburi İskânı*, İstanbul: İsmail Beşikci Vakfı Yayınları, 2013, p.111

67 BCA, 30-10-0-0/115.804.11

68 BCA, 30-10-0-0/115.804.13, p.1

69 BCA, 30-10-0-0/115.804.13, p.3

70 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 115.804.13, p.2

Seemingly, the General Inspectorate had become an important source of information for the state in these processes that the operations maintained, conflicts continued, and many people arrested-killed, and many of them were forced to migrate. The information provided by the Inspectorate helped to determine the demographic policies on the region and became as a guide for the government to implement these policies. On the other side, it did not only worked as a source of information but it was also assigned to maintain the operations with the Seventh Corps by the Minister of Interior[71]. During these operations both the General Inspectorates and the army pursued to collect information about the population of this region. As a matter of fact, they annihilated the population as possible as they could do, and the rest was exiled. For this reason, the information about the population was important.

The Gendarmerie General Command published a book, *Sason Kılavuzu* (the Guideline of Sason), which was written by Staff Major Lütfi Güvenç, and it has extended the knowledge about the people of Sason. Güvenç propounded that the population of Sason consisted of Kurdish, Arab and some Armenians. Also, Kirmancî dialect of Kurdish was described as transformed version of Turkish.[72] Besides, what they eat and what they produce were described. Their agricultural activities were detailed. By this way, the lifestyle of the population tried to be grasped comprehensively.

In this book, the ways of capturing and arresting people were explained in detail. People used caves to hide and save themselves from the soldiers.[73] Güvenç explained the reasons of the operations to the caves. They were to annihilate or arrest these people, who tried to hide from the sweeping fire[74]. Even, the book gives advises for the possible operations which could be car-

71 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 115.804.18

72 Tuğba Akekmekçi and Muazzez Pervan, *Tarih Vakfı Necmeddin Sahir Sılan Arşivi-2 Doğu Anadolu'da Toplumsal Mühendislik Dersim-Sason (1934-1946)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010, p.392

73 Tuğba Akekmekçi and Muazzez Pervan, *Ibid*, p.406

74 *Ibid*, p. 407

ried out. The ways of getting near to the caves, types of caves, the ways of preparing soldier's supplies were all advised in the Guideline[75]. This Guideline underlined how thousands of people were captured or exiled unless they were killed.

A report written by the First General Inspector Abidin Özmen in June 1936, states that the military forces tried to clean the region for five times, yet, in every attempt residents of the region resisted[76]. According to Özmen, these people always stood out against the government, and they have relations with the Xoybûn organization. Some of them was even blamed to be the members of Xoybûn by Abidin Özmen. Actually, the General Inspector's approach was more radical towards the Sason region rather than to propose forced migration of the population to the various districts. The removal of the massive population from the region could lead troubles to the state[77]. The General Inspectorate believed that this population was influenced by the Xoybûn and there was a fear of a new rebellion like the Ağrı incident. Abidin Özmen's solution towards this region was "to scrutinize there with its ashes and without splitting it"[78]. Özmen, as seen in his report, was in favor of solving this problem with more radical methods.

In October 1936, it was decided to force the residents of Sason's various districts and villages to migrate. According to this decision, Antalya, Burdur, Afyon, Kütahya and Balıkesir provinces were chosen for the resettlement. The distribution of the population to these districts, as it was specified in the enactment, can be seen in the Table 4.

75 *Ibid*, p.406-422

76 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 116.805.1

77 BCA,30-10-0-0/116.805.1

78 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 116.805.1

Table 4 Distribution of the resettled population by district [79]

Province	Districts	Households
Antalya	Elmalı	30
	Kaş	10
	Korkuteli	25
	Subtotal	65
Burdur	Bucak	15
	Tefenni	20
	Subtotal	35
Afyon	Bolvadin	20
	Dinar	30
	Subtotal	50
Kütahya	Gediz	20
	Simav	20
	Tavşanlı	25
	Uşak	25
	Emed	5
	Subtotal	95
Balıkesir	Merkez	15
	Balye	15
	Dursunbey	15
	Sındırgı	25
	Subtotal	70
Total		315

This list was approved by the President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and the council of ministers in 6 October 1936. It is decided for 2400 people to be expelled from the prohibited zones[80]. It seems, in making of this decision, Fevzi Çakmak's, the Chief of Defense Stuff, report and the First General Inspector Abidin Özmen's report played important roles. In August 1936, Özmen wrote a report from Siirt and he narrated his impressions from the operations of evacuation of Sason district. According to his report, 2000 people were forced

79 BCA, 30-18-1-2/ 68.79.20

80 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 68.80.01

to migrate to the neighboring districts of Sason and some of resisters were killed during the operations. People who were resettled to the neighboring districts were nonresidential and they could not take the prices of their houses or lands from the prohibited zones. In order to save this population from being harmful subjects, Özmen offered to resettle them to the interior districts of the Anatolia.[81] In addition to this, Abidin Özmen specified that the Law on Resettlement could be utilized by this way.

Fevzi Çakmak also explained the approach of the Head of General Stuff on this issue. In his report, Çakmak proposed to resettle the immigrants who came to the west so that the villages in the prohibited zones could be Turkish villages[82]. This point is quite important because it reflects the logic of the double-sided demographic engineering policies of the state. On one side the Kurdish population is forced to migrate from the forbidden zones, and on the other side, the Turkish population would be resettled to these zones. From this point of view, Çakmak's report can be seen as complementary to the Abidin Özmen's report.

Demographic engineering policies was not limited with these implementations. It continued until the end of the 1930s. As an addition of the enactment that is mentioned above, 750 people who lived in Sason's prohibited zones were decided to be expelled by an enactment in 25 June 1937. This decision distributed the households to the cities. Bursa, Balıkesir and Izmir were decided to host 30 households each. Manisa and Aydın were decided to host 25 households each. Isparta and Kütahya's share were 16 households each. Finally, 15 of the households were planned to be resettled in Denizli.[83] Furthermore, it is decided to force 1500 more people to migrate to Eskişehir, Kütahya and Kırklareli These provinces were chosen because of their productiveness of beet and people were decided to be resettled near the sugar factories[84].

81 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 68.79.20

82 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 68.79.20

83 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 76.60.19

84 BCA, 30-18-01-02/82.29.3

In an additional document of this decision, in Aydın, Manisa and İzmir's arable lands, except the central districts, these people were decided to be resettled by scattering methods in 1938. The remaining 124 people out of 1500 were also decided to be resettled in Çankırı, Kastamonu and Konya provinces.[85] The scattering method is also important because by this way the population which was displaced could easily be assimilated by keeping them as minority in these areas, where are populated mostly by Turks.

Ministry of Interior's periodical journal, "Türk İdare Dergisi", mentioned the operations on and exiles from Sason in its working reports in 1939. The operations were advocated by reminding the Xoybûn organization and its provocations on the people in this region. As a result of these provocations, it is argued, people had started to hide the deserters so that they had not paid the taxes. These working reports claimed that, because of all these reasons, the operations had started in the region and 3200 people were exiled to the Western provinces in 1937[86]. It was also noted that sweeping was still being continued. By that time, the number of people who were exiled had reached to 4.118[87]. It should not be forgotten that the number of people who were resettled to the various provinces of Turkey can be higher than the official records. Nevertheless, even these numbers, which was determined in the official records, demonstrates a huge dimension of the demographic engineering policies on Sason.

One of the other prohibited zones was Dersim, which was located in the Fourth General Inspectorate's domain. However, Dersim was one of the regions in the Eastern Turkey which was planned to be assimilated first. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was targeted by Abdülhalik Renda's report, which was written immediately after his travel to Eastern provinces. The expression of "the assimilation of Dersim can be implement sooner"[88] was written by Renda's himself. Yet, the assimilation of the regions where the Sheikh

85 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 82.29.3

86 *İdare Dergisi*, Year: 12, No:130, 1939, p.149

87 *İdare Dergisi*, p.149

88 Tuğba Akekmekçi and Muazzez Pervan, *Necmeddin Sahir Sılan Arşivi Kürt Sorunu ve Devlet Tedip ve Tenkil Politikaları (1925-1947)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011, p.7

Said and Ağrı Rebellions erupted were urgent and required immediate implementations. Even, it can be said that, these immediate implementations became predecessors and create a guideline for Dersim.

Renda believed that the population in Dersim consisted of Turks rather than Kurds. According to him, men and women started to learn Kurdish after their seventh years in Ovacık district[89]. They know Turkish naturally, and because of this reason their assimilation could be easier[90]. These insights helped to include Dersim in the First General Inspectorate's domain in 1927. Until the Fourth Inspectorate was established in 1936, this region remained in the borders of the Frist General Inspectorate's domain.

The first report on Dersim which was written by a General Inspectorate was written by Ibrahim Tali Öngören who was the First General Inspector. The report was written in 5 June 1926 and it was presented to the Prime Minister Ismet Inonü in 7 January 1932. The report had a wide range of expressions and information about Dersim such as its geography, population its climate, the position of districts etc. The report included the populations of districts in that time. According to these number, the population of Ovacık was 5.357; Nazımiye was 6.367; Çemişgezek was 13.704; Pertek was 13.946; Hozat was 15.726 and the total population of Dersim was 65.057[91]. Öngören mentioned the density of tribes in Dersim where was seen as pullulated with the tribes by him. Also, Öngören thought that the people of Dersim had been misguided about their Kurdishness, because they were not Kurds for Öngören[92]. Obviously, the First General Inspector shared the same idea with Abdulhalik Renda. The other highlighted point in report was the number of guns whose numbers were written one by one. Also, there were many detailed information about the tribes. Thus, the General Inspectorates concern with the demographic structure of Dersim, starting from they were established. In addition to the Inspector's observations and information, the number of tribes that were resettled to plains of Dersim from the mountains in 1928, were written

89 Tuğba Akekmekçi and Muazzez Pervan, *Ibid*, p.9

90 *Ibid*, p.9

91 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 110.740.23

92 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 110.740.23, p.6

one by one. According to this, 215 households were resettled to plains and the total resettled population was 1.211 in 1928.[93] In sum, the demographic engineering policies were started with the First General Inspectorate and it continued with the Fourth General Inspectorate.

One of the main factors of the establishment of the Third and Fourth General Inspectorates, as it is mentioned in the previous chapter, was the Ismet Inönü's travels to the Eastern provinces. Inonü shared his fear about the establishment of Kurdistan in Erzincan, reminding that the people who were living in Dersim started to expand their habitat to the villages of Erzincan[94]. In addition to the First General Inspectorate, the Third General Inspectorate including Ağrı, Kars, Artvin, Rize, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Erzincan and Erzurum were offered by Inönü[95]. As a matter of fact, Ağrı was taken from the First General Inspectorate's domain. In 1935 the Third General Inspectorate was established by annexing Ağrı province. On the other sidehand, Inönü had drawn attention to the need of reconstitution of Dersim. He believed that there was a need for reform plans in this region. He offered a special policy in his report to maintain these reforms[96]. They are planned to be made by the General Inspectorates collaborated.

Moreover, after his travel, the Tunceli Law was enacted to implement the reform plans in Dersim and change its demographic structure completely. Under these conditions, the Fourth General Inspectorate was established, in 1936, to implement this law. Thus, the centralized nation state tried to constitute its authority upon this region by using a kind of decentralization. With the establishment of the Fourth General Inspectorate, intensive operations had been conducted from 1937 to 1938, with the help of land and air forces. During these operations, removal of the massive population from the region was carried out by the army and the Fourth General Inspectorate in collaboration. Just like Sason, many villages and highlands were declared as the prohibited zones in Dersim. The people from these regions were murdered, and the survivors of these operations were forced to migrate.

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93 BCA, 30-10-0-0/110.740.23, p.19-20

94 Saygı Öztürk, *İsmet Paşa'nın Kürt Raporu*, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2007, p.51

95 Saygı Öztürk, *Ibid*, p.53

96 *Ibid*, p.53

On the other side, removal of the population from Dersim continued in the domains that were not declared as the prohibited zones. The Fourth General Inspectorate was also responsible for expelling people from various districts of Dersim. For instance, in accordance with an enactment, 2000 people were exiled from the prohibited zones, and in addition to this population, between 3000 and 5000 people were decided to be forced to migrate to Thrace, Çanakale, Bilecik, Bursa, Balıkesir, Kütahya, Eskişehir, Denizli, Aydın, Isparta and Muğla in 1938[97]. Apart from this decision, the Fourth General Inspectorate was assigned to determine the population which lived in the zones that was not prohibited. This undesired population in these districts was determined by the Fourth General Inspectorate, with the name of each person one by one[98]. Also, in accordance with the enactment, the list of religious and tribal groups in these districts were inquired by the Inspectorate in order to resettle them to the Western provinces with their families[99]. The transfer was planned to be made in accordance with the information came from the Inspectorate.

Furthermore, the resettlement of people of Dersim to the areas of agriculture, mining and industry was decided. In order to do this, some provinces, such as Zonguldak and Erzincan, were chosen. For this reason, the Third General Inspectorate and the governors of Erzincan and Erzurum were informed. Determination of the lands for the resettlement of these people was wanted from the Third General Inspectorate. The determination of the current villages was also inquired. If any new villages would be established in Erzincan, these places and the neighboring villages within thirty kilometers were wanted to be analyzed by the Third General Inspectorate in the context of their language and culture[100]. Moreover, the Third General Inspectorate asked for a standardized village house plan to use it in constructions of the new houses to be built in the new villages. Then, it was asked to the Third General Inspectorate that the need of workers in these constructions could be provided or not by the

97 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 84.73.8, p.1
98 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 84.73.8, p.2
99 BCA, 30-18-01-02/ 84.73.8, p.2
100 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 110.738.8, p.6

Inspectorate.[101] The Fourth General Inspectorate was also assigned to determine the numbers and languages of the people who were resettled to the agricultural and industrial areas. Moreover, the tribes, religious communities and people who forgot their Turkishness and their languages were inquired from the Fourth General Inspectorate as a list[102]. This document is important in order to see the collaboration between the General Inspectorates in the context of demographic interventions and policies implemented on Dersim. As shown in Inönü's report, reconstruction of Dersim and the reform plan on this region went hand in hand with the Inspectorates. Furthermore, both the Third and the Fourth Inspectorates were responsible for determination of the languages both in Dersim and the areas that were thought for the resettlement of the people of Dersim. While those who were non-Turkish speakers were chosen for the migration, new areas were carefully chosen for them to resettle, in accordance with the characteristics of the language in these destinations, so that the immigrants could be assimilated.

As a result of these policies, thousands of people were forced to emigrate from Dersim and they were resettled to the various provinces and districts of Turkey. During the military operations and the demographic interventions, the role of the Fourth General Inspectorate was quite significant. Nevertheless, this study is not going to go deep into the case of Dersim, since there is a considerable amount of researches about Dersim in the literature. For this reason, the main significant examples about the Fourth General Inspectorates on the demographic interventions were given in this study. Nonetheless, it can be said that Sheikh Said and Ağrı Rebellions created a break point in carrying out the demographic engineering policies. The General Inspectorates were used to reenforce these policies. The success of the First General Inspectorate set an example, so that the operations in Dersim were conducted more professionally.

101 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 110.738.8, p.7

102 BCA, 30-10-0-0/ 110.738.8, p.2

§ 4.4 Meeting of General Inspectorates and a Short Evaluation

The meeting of the General Inspectorates organized in 1936 is analyzed in this chapter along with various reports of the General Inspectorates. By doing this, it is tried to reveal the logic behind the approaches of the General Inspectorates on the demographic structures, interventions and engineering policies of the Eastern provinces. The main targets of the General Inspectorates were to assimilate the non-Turkish speaking population, especially Kurds; to resettle the Turks in the Eastern provinces, especially near the railroads in order to provide the safety; to annihilate the rebellious activities and force the rebels to immigrate to the Western provinces; to spread the Turkish language and support the Turkish speaking population. From this point of view, this section will intend to give main perceptions of the General Inspectorates.

A meeting in the Ministry of Interior was organized in 5 December 1936. Participants were the Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya, the First General Inspector Abidin Özmen, the Thrace General Inspector Kazım Dirik, the Third General Inspector Tahsin Uzer, the Fourth General Inspector Lieutenant General Abdullah Alpdoğan, the Commander of the Gendarmerie Lieutenant Naci Tınaz and the Commander of the Customs Enforcement Major General Seyfi Düzgören. This meeting lasted for ten days[103]. The main topics of this meeting were security, order, smuggling, organization of the gendarmerie, situation of the villages, population and settlement. Generally, the security was explained by the First and Third General Inspectorates as well-ordered and resident. In the First General Inspectorate, the banditry acts were reduced. Beside the population that was forced to migrate from Sason, 3500 more people were resettled to the neighbor districts[104]. Dersim, which was called as the center of the Kurdishness and brigandage, was considered to become an inseparable part of the Republic of Turkey. The newborn Fourth General Inspectorate also prevented the brigandage in Dersim[105].

103 For more details about the records of this meeting: Bülent Varlık, *Umumi Müfettişler Toplantı Tutanakları-1936*, Ankara: Dipnot, 2010

104 Bülent Varlık, *Ibid*, p.27

105 *Ibid*, p.28

The total population who lived in the Inspectorates' domains was given with detailed information about their ethnic characteristics. According to these numbers, in eight provinces of the First General Inspectorate 741.325 Kurdish people and 206.420 Turkish people was living. The Third General Inspectorate had 299.055 Kurdish and 1.515.928 Turkish people in its eight provinces. The Kurdish population was shown as 198.508 and Turkish population was shown as 107.965 in the Fourth General Inspectorate[106]. It should be noted that the Kurdish people was considered by these agents of the government to be Turkish inborn, yet, it is believed that they lost their languages or they changed their dialects because of various[107] reasons. In fact, the number of Kurdish people was much more than what the Ministry of Interior thought. He thought that the number was around 100.000.[108] As a result of this new information, the Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya highlighted that the issues of assimilation and language had to be solved completely as soon as possible.

In this meeting, Abidin Özmen reported the assessment of the First General Inspectorate. Özmen accepted the effects of Kurdish nationalism on Sheikh Said Rebellion, Ağrı Rebellion and the case of Zeylan. In order to reduce this effect, Özmen offered to resettle Turkish immigrants to the Van Lake basin, plain of Muş, Bulanık and Malazgirt districts[109]. The Fourth General Inspector Abdullah Alpdoğan supported Özmen's ideas and offers. He emphasized that the issue of resettlement was quite important to consolidate the Turkish culture in these domains. Alpdoğan's report also stated that 3.875 people came from Romania, 1.963 people came from Yugoslavia, 176 people came from Bulgaria, 59 people came from Greece and 355 people came from Russia to the Fourth General Inspectorates domain between 1930 and 1936. They were resettled to the plains of Elaziz, Palu, Çapakçur. The total resettled population

106 *Ibid*, p.29-30

107 The reasons were not defined in the meeting.

108 *Ibid*, p.95

109 *Ibid*, p.106

was declared as 6.428 and houses were given to the 1234 of the 1652 households.[110]. Both Alpdoğan and Özmen's reports emphasized the threat of Kurdishness and the need to spread the Turkish language and culture all around their domains.

The achievements of the Inspectorates in the context of demographic policies were appreciated. The importance of the General Inspectorates on the Eastern provinces cannot be denied. These institutions played an important role in the nation state's plans to consolidate itself and to create a homogeneous nation in order to make them governable. However, what had been done were not enough. It is emphasized that these policies should be continued. It was especially important for the domains of the Fourth General Inspectorate. Indeed, between 1936 and 1938 the Fourth General Inspectorate shown its success in migration and resettlement policies. Nevertheless, most of the decisions were left and they could not be achieved after the 1930s. Abidin Özmen accepted the importance of the General Inspectorates in the Eastern provinces in 1947[111]. This year the abolition of the General Inspectorates started to be discussed. Even, Abidin Özmen offered a new way for the Eastern provinces, he did not deny the seriousness of the General Inspectorates in 1930s.

110 *Ibid*, p.148

111 Abidin Özmen, Genel Müfettişlikler Hakkında Bir Düşünce, *İdare Dergisi,* Year:18, No184, 1947, p.237-250

5

Conclusion

Do you know what fills me with tears?
Should I suddenly fall sick
And should sickness fell my body
Would evening remember
The refugee who died here
And was buried without a shroud?

–Mahmud Darwish, *A Letter from Exile*

The General Inspectorates had been one of the most significant agents of the young republic to implement its demographic policies and to impose the central authority on the periphery. The General Inspectorates were quite effective in their domains, in terms of the demographic engineering. They helped to remove the population from their regions. Furthermore, they obligated to resettle the population which ethnically Turkish based into their domains. These institutions tried to balance the population by reducing the non-Turkish speaking population and increasing the Turkish immigrants. By doing these, they contributed to the demographic practices and they became as powerful tools in context of the demographic engineering policies in the Eastern provinces. What makes them special is that the government established these inspectorates as decentralized agents to centralize the authority. The position

of these Inspectors was above the position of governors in the governmental hierarchy. Besides, they were partially self-reliant, having some extraordinary authorities. The removal of some groups of people (the destination, the number of people to be resettled, even some specific names to be exiled) was, sometimes, decided by the Inspectors. In all these decisions, even in the cases the General Inspectors didn't decide themselves, they were quite influential. All these show the significance of the General Inspectorates to be researched.

One of the things that grabs attention is the reports of the Inspectors. People's way of life, language, approaches to the government were reported to central government in detail. They also narrated their impressions about some people, groups and tribes who lived in their domains. As a result of these reports, General Inspectors wanted the removal of these people from their domains by stigmatizing them as suspects, tribal, possible bandits, etc. These stigmatized people were Kurdish people and the Inspectors' tried to keep them away from any undesirable nationalist actions. In other words, as result of the trauma of the previous rebellions, the General Inspectors labeled people and tried to remove them from their domains. Their reports, in general, were guidelines for the government in the process of demographic engineering and nation-building. In this respect, the General Inspectorates successfully undertook their intermediary role as regional units helping the central government to strengthen the assimilation policies on the Kurdish people.

Speaking of the previous traumas, it should be remembered that the three[1] General Inspectorates out of five were founded over the Eastern *Vilayets* and this was not a coincidence. The First General Inspectorate was established as a result of the martial law declared after the Sheikh Said Rebellion. The establishment of the Third General Inspectorate happened after the Ağrı Rebellions repressed. The Fourth General Inspectorate was established in the Dersim region and the duty of this Inspectorate was also to transform the population in this region. The First General Inspectorate in Elazığ, Urfa, Bitlis, Hakkari, Diyarbakır, Siirt, Mardin and Van; the Third General Inspectorate in Erzurum, Kars, Ağrı, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Çoruh; the Fourth General Inspectorate in

1 The other two Inspectorates are the Second Inspectorate (Thrace) and the Fifth Inspectorate. The second one was established in Thrace region and the fifth one was established in Çukurova region. Nevertheless, the Fifth General Inspectorate could not be active.

Tunceli (Dersim), Elazığ, Bingöl Erzincan, they tried to consolidate state's authority.

The Inspectorates' duty, as it is stated above, was simply to increase the Turkish-speaking population in the region. With the decisions of the General Inspectorates, the Kurdish speaking population was forced to migrate to the Western parts of the country, such as Adana, Afyon, Antalya, Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Çankırı, Denizli, Eskişehir, Isparta, Kastamonu, Kırklareli, Konya, Kütahya, Manisa, Tekirdağ and etc. The assimilation of Kurdish people became easier when they were separated and distributed in these Western cities of Turkey. It was hoped that they would forget their languages, cultures and traditions. Simultaneously, the Inspectorates were tasked with the resettlement of Turkish speaking groups of people (mostly the immigrants from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Crimea, Meskheti and Romania) into their domains. The Inspectorates concerned with immigrants' need for shelter, lands and soil, and they tried to provide what was needed. By this means, the General Inspectorates ensured the permanency of the Turkish settlement in the region. This displacement and resettlement policy served as an important move for the creation of a national identity based on Turkish ethnicity.

Another important concept mentioned in this study is the forbidden zones. With the declaration of the Settlement Law Nr.2510, some districts were decided as the forbidden zones, restricting the displaced people to resettle in these zones. Most of these forbidden zones located in the domains of the General Inspectorates in the East. For this reason, the First, the Third and the Fourth General Inspectorates were obliged to evacuate these zones. Moreover, they were responsible for the resettlement of the population which was evacuated from the forbidden zones. Especially in Sason and Dersim, which were declared as the forbidden zones, the General Inspectorates played important role in processes of the evacuation, forced migration and resettlement of the population. The demographic engineering policy on the forbidden zones was also a double-sided policy. Firstly, Kurdish population is forced to migrate from the forbidden zones Secondly, the Turkish population would be resettled to these zones. Thousands of people were displaced as a result of the declaration of the forbidden zones. These operations were reported to the government by the Inspectors. These reports gave important information about the

operations. The information provided by the Inspectorate served as a guide for the government to determine and implement the demographic policies on the region.

The most effective decade of the General Inspectorates was 1930s. It was also the period that the general implementations of the nation-building and demographic engineering processes were intensified. The agency of the General Inspectorates was only one side of this intensified and greater project. The effectiveness of these institutions gradually decreased. Although the General Inspectorates legally abolished in 1952, they had already been de facto nullified in 1948.

The General Inspectorates, in general the demographic engineering processes, were always supported legally. In 1926, the Settlement Law Nr. 885 was promulgated. This law was prepared immediately after the Sheikh Said Rebellion. The main target of this law was tribes, gypsies, people living in mountainous districts and nomads. The state forced these groups to migrate and settle in various districts of the country. The Kurdish tribes were resettled to the Western cities of the country. In 1927, the Law Nr. 1097 was promulgated in order to resettle Kurdish population who lived in the Eastern region to the West. After the Ağrı Rebellions erupted in 1930s, the state continued to move the Kurdish speaking population from the East to the West. To achieve this goal, in 1934, the Settlement Law Nr.2510 was promulgated, and by this way the legal basis of the migrations was provided. The Law Nr.2510 was more comprehensive than the previous laws. This was designed more systematically. On one side, it targeted the removal of the non-Turkish speaking populations, especially Kurdish speaking population from their locations; and on the other side it targeted to settle Turkish immigrants and Turkish speaking populations to the regions where were evacuated from non-Turkish speaking populations. By this way, ethnically Turkish-based citizenry would be consolidated in these regions. In this sense, the Law Nr. 2510 became the legal basis of this double-sided project. These laws were applied not only by the General Inspectorates but also by other institutions like the Ministry of Interior, the General Directorate for Health (Sıhhat Umum Müdürlüğü) etc.

All these having said, mentioned rebellions didn't show up from nowhere. To understand both the policies of the government and the reasons of rebellions, the nation-building process of the young republic should be reminded. After the establishment of the republic, the government tried to create and consolidate a *nation*. This nation-building process, first, needed a national identity, and the Turkish ethnicity was decided to be the basis of this new identity. To create such a national identity meant to create a homogeneous nation. In this respect, the government carried out social and demographic engineering policies. Some institutions were established to achieve this goal: Halkevleri (Community Centers), Turkish Language Association, Turkish Historical Society, Köy Enstitüleri (Village Institutes), etc. These institutions were specifically important in the context of this thesis. They were charged with the duties to both assimilate and civilize the Eastern Regions. In other words, the government undertook the white man's burden on these regions and their people.

Consecutive regulations on the Eastern provinces created reactions, especially among the Kurdish people. The first Kurdish rebellions in the early republican era, formed a basis for the Kurdish nationalism in Turkey. The first one, Sheikh Said Rebellion, was driven by both nationalist and religious essences. It was followed by Ağrı and Dersim rebellions. These rebellions' nationalist functions increased gradually. They diluted the government's project of a homogeneous nation. Government took action against these rebellions and started to take precautions against further reactions. First, the military power was used to suppress them, then, the martial law was declared. The establishment of the General Inspectorates was also result of these incidents, as it is said before.

The demographic engineering can be traced back to the era of the Ottoman Empire. During the last century of the Ottoman rule, new ideologies and mindsets had been discussed: Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernization, etc. A new way to define the national identity had been searched. As a result of the wars erupted in this era, these new ways and ideas became null one by one. With, especially, the Balkan Wars, the mutni-ethnic composition of the Empire distorted and consequently the government turned its face to the Anatolia and the Muslim-Turkish ethnicity. These were the baby steps towards the establishment of a nation-state. In order to shape the population according to

this final objective, demographic policies were implemented. With the Balkan Wars, a huge Turkish population emigrated from the lands that the Empire lost. This population was resettled to various districts of Anatolia. Furthermore, a significant amount of the non-Muslim population who was living in the borders of the Ottoman Empire was deported. Greeks and Armenians were displaced in the last decades of the Ottoman rule. These show that the basis and the practices of the demographic policies of the Republic of Turkey were inherited from the Empire.

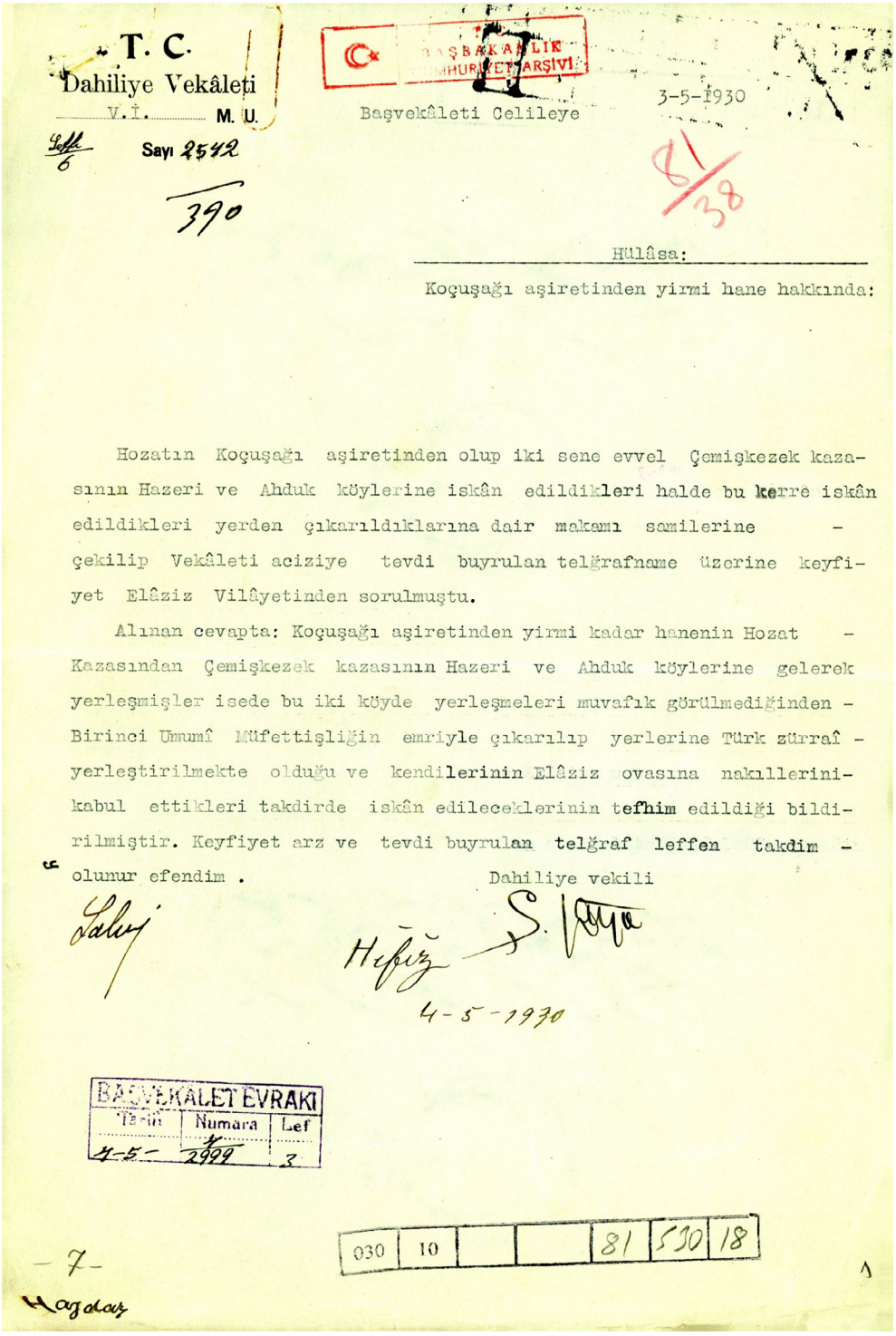
One of the specific legacies of the Empire to the young republic was the General Inspectorates. In order to consolidate the population, the Ottoman Empire tried to use decentralized regional units as the agents of the central authority. Nevertheless, the implementation of these institutions was slightly different in the Ottoman era, because they were also directly related with the international politics. Requests of the European states over the non-Muslim population and the fear of an occupation were driving forces for the Empire to establish these inspectorates. There were also contextual differences, as the first one was a sort of multi-ethnic empire while the latter was a nation-state, between the implementations of the inspectorates in these two eras. Despite these nuances, it is significant to highlight that the idea of the inspectorates as decentralized units used to implement the demographic policies of the central authority had already been in the mindset of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the scope of this study was limited with the General Inspectorates and its predecessors, it should be kept in mind that the demographic engineering over the Eastern *Vilayets* haven't ended with the abolishment of these institutions. In 1990s, for example, the Governorship of the State of Emergency was established with different, yet similar duties. Forced migrations and resettlement policies are seen in this era. In short, forced migration and resettlement have always been experienced by the population from the era of the Ottoman Empire to today.

To sum up, this study tried to reflect the importance and the characteristics of the General Inspectorates in the context of demographic engineering, by referring to the archival research and secondary sources. The focus was on the Eastern *Vilayets*, which were mostly populated by the Kurds. To do this, it was also important to understand the nation-building process of the young

republic. Furthermore, the continuity of these demographic policies from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was underlined. Keeping all these in mind, this study tried to pinpoint the General Inspectorates in the broad map of the Turkish national-identity building and demographic engineering practices over the Kurdish-speaking population.

Appendix A Resettlement of 20 Households from Koçuşağı Tribe



T. C.
Dahiliye Vekâleti
V. İ. ..... M. U.
Sayı 2542
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BAŞBAKANLIK CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Başvekâleti Celileye

3-5-1930

81/38

Hülâsa:

Koçuşağı aşiretinden yirmi hane hakkında:

Hozatın Koçuşağı aşiretinden olup iki sene evvel Çemişkezek kazasının Hazeri ve Ahduk köylerine iskân edildikleri halde bu kerre iskân edildikleri yerden çıkarıldıklarına dair makamı samilerine çekilip Vekâleti aciziye tevdi buyrulan telğrafname üzerine keyfiyet Elâziz Vilâyetinden sorulmuştu.

Alınan cevapta: Koçuşağı aşiretinden yirmi kadar hanenin Hozat Kazasından Çemişkezek kazasının Hazeri ve Ahduk köylerine gelerek yerleşmişler isede bu iki köyde yerleşmeleri muvafık görülmediğinden Birinci Umumî Müfettişliğin emriyle çıkarılıp yerlerine Türk zürraî yerleştirilmekte olduğu ve kendilerinin Elâziz ovasına nakillerini kabul ettikleri takdirde iskân edileceklerinin tefhim edildiği bildirilmiştir. Keyfiyet arz ve tevdi buyrulan telğraf leffen takdim olunur efendim .

Dahiliye vekili

Hafiz S. Kaya

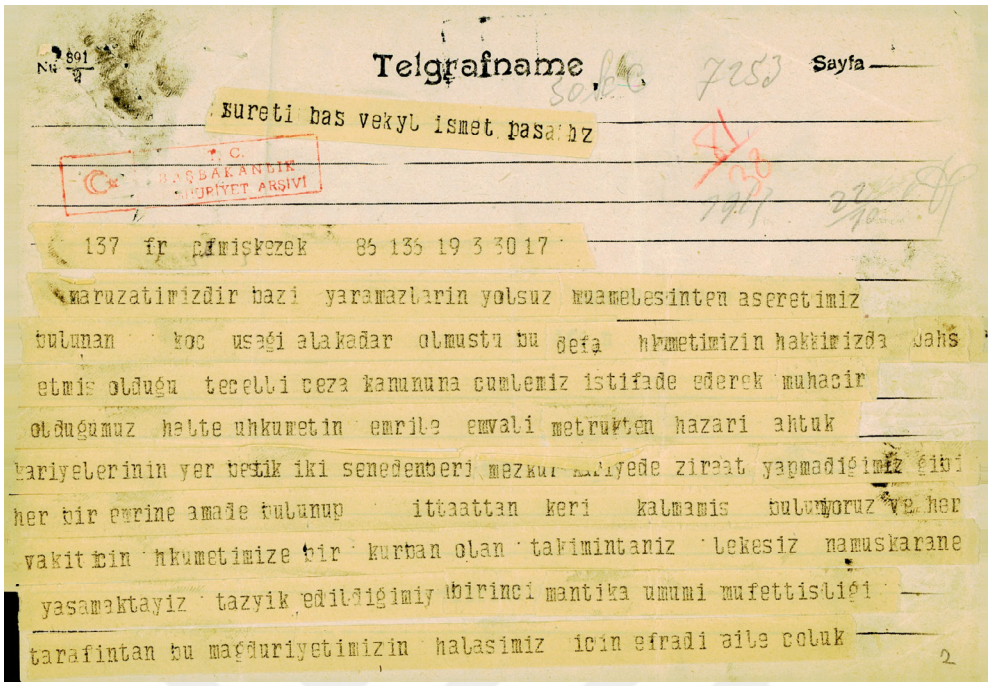
4-5-1930

BAŞVEKALET EVRAKI
Tarih | Numara | Lef
4-5- 2999 | 3

030 | 10 | | | 81 | 530 | 18

-7-

Kazdağı



Nu 891/2

Telgrafname

Sayfa

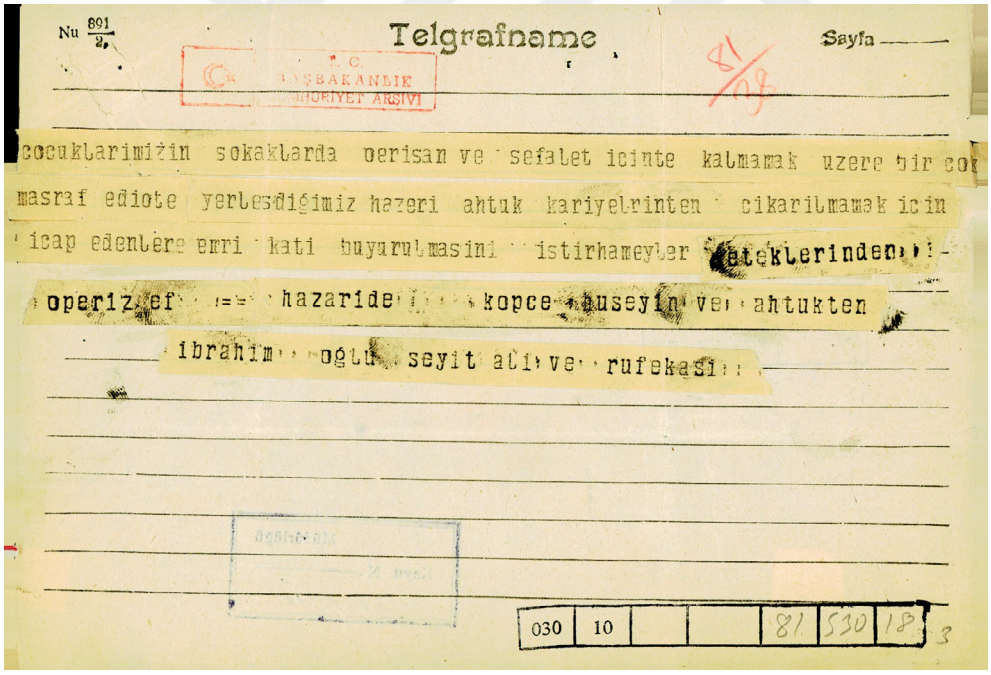
Sureti bas vekyl ismet pasa:hz

T. C. BAŞBAKANLIK CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

137 fr cfmiskezek 86 136 19 3 30 17

maruzatimizdir bazi yaramazlarin yolsuz muamelesinten aseretimiz bulunan koc usaği alakadar olmustu bu defa hkmetimizin hakkimizda bahs etmis olduğu tecelli ceza kanununa cumlemiz istifade ederek muhacir olduğumuz halte uhkumetin emrile emvali metrukten hazari ahtuk kariyelerinin yer bestik iki senedenberi mezkur kariyede ziraat yapmadiğimiz gibi her bir emrine amade bulunup ittaattan keri kalmamis bulunuyoruz ve her vakit icin hkumetimize bir kurban olan takimintaniz lekesiz namuskarane yasamaktayiz tazyik edildiğimiy birinci mantika umumi mufettisliği tarafintan bu mağduriyetimizin halasimiz icin efradi aile coluk

2



Nu 891/2

Telgrafname

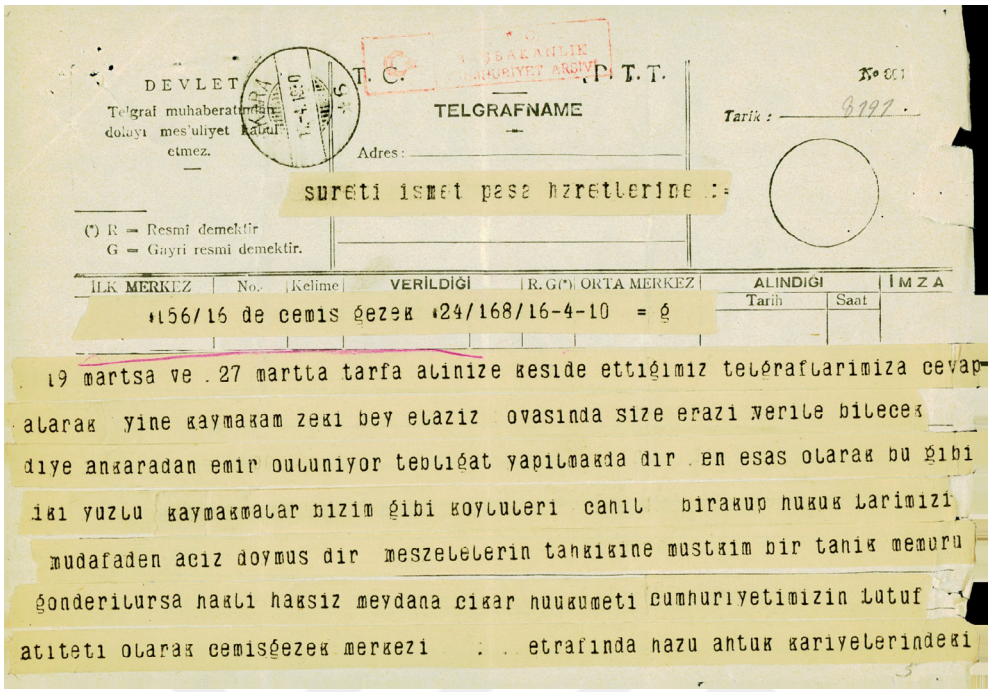
Sayfa

T. C. BAŞBAKANLIK CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

cocuklarimizin sokaklarda perisan ve sefalet icinte kalmamak uzere bir cok masraf ediote yerlesdiğimiz hazeri ahtuk kariyelrinten cikarilmamak icin icap edenlere emri kati buyurulmasini istirhameyler eteklerinden operiz ef hazaride kopce huseyin ve ahtukten ibrahim oğlu seyit ali ve rufekasi

030	10			81	530	18

3



DEVLET
Telgraf muhaberatından dolayı mes'uliyet kabul etmez.

T. C. P. T. T.

TELGRAFNAME

Adres:

Tarik: 8197

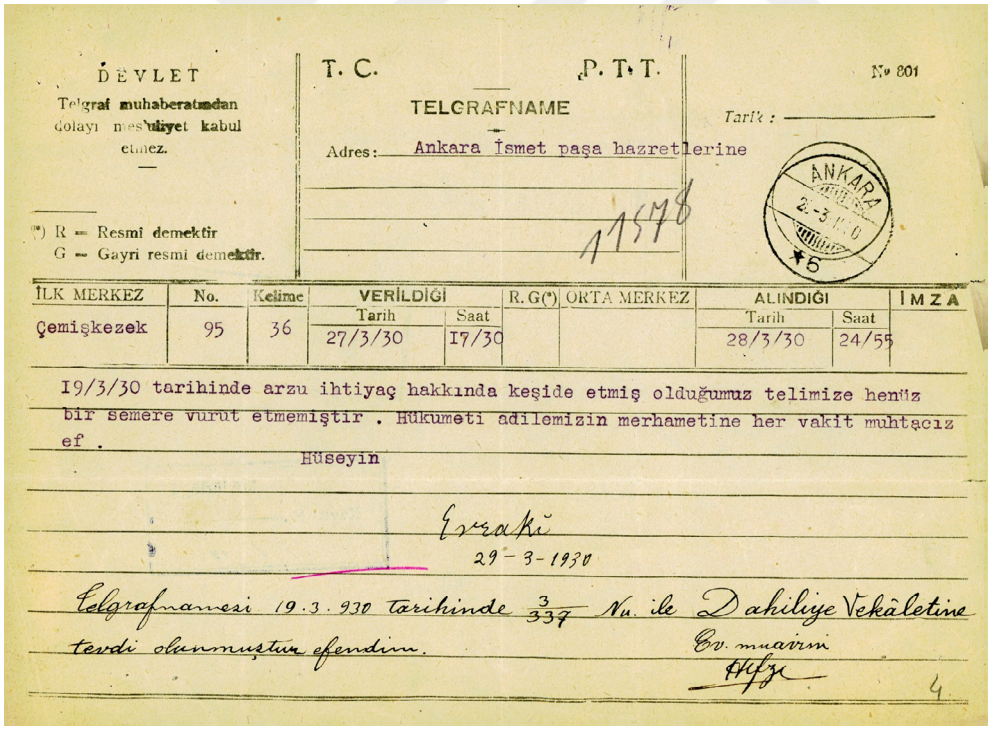
(*) R = Resmi demektir
G = Gayri resmi demektir.

sureti ismet paşa hzretlerine :=

İLK MERKEZ	No.	Kelime	VERİLDİĞİ	R.G(*)	ORTA MERKEZ	ALINDIĞI Tarih	Saat	İMZA
156/16 de cemis gezek			24/168/16-4-10	= g				

19 martsa ve 27 martta tarfa alinize keside ettiğimiz telgraflarimiza cevap alarak yine kaymakam zeki bey elaziz ovasında size erazi verile bilecek diye ankaradan emir ouluniyor tebligat yapilmakda dir en esas olarak bu gibi iki yuzlu kaymakmalar bizim gibi koyluleri cahil birakup hukuk larimizi mudafaden aciz doymus dir meszelelerin tahkikine mustkim bir tahik memuru gonderilursa hakli haksiz meydana cikar huukumeti cumhuriyetimizin lutuf atiteti olarak cemisgezek merkezi . . etrafında hazu ahtuk kariyelerindeki

3



DEVLET
Telgraf muhaberatından dolayı mes'uliyet kabul etmez.

T. C. P. T. T.

TELGRAFNAME

Adres: Ankara İsmet paşa hazretlerine

Tarik:

(*) R = Resmi demektir
G = Gayri resmi demektir.

11578

İLK MERKEZ	No.	Kelime	VERİLDİĞİ Tarih	Saat	R.G(*)	ORTA MERKEZ	ALINDIĞI Tarih	Saat	İMZA
Çemişkezek	95	36	27/3/30	17/30			28/3/30	24/55	

19/3/30 tarihinde arzu ihtiyaç hakkında keşide etmiş olduğumuz telimize henüz bir semere vurut etmemiştir . Hükumeti adilemizin merhametine her vakit muhtacız ef .

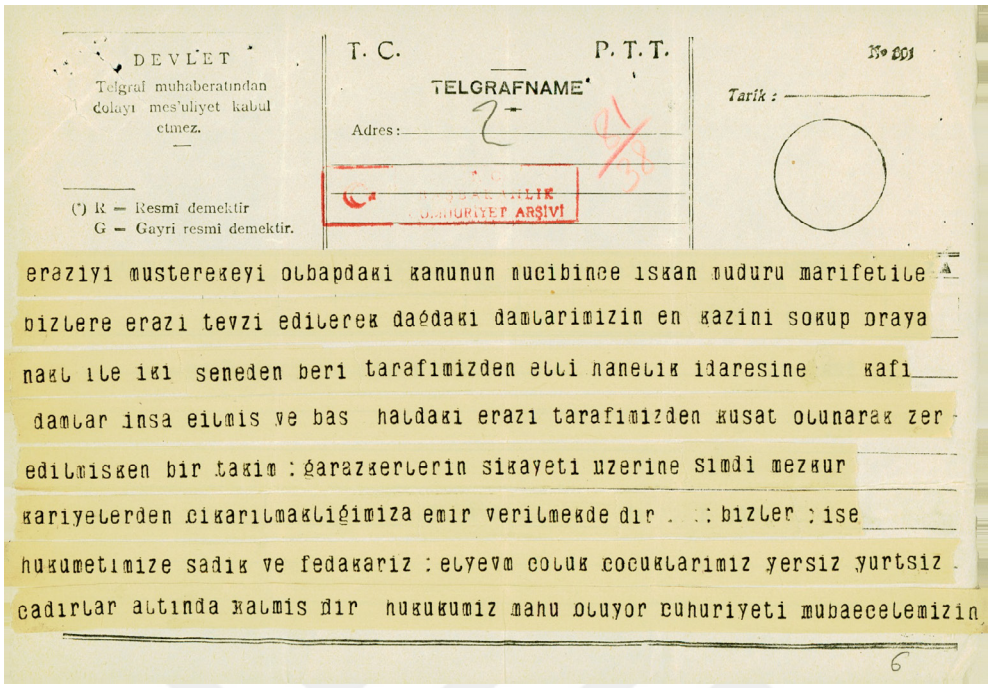
Hüseyin

Evraki
29-3-1930

Telgrafnamesi 19.3.930 tarihinde 3/337 Nu. ile Dahiliye Vekâletine tevdi olunmuştur efendim.

Ev. muavini
Hfz

4



DEVLET
Telgraf muhaberatından dolayı mes'uliyet kabul etmez.

(*) R = Resmî demektir
G = Gayri resmî demektir.

T. C. P. T. T.

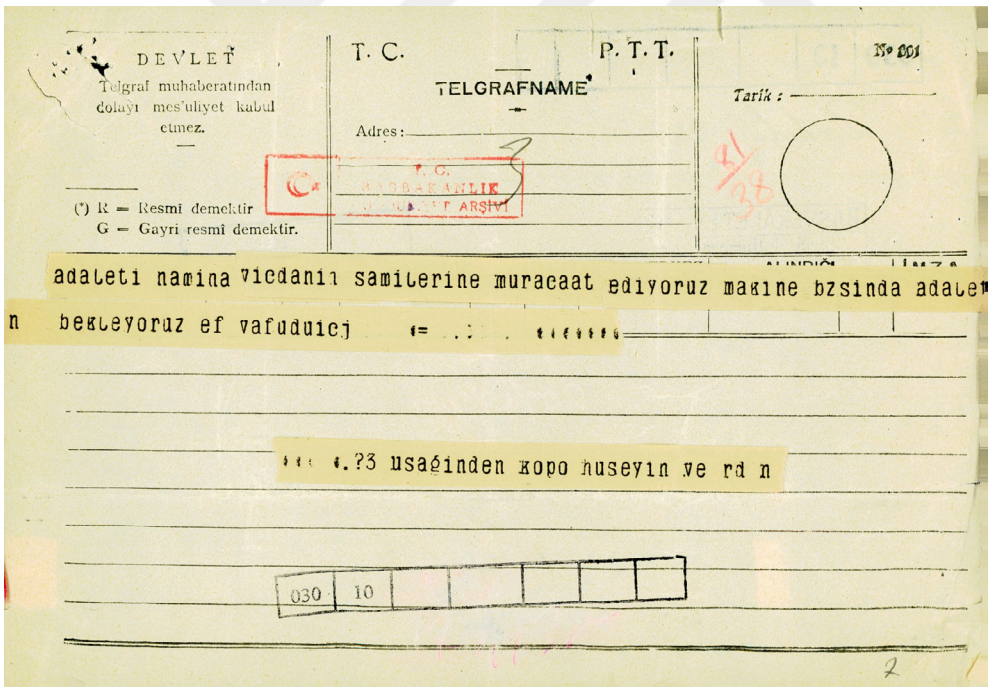
TELGRAFNAME

Adres:

Tarik :

erazıyı musterekeyi olbapdakı kanunun mucibince iskan muduru marifetile bizlere erazi tevzi edilerek dagdakı damlarımızın en kazini sokup praya nakl ile iki seneden beri tarafımızden elli hanelik idaresine kafi damlar insa eilmis ve bas haldakı erazi tarafımızden kusat olunarak zer edilmiskeh bir takım : garazkerlerin sikayeti uzerine simdi mezkur kariyelerden cikarılmakligimiza emir verilmekde dir . . : bizler : ise hukumetimize sadık ve fedakariz : eiyevm coluk cocuklarimiz yersiz yurtsiz cadirlar altında kalmis dir hukukumiz mahu oluyor cuhuriyeti muhaeceiemizin

6



DEVLET
Telgraf muhaberatından dolayı mes'uliyet kabul etmez.

(*) R = Resmî demektir
G = Gayri resmî demektir.

T. C. P. T. T.

TELGRAFNAME

Adres:

Tarik :

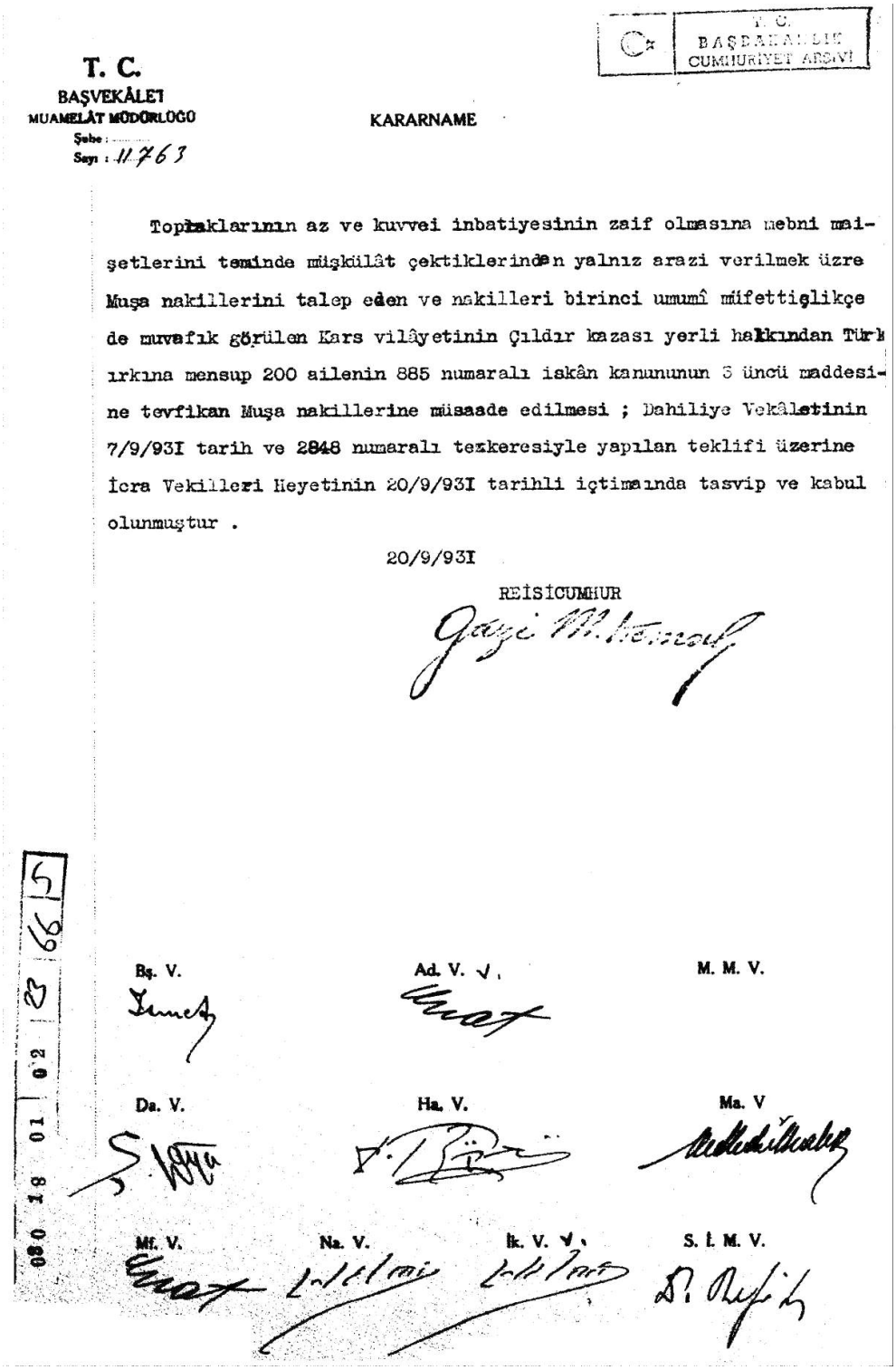
adaleti namina vicdanlı samilerine muracaat ediyoruz makine bzsinda adalet n bekleyoruz ef vafuduicj

.?3 usaginden kopo huseyin ve rd n

030 10

2

Appendix B Resettlement of 200 Households to Muş



T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
MUAMELÂT MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Şube :
Sayı : 11763

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

KARARNAME

Topraklarının az ve kuvvei inbatiyesinin zaif olmasına mebni maişetlerini teminde müşkülât çektiklerinden yalnız arazi verilmek üzre Muşa nakillerini talep eden ve nakilleri birinci umumî müfettişlikçe de muvafık görülen Kars vilâyetinin Çıldır kazası yerli halkından Türk ırkına mensup 200 ailenin 885 numaralı iskân kanununun 3 üncü maddesine tevfikan Muşa nakillerine müsaade edilmesi ; Dahiliye Vekâletinin 7/9/93I tarih ve 2848 numaralı tezkeresiyle yapılan teklifi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin 20/9/93I tarihli içtimaında tasvip ve kabul olunmuştur .

20/9/93I

REİSİCUMHUR

Gazi M. Kemal

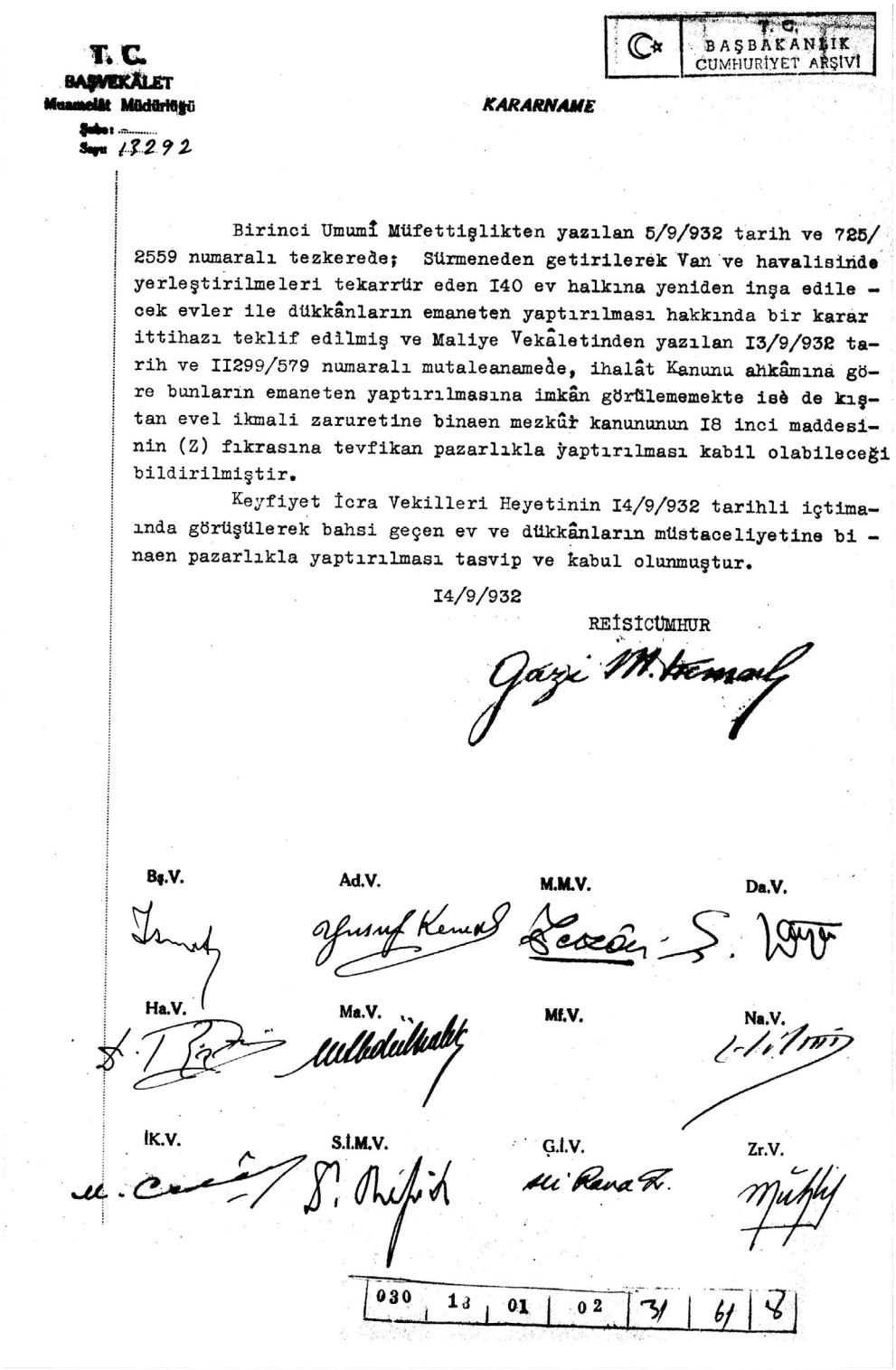
Bş. V. Ad. V. M. M. V.

Da. V. Ha. V. Ma. V

Mf. V. Na. V. İk. V. S. İ. M. V.

030 18 01 02 23 66 5

Appendix C Construction of Houses for 140 Households



T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
Muamelât Müdürlüğü
Şube:
Sayı: 13292

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

KARARNAME

Birinci Umumî Müfettişlikten yazılan 5/9/932 tarih ve 725/2559 numaralı tezkerede; Sürmeneden getirilerek Van ve havalisinde yerleştirilmeleri tekarrür eden I40 ev halkına yeniden inşa edilecek evler ile dükkânların emaneten yaptırılması hakkında bir karar ittihazı teklif edilmiş ve Maliye Vekâletinden yazılan I3/9/932 tarih ve II299/579 numaralı mutaleanamede, ihalât Kanunu ahkâmına göre bunların emaneten yaptırılmasına imkân görülememekte isè de kıştan evel ikmali zaruretine binaen mezkûr kanununun I8 inci maddesinin (Z) fıkrasına tevfikan pazarlıkla yaptırılması kabil olabileceği bildirilmiştir.

Keyfiyet İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin I4/9/932 tarihli içtimaında görüşülerek bahsi geçen ev ve dükkânların müstaceliyetine binaen pazarlıkla yaptırılması tasvip ve kabul olunmuştur.

I4/9/932

REİSİCÜMHUR

Gazi M. Kemal

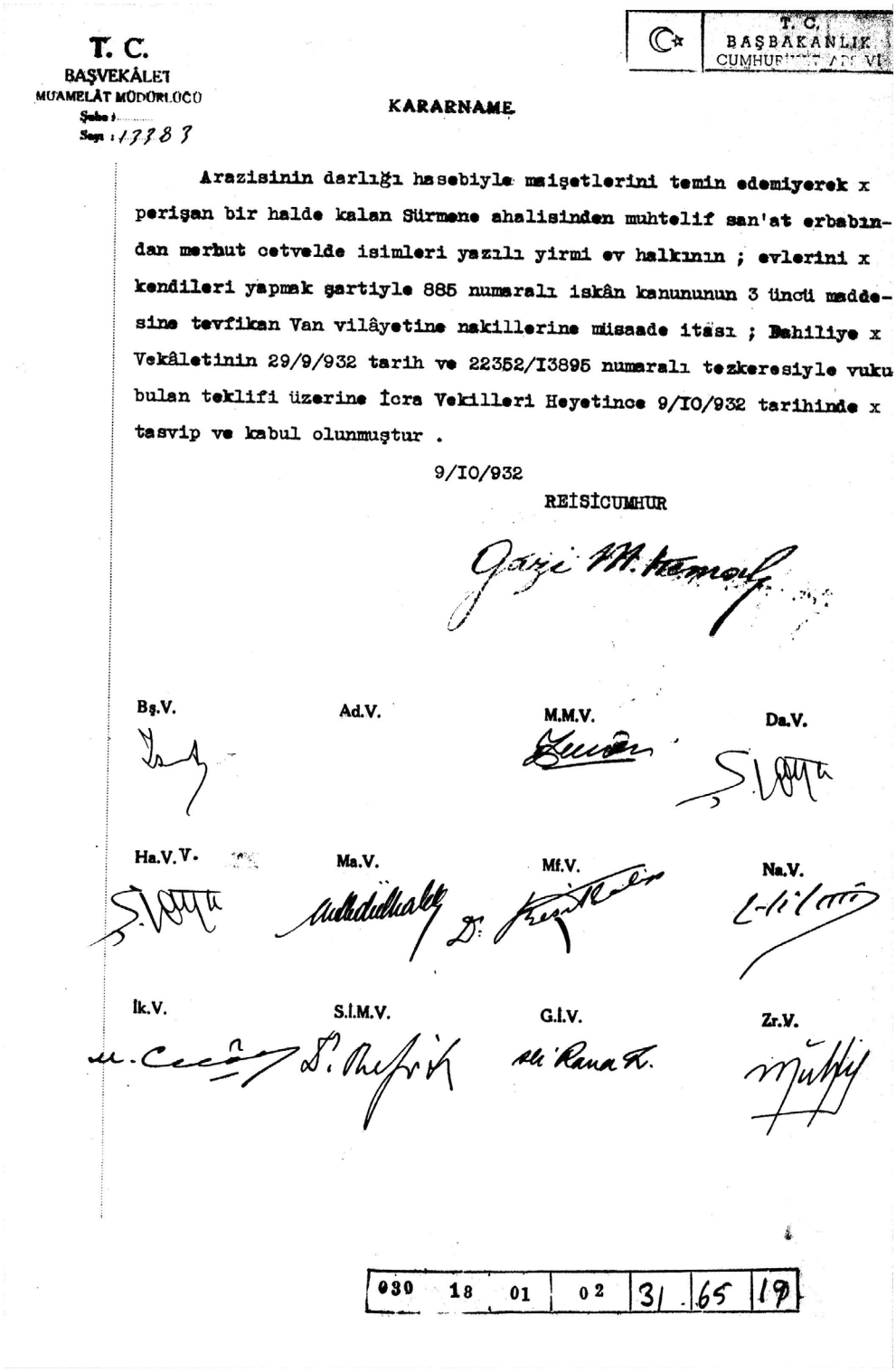
Bş.V. Ad.V. M.M.V. Da.V.

Ha.V. Ma.V. Mf.V. Na.V.

İK.V. S.İ.M.V. Ç.İ.V. Zr.V.

030 | 13 | 01 | 02 | 31 | 61 | 8

Appendix D Resettlement of Artisans from Sürmene to Van (I)



T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
MUAMELÂT MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Şube :
Sayı : 17383

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

KARARNAME

Arazisinin darlığı hasebiyle maişetlerini temin edemiyerek x perişan bir halde kalan Sürmene ahalisinden muhtelif san'at erbabından merbut cetvelde isimleri yazılı yirmi ev halkının ; evlerini x kendileri yapmak şartiyle 885 numaralı iskân kanununun 3 üncü maddesine tevfikan Van vilâyetine nakillerine müsaade itası ; Dahiliye x Vekâletinin 29/9/932 tarih ve 22352/13895 numaralı tezkeresiyle vuku bulan teklifi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 9/IO/932 tarihinde x tasvip ve kabul olunmuştur .

9/IO/932

REİSİCUMHUR

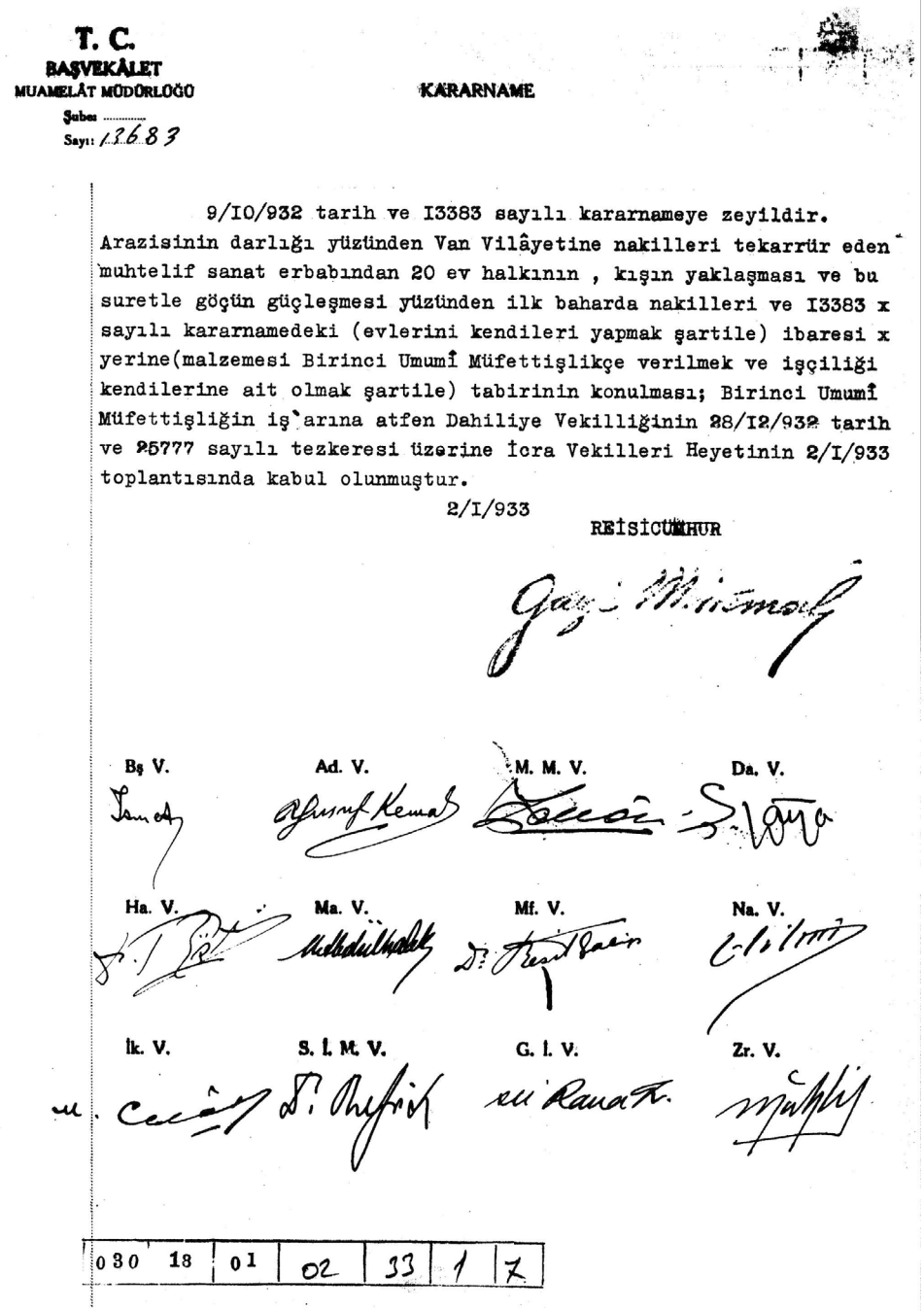
Bş.V. Ad.V. M.M.V. Da.V.

Ha.V.V. Ma.V. Mf.V. Na.V.

İk.V. S.İ.M.V. G.İ.V. Zr.V.

030 18 01 02 31 65 19

Appendix E Resettlement of 20 Artisan Households from Sürmene to Van (II)



T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
MUAMELÂT MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Şube: .....
Sayı: 13683

KARARNAME

9/IO/932 tarih ve I3383 sayılı kararnameye zeyildir. Arazisinin darlığı yüzünden Van Vilâyetine nakilleri tekarrür eden muhtelif sanat erbabından 20 ev halkının , kışın yaklaşması ve bu suretle göçün güçleşmesi yüzünden ilk baharda nakilleri ve I3383 x sayılı kararnamedeki (evlerini kendileri yapmak şartile) ibaresi x yerine(malzemesi Birinci Umumî Müfettişlikçe verilmek ve işçiliği kendilerine ait olmak şartile) tabirinin konulması; Birinci Umumî Müfettişliğin iş`arına atfen Dahiliye Vekilliğinin 28/I2/932 tarih ve 25777 sayılı tezkeresi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin 2/I/933 toplantısında kabul olunmuştur.

2/I/933

REİSİCÜMHUR

Gazi M. Kemal

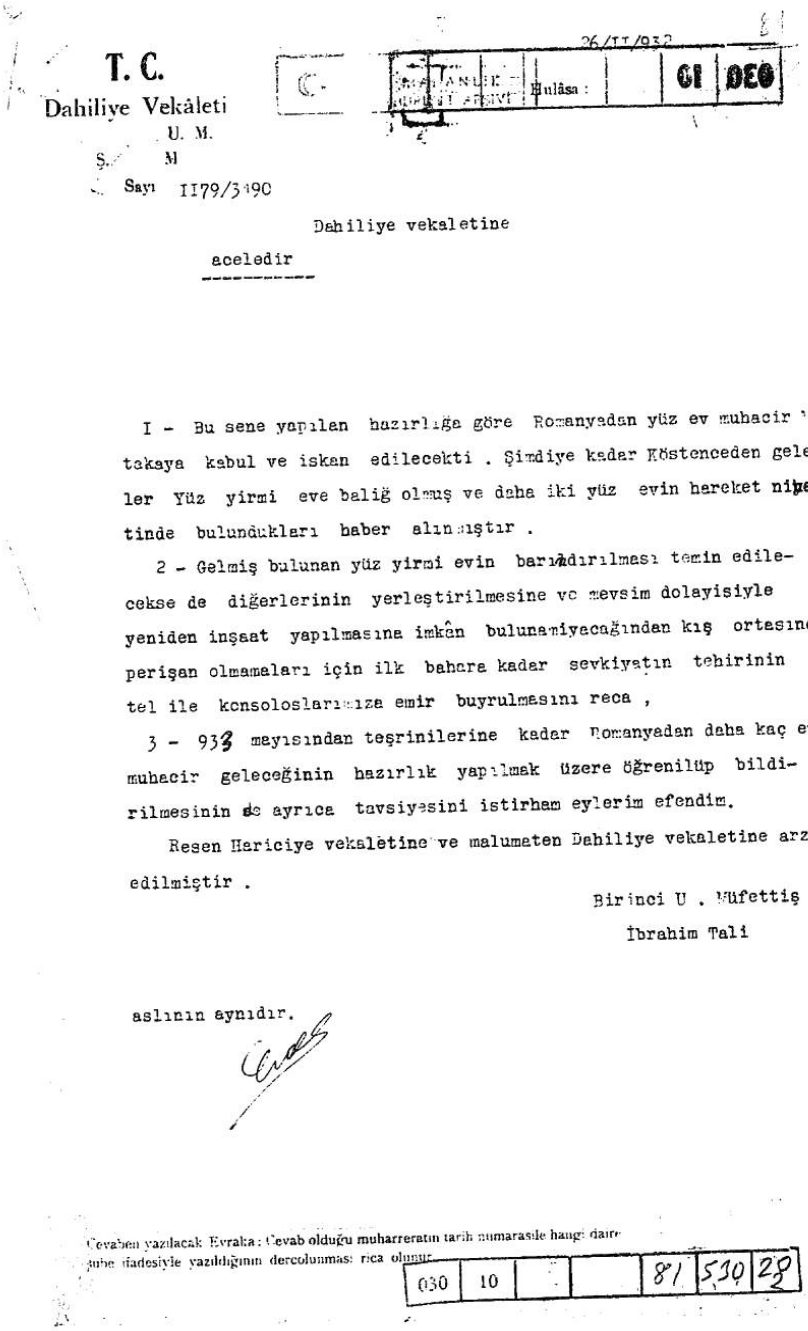
Bş V. Ad. V. M. M. V. Da. V.

Ha. V. Ma. V. Mf. V. Na. V.

İk. V. S. İ. M. V. G. İ. V. Zr. V.

030	18	01	02	33	1	7

Appendix F Resettlement of Romanian Immigrants



T. C.
Dahiliye Vekâleti
U. M.
Ş. M
Sayı 1179/3490

26/II/932

Hulâsa : 01 DEC

Dahiliye vekaletine

aceledir

I - Bu sene yapılan hazırlığa göre Romanyadan yüz ev muhacir için takaya kabul ve iskan edilecekti . Şimdiye kadar Köstenceden gelenler Yüz yirmi eve baliğ olmuş ve daha iki yüz evin hareket niyetinde bulundukları haber alınmıştır .

2 - Gelmiş bulunan yüz yirmi evin barındırılması temin edilecekse de diğerlerinin yerleştirilmesine ve mevsim dolayisiyle yeniden inşaat yapılmasına imkân bulunamiyacağından kış ortasında perişan olmamaları için ilk bahara kadar sevkiyatın tehirinin tel ile konsoloslarımıza emir buyrulmasını reca ,

3 - 933 mayısından teşrinilerine kadar Romanyadan daha kaç ev muhacir geleceğinin hazırlık yapılmak üzere öğrenilüp bildirilmesinin de ayrıca tavsiyesini istirham eylerim efendim.

Resen Hariciye vekâletine ve malumaten Dahiliye vekaletine arz edilmiştir .

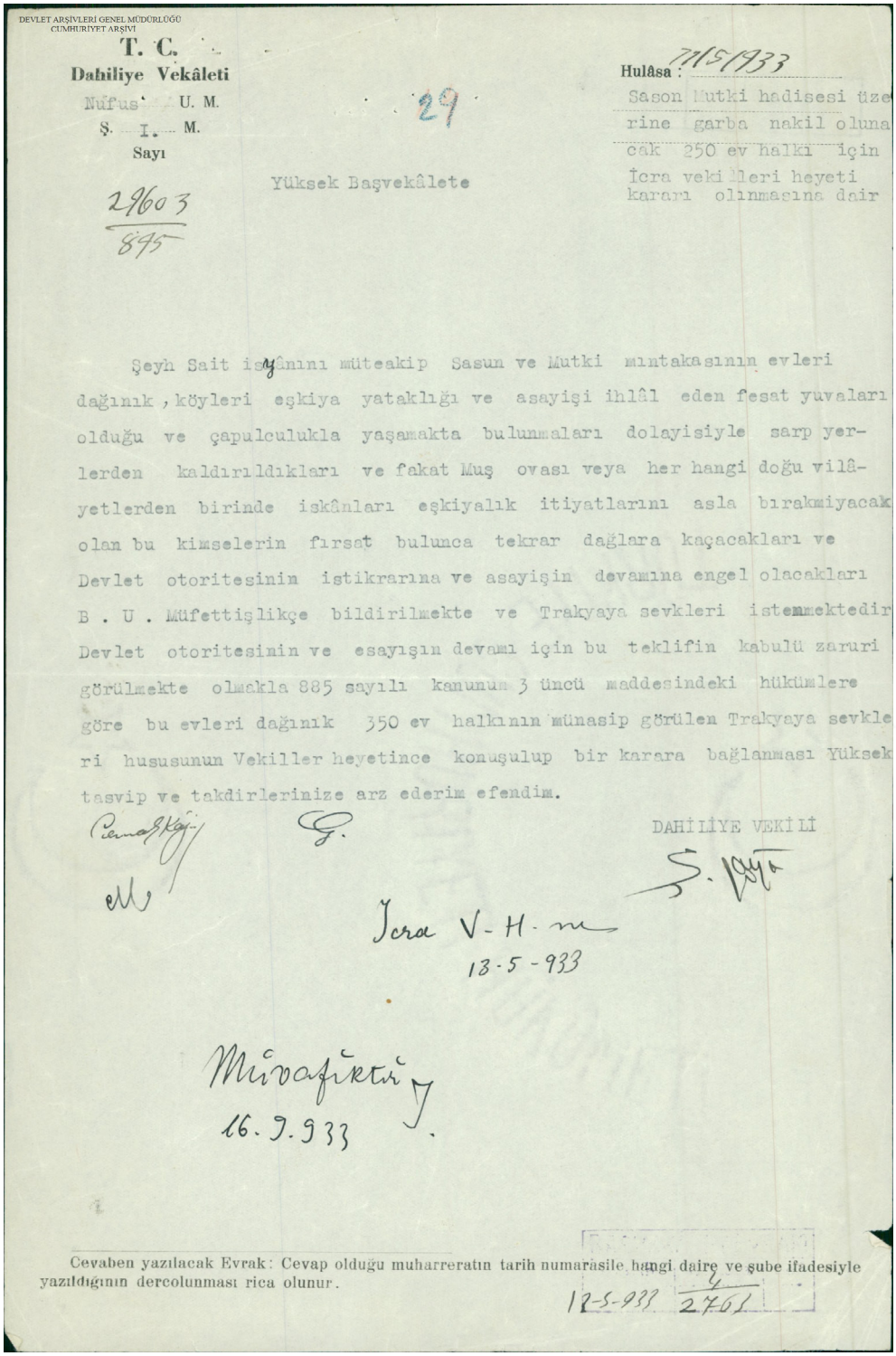
Birinci U . Müfettiş
İbrahim Tali

aslının aynıdır.

Cevaben yazılacak Evraka: Cevab olduğu muharreratın tarih numarasile hangi daire şube ifadesiyle yazıldığının dercolunması rica olunur.

030	10			81	530	28

Appendix G Transfer of 350 Households from Sason and Mutki



DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
Dahiliye Vekâleti
Nüfus U. M.
Ş. I. M.
Sayı

29

Hulâsa: 7/5/1933
Sason Mutki hadisesi üzerine garba nakil olunacak 250 ev halkı için İcra vekilleri heyeti kararı alınmasına dair

Yüksek Başvekâlete

Şeyh Sait isyânını müteakip Sasun ve Mutki mıntakasının evleri dağınık, köyleri eşkiya yataklığı ve asayişi ihlâl eden fesat yuvaları olduğu ve çapulculukla yaşamakta bulunmaları dolayisiyle sarp yerlerden kaldırıldıkları ve fakat Muş ovası veya her hangi doğu vilâyetlerden birinde iskânları eşkiyalık itiyatlarını asla bırakmiyacak olan bu kimselerin fırsat bulunca tekrar dağlara kaçacakları ve Devlet otoritesinin istikrarına ve asayişin devamına engel olacakları B . U . Müfettişlikçe bildirilmekte ve Trakyaya sevkleri istenmektedir Devlet otoritesinin ve esayışın devamı için bu teklifin kabulü zaruri görülmekte olmakla 885 sayılı kanunun 3 üncü maddesindeki hükümlere göre bu evleri dağınık 350 ev halkının münasip görülen Trakyaya sevkleri hususunun Vekiller heyetince konuşulup bir karara bağlanması Yüksek tasvip ve takdirlerinize arz ederim efendim.

DAHİLİYE VEKİLİ

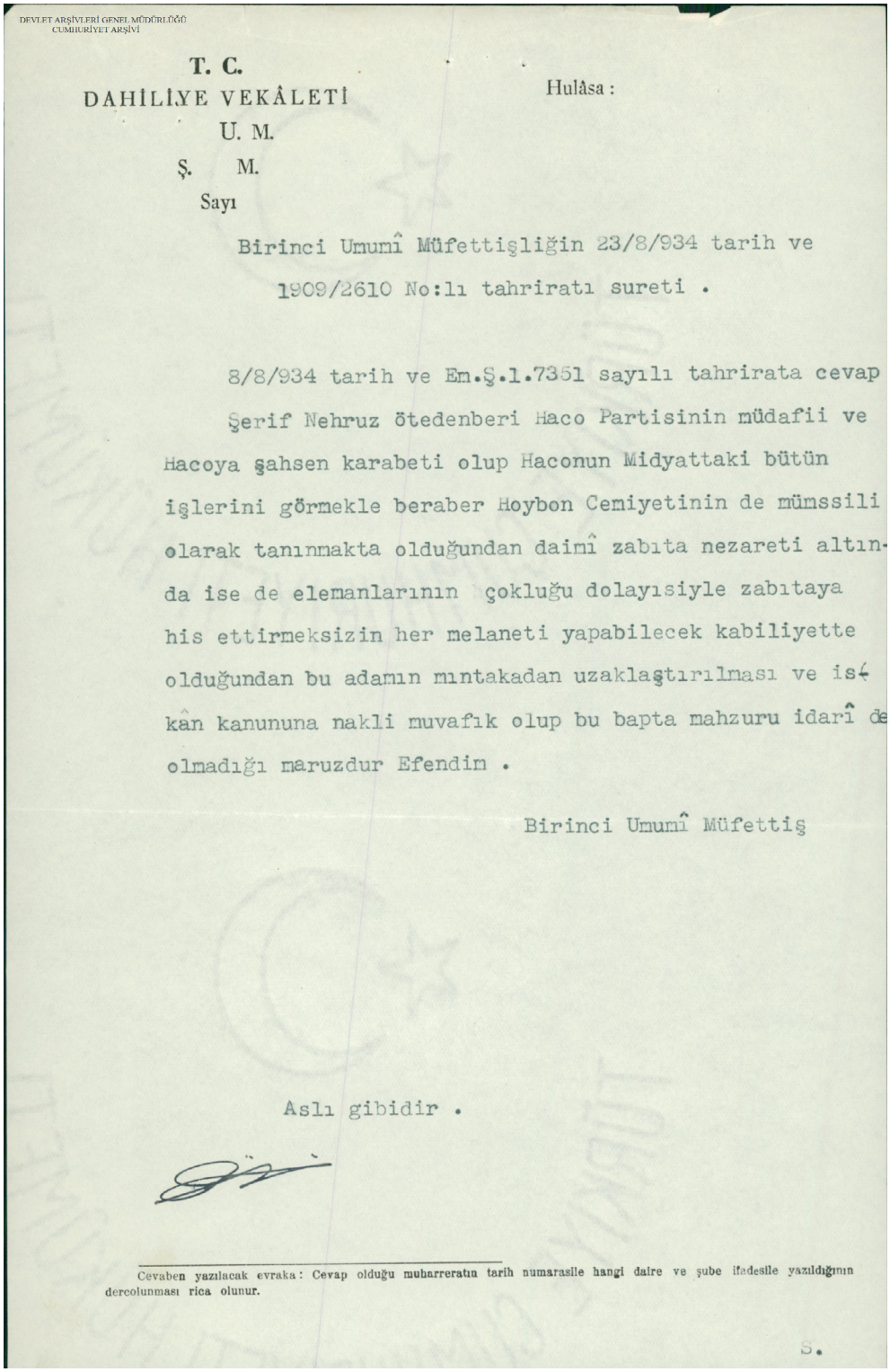
İcra V-H-m
13-5-933

Müvafiktir
16.7.933

Cevaben yazılacak Evrak: Cevap olduğu muharreratın tarih numarasile hangi daire ve şube ifadesiyle yazıldığının dercolunması rica olunur.

12-5-933 2761

Appendix H Deportation of Şerif Nehruz from Midyat



DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
DAHİLİYE VEKÂLETİ
U. M.
Ş. M.
Sayı

Hulâsa :

Birinci Umumî Müfettişliğin 23/8/934 tarih ve 1909/2610 No:lı tahriratı sureti .

8/8/934 tarih ve Em.Ş.1.7351 sayılı tahrirata cevap Şerif Nehruz ötedenberi Haco Partisinin müdafii ve Hacoya şahsen karabeti olup Haconun Midyattaki bütün işlerini görmekle beraber Hoybon Cemiyetinin de mümssili olarak tanınmakta olduğundan daimî zabıta nezareti altında ise de elemanlarının çokluğu dolayısiyle zabıtaya his ettirmeksizin her melaneti yapabilecek kabiliyette olduğundan bu adamın mıntakadan uzaklaştırılması ve iskân kanununa nakli muvafık olup bu bapta mahzuru idarî de olmadığı maruzdur Efendim .

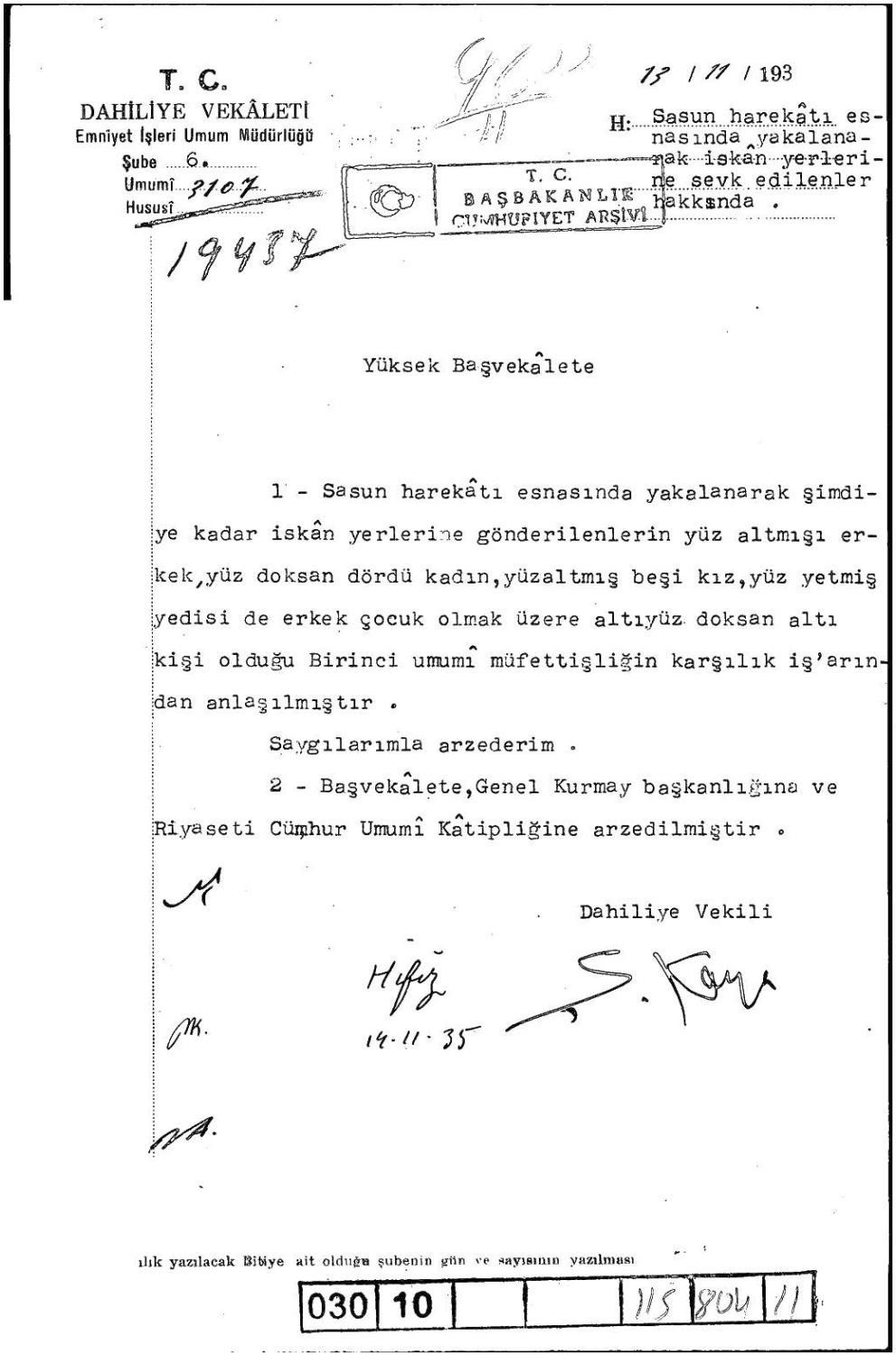
Birinci Umumî Müfettiş

Aslı gibidir .

Cevaben yazılacak evraka: Cevap olduğu muharreratın tarih numarasile hangi daire ve şube ifadesile yazıldığının dercolunması rica olunur.

S.

Appendix I Resettlement of 696 People from Sason



T. C.
DAHİLİYE VEKÂLETİ
Emniyet İşleri Umum Müdürlüğü
Şube 6.
Umumî 3107
Hususî

13 / 11 / 193

H: Sasun harekâtı esnasında yakalanarak iskân yerlerine sevk edilenler hakkında .

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURIYET ARŞİVİ

19437

Yüksek Başvekâlete

1 - Sasun harekâtı esnasında yakalanarak şimdiye kadar iskân yerlerine gönderilenlerin yüz altmışı erkek,yüz doksan dördü kadın,yüzaltmış beşi kız,yüz yetmiş yedisi de erkek çocuk olmak üzere altıyüz doksan altı kişi olduğu Birinci umumî müfettişliğin karşılık iş'arından anlaşılmıştır .

Saygılarımla arzederim .

2 - Başvekâlete,Genel Kurmay başkanlığına ve Riyaseti Cümhur Umumî Kâtipliğine arzedilmiştir .

Dahiliye Vekili

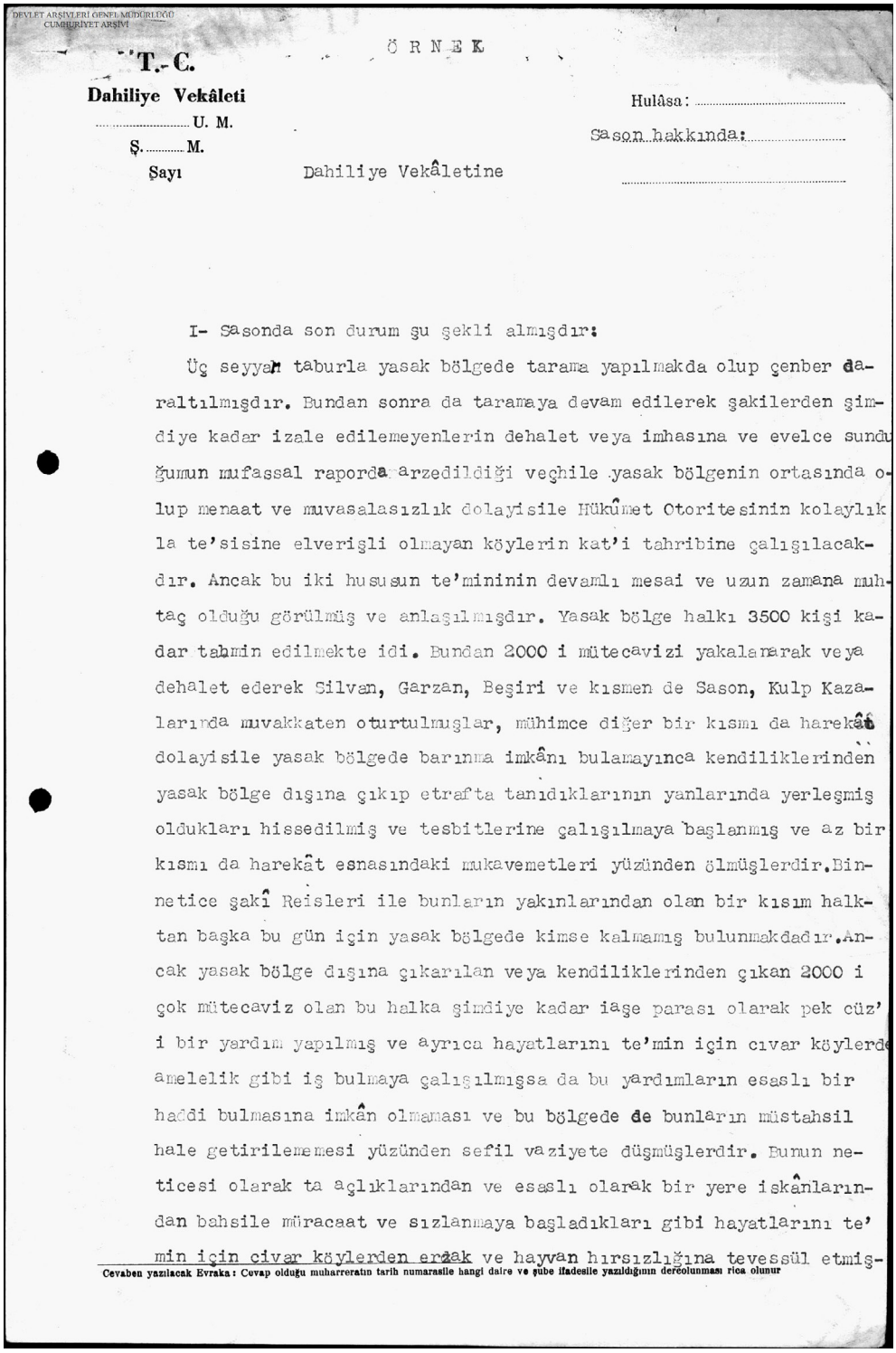
Hifiz
14.11.35

S. Kaya

ılık yazılacak Bitiye ait olduğu şubenin gün ve sayısının yazılması

030	10			115	804	11

Appendix J The First General Inspector's Report on Sason



DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

ÖRNEK

T. C.
Dahiliye Vekâleti
..... U. M.
Ş. ..... M.
Sayı

Dahiliye Vekâletine

Hulâsa: .....
Sason hakkında: .....
.....

I- Sasonda son durum şu şekli almışdır:

Üç seyyar taburla yasak bölgede tarama yapılmakda olup çenber daraltılmışdır. Bundan sonra da taramaya devam edilerek şakilerden şimdiye kadar izale edilemeyenlerin dehalet veya imhasına ve evelce sunduğumun mufassal raporda arzedildiği veçhile yasak bölgenin ortasında olup menaat ve muvasalasızlık dolayisile Hükûmet Otoritesinin kolaylıkla te'sisine elverişli olmayan köylerin kat'i tahribine çalışılacakdır. Ancak bu iki hususun te'mininin devamlı mesai ve uzun zamana muhtaç olduğu görülmüş ve anlaşılmışdır. Yasak bölge halkı 3500 kişi kadar tahmin edilmekte idi. Bundan 2000 i mütecavizi yakalanarak veya dehalet ederek Silvan, Garzan, Beşiri ve kısmen de Sason, Kulp Kazalarında muvakkaten oturtulmuşlar, mühimce diğer bir kısmı da harekât dolayisile yasak bölgede barınma imkânı bulamayınca kendiliklerinden yasak bölge dışına çıkıp etrafta tanıdıklarının yanlarında yerleşmiş oldukları hissedilmiş ve tesbitlerine çalışılmaya başlanmış ve az bir kısmı da harekât esnasındaki mukavemetleri yüzünden ölmüşlerdir. Binnetice şakî Reisleri ile bunların yakınlarından olan bir kısım halktan başka bu gün için yasak bölgede kimse kalmamış bulunmakdadır. Ancak yasak bölge dışına çıkarılan veya kendiliklerinden çıkan 2000 i çok mütecaviz olan bu halka şimdiye kadar iâşe parası olarak pek cüz'i bir yardım yapılmış ve ayrıca hayatlarını te'min için cıvar köylerde amelelik gibi iş bulmaya çalışılmışsa da bu yardımların esaslı bir haddi bulmasına imkân olmaması ve bu bölgede de bunların müstahsil hale getirilememesi yüzünden sefil vaziyete düşmüşlerdir. Bunun neticesi olarak ta açlıklarından ve esaslı olarak bir yere iskânlarından bahsile müracaat ve sızlanmaya başladıkları gibi hayatlarını te'min için cıvar köylerden ancak ve hayvan hırsızlığına tevessül etmiş-

Cevaben yazılacak Evraka: Cevap olduğu muharreratın tarih numarasile hangi daire ve şube ifadesile yazıldığının derecolunması rica olunur

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Ş. ..... M.
Sayı

"2"

Hulâsa: .....

ler ve bunu bazen silâhlı bir şekilde yapmaya kadar ileri götürmüşlerdir. Bu vaziyet neticesi olarak gözleri yasak bölgeden ayrılamamış ve buraya akın halinde gidip gelmeler olmaya başlamış ve bu esnada henüz yasak bölgede mukavemete devam edenlere yardımlar ve müfrezemizin harekâtını güçleştirecek intizamsızlıklar da olmuşdur.

2- Bu durum karşısında bunlar hakkında esaslı bir kararın biran evel verilmesi lüzumu derpiş edilip Emniyet Müşaviri de Siirde celp edilip Siirt Valisi ile birlikde bu husus tetkik edilmişdir. Varılan netice şöyle olmuşdur:

Yasak bölge dışına çıkarılmış halkın yasak bölgenin daraltılarak dışta kalan aksamına oturtulabilmeleri için evelce arzettiğimiz veçhile buradaki harekâtın tamamlanması ve eşkiyanın temamen temizlenmesi ve bunun sonunda da idarî teşkilâtın kurulması lâzımdır. Bu ise yukarıdada tasrih edildiği veçhile zamana ihtiyaç göstermektedir. Bunların Umumî Müfettişliğimiz içinde diğer bir yerde kat'i iskânlarına ise iskân kanunu müsait değildir. Şu halde biran evel müstahsil bir hale gelip zararlı olmakdan kurtulmaları için Anadolu içersindeki yayla mıntakalarında iskân edilmeleri muvafık olur. Bu suretle de şimdiye kadar tatbikine imkân bulunmayan ve bölgemiz halkının temsili gayretini güden iskân kanununun bu fırsattan istifade suretile tatbikine de geçilmiş olur. Yalnız bu halkın gideceği yerde evlerinin ihzar ve iskân işleri seri surette te'min edilmeli ve nakil kararı isim üzerine değil Cason memnu bölgesile Malaşeref bölgesi halkına şamil olarak verilmelidir. Memnu bölgede iskâna müsait olan yerler meyvecilik, tütüncülük ve arıcılıkla iştigalle hayatlarını kazanabilecek olan sadık unsurları iskânı işin sonra tatbik edilebilecek bir iş olarak görülmektedir. Varılan bu mütalâa ve karar oronlarınca da tasvip buyulduğu takdirde

Cevaben yazılacak Evraka: Cevap olduğu muharreratın tarih numarasile hangi daire ve şube ifadesile yazıldığının dercolunması rica olunur

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
Dahiliye Vekâleti
..... U. M.
Ş..... M.
Sayı "3"

Hulâsa: .....
.....
.....

iş'arına ve gereğinin yapılmasına müsaadelerini arz ederim.

3- 23/8/936 gün ve gezi 402 sayı ile Yüce Başvekile, Dahiliye ve Sıhat Vekâletlerine ve Birinci Umumî Müfettişliğe arz edilmişdir.

Siirtte Birinci Umumî Müfettiş
Abidin Özmen

aslının uygundur

Cevaben yazılacak Evraka: Cevap olduğu muharreratın tarih numarasile hangi daire ve şube ifadesile yazıldığının dercolunması rica olunur

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