

German complicity to the Armenian genocide. In his words the author believes "what stands out in that evidence is a central feature of German complicity, namely, the willingness of a number of German officials, civilian and military, to aid and abet the Turks in their drive to liquidate the Armenians" (p. 186). The author continues: "They thus qualify to be regarded as coperpetrators and 'accessories to the crime' ", and he concludes, "Perhaps the historians and perhaps even the statesmen of Germany will find it pertinent and seemly to reconsider the central issue raised here. In the final analysis what is at stake here is the triumph of the forces of civilization over a legacy of barbarism that almost succeeded in bringing about the expiration of an ancient nation" (p. 186).

Dadrian's book on the *German Responsibility on the Armenian Genocide* is one of the most researched and documented books I have seen written about Armenian genocide. The author has done a superb job for disclosing one of the major crimes in the 20th century, not only against the Armenian people but against humanity. The purpose of the book was to expose the German officials and the role they played in the Armenian genocide at the turn of the century. It is ironic that after a century, Turkey has denied the occurrence of this crime against the Armenian nation despite overwhelming evidence. Political expediency has taken precedence to this crime which preceded the Jewish holocaust. Dadrian has written his *magnus opum* and this alone makes him the pre-eminent scholar who made us all aware of such a huge crime in the 20th century. This book should be read by all the Germans and should be on the reading list of all history books on Germany and genocide studies. It is not only an indictment of Nazi Germany but it is a moral responsibility of any civilized nation and the world, as the author argues that the full disclosure and knowledge of this heinous crime could have perhaps prevented the Jewish holocaust of World War II.

Northern Illinois University

GEORGE A. KOURVETARIS

Christos P. Ioannides, *In Turkey's Image: The Transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province*, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991, pp. 254.

This is a book about Northern Cyprus which Turkey invaded in 1974 and still occupies. It describes how Turkey has changed illegally the cultural and demographic character of the northern part of Cyprus by transforming the



northern part of Cyprus into a Turkish province.

The book is divided in 11 chapters. *Chapter One* deals with the issue of Anatolia settlers brought to the Northern part of Cyprus by Turkey to change the ethnodemography of Cyprus. On November 15, 1983, under the umbrella of the Turkish Army, the Turkish-Cypriot "legislative assembly" declared the Turkish state —with Rauf Denktash as its president. The occupied part of Cyprus covers 1,350 square miles (size of Rhode Island) along with the Turkish occupied army of approximately 35,000 Turkish troops, and a Turkish-Cypriot population of about 98,000. "The Ethno demography of Cyprus" is discussed in Chapter Two.

Despite the lack of reliable census material on the ethnic composition of Cyprus, the author looks at available records starting with the British census of 1881 and 1960. In both cases the author found that the overwhelming majority of the Cyprus was Greek Orthodox. The Turkish Cypriot arguments of Turkish emigration to Cyprus are refuted from the evidence. The author makes the following conclusions: 1) both Greek and Turkish Cypriot emigration patterns paralleled the population ratio between the two communities, 2) both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have emigrated for economic reasons and, 3) no mass Turkish-Cypriot emigration to Turkey occurred, therefore there should not be any massive Turkish-Cypriot return from Turkey after 1974 (p. 22).

In Chapter Three the author draws the parallel methods of conquest and colonization of the Ottomans in 1571 and the Turkish invasion, occupation and colonization of Cyprus in 1974. In both cases the colonization was carried out as a systematic policy of the Turkish government (p. 27). Since 1974 the author estimates about 74,000 Turkish settlers have colonized Cyprus, including peasants, civil servants, soldiers, laborers and tourist industry personnel, and retired officers. In this colonization policy, many Bulgarian Muslims and Kurds are also allowed to settle in the Turkish occupied Northern Cyprus. About 174,700 Greek Cypriots fled from their homes in Northern Cyprus as the Turkish army advanced in the double invasion in 1974. It is estimated that most of the Turkish settlers settled in villages and a few in towns and cities. About 60% of the settlers have settled in the Famagusta district. The majority of these settlers live separate from Turkish Cypriots.

In Chapter Four the author examines two basic issues "The Enosis movement" and "The Pan-Turkish Ideology" in Cyprus. Regarding the "Enosis Movement" or the union of Cyprus with Greece, an intense political mobilization began in the mid-1950 led by General George Grivas known as "Digenis" for the liberation of Cyprus from British rule and the union with Greece. Archbishop Makarios was the political leader of Cyprus who enjoyed



overwhelming popular support. The Turkish Cypriots were not mobilized until later. Greece and Greek Cypriots fought side by side with the British during World War II and hoped England after the War (as Churchill had promised) would cede Cyprus to Greece. The struggle for self-determination began with the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriots were used by the British against the Greek Cypriots. The EOKA movement was against the British colonists and not against the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot leadership did everything to help the colonial government in its military campaign against EOKA. An Anglo-Turkish policy force was formed to fight the EOKA and the Greek Cypriots. The author believes the failure of Greek Cypriot leadership and Greece to anticipate the Anglo-Turkish alliance had disastrous consequences for the Greek Cypriots.

The issue of Pan-Turkish is an extreme form of Turkish nationalism which promoted Turkish irredentism. It has its origins in the 19th century in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. The author argues that the major objective of Pan-Turkism was to bring all outside Turks under the umbrella of Turkish State. It glorified the ancient symbols of Turkish conquest the mythical grey wolf (bozkurt) of the Asian Steppes which according to Turkish legend, led the early Turkish tribes in their march of conquest (p. 60). The bozkurt became the symbol of Pan-Turkism in the 20th century. Pan-Turkism competes with the ideology of Kemal Atatürk whose political ideology was in favor of a homogeneous and secular state and against irredentism. According to the author, since 1960, Pan-Turkism has been the mainstream of Turkish politics (p. 63). The Pan-Turkist ideology reflects the attitudes toward Cyprus and Greece. In general, Pan-Turkism advances various racial and demographic theories to prove that the Greeks are not the descendants of ancient Greece and Cyprus are more Turkish than Greek.

In Chapter Five, the author examines more closely the activities of Pan-Turkism in the 1950s. In 1946, the establishment of the Cyprus Turkish Cultural Association, as a mouthpiece of Pan-Turkism in Cyprus, was founded in Istanbul. The stated purpose of this Pan-Turkist association was to advance Turkey's irredentist nationalism (p. 77). The Pan-Turkists were active and advanced the idea that Cyprus is Turkish. Furthermore, a number of Turkish newspapers along with this Pan-Turkist cultural organization advocated that the nationalist movement in Cyprus, the leadership of the Greek Orthodox Church and EOKA were controlled by communists and an enosis of Cyprus with Greece will jeopardize Turkey's vital interests. The author shows that the anti-Greek riots in Istanbul and Izmir on September 6, 1955, were organized by this Pan-Turkish group. Both the Menderes government and the leadership



of Kibris Türktür (Cyprus is Turkish) were behind the riots against the Greeks in Turkey. Both the government of Menderes, who was convicted and hanged later, and the opposition were implicated in the riots and the support of Pan-Turkist ideology. Three of the most influential members of the organizations central executive committee were Hikmet Bil, Kâmil Önal, and Ahmed Emin (p. 84), who were actively involved in anti-Greek Cypriot activities. The Turkish press had also close ties with this organization.

Chapter Six deals more specifically with the "Cyprus Question and the Anti-Greek Riots of September 1955". The riots against the Greek minority in Constantinople and Izmir reached such catastrophic proportions that the Greek community and its institutions were destroyed almost completely. The Turkish government was responsible for these riots which almost obliterated the Greek community from about 100,000 prior to September 1955 to about 3,000 today (p. 97). The Menderes government was found guilty of masterminding the riots. Greece and the armed forces downplayed the extent of destruction because their main concern was their anti-communism hysteria of the 1950s.

In Cyprus proper the EOKA had started its military campaign in April 1955 by attacking British military and police installation. Despite EOKA's assurances that their campaign was not against the Turkish Cypriots but against the British, the Turkish Cypriots sided with the British and adopted the view that Cyprus is Turkish. The British policy in Cyprus was closed to that of Turkey. Through rumors and innuendos the Turks accused the EOKA as preparing an all out attack on the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish newspapers helped in spreading false rumors. In the meantime a conference was convened by prime minister Anthony Eden in which he invited Turkey and Greece for talks in London. Makarios and the Greek Cypriots were against this conference known as the tripartite London Conference. It was this conference along with Zurich that gave Turkey a legitimacy to Cyprus. The rumors of imminent Greek Cypriot massacre against the Turkish Cypriots proved to be a fabrication by the "Kibris Türktür" movement "Cyprus is Turkish" (p. 110). The anti-Greek riots in Turkey were organized and instigated by the Cyprus Turkish Society (Kibris Türktür) and supported by the Turkish government. In their proclamation the Kibris Türktür society made it clear it was the same society that set up the bomb in Atatürk Kemal's home in Thessaloniki in order to justify the anti-Greek riots in Istanbul and Izmir.

Chapter Seven deals with the role of Turkish officers and a new organization known as Volcan to counter EOKA. It appeared in September 1955, the day of the anniversary of the Greek defeat and evacuation of Smyrna in 1922.



The Volkan organization adopted as its symbol the grey wolf. This nationalist Turkish organization was trained and guided by Turkish officers. It urged all Turkish Cypriots to disengage from any cooperation with the Greek Cypriots. The TMT (Turkish Resistance Org.) or Volkan's main objective was to promote separation between the two communities. The TMT was not dissolved even after Cyprus gained its independence. Prior to the invasion the Turkish Cypriots lived in enclaves and had a self-proclaimed administration. The segregation was the prelude to partition following the invasion of 1974. A number of Turkish officers served in Cyprus with TMT between 1955-1974. During the period of 1964-68 Denktash was in Turkey. He returned to Cyprus in 1968 and became the undisputed leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.

In Chapter Eight, the author examines the role of Pan-Turkish and Turkish Islamic groups played in Cyprus during the 1960's and 1970's. According to the author "The Turkish government treated the Cyprus issue as both a nationalist and an Islamic issue" (p. 159). The irredentist goals of Pan-Turkism have been pursued in Cyprus all along. All successive Turkish governments have treated Cyprus as part of Pan-Turkist policy since World War II, the author argues (p. 160). In the last two chapters (Nine and Ten) the author expounds on the politics of the self-proclaimed Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus and TRNC and the turning of the TRNC into a Turkish province by changing the hellenic character of the occupied part of Northern Cyprus. A systematic cultural and administrative Turkification of Cyprus has been going on even before the Turkish invasion in 1974. Greek villages, and streets have changed into Turkish names. The Greek Orthodox churches have been converted into mosques.

In conclusion, the author believes that Turkey has embarked on an imperial path of possession of territories by altering the actual demographic composition of Cyprus since the Turkish invasion in 1974. In carrying out the demographic alteration of Cyprus, Turkey has followed a policy of systematic colonization of the Northern part of the occupied Cyprus. Indeed, the author documents the transfer of about 74,000 Anatolian settlers to occupied Cyprus. The ideological justification for Turkey's new imperialism is through its ideology of Pan-Turkism and the belief that Cyprus is Turkish. Islam is used by Turkey to win support for Turkey's Cyprus policy in the Arab and Islamic countries and diffuse domestic pressure from Islamic groups (p. 192).

"By using its military might Turkey, according to the author, follows a policy of coercive diplomacy with regard to Cyprus and Greece. 'The author believes that the plight of Cyprus is due primarily to the



combined blunders of Nicosia and Athens that have contributed to the present situation. On the contrary Turkey's overall policy toward Cyprus is consistent since the 1950s. The most important blunders include: the London Tripartite Conference in 1955; the lack of a determined response by Greece to the anti-Greek riots of 1955 in Turkey; the Zurich-London agreements of 1959; the untimely proposals by Cypriot President Makarios to amend the constitution of Cyprus in November 1963; the lack of a Greek response to the Turkish bombing of northwest Cyprus in August 1964; the withdrawal of the Greek military division from Cyprus in December 1967; and above all, the military coup staged by the Greek junta against Makarios in July 1974' p. 193".

The author believes the self-proclaimed "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" by any standards has been totally dependent and absorbed culturally, militarily, politically, diplomatically, and economically into Turkey. The TRNC, the author argues, has become the 68th Turkish province (p. 194). The incorporation of TRNC into a Turkish province has undermined the concept of "intercommunal" talks under the UN auspices (p. 195). The author ends his book with a rather pessimistic view of Cyprus by believing that Cyprus may very well be swallowed by Turkey if a federal arrangement is agreed upon and Turkey will continue to exert an imperial vision in eastern Mediterranean and its policies toward Greece and Cyprus will continue to be aggressive. In addition, the author has provided two useful appendixes of documents, an extensive bibliography, and an index that make his book highly documented (a total of 50 pages).

Joannides has written a highly researched and well argued book. His main conclusion is that Cyprus has been transformed into a Turkish province. Although I tend to agree with his basic analysis and conclusions, it seems to me the author has not taken into serious consideration the international factor as one of the most important factors in the Cyprus issue. I highly recommend the book to all those interested in the Cyprus conflict. It is a highly readable, thoroughly researched, and well argued book.