

Reihe von Fachleuten darum bemüht hat, ohne jedoch ein zufriedenstellendes Ergebnis erreichen zu können. Eine befriedigende Lösung für die Einbeziehung des griechischen Raumes in die Südosteuropa-Bibliographie steht daher noch aus.

Bei einer Auswahlbibliographie eines so komplizierten vielsprachigen Raumes sind kleine Ungleichmäßigkeiten bei der Auswahl der aufzunehmenden Titel kaum zu vermeiden. Es fehlen z. B. einige in der Zeit von 1945 bis 1950 erschienene Werke, wie:: Cléobule Tsourkas, "Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. La vie et l'œuvre de Théophile Corydalée (1563-1646)", Bukarest 1948 (Schriftenreihe des Bukarester Balkan-Instituts Nr. 9) 280 S. und D. Popovici, "La littérature Roumaine à l'Epoque des Lumières", Sibiu Hermannstadt 1945, 516 S. (Bibliotheca Rerum Transilvaniae Nr. XII) und schliesslich einige der wichtigeren Aufsätze, die in der Bukarester Zeitschrift "Balcania" erschienen sind, da diese Zeitschrift in keiner Bibliothek Deutschlands oder Österreichs in einer vollständigen Serie (1938 - 1948) besteht. Es darf trotz dieser kleinen Bemerkungen mit Bewunderung festgestellt werden, daß mit dieser Bibliographie ein wertvoller Beitrag für das deutsche Bibliothekswesen sowie für die Ost- und Südosteuropa - Forschung geleistet wurde, zu der man das Institut wie die Bibliographie und ihre Mitarbeiter aufrichtig beglückwünschen kann.

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Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece*. Mouton and Co, The Hague, 1962. Pp. 293.

In his report to the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, on November 19, 1962, Mr. Felix Schnyder, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees said that not only the problem of "old" refugees has not been solved, but a serious "new problem" resulting from the presence in Africa of nearly 300.000 new refugees from Angola and Rwanda, has been created. Similar statements, pronounced by such an authority on the refugee question as Mr. Schnyder, demonstrate that the problems deriving from the refugees' settlement constitute a permanent source of national and international complications. Following this consideration Mr Pentzopoulos' book proves itself to be not only a valuable source of well-filtered and elaborated information but also a standard work which may serve as a textbook to those involved in the exchange of populations procedures.

It is true that the title of Mr. Pentzopoulos' study is rather mislead-

ing. He is not concerned with the overall "Balkan" exchange of minorities but mainly with the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, which followed the Lausanne Convention of 1923. Some hints are also given on the Greek-Bulgarian exchange, but as in this case it was a voluntary exchange, its relevant problems are treated only in the necessary connection to the refugee policy of Greek administration. It is to be reminded to this respect that following Moudania Armistice, which put an end to the Asia-Minor Greek Expedition, the Treaty of Sèvres was considered substantially and typically void. The Lausanne Conference which was instituted to settle the new regime that would govern the relations between the Allied Powers and Turkey, started working in November 1922 and concluded its session in July 1923. It was not of course the Greek question only that kept the negotiations going on for such long time. The main controversial issue was the settlement (rather, the distribution) of the Arabian States. After all Greece had not petroleum! It was probably this concern of the Great Powers that inspired the Turkish delegation to demand not only an unconditional exchange of populations but even the abolition of the entire Greek fleet! Venizelos, confronted with the eagerness of the Powers to close the Greek-Turkish issue as soon as possible and with the extraordinary demands of Ishmet Pasha, tried of course to find his way through, what was considered by him as the mildest solution.

Domestic pressure added considerable trouble to Venizelos' international difficulties. The revolution leaders, who had just reversed monarchy in Greece, considered that Greek army had already recovered and that the reopening of hostilities would be the best possible solution. Such pressure has been exercised on Venizelos not only through official correspondence but especially through the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexandris, who had been sent to Lausanne on this purpose. Nevertheless, this attitude of home leaders rather helped Venizelos who was aware of the fact that a rupture of negotiations would have been saluted in Greece with much enthusiasm. It was against this background that the Lausanne Agreement had been signed. The agreed upon exchange of populations created, in principle and in fact, a new method of settling minorities questions and endowed Greece with the unexpected privilege of testing this new experience.

Mr. Pentzopoulos' work covers a period of almost 30 years. He follows closely the refugees from the time they had been forced to abandon their properties and to transplant themselves into a new soil till their present day situation. The framework of this tragedy is described with a scholar-

ly concern of high quality. Maps and statistical data — the latter applied with considerable density — assist frequently the author in his argumentations. The book is not only a horizontal exposé of the refugees' history in their new homeland. The author has also guided his research towards the particular problems that have been created, because of the exchange, at this new era of Greek social history and has examined the aftermath of the exchange as well.

The study is divided into two parts and an extended Annex. Part I is entitled: "Greece receives the refugees," Part II: "The refugees accept Greece," whereas the Annex is concerned with the actual refugee problem. The book is preceded by an introduction which provides a brief "exposé de motifs" of the author. Part I (94 pages) contains two main entities. The first (Chapter I and II) produces the necessary historical information which frames the exchange scheme. The second (Chapter III) is concerned with the procedures for the settlement of the refugees from an international (Section I of Chapter III) as well as from a domestic (Section II of Chapter III) angle.

Chapter I (24 pages) sets the exchange necessity against its historical background. The author examines the policy of the "Megali Idea," the situation of the Hellenism in Turkey, the Treaty of Sèvres, and proceeds by giving a short account of the Asia Minor disaster. But he is satisfied with a neutral approach to the events of the period. He offers his own argumentation and one need not read between the lines in order to understand his personal attitude towards the history of Greece in the middle 20ies. The reviewer may of course agree or disagree with the author's attitude, nevertheless he is tempted to observe that dogmatism is not the best policy on such issues as the "Megali Idea," especially in studies which are concerned with social rather than political history. The general reader from the very first pages of the book (pp. 25 and 26) may get the impression that the policy of the "Megali Idea" had been already thoroughly examined by scholars and that its origins as well as its effects on Greek history have been unquestionably decided upon. However, this reviewer deems that this may not be the exact case. How far was the "Megali Idea" imposed upon Greek thought and feelings for political reasons? Did it serve only nationalistic purposes? These are not of course questions to be answered by a scholar who works on the exchange problem but they demonstrate that the relevant issues may not be treated with dogmatic assertions especially when they serve background purposes as in Mr. Petzopoulos' book.

Chapter II (22 pages) deals with the "Lausanne Conference and the

Exchange of Populations Conventions." The author follows closely the efforts of Venizelos to face Turkish demands in view of the reluctance of the Great Powers to exercise any pressure in favour of Greece. Little, however, is told about the other issues of the Conference and almost nothing about the repercussions of the feelings of the Greek Government upon the Greek delegations' struggle. In fact Venizelos was aware not only of the Young-Turks will to continue the war (p. 67) but of the anxiety of the "Young-Greeks" as well, who considered that the continuation of the war could prove fruitful for Greece. Nearly 6 pages are devoted to an overall analysis and appraisal of the Convention itself and Appendix I furnishes its full text. Finally it must be noted that the author's concern is rightly focused on the Greek attempt to achieve the best possible solution and on the factors that prevented the conclusion of the treaty in complete accordance with Greek views.

Chapter III (18 pages) contains an analysis of the international aspect of the settlement of refugees. This is one of the most interesting sections of the study. Mr. Pentzopoulos is at his best when projecting the inadequacies of a system of international relief which had not been experienced up to that time. Every aspect of the relief campaign (the refugees and private relief; the refugee question before the League; creation of the Refugee Settlement Commission; organisation of the Commission, the 1924 refugee loan; the 1927 stabilization loan) is presented in an excellent scholarly way.

However, one gets the impression that this international aspect of the refugees' settlement problem constituted the basis for his final arguments. Following this consideration one wonders why such an interesting question did not deserve some more exhaustive analysis. Little, for instance, is told about the protests with which Greek public opinion met the imposition upon Greece of unjust terms for the issue of the loan, though mention is made (p. 89) that "...the public considered the provisions of the Protocol as being against the national interest of the country." Moreover, the reader will not find in the book any consideration of the aftermath of the refugees' loans nor anything about the complications these loans have caused throughout contemporary Greek foreign economic policy.

Chapter IV (26 pages) is concerned with the internal aspect of the settlement of refugees. In fact it describes all the measures that have been taken by the Greek Governments in order to reconstitute a normal state of affairs within a country that had been obliged to increase *uno acto* its population by about 1.200.000 persons. The author commences with the

institution of the Refugee Settlement Commission and by examining the different phases of the settlement procedure (agricultural, urban, etc.) ends with the Ankara Convention of 1930.

Due stress is given by Mr. Pentzopoulos on the agricultural settlement which has been inspired by the idea "... to reconstitute each refugee community as it was established before its transfer" (p. 107). The necessity for agricultural rehabilitation of the newcomers has marked one of the most significant phases in Greek social development. This consequence has not escaped the author's attention who has marked in another part of his study (p. 153) that "...the agrarian reform changed fundamentally the social and economic life of the country." It is, however, regrettable that little is said on this issue despite the fact that its considerable after-effects on Greek social life are still felt. May be a closer study of the parliamentary debates of the time would have lead Mr. Pentzopoulos to devote much more space than he actually did, in examining the agrarian reform. Nevertheless it would have been unfair not to note that the governmental policy relevant to the settlement of the refugees and the various methods of its implementation have drawn the author's close attention and that these issues are presented in a detailed and accurate way.

Part II (94 pages) deals, in the author's own words, with the "...long run effects of the exchange upon the Greek-State," and is divided into 4 Chapters, namely, I "The Ethnological Impact," II "The Economic Impact," III "The Political Impact," and IV "The Social and Cultural Impact." In Chapter I (20 pages) Mr. Pentzopoulos is concerned with two categories of ethnological after-effects: a) the condensation of the population and b) the end of the Macedonian Question. The study explains the ethnological and linguistic homogeneity that resulted from the exchange and the conclusions are based on statistical data which are presented in the proper way. The role that played the exchange on the disappearance of the so-called Macedonian Question, finds a considerable place in the said Chapter.

Chapter II (25 pages) explains the thorny economic situation with which the Greek government was phased when dealing with the refugee settlement. Moreover the author examines and analyses the contribution of the refugees to the welfare of the recipient State. From Mr. Pentzopoulos' exposition the reader realises that the economic adjustment of the newcomers has passed through hard stages of uncertainty and instability.

Chapter III (24 pages) deals with the delicate political impact of the exchange over the evolution of political factors in Greece. The author

attempts, with a short introduction to the Chapter, to provide for an overall picture of the factors that affect Greek political reactions. Furthermore he is concerned with the political alignment of the refugees, their part in Greek political life and finally with the relationship between the rise of communism in Greece and the refugee settlements. It is in this Chapter that the author's psychological method of interpreting historical facts is manifested clearly. Mr. Pentzopoulos, instead of determining the features that marked political evolution in middle-war Greece and of examining the real factors that affected the political orientation of the refugees, deals with psychological considerations which he does not succeed to cover with the proper justification. This reviewer cannot, for instance, adhere easily to conceptions such as... "Three factors prevented Greece from plunging into a prolonged and uncertain period of anarchy and chaos... finally, *the unexpected magnitude of the disaster which left everyone, including the refugees in a state of bewilderment*(stress added)" (p. 178). However, it is to the merit of Mr. Pentzopoulos that he does not abstain from the attempt to consider controversial issues, in order to furnish his reader with the necessary historical framework within which the exchange problem has taken place. His correct conclusions as to why a considerable part of the refugees has adhered to communism (p. 195) demonstrate how happy he proves himself to be when he denies the psychological approach and looks deeper into the roots of Greek social structure.

Chapter IV (21 pages) is concerned with 3 main issues, namely the problem of symbiosis, the effect of the exchange upon Greek language and finally the Aeolian School in Greek Literature. So far as the harmonisation of the mentality of natives and refugees is concerned, the reader notes the complete absence of any concern from the part of the State itself. This is not specifically stressed by the author but it is concluded easily from the exposition of the various stages of social and cultural integration of the two communities. As the gradual psychological adjustment of the newcomers to the recipient community and vice versa has been left to time cure, one cannot easily derive any conclusions which would serve as models to future — undesirable though it is — exchange of populations in other parts of the world. On the contrary a similar task is accomplished by those sections of the study that deal with domestic or international administrative methods and with their feasibility.

Much tribute should be paid to the Annex of the study (12 pages) which deals with the refugee problem today. The housing of urban refugees, the question of the exchangeable property and the refugee de-

mands, are successfully treated. The question of the exchangeable property is looked upon in a more extended way though the author does not closely follow the function of the Independent Fund for the Administration of exchangeable property.

The author's final conclusions (16 pages) concern mainly the exchange of populations as a general method of solving minorities' questions. In fact the author examines the divergent opinions on this problem, though he does not seem to adopt any one of the suggestions already made by scholars. Is an exchange of population desirable or not so far as the solution of conflicts deriving from that matter are concerned? It is not at all easy to give a "yes or no" answer and the author most wisely avoids such absolute suggestions. However, he proceeds in setting four prerequisites to be followed as a minimum of guarantees, in case a transfer is unavoidable. Namely a) the acceptance of the transfer by the countries affected by it, b) the placing of the implementation of such a scheme under international supervision, c) the institution of adequate guarantees for the compensation of the transplanted individuals and d) the establishment of an international machinery for the settlement of the evicted persons. In the author's own words (p. 253) "The exchange of populations constitutes a landmark in the history of modern Greece. It is doubtful whether any other event has affected the country as profoundly and extensively as the influx of the million and half irredentist Greeks arriving from every corner of the Eastern Mediterranean. This gigantic transmigration represents the end of an era and has left its permanent imprint on every aspect of Greek life."

This study is undoubtedly a considerable contribution to the international literature on the subject of refugees. Mr. Pentzopoulos is more successful when he deals with the exchange itself than when he proceeds to appraisals of political events of modern Greek history. His psychological approach is rather insufficient a method for such considerations. The facts of the exchange themselves are offered to the reader with a scholarly care and an excellent elaboration of sources. The overall exchange scheme is dealt with an ample and accurate way. All those who have some knowledge on the exchange of populations but particularly those who have not, must read this book.

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D. George Kousoulas, *Revolution and Defeat: The Story of the Greek Communist Party*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 306.
... on 30 August (1949), at five o'clock in the morning, the