

nians of expansionist aspirations. It will produce a "natural Albania", a thoroughly legitimate and democratic demand. This is the nub and gist, the very essence of Qosja's political manifesto, the ultimate message he wishes his book to convey.

Institute for Balkan Studies

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Hülya Demir - Rıdvan Akar, *Istanbul'un Son Sürgünleri. 1964'te Rumların Sınırdışı Edilmesi* (The Last Expulsions from Istanbul. The Deportations of the Greeks in 1964), Istanbul 1994, pp. 230.

Two esteemed scholars, Ms H. Demir, graduate in Philosophy from the University of Istanbul (Faculty of Arts) and member of the Human Rights Associations's Minority Rights Monitoring Committee, and Mr R. Akar, graduate student in Economics at the University of Istanbul (School of Economics), well-known for his excellent study on the Wealth Tax (Varlık Vergisi, 1992), stigmatise in their book the official Turkish policy against the approximately 13,000 Greek citizens who were deported from Turkey in 1964, as well as against the ethnic Greeks (Rum) who were Turkish citizens and who were expelled from Istanbul, Imbros (Imbroz, today Gökçeada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) that same year.

Ms Demir and Mr Akar are the first, in Turkey or elsewhere, to have dealt with this issue. Their principal source of material was the daily press, given that they have not had access to the essential archival material on the Greek community in Turkey and, further, that both the historians and the politicians who have written about this period in their studies and memoirs have preferred to pass over in silence an issue which is still smouldering, thirty years later.

In December 1963, the authors remind us, a time when the problem of Cyprus was becoming more acute, Turkey was facing a crisis. The government felt that the situation in Cyprus could be settled once and for all by dividing the island in two or by sending in armed forces. But Turkey's diplomatic overtures to both her western allies and the United States did not produce the expected results. The opposition, dissatisfied with the government's conduct, pressed for a more decisive and aggressive policy. And public opinion, seeing the daily press photographs of murdered Turkish Cypriots, including women and children, was outraged.

It was at this point that, in its perplexity and confusion, the Turkish

government —led by Ismet Inonu, for his was the initiative— brought up the question of the Greek citizens living in Istanbul, thanks to the terms of a treaty of friendship established by Venizelos and Atatürk. In 1964 this group numbered about 13,000, while the Greek minority whose situation was defined by the Treaty of Lausanne totalled about 70,000. Believing that the solution to the problem of Cyprus lay with Greece and desirous of obtaining concession from her, Inonu decided to use the Greek citizens in Istanbul as “hostages” while at the same time —killing two birds with one stone, as it were— dealing a heavy blow to the Greek minority community.

For some considerable time already public opinion had been turned against the Greeks of Istanbul, largely because of the media insistence on their relationship with the Greek Cypriots. A situation in which the best shops in Istanbul were in the hands of the hereditary “bad guys”, the “murderers”, could not be tolerated. As with the *Varlık* in 1942, the Greeks had to be driven from Turkey, at the price of a certain indemnification if necessary, and the capital transferred to the hands of the Turks.

On March 16, 1964, the authors point out, the Inonu government unilaterally abolished the 1930 Treaty between Greece and Turkey on “establishment, trade and shipping”; this meant that residence permits for Greek citizens were no longer renewed. More than 1,500 Greeks were listed as “dangers to public safety”. They were accused of illegally exporting currency, of collecting funds for the purchase of arms for the Greek Cypriots, of activities tending to further Greek views on Cyprus, of creating an economic crisis in the market, of spying... Their property was immediately blocked, so that it could not be the object of any legal transactions, as were their bank deposits. All Greek nationals were required to leave Turkey within 48 hours.

Men from the 4th Police Division rounded them up from their homes or workplaces to be finger-printed and photographed like common criminals, while at the police station they were forced to sign documents stating, among other things, that they had broken the laws, that they were members of the “illegal” Greek Union, that they sent money to anarchist Greek Cypriots, and that they were leaving Turkey of their own free will. Those who refused to sign were escorted to the cells where they were detained until they “came to their senses”. When they did, they were taken to their homes —still under police escort— to pack their personal belongings: they were entitled to take with them baggage totalling 25 kilos in weight, plus 200 Turkish pounds (22 dollars) in cash. This done, they were escorted to the border.

And all this took place without a single shred of evidence of Greek citizens having participated in any illegal activities ever having come to light or

been made public.

The majority of the Greek nationals, who formed a second category, had been deported by September 16, 1964, by reason of the abolition of the Greco-Turkish Treaty rather than for "dangerous" activities. They left behind them all their real and personal property which, according to separate estimates, amounted to either 200 and 500 million dollars.

What is important to note here is that Turkey did not thus get rid only of 12,592 Greek nationals, but also of another 20-25,000 ethnic Greeks with Turkish citizenship, who were linked by marriage with the first group. This was the second "bird" hit with this single stone.

At the same time, the authors note, Inonu made use of three large youth organisations (which he kept firmly under his thumb) to implement another campaign against the Greeks in Istanbul: an economic boycott, which was later extended to the Armenians and the Jews as well. The young people posted outside Greek shops notices reading: "Feed a crow and it will peck out your eyes", "the poison within us is the Greeks", "do not shop in this store". They also distributed other material pronouncing:

- a) When you deal with Turks, you are returning to your roots.
- b) Every penny you give to a Greek (Rum) is a bullet for a brother in Cyprus.
- c) Lend your support to this campaign, if you don't want to be a hostage to the world.

Another campaign inaugurated at this time: "*Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş*" (*Citizen, speak Turkish*), had its roots in the war years, and was a device of the proponents of Nazism and Turanism.

Despite all this, Greece made no concessions on the Cypriot question, which led Ankara to impose further measures against Greek schools and against the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as a threat to Turkey's... independence. Exorbitant and totally irrational measures were taken to Turkicize the islands of Imbros and Tenedos: Greek schools were prohibited, arable land was expropriated, open prisons were established for criminals serving long terms, who were free to pillage, rape and murder...

This is how the Greek communities were finally extirpated from their ancestral homes in Constantinople, Imbros and Tenedos, where there remain today 3,000, 300 and 30 persons (mostly aged) respectively.

The co-authors of this book have described the reality very precisely: The modern Turkish State has continued the policy of the Party of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki*), aimed at exterminating the defenceless minorities. Exponents of this policy have included Prime Ministers Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Adnan Menderes and İsmet İnönü, and certain fanatical journalists (Ahmet

Kabaklı Mümtaz Faik Fenik, et al) during the period of the deportations.

The sole observation one might make has to do with the confusion between the terms *Rum* and *Yunanlı*. In several places, including in the title of the book, "*Rumların Sınırdışı Edilmesi*", the term *Rum* (= ethnic Greeks) is used to designate Greeks who were Greek citizens (*Yunanlı*) as well as ethnic Greeks who were Turkish citizens, with the result that the erroneous impression is created that at that particular time the deportations affected ethnic Greeks who were Turkish citizens and not the Greek nationals. It is evident that the authors preferred to retain the usage of the period, as it appeared in the contemporary press. But this is a very minor detail, which in no way takes away from the value of this book, dedicated delicately to those who left.

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ANASTASIOS K. IORDANOGLU

Erdoğan Öznal, *Makedonya Yunan Değildir* (Macedonia is not Greek), TC Genelkurmay Başkanlığı (Republic of Turkey, Turkish Army General Staff), Ankara 1993, pp. 82.

It is, beyond all dispute, the duty of the historian to seek the truth, without prejudice, fanaticism or partiality. Unfortunately, Mr E. Öznal, swamped by his anti-Greek sentiments, deliberately presents a distorted account of the past in order to influence the present. This is more a journalist's attempt to counterfeit history than a scholarly essay. What is more remarkable is how such a piece of work came to be included among the otherwise excellent occasional publications of the Turkish Army General Staff.

On page 28, Mr Öznal writes that the census carried out by Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, Inspector General of Macedonia, in 1904, identified all the various ethnic groups and that the composition of the population of Macedonia, including the vilayet of Kossovo, was as follows:

Turks and Muslim Albanians	1,508,507
Macedonians	896,494
Greeks	307,000
Serbs	100,700
Vlachs (Romanians)	99,000
	2,911,701

These same statistics, however, were published by the well-known