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TURKISH POLICY TOWARDS GREEK EDUCATION IN ISTANBUL 1923-1974
SECONDARY EDUCATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

by

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ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ Ι.Μ.Σ.Μ.Ε

To my beloved parents Keti and Simo

for their infinite love, endless patience and constant support

over the years…

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ABSTRACT

The thesis begins with an introduction to the revival of learning which characterised the nineteenth century Ottoman Greek world. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 - after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire - a new period of uncertainty began for the Greek minority and its educational institutions. The rapid intellectual and spiritual growth which the Greeks had experienced up to that time tended to stagnate under the new regime. The main bulk of this study is devoted to the rise of Turkish nationalism in connection with the policy of the Turkish state regarding minorities and minority schools. After the Venizelos-Atatürk *rapprochement* in the 1930s and despite the Greco-Turkish friendship agreements signed at the time, suspicion and mistrust towards minorities remained key features of Turkish internal policy. Moreover, the long-standing 'difference' in status between the Muslim and non-Muslim citizen remained strong in the secular Turkish state. This culminated in considerable harassment in the everyday life of non-Muslim citizens. With the growth of nationalism in Europe, and particularly under the Nazi influence, extreme nationalist policies were imposed upon all non-Muslim minorities (e.g. the *Varlık* tax) and their respective institutions in Turkey. The psychological and practical consequences of such policies (e.g. the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955) had a tremendous impact on the Greek community and its schools. A deep-rooted suspicion that foreign schools in general and Greek schools in particular concealed spying activities against the Turkish government remained strong. The survival of Greek schools in the face of Turkish nationalism is studied in depth. The thesis concludes with an evaluation of current and future prospects of the Greek secondary education in Istanbul.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in this thesis. For further details about the primary and secondary sources mentioned below see the bibliography.

AA	*Ανατολικός Αστήρ* (Constantinopolitan newspaper)
BMAEV	Benaki Museum, Archive of Eleftherios Venizelos
BMAIP	Benaki Museum, Archive of Ioannis Politis
BS	Balkan Studies
CHS	Central Hieratic School
D.B.F.P	Documents on British Foreign Policy
DP	Democratic Party
F.O.R.D	Foreign Office Research Department
GAT	General Administration of (Greek) Thrace
GNA	(Turkish) Grand National Assembly
GPSC	Greek Philological Syllogos of Constantinople
GPSP	Greek Philo-muse Society 'Pallas'
EA	*Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* (Constantinopolitan periodical)
EE	*Εκκλησιαστική Επιθεώρησις* (Constantinopolitan publication)
ECR	Eastern Churches Review
EPFC	Educational and Philanthropic Fraternity of Constantinople
FO	Foreign Office
IAYE	Ιστορικό Αρχείο Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών
IY	istatistik Yıllıgı (Annual Statistics)
ΚΕΦΣ	*Ο εν Κωσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος* (periodical of the GPSC)
LCNEA	Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs
LNOJ	League of Nations Official Journal
LNTS	League of Nations, Treaty Series
PCEC	Patriarchal Central Educational Committee
PRO	Public Record Office
RPP	Republican People's Party
SBFD	Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi (Journal of the Faculty of Political Science)
SPWEC	*Syllogos* for the Promotion of Women's Education of Constantinople.
TL	Turkish Lira/Turkish pound
WCC	World Council of Churches

TRANSLITERATION

In this study, given names have been transliterated in the traditional way in accordance with contemporary Greek practice. Surnames ending in ης have been transliterated to is, and the final η as i. The letters β, φ, χ are transliterated as v, ph and ch and in most cases σ has been transliterated as ss. Place names are given in the form most commonly found in Greek sources but in most cases the Turkish version is also included. For the city of Istanbul prior to 1923 the term Constantinople has been used. Also when referring to the 'Patriarchate of...' or 'the diocese of...' the term 'Constantinople' has been preferred throughout the thesis. Where there is a reference to a bishopric, the Greek name also has been used. In Turkish words the letter ş represents the English sound sh and c the English equivalent of j (ts/tz in Greek). For the term *Rum* used by both the Ottomans and the Turks referring to the Greek Orthodox minority I have adopted the term 'Ottoman Greek' (i.e. Greek with Turkish citizenship) or simply 'Greek', while for the Greeks of Greece, as well as Constantinopolitan Greeks with Greek nationality I have used the term 'Hellene' (Yunan in Turkish). For the Turkish name endings in *oglu*, for instance, Şükrü Saraçoglu the Turkish spelling has been used, whereas for the Greek names such as Sarioglou or Mirmiroglou the *oglou* form has been preferred.

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resident in Athens, who provided me with significant material for this study.

The research of this thesis was undertaken in England (London and Birmingham) at the Guildford Library, the British Library, the Public Record Office, the Institute of Historical Research of London as well as the Harding Law and Main Libraries of the University of Birmingham; in Greece (Athens) at the Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry, the General Archives of the State, the Greek Parliament Library, the Benaki Museum Library, the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (ΕΛΙΑ), the Academy of Athens, the National Research Institute, the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (ΚΜΣ), the National Library, the Constantinopolitan Society, the Hestia Neas Smyrnis Library; in Turkey (Istanbul and Ankara) at the Turkish Presidential Archives, the Turkish National Library, the Library and Archives of the Patriarchate, the Theological School Library at Chalki, and the Atatürk Library. I would like to thank the staff of all the above institutions for their professionalism and assistance.

Thanks are also due to Costa Sarioglou, my brother, for tolerating my constant interruption while attempting to work on his own PhD. I reserve for special mention and thanks Henry P. Scott who not only assisted me in editing the manuscripts over endless weekends but also encouraged and supported me constantly during the most crucial time of this thesis. Finally, the greatest debt of all is due to Keti and Simo Sarioglou who supported me in every way over my long courtship with this work.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the recent interest in historical accounts concerning the Greek community in Istanbul[1], research on Turkish policy towards Greek schools and education after the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 remained sparse until the late 1980s. This was perhaps the natural outcome of a dwindling community which had to focus on survival, the upkeep of its distinct cultural identity and existing educational institutions. Even though Greek schools, churches and hospitals, among other institutions, continued to function after Lausanne, the well planned 'assimilate or leave' strategy of the Turkish government prompted a constant flow of emigration of Greeks from Istanbul after 1923. With the decrease in population and the measures taken against the non-Muslim minorities, hope for a future in Turkey weakened dramatically in the ensuing years. It was only at the beginning of the 1980s, when it transpired that future prospects for the Greek community in Istanbul were extremely bleak, that the history of its cultural institutions and schools attracted the attention of scholars[2].

For instance, Alexandris' research was the first of its kind and therefore a very important contribution as a secondary source analysing the different aspects of the Greek community in Istanbul from 1918-1974. Although extremely useful and carefully researched, the book contains inconsistencies and a number of errors. The present thesis - like that of Alexandris - is largely based on the British Public Record Office Archives (PRO)[3] and the Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry (IAYE)[4].

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[1] Recently several academics in the context of Greco-Turkish relations have been interested in writing about the Greek community in Istanbul. For instance see Alexandris 1992 (first published in 1983), Sarris 1992, Svolopoulos 1992, Akar 1992 and 1994, Divani 1995, Stamatopoulos 1996, Anagnostopoulou 1997.

[2] See Constantinidis 1984, Svolopoulos 1995 and Cardaras 1995. For the Greek and Turkish school books see Millas 1988.

[3] Hereafter PRO.

[4] To refer to Greek archive documents the abbreviation of AYE has been used throughout the thesis.

However, Alexandris' book, first published in 1983, could not have evaluated the more contemporary PRO archives included in this thesis because of the rules governing the release of British government documents. Alexandris' book recounts Constantinopolitan Greek history from sources within the PRO from 1918 to 1948[5]. The PRO archival documents used in the present thesis cover the more extended period 1867-1968. This provides the reader with an opportunity to develop a more profound understanding of events as well as a more complete picture of crucial incidents such as the infamous tax on wealth[6] (*Varlık Vergisi*) and the anti-Greek riots of 1955.

An equally, if not more important primary source for the social and cultural conditions of the Greeks in Istanbul is available from the Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry. Here, Alexandris covered archival material from 1919 to 1930. This research uses material from the same source for the longer period 1919 to 1960[7]. In fact, the intention was to incorporate records up to 1967, the latest files to become accessible. Unfortunately, only records up to 1960 were made available. As far as personal archives are concerned, an important contribution has been made through the consultation of memoranda, manuscript minutes and correspondence records, giving me the opportunity to cross reference with public archive information. Apart from public and private archives, other sources such as annuals, Circulars, regulations, curricula issued by

[5] Under existing legislation British government records from the Foreign Office are open to public inspection no sooner than thirty years after their creation. Theoretically the same applies to Greek archives.

[6] As will be seen in this thesis the tax on wealth was first designed by the Turkish Assembly in 1917 and legalised eventually in 1942. The continuity of this law was expressed under cover of the anti-Greek riots organised and sponsored by the government in order to exclude Greeks from Turkish business and trade. The final coup came with the 1964 expulsions. Consequently trade and business became largely the domain of Turkish (Muslim) citizens.

[7] With one exception of a document used in Chapter I of this thesis concerning the Greek Evangelical School of Smyrna which dates back to 1912.

the Turkish government and contemporary Greek[8] and Turkish newspapers, as well as periodicals, have been essential for the completion of this study.

Given the widely dispersed nature of sources relating to Greek schools in Istanbul, it is not surprising that researchers have been slow to document their history. Although the loss or inaccessibility of certain archives is confounding, it is apparent that the surviving evidence is more than adequate to provide a comprehensive overview of the effects of Turkish nationalism on Greek education in Istanbul. With this in mind Greek, Turkish and British archives have been consulted. One frequent shortcoming of similar studies conducted by Turkish and Greek academics is the lack in them of Greek and Turkish sources respectively[9]. With respect to Greco-Turkish relations, an essential resource, often underused, is the PRO. The uniqueness of the present study stems from the exploitation of original and hitherto untranslated sources. The four languages encountered in essential research documents are Greek, Turkish, French and English.

On a personal note, the main incentive for this research dates from 1990, the year I graduated from a Greek minority high school in Istanbul (the *Zappeion* high school for girls), vowing one day to write its fascinating history - a testimony to the perseverance of its students and staff. 1990 also marked the start of my personal collection of information from different primary sources, including interviews with my school teachers. This research officially began in 1995 as a PhD thesis at the

[8]Greek newspapers and periodicals published by the Greek Constantinopolitan community both in Istanbul and Athens are consulted. Greek dailies are also included.

[9] Generally speaking, there is often a lack of primary and/or secondary sources, which derives from a limited knowledge of languages. For instance, Akar's books on the expulsion of Greeks in 1964 and on the *Varlık* tax of 1942 are valuable Turkish contributions to Constantinopolitan Greek history, but his work does not contain any Greek source.

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The research period in the PRO was relatively easy as the British archives were well organised with the smooth production of available documents, unlike the Greek archives where, on the one hand, there was an abundance of information, but on the other, the archives were still rudimentary and mainly unclassified. By contrast, the Turkish Presidential Archives remain closed to the general public, who only have access to preliminary material, such as laws and circulars, but certainly not to any correspondence or memoranda. In order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the events which this dissertation examines, it has been necessary to work in all these National Archives. Professor Goldstein, my initial supervisor, directed me to the PRO in order to gain a general picture of the international and national state of affairs in Greece and Turkey over my period of study. The Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry provided me with more information specifically on education matters concerning the Greek minority in Istanbul. While in Istanbul I asked to interview a number of Turkish and Greek teachers; unfortunately most of them preferred not to take part, fearing for their own safety. The reaction towards my request for any information/contribution from Greek directors of major Greek high schools was also met with a 'cautious' attitude.

The exodus of the Greek Constantinopolitan population during the second half of the twentieth century has certainly resulted in the dispersal and loss of important private and communal collections and school archives. For instance, only three Constantinopolitan Greeks granted me access to their unique personal archives on Greek schools. The ~~retired~~ individual Constantinopolitan who provided me with significant information on Greek schools in Istanbul preferred to remain anonymous. Several original

Circulars (*Tezkere*), statistical information on Greek education in Istanbul, Turkish and local Greek newspaper cuttings as well as school reports of the time were kindly made available for consultation. Equally valuable is the Vingopoulou-Papazotou private collection on Constantinopolitan Greek schools (memoranda, statistics, private letters, Circulars and annuals) which provides very useful information ~~for~~ on the first two decades after the Treaty of Lausanne. The private collection of S. D. Tarina consists of a very large scale subject archive covering subjects related to the Constantinopolitan Greek minority. The information obtained through his very well classified collection proved to be vital for the completion of this thesis. Subsequently, all these private archives gave me the opportunity to compare - and not depend on a single source - and cross reference information, particularly significant for the evaluation of the number of Greek students and schools.

However, each of the different categories of primary and secondary source material has its limitations and each presents its own methodological challenges; the oral accounts, based largely on memory, are by definition very subjective, while the British and Greek archives are, albeit in different ways, equally subjective. The PRO documents available to readers represent only a very small percentage of the original documents created at the time; that is to say, the majority of documents have not survived or were considered inappropriate for release to the public domain. The PRO documents which have been examined in this thesis are mostly written by British diplomats representing British interests and therefore, in several cases, they ignored or paid very little attention to the effects of Turkish nationalism on Greek education, since a primary concern was to avoid disturbing British relations with Turkey. While the records of the Foreign Office reflect the growth in the complexity of

foreign affairs, the increase in the number of British representatives and the expansion in the numbers of international organisations in which Britain plays a part, they also demonstrate to what extent Britain was interested in the political, economic and social affairs of the Middle East. Throughout the diverse memoranda, annual reports and minutes consulted the significant role of Britain in the diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey could also be easily identified. The PRO documents also show the effects of the communications revolution: increased use of telegraphs, despatches arriving more quickly and in greater numbers, typewritten accounts and in the twentieth century, notes of telephone conversations. A significant number of Embassies and Consular records as well as the correspondence of officials of the Foreign Office in London with these representatives constitute the most important part of the research undertaken in the PRO. Originals and duplicates of despatches from representatives in Greece and Turkey often with enclosures, reports, translations, newspaper cuttings and private letters, mainly from the Archbishop of Canterbury of the time, sent on for the Foreign Secretary's information, were examined. Draft parliamentary questions for reply in the House of Commons or House of Lords, records of conversations between senior diplomats or the Foreign Secretary and foreign envoys resident in London were also consulted. In this respect this study relies mainly on the General Correspondence (FO 371, Political) and the Embassies and/or Consular Archives/Miscellaneous (FO 195). The British records serve to provide a contemporary outside view of the treatment of the Greek minority by successive Turkish governments over this period. To a lesser extent, American government files, particularly for the post-1945 period have been utilised to furnish an external perspective on contentious events such as the anti-Greek riots of 1955.

Greek documents and memoranda available in the Greek Archives of the Foreign Ministry likewise represent the bias and vested interests of both the Greek government and of the individuals who composed them, the more so since they derive largely from Greeks in Turkey. This is especially noteworthy if one takes into account the fact that during the late 1920s several former Constatinopolitan Greeks had been members of the Venizelist government[10]. As a result, their accounts, too, have their shortcomings and must be employed with great caution. In the same way the main files consulted in the Greek Historical Archives are the General Correspondence (political, section A) as well as the section most relevant to this study (educational/cultural, section B) specifically on the Greek minority schools in Turkey. Particularly after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne the interaction between the Foreign Ministers and their diplomatic advisers on matters of education and Greek schools in Turkey are closely followed up. Domestic and foreign newspapers, political correspondence, and notes on cultural exchanges provided another fundamental source for this research. In particular the extensive statistical information received from these Archives on Greek schools and education constituted a very valuable witness of the dramatic deterioration of school standards in Istanbul.

As for the Libraries of the Patriarchate and the Theological School of Chalki, although they hold a number of directly related documents it is often hard to obtain 'a clear picture of events' free of the biases and the emotions involved. Statistical information should also be handled with particular care as the numbers can sometimes be exaggerated. Most of the Pariarchate's petitions, reports or aide-memoires of the time were written

[10] For instance Alexandros Pappas, Alexandros Voutyras, Anastasios Misiroglou, Vassileios Vardopoulos among others were all members of the Venizelos government.

by high-ranking clergy with the aim of attracting European attention/intervention, and in many cases it is not easy to identify to what extent the records have been presented with the intention of simply recording the facts. These libraries were particularly useful for tracing the history of the different Greek schools, and for their administration and management prior to the Treaty of Lausanne. Rare calendars of fifty years old and more, providing statistics on Greek schools and population, annuals and diaries were also made available for consultation. These two libraries were equally useful for their extensive holdings of rare secondary books such as Ubicini's[11] or Synvet's[12] historical accounts of Greek education in Constantinople during the last century, which are out of circulation.

In the Turkish Prime Ministerial Archives in Ankara, mainly due to formal restrictions, very little information was made available for the subject matter of this thesis. Circulars and laws published in the Turkish *Official Gazette* were the chief type of material provided. It is interesting to see that as late as the 1930s several circulars, Circulars and laws concerning minority and foreign education in Turkey were still written in the Ottoman alphabet. From the same source, Turkish nationalist newspapers - old and contemporary - were also made available.

With regard to the oral information based on eye-witness reviews used in the thesis, for example, with reference to the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955 witnessed by the former Constantinopolitan resident Mrs. Araitzopoulou, I can find no reason to challenge their basic credibility. By the same token, as regards the interview held with the former Turkish ambassador to Paris, who was an eye-witness of the arrival of

[11] Cf. Ubicini 1856.
[12] Synvet 1878.

Athenagoras from the United States in Istanbul, I can again find no grounds for doubting its credibility. In both cases, other evidence would appear to corroborate the statements.

As for the Turkish newspapers consulted, most of them reflected the nationalism of the large majority of the Turkish population in Turkey. The picture drawn by the Turkish press concerning the non-Muslim minorities was rather different from that of the Greek press: the former demanded gratitude for the opportunity provided by the 'great Turkish nation' to all non-Muslim minorities to exist, whereas the latter generally presented comparisons between the 'trouble free' life of the Muslim communities in Greek Thrace and the 'victims' of Turkish nationalism - the Greeks in Istanbul. The minority question, and especially the position of the Greeks and the Patriarchate, were often used by the Turkish press as a means of distracting readers from internal issues, a tactic not uncommon in most contemporary societies. The watchword for the first decades after the establishment of the Turkish Republic remained essentially 'Turkey for the Turks'. Several Turkish newspapers used criticism of the Greek minority and its institutions in order to draw attention away from issues such as high inflation, the high cost of living and other domestic political problems. A pattern which still applies today. One of the results was that after 1923 the Greek press in Istanbul, subject directly to government surveillance, adopted a very neutral line. Unable to express itself freely, the Constantinopolitan Greek press remained oppressed in one form or another[13]. However, Greek politics were - naturally - criticised by newspapers of the Muslim communities in Greek Thrace.

[13] For instance *Χρονικά* was closed after being charged with insulting Turkism in 1929. Taking advantage of this situation nationalist Turkish students wrecked the printing office of *Χρονικά* on 10 July 1929. This was called the Mlle Eleni affair after the imprisoned proprietress of the *Χρονικά*. For a detailed report see Clerk to Chamberlain, Ankara, 18 July 1929 FO 371/13818/E3656 and Clerk to Chamberlain, Ankara, 21 November 1929, FO 371/13818/E6101.

As for the British and Western European newspapers, they also had their own biases and specific ideological perspectives. In the 1920s, French newspapers and periodicals, for example, tended to support and favour Turkish nationalistic policies. The British newspapers of the time were characterised by a more friendly attitude towards Greece. However subjective or partial, in analysing newspaper reports and articles of the time, I have tried throughout to take into account the national and international political circumstances under which these articles were written. Yet, in employing contemporary newspaper reports as a significant source, both for political events as well as for attitudes and popular beliefs, the commercial aim of newspaper proprietors and managers, as well as their political editorial position, needs constantly to be borne in mind.

Among the secondary sources, several historical accounts cover Greco-Turkish relations both from Greek and Turkish academics, as mentioned earlier. Predictably, the conclusions reached in the great majority are subject to serious methodological and conceptual problems[14]. The often extremely partial nature of much of the relevant secondary literature constituted an obvious and significant problem from the beginning. Both Greek and Turkish writers and academics have been equally guilty in this respect. Several instances were identified where a sensible and open discussion was compromised in the interests of nationalism. While such accounts are propagated within the Turkish as well as the Greek national curricula, even today, the nature of populist nationalism and the exigencies of national politics regrettably has meant that scholars have in many instances not been able to overcome such obstacles.

[14] See Sonyel 1993.

The aim of this study is to present a detailed picture of the impact of Turkish nationalism on Greek secondary education. Apart from presenting a comprehensive overview of the Turkish national education programme, I have also examined key related issues. A *sine qua non* for preserving Greek cultural identity, in the context of its submergence in an alien and often hostile environment, was the free and frequent use of the Greek language. But the evidence makes it clear that this condition was not encouraged. Indeed, the various pressures applied to Greek schools finally led to an 'identity crisis' among the younger generation, as the strong link which existed between mother tongue and national/cultural identity became compromised. The official Turkish education programme was reinforced through several other nationalist policies, such as the 'Citizen Speak Turkish' movement, the prohibition of foreign societies[15], as well as the persecution of the Greek press[16] in Turkey. This thesis aims to locate and contextualise the main causes of the flow of Greek emigrants from Istanbul, and to demonstrate the role in that process of the lowering of Greek educational standards, and the difficulties encountered in the struggle to survive as a distinct community.

The chronological limits of this study are marked by the agreement to exchange populations between Greece and Turkey and the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne, up to 1974. As an introduction, the opening chapter of the thesis surveys the cultural and communal life of the Greeks under Ottoman rule. The history of major communal secondary schools is also briefly outlined. The aim of the thesis is to provide a comprehensive study

[15] For instance in 1922, following the enactment by the GNA of a law proscribing foreign societies the premises of the GPSC were sequestered by the local authorities. See Ladas 1932:488.
[16] The Greek press in Istanbul is the subject of a doctoral thesis being prepared by Costa Sarioglou at the University of Pandeio in Athens.

of Greek schools in Istanbul after 1923 up to 1974, with special emphasis on Turkish policy towards minority schools.

The thesis begins with a discussion of the historical and educational contexts of the *millet-i Rum* of the Ottoman Empire and in particular with an overview of the educational regeneration movement of Constantinople [Chapter I]. As this thesis deals with Turkish policies on Greek education an attempt has also been made to provide an overview of developments before and after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne [Chapter II]. The following five chapters [Chapters III to VII] are devoted to a detailed examination of the rise of Turkish nationalist policy on education and its effects upon the Greek community and its schools. Considerable emphasis is also placed on the relationship between Greek education and the role of the Patriarchate. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that I have not attempted to deal with the education of the Muslim communities in Greek Thrace in any great detail, although the Treaty of Lausanne, and the subsequent educational agreements made between the two countries rendered a comparison between the education of Greeks in Istanbul and that of Muslims in Greek Thrace unavoidable. Greek and Turkish politics in general are outside the scope of this study, as is the study of official school books which constitutes a separate subject for research[17].

Although the main focus of this thesis is the impact of Turkish nationalism on Greek education and cultural identity, considerable attention is also paid to several expressions of Turkish nationalism and its effects upon the Greek minority, since the disappearance of the Constantinopolitan Greek schools constitutes one of the most visible examples of attempts to assimilate non-Muslim elements and institutions in Republican Turkey.

[17] For a comparative study of Greek and Turkish official secondary school books see H. Millas 1988.

The present study attempts to provide answers to several questions concerning Greek education in Istanbul such as: What were the effects of the Turkish national education programme on Greek education? What was Turkey trying to achieve and did it succeed? How does the current Greek school network in Istanbul compare with that of the Muslims in Greek Thrace? Were the Patriarchate and the Greek government equally responsible for the weakening of educational standards? Who was to blame? Who is the victim? Is there any hope for future improvement? What is the precondition of a real *rapprochement* between Greece and Turkey?

In concluding, I have attempted to show how, in this relatively short period, most of the Greek community has been forced to emigrate[18], with profound consequences for the educational possibilities of the steadily declining numbers of those who choose to remain. The policies of successive Greek governments as well as of the Patriarchate vis à vis Greek Constantinopolitan education is also discussed, together with an overview on the effects of nationalist education and its supposed 'contribution' to universal peace, which constitutes the concluding section. Ideally, one would wish for the harsh lessons of contemporary history to be learned and unnecessary suffering avoided; in reality, this is unlikely to occur in the short term. However, I hope that the results of this analysis will contribute to a re-evaluation of both past and present, and especially towards a more humane treatment of ethnic minorities.

[18] At the time of writing no more than one thousand Constantinopolitan Greeks remain in Istanbul - a city with a population of fifteen million.

CHAPTER I

The Greek *millet* of the Ottoman Empire: historical and educational background

1. The Greek *millet* and education.

After the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453 the city became a focal point of Muslim-Christian co-existence for more than four hundred years. However, the Ottoman *millet* structure did not take on its classical form until long after the fall of Constantinople[19]. During the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire witnessed the consolidation of the political and social institutions which were to last until the end of the Ottoman period[20]. Only at the end of the sixteenth century, faced with serious economic problems[21], did the Islamic ruling class grant a substantial degree of self-government to the non-Muslim minorities in order to facilitate the imposition and collection of taxes, which led in turn to the politicisation of the Greek Orthodox Church[22]. Thus, the conquered Christians were organised for the convenience of the Ottoman rulers themselves, as separate 'millets' or 'nations' with some degree of administrative autonomy in domestic affairs such as education and family law[23]. Nevertheless the immediate results of the *millet* system were

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[19] With the adoption of the *millet* system political control over the different ethnic groups, subject to the sultan, was entrusted to their respective religious leaders. For the evolution of the *millet* system, see Braude and Lewis 1982: 1-34 and Braude 1982: 69-88.

[20] Cf. İnalcık 1994: 41-52 and Conortas 1997:143-154.

[21] Cf. Tezel 1994: 46-58.

[22] Conortas 1997: 153-154. For relations between the Ottoman government and the Patriarchate see İnalcık:1991 407-436 and Gedeon 1910: 9-14. Also in Gedeon 1909 7-64 (part I) and Gedeon 1910: 9-14. It should be noted that the privilege of using Greek as the official language in written communications to the Sublime Porte was granted to the Patriarch.

[23] '*Memorandum on the non-Muslim minorities in Turkey*', 31 July 1923, FO 371/9110/E7878. It should be noted that within the Ottoman Empire there are two major divisions of the *millet* structure: *millet-i İslamiye* for Muslim nations and *millet-i mahkume* for the unredeemed nations. Needless to say, the entire Christian population belonged to the second category. For more information see '*Memorandum on Minorities in Turkey*', Ankara, 12 November 1943, FO 195/2480/779/8.

advantageous to both sides, as the Ottoman sultans assumed the responsibility of protecting the life and premises of their subject people and in return the heads of the *millets*[24] confirmed the compliance of their 'flocks' with the Sublime Porte[25]. Regardless of the multi-ethnic nature of the population of Constantinople during the Ottoman period, and despite the fact that it was the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, for many Greeks 'the City' kept its sacred importance and continued to be regarded as the '*Metropolis*' of the Greek nation, both by virtue of ancient history and because for centuries the Greek population continued to comprise around 25-30 per cent of the total population during the Ottoman era[26]. Moreover, with the politicisation of the Greek Orthodox Church, major changes occurred in its structure as it was granted more privileges than it had had in the Byzantine period[27]. Thus, one of the fundamental duties of the Church was the overall control of all educational matters to do with the Greek ethnic minority of Constantinople. Therefore, the Christian clergy was transformed into a sort of *Ulema*[28], with the result that friction between secular and religious education was no longer so rife. Hence, education was perceived as part of 'devotion' and was therefore 'sacred'[29]. Further, the Church enhanced its authority over Orthodox

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[24] By 1914 there were 17 separate millets representing various religious groups of the Empire. The ruling Muslim *millet* was the most numerous comprising Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, Bosnians and Pomaks. Before the conquest of Constantinople the majority of its population was Greek Orthodox Christian. The Ottomans called them *Rum* which in medieval Muslim usage referred to the Romans or Byzantines. They included Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Vlachs, Bosnians and the inhabitants of southern Albania. Cf. Karpat 1973: 109-115. For a detailed historical account on the Greek *millet* during the nineteenth century see Anagnostopoulou 1997.

[25] Cf. Gedeon 1910: 9-14 and Papadopoulos 1924.

[26] Cf. Sarris 1997: 117-20.

[27] Cf. Costis 1991: 63-65.

[28] In the Ottoman Empire the religious leaders took care of all educational, spiritual and legal matters. Therefore there was no distinction between secular and religious education.

[29] Sarris 1990:373 vol., II. Following the example of the Ottomans and due to the *millet* structure, instruction and learning was at first given in the Church by the Orthodox clergy as part of their clerical duties. For a detailed account of the Ottoman structure see Sarris 1990 and İnalcık 1994:165-172. On the Ottoman educational system see Tekeli-İlkin 1993.

communities, churches and schools in accordance with its own understanding and interpretation[30]. There are two fundamental characteristics which define Ottoman Greek education during the nineteenth century: first, Constantinople was considered as the 'capital city' among Greeks;[31] second, the idiomorphic character of the *millet* system (within which non-Muslim communities were organised under their own religious leaders and were given considerable administrative, as well as religious, authority over their flock) had a significant influence on education. Needless to say, while enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy, the *millets* were subject to the absolute rule of the Ottoman sultans and their Muslim dominated entourage[32].

In this manner the Ecumenical Patriarchate provided leadership,[33] not only to the Greek Orthodox, but to all the Orthodox populations of the Empire, though the perception of ethnicity as a basic definition was not used until the late nineteenth century[34]. With its seat in the *Phanar* district of Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarch represented collectively the Greek, Slavic, Albanian, Romanian and Arabic Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire. The involvement of Greeks in the administrative affairs of the Sublime Porte came into being through the rise of the Phanariots - wealthy businessmen with political connections - resident in the neighbourhood of the Patriarchal court. During the seventeenth

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[30] Cf. Sarris 1997: 117-120.

[31] Cf. Svolopoulos 1995: 11-12.

[32] It should be noted that the Ottoman tolerance was rather based on economic advantages enjoyed by the Ottoman ruling class over the non-Muslim population through taxes such as the *cizye* which constituted 40 per cent of Ottoman income. In places such as Constantinople, Smyrna (or Serbia) the proportion of cizye payers was high due to substantial non-Muslim communities. See Sarris 1997. The fact that their costumes and houses had to be different (in height and colour) from those of the Muslim population was a reminder of their status as second class citizens. A notable example of this was the bribery given every year from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the Sublime Porte to allow the celebration of Easter in the courtyard of the Patriarchate. See Sarris 1990:536-53, Papadopoulos 1919:50-51, Svolopoulos 1995:20-21.

[33] As such in the post-Byzantine period the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople was a recognised member of the sultan's bureaucracy. See Gedeon 1910: 9-14 and Gedeon 1909:7-64 (part I).

century, they were first admitted into the lay officialdom of the Patriarchate and thereafter were appointed to distinctive posts in the Ottoman government. Their prosperity and political connections led the Greek *millet* to an eminent position with significant influence over the Ottoman ruling class[35]. Thus, an Ottoman Greek Orthodox elite served as high ranking administrators for the sultan until the 1910s[36]. After the revolutionary movements of the Greek-led Φιλική Εταιρεία[37] (Friendly Society), during the spring of 1821, the position of the Patriarchate and the prestige of the Phanariot elite was deeply impaired[38]. In spite of the efforts of Patriarch Gregorios to anathematise the leaders of the uprising[39], he and several eminent laymen were hanged before the main gate of the Patriarchate on Easter Sunday, 10 April 1821. From an Ottoman perspective this was a clear indication that the Empire was no longer facing threats solely from the outside but also threats from within[40].

As such, the effects of the Greek revolt[41] in the 1820s proved disastrous for the Greek *millet* in general and the Phanariot 'aristocracy' of Constantinople in particular[42]. Gradually, however, the high-ranking posts which the Phanariots were deprived of, were taken over by a new group of people, which came to be known as the 'Neo-Phanariots'[43]. Together with

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[34] Cf. Braude and Lewis 1982: 69-88.

[35] For the rise of Phanariots see İorga 1935 and Alexandris 1980: 365-404. For relations between the Ottoman government and the Patriarchate see İnalcık 1991:407-436.

[36] Cf. Alexandris 1992:27-28.

[37] Frangos 1973.

[38] For the history of the Patriarchate under Ottoman rule see Runciman 1968.

[39] Despite their belief in the future of the Greek nation, the ultimate aims of the Phanariots in the Constantinopolitan Church were vaguely characterised by obscure and abstruse policies while remaining loyal to its traditional profile.

[40] Kushner 1977: 3.

[41] Cf. Dakin 1972. Greece became an independent state with the London Protocols signed on 3 February 1830. For a brief account of the cause, occasion and the succeeding political results of the Greek War of Independence see Goldstein 1992:20-21.

[42] Cf. Sturdza 1983:148 For a detailed list of the Phanariots who administered Wallachia and Moldavia (1711-1821) see E.Z.Karal 1960:42-77.

[43] See Gedeon 1922:18-31.

their role in the lay management of the Greek *millet*, they were also involved in Ottoman diplomacy and other governmental posts. Joined by a further group of distinctive businessmen and bankers they collectively moulded into what came to be known as the *Λογάδες του Έθνους*, or 'Elect of the Nation'[44]. One of their primary responsibilities was to assume control of the *Επιτροπή του Κοινού*, the committee responsible for the management of communal outlay, through which they exerted ascendancy over the Patriarchate[45]. Forming a class which was predominant among the entire social, political and economic life of the Ottoman Greeks, the Neo-Phanariots were mostly educated in Europe, and thus familiar with the latest Western cultural and scientific developments[46]. However, as citizens of a multi-ethnic Empire, they differed substantially from their Greek state counterparts as the latter's distinctiveness was certainly less cosmopolitan and more 'Hellenic' . Hence, during the mid-nineteenth century the Neo-Phanariots' influence in communal affairs, together with the re-emergence of provincial Greek communities of the Empire as autonomous bodies[47], were all significant attempts of the Greek *millet* at secularisation[48]. In this way the local community leaders, the so-called *demogerondes*, gained a relative freedom to act in their capacity. Amongst other responsibilities[49], the *demogerondes* were also in charge of the establishment and funding of schools[50]. Consequently, during and after the Hamidian regime a network of Greek schools expanded rapidly and as

[44] Meaning of the Greek nation.
[45] Cf. Dimaras 1969:107.
[46] For the Neo-Phanariots see Sturdza 1983:148-153.
[47] Contogiorgis 1982.
[48] The autonomy of provincial communities was of course against the *Tanzimat* ideology (or the current Ottoman reform) which was trying to achieve 'centralisation' of governmental mechanisms. See Costis 1991:69-72 and Anagnostopoulou 1997: 19-22.
[49] Some of their responsibilities included the procurement and upkeep of any communal property and the maintenance of churches and cemeteries. See Augustinos 1992: 39-54.
[50] Cf. Soldatos 1991:233. For a detailed account on the educational life of Greeks in Asia Minor see Soldatos 1991vol., I,II,III. For Greek education in Thrace see Belia 1995.

early as the 1870s in Constantinople alone, there were 105 schools with 15,000 pupils[51]. Moreover, there was a number of important private secondary schools specialising in languages and/or business studies[52]. Greek education within the Ottoman territories was maintained by endowments and subscriptions and administered by an 'ephory' (*εφορία*) or committee (*επιτροπή*), which was chosen from amongst the richer and best educated parishioners. They were responsible for the school's upkeep, as well as for the appointment of new staff. Although each community managed its own Greek school, the central administration was supervised by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In the vast majority of these schools the motivating principle behind their educational mission was to transmit the Hellenic heritage as well as the Orthodox faith. In particular, Ottoman Greeks who managed to study in Athens were eager to return and spread the ideas of Greek nationalism and culture[53]. However, not everyone within the Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire was satisfied with the predominance of Greek education and religion.

When, by the 1850s, the Ottoman Bulgarians began to emerge through a separatist movement[54], soon they set about demanding their religious and educational autonomy[55], considering that they deserved a separate *millet* from that of the Greeks. After several attempts at reconciliation, when all the possibilities for preventing the establishment of an independent Bulgarian national church had been exhausted, on 16 September 1872, the Patriarchate formally declared the Bulgarian Exarchate to be in schism[56].

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[51] Cf. Synvet 1878: 32-33.
[52] See illustration no. 1.
[53] For more information see Bryer 1976: 185-188.
[54] See Meininger 1987.
[55] During this period a Bulgarian newspaper was published in Constantinople for the first time. From the beginning it was easy to detect a strong anti-Greek sentiment in Bulgarian articles. Cf. Bozhinov and Panayotov 1978:154-55. For a list of early Bulgarian newspapers see Meininger 1987:463-465.
[56] Cf. Gedeon 1908:427-432.

Moreover, as a result of a network of Bulgarian primary schools, the attendance of the Bulgarians in Greek schools declined dramatically in the late nineteenth century[57]. Likewise, the Bulgarians began to search for alternative forms of higher education when the Hellenic curricula and patriarchal affiliation of the principal Greek secondary schools failed to respond to their cultural needs and provoked their nationalistic feelings. Therefore it may be argued that the contemporary Ottoman Greek educational system did not always succeed in 'Hellenising' the Orthodox Slavs under Ottoman rule. It was of course a challenge for both the contemporary Greek intelligentsia and the educationalists to provide means for preventing further decline while at the same time encouraging a sufficient degree of national homogeneity among their students. Yet the Bulgarians were not the only Orthodox nation of the Balkans to demonstrate dissatisfaction with Greek cultural and religious ascendancy during the 1860s. By 1859, when Romania aimed to secularise the property of the Dedicated Monasteries[58] (in order to gain control of their vast revenues), it was faced with strong opposition from both the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Sublime Porte. In the end, after a period of contention, in 1863, not only did the Romanian government[59] proceed with the secularisation of all monastic properties, but it also made the use of Greek in their dependent churches illegal[60]. Likewise, the Romanians also declared the independence of their church in January 1865[61]. Although the Vlach population of the Ottoman Empire up to that time had

[57] For the educational and nationalistic movements in the north-west of Macedonia between 1870-1904 see Vouri 1992.
[58] These were extensive monastic properties equalling a quarter of the entire territory of Wallachia and Moldavia, whose revenues had been dedicated by their donors to institutions of the Orthodox Church and in particular to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. See Bobango 1979:142-144.
[59] Cf. Jelavich 1984:131-139.
[60] Bobango 1979:148-150.
[61] Cf. Bobango 1979:157.

welcomed the Hellenising influences[62] of Greek religion and education, soon after this period of mutual indignation, the Vlachs became the focus of Romanian nationalist propaganda. Given this state of affairs, a considerable diminution of Vlach students in the Greek schools was observed. Thus, by the end of the Bulgarian and Romanian crises, the Patriarchate at Constantinople had lost millions of Orthodox adherents, and with them a huge part of the income needed to support the Greek schools and education[63]. However, it was at this stage that representatives of the Greek intelligentsia of Constantinople united in order to found the first in a sequence of literary and scientific associations aimed at supporting and improving the cultural level of the community[64]. As such, in 1861 the Greek Philological *Syllogos* of Constantinople [GPSC] was established, initiated and funded by private individuals[65]. However, although a number of smaller *syllogoi*[66] were founded in the Ottoman Empire before the 1870s, during the late nineteenth century, dozens of them were set up in the different Greek quarters of Constantinople for the purpose of maintaining local parochial schools and financially supporting needy children. Yet the GPSC was still carrying out its leading role in continuing to sponsor and being responsible for many advanced cultural activities[67], as well as laying the foundations for the first modern public library in

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[62] See Winnifrith 1987 for the Vlachs in general, and Coltsidas 1994 for the educational organisation of the Vlachs in Greece.

[63] For Ottoman Greek education see *ΚΕΦΣ*, vol.,10 (1875-1876) pp. 186-200.

[64] For early studies of the Ottoman Greek *syllogos* movement (literary clubs or educational societies) see Mamoni 1969, Stavrou 1967 and most importantly Mamoni 1975.

[65] After the establishment of GPSC in 1861, the term *syllogos* became popular, signifying corporate bodies which pursued literary and/or philanthropic aims. One of the most important representatives of the Ottoman Greek professional class in mid-nineteenth century Constantinople and a leading member in the emergence of the *syllogos* movement was the physician Constantinos [nicknamed Iroclis] Vassiadis (1821-1890). For a detailed account on the GPSC's history see the *ΚΕΦΣ*, vol.,12 (1877-1878) pp. 6-18. On the *syllogos* movement in general and the Greek Philological *Syllogos* in particular (between 1861-1886) see the unpublished PhD thesis of Vassiadis 1998.

[66] On the *syllogos* movement in Thrace see Mamoni 1995.

Constantinople[68]. As such, the majority of individuals involved in the *syllogos* movement were also interested in playing an active role in encouraging Ottoman Greek education. Therefore when, by the mid-nineteenth century, the Patriarchate's financial and administrative resources proved insufficient to respond to the educational demands of the Greek *millet*, there were several secular institutions[69] which sought to raise funds and encourage the development of Greek education. Despite several boys' gymnasia in the Capital, public higher education for girls[70] did not exist until the late nineteenth century, when the School for Indigent Girls was transformed into a semi-gymnasium[71]. In 1874, two more *syllogoi* - the Greek Philo-muse Society 'Pallas' [GPSP] and the *Syllogos* for the Promotion of Women's Education of Constantinople [SPWEC] - came into being in order to establish two modern girls' schools in the Ottoman capital, one of which still functions today[72]. These institutions, the '*Pallas*' secondary school for girls and the *Zappeion Parthenagogeion*[73], were founded to provide the Ottoman Greek educational network with well-educated native schoolmistresses. The intense activity of the *syllogos* movement of Constantinople began to stagnate in the aftermath of the Berlin Congress (1878)[74], partly because of the rivalry which developed between the *syllogoi* and the Patriarchate. The latter was looking to re-

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[67] Cultural initiatives of the GPSC included the organisation of public lectures of scientific content and the publication of an annual periodical. This was a learned periodical of the highest international standard. A full run of this can be found in the Main Library of Birmingham University.

[68] Cf. Vassiadis 1998: 221.

[69] The so-called Educational Phrondisterion [EPC] was established in 1860 through the initiative of Iroclis Vassiadis. Although short-lived, its many activities included the promotion of female education, the improvement of educational standards amongst the lower clergy and the foundation of provincial schools.

[70] By 1870, of the 9,730 students attending Greek schools in Constantinople and the Bosphorous suburbs, 2,638 were girls Cf. *Pinakes* 1870:63.

[71] See pp.57-58 below. Only foreign or private institutions provided girls with the equivalent of secondary education.

[72] The main inspiration for writing this thesis came through my personal experience of being a graduate of the Zappeion (high-school) lycée.

[73] See pp. 55-56 below and illustrations nos. 5 and 5a.

establish its former power[75] and to assume full control over educational matters connected with the Greek *millet*. However, the so-called 'Privileges Crisis'[76] of 1882-1884 and Ioakeim's subsequent resignation[77] played a vital role in weakening Ottoman Greek cultural and educational activity. Nonetheless one the fundamental characteristics of the Ottoman capital at the turn of the century was that while it had become a principal Turkish centre it had also retained its Greek complexion. As Clarence R. Johnson observed in 1921, ' if the visitor goes from one school to another, if he visits their churches, their clubs, their banks and the business houses, their steamship offices and hotels, if he makes the acquaintance of Greek editors, artists, clergymen, educators, literary and professional men, he will gain a truer impression of the Greek community in the city'[78]. Nevertheless, even after the Greek War of Independence, and until the beginning of the twentieth century the Greek educational network was one of the most sophisticated within the Ottoman Empire and Constantinople, and managed to remain the epicentre of Greek cultural life.

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[74] Cf. Goldstein 1992:162.

[75] After the foundation of the 'Educational and Philanthropic Fraternity of Constantinople' in 1880 through the initiative of Patriarch Ioakeim III, the confidence of the Constantinopolitan *syllogoi* had already been seriously undermined by financial difficulties and their rivalry with the EPFC was contributing to their decline and dissolution.

[76] In an attempt to undermine the ecclesiastical privileges of the Patriarchate at Constantinople, the Sublime Porte decided to make the Greek Orthodox clergy subject to the legal system of the Empire, despite the fact that ecclesiastical courts and prisons controlled by the Patriarchate had long been in existence. What eventually made matters worse - after the Porte's decision to proceed with an alteration of *beraats* - was the fact that Ioakeim had initiated private correspondence with the Ottoman government, in an attempt to change the *beraats*. Finally, as his resignation on 9 December 1883 was not accepted by the Holy Synod and the Mixed Council, the two ruling bodies of the Greek *millet* (for the Permanent Mixed Council see ~~below~~ p.37) he persisted in continuing his secret discussions with the Porte, supporting the idea of the Porte's right to control Greek education (see pp. 62-63 below). He also complied with the punishment and imprisonment of the Greek Orthodox clergy by the Ottoman administration. However, the Holy Synod and the Permanent Mixed Council refused to recognise these concessions as they had been drawn up without their involvement. Ultimately, the two bodies demanded his resignation , which he submitted on 30 March 1884. See Papadopoulos 1895:145-165.

[77] See Vassiadis 1998:223-224.

[78] Johnson 1922:38 translated by S. Taner 1995. Clarence Richard Johnson was professor of sociology in Robert College, Constantinople.

2. The Ottoman reform era and its effects.

With the emergence of the *Tanzimat*[79] (the Ottoman reform movement) principles such as the security of life and property and, more importantly, the equality of all Ottoman citizens regardless of race or creed, came to challenge not only the traditional framework of social relations, but also the power of the sultan, which had been absolute up to that time[80]. Thus the doctrine of equality between Muslims and non-Muslims was for the first time promulgated under the name of *Ottomanism.* Its fundamental feature was based on common citizenship and loyalty regardless of origin or religion[81]. The *Tanzimat* was officially inaugurated with an imperial edict steeped in Western political and philosophical ideas, which derived its model[82] from Europe. This was the *Hatt-ı-Şerif* of Gülhane, or Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber, a brief document outlining the reforms needed, without describing the manner of their implementation. It was promulgated by the Sultan Abdülmecid I on 3 November 1839[83]. Some twenty years later, on 18 February 1856, Abdülmecid issued the celebrated *Hatt-ı-Hümayun* (Imperial Rescript), consisting of a short preface and 26 articles dealing almost exclusively with the privileges of the non-Muslim *millets* of the Empire[84]. Britain, France and Austria had urged the Sublime Porte to complete the decree before the opening of the Paris Peace Conference to end the Crimean War, so that Russia might be

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[79] For the reforms on *Tanzimat* see Ubicini and Pavet de Courteille 1876, Engelhardt 1884, Kushner 1977 and Findley 1980. On Panturkism and the *Tanzimat see* Georgeon 1996. On Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire see Kayalı 1997. For a detailed memorandum on minorities and the reforms in the 19th century see '*Memorandum on minorities in Turkey*', Ankara, 12 November 1943, FO 195/2480/779/8.

[80] Cf. Tekeli-ilkin 1993: 58-59 and Shaw and Shaw 1977: 20-49. For the period after 1865 see Davison 1966.

[81] See Gerasimos 1977:1116-1126.

[82] Cf. Ahmad 1994: 26-30.

[83] For a Turkish perspective, see Bozkurt 1989.

[84] See Gerasimos 1977:1127-1136 and Tekeli-ilkin 1993:58-59.

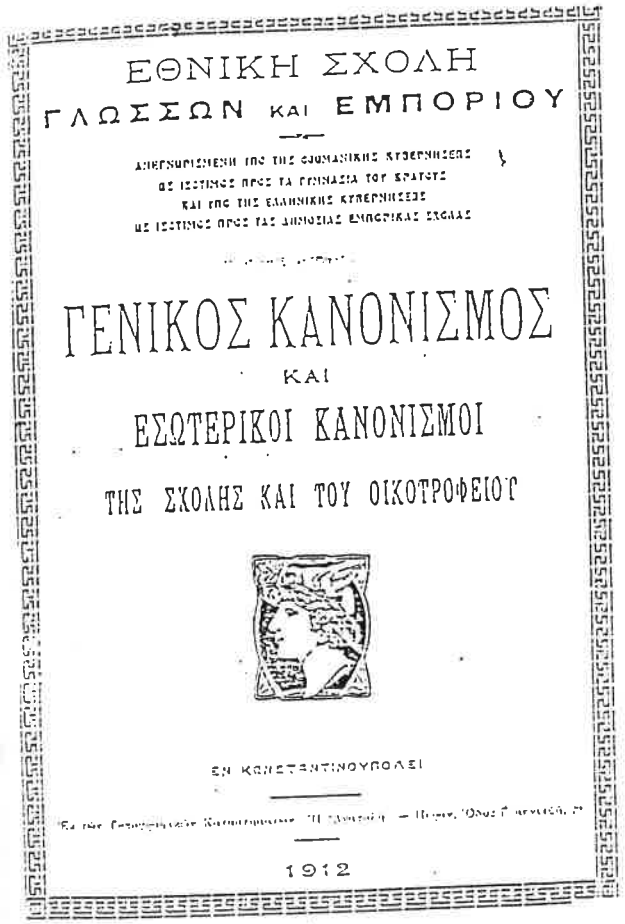
excluded from taking part in Ottoman reforms. It was drawn up with the backing of the Western powers who had supported the Ottoman state in the Crimean War[85]. Indeed it was primarily European and contained no reference to the Koran or the law of *sheria*[86]. Its inclusion in the proceedings of the Paris Congress of 1856 resulted in its being regarded both as an official sanction of the *Tanzimat* and as a clear message to the Sublime Porte that it should not be ignored. Further, Article 9 of the Treaty of Paris[87], signed on 30 March 1856, recognised that the Powers had no right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Empire[88]. The second article of the *Hatt-ı-Hümayun* of 1856 stated that 'the privileges and religious immunities accorded *ab antiquo* [...] to all the Christian communities or other non-Muslim groups established in my Empire, under my protection, will be confirmed and maintained'[89]. The following article of the decree required non-Muslim communities to examine their traditional privileges with a view to undertaking the necessary reforms which were 'called for by the passage of time and enlightenment'. According to the fifth article of the *Hatt-ı-Hümayun,* 'the temporal administration of the Christian communities and the other non-Muslim groups will be placed under the care of an assembly formed within the said communities, from amongst the members of the clergy and the laity'. Lastly, the 22nd article of the decree called for the participation of the religious leaders and a single representative of each *millet* in the legislative considerations of the government. After ample delays, the Greek National Assembly, composed of senior clerics and lay representatives, succeeded in putting together the so-called *Γενικοί Κανονισμοί*, or General

[85] For an annotated French text of the *Hatt-ı-Sherif* of 1839 see Noradounghian 1900: 288-290.
[86] Cf. Davison 1973: 53-55.
[87] Noradounghian 1897-1903: 70-79 and in Hurewitz 1956: 153, volume 2, No.66.
[88] Cf. Davison 1966:4.
[89] For an annotated French text of the *Hatt-ı-Hümayun* of 1856 see Young 1905: 3-9.

Ordinances, which were submitted to the Sublime Porte for confirmation at the beginning of 1860[90]. Ottoman dissatisfaction with certain clauses led to a serious crisis in the *millet* leadership which resulted in the resignation of Patriarch Kyrillos and the election of Ioakeim II in October 1860. Finally, under his aegis the necessary modifications were implemented and the General Ordinances were ratified by the Sublime Porte in 1861[91]. The General Ordinances remained in force as the constitution of the Greek *millet* of the Ottoman Empire for over sixty years[92]. They included seven separate ordinances dealing primarily with the different institutions which represented the government of the *millet*. Most importantly, the fourth ordinance instituted a new governing body, the *Διαρκές Μικτόν Συμβούλιον*, or Permanent Mixed Council[93]. This body comprised four archbishops appointed by the Patriarch, one of ~~whom~~ which served as its president, and eight laymen resident in Constantinople and elected by the representatives of the parishes of the capital. The Permanent Mixed Council was accorded wide-ranging jurisdiction over the secular and religious affairs of the *millet*. Amongst other duties, it was also entrusted with the overall direction of schools and philanthropic foundations. As a consequence of the official incorporation of the Greek Orthodox Church into the government of the Ottoman Empire, the Ecumenical Patriarch was formally recognised as *millet bashı* (head of the nation), or εθνάρχης (ethnarch), through the General Ordinances[94]. However, it has been argued that the constitutional issue was responsible for the diminution of clerical

[90] For the General Ordinances see AYE/B/59/7 for 1921 and Young 1905: 21-34.
[91] Cf. Augustinos 1992: 126-137.
[92] Cf. Papastathis 1984: 78-110 and Young 1905: 21-34.
[93] See illustration no.1.
[94] Cf. Costis 1991: 72-75.

power and the final destruction of the prestige and authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate[95].



ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ
ΓΛΩΣΣΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΥ

ΓΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΟΣ
ΚΑΙ
ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΙ ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΟΙ
ΤΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΤΡΟΦΕΙΟΥ

ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

1912

ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΤΩΝ ΣΧΟΛΩΝ
ΤΗΣ
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΣΥΝΤΑΧΘΕΝ
ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ Η. Κ. ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗΣ
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΚΥΡΩΘΕΝ
ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ Α. Θ. Π. ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ Δ. Ε. ΜΙΚΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΥ

ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

1912

Left:

Illustration 1: General regulations of the National school of commerce and languages. Right: a detailed curriculum of the Greek schools in the *Archbishopric of Constantinople*, composed by the PMC and approved by the Ecumenical Patriarch. (Source: Private archives of S.D. Tarinas)

[95] Cf. Gedeon 1935: 169-170 and 184. Also Augustinos 1992: 137-144.

Furthermore, faced with the challenge of Balkan nationalism[96] during the nineteenth century, the Patriarchate saw a diminution of its socio-political and ecclesiastical power, as national Churches were set up in various parts of the peninsula, including Greece in 1850[97]. In particular, the setting up of a Bulgarian Church within the Ottoman empire certainly undermined the multi-ethnic, ecumenical structure of the Greek Patriarchate[98]. According to Young, the survival of the *millet* system during the period 1830-1918 can be attributed to a large extent to the Ecumenical Patriarchate's strong defence of its '*ethnarchic*' tradition and the multicultural Ottoman *status quo*[99].

In 1867, the year when Sultan Abdülaziz paid an official visit to Europe[100], several memoranda were prepared on both sides, European and Ottoman, as to the implementation of the articles of the *Hatt-ı-Hümayun* of 18 February 1856[101]. The most significant of all prior to 1919, dealing with the question of minorities within the Ottoman Empire was the Berlin Congress held in July 1878. Although a long memorandum drawn up by the Patriarchal authorities was read during the Berlin conference, assurances for the protection of Ottoman minorities lacked the necessary mechanism for their fulfilment. A British memorandum, prepared long afterwards, stated that '...although certain vague rights of protection over

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[96] For education and Balkan nationalism see Vouri 1992.

[97] Cf. Runciman: 1968.

[98] Cf.Vouri 1992:181-182 and in Dakin: 1956: 44-54 As mentioned earlier, equally important was the Bulgarian agitation for ecclesiastical independence which led to the formation of a national Bulgarian Church (Exarchate) in 1870 in Constantinople. See also Belia 1995:227.

[99] Cf. Young 1915: 26-7.

[100] An official visit of the Sultan, the first time in Ottoman history when a sultan had left Ottoman territory on a peaceful mission. It could perhaps be seen, as stated by Goldstein, as a combination of 'alliance building' and 'status and acceptance' visits. See Goldstein 1997:12-13 and 17-18.

[101] Cowley to Stanley, 22 March 1867, '*Correspondence respecting the Eastern Question*', No.55, p.42 (French), FO 881/1581. A printed copy of the Ottoman memorandum, in French with an English translation, may be found in *Parliamentary Papers*, '*Reports received from Her Majesty's Ambassador and Consuls relating to the condition of Christians in 1867 in Turkey*' No. 27, pp.77-87. A copy of Ottoman and French versions of the *Hatt-ı-Hümayun* can be found as enclosures in Stratford to Clarendon, 21-2-1856, FO 78/1173, No.213. See also Davison 1966:54.

Ottoman Christians were secured to the European Powers under the Treaty of Berlin of 13 July 1878, the specific rights of the Christians, either under the *millet* system or under the various Turkish edicts referred to, were never definitely acknowledged as an international obligation on the part of the Turkish Empire'[102]. According to Richard Lyons, the British Ambassador to Constantinople, although there was a tremendous improvement in the position of the Christians compared to thirty or forty years previously, the status of the non-Muslim in the Empire was 'still very far indeed from what it ought to be'[103]. For instance, according to Marquis de Moustier, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, the difference in the treatment of Christian and Muslim depositions was 'choquant'[104].

By 1880, in an attempt to undermine the traditional privileges of the Greek *millet*, and despite the assurances contained in the *Hatt-ı-Hümayun* of 1856, the Sublime Porte began to interfere in the educational and ecclesiastical powers of the Greek *millet*, moving towards wide-ranging 'Ottomanisation' policies for its non-Muslim inhabitants. A notable example in this context was the prohibition of the publication of the GPSC's periodical, subject to prior permission from the government[105]. Although the necessary permit was granted by the press bureau of the Sublime Porte after a two year delay, from then on the GPSC was required to have the contents of its periodical scrutinised by the authorities before proceeding with its publication. Four years later in 1886, in another direct intervention of the Ottoman government in the internal affairs of the

[102] '*Memorandum on the non-Muslim minorities in Turkey*', 31 July 1923, FO 371/9110/E7878.
[103] Lyons to Stanley, 6 March 1867, *Parliamentary Papers*, '*Reports received from Her Majesty's Ambassador and Consuls relating to the condition of Christians in 1867 in Turkey*' No 27, p.77.
[104] *op.cit.* (emphasis retained in the original text). See also the unpublished PhD thesis of Upton-Ward 1998:100.
[105] Although the *syllogos* movement was exercising secular administrative supervision over Ottoman Greek education, it would be wrong to assume that it was therefore involved in any political propaganda, encouraging the *Megali Idea*. The *syllogoi* sought to reinforce 'Hellenic' awareness

GPSC, the *Syllogos* was forced to cancel an international congress which it had been planning to hold since spring 1885, as part of the celebrations for its twenty-fifth anniversary[106]. In the same period, the municipality of Constantinople charged the *Syllogos* with over 1,000TL of unpaid property tax[107]. Although this interference might be interpreted as a simple desire of the Sublime Porte to remind its non-Muslim people of its dominance and supremacy, still, both actions did obstruct the activities of the GPSC.

From an Ottoman perspective, the period from 1876 to 1908 was defined by an anti-Western, xenophobic mood which had its roots not only in the Christian demands upon the Empire, but also in the advances made by the Russians in Central Asia and the Caucasus and the suppression of the remnants of the Moghul Empire in India by the British[108]. Hamidian policies, however, failed to reach their goals and the 'Ottoman citizenship' as an ideology was transformed into *Islamism*, causing the emergence of Turkish national consciousness after the Balkan Wars[109]. The group in opposition to the rule of the Sultan, which emerged first among students of the schools of higher learning in Constantinople, at first attracted both Muslims and non-Muslims. However, soon non-Muslims were to favour a far-reaching decentralisation while the Turks were looking for the preservation of the Empire. The latter, consisting mainly of Turkish

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among the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire more as a cultural mission than anything political. See Vassiadis 1998:228.

[106] For the fiftieth anniversary of the *syllogos* see *ΚΕΦΣ*, vol.,35 pp. 3-16.

[107] The tax was eventually waived as the GPSC's financial situation did not allow the payment of such a large amount and its immediate payment would have completely exhausted its resources.

[108] On the British, French, and German interests in Asiatic Turkey, 1881-1914 see the PhD thesis of Corrigan 1953. Cf. Davison 1966:270-278.

[109] This period, as the Ottoman Empire's territories became smaller and smaller, saw a massive change in its population. As the tried ideologies failed there was also a constant search for new political concepts. See Berkeş 1973.

officials gathered around the Committee of Union and Progress[110], came to dominate Ottoman politics after the 1908 constitutional revolution and was to produce the leaders of modern Turkey[111]. Consequently the *millet* privileges and the status of the Patriarchate were challenged once again. Aiming at the creation of a uniform society[112], the concept of *millet* was now replaced by the word *cemaat* (community).

Although genuine equality was not attained in the Ottoman empire, the reforms of 1839 to 1876 had a positive impact upon the non-Muslim minorities. Members of different religious communities, such as Jews, Armenians and Greeks, were allowed into government administrative, judicial, economic and educational posts soon after the reform act of 1856[113]. The position of Ottoman Greeks, deeply shaken by the outbreak of the Greek revolt in 1821 and the establishment of the Greek state (1830), was to a considerable extent restored by the mid-nineteenth century. Hence, many Ottoman Greeks filled top positions in finance and diplomacy at a number of embassies in Europe as well as Athens[114]. However, they did not have secure careers, a situation which engendered corruption and intrigue. Nor were they employed in proportion to their

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[110] In the *Πρόοδος* of 10 March 1909, there was an open letter addressed to the President of the Ottoman Parliament, Ahmet Rıza Efendi, containing a severe criticism of CUP politics and stating that peace could not be achieved unless the national rights of the non-Muslim communities were recognised. Moreover the article stated that it would not be wise to rely on the superficial 'equality' and 'freedom', notions of the Turks as they had proved over the years that the freedom and equality they provided was superficial as 'nearly all the nations of the Ottoman Empire are superior to the Turkish nation both politically and in terms of civilisation '. It is unlikely that anyone today, in the current Turkish Republic, would have had the courage to address such a criticism to the Turkish Parliament.

[111] Cf. Toprak 1995(a) and 1995(b). For the British reaction to the Young Turk regime see the thesis of Clavenger 1971. On the British policy towards the Ottoman Empire, between 1908-1914 see the PhD thesis of Heller 1983. For the emergence of the Turkish Republic see Zürcher 1995.

[112] In order to achieve this, the Young Turks introduced a number of new laws such as the compulsory teaching of Ottoman Turkish (law 1908/1915) or the establishment of civil marriage as the only legal binding ceremony for all Ottoman citizens. Cf. Stavridis 1967:14. See also Georgeon 1996:82.

[113] For a detailed account of this, see the unpublished PhD thesis of Upton-Ward, in particular pp. 90-94.

[114] Cf. Alexandris 1992: 27-29.

number and abilities[115]. Nevertheless, as members of a class linked to such state services, these Ottoman Greeks paid considerable attention to their community affairs, and took particular interest in the matter of education. Within the Ottoman Empire of the *Tanzimat*, the special circumstances which arose from the intervention of European Powers in its local affairs to a large extent prevented the Sublime Porte from exercising constraint over matters of education. Standing firm on the perception that the Ottoman leadership should guarantee the traditional rights and privileges to its non-Muslim citizens, the European powers contributed to the maintenance of a disintegrating Ottoman education system. This meant that education was placed in the hands of the leaders of the different *millets*. As mentioned previously, the *millets* were defined by religion rather than by ethnic origin. This gave rise to diverse religious authorities being responsible for regulating educational matters in their communities. This in itself was a contributory factor to the disintegration of Ottoman rule[116]. Thus, during the nineteenth century, as part of this intrusion policy on the part of European states, missionary organisations were frequently employed in order to maintain an influence within the lands of the Ottoman state[117]. Consequently, by the mid-1850s there were a number of well established schools in Constantinople and Asia Minor[118]. The British

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[115] Lyons to Stanley, 6 March 1867, *Parliamentary Papers*, '*Reports received from Her Majesty's Ambassador and Consuls relating to the condition of Christians in 1867 in Turkey*' No 27, p.77.

[116] On the foreign schools of the Ottoman Empire see Haydaroglu 1993. On the causes of the decline see Sonyel 1993: 61-114.

[117] Cf. Young 1905: 11-12 and Tozlu 1991: 7-54. See illustration no.2.

[118] See, *passim*, Roche 1989 and Haydaroglu 1993. For a more recent account on the missionary schools in Constantinople see Kanellopoulos to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Constantinople, 17 November 1922, AYE/B/33. By 1897 the Helleno-Catholic *Syllogos* 'Symbnoia' *Σύμπνοια* was established in Constantinople for the promotion of Catholicism among the Greeks. See *Kanonismos tis HellenoCatholikis Hetairias 1897*.

community of Constantinople responded to French initiatives[119] by founding the English high school for girls at Pera in 1850.



Illustration 2: Certificates from the *Institut des Frères des écoles Chrétiènnes* in 1920. Source: Private collection of S. D. Tarinas.

[119] The prestige of French culture in the contemporary Near East enhanced the success of organisations such as the Lazariste, the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétiénne, and the Soeurs de la Charité. For more information on French educational establishments in Istanbul see 'Statistiques des écoles françaises de la region de Constantinople', 20 August 1920, AYE/B/33.

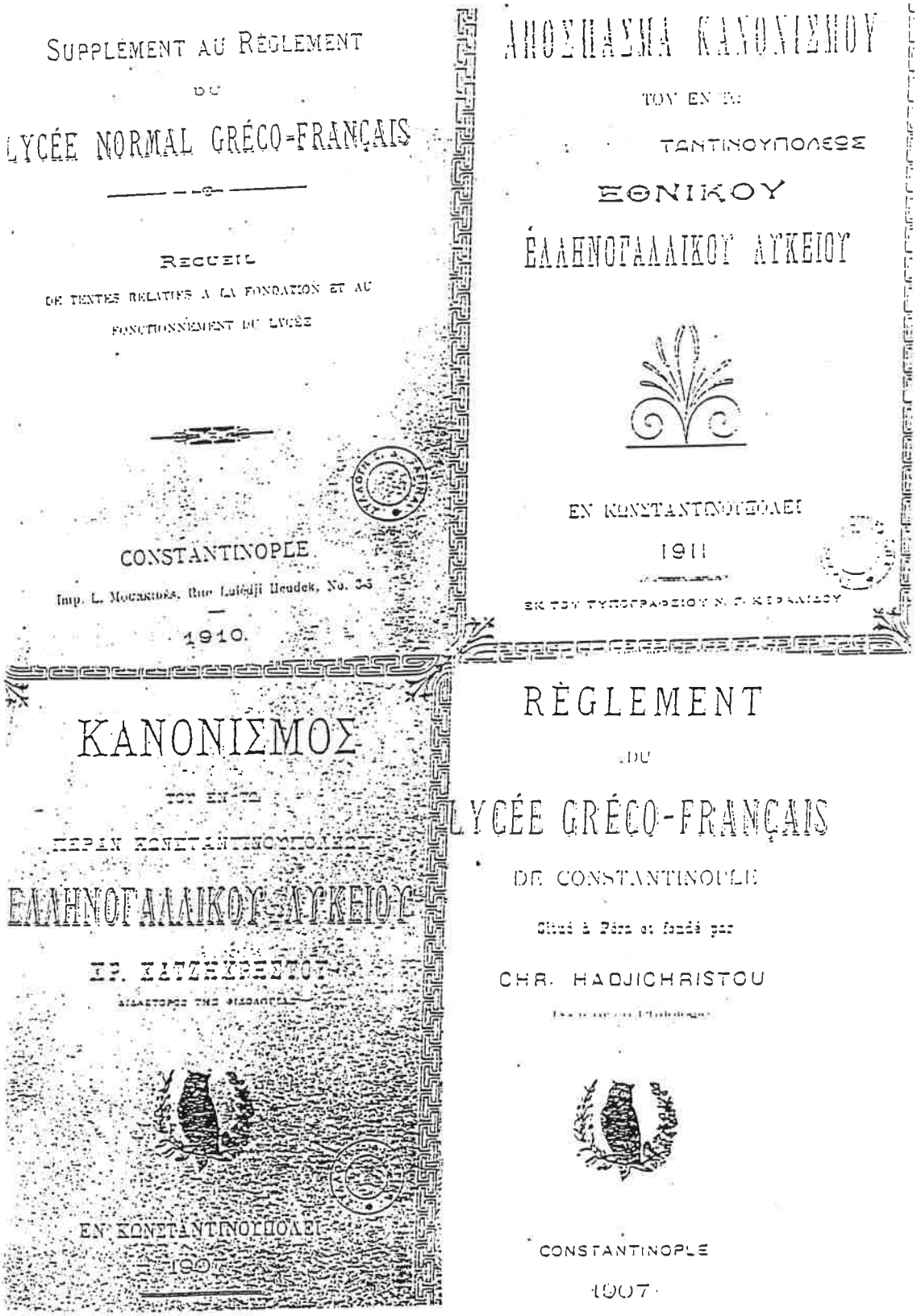


Illustration 2b : Regulations of the Lycée Greco-Français, 1907-1911. Source: Private collection of S.D. Tarinas.

After the Crimean War, American protestants began to form the most visible missionary group in the Empire which led to the establishment of their school, later known as Robert College, in 1863[120].

The Ottoman attempts to adopt the educational reforms[121] of Western Europe were obstructed by powerful traditional components[122]. As part of the *Tanzimat*, attempts were made to modernise the archaic educational system of the Muslim population of the Empire. However, as education remained under the strict control of *Ulema*, it was very difficult to introduce the reforms initiated[123]. Thus, apart from a limited number of schools intended for the education of public servants, the only other secular institutions of learning were a series of military academies. In 1846, a Council of Public Education was set up as a result of the central government's attempts at reform[124]. Although the *Mekatibi Umumiye Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Schools) was subsequently created, this did not materialise until the 1850s, when it ordered the opening of a few *rüşdiye* (secondary schools) in Constantinople and other large urban areas. Likewise, the *Maarif Umumiye Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Education) was established in 1857[125]. Although Ottoman attempts to reform the Muslim education system[126] within the Empire had very little influence on the education of Ottoman Christians, an important exception was the

[120] Cf., *passim*, Washburn 1909. On the American missionary organisations in Asia Minor see Anestidis: 1995-1996: 375-388. For a Turkish perspective see Tozlu 1991:15. For a Turkish perspective on 'foreign' schools within the Ottoman Empire, see Vahapoglu 1992.

[121] The nineteenth century witnessed major developments in respect of educational arrangements for the majority of European states[121]. As part of this process, education was gradually removed from the control of religious authorities and placed in the hands of the lay element which exercised political control. Following the example of Napoleonic France, most of the European powers attempted to modernise and expand their educational resources in order to improve their standard of living. At the same time, politicians became aware of the unique role which education can play in promoting the interests of the state. Although similar reforms were pursued by educational activists throughout Europe, the degree of their implementation varied from place to place.

[122] For educational reforms of the Ottomans see Davison 1990.

[123] Cf. Shaw and Shaw 1977: 47-8 and 106-7.

[124] Cf. Kodaman 1991:12.

[125] Cf. Ayaş 1948:496 and Kodaman 1991:16.

establishment in 1868 of a secondary school aimed at members of all the *millets*. This was the well known *Mektebi Sultaniye*, better known as the Imperial Lycée of Galatasaray, which was founded by the decree of Sultan Abdülaziz [127]. One of the most prominent figures who directed the French-inspired lycée was Ioannis Savas, who later served as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1879-1880) and governor of the islands of Samos and Crete[128]. In the meantime, the continued presence of non-Muslim religious communities offered a convenient opportunity for the Great Powers of Europe to intervene in minority issues. Consequently, the concept of secular Ottoman citizenship did not gain whole-hearted support, despite efforts made by notable Ottoman reformers during the second half of the nineteenth century. The new doctrine of nationalism which was disseminated among the minorities proved disastrous for the preservation of the Empire[129].

[126] For the Muslim educational system see Kodaman 1991.
[127] Cf. Roche 1989.
[128] Cf. Sungu 1943:315-347.
[129] Cf. Davison 1966: 13-19.

3. Greek education and the Patriarchate.

The history of Ottoman Greek education begins traditionally in 1454, when the Ottoman conquerors of Constantinople permitted the election of a new patriarch. Thus, shortly after his enthronement, Gennadios II set up the Patriarchal School (Πατριαρχική Σχολή), an institution which had existed before the Ottoman conquest[130]. During the seventeenth century, thanks to the relatively peaceful conditions which prevailed in the Empire, Ottoman Greek education entered a period of growth and development. Outside Constantinople, most of the schools established after 1600 were founded through the initiatives and support of laymen[131] and were administered with varying systems and curricula. Although such institutions usually took the Patriarchal School as their role model they were often run by a single teacher and with one or two assistants[132]. The well-known 'Evangelical School of Smyrna' *Ευαγγελική Σχολή,* founded in 1733, as well as the *Φροντιστήριον* (study hall) of Trebizond, were model institutions of learning with few equals within the Greek *millet*[133].

By the end of the eighteenth century, influenced by European literary fashions, Ottoman Greeks began to show interest in classical studies. The increasing number of ancient Greek texts published in their original language during the late eighteenth century testified to the rediscovery of their glorious pre-Christian history. More importantly, the works of Western intellectuals were translated into Greek and dispersed throughout the Empire. As a result, the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment was born through

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[130] For the Patriarchal School of Constantinople see Gritsopoulos 1966.

[131] For Ottoman Greek education see Evangelidis 1933, Chatzestephanidis 1986 and Chatzopoulos 1991.

[132] Cf. Chatzopoulos 1991:133-140.

[133] For the history and the curricula of the Evangelical School see AYE/Φ/61 for 1912 and Paranikas 1885. For an interesting historical account of the Evangelical School in Smyrna see also Hoare to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 10 August 1926, FO 371/11549/E4794. For education in Smyrna see Solomonidis 1962 and Soldatos 1989.

the initiatives of some teachers who, owing to their profession, were able to promote the study of philosophy and the sciences. Their example was followed by many Phanariots who also played an important role in disseminating the ideals of the Enlightenment among Greek intellectuals and scholars of the generation born around 1750[134]. Without doubt, the promulgation of Enlightenment ideas had a significant impact on the establishment of new schools in the Ottoman Empire[135]. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Ottoman Greek education did indeed show substantial development. Numerous educational, literary and cultural societies (*syllogoi)* were established in Anatolia and Thrace[136]. As mentioned earlier, the leading cultural society was the Greek Philological Society (*Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*), established in 1861 by a number of eminent Constantinopolitan Greeks[137]. According to Abdolonyme Ubicini, an astute observer of the Ottoman Empire, as early as the 1850s, this educational movement, and the opportunities it created, had facilitated the formation of a circle within the Greek community, consisting of 'the most enlightened and liberal class of the nation; namely the members of the medical, legal and literary professions'[138].

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[134] See Camariano-Cioran 1974.
[135] Cf. Soldatos 1991.
[136] Cf. Mamoni 1975.
[137] For the Greek Literary Society see Stavrou 1967. For a detailed account of the GPSC's history from 1861 up to 1878 see the *ΚΕΦΣ*, vol.,12 (1877-1878) pp. 6-18. On the *syllogos* movement in general and the Greek Philological *Syllogos* in particular (between 1861-1880) see the unpublished PhD thesis of Vassiadis 1998. See also Exertzoglou 1996 and illustration no.3.
[138] Cf. Ubicini 1856:237-238. Fifteen years later, the French traveller Georges Perrot in his well known book '*Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*' quoted 'the Greeks were the most intelligent, advanced and ambitious from amongst all the subjects of the Sultan'. See Perrot 1864:501-502.

ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΟΣ

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΥ

ΙΔΡΥΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ,ΑΩΞΑ'

Θαρσείν χρή· τὰς ἀθήνας
ἔσας' ἄριστον



ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ
ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ Γ. Δ. ΠΡΩΤΟΠΑΠΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΑ

1920

ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΟΣ

ΤΗΣ ΕΝ

ΤΑΤΑΟΥΛΟΙΣ

ΦΙΛΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΗΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤΗΤΟΣ

"ΠΡΟΟΔΟΣ"

ΙΔΡΥΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΤΗΝ 14 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1899



ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

Τύποις ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΔΟΥ και Σιᵉ

1913

Illustration 3: Regulations of the *Philological Syllogos* and of the Constantinopolitan *Syllogos Πρόοδος*, established on 14 March 1899. Source: private collection of I. Sarioglou.

After the election of Metropolitan Ioakeim[139] of Thessaloniki to the Ecumenical Patriarchal throne, on 4 October 1878, a new period for the progress of education began to take shape under his aegis. Immediately after his enthronement, Ioakeim issued the first of a long series of patriarchal letters dealing with education and instructing the *ephoroi* of the parochial schools to fulfil their duties in a more efficient manner[140]. On 23 December 1878, the Patriarch addressed an Circular to the metropolitans, advising them to get involved in the improvement of schools in districts under their jurisdiction. In the following year he asked for the *ephoroi* of every school to submit statistical reports for each academic year[141]. After that he undertook the project of creating the 'Educational and Philanthropic Fraternity of Constantinople' [EPFC], *Η εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Εκπαιδευτική και Φιλανθρωπική Αδελφότης*, one of several of his significant educational undertakings for the community. With his initiatives the 'Central Hieratic School', *Κεντρική Ιερατική Σχολή*, was also established on 13 October 1879 on the island of Chalki[142]. Prior to this, the well known 'Chalki Patriarchal Theological Academy' had been established in 1844, with the purpose of educating clergymen. The School's origins[143] go back to 1720 with the establishment of the 'Patriarchal School' at Phanari[144], by Ieremia III[145], who set up an institution whereby Christians could study ecclesiastical and holy books. The next development in the training of clergymen during this period was

[139] Ioakeim was born in 1834 in the Bosphorous suburb of Vapheochori in Constantinople. He occupied the Ecumenical Patriarchate for a second time from 1901 until his death in November 1912. For his biography see Stavridis 1977:208-284 and Anestidis 1987.
[140] *Εκκλησιαστική Επιθεώρησις*, period 4, vol.,1 (1880) 54-55.
[141] *op.cit.*,244-245.
[142] *EE*, period 4, vol., 2 (1881) 48. The school was moved in 1882 to a building near the Church of the Holy Virgin of Vlachernai, close to the Phanar district of Constantinople, until its closure in 1889.
[143] Gedeon 1890: 650 and 1892:181.
[144] A district of Constantinople which maintains the Ecumenical Patriarchate.
[145] Patriarch of Constantinople from 1716 to 1726.

made by Serapheim II[146] (1760), who established the so-called 'Koinon Phrondistirion'[147]. The attempts of the two Patriarchs to offer basic instruction had little impact on the general standard of education as illiteracy was dominant at that time[148]. Two years after the establishment of the Theological school in Athens, the Theological school at Phanari[149] was set up, opposite the Patriarchate building[150]. Patriarch Gregorios VI[151] appointed the great scholar and theologian, clergyman Vartholomeos Koutloumousianos of Imbros[152], as principal (*scholarchis*) of the 'Phanarion Theological School'[153]. However, due to the lack of income and infrastructure, the school survived for only one year. Consequently, after personal efforts by Patriarch Germanos IV, a permanent theological establishment, the Theological School of Chalki[154], was founded in 1844[155].

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[146] Patriarch of Constantinople from 1757 to 1761.

[147] Gedeon 1883: 152-153.

[148] Cf. Soldatos 1989:17-21 vol., I. Orthodox theological schools emerged in the East only in the middle of the 19th century. As such, in 1837 the Theological School of Athens University[148], in 1844 the Theological School of Chalki and in 1855 the Theological School in Jerusalem were set up. As a result, during the first half of the 19th century many students from Constantinople who obtained scholarships from the Patriarchate were sent to study theology in Athens.

[149] After two years of operation, the closure of '*Koinon Phrondisterion*' by its founder the Patriarch Gregorios VI was unavoidable as the standard of education was low and the danger of pietism was growing . However, in December 1839, the Phanarion Theological School was established through his initiative. Anestidis, *Καθημερινή-Επτά Ημέρες* 28 August 1994.

[150] This building stood where the Patriarchal lycée at Phanar is situated today.

[151] Patriarch of Constantinople during 1835-1840 and 1867-1872.

[152] Mexis 1933:21.

[153] *Ορθοδοξία* , October 1944:.296 -*Circular from the Patriarchate and the Holy Synod - September 1839, (Πατριαρχική και Συνοδική Εγκύκλιος της κατά Φανάριον Θεολογικής Σχολής -Σεπτέμβριος 1839)*

[154] The history of the school can be divided into four periods, the first being from 1844 to 1919, when it provided a seven-year curriculum (four for the gymnasium and three for the theology Department). The second period from 1919 to 1923, provided only a five-year theological programme, without secondary education. The third period was from 1923 up to 1951, when the school resumed its old shape with seven years of education. In the last period, from 1951 to 1971 it adopted a seven-year curriculum once again, but this time three years for the high school and four for the theology Department. The school was totally destroyed in the terrible earthquake of 1894. Through the initiative of Pavlos Skylitsis Stefanovik and his donations, the school was re-built by the famous architect P. Photiadis who designed the current building. The appointment of Constantinos Typaldos as the Principal of the Theological school by the Patriarch Germanos IV and the Holy Synod, the careful selection of staff, the well-organised regulations and the ability of students to respond to educational demands no doubt played an important role in the good reputation obtained by the school in a short time (Typaldos, coming from Kerkyra, was a British citizen and therefore obliged to request permission to take up this post from the British Embassy in Constantinople. Thanks to good relations between the Patriarch Germanos and the British ambassador, permission was granted). In 1856

The growing danger of the Cairi movement[156] and the threat of 'proselytism'[157] from Western Christian Churches were contributory factors in the realisation of this project. As a result, towards the middle of the nineteenth century the mainly Greek inhabited island of Chalki was transformed into a centre of Ottoman Greek education. The first school of higher learning to be established on this small island was the Greek Commercial School which began functioning in 1831[158]. Another very important educational undertaking of Ioakeim III was the construction of an imposing new building for the 'Megali tou Genous Scholi', accommodated since 1850 in a succession of buildings unsuited to its importance and fame[159]. As such, after a large donation from G. Zariphis and Achimandrite Ananias, a project for constructing an impressive building was set in motion at the beginning of 1879[160] and was completed

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Ubicini described the Theological school as follows: 'The seminary of Chalki annexed to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, has fifteen professors, clergy and laymen, and seventy or eighty students. The instruction is gratuitous [sic] and comprises Latin, philosophy and mathematics, besides theology and the Hellenic Greek. This establishment, the only one of its kind in the whole empire, furnishes annually to the Church about fifty members, more enlightened and probably less corrupt than the mass of the Greek clergy.' Cf. Ubicini 1856: 202, section II.

[155] *Ορθοδοξία,* October 1944: .300, The Patriarch Germanos IV in 1842, re-established the residence of the Holy Trinity – a Byzantine monastery which was burned down in 1821. Lectures at the new school began on 8 October 1844. For more information see Mexis 1933:35, Schlumberger 1925:91 and Millas 1984:333.

[156] During that period (1836/37) on the island of Andros, Theophilos Cairis began to teach 'theosophism'. In a short time he managed to attract the clergy as well as the laity. Mexis *op.cit* 21.

[157] Another serious threat to the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the growing danger of missionaries, coming from the West to convert people. Strinopoulou 1962: 2-3. On the American missionary organisations in Asia Minor see Anestidis 1995-1996:375-388.

[158] Cf. Moye 1875:79-108 and Eleopoulos 1952:9. According to information obtained by a British Foreign Office memorandum the Panagia Kamariotissa Monastery at Chalki island was converted into a very large commercial school which functioned until the end of the First World War. Subsequently the school was used as an orphanage. See Oakley to Bennett, Constantinople, 25 August 1942, FO 195/2474/664. For the seizure of the building by the Turkish authorities see pp. 134 and 203 of this thesis.

[159] For a detailed account of the origins of the school see article of M. Paranikas in *ΕΦΚ*, Volume 19, pp. 1-4 and *ΕΦΚ*, Volume 13, pp.203-253 . For more details of the school's history between the years 1621-1691 see *ΕΦΚ*, Volume 25-26, pp. 49-66 and p. 80. For another historical account between 1691- 1835, see *ΕΦΚ*, Volume 27 , pp.312-317. Concerning the transfer of the school from *Phanar* to *Kouroutsesme* (Ξηροκρήνη) in 1804 see *ΕΦΚ*, Volume 10 pp. 86-103.

[160] See *EE*, period 4, Volume 1 (1880) 277 ff.

promptly by the autumn of 1882[161]. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Patriarchal School of Constantinople represented the most distinguished and prominent institution of higher learning in the Ottoman Greek world. Between the years 1854 and 1863, the school, under the direction of the cleric Paissios, came to be known by the new name of the Patriarchal Great School of the Nation [*Megali tou Genous Scholi, Πατραρχική Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή*][162] which appellation it retained thereafter.

Further, another institution promoting boys' education was the Parochial School of the Holy Virgin of Pera (Η Ενοριακή Σχολή της Παναγίας του Πέρα), established in 1833 and including intermediate levels after 1850[163]. In 1893 the Zographeion school for boys was established [164], with generous donations from Christakis Zographos[165] and other wealthy Constantinopolitan Greeks[166]. Special classes were organised after school hours for the teaching of foreign languages to businessmen. Apart from French as standard, German and English were also taught. In response to the high demand of students[167] for commercial schools, the National Patriarchal School for Commerce and Languages[168] *Εθνική Σχολή Γλωσσών και Εμπορίου* was established soon after in Pera and recognised by both the Ottoman and the Greek Ministries of

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[161]Cf. *AA*, 15 September 1882, no.50, pp.387-388. The inauguration was held on 12 September 1882. Out of 673 students enrolled, 271 came from Constantinople, 135 from Asia Minor, 59 were Hellenic nationals, 155 came from Thrace and Macedonia and 53 from the Aegean islands.

[162] M. Paranikas in *ΕΦΚ*, Volume 19 pp. 1-4 Cf. Vyzandiou 1851 and Patrinelis 1974. See illustration no.8.

[163] Cf. Christidis 1865:45-64.

[164] Although the registrations began on 23 August 1893, the actual classes started after the inauguration ceremony of the school, on 22 September 1893. See *Ανατολικός Αστήρ*, 17.9.1893.

[165]Christakis Zografos was one of the most important benefactors of the Greek nation. He offered 10.000 Turkish Liras for the establishment of a 'factual' lyceum.

[166] Among them was Leonidas Zariphis, son of Georgios Zariphis, who contributed 2,000TL.

[167] In 1893, when the school was functioning for the first time, there were 1,008 students enrolled at both primary and secondary level. In 1908-9 the number of students reached 1,726. Roidis 1997:.51.

[168] After the effort of the Patriarchate (and especially of Patriarch Ioakeim III) to respond to the needs and demands of a changing society, the National School of Commerce and Languages was established. One of the fundamental reasons behind the establishment of the school was to minimise

Education[169]. Although the number of girls' schools in Constantinople remained quite low until the 1870s, girls were tutored at home or educated in private institutions[170]. In some cases, girls could also attend schools initially intended for boys, although after the establishment of the Greek Philological Syllogos[171] in 1861 more emphasis was given to women's education. Nevertheless, according to Vretos' calendar[172], as early as 1849 the school for indigent girls (*Σχολή των Απόρων Κορασίων*) was founded in Pera[173] under the direction of Calliopi Peripheraki[174]. The school was first established as a parish school to educate Greek girls of the lower social classes[175]. From 1864, when the school was renamed and Mrs. Caloyera appointed as the director, a new period of steady improvement began[176]. Among the school's permanent annual sources of income were the contributions from the parish of *Stavrodromi*[177] and the donations of Eleni and Stefanos Zariphis[178].

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the constant flow of Greek students into foreign schools such as English, French, Italian and American. See *Πρόοδος*, 12 October 1909.

[169] The school was first established in October 1904 with the generous donations of Evgenios Evgenidis. The legal permission for the functioning of the school was obtained in late October 1909. For more information see *Weekly Budget*, 24 October 1904 and *Weekly Budget*, 30 October 1909. Also in '*Genikos ke Esoterikos Kanonismos Tis Scholis*' 1912. Cf. Psalti 1919:58.

[170] Cf. Xeradaki 1972 and 1973 (study of the *Parthenagogeia* of unredeemed Greeks in general).

[171] For the Greek Philological Society see Vassiadis.

[172] Cf. Vretos calendar 1901:248 The school was first established as a parish school, in 1849, to educate Greek girls of the lower social classes - this is the reason behind its first name 'Ενοριακόν Παρθεναγωγείον' (parish school for girls).

[173] Region of Constantinople with a high proportion of Greeks.

[174] Cf. Gedeon 1932:133-134 and Xeradaki 1972:59-62.

[175] However, one assumes that the school resumed its functioning in 1849, as the Vretos school for girls ceased to function. In the regulations of 1907 and 1915, the date 1844 can be seen on the official stamp of the school.

[176] See illustration no.4. The school began its functioning in 1849 with only one teacher. However twenty-one years later, in 1870, apart from the director, it had five female and two male teachers. Gedeon 1932:133-4.

[177] The Greek Orthodox Parish of Stavrodromi contributed 150 Turkish liras to support the school.

[178] Three hundred matured bonds were bequeathed by Eleni and Stefanos Zariphis, bringing a permanent annual income of 33 TL.

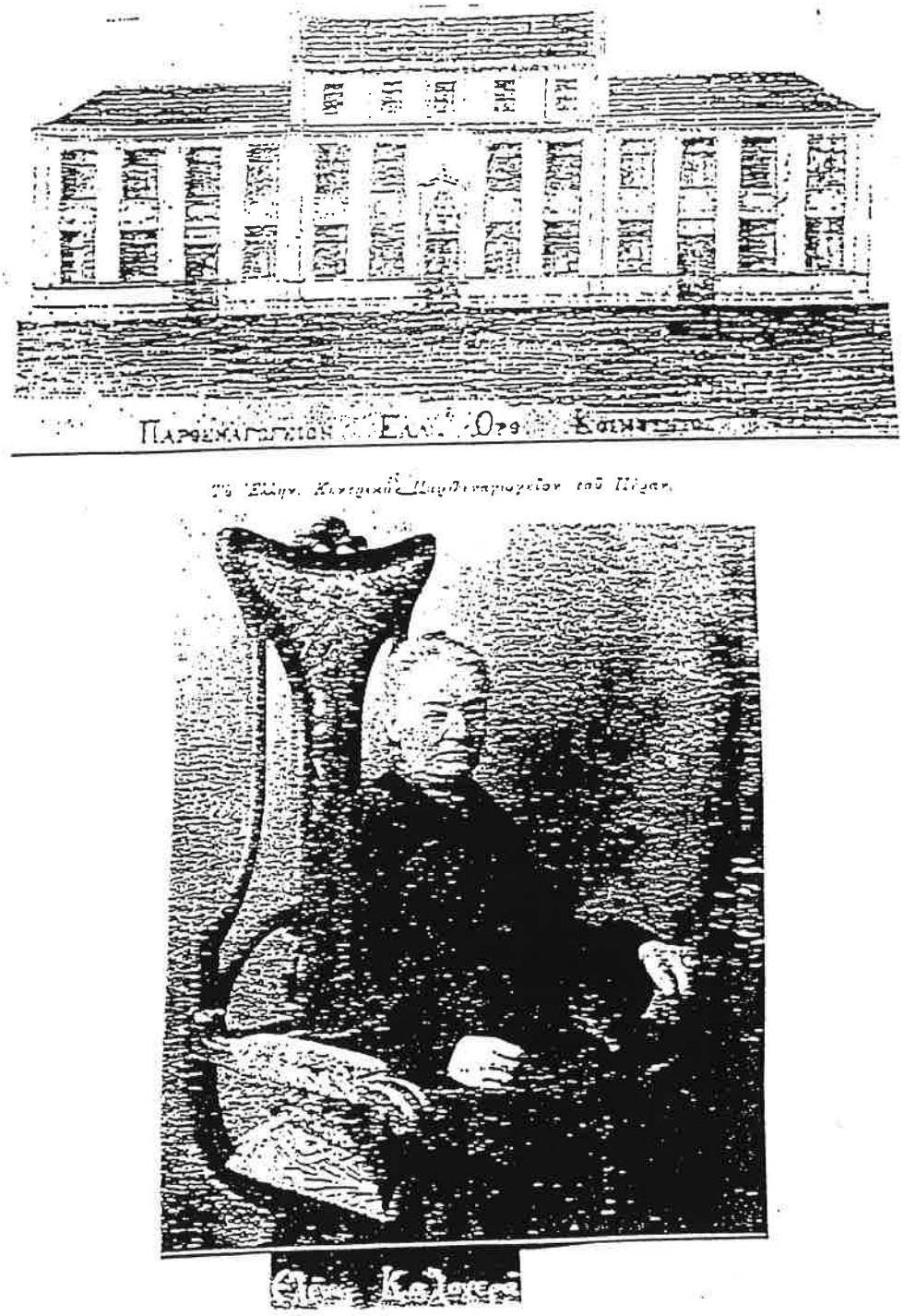


Illustration 4: *Kendrikon* School for girls and its first headmistress. Source: Private collection of S.D. Tarinas.

Thanks to support from the Greek government and the Russian Imperial Family[179], the school soon gained a considerable reputation among the Greeks in Constantinople. In 1903, the School was recognised by the Ottoman authorities. Another attempt for the encouragement of women's education was made on the initiative of Iroklis Vassiadis[180] and a group of leading members of the Constantinopolitan *syllogos* movement, who inaugurated the Society for the Promotion of Women's Education in Constantinople [SPWEC] *(Ο Υπέρ Της Γυναικείας Παιδεύσεως Σύλλογος)* in late December 1874[181]. The Society's first action was the establishment of a proper school for girls[182]. After Vassiadis' appeal for financial assistance, Constantinos Zappas[183], the wealthy Greek financier established in Romania, provided the property and then undertook to give financial support[184]. In gratitude the *syllogos* decided to name the new institution the Zappeion school for girls (*Ζάππειον Εθνικόν Παρθεναγωγείον*). After official permission granted by the Sultan Abdülhamit Han II[185], its operation began on 15 September 1875[186].

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[179] According to *the Regulations of the School* (1915) the annual contribution of the Royal Family in Russia was 2,000 roubles. The support from the Royal Family began long before, when the Vretos School for girls was still functioning. After the school was dissolved in 1849 this income was suspended for one year. With the establishment of Kendrikon their support resumed in 1850. However, the support ceased due to the political upheavals of 1917. A. S. Karanikolas, 1975:194.

[180] The school was established on the initiative of Vassiadis who was also one of the principal founders of the Greek Philological Society. See Vassiadis 1996:33-58. The presidency of the *syllogos* was conferred upon Iroclis Vassiadis on 4 December 1874. See Andreadis 1927: 10.

[181] Cf. Niangkas 1885: 8-14. Before the establishment of the school, this society had been set up to educate the Greek girls of the region.

[182] The construction of the new school began in December 1883 under the direction of the renowned architect Ioannis V. Ioannidis.

[183] C. Zappas was born in Lambovo (N. Epirus). Later, he supported his brother who was a doctor, and both Constantinos and Evangelos Zappas managed to make a great fortune which was later bequeathed to the Greek government. By the time the construction of the School was completed more than 32,000TL had been spent by both C. and E. Zappas. Moreover, they also provided the school with the most up-to-date equipment. For instance, during these years the school had seven pianos at its disposal for the music classes.

[184] One of the school's annual sources of income was the 1,200 TL bequeathed by Constantinos Zappas. See letter sent to the Greek Foreign Ministry by Zaimis, the president of the Zappeion Board, Athens, on 22 June 1912, AYE/B/33 and in Triandafyllakos to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 26 May 1932, AYE/B66.

[185] *Εικοσιπενταετηρίς* 1888: 9. See illustration no. 6.

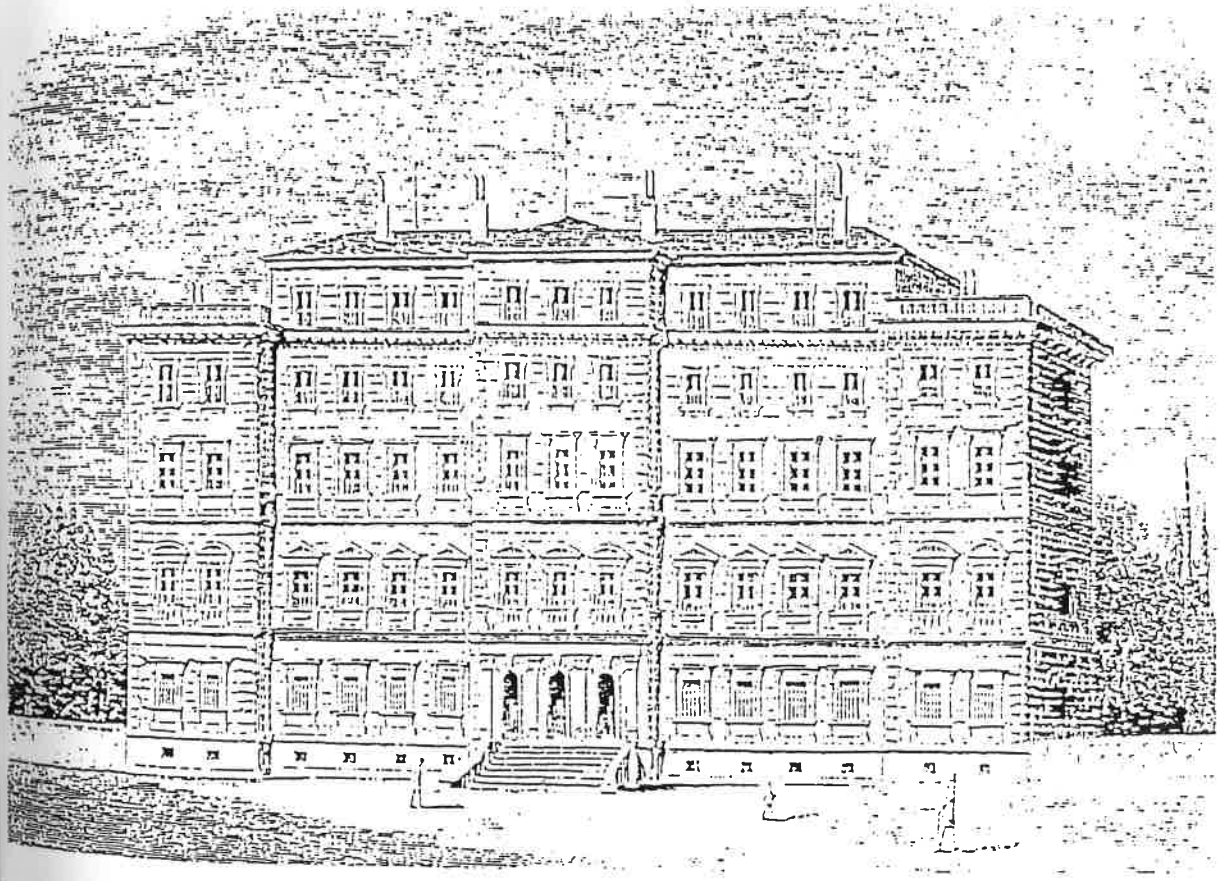


Illustration 5: *Zappeion* School for girls established in 1875 in Constantinople. Source: Private collection of S.D. Tarinas.

[186] Niangkas 1885: 10-11. See illustrations nos. 5 and 5b.



ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΖΑΠΠΑΣ

Illustration 5b. Constantinos Zappas. Source: *Εικοσιπενταετηρίς*.

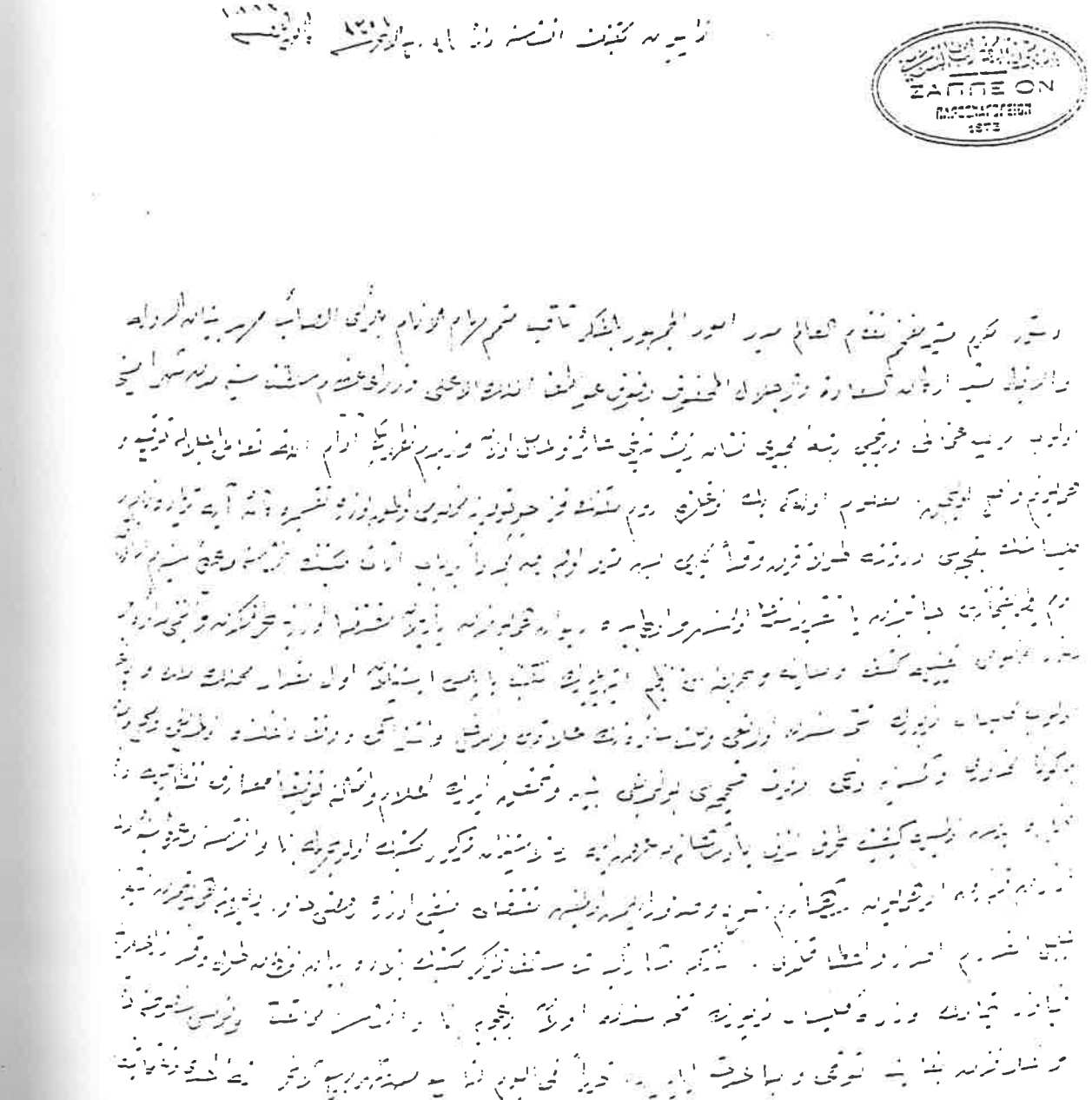


Illustration 6: Ottoman imperial decree permitting and confirming the construction of *Zappeion*. Source: Anonymous private collection.

The inauguration ceremony took place in July 1885, in the presence of the Ecumenical Patriarch and many other eminent figures[187]. Apart from local students, the school was also attended by students from Asia Minor, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Pontus, Macedonia and Epirus[188]. In 1879, after the personal efforts of Constantinos Zappas, the school was recognised by the Greek Ministry of Education as equivalent to the Arsakeion (*Αρσάκειον*) in Athens[189]. Hence, in a letter announcing his decision to Constantinos Zappas, the Greek Minister of Education admitted that the curriculum of Zappeion was far more advanced[190] than that of Arsakeion[191]. Five years later, in 1893, Constantinos Zappas[192] granted an annual bequest to the school in his will, thereby earning the title of 'founder of the school in perpetuity'. Even today the school's only permanent source of income, apart from the low tuition fees and donations, is Zappas' endowment[193]. From 1885 the Zappeion represented the principal school for girls of the Greek *millet* and an illustrious example of commitment by the *syllogos* movement to the betterment of Greek education.

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[187]Karanikolas, '*Ta Parthenagogeia Tis Constantinoupoleos*', *Παρνασσός*, Vol., 17, 1975:174.

[188]From the beginning, the school was both a boarding and a day school. On the silver jubilee of the school, after a speech made by the general secretary G. Apostolidis, it was indicated that 228 students graduated in the first twenty-five years, of which 140 studied free. Of these, 81 came from Constantinople, Thrace and Bulgaria, 25 from Macedonia and Epirus, 19 from Asia Minor and from the island nearby, 12 from Greece and especially from the Cyclades and 3 from Jerusalem, Crete and Cyprus.

[189] *Εικοσιπενταετηρίς*, *op.cit* p.8. The Arsakeion school for girls was founded by the *Philekpaideutiki Hetareia* of Athens. Its primary aim was to supply headmistresses and teachers to Greek schools in Constantinople and provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

[190]Z. Karastergiou 1997:68. In the Zappeion many other subjects, such as sewing and needlework, were taught. Special emphasis was given to composition. French, English and German, music (piano) and many examples of European dances were taught, subject to extra payment.

[191] Karanikolas, *op.cit* 180.

[192] Constantinos Zappas died on 20 January 1892. He visited his school only once, in 1888.

[193] The endowment of Zappas is still administered by the Zappeion Committee in Athens.

Further, Patriarch Ioakeim initiated the much-delayed project of the *Ioakeimeion Parthenagogeion*[194], a girls' school and kindergarten in the Phanari area, the funds for which had been bequeathed by his predecessor Patriarch Ioakeim II to the Patriarchate. One of the final wishes of Patriarch Ioakeim II[195] was the foundation of a girls' school at the location of his own house at Mouhlio in the Phanari region of Constantinople[196]. His wish was realised in September 1878, when the two sections[197] of the Patriarchate met and the Patriarch's will was read[198]. Under the auspices of Ioakeim's successor, Ioakeim III[199], the executors carried out the Patriarch's wishes. The new school was thus named 'Ioakeimeion'. Located at the heart of the most densely populated Greek section of the city, the Ioakeimeion was geared to train elementary school teachers[200]. The initiatives of Patriarch Ioakeim III eventually led to the permanent establishment of a Greek School for girls at *Mouhlio* (Phanari) district of Constantinople. Its inauguration ceremony took place in September 1882[201].

Direct Ottoman interference into the affairs of Greek education coincided with the so-called 'Privileges Crisis', a period defined by the spread of Panslavism which aimed to curtail the privileges[202] of the Greek

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[194] For a certificate of this college dated 12 June 1875 see illustration no. 7.
[195] Patriarch Ioakeim II (a: 1860-1863, b: 1873-1878).
[196] Cf. Paspatis 1877:388 and Gedeon, 1920.
[197] 'The Permanent National Mixed Council meets regularly twice a week as a civil court, to discuss legal issues (on Wednesdays), and as an administrative body (on Fridays). In important cases only, the PNMC assembles after the session of the Holy Synod and only in those circumstances do the two sections of the Patriarchate gather together to discuss critical issues.' 'Hemerologion ton Philanthropikon Katastematon' , *Ημερολόγιον των Φιλανθρωπικών Καταστημάτων*, 1904:26.
[198] *Νεολόγος*, 19.8.1878 (issue 2855) and 3.9.1878 (issue 2867).
[199] Patriarch Ioakeim III (a:1878-1884, b:1901-1912). The executors of Patriarch Ioakeim's will, after his wish, were Metropolitan Derkon Ioakeim - who after the death of Ioakeim II became Patriarch - and T. Mavrokordatos. See *Νεολόγος* 3.9.1878 (issue 2867).
[200] Iordanoglou 1989:20-21.
[201] *Αυγή*, 20. 10. 1882, *Παρνασσός*, 17, 1975: 187.
[202] For the 'Privileges Crises' see footnote 58 and 59 in this chapter. The abolition by the Ottoman government of the patriarchal right of arbitrating disputes concerning the wills of Greek Orthodox

millet. For example, when an Ottoman inspector discovered 'unsuitable' texts used in the Greek schools of Constantinople, the Ministry of Education asked Patriarch Iokeim III to ensure their immediate removal[203]. The Patriarch Ioakeim responded to this interference by referring to the privileges originally granted to Gennadios II Scholarios[204]. Consequently, the Porte proceeded to demand that all school curricula and academic staff testimonials be submitted to the government for approval[205]. Although the Patriarch did not initially agree with the Porte's requests, later, on 23 December 1883, in a secret communication to the Porte, he complied with the Ottoman request to have the school curricula submitted for confirmation. This decision, being taken without the endorsement of the Holy Synod and the recommendation of the Permanent Council, was viewed as a 'most catastrophic' policy for the future autonomy of Greek education[206]. Likewise, in 1895 the Ottoman government made the Turkish language a mandatory subject[207].

Nevertheless, towards the second half of the nineteenth century, new colleges with good reputations, literary clubs and societies (*syllogoi*), publishing houses, philanthropic organisations and orphanages[208] were opened to improve the standards of living and education of the Greek community. These socio-economic achievements of the Constantinopolitan Greeks ensured the steady promotion of Greek culture and education. In

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Christians was also viewed as a further step in diminishing the Greek *millet's* status and privileges. See Papadopoulos 1895:89 ff. and 135-141.

[203] Papadopoulos 1895:95-100.

[204] In order to formalise relations between the Ottoman government and the Patriarchate, Sultan Mehmet II in 1454 granted some religious and civil privileges to Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios, the first post-Byzantine patriarch. See Gedeon 1909.

[205] Papadopoulos 1895:142.

[206] *op.cit.*, p.145.

[207] Little Turkish was taught in the Greek schools until 1895, when the Ottoman government made Turkish a required subject.

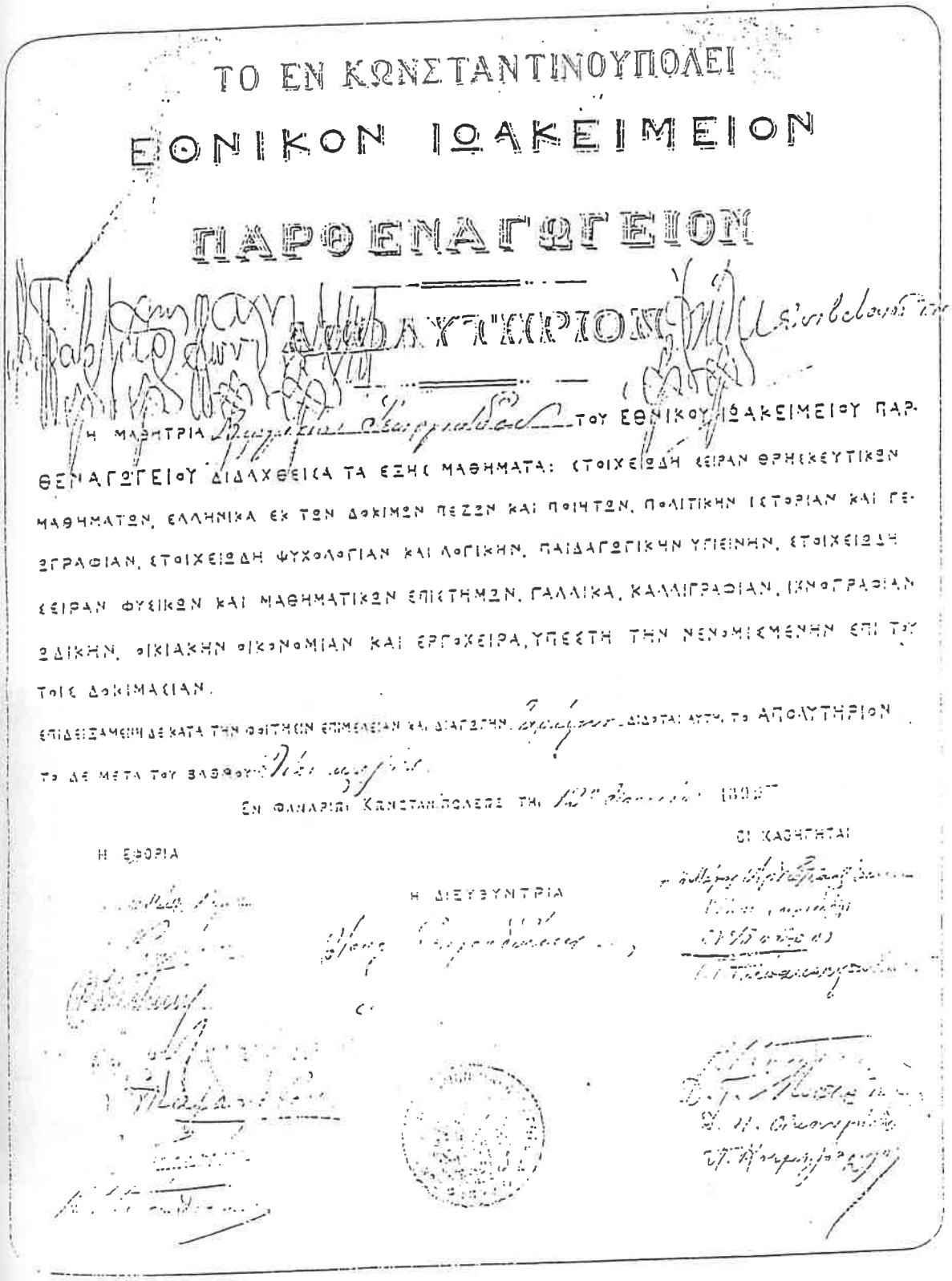
[208] Cf. Mavrophridis 1958. This is a historical album of all the orphanages of Constantinople. On the orphanage at *Prinkipo* (near Constantinople) see Vassiliadis 1963 and *Kanonismos 1906.* For the *Proti* island girls' orphanage (*Symeon Syniosoglou*) see *Kanonismos 1906.*

addition, Greek emigration to Constantinople, as well as other coastal towns of the Empire, accelerated from the independent kingdom of Greece soon after the reforming decrees of 1839 and 1856[209]. At the turn of the century there were approximately 230,000 Greeks in the Ottoman capital[210]. According to Turkish statistics, in 1910 there were 330,906 Greeks in Constantinople alone, a figure consistent with the Patriarchate figures for 1912[211]. In the following chapter the continuing development of Greek education in the aftermath of the Great War is studied in detail.

[209] The existence of a number of *syllogoi* in Istanbul formed and maintained by Greek natives of the Pelopennese, Thessaly, continental Greece as well as the Aegean and Ionian islands, illustrates their movement from the Greek Kingdom to the major Ottoman ports. See Mamoni 1975:107 and Papadopoulos 1919.

[210] Synvet 1878:3 and Psaltis 1919. The latter also describes Ottoman Greek education in detail and gives statistical information on the schools and their students.

[211] Cf. Pentzopoulos 1962:29-32 and McCarthy 1980:66-76. There were also 65,000 Hellene Greeks classified ~~in the category of~~ foreign nationals.



ΤΟ ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ

ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜΕΙΟΝ

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΑΓΩΓΕΙΟΝ

ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Η ΜΑΘΗΤΡΙΑ ... ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΥ ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΑΓΩΓΕΙΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΧΘΕΙΣΑ ΤΑ ΕΞΗΣ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ: ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΔΗ ΞΕΙΡΑΝ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΚΙΜΩΝ ΠΕΖΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΩΝ, ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΝ, ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΔΗ ΨΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΚΗΝ, ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΚΗΝ ΥΓΙΕΙΝΗΝ, ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΔΗ ΞΕΙΡΑΝ ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ, ΓΑΛΛΙΚΑ, ΚΑΛΛΙΓΡΑΦΙΑΝ, ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΝ ΩΔΙΚΗΝ, ΟΙΚΙΑΚΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΓΟΧΕΙΡΑ, ΥΠΕΣΤΗ ΤΗΝ ΝΕΝΟΜΙΣΜΕΝΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΙΑΝ.

ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΑΜΕΝΗ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΦΟΙΤΗΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΓΩΓΗΝ, ... ΔΙΔΟΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ

ΤΟ ΔΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΜΟΥ ...

ΕΝ ΦΑΝΑΡΙΩι ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΗι ... 1900

Η ΕΦΟΡΙΑ

Η ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΡΙΑ

ΟΙ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΑΙ

Illustration 7: A certificate from *Ioakeimeion.* Source: Constantinopolitan Society private collection.

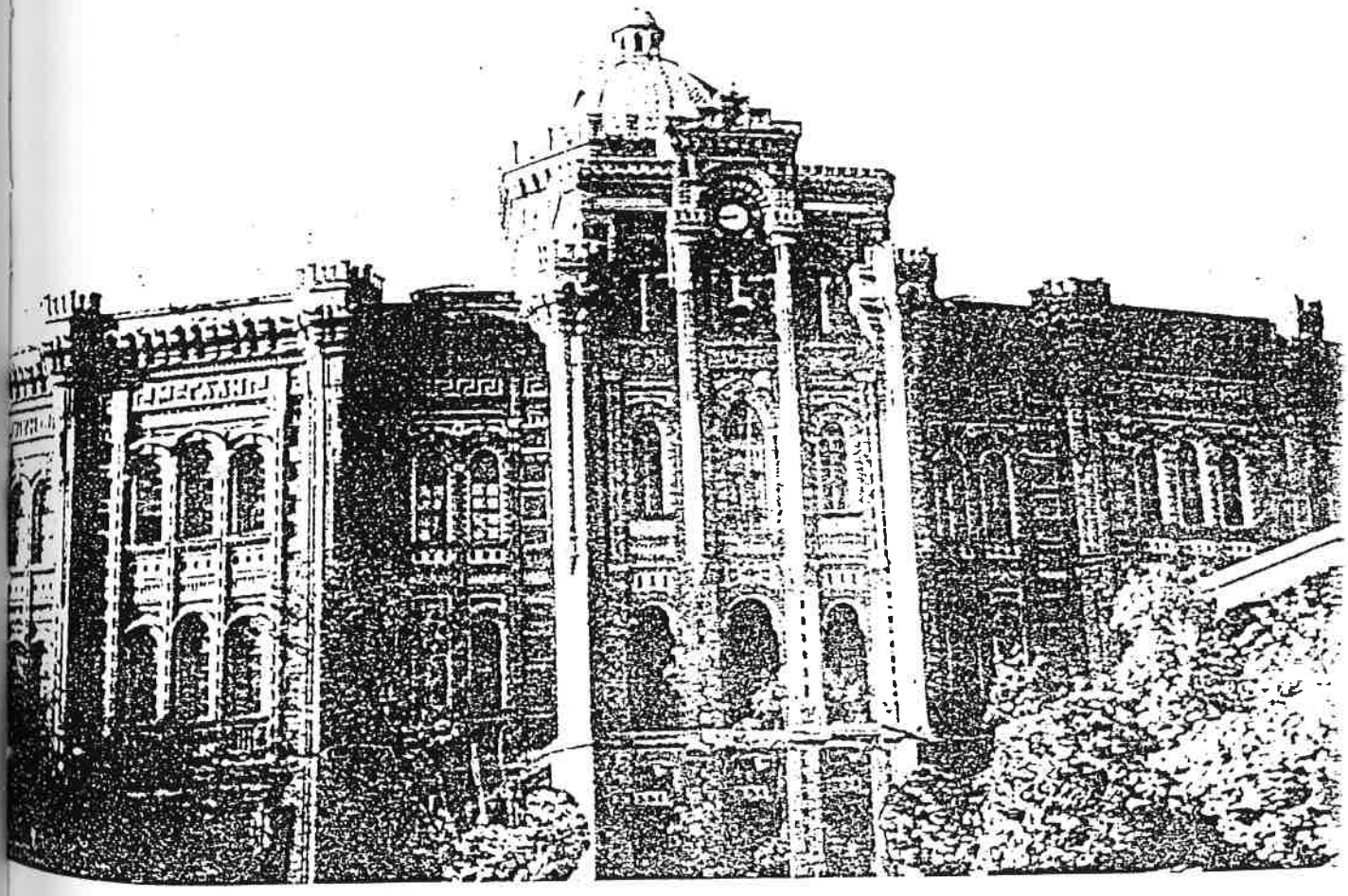


Illustration 8: The Patriarchal Great School of the Nation. Source: Private collection of I. Sarioglou.

CHAPTER II

THE POSITION OF THE GREEKS DURING AND AFTER THE LAUSANNE NEGOTIATIONS

1. The Treaty of Lausanne and its impact upon the Greek minority.

The decisive Turkish nationalist victory[212] over both the Greeks and the sultan produced a new situation in Turkey in particular and in the Near East in general[213]. The new state of affairs generated far reaching political and military changes. The mass uprooting of Greeks and Armenians[214] from Anatolia, Eastern Thrace and the Black Sea had long begun as a direct result of racial hostilities which plagued the Near East during the period 1918-1922,[215] in the aftermath of the First World War.

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[212] 'Although Turkey had gained a victory over the Greeks, it was largely due to the support given by France and Italy and the material and technical aid given by the former in particular, that this was rendered possible'. Bennett to Adam, Constantinople, 21 February 1923, FO 371/9130/E2141. For a detailed memorandum showing the obstruction of the French Government opposing all British efforts to save the Christian minorities of Turkey see '*Memorandum on French attitude towards minorities*', 9 August 1922, FO 371/7881/E8263 and Rumbold to Curzon, Constantinople (thereafter Cons.,) 21 August 1921,FO 371/6474/E9776. On the Indian - Muslim support to the Kemalists see FO 371/9121/E1979 and Secret Report, FO 371/7883/E5949. For the situation prior to 1923 (especially between 1918-1922) see Goldstein 1991: 36-64 and for the eventual Greek defeat see *The Times*, 14 September 1921, *Daily Telegraph*, 2 November 1921. Also Rumbold to Curzon, Cons., 21 December 1920, FO 371/6497/E52 and FO 371/6497/E477, 31 December 1920. The victory of the Turkish nationalists over the Greeks in Asia Minor and the complete independence of Turkey from the Entente came in 1923 when the new state had been secured and recognized internationally. See Ahmad 1994, Pallis 1995, Jaeschke 1991 and Smith. For events in Smyrna see FO 371/2951/E14432 and Puaux 1992. See also illustration no. 9.

[213] 'Almost the entire Christian population of Asia Minor has been annihilated or expelled. The Greek dream of Pan-Hellenism has been shattered and the question of minorities has been settled by the Turks in their own way, and probably to their own undoing. After reigning for some 650 years, the Ottoman dynasty has been shorn of its Sultanate, and the Muslim Caliphate of its temporal power.' Henderson to Curzon, Annual Report, Cons., 7 November 1923, FO 371/9176/E10937. For a detailed historical account based on the French Military Archives see Tsirkinidis 1996. See also Churchill 1929.

[214] About the anti-Greek persecutions in Turkey from 1908 to 1921 see statements made to the third national assembly in Athens (sessions 5th, 6th, and 8th April 1921) FO 371/6535/E12670. See also the minutes of the Armenian and Greek meeting held on 14 September , 1921, FO 371/6548/E10967. On the Greek collapse in Asia Minor and the Armenian massacre see Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 7 November 1923, FO 371/9176/E10937. See also Rumbold to Curzon, Annual Report, Cons., 8 May 1922, FO371/7947/E4988.

[215] See the report from the Ecumenical Patriarch to the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, Cons., 23 July 1921, FO 371/6524/E8531. About the mass uprooting of Christians: from Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 7 November 1923, Annual Report on Turkey, 1922, FO 371/9176/E10937 'During the early months of 1922, the Angora government continued to deport the Greek population of the

Soon after the end of the Turkish war of independence, in November 1922, the Entente invited the Turks to start negotiations[216]. The Turkish side wanted them to take place in İzmir, but the Entente refused to negotiate on Turkish soil and eventually Lausanne was chosen.[217] Britain, France, Italy and Greece were the hosts, while the Turkish side sent a delegation[218]. The Entente considered themselves the victors of the Great War and according to them the conference was meant to adjust the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres to the new situation. In the eyes of the Turks, they themselves were the victors in their war of national independence and, for them, Sèvres was past history[219].

Black Sea coastal area. The conditions in which the deportations were carried out, as described by numerous American eye-witnesses, left no doubt that the Angora government was making a deliberate attempt to solve the minorities' question by the extermination of the Greek element in Eastern Anatolia. Groups of some thousands of men, women and children were herded far into the interior over mountain roads in the most inclement weather, half clothed and a prey to hunger, thirst and disease. It is impossible to estimate with any hope or accuracy the numbers so deported, but one may conjecture something of their importance from the fact that 70,000 were reliably reported to have passed through Sivas alone. There can be no doubt that the great majority of this population perished in conditions of extreme suffering. All local action taken on behalf of the Pontic Greeks was unavailing. A protest made by the Allied High Commissioners to the Angora government against these deportations had been answered by a series of counter charges against the local population and the Greek army in Western Anatolia; and a request of Dr. Rurich, the representative of the International Red Cross, to be allowed to undertake relief work among the Greek population of the Black Sea Coast was arbitrarily refused.' For another '*Memorandum on Smyrna events*' see FO 371/7955/E11040, 10 October 1922.
Cf. Zürcher 1994: 167-172.

[216]On the outcome of the Lausanne negotiations Henderson, the British representative in Constantinople, observed the following: 'Whatever may be the ultimate issue of the Lausanne Conference it is already clear that the Turks have settled in their own manner and for many years to come the question of the Christian minorities. They have massacred, driven to death on the roads or in labour gangs, expelled by terror or by force a large and once flourishing Christian population which in the past had formed the country's most capable element in the liberal professions and trade and even in the flourishing times of the Ottoman Empire the backbone of its army.' Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 7 November 1923, FO 371/9176/E10937.

[217] The peace conference at Lausanne opened on 20 November 1920. Many months of diplomatic wrangling followed until the final treaty was signed on 24 July 1923. See Henderson to Curzon, Annual Report, Cons., 7 November 1923, FO 371/9176/10937.

[218] Before the Lausanne conference opened, the British attempted to divide the Turks by inviting the sultan to send his delegation along with the nationalist delegation. The sultan's willingness to play the British game gave Mustafa Kemal the pretext to abolish this ancient institution which had governed the Ottoman Empire for seven centuries (on 1 November 1922) and this paved the way for the declaration of the Republic on 29 October 1923. For more information see *op.cit.* 168.

[219] Zürcher *op.cit.*

The issues discussed during the Lausanne negotiations came under three headings: territorial and military; economic and financial; and *the position of foreigners and minorities.* The question of the Constantinopolitan Greeks was first raised on 1 December 1922 when the British foreign secretary and president of the military and territorial commission of the conference, Lord Curzon[220], read a statement suggesting *a mutual exchange of Greek and Turkish populations* under the supervision of the League of Nations. After several discussions a special draft convention between Greece and Turkey on the exchange of populations was signed by the Turkish and Greek representatives on 30 January 1923[221]. This Convention affected some 1.6 million people (approximately 75 per cent Greek Orthodox and 25 per cent Muslim Turks) who were subjected to a compulsory relocation between 1922-1924[222]. The process of ethnic purification was sanctioned by the international community, since the Venizelos-İnönü exchange agreement

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[220] For a detailed account of the proposed exchange of Greek and Turkish minorities see *Foreign Office Memorandum* , by Rendel, London, 20 November 1922, FO 371/9098/E13044.

[221] Zürcher *op.cit* Also in, AYE/KτE/28-29 for 1924 and AYE/Γ/66 for 1925. The whole file has information concerning the exchange of populations. ~~At long last~~, though at the cost of much misery and dejection, a greater homogeneity of populations was ensured in the Near East, through the 'Convention for the Exchange of Populations' which was signed by the heads of the Greek and Turkish delegations, Eleftherios Venizelos and İsmet İnönü, at the Lausanne Conference. Even though Muslims of Greek Thrace and Greeks of Constantinople were excluded from the exchange and allowed to remain, this major step of 'national purity' tended to reduce the danger of future conflict in the Near East. From a Turkish point of view on the tragedy of the exchange of populations see Arı 1995. For a Greek perspective see Pallis 1995 and Ladas 1932.

[222] The numbers involved in the exchange were about 1,200,000 Greeks and 300,000 Muslims, *Foreign Office Memorandum* by Ryan, London, 31 July 1923, FO 371/9098/8066. In the same memorandum it is stated that broaching the subject of the 'exchange of populations' began in the summer of 1914 but negotiations were interrupted by the war. After the Greek collapse in Asia Minor and with the recommendation of Dr. Nansen the same subject continued to be discussed, until it came before the conference in December 1922. The Turkish side welcomed the idea of exchange on a compulsory basis. The Greek delegation was ready to discuss the matter either way. The conclusion reached was on the basis that if there was going to be such an exchange it had better be compulsory. Indeed the Greek side would have preferred to abandon the idea altogether if the Turks would assure decent treatment of the Ottoman Greeks who were already expatriated. Finally, as mentioned above, an agreement was signed on 30 January 1923.

was incorporated in the final text of the multilateral Treaty of Lausanne of July 23, 1923[223].

In addition to the population issues this treaty was important because it defined present day Greek -Turkish borders in Thrace, carving up the old Ottoman province of Edirne between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey[224]. The international community allowed some relatively small minority groups in Greek Thrace, Istanbul, Imbros/Gökçeada and Tenedos/Bozcaada to survive this process of ethnic cleansing[225]. Unlike Greek Thrace, the Turkish-held eastern section of the region was included in the exchange of populations. Consequently, the majority of the Thracian Greeks, some 350,000 people, were forced to abandon their homes and move to Greece in October - December 1922. Thus after 1922 the Turkish Thracian borderlands became ethnically homogenous, while the Muslim populations of Greek and Bulgarian Thrace lived in a mixed society.

According to Article 2 of the Exchange Convention,

'the following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1 : (a) The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople (b) The Muslim inhabitants of Western Thrace. All Greeks who were already established before 30 October 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of

[223] For British criticism on the Treaty of Lausanne see the extract from the *Evening Standard*, 14 August 1923, FO 371/9171/E8510 and for French press criticism see Phipps to Foreign Office, Paris, 25 July 1923, FO 371/9163/E7697. For a detailed comparison of the Treaty of Sèvres and the Treaty of Lausanne see *Foreign Office Memorandum* by Edmonds, London, 16 June 1923, FO 371/9083/E6330. For the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in Thrace and Asia Minor see also communication by Fridjof Nansen (High Commission of the League of Nations for Refugees) to the Foreign Office, 4 November 1922, FO 371/7958/E12278 and Foreign Office Minutes by Rendel, 20 November 1922, FO 371/7959/E13044. Also in League of Nations to FO, Geneva, 15 and 19 November 1922, FO 7959/13098. For the Treaty of Lausanne *Actes signés à Lausanne le 30 Janvier et le 24 Juillet 1923,* Paris, 1923.

[224] Cf. Seferiadis 1928: 311-437. For a Turkish view on the exchange of populations see Arı 1995 and Akgün 1993.

[225] In fact it was impossible for Greece to take in the enormous Greek population of Istanbul. See Politis to Venizelos, Athens, 22 November 1922, BMAEV. Also in *The Times*, 13 December 1922.

Constantinople. All Muslims established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest shall be considered as Muslim inhabitants of Western Thrace'[226].

Therefore, with these stipulations the future of the Greek community in Istanbul, as well as the Muslim minority of Western Thrace, was officially guaranteed[227]. At the same time, in order to reduce the size of the large Constantinopolitan Greek community and satisfy the Turkish demand for proportionality between the two ethnic minorities, Greeks who had settled in Istanbul after 30 October 1918 were denied the benefits of article 2a[228]. Beyond confirming the right to remain in their native lands, the Treaty of Lausanne also laid down a mutual legal framework for the protection of minorities in Greek Thrace and Istanbul. As such, these minorities were entitled to religious, educational and linguistic freedoms while they were given the right to control their religious/educational communal properties (*vakıf*). In the same way, they were entitled to settle questions of family law and personal status in accordance with their own traditions[229]. Core human rights were also pledged by the respective constitutions of Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, the minutes of the Lausanne Conference and subsequent articles of the Treaty regarding minorities made the following four essential points:

1-The reciprocal character of the rights to be enjoyed by the respective minorities in Greece and Turkey (Article 45 of the Treaty of Lausanne).

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[226] Cf. *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:43 and in Alexandris, Veremis *et.all.* 1988: 35-50.
[227] Cf. Ladas 1932: 353-76. This is a very detailed account on the exchange of minorities in Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.
[228] Cf. Clogg 1986: 115. *Απογευματινή*, 10 July 1929.
[229] Articles 37-45 of Lausanne Treaty, in *League of Nations, Treaty Series, LNTS*, 1929 XXV, 16, London 1923, pp.29-35. Cf. Alexandris 1998.

2-The definition of the status of the exempted minority populations as religious rather than ethnic or national[230].

3-The preservation of the numerical balance and proportionality of the minority populations. This condition was set up during the Lausanne negotiations after the Turkish delegations's insistence which sought to expel about two-thirds of the approximately 300,000 Istanbul Greeks in order to balance the presence of approximately 100,000 Muslims in Thrace[231].

4-The freedoms granted to the minorities should not undermine or interfere with the right of the respective states to guarantee national defense and maintain public order.

Thus Article 27 of the Treaty of Lausanne places clear limits[232] on any interference by either country in each others' internal affairs. Concurrently, with this agreement, approximately some 1,500,000 Greeks were subject to compulsory exchange from Asia Minor and Constantinople[233]. The actual exchange was weighted heavily in Turkey's favour, as some 380,000 Muslims were exchanged for something like 1,500,000 Greeks,

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[230] During the Lausanne negotiations, the Turkish delegate Rıza Nur insisted on defining the exempted minorities in religious terms (*gayrimüslim Türk vatandaşları*). Cf. Meray 1969:170-174 and in the *Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs, LCNEA*, Cmd. 814 XXVI, London 1923, 328-337. Indeed both the Convention on the population exchange (Article 2) and the main Treaty signed in Lausanne (Article37-44) defined the minorities as religious and not as national or ethnic. A subtle act of Turkish diplomacy can be found in the recording of the Lausanne minutes: using the singular form, they quoted '*'La minorité Musulmanne*' instead of '*Les minorités Musulmannes'* , as if there was only one Muslim nation, ignoring the diverse ethnic origins of several Greek Muslim communities in Greek Thrace. This oversight is still prevalent today. See *Κωνσταντινουπολίτικα Θέματα*, vol., 26 (1992), p.8. and Zenginis 1994: 48-51. This last secondary source is an historical account of the Muslim Gypsies of Greek Thrace.

[231] Cf .*LCNEA* 328-337.

[232] Cf. *LNTS* XXV.

[233] See report prepared by the League of Nations on the Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. FO371/10185/E11736.

although most of the Greeks had already fled to Greece before the refugee convention had been signed[234].

Plenty of land had been vacated[235] by the departing Greeks for the incoming Turks and Turkey was in any case underpopulated[236]. Greece, in contrast, was scarcely capable of maintaining its existing population and was obliged to take in an influx of refugees, including those from Russia and Bulgaria, totalling almost 1,300,000[237]. However, some uncertainties exist as to the precise numbers of the refugees[238].

Certainly, Turkey was not the only European or Asiatic country having to tackle the complications associated with the presence of religious and national minorities. The system established after World War One, under

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[234] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 24 December 1924, FO 371/10185/11681. The actual numbers given in this report are as follows: 1,300,031 for the Greeks who have left Turkey and returned to Greece and 372,736 for the Muslims who have left Greece and returned to Turkey.

[235] For the Turkish law regarding 'abandoned property' see the Department of Overseas Trade to the FO, 8 May 1923, FO 371/9128/E4676 and in Collas (Greek Legation) to Oliphant, London, 16 August 1923, FO 371/9128/E8379. The latter is a detailed memorandum stating that, according to orders issued from Ankara, abandoned Greek property in Turkey was to be seized in districts where it was not intended to settle refugees. This action constituted a violation of the Exchange of Populations Convention as, during the peace negotiations, Rumbold and Venizelos had drawn İsmet Pasha's attention to measures of this kind then envisaged by the Turks, when Turkey had officially promised that they would respect and abide by the whole of the Convention, and especially Article 16 expressly stipulating that populations excluded from the exchange (as the Greek population of Constantinople was) were permitted to 'exercise freely their right to remain or to return to those districts and to enjoy to the full their liberties and rights of property'. As though to justify the Turkish authorities' action, the British representative in Istanbul, Henderson, suggested that it was 'chiefly prompted by the desire to secure additional funds for the Public Treasury by the confiscation of their properties'. See Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 17 May 1923, FO 371/9128/E5472 and FO 371/9128/E4789. *The Manchester Guardian*, 25 March 1924.

[236] Alexandris *et all., op.cit.* 33-63.

[237] For the refugees in Greece and their condition see Foreign Office Minute, 25 November 1922, FO 371/13203/10524. According to Mr. Wase, member of the British Relief Committee in Athens, there was not even a single able-bodied man of military age among the refugees in Athens. According to the same source Greeks were being kept by Turks for service in labour battalions. See also FO 371/7960/1185, FO/371/7960/E13187, and FO371/7958/E12544 dated 11 November 1922.

[238] The 1928 census gave the following figures: refugees from Turkey, 1,104,216; refugees from Russia, 58,526; refugees from Bulgaria, 49,027. The overall population of Greece rose between 1907 and 1928 from 2,600,000 to 6,200,000. For more information see Alexandris *et all.,op.cit.* 44-9.

the League of Nations, based on special legal treaties[239] (special legal clauses in general treaties, or unilateral undertakings), aimed to ensure some basic rights to minority members. These included: the rights to life and liberty without any discrimination; the free exercise, in public and privately, of any creed, religion or belief; equality in the enjoyment of civil and political rights; equality of treatment in law and in fact equal access to public employment, the professions or industries; use of minority languages before the courts, in addition to the freedom to use any language in private, in commerce, in religion, in the press and in public assemblies, as well as in the specific institutions of groups of a charitable, religious, social or educational nature; the right to provide school instruction in the minority language; and the right to have public funds allocated to the religious, educational and charitable needs of minorities[240]. In general, the declared purpose of all minority provisions was to avoid forced assimilation, to permit the political participation of members of the minorities, to ensure the preservation of their group identity, and to guarantee equality and non-discrimination[241].

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[239] After World War One, treaties were signed between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and states with minority problems: the 1919 Treaty of Versailles with Poland; the 1919 Treaties of Saint Germain-en-Laye with Austria, Czechoslavakia and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; the 1919 Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine with Bulgaria; the 1919 Treaty with Roumania; the 1920 Treaty of Trianon with Hungary; the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres with Greece and the 1923 *Treaty of Lausanne* with Turkey.

[240] Cf. Brolmann *et al.*, 1993: 84-85 Certainly the bibliography on minorities is enormous. For an early list, see United Nations, *Definition and Classification of Minorities*, UNP Sales No. E.50. XIV.3, pp.26-51. For more recent and voluminous literature see F. Capotorti, *Study on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Lingiustic Minorities of 1977*, UNP Sales No. E.91. XIV.2. Look also at P. Thornberry, *International Law and the Rights of Minorities*, 1991 for an extensive bibliography.

[241] *Ibid.* and Wallace 1992:196-7. In its Advisory Opinion on *Minority Schools in Albania*, following a decision of the Albanian government to close all private schools and a consequent action on behalf of the Greek community in that country, the Permanent Court of International Justice stated that: 'the idea underlying the treaties for the protection of minorities is to secure for certain elements incorporated in a State, the population of which differs from them in race, language or religion, the possibility of living peacefully alongside that population and co-operating amicably with it, while at the same time preserving the characteristics which distinguish them from the majority, and satisfying the ensuing special needs. In order to attain this object, two things were regarded as particularly necessary, and have formed the subject of provisions in these treaties. The first is to ensure that

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923, was ratified by the Turkish Grand Assembly one month later[242]. Consequently, Turkey agreed to treat all religious minorities equally on the condition that Muslims in Greece would also be treated equally; as a result, the minority clauses concerning the future position of non Muslims in Turkey and Muslims in Western Thrace were inserted in the final text of the treaty[243]. These clauses, together with Article 16 of the exchange of populations convention, constituted the *Magna Carta* of non-Muslims in Turkey[244].

This treaty was generally acclaimed as the greatest diplomatic victory of the new Turkey so far[245]. Throughout the negotiations the Turkish delegation wanted to abolish all foreign controls over the economy, the judicial system, finance, the minorities and territories of Turkey[246]. With the exchange of populations and the new *apolitical role* of the Patriarchate[247], the Turkish state was able to put an end to the *millet* [248]

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nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall be placed in every respect on a footing of perfect equality with the other nationals of the State. The second is to ensure for the minority element suitable means for the preservation of their racial peculiarities, their traditions and their national characteristics. These two requirements were indeed closely interlocked, for there would be no true equality between a majority and a minority if the latter were deprived of its own institutions, and were consequently compelled to renounce that which constitutes the very essence of its being as a minority'. For more details see *Minority Schools in Albania*, PCIJ, See. A/B, No.64, 1935, at p.17.

[242] It should be noted that there was a considerable delay on the Turkish part in signing the Treaty. The decision of the Kemalists not to sign the Treaty was however primarily due to internal factors. The growing activity of the opposition was causing Mustafa Kemal great anxiety, as he thought that from the moment the peace was signed, internal fighting would commence, allowing opposition groups to express their hatred. Besides governmental opposition, there was also considerable opposition in the army. See Bennett to Adam, 21-2-1923, FO 371/9130/2141.

[243] Cf. Howard 1966:301-304.

[244] At Lausanne Turkey agreed to grant equal treatment for all religious and racial minorities mainly because it regarded such an undertaking as in accordance with its political philosophy. By virtue of these clauses, the right to remain in Istanbul was recognized and guaranteed for the Greek community. See Appendix A. *Société des Nations et la Protection des Minorités de race, de langue et de religion* Section d' Information, Secretariat de la Société des Nations 1927: 97-98.

[245] Cf. .Ahmad 1994: 50-1 and Zürcher 1995: 160-70.

[246] Up to 1922 most of the economic as well as commercial life of the Ottoman Empire was handled and dominated by the non-Muslim element. For more information see Clarence 1922 and Macartney 1934.

[247] During the Ottoman era the leader of each millet was the highest ecclesiastical office-holder of his respective community and was directly accountable to the head of the Ottoman government, the

system; and for the Greeks in Istanbul, in consequence, there began a whole new period in their history and fortunes.

The dream of the '*Megali Idea*' and the ultimate recovery of 'Constantinople' by a greater Greece was now only an illusion. Significantly, a large group of Constantinopolitan Greeks, who formed the intellectual and cultural backbone of Constantinople, chose to emigrate voluntarily to Greece. According to rough Patriarchal statistics for 1923, there were 250,000 Greeks in Istanbul, and about 150,000 of them were emigrating to Greece[249]. The population changes meant that, culturally also, Istanbul as well as Asia Minor had become completely transformed from what it was before the Anatolian war.

In April 1924 however, the new republican constitution recognized all the inhabitants of the country as Turkish citizens, and despite all the international as well as Turkish guarantees, the involvement of non-Muslims in the public life of Turkey dramatically declined with the establishment of the new republican regime. The larger Christian communities had practically disappeared, and linguistically only two large groups were left: the Turks and the Kurds, with half a dozen smaller groups (Greek, Armenian, Spanish-speaking Jews, and Circassian, Laz and Arabic-speaking Muslims). In this new state of affairs, although Turkey tolerated Greek and other minorities, reducing the non-Turkish elements was a primary objective of the new regime[250]. Finally on October 13, 1923, Ankara became the new capital of Turkey and on

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sultan, for the management of internal affairs concerning his particular flock. By 1914 there were seventeen separate millets. For more information see Karpat 1973.

[248]In the Ottoman Empire millets were religious corporations with elaborate written charters. In fact they were partially autonomous bodies in all that concerned religion, culture, economic and social life. For more information see P. Wittek 1938: 28.

[249] Statistical information obtained from the Patriarchal Library (*Patriarchiki Epitropi 1923)* and Kitsikis, 1996: 271-273.

October 29, Turkey was formally declared a republic with Kemal Atatürk as its first president[251]. The next step was to adopt a new constitution; in April 1924 Turkey adopted the Western system of parliamentary democracy.

In a memorandum[252] prepared by the Foreign Office on the new situation of the minorities in Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne was perceived 'in certain ways, as a step forward'. Despite the fact that the Christian minorities were much reduced in number, they still at any rate managed to be under the protection of the Treaty of Lausanne. Thus, for the first time, Turkey complied with a formal international agreement in which the privileges[253] of minorities 'constitute obligations of international concern'. Moreover, these privileges were placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations[254]. However, despite the new 'democratic' state and the government's insistence on the secularisation programme, the difference in the treatment of Muslim and non-Muslim citizens remained a fundamental and determining component in Turkish state policy[255]. This

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[250]Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 28 November 1922, FO 371/ 7917/E13642. *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, 7 February 1926.

[251] He later adopted the surname Atatürk . Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) is the founder of modern Turkey. For more details about his life and the independence war of Turkey see Sonyel 1989 and for a very recent biography Mango 1999.

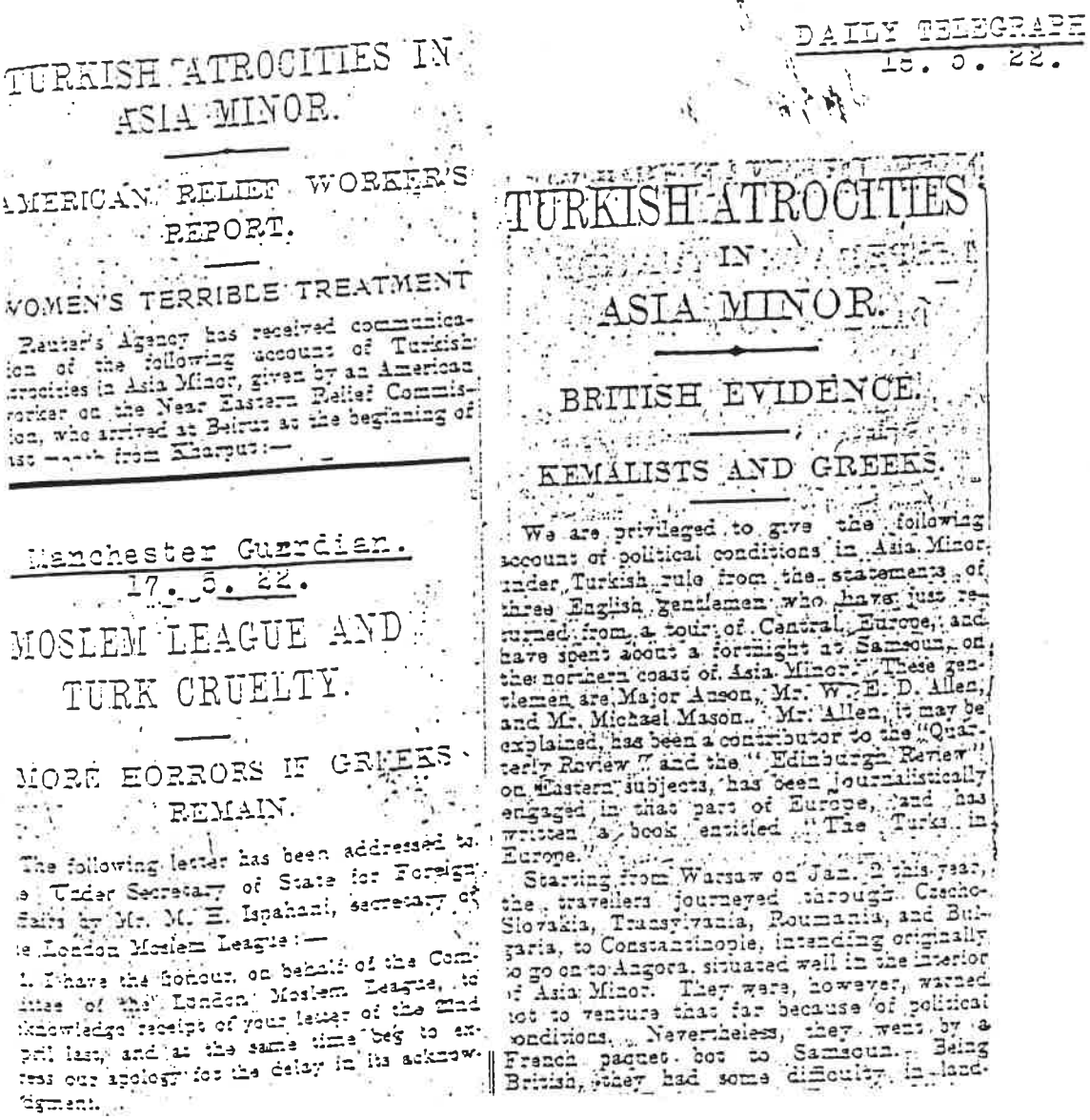
[252] '*Foreign Office Memorandum on Minorities in Turkey*' by Rendel, London, 31 July 1923, FO 371/9110/E7878.

[253] The new privileges contained in Articles 37 to 45 of the Lausanne Treaty assured the minorities (though only on paper) of full and complete protection of rights and liberty; free public exercise of any creed, religion or belief not incompatible with public order; the enjoyment of the same civil and political rights as Muslims; equality before the law; and more importantly adequate facilities for instruction in their own language. See Appendix A for a full list of the articles. Formal provision for the exemption of minorities from military service was not obtained.

[254] Neverthless, it has proved impossible to acquire similar privileges for the Muslim minorities of Turkey such as the Kurds or the Circassians.

[255] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 November 1927, AYE/B/33. According to this detailed report, the participation of non-Muslim elements in the public or state services of the Turkish Republic was completely forbidden. With no regard for their origin and despite the fact that they were Turkish nationals, they were discriminated against by their Muslim counterparts.

tradition, inherited from Ottoman rule, led to the building of a hierarchy[256] separating individuals of the same nation.



TURKISH ATROCITIES IN ASIA MINOR.

AMERICAN RELIEF WORKER'S REPORT.

WOMEN'S TERRIBLE TREATMENT

Reuter's Agency has received communication of the following account of Turkish atrocities in Asia Minor, given by an American worker on the Near Eastern Relief Commission, who arrived at Beirut at the beginning of last month from Kharput:—

Manchester Guardian. 17. 5. 22.

MOSLEM LEAGUE AND TURK CRUELTY.

MORE HORRORS IF GREEKS REMAIN.

The following letter has been addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by Mr. M. E. Ispahani, secretary of the London Moslem League:—

I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee of the London Moslem League, to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 22nd April last, and at the same time beg to express our apology for the delay in its acknowledgment.

DAILY TELEGRAPH 15. 5. 22.

TURKISH ATROCITIES IN ASIA MINOR.

BRITISH EVIDENCE.

KEMALISTS AND GREEKS.

We are privileged to give the following account of political conditions in Asia Minor under Turkish rule from the statements of three English gentlemen who have just returned from a tour of Central Europe, and have spent about a fortnight at Samsoun, on the northern coast of Asia Minor. These gentlemen are Major Anson, Mr. W. E. D. Allen, and Mr. Michael Mason. Mr. Allen, it may be explained, has been a contributor to the "Quarterly Review" and the "Edinburgh Review" on Eastern subjects, has been journalistically engaged in that part of Europe, and has written a book entitled "The Turks in Europe."

Starting from Warsaw on Jan. 2 this year, the travellers journeyed through Czecho-Slovakia, Transylvania, Roumania, and Bulgaria, to Constantinople, intending originally to go on to Angora, situated well in the interior of Asia Minor. They were, however, warned not to venture that far because of political conditions. Nevertheless, they went by a French paquet boat to Samsoun. Being British, they had some difficulty in land-

Illustration 9: English newspapers of the time. Source: the British Library and the PRO.

[256] *op.cit.* Non-Muslim citizens were always perceived as 'second class citizens'.

2. Turkish nationalism and Greek education.

During the post-Lausanne period Turkey began to develop a number of important 'national' (milli) policies[257] in order to reduce the dominant position of the minorities[258] and foreigners, and minimize their interference in the affairs of the new Republic. Besides the efforts to achieve a nationally controlled economy[259], another important step taken by the Turkish government was the 'Turkification' of education. The ideology of national education in Turkey was formed in the 1920s during a period of conflict which saw the war of independence against imperialism, the

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[257]About the Turkish Ministry of Economic Affairs' policies and the compulsory use of Turkish language by all companies operating in Turkey - there were fines to be imposed if regulations were not complied with - see Dept. of Overseas Trade, 26 February 1923, FO 371/9113/E2250. See also Ökçün 1971:117-118. During this period, according to Patriarchal statistics, more than 100 important Greek firms were closed in the city between November 1922 and March 1923. In addition, hundreds of smaller businesses ceased to operate, after the introduction of the nationalist regime in the city. On the state monopolies and its effects upon Greek businesses - such as alcohol or tobacco - see *Κωνσταντινούπολις* 23 April 1926. About the economic history of the Turkish Republic see Tezel 1994. For the rise of Pan-Turkism see Landau 1995 and Zürcher 1995.

[258] About the Turkish government's policy for making compulsory the repayment of imaginary debts by the Greeks, see Collas (Greek legation) to Oliphant, London, 9 May 1923, FO 371/9128/E4789.

[259]Until 1923, ninety percent of all managerial positions in such companies were occupied by non-Muslims and foreigners. Soon after 1923, all European firms operating in the city were urged by the Minister of Public Works to employ Turks, whenever possible. Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 23 October 1923, FO 371/9116/E10549. According to this confidential report of 19 October 1923, press telegrams from Ankara were stating that in the course of a statement regarding the employees of foreign companies operating in Turkey, Fevzi Bey, the Minister of Public Works confirmed that : 'according to the arrangements concluded with the foreign companies, the latter must engage Turkish employees only. They must employ **Muslim Turks** only. If the foreign companies do not shortly dismiss their Greek, Armenian and Jewish servants, I shall be compelled to cancel the privileges under which they are authorized to function in Turkey. This decision is irrevocable.' Ever since 1922 the Turks had been determined to eliminate foreign as well as Greek commerce in order to establish their own enterprises. In a confidential conversation between the British representative in Istanbul, Mr. Henderson, and General Refet Bele from the Ankara government, the latter stated that if Greeks were not actually expelled 'they would be well advised to leave, as in future, in a new Turkey, they would be unable to make a living here'. Henderson's report to the FO continued as 'The Turks were going to take the commerce into their own hands; he (Refet) had already started to organize for this purpose. Though I am very sceptical of the commercial capacity of the Turks or the success which would attend their efforts if confined to legitimate competition, I do not doubt that means will be found to ruin Greek commerce.' Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 28 November 1922, FO 371/ 7917/E13642. On the dismissal of Hellene employees, see *Κωνσταντινούπολις* 7 February 1926. However, the first step towards 'turkification' was developed in the economy, with the foundation of the National Turkish Commercial Union (Milli Türk Ticaret Birligi) in 1923, which played a major role in the purchase of commercial establishments and shops owned by the departing Christians, particularly Greeks. On the formation of the National Turkish Commercial Union see FO 371/9113/E824 and Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 29 January 1923, FO 371/9113/E1441. Also in Avcıoglu 1979:340-344 and Mardin 1967.

foundation of the Grand National Assembly and the proclamation of the Republic, as well as the abolition of the Ottoman monarchy and the Caliphate. Kemalism was declared the official ideology of the new Turkish state. Subsequently, the Turkish ideology of national education bore the mark of Kemalism and indeed this is still the fundamental component today[260]. Mustafa Kemal's early views on education can be found in his opening speech to the Congress on Education held in 1921 in Ankara. According to Kemal, through the adoption of a national education programme, all foreign ideas and influences should be rejected. He continues,

> 'When I speak of a national education programme I mean a culture which is wholly free from the superstitions of the old days and from foreign ideas, all influences which may come from east or west which do not fit at all with our natural characteristics, a culture which is commensurate with our national and historical character'[261].

The purpose of education, according to Kemal, was to foster the loyalty of new generations to the Turkish nation and state in such a way that they would be ready to fight against the enemies of Turkey:

> 'Whatever the extent of education we give to our children and youth, we shall thoroughly teach them loyalty to their Nation, to the Turkish state and to the GNA of Turkey, and to fight against the enemies of these. Those nations who are not equipped with the means of combating their enemies have no right to exist'[262].

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[260] The section entitled 'A New Conception of History' of a Turkish secondary school history textbook states: 'we know that the Turks ... founded states and civilisations, changing often the course of the history ... we know all this thanks to historical research done under the guidance of Atatürk'- Su and Mumcu 1986:208. For an analysis of Turkish textbooks see Alkan 1982.

[261] Cf. *Atatürkçülük (Birinci Kitap) Atatürk'ün Görüş ve Direktifleri* 1988:296.

[262] Cf. Yücel 1993:296.

Thus, for Kemal, teachers were part of 'the army of culture'[263]. Another important aspect of Kemal's views was his approach towards other national groups. He admitted that:

> 'In today's Turkish [upper case "T"] national, political and social community we have patriots and citizens who have been supporting the idea of kurdism [lower case "k"], the idea of cherkessism [lower case "c"] and even the idea of lazism [lower case "l"] or the idea of bosnianism [lower case "b"]. But these misnomers, which are the result of the despotic ages of long ago, have no influence on the individuals of this nation, except for a few enemy agents and brainless reactionaries, who have left our people in grief and sorrow. The individuals of this nation, as members of the unified Turkish community [upper case "T"], have a common past, history, morality and law'[264].

In other words, only Turkish nationalism was admissible but other nationalisms were dangerous and deplorable. A democratic policy based on equality of all national groups and languages rather than giving privileges to specific national groups and languages was regarded as dangerous for the building up of the Turkish nation[265]. In essence, instruction in other native languages was out of the question. As Kemal pointed out: 'A very prominent characteristic of nationality is language. A person who says I am of the Turkish nation must firstly and exclusively speak Turkish. It would not be right to believe a person who does not speak Turkish but claims to be loyal to the Turkish culture and community'[266].

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[263] *'Kütahya'da Ögretmenlerle Konuşma'*, 24 March 1923, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I-III*, II, P.167.

[264] *'Adana Türk Ocagında Konuşma'*, 15 March 1923, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I-III*, II, p.72 and İnan 1969:23. According to Kemal's *Nutuk* the majority of the 'few enemy agents and brainless reactionaries' were Kurds who were particularly active during the Turkish war of independence. *Nutuk*, vol.1, p.78. However, on 18 June 1919 Kemal affirmed that '...the Kurds have joined the Turks...'. *Nutuk*, vol. 1, p.25. The minority rights protected by the Treaty of Lausanne were, in Kemal's words, 'applicable only to non-Muslims'. See *Nutuk*, vol. 1, p.375.

[265] A policy which more or less is still very much applicable in today's Turkey.

[266] *'Adana Türk Ocagında Konuşma'*, 15 March 1923, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I-III*, II, p.362. See also *La République,* 14 September 1925.

Others had to renounce their native languages and learn Turkish if they wanted to participate in the political and social life of Turkey. He continues 'The Turkish national tongue is Turkish. The Turkish language is one of the easiest, richest and most beautiful in the world'[267]. Loyalty to nation, to the Turkish state and to the Grand National Assembly ought to be achieved through national education[268]. The populist chauvinism of Kemalism was also promulgated by a leading member of the RPP and the then Minister of Justice Mahmut Esat Bozkurt in a public speech in Ödemiş : '...let both friends and foes hear this, the master of this country is the Turk. Those who are not pure Turks have only one right in the Turkish fatherland, and that is to be a slave. We are living in the most free country of the world. The name of this country is Turkey'[269].

In this state of affairs, throughout the first ten years of the new regime, a number of important reforms occurred which, in one way or another, affected the lives of Greeks in Istanbul. In the field of education, measures taken against minority schools and curricula proved disastrous for both educational standards and the well-being of minorities. Thus, through a systematic 'Turkification' programme, students and schools over the years lost their cultural identity as well as their high standard of education. As early as 10 November 1922, Patriarch Meletios warned E. Kanellopoulos, the Greek representative in Istanbul, that 'without the moral and material assistance of the Greek government, the community schools would soon disappear'[270]. The Greek consul-general in the city, K. Diamandopoulos, also shared this pessimistic view.

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[267] Tezcan (ed.) 1989:14.
[268] Yücel 1993: 296.
[269] Cf. *Hakimiyeti Milliye,* 19 September, 1930.
[270] Meletios to Kanellopoulos, Cons., 10 November 1922, AYE/B/33.

In an appraisal of the situation in December 1925, Diamandopoulos reported that the Greek exodus, uncertainty about the future, Turkish restrictions and financial difficulties all posed a grave threat to the future of minority schools. Without Greek government assistance, he predicted, the Greek schools in Istanbul would soon be 'Turkified'[271]. As a consequence, Athens increased its annual subsidy to the Constantinopolitan Greek community institutions from 62,505TL to 80,000 TL[272]. Hence, in August 1923, with *Circular (Tezkere)* no. 19351/20-7-1923, the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction began an investigation of all foreign schools, requiring a full description of every educational institution and a detailed account of its academic staff[273]. Immediately after, an inquiry into the past political activities of Constantinopolitan Greek teachers - carried out by Salih Zeki, general-secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction - led to the dismissal of all those holding Hellenic nationality[274].

Likewise, a number of Greek teachers with Ottoman nationality were simply found 'unsuitable for teaching in the schools of the Turkish

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[271]The word used in the original text is 'εκτουρκισμός' which means more or less to turkify or make Turkish. Diamandopoulos to Roufos, Cons., 23 December 1925, AYE/B/33.

[272] Vryzakis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 30 October 1926, AYE/B/33. During 1924 the Greek government's support for the educational institutions in Istanbul came to 62,505 TL. See Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 21 June 1924, AYE/B/33 and in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33. It is worth noting that subsidies sent by the Greek government to support Greek schools did not always reach their destination easily. Conflicts experienced between Greek diplomats resulted in considerable delays in the transfer of funds. See Politis to Foreign Ministry, 12 December 1923, AYE/B/33.

[273] The Ministry of Public Instruction was demanding statistical information about the ~~past years of the school~~ school's past as well as information based on the kind of the school it was and the education it was providing, nationalities of both students and teachers, their ages and home addresses among other things. See Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 August 1923, AYE/B/33.

[274] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 27 February 1924, AYE/B/33. One of several teachers dismissed was the Hellenic national, Aspriotis, a well experienced teacher at *Zappeion* high school. Needless to say, the economic predicament of those who were dismissed was described as 'extremely serious' by the Greek diplomats. See Politis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 13 November 1923, AYE/B/33. According to the Turkish side, this measure was taken because 'there was no teacher with Turkish nationality in the respective Muslim schools' of Greek Thrace. However in a detailed memorandum of the Greek Consul-General it was stated that 'several teachers in Muslim Thrace are holding Turkish citizenship'. See Politis to Foreign Ministry, 25 March 1924, AYE/B/33.

Republic'[275]. Unlike the French and American schools (apart from Turkish studies which had to be taught only by Muslim Turks), the Greek and Armenian schools were not allowed to employ foreign nationals among their academic staff. Even though a substantial number of Greek teachers had Turkish citizenship, they were still dismissed on the grounds that they were *persona non grata* [276].

A notable example in this context was the dismissal of a teacher from the *Zappeion* school for girls after she was seen dancing in *Pera Palas*[277] with an English dignitary during the armistice period[278]. In September 1923, reminders were sent to every Greek school in case they were still employing Hellenic nationals[279]. In addition, a Turkish language examination for all foreign school directors was made compulsory by the Ministry of Public Instruction during that period[280]. Following this action, those who were not found to be fluent in the Turkish language were

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[275] Stylianopoulos to Politis, Cons., 13 October 1922, AYE/B/33. Also in Stylianopoulos to Politis, Cons., 29 November 1923, AYE/B/33. Even though the Turkish inspector İhsan was bribed into silence over the number of dismissals, 7 secondary school teachers with Hellenic nationality and 11 with Ottoman were dismissed by September 1923. In addition 20 primary school teachers with Ottoman nationality and 12 Hellenic nationality holders were removed from teaching in the same academic year. Some of them were directly appointed in equivalent schools in Greece. See Politis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 28 November 1923, AYE/B/33. By 1924, 156 teachers had been dismissed, 104 of them holding Turkish nationality and 52 Greek nationality. See '*Memorandum on Greek education*' by Stylianopoulos, Cons., 8 February 1924, AYE/B/33.

[276] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 September 1923, AYE/B/33 and in Stylianopoulos to Politis, Cons., 4 January 1924, AYE/Φ/6. The latter is a very detailed report on the education of Greeks in Istanbul and on how significant a role bribery played in reducing Turkish inspectors' hostile attitude and being able to re-appoint the dismissed Greek teachers. For instance, the director of the *Kendrikon* Natsinas was re-appointed in this way.

[277] A famous hotel established in 1894 in Constantinople. It belonged to three Armenians (Ohannes Kiryokof, Artin Manikyan and Manok Arslanoglu). In 1915, an Ottoman Greek from Mersina bought the hotel. Among other important personalities, Mustafa Kemal (in December 1917) and the Greek General Paraskevopoulos (in 1922) stayed in the *Pera Palas* Hotel. Currently it is owned by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The architect of the building was Alexander Wallaury. For more information see *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol.6, pp.239-241.

[278] Stylianopoulos to Politis, '*Memorandum on Greek schools of Constantinople*', 4 January 1924, AYE/Φ/6 .

[279] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 11 September 1923, AYE/B/33.

[280] Although graduates of Government schools were exempted from this law (in addition to Law no.2519/ 16 September 1924) , they still had to apply so that their names could be recorded by the authorities. Diamandopoulos to Argyropoulos, Cons., 18 August 1925, AYE/Γ/2. Also in

dismissed by the government[281]. At the same time, upon new orders of the Turkish authorities, the entire academic staff of seven Greek primary schools were removed[282].

The decrease of the Greek population during that period was partly because many of those dismissed were now being appointed to provincial schools in Greece[283]. Restrictive laws enacted by Ankara often were contrary to the freedom of education guaranteed by Article 40 of the minority clauses in the Treaty of Lausanne. As remarked in Chapter I above, although the non-Muslims enjoyed some educational autonomy under the Ottoman *millet* system, with the emergence of the Young Turk administration, a more uniform educational order began to evolve. Thus, thanks to the laws of 1908 and 1915, the Ministry of Public Instruction became responsible for the supervision of all schools and curricula in the country, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. Concurrently, the teaching of the Turkish language and Ottoman history were made compulsory by an educational law in 1909[284]. Such regulations were then further relaxed during the Allied occupation of Istanbul, but were renewed and enforced more stringently after the establishment of Republican rule in 1923.

After the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, aiming for the 'Turkification' of all foreign educational establishments, the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction issued a *Circular* to Allied schools in Istanbul making obligatory the teaching of Turkish language, history and

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Diamandopoulos to Politis, Cons., 17 March 1925, AYE/Φ/5. See also *Circular* no. 155/4 of 6 January 1926. *Journal d' Orient*, 16 April 1925.

[281] See '*Memorandum on Greek schools and education of Constantinople*', 17 September 1923, AYE/B./33 . Armenian schools also received the same *Circular* no.26.159 on 10 September 1923.

[282] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 September 1923, AYE/B/33. The parish schools of Tzivali, Kondoskali, Vlanga, Diplokionio, Agios Stephanos, the *Kendrikon* and the *Marasleios Scholi* had their teachers removed by the Ankara government.

[283] Lyberopoulos (Minister of Education) to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 17 March 1924, AYE/B/33.

[284] 'Guidelines concerning the Private schools 1921', translated from the Turkish text. *Οδηγίαι περί Ιδιωτικών Σχολών, Μετάφρασις εκ του Επισήμου Τουρκικού Κειμένου, 1921.* AYE/Φ/2/1923.

geography[285]. According to this *Circular*, all Allied schools had to employ Turkish professors 'at a suitable rate of remuneration'[286]. Moreover, no Turkish teacher appointed directly by the Ministry of Public Instruction was allowed to teach more than thirteen hours per week[287]. Within a few months, a new *Circular* announced that not only the Turkish language, history, and geography, but also patriotic studies and lessons of physical fitness were taught in Turkish[288]. Thus, in 1926, in a confidential report from the British representative in Istanbul, it was stated that the interference of the Turkish authorities in the functioning of the English High School for Girls had become intolerable, 'changing the whole character of the school'[289]. For example, although the hours allocated to Turkish language teaching were limited to two hours per week for seniors and four for juniors in 1923, this amount increased to twelve hours for seniors and eight hours for juniors in the academic year of 1925[290]. In

[285] *Circular* no. 9051/21-3-1923 . Anninos to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cons., 10 August 1923, AYE/B/33.

[286] Rumbold to Curzon, Constantinople, 9 April 1923, FO 371/9114/E3840 and Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 June 1923, AYE/B/33. Although Turkish teachers were appointed by the Ministry of Public Instruction , their salaries were paid from the school's budget. See Circular no. 9051/21-3-1923. See also Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 8 March 1925, AYE/Φ/5.

[287] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 June 1923, AYE/B/33. This Circular was sent on 21 March 1923 to all minority schools by Saffet, the Minister of Public Instruction. Also in *Πρωία* 26 April 1923.

[288] Diamandopoulos to Roussos, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33. Renewed *Circular* no. 3972/293 of 26 July 1927 stating the conditions for those Turkish teachers who wanted to be appointed to a minority or a foreign school. For a detailed account on the effect of Turkish subjects on Greek minority schools see Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 November 1927, AYE/B/33. Out of a teaching programme of thirty hours in total, twelve hours were reserved for the teaching of Turkish subjects. In addition, a two-hour fitness class was also taught in the Turkish language.

[289] The English high school for girls was given twenty-four hours in which to take on a Turkish teacher who had been found by the head mistress to be unsuitable for teaching small girls, with the threat of closure if it did not comply. As the school did not compromise, it was closed by the local authorities. Finally after several discussions it was agreed to keep the Turkish teacher on the books during the school holidays and replace him thereafter. Clerk to Chamberlain, Annual Report 1926, Cons., 31 January 1927, FO 371/12325/E633.

[290] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 10 February 1926, FO 371/11540/E1073. It is worth noting that no Turkish teacher was allowed to teach more than 13 hours per week in those schools. As a result some 210 teachers had to be employed in Greek schools. See '*Memorandum on Greek schools and education of Constantinople*', 17 September 1923, AYE/B/33 and Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons, 16 September 1925, AYE/Γ/2. Also in Tsamados to Foreign Ministry,

1927 the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction issued a new *Circular* requiring the teaching of Turkish to be allocated to morning hours, before the teaching of other subjects[291]. Those who were unsuccessful in this subject were to be judged unfit to progress[292]. In common with the English, the Greeks found their schools more and more paralysed by increased government control and insistence on the use of the Turkish language[293]. All foreign schools became subject to government inspection. Those educational institutions attached to a Church, until the summer of 1927, had to build a wall between their institution and Church building[294]. In addition, following the traditions of Islam, Friday was declared a holiday for every school[295]. According to Samuel Hoare, the British representative in Istanbul, the Minister of Public Instruction seemed to be pursuing a campaign against all non-Muslim schools[296].

Ankara, 24 May 1927, AYE/B/37. *Circular* no. 8508 of 4 October 1925. See illustrations nos.10 and 11.

[291] *Circular* no. 3972/292 of 26 July 1927.

[292] *op.cit.*, and in *Circular* no. 2827/184 of 17 May 1927. This was more or less a reminder sent to minority schools concerning the application of the above mentioned *Circular*.

[293] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 8 December 1925, FO 371/ 10866/E7712 and Anninos to FO, Cons., 21 May 1923, AYE/B/33. Also in Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1927, AYE/B/37 and Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 November 1927, AYE/B/33.

[294] *Circular* no. 307/17 of 11 September 1927.

[295] *Texte du Circulaire du Ministère de l' Instruction Publique, publié le 15 Février 1924.* Also in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 16 September 1925, AYE/B/37. The same memorandum states that rumours had been circulating that soon non-Muslim names would be 'Turkified' as a measure of integration into Turkish society.

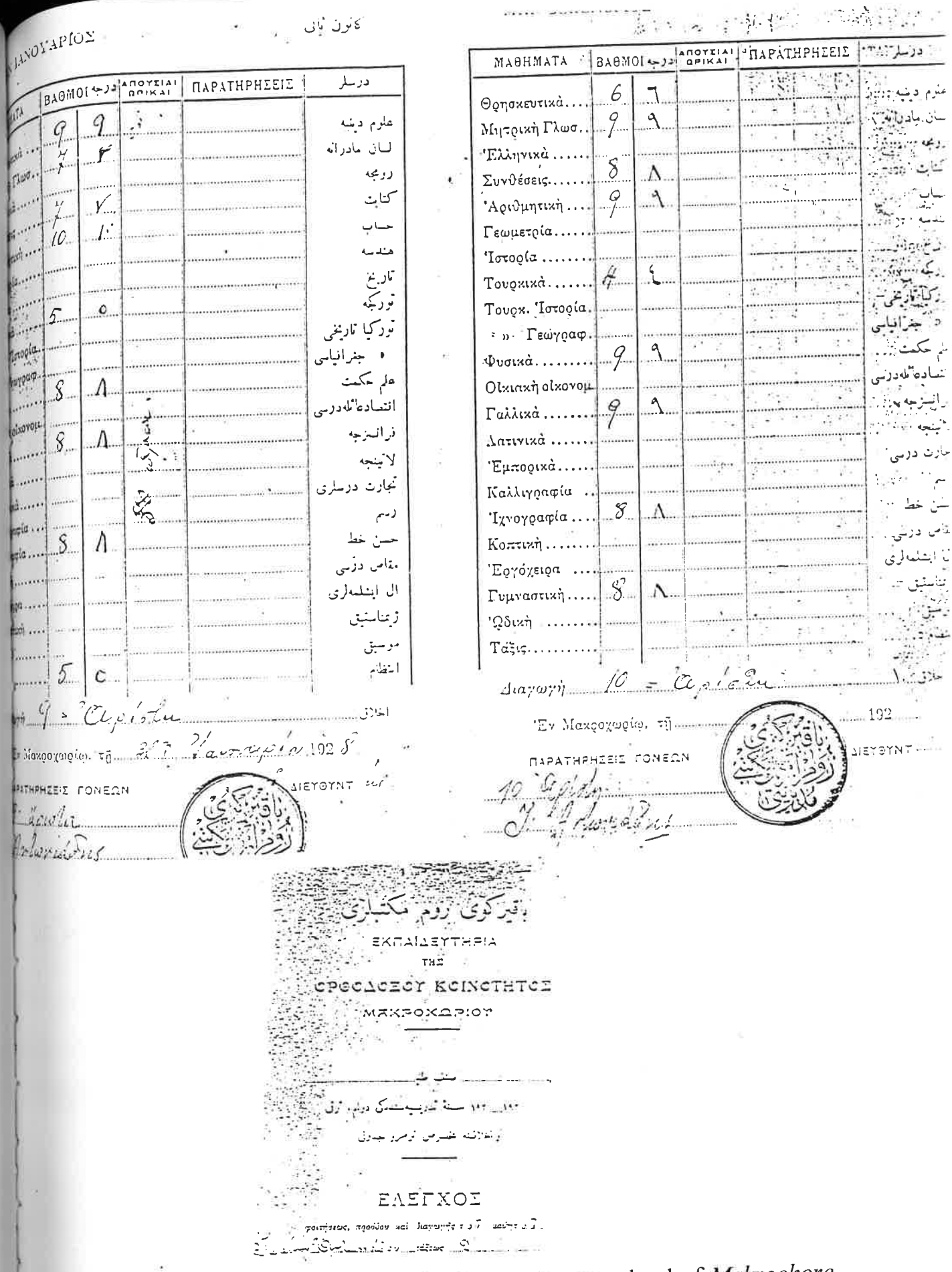
[296] Hoare to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 24 March 1926, FO 371/11541/E2055.

توكيه سوالي انا مجلسي حكومتي
استانبول ولايتي معارف مديريتي
عدد ٩٠٥١

فصل

اخيراً معارف وكالت جليله سندن ارسال بويورلان مكاتب خصوصيه تعليماتنامهٔ جديدي موجنجه تورکجه‌نك وعثمانلى تاريخ وجغرافياسنك تورکجه اولهرق اوچ تورك معلم طرفندن تدريسى تحت مجبوريته آلنمشدر . تعليماتنامهٔ مذكورك آلتنجى مادهسى موجنجه تورکجه درسلرى صنوف ابتدائيه‌ده هفته‌ده درت ساعتدن و صنوف ثالثه و عاليه‌ده ايكى ساعتدن دون اولميه‌جقدر . يكرمى بشنجى ماده احكامنجه اشبو معلملرك انتخاب وتعيينى معارف ادارهسنه عائددر . تورك تاريخ وجغرافياسى مكتبلرك درجهسنه كوره بر هفته‌لق درس ساعتلرى اون اوچدن دون بولنورسه بر معلم وشايد بوندن فضله اولورسه آيرى آيرى بر معلم طرفندن كوسترىلهجكدر. تعليماتنامه‌ده ذكر اولنان درس ساعتلرى حد اصغرى ~~اولهرق تعيين~~ اولهرق تعيين درس پروغراملرينك درجهٔ تحصيله تابع طوتمش و آرزو ايدلديكى قدر كوسترلمسى سرعتله بولنمش ورسمى مكاتبده اشبو درسلر ايچون قبول ايديلن درس ساعتلرينك قبول وتطبيقى ده موافق كورلمشدر . تعيين ايديلهجك اوچ دكرلى و كزيده تورك معلملرينك معاشلرى كنديلرينى ترفيه و اقدار ايدهجك كيفيتده جك اعظمى بر مقدارده اولهجق ومعنى بولندقلرى مكتب طرفندن تأديه ايديلهجكدر. بوخصوصدهكى حق نظر دقته آلنمق ايجاب ايدر . بناءً عليه اداره‌جه مناسب معلملر تعيين واعزام اولنمق اوزره بالاده ذكر اولنان ايضاحات داثرهسنده مكتبك بالعموم صنفلرنده تورکجه و تورك تاريخ و جغرافيا درسلرينك مطلوب وجهله تأمين تدريسى ايچون اشبو اوچ درسك هفته‌ده‌كى ساعات دروسى مبين اولهرق هر صنف اوزرينه مرتب و معمول به بر جدول احضارى وزارتك مكتبك رسمى بولنان نمره و امضا ايديلهرك اداره‌يه سريعاً ارسالى و هفته‌ده اون اوچ ساعتلك درسه بر معلم كوسترلمسى و بو اساس داثرهسنده و مكتبك صنف عددى و شعبه‌لرى نظر دقته آلنهرق هر درس ايچون آيرى اولنمق اوزره قاچ معلم لازم اولسه بو وجهه كزدن تخصيص اولنهجق معاش مقداريله معلمين عددينك عاجلاً بيلديرلمسى ثرومى بيان اولنور اقتضا . ٢١ مارت ٣٣٩ معارف مديرى

Illustration 10: Turkish Circular (no.9051 of 21 March 1923) on the increased hours of Turkish subjects. Source: private anonymous collection.



ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	ΒΑΘΜΟΙ	درجه	ΑΠΟΥΣΙΑΙ ΩΡΙΚΑΙ	ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ	درسلر
Θρησκευτικὰ	9	٩			علوم دینیه
Μητρικὴ Γλωσ.	9	٩			لسان مادرانه
Ἑλληνικὰ					روجه
Συνθέσεις	8	٨			کتابت
Ἀριθμητικὴ	9	٩			حساب
Γεωμετρία					هندسه
Ἱστορία					تاریخ
Τουρκικὰ	4	٤			تورکچه
Τουρκ. Ἱστορία					تورکیا تاریخی
» Γεώγραφ.					» جغرافیای
Φυσικὰ	9	٩			علم حکمت
Οἰκιακὴ οἰκονομ.					اقتصاد نامه درسی
Γαλλικὰ	9	٩			فرانسزجه
Λατινικὰ					لاتینجه
Ἐμπορικὰ					تجارت درسلری
Καλλιγραφία					رسم
Ἰχνογραφία	8	٨			حسن خط
Κοπτικὴ					مقاس درسی
Ἐργόχειρα					ال اینلملری
Γυμναστικὴ	8	٨			ژیمناستیق
ὨΙδικὴ					موسیقی
Τάξις					انتظام

Διαγωγὴ 10 = Δέκα

Ἐν Μακροχωρίῳ, τῇ 192

ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤ.....

10 Δέκα

Ν. Ἐπ. Μανωλάκης

ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ
ΤΗΣ
ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΜΑΚΡΟΧΩΡΙΟΥ

ΕΛΕΓΧΟΣ

Illustration 11: Certificate from the Greek primary school of *Makrochore*, dated 31 January 1928. Source: private collection of I. Sarioglou.

The appointment of Turkish female teachers to schools staffed by *frères* and Turkish male teachers to nun schools can constitute another example in this context[297]. All three communities - Greeks, Armenians and Jews - found their schools more or less in the same situation. According to a conversation between the French cultural attaché of Istanbul Garoby and the Turkish Minister of Instruction Saffet Bey, the principal target for the Turkish authorities was the diminution of Armenian and Greek schools[298]. In a further attempt to control all foreign educational activities, the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction first required regular statements on all foreign schools' teaching staff, including personal details and travel plans, if any, to be reported to the local police authorities from December 1922[299]. Soon after, a full list of all Greek students' personal details was also required[300]. Furthermore, with a new *Circular* issued on 16 April 1923, the Ministry of Public Instruction demanded that the examination period of all foreign schools be announced well before the end of each academic year so that Turkish inspectors could be appointed during their execution[301]. According to article 31 of the same *Circular*, the final examination period for each private school was set for the first of June[302]. The director of each school was responsible for forwarding duplicate sets of results to the Ministry. One copy was to be

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[297] Hoare to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 24 March 1926, FO 371/11541/E2055.

[298] Conversation between Mr. Garoby, chargé of schools in the French Embassy of Constantinople and Saffet Bey, Minister of Public Instruction 'Il a laissé entendre que ce que les Turques veulent surtout atteindre, se sont les écoles arméniennes et grécques, principalement ces dernières dont Angora veut arriver à diminuer le nombre' in Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 September 1923, AYE/B/33.

[299] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 June 1923, AYE/B/33.

[300] *op.cit.*

[301] *Πρωία*, 26 April 1923 and Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 28 May 1923, AYE/B/33 (Circular no.11409). The schools had to inform the Turkish Ministry of Education of the time, place and day the examinations were going to take place. The period for examination was to begin on the first of June each year and at the end of this period there would be no class during the summer months. Results were to be submitted to the Ministry in duplicate forms. Graduates were to undertake the equivalent Turkish school examinations if they wanted to work later on in Turkey.

stamped and returned to the school and the other kept by the authorities[303]. Graduates of these schools who wished to work in Turkey were obliged to undertake supplementary Turkish examinations as well as their own[304]. Those who wished to enrol in secondary school teaching were required to hold a university degree[305]. Further, all text books used in minority schools were subject to prior inspection and approval by the Turkish Ministry of Education[306]. Those found threatening to Turkish nation-building were dismissed from the schools' curricula[307]. For the teaching of geography, Turkish charts (namely the charts of Hilmi Bey) had to be used[308]. Soon after, the Turkish authorities demanded that the administration of minority schools be turned over to a Turkish national[309], bringing to an end, therefore, the traditional relationship between the community board *ephoroi* and the administration of the school, which had existed for a long time[310]. In addition, all foreign and minority schools

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[302] See *Circular* no.3072/142 issued three years later on 4 May 1926 by the director of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Nail Reşit.

[303] Anninos, the Greek representative in Istanbul on 26 June 1923 noted: 'the examination period of the Greek schools had just been successfully completed in the presence of Turkish inspectors, appointed by the Ministry of Public Instruction. No incident occurred.' Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 26 August 1923, AYE/B/33.

[304] *op.cit.*, and also in '*Memorandum on Greek schools and education of Constantinople*', 17 September 1923, AYE/B/33.

[305] *Circular* no. 3703/184 of 11 May 1926.

[306] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 June 1924, AYE/B/33, Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 9 June 1924, AYE/B/33. *Circulars* no. 2110 of 8 March 1925 and no. 4593 of 24 May 1925. Also *Circular* no. 8045/83 of 15 February 1927 in Tsamados to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 24 May 1927, AYE/B/37. It was up to the director of each minority school to ensure that there was no reference to any anti-Turkish sentiment in any books used in his/her school. *Circular* no. 3972/292 of 26 July 1927. Also in Diamadopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 March 1925, AYE/Φ/5. For a full list of 'harmful' Greek books forbidden by the Turkish Ministry of education see *Circular* no.8723 of 26 September 1925.

[307] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 November 1927, AYE/B/33.

[308] *Circular* no. 6977 of 19 August 1925.

[309] *Circular* no. 5446/263 of 26 September 1926. Up to that time the community schools were represented by the *ephoroi* who were appointed by Patriarchal consent. In an attempt to end all links between the Patriarchate and the Greek community schools, the Turkish government undertook the appointment of such representatives in order to assume full control over the Greek institutions. For instance in the Princes Islands, *Diplokionio* and *Neochore* parish schools had Muslim Turkish directors appointed by the government. See Tsamados to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 24 May 1927, AYE/B/37.

[310] *Circular* no. 5446/263 of 26 September 1926 in Vryzakis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 21 October 1926, AYE/B/33. Subsequently, Greek schools no longer belonged to communities (*koinotetes*) but

were subject to prior permission for their functioning[311]. Furthermore, the signatures of all correspondence, official stamps of every school, certificates and diplomas had to be printed in the Turkish language[312]. Also, from now on, the archives of each school had to be recorded in Turkish only[313]. Having just passed through a period defined by wars and uncertainties, the Greek schools in Istanbul were financially drained[314]. Salaries of previous years were still 'in transit'[315]. As a result, some teachers were obliged to resign or emigrate to Greece[316]. Faced with severe economic difficulties and unable to receive any government support[317], Greek schools - such as the Paşabahçe primary school and the Kandilli primary school - were shut down[318].

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to single individuals appointed by the Turkish government. For a detailed report on this matter see Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 28 January 1927, AYE/B/33.

[311] As an example see illustration no. 12. *Vareidou* semi-gymnasium's application for permission to continue functioning, addressed to the Turkish authorities.

[312] Stylianopoulos to Politis, Cons., 4 January 1924, AYE/Φ/6 and Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1927, AYE/B/37. *Circular* no. 8045/83 of 15 February 1927.

[313] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 June 1924, AYE/B/33.

[314] A letter written by the Patriarch to the Greek representative of Istanbul asking for urgent financial assistance is one example of the economic dilemma facing Greek schools at that time. See Meletios to Kanellopoulos, Cons., 22 November 1923, AYE/B/33. In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Athens) there are a substantial number of letters and memoranda concerning the financial state of Greek schools in Constantinople during the 1920s. See Kanellopoulos to FO, Cons., 30 November 1922, AYE/B/33 and Kanellopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1922, AYE/B/33.

[315] Votsis (Greek High Commissioner in Constantinople) to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 11 March 1921, AYE/B/33 and Politis to Anninos, Cons., 12 December 1923, AYE/B/33. Gonatas to Politis, Cons., 17 November 1923, AYE/Φ/2. Towards the end of 1923 the Greek government stated that due to economic turbulence she was not in a position to 'sponsor the academic staff salaries for the time being'. See also Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1924, AYE/B/33. See also main article in *Πρόοδος*, 21 January 1923.

[316] Kannelopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1922, AYE/B/33.

[317] Diamandopoulos to Politis, Cons., 4 February 1925, AYE/Γ/2. According to this report, despite the Lausanne Treaty's guarantees of financial aid, there was no government support from the Turkish authorities to Greek schools up to the end of 1925.

[318] *op.cit.*, Three more primary schools were included in the exchange of populations and thereafter closed. See also Kanellopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1922. According to this report, due to circumstances and political instability three further primary schools (of Tekfur Saray, Topkapı and Stavrodromi) had been closed. The primary schools of Kandilli and Paşabahçe were re-opened in 1927.

ΣΧΟΛΗ ΤΑΡΣΗΣ ΒΑΡΕΙΔΟΥ

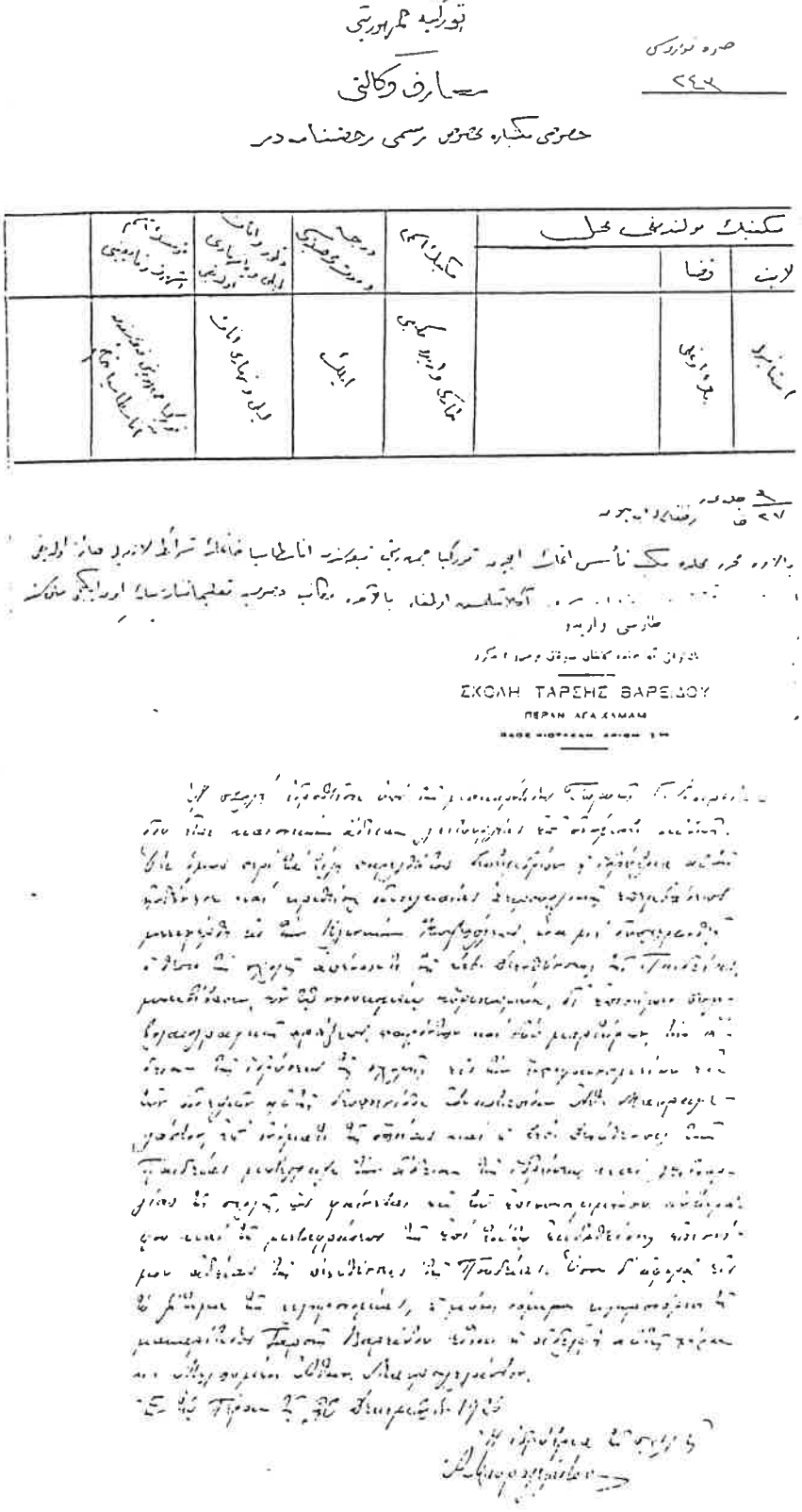


Illustration 12: Vareidou's application for registering the school with the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction. Source: private anonymous collection.

In 1924 a Circular sent to all minority schools confirmed that a large majority of such schools were failing in the payment of Turkish teachers, leading to the closure of many educational institutions[319]. Moreover, according to a new law passed by the GNA on 8 April 1923, all foreign schools were required to compose a detailed report on their institutions' incomes and expenses including information on staff wages[320]. From the total income of each school 1per cent was required to be paid as part of a public tax for the encouragement of Turkish public instruction[321]. Likewise, not only did the Ankara government appoint Turkish teachers to the Greek minority schools, but it also regulated their salaries, which were set at much higher rates than schools had previously budgeted for. Thus, the salary for Turkish teachers in minority schools was initially fixed at 40 to 60 piastre per hour, for primary and secondary education respectively. In 1925, these amounts were increased to 50 piastre and 100 piastre respectively[322]. Non-compliance with these salary regulations, the authorities cautioned, would result in the closure of the schools[323]. By 1926, after a significant increase in the salaries of Turkish teachers (75 piastre per hour in primary schools and 150 piastre per hour in secondary schools), they alone accounted for 40 per cent of the entire community school budget[324]. With limited resources and without any government support[325], the community schools tried to meet their financial difficulties through donations from parishioners. By 1925 the authorities had shut down four Greek primary schools on the pretext that the Turkish teachers

[319] *Circular* no. 3013 of October 1924 (signed by Nail Resit, Minister of Education).
[320] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 August 1923, AYE/B/33.
[321] *op.cit.* For a detailed memorandum on the tax on education see Argyropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 10 August 1925, AYE/Γ/66.
[322] *Circular* no. 8508 of 4 October 1925.
[323] Government Circular to minority schools, printed in *Tevhid*, 23 December 1923. Also in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 31 May 1924, AYE/B/33.
[324] *Circular* no. 434/14 of 17 January 1926. Vryzas to Foreign Ministry, Con., 30 October 1926, AYE/B/33.

were not paid properly [326]. From the 1920s, the Patriarchal Lycée, like all the other Greek educational establishments, was also under serious economic threat and obliged to call for financial assistance[327]. In addition, just after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, all its teaching staff were dismissed by order of the prefect as, according to the authorities, they were transmitting 'Greek feelings' to students[328]. The *Zappeion* and *Kendrikon* schools for girls were also under financial constraint[329]. The *Ethnikon Lykeion*, due to its budgetary problems since 1922, was relocated at the *Zographeion* school for boys, though it retained its name and curricula[330]. However, as soon as the Ministry of Public Instruction became aware of this, they threatened the closure of one of them, forcing the school to move to a separate building[331]. Finances aside, the school began malfunctioning when its French staff were dismissed by order of the Ankara government[332]. Like all other Greek institutions, the School for Commerce and Languages was also in need of financial assistance[333]. Depending heavily on Greek government subsidies, the Greek orphanages in Istanbul were financially drained[334]. Moreover, the future of the Greek orphanage at *Chalki* became particularly critical after the Turkish

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[325] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 November 1927, AYE/B/33.
[326] Cf. LN/C.131.1925. VII, 6 March 1925 and Diamandopulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 1 December 1925, AYE/B/33.
[327] Patriarchate to Greek High Commissioner Cons., 5 June 1921, AYE/B/33.
[328] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 3 October 1923, AYE/B/33. Two maps of the school were also removed by the police on the same day.
[329] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 24 August 1923, AYE/B/33. By 31 August 1923 the school had a deficit of 20,057,96 TL. Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 30 December 1923, AYE/B/33.
[330] Sagas (head of the united schools of *Zographeion* and *Ethnikon Lykeion*) to Anninos, Cons., 1 August 1923, AYE/B/33 and Anninos to Foreign Minstry, Cons., 2 August 1923, AYE/Γ/2.
[331] Papadopoulos to Anninos, Pera, 10 October 1923, AYE/Γ/2.
[332] Curely to Adnan Bey, Cons., 20 September 1923, AYE/B/33.
[333] Kalamartzis to Alexandris, Cons., 13 March 1923, AYE/B/33.
[334] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, 29 November 1924, AYE/B/33. After the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne a significant number of the orphaned had been sent to Greece. By 1926 there were only two orphanages in Constantinople (one being for boys on *Prinkipo* island and the other for girls on *Chalki* island). The latter was transformed from a commercial school into a girls' orphanage. See Moye 1875. After several attempts by the Turkish government, the school was finally requisitioned in 1942.

authorities demanded the building[335]. During this period, the Theological School of *Chalki*, due to the lack of students and revenue, functioned only as an academy[336]. Furthermore, the number of students attending Greek schools had gone down considerably from previous years as Greek families tended to leave Turkey during this turbulent period. According to Greek Foreign Ministry archives, in the academic year of 1921-1922 there were in total 17,420 students and 73 schools[337]. In the following academic year these numbers were down to 11,181 students and 70 schools, 6,239 students fewer than the previous year[338]. In the 1923-1924 school year there were 15,796 students[339] (including the orphans at *Prinkipo* island) and 73 schools[340]. During that year, there were just 1,160 secondary school students in 9 Greek secondary institutions [341].

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[335] *op.cit.* For this matter see Chapter III.

[336] During 1915-1916 another problem arose whereby the students of the Theological school had to join the Turkish army. However, according to the Ottoman constitution, all monks were excluded from being drafted into the army. The Patriarchate therefore insisted that the students of this school be excluded, as they formed a monastic society. Despite several interventions by the Patriarchate, however, the students of the Theological school were not exempted from serving in the Turkish army. By the end of 1916, 15 students out of 29 had ceased their studies in order to serve in the army, 6 of whom were about to graduate. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic all Turkish citizens, regardless of their profession and position, including the current Ecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos, had to serve in the Turkish army.

[337] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33.

[338] Kannelopoulos to FO, Cons., 10 November 1922, AYE/B/33 and in AYE/Φ/2. At the end of 1920 there were 16,553 students, 2,086 of whom were enrolled in secondary education, 9 in higher education in the Theological Seminary and 74 Greek educational establishments (10 of them providing secondary education and one both secondary and higher education). In the following academic year (1921-1922) the number of students increased to 17,420 by the flow of refugees. 2,178 of them were enrolled in secondary education and 10 in higher education. The schools decreased to 73 (nine of them providing secondary education and one both secondary and higher education). By the end of 1922 there were 11,181 students with 70 schools left in Constantinople (nine of them providing secondary, one higher and sixty primary education). Apart from that, the Greek masonic lodge *Αρμονία* (*Harmony*) had established its own 'Night Commercial School' with the support of the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs George Roussos. See Katerinou to Roussos, Athens, 6 June 1924 , AYE/B/33.

[339] 15,430 students are reported in the '*Memorandum*' of Stylianopoulos, 8 February 1924, quoted from Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 20 February 1924, AYE/B/33.

[340] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33. See Table I. In the Archbishopric of Constantinople alone there were 12,301 students during 1923-1924. See Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 20 February 1924, AYE/B/33.

[341] Kannelopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 November 1922, AYE/B/33 and in AYE/Φ/2. See Table II. **The Theological School of Chalki, offering both secondary and higher education, was not included in this report.**

In the following academic year, 1925-1926, the number of students was down to 9,312, with 60 professors and 285 primary school teachers. Only the number of Turkish teachers increased, from 131 to 162 in Greek minority schools[342]. The economic crisis which followed after the outbreak of the First World War was intensified in the aftermath of the Anatolian war, causing many refugees from Pontus and Asia Minor to emigrate and establish themselves temporarily in Istanbul. This produced a temporary increase in the number of students enrolled in the academic year of 1921-1922 in the Greek schools of Constantinople[343]. However, a large majority of them were unable to pay their tuition fees and had to rely on school resources. At the same time, a number of Greeks, in an attempt to secure a better education for their children, preferred the foreign schools to the Greek[344]. Consequently, in *Zographeion-Ethnikon,* for example, only five new students were registered for the academic year of 1923-1924[345]. Evidently, the long-established network of foreign schools, in addition to Turkish government pressure, contributed to the erosion of Greek education in Istanbul[346]. More importantly, a number of nationalistic policies designed by the Turkish government of the time affected the life of Greeks in general[347]. Nevertheless, the educational life of Greeks in Istanbul remained crucial even after the signing of the Treaty of

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[342] In the academic year of 1924-1925 there were 78 male and 53 female Turkish teachers in the Greek schools. See Statistical information of 1925 in AYE/Φ/5. Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 September 1927, AYE/B/33. The functioning secondary schools during the 1925-1926 academic year were: the Patriarchal school, the Zographeion, the Greco-French Lycée at Pera, the Zappeion, the Kendrikon, the Ioakeimeion and the semi-gymnasium of T.Vareidou: That year, the Apostolidis lycée was shut down by the Turkish authorities for receiving subsidies from the French government. See '*Comparative examination of the application of the minority clauses of the Lausanne treaty in Greece and Turkey*', memorandum by the Foreign Ministry for Venizelos, 1930, BMAEV/58.

[343] *op.cit.*

[344] *op.cit.*

[345] *op.cit.*

[346] Kalamartzis to Alexandris, Cons., 13 March 1923, AYE/B/33.

[347] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons, 16 September 1925, AYE/Γ/2. The compulsory change of Greek surnames and the establishment of civil marriage, for example.

Lausanne[348]. For the Turks, the first decade of the republican regime was the most difficult as they faced all sorts of political, as well as economic, turbulence[349]. Turkey was depopulated and impoverished after ten years of almost continuous warfare. Demographically, the effects of large-scale migration and high mortality were apparent.[350] In economic terms the havoc wrought by the wars was also considerable. Far more serious was the fact that the emigration of the Greeks and Armenians also meant the exodus of the large majority of entrepreneurs and managers. Official statistics compiled in June 1924 show that Istanbul had 1,065,866 inhabitants, of whom 656,281 were Muslims, 279,788 Greeks, 73,407 Armenians and 56,390 Jews.[351] By the general census of October 1927 the proportion of Greeks in Istanbul had dropped. Out of a population of 806,993, only 191,316 Greeks were left, according to Turkish official statistics.[352] This significant decrease in population was mainly due to the exacerbated relations between Greece and Turkey of the time.

[348] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 23 September 1923, AYE/B/33. These were mostly French and American schools.
[349] F. Ahmad *op.cit.*
[350] Zürcher *op.cit.*, 172.
[351] *Direction de L'Etat Civil du Vilayet de Constantinople.*
[352] *İstatistik Yıllığı* 2 (1927-28) 8,312 Greek Orthodox who did not declare Greek as their mother tongue were *karamanlides* and Orthodox of Albanian origin. The *karamanlides* were Orthodox who spoke Turkish which they wrote in Greek characters. In Istanbul they attended Greek schools and by 1923 they had been largely Hellenised.

Greek Education in Istanbul 1923-1924. Table I[353].

District Name	Lycées	Primary schools	students (male)	students (female)	Greek Prof.,	Greek &Turkish Teachers	
Constantinople	9	44	6,199	5,298	88	93 (male) 156(female)	56 39
Derkon	----	6	423	372	----	14 10	5 2
Chalkedon	----	10	789	705	----	24 14	14 4
Prinkiponisa	----	4	412	361	----	6 10	4 ----
Total	**9**	**64**	**7,823**	**6,766**	**88**	**327**	**124**

NB: In the academic year of **1920-1921** there were **17,420** students in Istanbul. In the academic year of **1922-1923** the number was down to **11,181**. After the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, in the **1923-1924** school year there were **15,796** students, due to the influx of refugees. Two years later in the **1925-1926** academic year, there were 9,312 students in the Greek minority schools of Istanbul (Source: private archives of Vingopoulou-Papazotou).

[353]Cf. private archives of Vingopoulou-Papazotou. This information can also be obtained from the historical archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry, particularly in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33. The 1,207 orphans at *Prinkipo* Island were not included in Table I. In the same report the Greek government's support for the academic year 1923-1924 came to 62,505 TL. See also Stylianopoulos to Foreign Ministry, '*Statistics on Greek education in Constantinople*' Cons., 20 February 1924, AYE/B/33.

Secondary education of Greeks in Istanbul 1923-1924[354].

Institution	Founded by	Level of education	Students
• Patriarchal Lycée at Phanar	Patriarchate & Zariphis and Evgenidis (1881)	Secondary (boys)	160
• Zographeion Lycée at Pera	Zographos (1890)	Secondary (boys)	125
• College of languages & commerce.	E.Evyenidis & Patriarchate (1911)	Secondary (boys)	334
• Greco-French Lycée[355]	Patriarchate & wealthy Greeks (1909)	Secondary (boys)	62
• Zappeion Lycée at Pera	K. Zappas (1875)	Secondary (girls)	159
• Ioakeimeion Lycée at Phanar	Patriarchate (1882)	Secondary (girls)	111
• Kendrikon Lycée at Pera	Spandonis & Paleologos (1849)	Secondary (girls)	90
Greek-French Lycée (Apostolidis)	Apostolidis & French government (1919)	Secondary (mix)	97
• Teacher's training school	T.Vareidou (1902)	Secondary (girls)	22
			total = 1,160

[354] Table II, Stylianopoulos to Politis, Cons., 29 November 1923. The Greek-French Lycée *Apostolidis* situated at Pera, like the Greco-French Lycée *T. Vareidou* and the *Kendrikon* school for girls, were all in the category of semi-gymnasium and not of high school. The *Kendrikon* was converted to a lycée in the academic year of 1952-1953.

[355] The Lycée changed hands in 1909, when the 'Protypon Helleno-Gallikon Lykeion' was established. The French Department of the school was also known as Lycée Vatelot or the National Greco-French Lycée of Pera. Although in 1909 it was founded as a semi-gymnasium, in 1911 it was converted to a full gymnasium. See *Φάρος*, 15 September 1911. Previously known also known as Greek Lycée Chatzichristou (1871-1909). See Eleopoulos 1952:10.

3. Attitudes towards the position of the Patriarchate.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople[356], since its foundation in the late fourth century, had co-existed in a sometimes uneasy partnership with the secular imperial authority. Following the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmet II in 1453, and as a direct result of the fact that the Byzantine empire in its last years did not cover the same area as the Orthodox communities of the Balkans and East Mediterranean regions, it was relatively easy for the Patriarchate, which had, since the late 13th century, had a wider territory under its pastoral and spiritual authority than the emperors, to accept the role of a dependent administrative power over the Orthodox within the Ottoman state, accredited by the Porte with internal authority over Orthodox religious communities[357]. The policy of the Ottomans in the sixteenth century was not to interfere with the individual laws and traditions of the people they conquered, but to administer them through their religious heads. The fact that there was no distinction between nationality and religion or between ecclesiastical and civil law, and that the laws (*sheria*) and nationality were personal rather than territorial, made it natural for the Turks to treat the Ecumenical Patriarch as the head of the 'Greek nation' (*millet-i Rum*) in the Empire, making use of him for administration purposes and even to accord him in return privileges which had been denied him by the Christian Emperors. Hence, the Patriarchate, already subordinated to the civil power, became an integral part of the Ottoman administrative machinery[358] and the Turks were able to impose legislation on the appointment and functions of the

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[356] The Patriarchate of Constantinople in the 5th century claimed the title of 'ecumenist' which was rejected by Rome and the three other Eastern Patriarchates. The Patriarch of Constantinople among the members of his Synod or the other Patriarchs was perceived merely as *primus inter pares*, unlike the Pope.

[357] For a detailed historical account on the position of the Patriarch of Constantinople see British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 28 January 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/8.

[358] Cf. Young 1905:12-34.

Patriarch. Thus, under formal Turkish decrees, all candidates for the Patriarchate had to be Ottoman subjects, and the list of candidates had to be approved by the Ottoman government[359]. With the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the growth of Balkan nationalism and the development of Greek irredentism, both Hellenic and Ottoman Greeks tended to regard the Patriarch as the symbol of Hellenic aspirations and the focus of the *Megali Idea.*

During the armistice period the ideal of a 'Greater Greece' gathered momentum with the election of Patriarch Meletios[360] at the end of 1921; he became involved in political ambitions[361]. His opinions, however, proved to have disastrous consequences for the position of the Patriarchate, possibly more detrimental than anything to have affected this institution for centuries. Meletios was finally obliged to resign[362] as a result of Turkish pressure, the Turkish contention being that his election was invalid as he

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[359] Memorandum on the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Foreign Office, Eastern Department, 7 February 1925, FO 195/2462/29.

[360] For his election see Rumbold to Foreign Office, Constantinople, 27 December 1921, FO 371/7923/E53. Also in Rumbold to Foreign Office, Cons., 9 December 1921, FO 371/6566/13555 and FO 371/6566/13582. In a letter written by Venizelos it is stated that Meletios was born in Crete of a father who was an Ottoman subject and even in 1918 when he was elected Metropolitan of Athens was still carrying Ottoman nationality. From Stavridis to Nicholson, London, 11 January 1922, FO 371/7923/E452. In the same report there is an account of a number of other Archbishops and Patriarchs who previously served in Churches under Turkey, while being of Greek or some other nationality by birth. It is clear thereby to see that Turkish insistence on Meletios' resignation was more a political issue than a compliance with regulations. About Patriarch Meletios' appeal to Britain see *The Times,* 19 January 1922 and Foreign Office minutes by Rendel, London, 19 January, 1922, FO 371/7923/E702.

[361] Henderson to Curzon, Annual Report, Cons., 7 November 1923, FO 371/9176/10937. By the end of 1922 the Archbishop of Canterbury was urging Lord Curzon that Patriarch Meletios be placed under allied or British protection in view of the risk to his life by Kemalist entry into Constantinople. See Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Curzon, London , 23 October 1922, FO 371/7949/E11620.

[362] About the departure of the Patriarch see Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 10 July 1923, FO 371/9123/E7346 and Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 2 October 1923, FO 371/9123/E9955. It is worth noting that the anti-Meletios movement had some supporters from within the Greek community as well. The most outspoken member of this group was Damianos Damianidis, a former church official of the Galata district of Constantinople and the general-secretary of the Church of Panagia Kapathiani. As his name was implicated in certain irregularities in the administration of Church funds, Damianidis was dismissed from his post by the Patriarch. On the illegal invasion to the Patriarchate see Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 2 and 6 June 1923, FO 371/9123/E5721 and FO 371/9123/E6067 respectively. For Damianidis see Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 10 June 1923, FO

was not a Turkish subject[363]. In the meantime, after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Patriarchate announced that its future relations with the Government would be based on the following principles[364]:

1 - 'The Ecumenical Patriarchate abandons its political and administrative character and remains a purely religious institution of a pan-orthodox nature.

2 - Marriage and cognate questions will fall within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

3 - Communal education and charitable institutions will be administered by delegates elected by the people according to the regulations concerning minorities. The Present Mixed Council of the Patriarchate will cease to exist as soon as the communal authorities have been constituted.

4 - The election of the Patriarch will take place according to canon law.

5 - The relations of the Patriarchate with the government will as stated by Rıza Nur Bey at the Conference at Lausanne be similar to those existing between Church and State in England, France and the United States of America.

6 - The Patriarchate accepts the declaration of Rıza Nur Bey that the Turkish Government while abolishing these privileges of the clergy which are inconsistent with the new democratic regime, will not intervene in clerical decisions or matters of hierarchical organisation'.

On the other hand, Papa Efthym[365], with the support of Damianidis[366]

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371/9123/E6029 and General Harington to War Office, Cons., 10 June 1923, FO 371/9123/6109. See also Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Curzon, Lambeth Palace, 12 June 1923, FO 371/9123/E6179.

[363] On this matter see Meletios to Henderson, and Henderson to Foreign Office, Constantinople, 12 June 1923, FO 371/9123/E6309, Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 6 June 1923, FO 371/9123/E6067, Henderson to Foreign Office, Cons., 17 July 1923, FO 371/9123/7603. Also the Holy Synod to Venizelos, Phanar, 4 June 1923, AYE/B/35. See also Kanellopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 29 December 1922, BMAEV/34. About the pressure exerted by the Greek government on Patriarch Meletios see Venizelos to Meletios, Lausanne, 6 and 10 June 1923, AYE/B/35.

[364] Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 7 July 1923, FO 371/9123/E7603.

[365] See British High Commissioner 's report in Rattigan to Foreign Office, 3 June 1921, FO 371/6566/E6774. Papa Efthym or Efthymios Karachisaridis was a *karamanlı* Greek Orthodox priest from *Akdagmadeni*, near Yozgat (for a map of Turkey see Appendix B). During the Anatolian war he had been in close contact with many Turkish nationalists. Relying on his good Kemalist connections and with the support of the Turkish government he established the foundation of a Turkish Orthodox church in Anatolia, on 15 September 1922. From the outset he declared his hostility towards the Patriarchate. Ergene 1951.

[366] Henderson to Foreign Office, Cons., 10 June 1923, FO 371/9123/E6029. In the minutes of the same report written by Rendel it was stated that the Turks would probably adopt the same policy

- they were both of *karamanlı* origin[367] - was trying to take advantage of this anti-Phanariot mood and prepare the way for his own appointment as Patriarch[368]. After his forced entry[369] into the Patriarchate on 4 October 1923, followed by a band of armed men, he went so far as to dissolve the Holy Synod, which was in session at the time, and create his own 'Synod', a move which was against all canonical rules of the Orthodox Church[370]. More significantly, these deplorable scenes orchestrated by Papa Efthym also reflected Turkey's intention of extending the least possible degree of protection to the Patriarchate. According to Nevile Henderson, the British representative in Istanbul, 'there is evidence that the attitude to be adopted by the Turkish police had been decided before the incident actually took place, as Vehbi Bey, the acting director-general, has since announced that he was aware of the intentions of Damianidis and his followers'[371]. In the same report, the justification behind Vehbi's non-action policy was the Patriarch's unrecognised position in the Turkish government[372]. Despite the fact that the Turkish authorities were alerted in advance of the impending armed invasion and were requested to intervene, no action was taken to expel the intruders and re-establish the Holy Synod[373]. The Turkish press, however, gave Efthym a positive hearing: some of them even went so far as to demand Papa Efthym as Patriarch[374]. Finally, disturbed by Efthym's violence, the Turkish government announced their

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towards Christian Churches as that adopted by the Russian Soviet government. For Damianidis see footnote 360.

[367] See footnote 351.

[368] See Collas (Greek Legation) to Oliphant, London, 8 October 1923, FO 371/9123/E10015 and Henderson to Curzon, Constantinople, 9 October 1923, FO 371/9123/10144.

[369] *The Times*, 5 October 1923.

[370] *The Morning Post*, 5 October 1923 and in FO 371/9123/E10144.

[371] Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 6 June 1923, FO 371/9123/E6067. Henderson was first secretary to the British ambassador.

[372] *op.cit.*

[373] See Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 6 June 1923, FO 371/9123/6067 and Collas (Greek Legation) to Oliphant, London, 8 October 1923, FO 371/9123/E10015.

[374] *Tanin* and *Vakit* of 4 October 1923 given in AYE/B/35.

refusal to accept Efthym as an official representative of the Phanar since the Patriarchate, as a purely religious institution after the Treaty of Lausanne, had no right of formal representation in Ankara[375]. After a turbulent period, the Turkish authorities instructed the Synod to proceed with an election. Subsequently they provided the Patriarchate with an official document regarding the regulations they should follow when electing a Patriarch[376]. This resulted in the eventual election of the Archbishop of Chalkedon, Gregorios Zervoudakis, on 6 December 1923[377]. Immediately after his election, the patriarch praised the president of the Turkish Republic and announced to the press that he felt 'sincere loyalty' towards the Turkish government[378].

However, Papa Efthym invaded[379] the Patriarchate once again on 7 December 1923 with some forty armed Turks. In his attempts to persuade the Turkish government not to recognise the new election of the Patriarch he declared his occupation 'in the name of the nation'[380]. Thanks to the authorities Efthym and his associates were driven out from the Patriarchate on 9 December[381]. Unsatisfied with this result, Efthym went so far as to lay charges of high treason against the Patriarch and certain members of the Synod[382]. To his disappointment, the tribunal of independence, the

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[375] Efthym, after appointing himself representative of the Patriarchate in Ankara, went to the capital in order to present his letter of credence to the Minister of Justice on 8 October 1923. Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 13 November 1923, FO 371/9123/E11126. See also *Vakit* 13 October 1923 in AYE/B/35.

[376] *Circular* no. 1092, *Istanbul Vilayeti*, 6 December 1923. ' *Aux elections à des fonctions spirituelles et religiueuses ayant lieu en Turquie, il faut que les électeurs soient des sujets Turcs et exercent lors de l'élection leurs fonctions spirituelles en Turquie et que la personne élue réunisse les memes qualités*'.

[377] Gregorios Zervoudakis (1855-1924) His enthronement took place on 13 December 1923. See *The Times*, 14 December 1923.

[378] *The Orient News*, 7 December 1923.

[379] Cf. Ergene 1951:87-96.

[380] *The Orient News*, 8 December 1923. In his announcement he made it clear that he would not leave the Patriarchate until Gregorius' election was declared invalid by the government.

[381] Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 11 December 1923, FO/371/9124/E9124. Politis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 18 February 1924, AYE/B/35.

[382] Politis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 December 1923, AYE/B/35.

highest court in the country, refused to take action against the Patriarchate[383]. Left without any government support, Efthym campaigned for the transfer of his Church from Kayseri to Istanbul. After a coup on 12 February 1924, Papa Efthym established himself as the parish priest of the Kaphatiani Church at Galata[384]. From that time onwards his attitude towards the Patriarchate remained provocative. In the meantime, the Turkish government, without having officially recognised the Ecumenical Patriarch, embarked on an investigation into the past political activities of all the Patriarchate's prelates, suggesting that the title of 'Patriarch' be replaced with 'head-priest'[385]. Unfortunately, after a reign of just eleven months, Gregoreos died on 17 November 1924[386]. His successor Constantinos Araboglou was elected Patriarch on 17 December 1924.

While 1925 witnessed a distinct improvement in Turkey's relations with Greece[387], the Greek minority in Istanbul, including the Patriarchate, continued to suffer considerable harassment. A further example, which threatened to bring the two countries to the verge of war, was the forcible expulsion of Patriarch Constantinos VI, on the grounds that he was liable for exchange under the terms of the Exchange of Population Convention signed between Greece and Turkey in 1923. The Turkish argument in the above case was somewhat similar to the previous case[388], as the Turks

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[383] Henderson to Foreign Office, Cons., 2 January 1924, FO 371/10191/E185.

[384] During his efforts to undermine the status of the Patriarchate, Efthym managed to successfully transfer his Turkish Orthodox Church to Istanbul and establish himself illegally at the wealthy Greek Orthodox parish of Galata. See Archdeacon Austin Oakley to Knatchbull-Hugessen, Istanbul, 22 January 1940, FO 195/2462/29 and Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 13 February 1924, AYE/B/35. Ergene 1951: 105113. Also in *Ημερήσια Νέα* 13 February 1924, *Φώς* 15 February 1924, and in *Πολιτεία* 14 February 1924.

[385] Stylianopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 January 1924, AYE/B/35. The Greek newspapers published in Istanbul were also required to follow this rule. See *Φώς* and *Ημερήσια Νέα*, 27 February 1924. Two months later three Metropolitans (of Kyzikos, Philipoupolis and Rodos) were called by the police for an interview about their past activities. Diamandopoulos to Foreign Minsitry, Cons., 7 March 1924, AYE/B/35.

[386] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 November 1924, AYE/B/35.

[387] Hoare to Chamberlain, Cons., 11 August 1926, Annual Report, 1925, FO371/11556/E4798.

[388] As in the case of Patriarch Meletios, see p.102 above.

maintained that Patriarch Constantinos, being a Hellenic subject, automatically qualified as an exchangeable Greek and therefore was ineligible for his position[389]. This issue was now being considered by the Mixed Commission. The Turkish government did not express any opinion until its decision was known. However, even though the commission was unable to reach a clear decision, this was 'enough for the Turkish government, who forestalled any possibility of foreign intervention by forcibly expelling the Patriarch from Turkey in the early morning of the 30th January'[390]. As Arnold Toynbee pointed out, the expulsion of Constantine 'was another example of the autocratic manner of the Fethi Okyar government'[391].

Having accomplished their primary objective, the Turkish government announced its intention of also expelling any remaining 'exchangeable' Metropolitans, a step which would have resulted in the disappearance from Turkey of almost the entire *Holy Synod.* However, shortly thereafter an offer was made by the Turkish government stating that a new Patriarch

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[389] According to the Exchange of Populations Convention of 1923, all Ottoman Greeks, except those established in Constantinople before 1918, were to leave Turkey for Greece in exchange for the Muslims of Greece outside Western Thrace. When the previous Patriarch died towards the end of 1924 and the question arose of electing Patriarch Constantinos to be his successor, the Turks warned the Synod that he would consequently have to leave Turkey and become a Hellenic subject and therefore he would not be eligible for the Patriarchate. See FO 371/10859/E686.

[390] *Ibid.* and '*Memorandum on the Ecumenical Patriarchate*', Foreign Office, Eastern Department, 7 February 1925, FO 195/2462/29. According to this report the Patriarchate in Istanbul, being both a Christian religious and a Turkish administrative institution had somehow an 'anomalous' character. As a result, during times of conflict it was very difficult to defend its position. Thus, regarding the exchangeability of Patriarch Constantinos, even though the Mixed Commission ultimately decided that Patriarch Constantinos was technically exchangeable as an individual under the terms of the convention, 'it was outside its competence to decide whether this fact was overridden by İsmet's pledge regarding the retention of the Patriarchate'. The Greek side contended that the pledge of İsmet Pasha (the Turkish premier) applied to the entire institution of the Patriarchate as defined in the Orthodox canon law. The Turkish argument, in contrast, was based on the fact that the institution was distinct from the individual. In addition the Turks considered the Patriarchate a purely Turkish institution and therefore they felt they had the right to refuse one of its officials as, according to them, he was ineligible for his position. See Memorandum by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Greek legation in Ankara, 5 February 1925, AYE/B/35. See Diamandopoulos to Michalakopoulos, Cons., 3 February 1925, AYE/B/35.

[391] British diplomatic expert and writer. Cf. Toynbee and Kirkwood 1926:190-191.

must be chosen from the 'non-exchangeable' prelates still in Turkey, and that the rest of the 'exchangeable' Metropolitans would be allowed to remain in Istanbul[392]. In the meantime, in a statement delivered on 10th February 1925 in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, made it clear that 'His Majesty's Government would not take any active part in the affair'[393]. Hence, after the resignation[394] of Constantinos on 22 May 1925, a 'non-exchangeable' Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Nicaea, was elected on 13 July 1925 as the Ecumenical Patriarch under the title of Vassileios III.

In effect, there was a change in Turkish attitudes in respect of the ejection of the Patriarchate, probably because it was realised that its continuance might yet provide the Turks with certain levers which would be lost if the institution was completely suppressed. The intention of the Ankara government was therefore to keep the Patriarchate in Istanbul as a tool in Turkish hands. Meantime, the archives of the Patriarchate were already in the hands of the Turkish police who had been sifting through them for evidence of treason. Documents of prime importance, such as the decree recognising the Serbian Patriarchate, were circulated with other historic documents from one police station to another. According to Lindsay, the prestige of the Ecumenical Patriarchate had already suffered greatly by 1925[395]. At the same time, the Greek Government, no less than the Turkish, was seeking to use the Patriarchate as a political pawn, in disregard of the true interests of the Orthodox Church. It appears that the underlying aim of the Greek government was the traditional approach of

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[392] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 11 March 1925, FO 371/10859/E1616.
[393] *Ibid.*
[394] About the expulsion of the Patriarch see AYE/B/35 of 1925. The whole file is dedicated to the same issue. Also in Mavridis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 31/12/1924, AYE/B/35. Despite the warning of the Turkish government, the Patriarchate had insisted on electing Constantinos. See Cheetham to Chamberlain, Athens, 8 February 1925, FO 371/10859/E932.
[395] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 11 March 1925, FO 371/10859/E1616.

keeping a 'foothold' in Istanbul in the hope it might, one day, be reclaimed as part of the Greek State[396]. From the Turkish point of view, however, it was quite clear that the utmost would be done to reduce the Greek community in Istanbul, to weaken this 'foothold'[397]. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the Soviet Government was also interested in the preservation of the Patriarchate in Istanbul for its own interests[398]. However, despite the fact that the Patriarchate's traditional privileges had been renounced and most of its Orthodox faithful had emigrated to Greece, Turkish public opinion - largely influenced by the government - still perceived its existence as a threat to Turkish interests[399].

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[396] *ibid.*
[397] *ibid,*
[398] *ibid.*
[399] *Resimli Hafta,* 23 January 1925, illustration no.13.



Illustration 13: Turkish newspaper *Resimli Hafta* of 23 January 1925, claiming that the Patriarchate had never ceased to collaborate with the Greek government. Source: private anonymous collection.

CHAPTER III

GREEK EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS UNDER THE NEW REGIME: 1923-1929

1. Turkish nationalism and restraints on Greek cultural life.

As we have already seen, Turkish ideology on education evolved during the 1920s, reinforcing a radical policy of religious and national education. From the beginning, the essential mission of education was aimed at the formation of a 'national character' for future generations, who would henceforth be deeply devoted to the Turkish state and ready to fight against all other nations and against all 'foreign' ideas and currents of thought[400]. According to Atatürk, 'the Turkish people who established the Republic of Turkey are called the Turkish nation ... There was no nation in the world, nor has there ever been in the entire history of humanity, one which was greater, more ancient and purer than she'[401]. In other words, the Turkish nation was superior to all other nations in talent, capacity and heroism[402]; he even asserted that 'Turks were far more civilised than and superior to the Byzantines'[403]. Likewise, 'a Turk's loyalty to his superior was unique in the world'[404]. The main purpose of education, according to Kemal Atatürk, was to produce obedient, nationalist citizens and 'free the nation from all superstitions of olden times and from foreign ideas, be it from the East or the West'[405]. Yet the ultimate aim was to ensure a homogenous society bound by a single nationalist ideology; the goal was,

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[400] *Discours d'Ouverture prononcé par S. E. Gazi Mustafa Kemal à la GAN le 1 Novembre 1928*, p.9, FO 371/13089/E5284.
[401] Cf. *Atatürkçülük (Birinci Kitap) Atatürk'ün Görüş ve Direktifleri* 1988: 48.
[402] *Ibid.* p.50.
[403] *Ibid.* p.226.
[404] *ibid,* p.240.
[405] Cf. *Atatürkçülük (Birinci Kitap) Atatürk'ün Görüş ve Direktifleri* 1988: 296.

as Atatürk pointed out at the Turkish Hearth[406] in Adana, to 'make our nation a monolithic mass of steel'[407].

In his opening speech of the Grand National Assembly, on 1 November 1928, Atatürk made it clear once again that the instrumentality of education was a fundamental component which led to success in material life[408] . According to his views, universal theoretical knowledge could create 'pessimistic masses, disrespectful to national consciousness' if it did not assist 'young minds to make a connection between what they learn and what the real interests of the country are'[409]. What was vital therefore for the 'national education programme' was to produce obedient citizens who respected the national order and worked towards achieving the needs of the country, without attempting to be critical of the new regime in any way . Indeed for Atatürk, teachers were 'members of the army of culture'[410] whose primary goal was ' to mould the future of the nation'[411].

In the same way, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü delivered a speech in 1925 at the Teachers' Union[412], explaining in more detail the educational orientation of the nationalist regime:

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[406] *Turkish Hearth* or 'Turk Ojaks' the so called Turkish nationalist organisations which were set up in every substantial township in order to cultivate 'Turkism' as opposed to Ottomanism. Movements such as '**Citizen Speak Turkish**' were pursued by such institutions with the intention of applying pressure on ethnic minorities to adopt the Turkish language. These organisations had a close association with the People's Party. Annual Report on Turkey 1924, Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 1 June 1925, FO 371/10870/E3338. For more information see the views of the British consuls in Edirne and İzmir in FO 372/13096/E1581 of 9 March 1928 and FO 371/13096/E2120 of 11 April 1928.

[407] Cf. '*Adana Türk Ocagında Konuşma*' 15 March 1923, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I II*, II 1989:118.

[408] Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 12 November 1928, FO 371/13089/E5284.

[409] Yücel 1993: 304.

[410] For Mustafa Kemal, teachers are 'members of the army of culture' '*Kütahya' da Ögretmenlerle Konuşma'* 24.3.1923, *'Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri'* I-III, II, p.167.

[411] *Ibid.*p.168.

[412] İsmet İnönü delivered an address to teachers at the Teachers' Union on May 5, 1925.

' ...The education you shall deliver is not religious but national education, not international but national education. This is the system ... However, this nation has not yet become the monolithic nation we desire ...Within this monolithic nationality all foreign cultures must completely dissolve ... This fatherland belongs to this single nation and nationality. If we survive at all, we shall survive as a single monolithic nation. This is the general purpose of the system we call national education ...'[413].

What can be inferred from İnönü's speech is the belief that the new educational system in Turkey should be completely free from all international influences. Therefore, it could only be 'purely Turkish'. A nation based on the territorial principle under Turkish rule was not sufficient for the new regime. The 'monolithic Turkish nation' could not tolerate other cultures and communities within its territory. Other cultures had to renounce themselves and be entirely assimilated[414]. Those communities which demanded a democratic unity had to accept the fact that this country belonged exclusively to one single nation, the Turks[415]. Consequently a primary aim of national education[416] was the assimilation of 'foreign cultures', into a 'monolithic Turkish nation'[417]. Thus, by

[413] Cf. *Muallimler Birligi Mecmuası* 1994: 25 in Yücel 1994:25.

[414] *op.cit.*, The compulsory employment of Turkish language by foreign companies was also a form of forced assimilation. See Roberts to Dept. of Overseas Trade, Cons., 3 April 1923, FO 371/9114/3641.

[415] Throughout the 1920s, as a measure to prevent revolts or any kind of opposition to the government, the Turkish state established the so called ' Turkish Independence Tribunals' where thousands of people were executed. By 1927 however, the RPP proposed the abolition of the TIT even though martial law was still in force in Eastern Turkey. See Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 2 March 1927, FO 371/12320/E1116.

[416] In the 1920s other educational policies were actually formulated and publicly proposed by different political forces and individuals. Across the political spectrum a Conservative-liberal policy on education was proposed by the Progressive Republican Party which was disbanded by a decree of the Kemalist government on June 3, 1925. A more liberal policy on education was advocated by Ziya Gökalp it was rejected by the government.

[417] Poulton 1997:102. One of the first steps taken against all 'foreigners' by the Turkish government was to dismiss most of the Christian employees from public administration and from Government controlled companies. The electric light and tramway companies had to dismiss their Greek personnel too. Several banks and great trading companies had taken similar measures in response to official *Circulars*. The Greek lawyers were not allowed to plead before the Supreme Court and on the most fantastic pretexts, two-thirds of them were struck off the rolls. For more information see Henderson to Curzon, Cons., 24 April 1923, FO 371/9114/4314 and Collas to Oliphant, 21 March 1923, FO 371/9114/3133.

systematically aiming at the Turkification of all minority schools[418], the Turkish authorities irrevocably damaged the once flourishing cultural and educational establishments of, among others, the Greek community in Istanbul.

The law on unification of instruction, which was adopted by the National Assembly in March 1924, together with the law on the abolition of the Caliphate[419], the expatriation of the Ottoman dynasty and the abolition of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Foundations, brought the most significant reforms in the sphere of education[420]. During this period Atatürk claimed that, together with the abolition of the Caliphate, the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates and the Grand Rabbinate must also be removed from Turkish territory[421]. In 1928, after the removal of the Constitutional clause declaring 'the religion of the Turkish state is the Islamic religion', a completely secular state was born. In practice however, Islam survived as a powerful factor in Turkish society, despite Kemalist secularisation. In official documents of the time, British dignitaries in Istanbul expressly stated that none other than Muslims could aspire to office in government, the defence forces, the civil service or many other posts at the disposal of the state[422]. Despite all the international

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[418] During this period the British representative in Istanbul stated that all the foreign schools were continually harassed by the Turkish authorities. For more details see Annual Report on Turkey 1924, Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 1 June 1925, FO 371/10870/E3338.

[419] Those who were against the abolition of the Caliphate were threatened by Kemal; if they continued to persist they might have ended up 'losing their heads'. Taken from Kemal's speech quoted in a contemporary Turkish secondary school text book. Mumcu and Su 1996:174. See also Henderson to Chamberlain, , Cons., 27 February 1924, FO 371/ 10217/E1904. About the abolition of the Caliphate see the whole file of FO 371/ 10218.

[420] Cf: Poulton 1997:92. On the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the subsequent teacher training programme see Şimşir 1992 and Öztürk 1996. For Atatürk and his reforms in general see Kazancıgil and Özbudun 1997. On a fair assessment of Atatürk's life see Mango 1999.

[421] *Hakimiyeti Milliye* and *Tanin* of 4 May 1924. Kemal accused these institutions of being hotbeds of political intrigue and instruments of foreign powers; they should therefore be removed from Turkish territory. *The Times* 6 May 1924.

[422] For a detailed memorandum pointing out the obligation which the Turkish government was imposing (on foreigners and Turks) to employ Muslim Turks, the injustice thereby done to non-Muslim Turks and the infringements of the minorities clauses of the Lausanne Treaty, see Hoare to

guarantees[423] and the Turkish constitution adopted on 20 April 1924 (recognising all the inhabitants of the country as Turkish citizens[424]), the participation of non-Muslims in the public life of Turkey decreased dramatically after 1923. The deep-seated understanding of Muslim equals Turk and non-Muslim equals non-Turk remained unchanged throughout the years[425]. Efforts made by both the Greek and the Turkish governments to overcome the recent 'memories' of the past in practical terms proved difficult as these deep-rooted anti-foreign feelings remained quite strong in Turkey for some time. A symptom of this was felt in May 1927 when a new measure was taken against Hellene nationals: all such drivers and employees of foreign shipping companies were dismissed from their job[426].

Chamberlain, Cons., 2 January 1928, FO 371/13080/E16. In the last paragraph of the detailed memorandum it is stated that: ' ... the attack upon foreign business is planned, insistent and increasing in severity to the extent of being well-nigh unbearable. Furthermore, it is an attack upon all elements among the employee, artisan and labouring classes who are non-Muslim' (underlining in the original). With regard to the use of the Turkish language in business, the British Embassy in Constantinople protested to the Turkish Government, see FO 371/13080/E83. On the question of non-Muslim Turkish nationals who were employed by foreign firms but were driven out of their employment by the Turkish Government, the British Foreign Office officials of the time believed that it was for the League of Nations rather than for the British Embassy to take the matter up. See Hoare to Chamberlain, Cons., 2 January 1928, FO 371/13080/E16. Also see Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 May 1927, AYE/B/37.

[423] In spite of the equality of civil and political rights of the Greeks guaranteed by Articles 38-44 of the Lausanne Treaty - which ensured full freedom of religion and education, free use of their language, freedom of movement, and admission to public employment, as well as free exercise of professions - it appears that a *guarantee* for the execution of these 'guarantees' was omitted from the treaty. Further, in Article 37 of the same Treaty it was stated that: 'Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38-44 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them'. However, despite the safeguards of the Treaty of Lausanne, continuous moral and material harassment of Greek institutions undermined the confidence of the Greeks in the new regime.

[424] Text given in *Tanin* of 17 to 23 February. See also Gözübüyük and Sezgin 1957:437-39; Smith 'Debates on the Turkish Constitution of 1924' *SBFD* 13/3, 1958:103.

[425] Cf. Lewis 1968: 356-357. On several occasions the non-Muslims were referred to as *gavur*, which corresponds to non-believer, by the Turkish press.

[426] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 May 1927, AYE/B/37. It was stated that the law did not apply to every 'foreigner', as many Yugoslavs were not removed by the government. *Akşam*, 4 February 1928. In fact the same measures had been applied to Hellene nationals since 1917 by the Ottoman government but with the intervention of the Allies these measures were then relaxed. See Arkoudes to the Spanish Consulate, Cons., 18 August 1917, AYE/B/33. With the establishment of the new state, a new law passed by the government made it clear that some twenty professions were de facto reserved for Turkish citizens only (including dentists, doctors, veterinarians, chemists, guides, bakers, drivers, customs officers and officers in shipping companies among other professions which were prohibited to foreigners). See Mavroudakis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 15 December 1925,

On 15 April 1927 the police cautioned the Greek amateur theatre not to perform its play in the Greek language, since any kind of cultural performance in Greek, Armenian or Jewish had been forbidden by the authorities[427]. Moreover, Greek artists and singers, regardless of their nationality, were also removed by the police after the prohibition of Greek songs performed in public[428]. Remarkably, at the same time, the *République* of 21 August 1927 commented that '*La Turquie républicaine s'est fait un principe de passer outre à faire des distinctions entre les races et les religions et proclamé l'égalité absolue devant la loi de tous les enfauts de la patrie*'[429].

In a British confidential report of the time, it was stated that 'Greeks, Armenians and Jews, far from having State employment open to them, can in practice not be engaged by public utility undertakings, such as railways, tramways and telephones, and can hardly be employed by big commercial concerns like banks and insurance companies'[430]. As a result, all non-Muslims continued to be regarded as more or less suspicious and untrustworthy subjects. In this context, another characteristic example was experienced during the funeral of Metropolitan of Chalkedon Ioakeim[431], whom the president of the parish referred to as 'the guardian of Greek schools'. Soon after the end of the funeral service the president

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AYE/Γ/66/3 and in Special Security Department to Ministry of Interior, Athens, 8 July 1929, AYE/B/28.

[427] Tsamados to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 16 April 1927, AYE/B/67.

[428] One of the victims, the Hellene national I. Levendis owner of a small theatre for 25 years was told by the prefect that 'as long as he insists on performing in the Greek language there will be no room for him in Turkey.' *op.cit.*

[429] Article written on 21 August 1927 by Yunus Nadi, editor of the *République.*

[430] Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 14 June 1927, FO 371/12318/E2715. As early as April 1923 both the Ottoman Bank and the *Régie de Tabacs* had to replace all their Hellene employees (with the exception of a few who were regarded as indispensable) with Turkish staff members. About the Greek complaint to the League of Nations for the dismissal of 350 Greek barristers and the Turkish response see LN/C.131.1925.VII, 6 March 1925 and LN/C.135.1925.VII. 6 March 1925. *Le Messager*, 7 July 1925.

of the parish was called to the police station for questioning[432]. In the same year, after the death of Metroplitan Nicholas, Ioakeim's successor, the editor of the Greek newspaper *Μεταρρύθμιση* was also called to the police station for a long interrogation[433].

The decrees issued by the Turkish Council of Ministers on 2 September 1925 led to the closure of monasteries and convents. The *derviş* orders were abolished and tombs and *tekkes* shut down. The properties of such institutions were confiscated by the State to be devoted to educational purposes[434] - another drastic measure affecting the lives of minorities. The Turkish authorities' tendency to gradually take over Greek, Armenian and Jewish hospitals and other charitable institutions demonstrated once again the Turkish attempt to assimilate the non-Muslims as far as possible into Turks and to make their situation so unfavourable that the overall numbers of non-Muslims would continue to decline. The result was that, throughout the 1920s, all three communities were dwindling because their young men had left the country rather than face service in labour battalions (*amele taburu)*[435]. As a result of the appalling hardships they underwent, hundreds of thousands of Christians died while serving in these battalions[436]. The seizure of the Greek

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[431] Ioakeim Georgiadis was appointed Metropolitan of Chalkedon in 1923. He remained in the same ecclesiastical post until his death in 1927. After his death he was replaced by Nicholas Sakkopoulos who also died in the same year.

[432] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 9 April 1927, AYE/B/37.

[433] The reason for him being called by the authorities was that he had simply mentioned the birthplace of the Metropolitan Nicholas as Pontus. Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, 9 April 1927, AYE/B/37.

[434] Hoare to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 11 August 1926, Annual Report 1925, FO 371/11556/E4798.

[435] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 14 December 1925, FO 371/10866/E7712. In 1927 they numbered about 8,000 men recruited among the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews of Constantinople. About 5,000 of them were working on the construction of the Ankara-Sıvas-Samsun railways, the remainder being employed in road construction in the eastern *vilayets*, particularly in the *Vilayet* of Dıyarbakır. Needless to say, life in these battalions was extremely hard, epidemics frequent and mortality high. As a result the prospect alone of being enrolled in them drove the Christian youth from the country. For a map of Turkey see Appendix B.

[436] *op.cit.*

Philological Society[437] (*Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*) presented another example of intense Turkish nationalist policy to 'purify' the country of all non-Turkish elements. Although the first step was to order its closure under the law concerning societies[438] in Turkey, soon after this, in 1925, the Turkish authorities officially seized the actual premises of the society and confiscated its portable property. The Greek delegates of the Mixed Commission pointed out that this action was contrary to the exchange convention of 1923, but to no avail. This agreement suggested that portable property should either be taken by the exchangeables to Greece (article 8) or detained by the non-exchangeable Greek community (article 16)[439]. In reality, the Turks had transferred part of the rich archives and the library of the *Syllogos* to the newly founded cultural and literary associations in Ankara, while the remainder was distributed amongst the Turkish libraries in Istanbul[440]. The imposing building of the *Syllogos* was transformed first into a party headquarters of the RPP, then used as a Turkish orphanage and finally as a

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[437] According to the Greek representative in Istanbul, in June 1922 the *Greek Philological Syllogos* ceased to function by the order of the Ankara government. Under police observation, its governing body was asked to sign a petition claiming that the authorities had shut down the society because it violated its *Regulations* and acted against the purpose for which it was built. One year later the RPP with the contention of the police confiscated the building, its large library, museum and expensive furniture. Despite written appeals made to the Turkish Prime Minister, the chief of police and the prefect as well as the head of RPP in order to free *Syllogos*' movable property, no answer was ever received. Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 2 June 1926, AYE/ B/28. On the considerable legacy of the *Syllogos* (such as *Ενάνθειον, Σάθειον, Μαυρογένειον, Βασιάδειον*, among others) kept in the National Bank of Greece and in the Crédit Suisse (Geneva) see Dalietos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 27 January 1931, AYE/B/33. For the GPSC see Chapter I of this thesis.

[438] Article 14 paragraph II of *Circular* dated 29 Recep 1327 (1921) and 3 August 1315 (1909). See Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 2 June 1926, AYE/ B/28. In 1925 all socialist and trade union activities were also banned. See Tuncay 1967.

[439] Article 8 stated that 'the members of each community (including the personnel of mosques, *tekkes*, *medreses*, churches, convents, schools, hospitals, societies, associations and judicial persons, or other foundations of any nature whatever) which is to leave the territory of one of the Contracting States under the present Convention, shall have the right to take away freely or to arrange for the transport of the movable property belonging to their communities. The fullest facilities for transport shall be provided by the authorities of the two countries'.

[440] Societies which are currently in possession of material belonging to the *Syllogos* are the Turkish Historical Association (Türk Tarih Kurumu), the Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu), the

court of justice, until it was destroyed[441]. Many other significant Constantinopolitan Greek associations, such as the Society of Greek Lawyers and Doctors, suffered the same harassment[442]. After the exchange of populations[443], in contradiction to the agreement signed, large amounts of property and buildings were confiscated by the Turkish authorities[444].

The Turkish government's pressure upon Greek schools was manifold. The main Greek high school for girls, *Zappeion*, was closed for the academic year 1925-1926 because of a statue in the building portraying the school's founder clothed in the classical Greek *chiton.* Reporting to Ankara that the founder was depicted in the 'Hellenic national costume', the local Turkish inspector recommended the closure of the school[445]. According to Samuel Hoare, the British representative in Istanbul, the real motive (for this closure) was 'doubtless to deprive Greek children of a very good education and to lay hands on a fine building'[446]. To the charges

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Public Library of Ankara, the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul and various other associations, Cf. Moraux 1964:3-24.

[441] The building was destroyed in the 1970s but I have been unable to ascertain the exact date.

[442] Anninos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 4 July 1923, AYE/A/5.

[443] About the exchange of population agreement see Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 24 December 1924, FO 371/10185/E11681 and in *League of Nations*, C.775.M.273.1924.1 of 23 December 1924, FO 371/10185/E11736.

[444] *Manchester Guardian* of 7 and 10 August 1929. The latter (10 August 1929) is a response to the *Manchester Guardian*'s editor by Caclamanos, League of Greece, on the real estate fortunes of those Greeks who had left Istanbul prior to 1923 with imperial Turkish passports. The Turkish government under no circumstances allowed those who left the city in 1922 - with passports issued by the Sultan - to return to Istanbul. *Μεταρρύθμισις*, 2 August 1925. About the Greco-Turkish agreement signed on 1 December 1926 on the liquidation of Turkish properties in Greece and Greek properties in Turkey see Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 7 February 1927, FO 371/ 12318/E747. According to this convention a modification of Declaration no.9 attached to the Treaty of Lausanne was made. By the latter, Muslims who left Greece and Greeks who left Turkey before the Balkan wars were allowed to retain their property. After this agreement the respective minorities lost their properties. About confiscated properties see also Vryzakis to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 17 February 1928, AYE/B/64. Advising the Turkish government on this matter Yunus Nadi, the editor of *Cumhuriyet* in his article of 14 February 1928 in the Turkish daily *Milliyet* suggested that all the properties left behind by the exchangeable Greeks must be confiscated by the government and transferred to Turkish citizens. Collas (Greek Legation) to Oliphant, London, 16 August 1923, FO 371/9128/E8379.

[445] It remained closed for 18 months. Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons. 3 October 1928, AYE/B/33; Hoare to Chamberlain, Cons., 24 March 1926, FO 371/11541/E2055. According to the Turkish *Cumhuriyet* of 15 December 1927 the main reason behind the closure of the school was the attitude of Adam (directress of the school) during the armistice period. When the school resumed its functioning the Turkish authorities immediately asked for the removal of Mrs. Adam.

[446] Hoare to Chamberlain, Cons., 24 October 1926, FO 371/ 11541/E2055.

that Turkey was violating Article 40 of the minority clauses of the Lausanne treaty[447], Ankara responded by pointing out that the Orthodox could still receive an excellent education in their schools. Moreover, there was no guarantee of any kind that Turkey would observe any recommendations made by the Council of the League, as she was not a member of the League; however it was 'notorious that the Turkish Government had consistently violated all the minority provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne'[448].

The Turks maintained that Greece was supporting the idea of religious conservatism among members of the Muslim minority schools in Greek Thrace and thus discouraging modern Turkish education, without taking into account the fact that a large majority of the Thracian Muslims in Greek Thrace had concentrated on the cultivation of their estates and shied away from the secular revolution which was taking place, at the time, in Turkey[449]. It must be added that they also lacked the considerable educational facilities enjoyed by the Constantinopolitan Greek community, though the Greek government allocated subsidies to Muslim educational institutions in Thrace and paid the salaries of the Greek language teachers in such schools[450]. Only in the academic year of 1928-1929, responding to the provisions of Article 41 of the minority clauses of the Lausanne treaty, did the Turkish government also introduce a small grant of 4,050 TL to the Greek minority schools. This fund was eventually shared among 28 out of

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[447] *Lausanne Treaty, Article* 40: 'Turkish nationals belonging to non-Muslim minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein'. See Apendix A.

[448] Headlam-Morley to Lord Montagle, FO 371/13818/E1864.

[449] Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 27 November 1928, FO 371/13085/E5868.

[450] Stylianopoulos to Politis, Thessaloniki, 16 February 1924, AYE/8./1924. Despite the fact that there was strong propaganda for Turkish nationalism in Greek Thrace, nevertheless, with the exception of a few books which were banned, there was no closure of any school or institution. Moreover teachers with Turkish nationality could continue teaching in the Greek Muslim schools.

50 Greek minority schools in Istanbul[451]. Athens responded to the Turkish criticism by affirming that the Thracian Muslims were strongly attached to their Islamic traditions, and out of choice continued to wear the fez and ignore the Latin alphabet. In fact, at the time, for many 'Ghazi's name was received with lack of reverence'[452].

In contrast, incidents created by the 'Citizen Speak Turkish' - *Vatandaş Türkçe konuş* - movement[453] were applying pressure on the ethnic minorities to adopt the Turkish language[454]. Without being able to protest against such harassment, and in parallel with the systematic Turkification of education, the size of the Greek minority in Turkey dwindled throughout the 1920s. Furthermore, Greeks with Turkish nationality could not visit the interior of Turkey without special permission for each journey[455]. In addition, measures taken against non-Muslims, such as the law against 'insulting Turkism', all put pressure upon the Greek community to abandon their native land, or accept the gradual and

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[451] Cf. '*Comparative examination of the application of the minority clauses of the Lausanne treaty in Greece and Turkey*' memorandum prepared by the Greek foreign ministry (Sakelaropoulos) for Venizelos, Athens, 1930, BMAEV/58. According to Greek Foreign Ministry's memorandum in the academic year of 1928-1929 the Turkish government allocated 7,500TL to non-Muslim schools. From this amount 2,350 were given to Jewish schools, 2,700 to Armenian schools and 2,450 to Greek schools. According to the Greek representative this amount signified only a couple of months' salaries for the Turkish teachers of each school. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 February 1929, AYE/B/37.

[452] Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 27 November 1928, FO 371/13085/E5868.

[453] *Akşam*, 4 February 1928 and *Vakit* 26 February 1928. The latter threatens to exercise violence and kill all those who do not speak the Turkish language. The 'Citizen Speak Turkish' (*Vatandaş Türkçe konuş*) movement was founded by the nationalist organisation the Turkish Hearth (Türk Ocagi) with the purpose of applying pressure on the ethnic minorities to adopt the Turkish language in public and private. The *Cumhuriyet* of 17 February 1928 includes the common declaration made by the Graduates' Society of the School of Law which suggests that all those who continue to use any language except Turkish must be followed up by the police and subsequently arrested. Some ten days later the *Cumhuriyet* of 28 February 1928 suggested the complete elimination of foreign and minority schools. However differently implemented time to to time similar campaigns were observed in all Balkan countries including Greece.

[454] For a deliberate attack on the Greek language and minority see article of *Hareket* of 22 May 1929. Translated and re-published in the local *Ανεξάρτητος* of 22 May 1929.

[455] Greeks (or any other non-Moslem citizen of the country) who hold Turkish nationality were differentiated by their names and their religion which was clearly indicated on their identity papers (Dini (religion):Rum (Greek) Ortodoks (Orthodox) . Clerk to Henderson, Constantinople, 18 February 1931.

systematic Turkification of the Greek element. The deliberate attack on the wealth and trade of non-Muslim business in Istanbul shook Greek confidence in the new republican order[456]. Discriminatory taxation and the creation of state monopolies forced many old-established Greek companies into bankrupty. Likewise, falling standards of education proved encouragement enough for Greeks in Istanbul to move to Greece; while younger people left the country rather than face the prospect of military service in the Turkish army[457]. As a direct consequence of this exodus, the Greek community seriously contemplated shutting down most of the Greek lycées in Istanbul and maintaining only one such school for boys and another for girls[458]. Under these circumstances, to demand to retain over sixty primary schools and three *gymnasiums* for boys and two for girls was described as nothing less than a 'luxury' by the Greek representatives in Istanbul. By late 1928, in a further attempt to find a solution for the Greek schools, the Greek cultural attaché Sakelaropoulos suggested either the increase of the subsidies or the elimination of the *Ioakeimeion* together with the *Helleno-Greek Lycée*[459]. He also proposed that the Greek government should provide scholarships to Greek students who wanted to come to Athens and receive further education, on condition that they would return to Istanbul to join the academic staff. This

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[456] Roberts to Dept., of Overseas Trade, Cons., 28 March 1923, FO 371/ 9114/E3460.

[457] Military service in Turkey was and still is compulsory. However, while non-Muslims were called up for military service, they did not bear arms and were not commissioned. The same still applies. See Melas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 November 1946, AYE/39/8.

[458] Tsamandos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 August 1927, AYE/B/33. Due to the lack of funds all Greek schools were heavily dependent on Greek government support. To avoid the mal-functioning of these schools a suggestion was proposed by the Greek representative in Istanbul, Tsamandos, to unite the three secondary schools for boys in one school building, namely the *Zographeion* school for boys (*Megali tou Genous Scholi, Helleno-Gallikon Lykeion* and the *Zographeion* high schools for boys). In the same way he contemplated converting the three girls' schools into one such school, probably the *Zappeion* school for girls.

[459] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 3 October 1928, AYE/B/33. Due to disagreements between the different *ephoroi* (schools board or committee) and more so between members of the same school board no immediate action was taken to improve the state of Greek education. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 August 1927, AYE/B/33.

was felt necessary, partly because several teachers of Hellene nationality[460] had been dismissed by the Turkish government and also due to the new law introduced by the latter, setting an age limit for teachers[461]. The Greek community maintained that the Greek population was spread all over the city in different suburbs and therefore to eliminate such a number of schools was unrealistic despite the fact that most of these schools were short enough of academic staff and resources to survive[462]. Furthermore, official pressure on minority schools to constantly increase the amount of time devoted to the teaching of the Turkish language, Turkish history, geography and other social subjects[463], was 'a very serious violation of the educational liberty accorded to non-Muslims by the Lausanne Treaty'[464]. In the same way, Greek journalists in the city suffered considerable harassment and persecution for voicing their opinions[465]. In one instance, Eugenopoulos was condemned to death and subsequently hanged in 1926[466]. Three years later, in July 1929, in Istanbul[467], another Greek

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[460] Greek teachers with Hellene nationality were first dismissed by the Ottoman government in 1917. See Zamarias to the Ministry of Public Instruction, Cons., 14 September 1917, AYE/B/33. However with the intervention of the Great Powers some were able to resume their profession. This restrictive policy continued after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. See Chapter II above. Also in *Akşam*, 24 September 1923 and *Cumhuriyet*, 17 April 1925.

[461] *op.cit.*

[462] Seventy years later, the situation still remains the same in Istanbul where there are only 277 students left (in primary and secondary education) with 4 secondary and 11 primary schools are still struggling to (mal)function. See also the *Pyrsos* 26 October 1998 and Chapter VII for more details. Although it is worth mentioning that during this period some suburbs of Istanbul (such as Tatavla/Kurtuluş and Phanar /Fener) were exclusively inhabited by Greeks. With the departure of the exchangeable Greeks and with incidents such as the Tatavla fire on January 1929 there was a noticeable demographic transformation of these regions. On the Tatavla fire see Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 2 February 1929, AYE/B/28.

[463] *Cumhuriyet*, 17 April 1925.

[464] Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 14 June 1927, FO 371/12318/E2715.

[465] For a Turkish perspective of the 'non-Muslim press in Turkey' see the unpublished thesis of Özer 1995.

[466] '*Exposé sur la situation actuelle de la minorité Grècque de Constantinople*' memorandum prepared by the Greek Foreign Ministry, Athens, 1930, AYE/B/37.

[467] This was the so-called 'Mlle. Eleni' affair, as the Turkish papers had been calling the proprietress of the Greek newspaper '*Ta Chronika*', who was acquitted and released from prison for characterising the Turkish army as savage in the Asia Minor campaign. However the court decided later that the term used by the proprietress of *Chronica* was not necessarily offensive to the dignity of the Turkish army. It is to be noted that the lady spent some four months in a Turkish prison. See Clerk to

newspaper *Χρονικά*, was closed after being charged with insulting Turkism. The Turkish newspaper *Akşam* responded in a rather threatening tone to the Hellene press demands for Greek representation in the Turkish parliament, emphasising: ' ... *On ne peut rencontrer une logique aussi étrange que chez les hommes dont les yeux sont voilés par la passion politique et le désir d'intrigue! ... Formulons seulement un voeu: puissent les Turcs qui vivent en Grèce et qui ont meme des représentants au parliament hellénique, etre aussi aisés, heureux et libres que les Grecs de chez nous qui, eux, n'ont pas de représentants à la G.A.N.!*'[468]. During these years even though the non-Muslim ethnic minorities were still perceived as 'suspicious' subjects[469] and despite the fact that there was a considerable decline[470] in the number of Greeks in Istanbul, the community as a whole managed to survive the unfavourable years of 1922-1929[471]. This was achieved, together with other non-Muslim minorities, partly because of their capacity for entrepreunership and experience in business.

Chamberlain, Ankara, 18 July 1929, FO 371/13818/E3656 and Clerk to Chamberlain, Ankara, 21 November 1929 FO 371/13818/E6101. Notably, by 1929 there were three Greek newspapers (*Ανεξάρτητος, Απογευματινή,* and *Φως*) in Istanbul. See AYE/B/28 for 1929.

[468] *Akşam*, 19 August 1927.

[469] With the term non-Muslim minorities we generally refer to the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish communities of Constantinople. But there also were some other communities such as the Syrian/Arab and the French-speaking (Levantine) communities.

[470] According to official statistics obtained by the Greek government, 44,283 Greeks had left the city as part of the exchange of populations agreement. See Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 23 December 1925, AYE/B/33. By 1926, according to Turkish official statistics, there were 1,001,086 inhabitants in Istanbul of whom 682,801 were Turks, 181,188 Greeks, 63,831 Armenians, 57,532 Jews and 487 Greek-Catholics, 3,194 Bulgarians 3,512 Latin, 675 Syrians. Foreigners were not included in those statistics. See Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 29 March 1926, AYE/B/92. Two years later, Jacquart, the Belgian director of the Statistics Department in Turkey claimed that there were 61,602 Greeks with Turkish nationality and 25,419 Greeks with Hellene nationality (total: 87,021). See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 20 November 1928, AYE/B/28. According to the Greek representative in Istanbul the number of Greeks in Istanbul had been considerably reduced after the departure of some 99,730 exchangeable Greeks between 1 January 1924 and 31 December 1928. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 1 March 1929, AYE/B/28.

[471] After the Treaty of Lausanne and the exchange of populations, the non-Muslims were confined entirely to Istanbul. There were no Greeks in Anatolia and only very few Armenians and Jews remained throughout the towns. Clerk to Foreign Office, Cons., 14 June 1927, FO 371/12318/ E2715.

2. Greek Secondary and Higher Education in Istanbul.

In March 1924, all religious schools under the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Foundations were transferred to the Ministry of Public Instruction, thus bringing all institutions of science and education under its control across the country. According to the reasoning of this law, unity of aim and unity of control in education would be secured and 'unity of nation as regards thinking and emotions'[472] would follow. The consequences of the law on 'unification of instruction' were far reaching[473]. The immediate results for the Muslim religious schools were as follows: 479 *medrese*[474] were abolished in 1924; to replace them, 29 'pastor and preacher schools'[475] (*imam hatip mektepleri*) were opened in the same year. By 1929-1930 all 'pastor and preacher' schools had been liquidated[476]. Courses in religion were removed from the curricula of primary and secondary schools in 1927, with the exception of village primary schools. As the use of Arabic characters became illegal on 1 January 1929, Arabic language courses were eliminated from the Turkish secondary school curriculum[477]. More importantly, minority and foreign schools, which were

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[472] Cf. Sakaoglu 1992:23.

[473] For a detailed account see Lindsay to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 1 June 1925, Annual Report 1924, FO 371/10870/E3338. The majority of foreign schools were affected by the decree for the secularisation of education. This decree was directed against the mosque schools which for six centuries had carried on Koranic teaching to the exclusion of newer branches of learning. As a result the mosque schools were abolished and replaced by government schools devoted entirely to secular education on European models. Foreign and minority schools were also required to conform to secular education on European models. Religious instruction was excluded from the school curriculum causing the closure of a number of Roman Catholic schools, conducted by European missionaries and some American schools, conducted by the missionaries of the reformed Presbyterian Church in North America. See FO 371/12314/E780.

[474] These are religious schools which used to be attached to the mosques.

[475] These are State seminaries for the training of mosque personnel.

[476] On the effect of French and Italian schools see Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 27 February 1924, FO 371/10213/E1906 and see Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 11 March 1924, FO 371/10213/E2345. For the Turkish reply to the English, French and Italian petitions see Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (signed by Dr. Adnan) to Lindsay, Cons, 8 March 1924, FO 371/ 10213/E2345. About the closure of foreign schools and institutions in Constantinople by the Turkish authorities see Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 16 April 1924, FO 371/10213/E3477. About the religious emblems of the Catholic schools, *Temps,* 22 October 1924. Cf. Yücel 1994:53.

[477] *op.cit.*, 186.

run according to international treaties, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Instruction and forced to remove religious courses from their curricula[478]. In contrast however, and following the Islamic law, Friday remained an official holiday until the mid 1930s. Thus all minority schools were required to remain closed every Friday[479]. Aware of the fact that minority schools were closed on Fridays and Sundays the Ministry of Public Instruction soon sent another circular to all minority schools regulating their holidays around Turkish - and not their own religious - national holidays[480].

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, after the Treaty of Lausanne all Turkish teachers in minority schools had to be appointed by the Ministry of Public Instruction and be of Turkish origin[481]; moreover grades, diplomas, signs and slabs had to be written only in the Turkish language[482]. The prohibition of every sign-board in the school from being written in a foreign language demonstrated once again the extent of Turkish nationalism[483]. One year later, in 1927 all school stamps, signatures and official letters also had to be written exclusively in

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[478] Cf. Sakaoglu 1992: 26-27 and also Başgöz 1995:80-83. The American School of Religion at Constantinople was also forced to close by reason of the law of the Turkish Republic, see *American Missionary and Philanthropic Enterprises in Turkey* in FO 371/12314/E651. As we have seen in Chapter II above, the teaching of the Turkish language, history, geography and civic courses were all made compulsory in foreign and minority schools of Turkey after 1923.

[479] *Akşam*, 18 December 1927.

[480] *op.cit.*, During this period there seemed to be a deliberate attack on the Greek minority by the Turkish press. As such, both the *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* of 19 December 1927 questioned: 'Why do the Greeks still remain in our country? What is the reason?' The *Vakit* of 18 December 1927, in attacking Greek text books, made particular reference to the *Zappeion* high school, arguing that the school was still using banned text books.

[481] *Akşam* of 26 October 1927.

[482] During the new alphabet campaign imposed on the Turks by Kemal in 1928, *Milliyet*, a semi-official Turkish newspaper stated that, with the removal of the barrier constituted by the old Arabic letters, the assimilation of all minorities would become easy and there would be nothing to warrant Greeks, Armenians, and Jews in Turkey making use of their own languages anymore. See Clerk to Lord Cushendun, Constantinople, 5 September 1928, FO 371/13094/E4471. It is worth noticing that there were heavy penalties for all those who continued having slabs or plates in any foreign language. See *Cumhuriyet*, 17 February 1928.

[483] *Circular* no. 18 of 25 August 1923. Repeated with *Circular* no.8045/368 issued by the Minister of Public Instruction and signed by the under-secretary, Hasıp Rıza Bey, on 28 January 1926.

Turkish[484]. Religious images had to be removed and only a large picture of the president of the Republic was required to be hung in each class room of every school[485].

As early as September 1923, the Ministry of Public Instruction warned that directors with insufficient knowledge of Turkish would soon be dismissed[486]. In July I926 a new Circular saw the obligatory assessment of directors of minority schools for proficiency in the Turkish language[487]. Those who failed the examination were to be removed from their job. On the advice of Mithat Bey, MP of Aydin, the Ministry of the Interior demanded the replacement of all foreign surnames by Turkish equivalents[488]. As mentioned in Chapter II, the hours of teaching Turkish subjects were also increased to 13 hours per week[489]. A panic was felt within the members of the Greek community after an article was published in the Turkish *Milliyet* requiring all citizens from age 16 to 40 to attend the so called 'national schools' in order to learn the modern (Latin) Turkish alphabet[490].

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[484] *Circular* 8045/368 was extended by a new *Circular* no.8045/83 on 15 February 1927.
[485] *Journal d'Orient*, 9 February 1926 and Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 9 February 1926, FO 371/11540/E1073. See illustration no. 14.
[486] *Circular* no.24 of 10 September 1923. Repeated in *Circular* no.5598/265 of 30 September 1926, signed by Hasıp Rıza Bey, the under secretary of the Ministry of Education. Also in *Cumhuriyet*, 17 April 1925.
[487] Circular no. 155/191 issued on 16 July 1926 by the MPI. This *Circular* was issued first on 6 January 1924.
[488] *Circular* no.3875/192 on 17 June 1926 in AYE/Φ/4. This measure was not, however, applied until the early 1930s. See Chapter IV of this thesis.
[489] Memorandum of the Greek Foreign Office on *'Violations of the Treaty of Lausanne by the Turkish government'* in AYE/Φ/2. Also in Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 14 June 1927, FO 371/12318/E2715.
[490] Main article in *Akşam* of 3 October 1927, supporting the idea of night schools, suggesting that the Greek high school *Zographeion* be used for this purpose. Some Turkish newspapers, such as the *Vakit* of 29 September 1927, went even further, demanding that minorities should completely stop talking in their mother tongues or, better still, continue 'speaking Greek in Greece, Armenian in Armenia and Hebrew anywhere in the world except in Turkey'. Also in *Milliyet* 27 December 1928. Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 27 December 1928, AYE/B/33.

Illustration 14: The interior of a Greek secondary school in Istanbul.

Source: private collection of I. Sarioglou.









In addition, all text books and maps of every minority school had to be checked and approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction[491]. The geography and history text books had to contain the 'correct information'[492]. Traditions and customs of Turkey were to be included in detail and the teaching of Greek ancient and contemporary history was forbidden[493]. There could be no mention of other nations on Turkish land. No other religious books or religion, except that of Islam, could be portrayed as 'better' or more 'valid' [494]. Without the approved stamp, no book was allowed to be used in minority schools. Thus the director of every minority school was responsible for sending three copies of each book to the Turkish authorities, one of them being approved and returned to them. Under Circular no.2828/130 some books used in Greek schools were approved, some not[495]. The latter were immediately banned[496]. In a period when all Greek schools in Istanbul were financially drained the government assumed the right to appoint Turkish teachers and to fix their salaries[497]. Thus, if schools were unable to pay Turkish staff the amount required by the authorities, they were shut down[498]. By 1928 the salaries

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[491] *Circular* no.3910/195 issued on 27 June 1926 by Nail Resit, Minister of Public Instruction was announced on 17 July 1926 to the relevant schools. Among those were found 'dangerous' were 5 French books: *Gallonedee et Maurette, Geographie d' Europe, Athos Preparatoire par Claude Augee, M. Fresco, Geographie Generale* and *P. Foncin, Geographie.*

[492] *Circular (Tezkere)* no., 349/4461 included in *Circular (Tezkere)* no., 3910/135 17 July 1926.

[493] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 May 1926, AYE/B/37.

[494] *op.cit.*

[495] *Circular* 2828/130 of 24 April 1926.

[496] Books referred to Greek mythology, such as I. Seitanidis' book (1924).

[497] As an example it is worth noting that in the *Ioakeimeion* school for girls the total amount spent for the salaries of Turkish teachers in 1924-1925 came to approximately 1,944TL. Only one year later this amount was increased to 3,888TL. In the same way, for the *Zappeion* school for girls in 1924-25 the combined salaries of the Turkish staff were fixed at 2,424TL. The following year this amount was increased to 5,208TL. See Stylianopoulos to Politis, 16 October 1923, AYE/Φ/2. In the primary school of Salma Topruk, while the Greek teacher was being paid 15TL per month the Turkish teacher demanded 75TL from the 25TL he was being paid initially. Unable to cope with such a demand the school ceased its operation. Likewise the '*Tekfour- Serai, Kouroutsesme, Top-Kapi, Yeni-Mahalle* and *Sarmasik'* parish schools shut down as they were unable to pay the high salaries of Turkish teachers. Diamandopoulos to Politis, Constantinople, 10 April 1924, AYE/8/1.

[498] For instance although the parish schools at *Stavrodromi* paid 9,500 TL for the salaries of Turkish teachers in the 1924-1925 academic year, this amount was increased to 16,875 in the following year.

of the Turkish academic staff were further increased (from 75 piastre per hour in the primary schools to 100 piastre). In addition to other taxes[499] imposed , the tax on foreign schools was another burden on the already stretched financial resources of Greek schools in Istanbul during this time[500]. Although Greek schools paid the education tax imposed on them by the government and in spite of the stipulations of Article 40, they did not receive any support from the state. Indirect pressures which also threatened the financial position of every minority school were the Circulars demanding the compulsory subscription to diverse Turkish periodicals such as the Tahsin Demir Ay's[501]. In an attempt to report the plight of the Greek minority to the Foreign Ministry, Stylianopoulos, the Greek representative in Istanbul, prepared a detailed memorandum which concluded with '...the Turkish government's main aim was probably set up to paralyse our education...'[502]. As a result, the Greek government

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In the same way the schools at Galata from 2,220 TL in 1924-1925 were obliged to increase the salaries of the Turkish teachers to 4,020TL. The *Megali tou Genous Scholi* increased form 1,224TL to 2,720TL the *Zappeion* from 2,424TL to 5,208TL and the *Ioakeimeion* from 1,944TL to 3,888TL annually. Diamandopoulos to Roufos, Cons., 23 December 1925, AYE/B/33. See also Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 1 December 1925, AYE/B/33 and in Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 2 March 1927, AYE/B/33. Although many Greek teachers' salaries had not been paid since 1922, the schools' major worry was being able to pay the Turkish teachers to avoid the closure of the school. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 13 October 1927, AYE/B/60/5.

[499] All this time, due to the economic situation in Turkey many taxes such as the tax on employment, on supporting military needs and airlines, education and school buildings, on road construction, among others, were also imposed on Turkish citizens. Some of them were collected officially and some in the form of compulsory subscription to a periodical, newspaper or to a Turkish institution. According to the Greek representative in Istanbul, although these taxes were general and supposed to be for everyone, due to the arbitrary evaluation by the commissioners and the lack of control in the tax mechanism of the government, Greeks usually ended up paying disproportionately more. Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 9 April 1927, AYE/B/37.

[500] There were many other ways forcing minority schools to financially support the Turkish government. As an example, fire equipment from the *Exelsior* company, subsequently run by the state, was bought by all minority schools under the orders of the Minister of Public Instruction. See *Circular* no., 3454/161.

[501] Circular no.4897/24 of 28 August 1926; order of Hasıp Rıza Bey, under secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

[502] Stylianopoulos to Politis, Ankara, 16 October 1923, AYE/Φ/2.

increased its subsidies from 80,000 to 100,000 TL[503]. This situation was reported by the Constantinopolitan association to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs[504]. Ironically, in 1925, unsatisfied with the amount of pressure exercised upon foreign and minority schools, Ankara replaced the Minister of Public Instruction[505]. Under a new circular, sent on 4 May 1926, it was alleged that the official graduation programme of any 'private school' would only take place after official clearance had been granted by the prefect and on condition that programmes were submitted well in advance in two different languages (i.e. Turkish and Greek)[506] for inspection. At the same time, by order of the Director of the Ministry of Public Instruction, it was forbidden to refer to a private school as a *lycée*[507] as this title was reserved only for government schools[508]. Those schools which were named *lycée* were required to immediately change their title and confirm the changes with the prefect of Istanbul. Moreover, it was strictly forbidden for the school-board to intervene in school affairs. Only the director of the school and a person nominated by the school-board as the 'founder' of the school[509] were eligible for involvement in the

[503] This was the funding agreed for the following academic year of 1927-1928. Only from September 1926 did the Greek government increase its subsidies to Greek schools to 100,000TL. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 27 September 1929, AYE/B/33. Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 26 April 1926, AYE/B/33. See also Vryzakis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 30 October 1926, AYE/B/33. Before this, in 1924-1925, the Greek government subsidies for the educational institutions came to 80,000TL. See Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 21 June 1924, AYE/B/33 and in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 5 September 1925, AYE/B/33.

[504] Spanoudis to Rendi, Athens, 16 October 1925, AYE/B/33. It is worth noticing that the Greek government's financial support for Greek schools began in 1922 with 60,000TL. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 26 September 1929, AYE/B/35.

[505] Argyropoulos to Foeign Ministry, Ankara, 2 November 1925, AYE/Γ/66/3. According to these minutes Suphi Bey was asked to resign and, soon after, was replaced by Nail Reşit Bey. It was alleged that Kemal consented to this change.

[506] Circular no.3072/142 issued by Nail Reşit Bey, director of the Ministry of Public Instruction on 4 May 1926.

[507] In the Turkish language the same word (lise) is used for secondary (high) school.

[508] *Circular* no. 4710/230 issued on 18 August 1926.

[509] This nomination was only cosmetic for the convenience of the Turkish authorities. The founder of each school was accountable for all educational and administrative matters of the school to the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction.

school's management[510]. In another attempt to fully control the minority schools, information on school staff was required on a duplicate form, including their studies, the year they graduated and the date of their appointment, by the Ministry of Public Instruction, as from June 1926[511]. Prior to that, a full description of students and academic staff was required by the Turkish authorities[512]. In 1925-1926, when technical education became a state monopoly, the Patriarchal College of Languages and Commerce[513] and the Commercial School at Chalki[514] were shut by the authorities. The closure of such schools, which provided specialised business training and the teaching of foreign languages, had a devastating

[510] *Circular* no. 5446/263 issued on 26 September 1926 by the directorship of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The founder of every minority school was responsible for the renewal of the 'permission for the school to function' every year. See Circular no.14 of 14 July 1923. The same was repeated in the *Regulations of Private schools*, Article 20.

[511] All diplomas and certificates of staff had to be officially translated into the Turkish language. This *Circular* was first issued on 31 May 1923. Later with *Circular* no 3908/193 issued by Nail Reşit, Minister of Public Instruction on 27 June 1926 the same order was renewed.

[512] *Circular* no. 14739 of 4 July 1923.

[513] With *Circular* no. 27 of 7 November 1923 the Turkish authorities cautioned that the school was continuing to employ three Hellene, three French, one Swiss and one English national in their staff. Also the Circular alleged that the school provided accommodation for the Greek army during the armistice period. The immediate replacement of foreign nationals with Turkish nationals was required by the Ministry in order to avoid the closure of the school. Finally the school was shut down in 1925. See illustration no. 15 for official graduate diplomas of the school for the years 1918 and 1924. Three years later, even though the Greek community wanted to re-open the school, under Turkish law prohibiting the re-opening of closed schools it was made impossible for it to function again. See '*Memorandum on Greek school of Constantinople for 1928*' by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in August 1928, AYE/B/33. However, according to a letter written by the French professor of the school, P. Martin, to the Greek Minister of Public Instruction, the school was shut down in 1922. See Martin to the Minister of Public Instruction, Cons., 19 March 1927, AYE/B/92/3. After the closure of the school, on the delayed wages of the school staff see the detailed report of Triandafyllakos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 November 1931, AYE/B/35/ II.

[514] The Greek Commercial school at Chalki was first seized by the Ottoman government in 1916. After British intervention and with long-lasting communications the school was finally returned to the Patriarchate which transformed it into an orphanage of 500 pupils - victims of the expulsions. See Kanellopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 7 April 1919, AYE/B/33. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Turkish government demanded from the Patriarchate *Cumhuriyet* of 27 May 1929. According to information obtained from both a British Foreign Office memorandum and Greek Foreign Office's archives the Panagia Kamariotissa Monastery at Chalki island was converted into a very large commercial school which functioned until the end of the First World War. Subsequently the school was used as an orphanage for Greek children, mainly girls. In 1942 the Turkish government officially claimed the building, with its chapel and all adjoining sections, in order to establish its own naval school. This was the price for being able to retain the Theological school at Chalki. See Oakley to Bennett, Constantinople, 25 August 1942, FO 195/2474/664 and Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 28 May 1929, AYE/B/35.

effect upon Greek education[515]. During the same period the Apostolidis lycée was closed because it received subsidies from the French government[516].

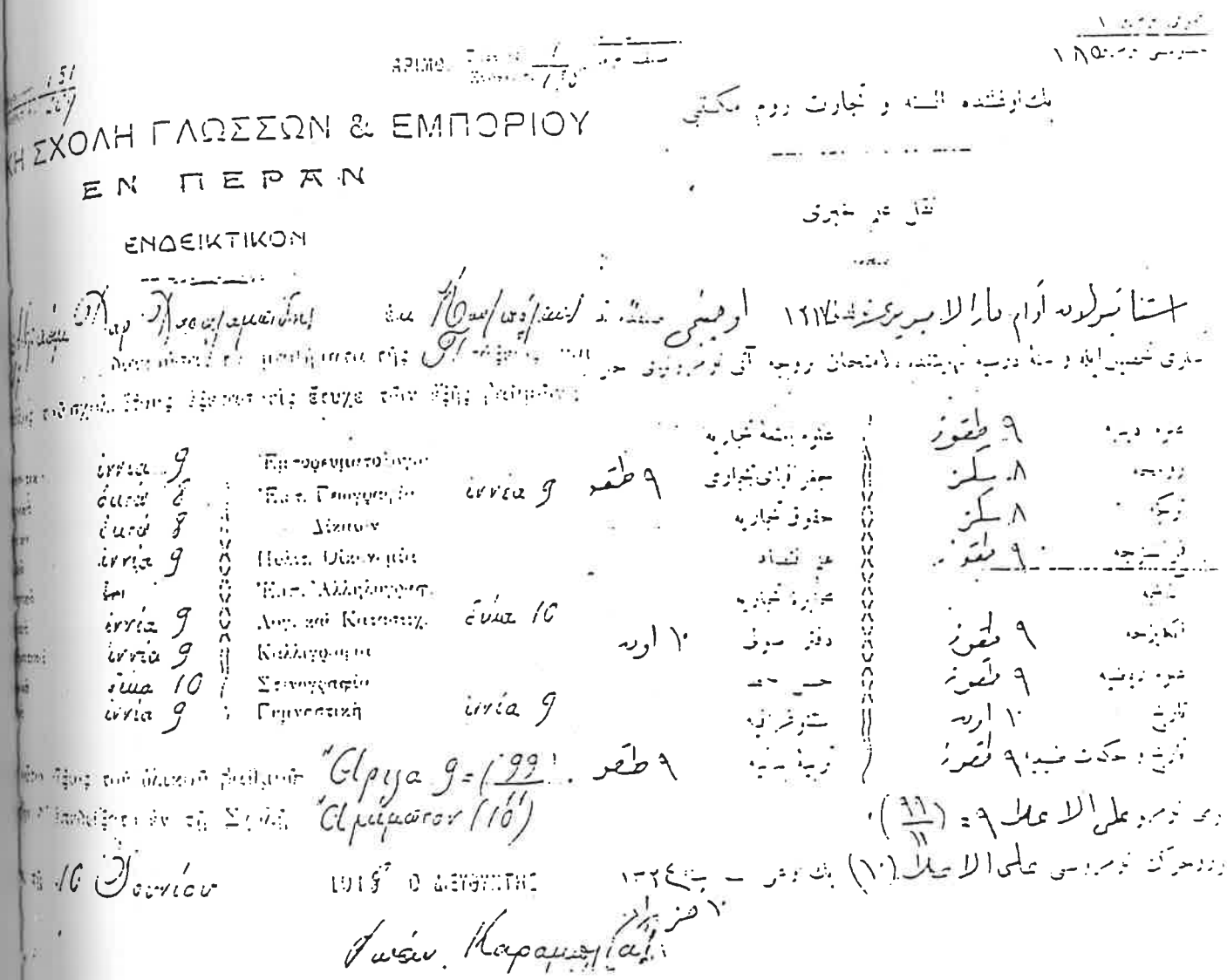

ΣΧΟΛΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΩΝ & ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΥ
ΕΝ ΠΕΡΑ
ΕΝΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΟΝ

Illustration 15: Graduate diplomas of the Patriarchal School of Languages and Commerce. Source: private collection of S. D. Tarinas.

[515] Hoare to Chamberlain, Cons., 24 October 1926, FO 371/11541/E2055.

[516] The Apostolidis private high school after seven years of continuous operation ceased its operation after the orders of the Turkish government in 1926. '*Comparative examination of the application of the minority clauses of the Lausanne treaty in Greece and Turkey*', memorandum prepared by the Greek Foreign Ministry for Venizelos, 1930, BMAEV/58. Apostolidis to Tsamados, 23 December 1926, AYE/B/81. Hand written letter by the director of the school Apostolidis, explaining its closure on 6 May 1926 and its effects upon the academic staff as part of their salaries from the year 1921 had still not been paid by the Greek government. According to the Turkish *Milliyet* of 2 February 1928 the Turkish government, soon after the closure of the school, confiscated the building and transferred it to the Turkish high school of Galatasaray.

ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΩΝ και ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΥ

ΕΝ ΠΕΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

⇒ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ ⇐

ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	ΒΑΘΜΟΣ: ΑΡΙΘΜ.	ΒΑΘΜΟΣ: ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΗ	ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ	ΒΑΘΜΟΣ: ΑΡΙΘΜ.	ΒΑΘΜΟΣ: ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΗ
Θρησκευτικά.	—	—	Έμπορ. Αριθμ.	ζ	ἑπτά
Ἑλληνικά.	8	ὀκτώ	» Δίκαιον	6	ἕξ
Ἀκατάληπτα ἔθνη	8	ὀκτώ	Πολιτική Οἰκον.	9	ἐννέα
Συντάξεις.	9	ἐννέα	Λογιστική.	ε	πέντε
Τουρκικά.	7	ἑπτά	Ἔμπορ. ἀλληλ.	ε	πέντε
Τουρκ. Γεωγρ.	9	ἐννέα	Χημεία.	8	ὀκτώ
» Ἱστορία	—	—	Συμπορευματολ.	8	ὀκτώ
Γαλλικά.	7	ἑπτά	Ἔμπορ. Γεωγρ.	8	ὀκτώ
Συντάξεις γαλ.	7	ἑπτά	Δακτυλογραφία	8	ὀκτώ
Ἀγγλικά.	7	ἑπτά	Γυμναστική.	—	—
Μαθηματικά.	7	ἑπτά			

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ	
Ὀνομ. καὶ ἐπών. μαθ.	Εὐαγγελία Δημοσθένους Θεοχάρη
Ὀνομ. καὶ ἐπ. πατρὸς	Δημοσθένης Θεοχάρης
Τόπος γεννήσεως.	Κωνσταντινούπολις
Χρονολ. γεννήσεως.	1906
Θρησκεία.	Ὀρθόδοξος
Ὑπηκοότης.	Ἑλληνική

ΒΑΘΜΟΣ ΔΙΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΒΑΘΜΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΡΙΟΥ

ἀριστα 10 $\frac{112}{18} = 9,333\ldots$

Τῇ Εὐαγγελίᾳ Δημοσθένους Θεοχάρη — ἐνδιαφερθείσῃ ἀκροατρίᾳ τῶν τῆς μέσης παιδεύσεως ἐργαλείων καὶ ἐμπορικῶν ὑλῶν καὶ χώρων ἐντὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους παρα-

Of all these high-schools only *Zappeion*, with a mere 15 students, survives today. The closure of those schools, which provided the best specialist training in foreign languages and commerce, had a disastrous effect on the education of Constantinopolitan Greek students. Measures against Greek schools[517] and the resultant falling standards of education, together with the enforced brain-drain, were thus the key factors in the decline of the Greek minority of Istanbul. The number of students continued to diminish even after the panic of 1922-23, and, according to official estimates, there were only 9,312 students in the Greek schools of Istanbul by 1925. Three years later, in the academic year of 1928-1929, this number was down to 8,969[518] and the Greek community was left with five *lycées* - three for boys and two for girls. However, those schools which survived after the economic crisis were still subject to the 'systematic turkification' programme of the government[519].

[517] Even the Greek Catholic school of *Panagia Odigitria* was under constant harassment of the Turkish press. Amongst 230 Greek students studying at this school was the son of Papa Efthym. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 April 1929, AYE/B/33.

[518] *Ελεύθερον Βήμα*, 18 September 1929 and also in '*Statistical tables on the minority schools in Constantinople*' by Sakelaropoulos, 1928 AYE/B/33; Diamandopoulos to Roufos, Cons., 23 December 1925, AYE/B/33.

[519] *Ελεύθερον Βήμα*, 18 September 1929.

Greek Education in Istanbul 1924-1925. Table I[520].

District Name	Lycées	Primary schools	students (male)	students (female)	Greek Prof.,	Greek &Turkish Teachers	
Constantinople	5	45	4,618	3,897	72	106 (male) 127(female)	58 38
Derkon	----	6	458	403	----	12 14	6 4
Chalkedon	----	10	599	543	----	18 24	9 11
Princes Islands	----	4	281	230	----	7 8	5 ----
Total	**5**	**65**	**5,956**	**5,073**	**72**	**316** **131**	

Greek Education in Istanbul 1925-1926. Table II[521].

District Name	Lycées	Primary schools	students (male)	students (female)	Greek Prof.,	Greek &Turkish Teachers	
Constantinople	5	39	3,627	3,361	60	89 (male) 112(female)	67 53
Derkon	----	6	344	314	----	9 16	11 4
Chalkedon	----	10	653	563	----	17 29	10 12
Princes Islands	----	4	230	220	----	7 6	5 ----
Total	**5**	**59**	**4,854**	**4,458**	**60**	**285** **162**	

[520] Table I., source: private archives of Vingopoulou-Papazotou. This information can also be obtained from the historical archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry, particularly in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33. The 305 orphans on *Prinkipo* island were not included in this table.

[521] Table II., source : private archives of Vingopoulou-Papazotou. This information can also be obtained from the archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in AYE/Φ/4, 1927. Also in Constantinidis 1984. In the latter the number of male students in the Princes Islands is given as 234 instead of 230.

Greek Education in Istanbul 1926-1927. Table III[522].

District Name	Lycées	Primary schools	students (male)	students (female)	Greek Prof.,	Greek &Turkish Teachers	
Constantinople	4	29	4,364	3,457	48	90 (male) 108(female)	80 51
Derkon	----	6	340	354	----	9 15	10 6
Chalkedon	----	8	533	422	----	14 16	14 6
P. Islands	----	4	213	225	----	7 6	5 ----
Total	**4**	**47**	**5,450**	**4,458**	**48**	**265**	**172**

Greek education in the *Archbishopric of Constantinople* 1926-1927[523].

Institution	Level of education	Students
• Patriarchal Lycée	Secondary (boys)	182
• Stavrodromi parish[524]	2 secondary schools 9 primary schools	2,572
• Zappeion Lycée at Pera	Secondary (girls)	It did not function[525]
• Ioakeimeio	secondary (girls)	268
• Kendrikon Lycée at Pera	Semi-gymnasium (girls)	561
• Vareidou private college	Semi-gymnasium (mixed)	252
• Nine primary	3 girls'3 boys' 3mixed	2,071

[522] Table III, private archives of Vingopoulou-Papazotou. It is easy to see the decline of the Greek schools from both the students' and academic staff's perspective. However the number of Turkish teachers increases every year. This information can also be obtained from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in AYE/Φ/4, 1927. In the academic year of 1927-1928 there were 8,739 students (4,655 male and 4,084 female) in total in Istanbul. The following year there was a small increase in the number of students partly because several foreign schools were shut down. As such in 1928-1929 there were 8,969 (4,712 male and 4,257 female) students. See *Ελεύθερον Βήμα*, 18 September 1929. Also in Sakelaropoulos to Greek Embassy in Ankara, Cons., 16 April 1929, AYE/ Φ/4.

[523] Table IV, Statistical information obtained from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in AYE/Φ/4, 1927 and from Vingopoulou-Papazotou private archives.

[524] The *Zographeion* and the *National Greco-French Lycée* were the two main secondary schools in this area of the city.

[525] See p. 119 above.

Greek Education in Istanbul 1928-1929. Table V[526].

District	Lycée	Primary	M. students	F.students	Greek Prof.	Greek&Turkish teachers	
Constantinople	5	36	3,776	3,312	57	71 (male) 111 (female)	76 (male) 75 (female)
Derkon	----	6	362	291	----	9 19	10 7
Chalkedon	----	7	389	450	----	12 17	13 9
Princes Islands	----	3	185	204	----	6 6	6 1
Total	**5**	**52**	**4,712**	**4,257**	**57**	**251**	**197**

Greek Education in Istanbul 1929-1930. Table VI[527].

District	Lycée	Primary	M. students	F.students	Greek Prof.	Greek&Turkish teachers	
Constantinople	5	32	3007	2816	64	52 (male) 107 (female)	77 65
Derkon	----	6	344	307	----	9 14	6 12
Chalkedon	----	7	376	427	----	11 18	14 9
Princes Islands	----	3	190	183	----	5 6	6 1
Total	**5**	**48**	**3,917**	**3,733**	**64**	**327**	**124**

[526] Table V., source: private archives Vingopoulou-Papazotou.

[527] Table VI., In the academic year of 1929-1930 there were 23 French and 2 English teachers in the Archbishopric of Constantininople and 2 more French teachers in the schools of the Archbishopric of Chalkedon (Source: private archives Vingopoulou-Papazotou). The same statistical information can also be obtained from the archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Especially see Dalietos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 November 1930. In the latter the number of Greek professors are stated as 13 instead of 64. The reason behind this, according to the Greek representative, is that many primary school teachers used to serve at both lycée and primary school level (source, private archives of Vingopoulou-Papazotou). Also in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 November 1924, AYE/B/33. The 1,207 orphans on *Prinkipo* island were not included in this table. According to the Greek Foreign Ministry' s report, the Greek government's support for the academic year 1923-1924 was approximately 62,505 TL. See also Stylianopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Statistical Memorandum on Greek education in Constantinople Cons., 20 February 1924, AYE/B/33. During the 1928-1929 academic year the Greek pupils in the Greco-Catholic primary school increased by 20 students with a total of 235 students. Sakelaropoulos to the Greek Embassy in Ankara, Constantinople, 16 April 1929, AYE/4/1929.

In the case of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos[528], the situation seemed worse: according to article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne[529], these islands were placed under an autonomous administration[530] due to the fact that the entire population of Imbros (Gökçeada) and the major part of Tenedos (Bozcaada) were inhabited by Greeks[531]. However, soon after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne and despite the guarantee given by Turkey allowing all those Greeks who had left the island during the conflictual period to return, this did not take place[532]. Moreover, according to the Greek ambassador the administrative privileges granted to these islands through the fifteenth protocol (Article 4) were also violated by the Turkish authorities[533].

Furthermore, in 1927 the Turkish government closed down the Greek schools of elementary and secondary education and prohibited the use of the Greek language by an 'organic law'[534] passed by the Turkish National

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[528] As part of their policy to 'turkify' the region, in 1973, the Turkish authorities officially changed the names of the islands to Gökçeada (Imbros) and Bozcaada (Tenedos) respectively. The attitude of Turkey to rename towns, cities and islands was an important part of her nationalist policy in order to break the connection with recent history. Another example of this is the scant regard for the Byzantine Walls in Istanbul, which were cut through recently in order to enlarge the motorway!

[529] *Treaty of Lausanne, Blue Book,* p.21, *Article* 14: 'The islands of Imbros and Tenedos, remaining under Turkish sovereignty, shall enjoy a special administrative organisation composed of local elements and furnishing every guarantee for the native non-Muslim population in so far as concerns local administration and the protection for person and property. The maintenance of order will be assured therein by a police force recruited from amongst the local population by the local administration above provided for and placed under its orders. The agreements which have been, or may be, concluded between Greece and Turkey relating to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations will not be applied to the inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos'.

[530] See '*Foreign Office Minute by Nicolson on the autonomous regime for islands of Imbros and Tenedos*', 12 June 1923, FO 371/9082/E6170.

[531] '*Memorandum by the Greek Foreign Ministry on the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos*' in AYE/B/37/11 of 1925. Also Greek Foreign Ministry to M. W. Royse (Harvard University), Athens, AYE/B/37 (there is no date on either side of the document). The population figures for Imbros is given as 6,762 and that of Tenedos as 1,601.

[532] Politis to Roussos, Ankara, 9 September 1924, AYE/A/5/11.

[533] *op.cit.*, Conversation between the Prime Minister İnönü and Greek ambassador Politis.

[534] Mackillop to Chamberlain, Athens., 19 August 1927, FO 371/12318/E3729. Also see *Messager d'Athenes* of 8 and 9 August 1927. Also in Dimitriadis to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 4 August 1927, AYE/B/28.

Assembly on 20 June 1927[535]. Careful reading of this Law (no.1151), however, points out that while administrative autonomy was theoretically accorded to these islands, such autonomy could have been easily reduced 'almost to a nullity'[536]. Furthermore, Articles 15 and 16 of the new law could be construed as side-stepping of the Lausanne Treaty safeguards, as 'they accord the Turkish government the right in certain circumstances to introduce officials, gendarmes and police, into the islands from other parts of Turkey'[537]. Britain responded to the violation of Article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne, and to the petitions sent by a committee of natives of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos in Lemnos to Mr. Palmer, the British consular at Mudros, by stating that 'complaints should be addressed to the Greek government or the League of Nations'[538].

In a new attempt to protest over the situation, a new petition was sent to the British Vice-Consul at Lemnos which, among other issues, stated that: 'the Greek schools were managed by Turkish schoolmasters, the inhabitants were compelled to pay and the Greek language was taught to a very limited extent'[539]. In the same report, prepared by E. Eliadis and John Bourgos - presidents of the committee of natives in Imbros and Tenedos residing in Lemnos - it was affirmed that:

> 'On paper Turkey has permitted the return of inhabitants to the islands but she refuses to issue passports', without which nobody could be admitted. 'She (Turkey) has occupied the properties of those who have left the islands and the Turks are destroying them. To such as have succeeded in returning with Turkish passports they refuse to hand over their properties, in order to compel them to leave the island again. As a

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[535] *Official Gazette*, 20 July 1927, no. 638 in AYE/B/35/2. Also in Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 5 September 1927, FO 371/12318/E3806 and Greek Foreign Ministry to Greek Embassy in Turkey, Athens, 9 March 1927, AYE/B/37. In his published PhD thesis on the Island of Imbros, the Archbishop of Philadelpheia, M. Karas, gives this date as 26 June 1927. See Karas 1987:263.

[536] *op.cit.* and in '*Memorandum by the Greek Foreign Ministry on the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos*', AYE/B/37/11 of 1925.

[537] *op.cit.*

[538] Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 10 March 1927, FO 371/12318/E1491.

[539] *op.cit.*

measure of diminishing the Greek population of the islands they have excluded by name from the right of return 64 inhabitants of Tenedos as undesirables because these men were the national factors [key professionals] of the islands (physicians, lawyers, school-masters and merchants). They have enrolled conscripts and reservists whom they transport to Asia Minor, and these men being afraid of oppression have deserted and taken refuge in Greece. Not a single Greek inhabitant was employed in the public services, but many Turks with their families were imported with a view to altering the ethnic status of the islands'.

Moreover, articles in the Greek press as well as numerous petitions from Greek students of Imbros to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs were continuing to complain about the constant Turkish violations of the provisions of Article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne[540]. However, according to British foreign policy the best solution to this problem was to allow the Greek government to 'take the first step in raising the matter'[541].

On 16 November 1927 the Greek representative in Istanbul, Sakelaropoulos, urged Michalakopoulos, the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, to take immediate action[542]. In his detailed report, the former affirmed that not only had Greek schools been shut down[543] but islanders had been imprisoned in their homes. Even the postman of the island was

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[540] *op.cit.*

[541] Dimitriadis to FO, Athens, 25 March 1926, FO 371/11522/E2901 and in Rosso to Oliphant, 22 May 1926, FO 371/11522/E3219. See also Foreign Office minutes by Oliphant, London, 4 April 1927, FO 371/12318/E1491.

[542] Sakelaropoulos to Michalakopoulos, Cons., 16 November 1927, AYE/B/28.

[543] Dimitriadis to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 2 November 1929, AYE/B/28., Alekos and Leonidas (*demogerondes*) to İsmet İnönü, Imbros, 1929, AYE/B/28. In this report it was stated that the Turkish Ministry of Education had confiscated the Central School at Panagia (semi-gymnasium) in Imbros island and transformed it completely into a Turkish state school. According to the government, the school was classified as a high school and therefore the staff of the school were not qualified for teaching in secondary school as, with the exception of one teacher, the rest had graduated from a semi-gymnasium. The primary school accommodated in the same building was also shut down in 1929-1930. According to the Turkish government, as from 1930-1931 academic year there ought to be one single educational system (Turkish) with Turkish the only language taught in the schools of these islands. An appeal was made to the Turkish Prime Minister by the *demogerondes* Alekos and Leonidas on the educational situation of the island and the absence of the Greek language from the curriculum of all schools in Imbros and Tenedos. See Alekos and Leonidas to the Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, Imbros, 1932, AYE/B/28. Among other issues, the Greek administrators demanded the addition of one more class (sixth) in primary schools so that children could be admitted into the Greek schools of Istanbul. They also asked permission to construct more schools.

not allowed to deliver the mail. The Archbishop of the island was also under the control of the Turkish authorities and was not allowed to travel within or outside the island until his exchangeability status had been clarified by the Mixed Commission[544]. According to the Turkish inspector, Ali Kemal, although the islanders were respectful towards the law, 'they still carried Greek sentiments'[545]. The Greek schools administered by the Turkish directors appointed by the government were funded by the islanders themselves; the average salary for the Turkish director was increased to between 60 and 70TL.

Pressure on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos was manifold. There were about 25 Turkish civil servants and 25 security guards mostly occupying houses left behind by the islanders, in order to assume full control of the island[546]. Compulsory taxation, in order to support the newly established government as well as on the products produced by the islanders, led to economic difficulties. Despite this general persecution, and particularly given the pressure upon minority education, the Turkish press often questioned why the Greek government was so interested in Greek schools in Turkey[547].

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[544] *op.cit.*
[545] '*Memorandum on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos by Ali Kemal for the Turkish Minister of the Interior*', Imbros, 2 October 1928, in AYE/B/28.
[546] *op.cit.*
[547] *Milliyet*, 6 March 1929.

Greek education in Imbros in 1928[548].

Parish Name	Education	Classes	Students	Teachers	Salaries	N.B
Panagia	mixed	5	250	Celal Thomas Zapheirakis Turkish teacher surveillant	70 60 50 70 30	From 1927 the children of the parish of Evlambio[549] joined the Panagia primary school.
Ag. Theodoroi[550]	mixed	4	100	Turkish director and a teacher	60 30	
Glyky Castro	mixed	4	60	Two	60 30	The Castro parish joined the Glyky parish school.
Agridia	mixed	4	100	Two	60 30	
Schoinoudio	mixed	4	220	Four	60 50 40 30	
Total		4	730	15	700TL.	

[548] Metropolitan of Imbros and Tenedos Iakovos to Greek Consulate, Imbros, 30 August 1932,AYE/B/28 and in Triandafyllakos to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 9 September 1932, AYE/B/28.

[549] By 1932 the Turkish authorities of the island of Imbros island permitted the construction of a school in this parish. From Alekos (administrator of the parish) to Süreyya Bey (Prefect of Çanakkale), 14 August 1932, Imbros, AYE/B/28.

[550] See illustration no.16.

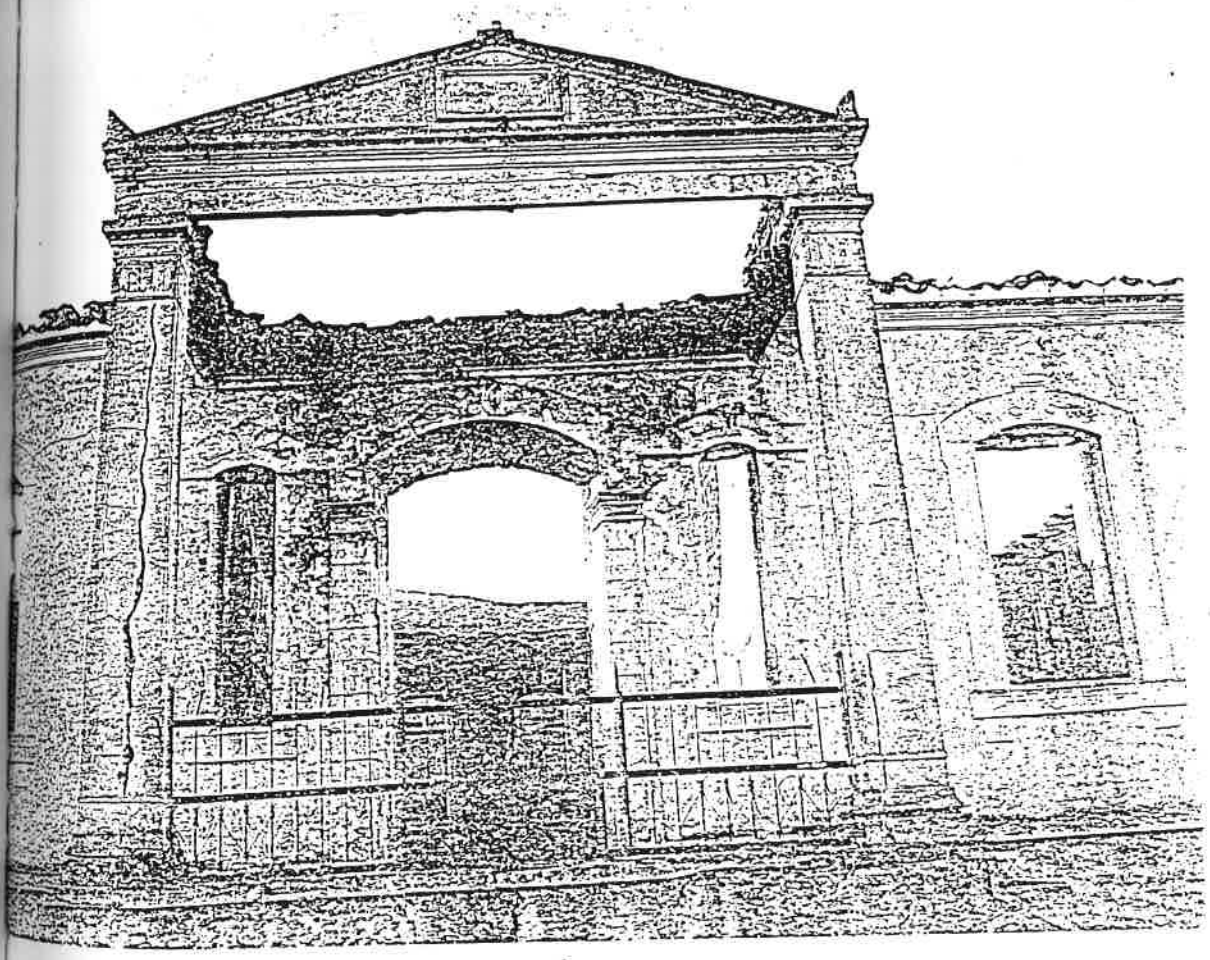


Illustration 16: the remains of the primary school of *Agioi Theodoroi.*
Source: Calendar of the Imbrian Association of Athens 1998.

3. Restrictions on the role of the Patriarchate.

Another dispute regarding religious minorities arose when the Turkish government abolished the old Ottoman *Mecelle* (code) and adopted the Western (Swiss) civil code as part of the Kemalist secular reforms[551] on 17 February 1926[552]. The Civil Code was a slightly modified version of the Swiss Civil Code, whereas the Penal Code was based on Italian and Prussian legislation. Declarations were obtained after some trouble from representatives of the Jewish and Armenian communities[553], accepting the new civil code and its provisions about marriage and divorce, but not formally renouncing Article 42[554]. In the case of the Greek community, which was more numerous, the Turks had much more trouble. For the Greek community, the treaty's provisions for personal and family status were the most important part of the minority clauses, as this, they felt, was vital to differentiate them from the Turks, at a time when Turkish policy was determined to 'turkify' every aspect of what remained of Greek life in Turkey. Faced with resistance from the Greek community, the committee of two Turkish officials and two Greek representatives appointed a so-called '*Commission d'Initiative'* composed of some half-dozen Greeks.

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[551] Cf. Rustow 1957:69-107.

[552] Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 31 January 1927, Annual Report on Turkey 1926, FO 371/12325/E633.

[553] The official declarations of the Armenian and Jewish communities are given in the letter of Tevfik Rüştü Aras to the League of Nations, 9 March 1927, LN/C.185.1927.I. See also the confidential report of Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 8 December 1925, FO 371/12318/E7712.

[554] For the Treaty of Lausanne see Henderson to Foreign Office, Cons., 23 August 1923, FO 371/9131/E8542. *The Minority Clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne*, *Article* 42: 'The Turkish Government undertakes, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those minorities. These measures will be elaborated by special Commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish government and of representatives of each of the minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from amongst European lawyers. The Turkish Government undertakes to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries and other religious establishments of the above mentioned minorities. All facilities and authorisation will be granted to the pious foundations, and to the religious and charitable institutions of the said minorities at present existing in Turkey, and the Turkish government will not refuse, for the formation of new

This *commission* was asked to draw up a petition for the renunciation of the minority privileges stipulated by Article 42 of the Treaty of Lausanne and then present it to the community[555]. When the commission showed a reluctance to comply with the Turkish proposal, the authorities increased its membership to twenty-two by adding a number of Greeks whose interests in Turkey made them particularly susceptible to official pressure. The commission was particularly moved by a speech from Avrilios Spatharis[556]. Despite the presence of the police, he had the courage to denounce the proposals as an attempt to bring the National Pact *(Misak-ı Milli)* into disrepute, the fifth article of which guaranteed the rights of the minorities. He also argued that renouncing Article 42 would mean removing an article which had become law through the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne by the Ankara assembly[557]. Instructed by the government, the commission added to itself thirty more members who were reluctantly elected by the various parishes and just as reluctantly attended the discussion, in some cases under police coercion. A few days before the meeting, the Turkish authorities arrested eight or ten members of the commission who seemed likely to oppose the Government's wishes - under the pretext of supplying political and military information to Greece - and kept them under arrest until the day after discussions had ended. Though this action simplified developments considerably for the meeting of 27 November 1925, the delegates showed such reluctance to commit themselves to any decision that the police, present as before,

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religious and charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which are guaranteed to other private institutions of that nature.

[555]Argyropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 20 September 1925, AYE/B/92/2 and in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 5 November 1925, AYE/B/37. See also Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 January 1926, AYE/B/92/2.

[556]This meeting was held at the Greek lycée *Zographeion*, when this Greek lawyer bravely denounced the proposals of the Turkish authorities.

[557] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Con., 14 December 1925, FO 371/10866/E7712.

received orders to lock the doors and not release anyone until they had signed the formal renunciation of the first paragraph of Article 42[558]. In the end, from a total of 72 members of the commission and parish representatives, 55 signed the petition for the renunciation, and the notable Greeks who were arrested, were released only after the meeting of 27 November[559]. Hence, by May 1926 the Turkish Minister of Justice was able to announce its satisfaction with 'the demand by all minorities' to renounce Article 42 of the Lausanne Treaty'[560]. The question was subsequently taken up by the Greek Government[561], who submitted it to the League of Nations in a letter dated 28 September 1926 to the Secretary General, Sir Eric Dummond, pointing out that the Turkish government had by their action violated Articles 42 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne and stating that, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 44 of the Treaty, they would bring the question before the Hague Tribunal. But there was no doubt that the action of the Turkish Government, in abrogating the minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne without consultation with, and gaining the consent of, the other parties to that instrument, was illegal[562]. The provisions regarding minorities had been laid down by

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[558] *op.cit.,* and in Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 27 November 1925. Also in Argyropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 20 September 1925, AYE/B/92.

[559] A copy of the petition with the 55 signatures in Tevfik Rüştü Aras to the League of Nations, 9 March 1927, LN/C.185.1927 as well as a copy of the Greek petition to the Minister of Justice Mahmut Esat, AYE/A/24.

[560] Diamandopoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 May 1926, AYE/B/37.

[561] Two memoranda on the Turkish attitude towards Article 42 of the Lausanne Treaty, prepared by the Greek Foreign Ministry, 5 and 30 November 1925, AYE/A/24. Also in League of Nations to Foreign Office, 28 September 1926, FO 371/11522/E5613 and League of Nations to Foreign Office, 18 October 1926, FO 371/11522/E6034.

[562] Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 31 January 1927, Annual Report, 1926, Foreign Office 371/12325/E633 and in Hoare to Chamberlain, Constantinople, 28 March 1927, FO 371/12318/E1572. Upon a report submitted by Prof. Van Overbeke, the Aberystwyth Congress (International Federation of League of Nations Associations at Aberystwyth Plenary Congress in July 1926) voted unanimously for the following resolution: 'Any renunciation of the rights of minorities is invalid. Any governmental action direct or indirect intended to secure such renunciation of rights is contrary to the established international order and to the essential duties of States', see the *Contemporary Review* of January 1927 in FO 371/12318/E173. Also in Cadogan to Osborne, 5 September 1927, FO 371/12318/E3869.

treaties which followed the Great War, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also for the purpose of preventing future wars by creating a tolerable life for minorities. These treaties and especially the Treaty of Lausanne (Article 44) stated that 'these stipulations are of international interest and may not be modified without the consent of the majority of the League of Nations Council'. In this connection Lindsay, the British representative in Istanbul, alleged that: 'it was clear that the entirely inequitable and arbitrary treatment to which the remaining Christian minorities of Turkey were exposed was continuing unabated'[563]. One year later the main difficulty that minorities were still facing was the lack of any legal standing[564]. Nominally and legally they could not own property or administer their hospitals and schools. From a strictly legal point of view, it was doubtful if there could now be a valid election of a Patriarch. While the various communities in Istanbul - Greek, Armenian and Jewish - were trying to regularise their affairs, they were still faced with 'every kind of obstacle put in their way by the Turkish authorities who had no motive for making life easy for the minorities'[565]. 'Can a minority renounce the rights conferred upon it by Treaties?' was the question posed by Professor Andreadis in his article in the *Contemporary Review* of January 1927. Certainly what the Turkish authorities were trying to achieve, whether through the expulsion of the Patriarch or through supporting the idea of a Turkish Orthodox Church with a head ratified by the Turkish government[566], was primarily to make the existence of the Patriarchate extremely difficult and to lessen its standing[567].

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[563] Lindsay to Chamberlain, Cons., 29 October 1925, FO 371/10866/E6858.
[564] Clerk to Chamberlain, Cons., 14 June 1927, FO 371/12318/E2715.
[565] *op.cit.*
[566] Papa Efthym was an ex-priest who with the support of the Turkish government established the so-called Turkish Orthodox Church. For more details see note 365 in Chapter II above.
[567] *Contemporary Review*, FO 371/12318/E173.

Meanwhile Papa Efthym, eager to antagonise the Patriarchate, began a new press campaign against Patriarch Vassileios, accusing him of publishing anti-Turkish articles[568]. Soon after, on 2 April 1926, he occupied Christ Church in Galata. Another controversy arose when, during the communal election of the Pera *ephoroi* (trustees), two associates of Papa Efthym were named members of the central committee. Their election was made possible by the backing of the Turkish authorities[569]. After the refusal of their complaint to the prefect of Istanbul, the remaining forty-eight members resigned[570]. Meantime, the two Efthymite *ephoroi,* accompanied by the Turkish police, placed seals on the safe of the Panagia church at Para, the richest of all Greek Orthodox parishes[571]. However, the forty-eight trustees did eventually resume their responsibilities together with Papadopoulos and Ioannedis[572]. Furthermore, in early January 1928, the traditional 'immersion of the Cross' ceremony was banned by the Turkish police authorities at the very last minute[573]. In a threatening tone the *Son Saat* of 5 August 1928, referring to the Patriarch Vassileios, questioned why 'the head-priest Vassileios has distributed, among many other titles to several Metropolitans, the title of *Stavroupoleos* to the director of the Theological school at Chalki ?'[574]. The following year, heavy propaganda against the Patriarchate's involvement in Greek education began to be heard in the Turkish press. To respond to the attacks and clarify that there had never

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[568] Ergene 1951:201-202.
[569] Turkish authorities supervised the election procedure. Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 April 1928, AYE/B/37.
[570] *op.cit.*
[571] Dalietos to Michalakopoulos, Constantinople, 15 May 1928, AYE/B/37 and in Dalietos to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 10 May 1928, AYE/B/37.
[572] Clerk to Chamberlain, Ankara, 27 June 1928, FO 371/13097/E3314 and in Sakelaropoulos to Karapanos, Constantinople, 16 July 1928, AYE/B/28.
[573] Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 10 January 1928, AYE/B/28.

been interference (administrative or legal), from the Patriachate several articles were published by the local press[575]. The Turkish campaign against the ecumenical status of the Patriarchate resulted in his being addressed as head-priest, as opposed to Patriarch. Moreover, visits made to or from the Patriarchate were watched closely by the Turkish authorities[576]. Thus, Ankara refused to grant permission to the Patriarchate when, in December 1925, it attempted to initiate a Pan-Orthodox conference. Throughout the 1920s the same tension between Ankara and the Patriarchate continued to exist. Public opinion influenced greatly by the former drew a quite unfavourable picture of this religious institution. With the death of Patriarch Vassileios III on 29 September 1929, however, a new period of Greek-Turkish *rapprochement* seemed to emerge between the two countries[577].

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[574] This was a traditional title given usually to the director of the Theological Academy. See illustration no. 17. The large picture is taken by D. Kaloumenos, official photographer of the Patriarchal Court. The smaller, more contemporary picture was taken in 1998 by I. Sarioglou.

[575] *Ανεξάρτητος* of 7,8,9 and 11 September 1929.

[576] *Cumhuriyet*, 15 April 1927.

[577] On the election of Photios see Sakelarapoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 9 October 1929, AYE/B/35.

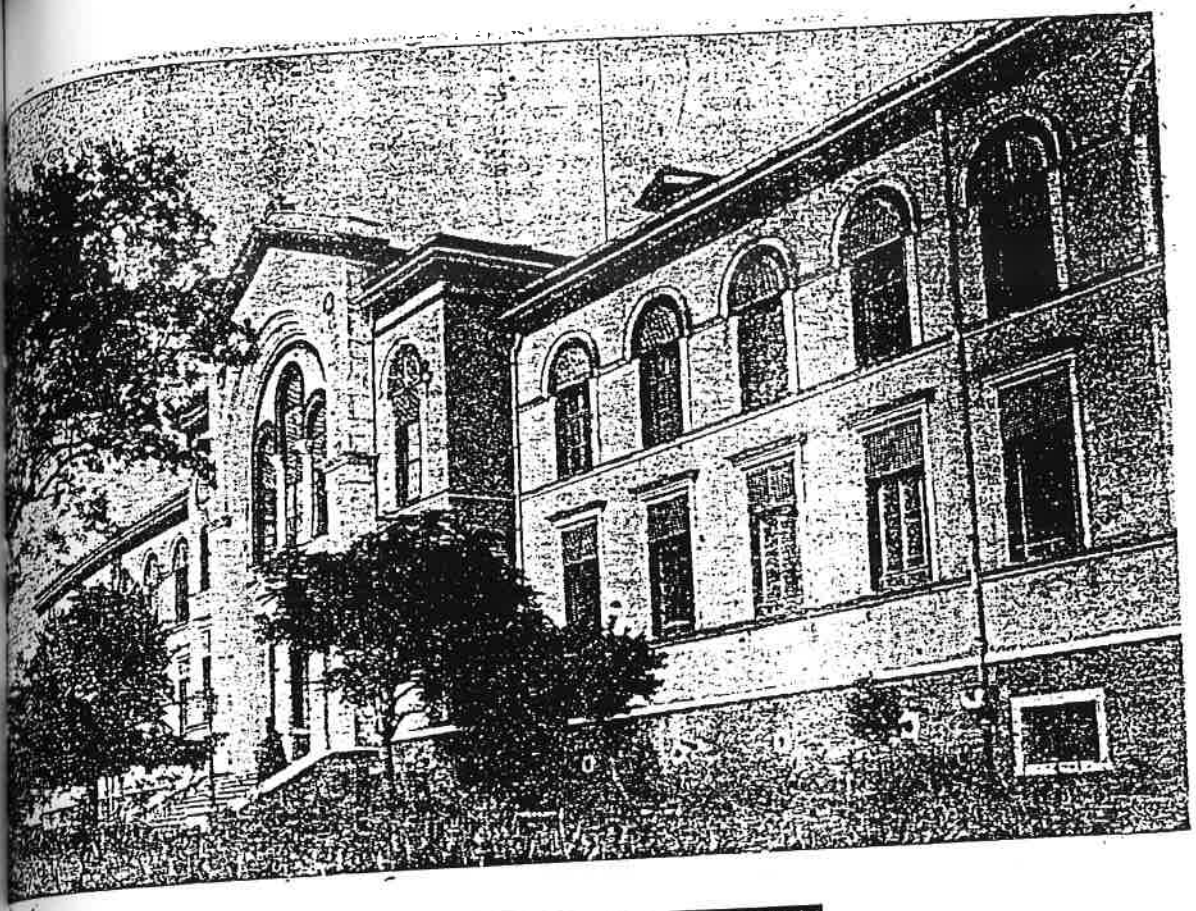




Illustration 17: Theological School of Chalki. Source: private collections of S. D. Tarinas (large picture) and I. Sarioglou (below).

CHAPTER IV

GREEK INSTRUCTION DURING 1930-1945

1. Greek-Turkish relations and their effects on education.

Before following the development of Greek-Turkish relations and its impact upon the education of the Greek minority throughout the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s, let us first examine the continuity of Turkish ideology of national education and its consequences for the minority schools. Within the main framework of Turkish nationalism, the reaction towards any international concept had hardly changed. Religion was also included in the 'black list' as it was not of 'Turkish origin' and therefore dangerous for the development of the nation. The formation of national character was now to be based only on 'pure Turkish' moral and political concepts. The fifth İsmet İnönü Government[578] sought to achieve 'the maximum result with minimum cost and a disciplined mentality which excluded harmful influence'[579]. In other words, the primary objective was to adopt an authoritarian form of education which would not tolerate any new trend of thought. As far as education was concerned, the sixth İnönü government[580] reiterated this principle while the seventh İnönü government[581] preferred to make no reference at all to the education programme[582]. The following government, which was the first Celal Bayar government, held office between November 1, 1937 and November 11, 1938. During its brief term, it stated that it would generally be following

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[578] The fifth İnönü government held office between 27 September , 1930 and 4 May 1931.
[579] Cf. *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:40, Dağlı and Aktürk editions.
[580] The sixth İnönü government ruled between May 4 1931 and March 1 1935.
[581] The seventh İnönü government was in power between March 1, 1935 and November 1, 1937.
[582] Cf. *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:.49-50.

the example of the Republican People's Party[583]. According to its programme, 'the Chief is synonymous with the most supreme ideal of this country'[584] and the 'symbol of the spirit and colossal history of the great Turkish nation'[585]. The goal of education, according to this programme, was 'to teach citizens the grammar of their language and the history and regime of the nation to which they belong'[586]. Bayar's government also underlined that, 'in line with the instructions of the Chief'[587], it was determined to bestow major importance to 'our (Turkish) historical and linguistic research which is vital for our national culture and would forever prosper as one of the outstanding monuments of the Chief in the field of science'[588]. Known as the Sun theory[589], it postulated that the Turks were the oldest race in the world and that the earliest Turks were Sun-worshippers who derived their conceptions of life from the idea of the Sun.

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[583] Cf. *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:52 and 78. The doctrine of the Republican People's Party which was founded on September 11, 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal was the only political force unchallenged until 1947. The initial programme adopted in 1923 was elaborated at the subsequent Party Congresses held in 1927, 1931, 1935, 1938, 1939, and 1943. The fundamental doctrine of the Party is called Kemalism by the Party itself in attribution to its founder and 'permanent' leader Mustafa Kemal. See Tunaya 1952:568-570. The basic principles of the Party are called the 'Six Arrows', namely republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, laicism and transformism. By the constitutional amendment on 5 February 1937 the six arrows of the RPP were imported into the constitution. In this form, the Kemalist ideology was declared the official doctrine of the Turkish state. Tunaya 1952:569-570 The 1931 programme devoted its section five to education, affirming that 'bringing up citizens who are strongly republican, nationalist, and laicist were the compulsory points of attention at every level of education' (Parla 1992:71-73 and 25-51). The following programmes of the RPP (in 1935, 1938 and 1939) were still more or less based on the same principles. Only in the 1943 programme does the exaltation of the nation reach its peak; serving the nation was described as the *only* happiness. See Aydın 1997:107.

[584] *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:62.

[585] *op.cit.*

[586] *op.cit.*p.79.

[587] *op.cit.* p.62.

[588] *op.cit.* p.80.

[589] Morgan to Eden, Ankara, 12 September 1936, FO 371/20094/E5890. During the third Turkish language congress, held at Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul from 24 to 30 August, various prominent foreign scholars, including Sir Denison Ross, director of the London School of Oriental Studies, were invited to collaborate in the work of the congress as guests of the Turkish government. However, the congress was almost exclusively pre-occupied with lectures by certain Turkish authorities of the so-called Sun theory. See also Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854. The belief that, among all the nations of the world, Turkey is the one with the most ancient history, is still taught today as part of the national curriculum. Cf. Turkish high school text book of Mumcu and Su, 1996:217.

Moreover the Turkish Sun language was the parent of all other tongues. This Sun theory was sponsored by Atatürk himself[590]. Not only a nationalist state, but the social sciences also ought to follow this nationalistic line, according to the Minister of Interior, Kaya[591].

After the death of Atatürk[592], the first government under the presidency of İsmet İnönü was the second Celal Bayar government[593] which avoided making any particular reference to education. In the meantime, on 26 December 1938, the Extraordinary Congress of the Republican People's Party bestowed upon Atatürk the title of Eternal Leader (*Ebedi Şef*) while İsmet İnönü was named the 'National Leader'[594]. On 25 January, 1939 the first Refik Saydam government explained in detail their education programme making special reference to the importance of 'nationalist state ideology' in children's education[595]. During the second Saydam government[596] there was no reference to education, partly because of the disruption of the Second World War. However, after the death of prime minister Refik Saydam, Şükrü Saraçoglu was appointed to replace him. Under the influence of Nazi

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[590] *op.cit.*, and Commander Blackburn (Admiralty) to Colville, Turkey Intelligence Report, 19 May 1938, FO 371/21935/E3006. For a detailed account on Turkey's nationalist policy see the Annual Report on Turkey where Sir P. Loraine continued to report that: 'Turkey is nationalistic. Under the Ottoman regime, the inhabitants of Turkey thought of themselves primarily as Muslims, Christians, or Jews. The republic exalted the idea of nationality above that of religion and aimed at making Turkish citizens feel proud to be Turks and citizens of a nation with a glorious past. During 1938 the History and Language society continued to prove that Turkish was the mother of all tongues and the Turks the ancestors of all mankind...' in Loraine to Halifax, Ankara, 11 February 1939, FO 371/23301/E1214.

[591] *Discours de S. Kaya, Ministre de l' Intérieur et Secrétaire Général du P.R.P prononcé le 20 Fevrier 1938 à la Maison du Peuple d' Ankara à l'occasion de la fete de la culture.*

[592] Atatürk died on 10 November 1938. Mango 1999:512-528. For Atatürk see Mango 1999 and Kazancıgil & Özbudun 1997. Prior to his death, five foreign newspapers published in Turkey were banned after attempting to report on Atatürk's ill health. Christodoulou to Foreign Ministry, Cons.,10 August 1938, AYE/B/2.

[593] In power from 11 November 1938 to 25 January 1939.

[594] Mango 1999:529 .

[595] *Hükümetler ve Programları* ,p.90. On 25 January 1939 Celal Bayar resigned at İnönü' s request. See Mango 1999:529.

Germany and the leadership of the new premier, the Turkish government adopted a more racist and expansionist policy: 'We are, and we will forever remain Turkish. For us Turkism is a matter of conscience and culture as much as a matter of blood ... We are Turkists who multiply and expand. We will always strive in this direction'[597]. The second Saraçoglu government came into power on 9 March, 1943 and ruled until 7 August, 1946, without any significant change in its totalitarian principles. Remarkably, at the same time, in a *Circular* sent in 1944 by the Minister of Education to all educational institutions throughout Turkey, it was alleged that[598]:

> 'We must know and let others know that ... our great leader ismet inönü is the symbol of our existence, is our national unity ... the ideas in which we believe have their foundation in the programme of the Republican People's Party where it is said: "our dreams not only for a few years but for the future are collectively written in their broad lines. The fundamental principals of the party are embodied in Kemalism". The essence of all our programmes and educational ideals is embodied in our determination to follow this road with regard to all our schools irrespective of grade ...'[599].

As can be seen, the Minister stressed not only the importance of unity but of unity around the President and of unquestioning obedience to the People's Party. In fact, as no effective opposition to the Kemalist regime was tolerated by the government, the People's Party - like the Communist party in Russia or the National Socialist Party in Germany - had been accorded a semi-official position in the state, providing all the members of

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[596] He remained in office between April 3, 1939 and July 9, 1942.
[597] *op.cit.*p.105.
[598] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Eden, Ankara, 10 April 1944, FO 371/44133/R6602.
[599] *Ulus*, 5 April 1944.

the National Assembly[600]. In this state of affairs, the catch-phrase of nationalist Turkey was 'Turkey for the Turk'[601]. *Circulars* published by the Ministry of Education itself constituted another source which advocated the 'education policy' of the time. For instance, in the 1930s the Minister of Education, Esat Sagay[602], affirmed that: ' ... the most important goal of our great nation and beloved Republic is giving each young Turkish person the strength and efficiency to strongly contest any harmful influence ...'[603]. Sagay's successor, Dr. Galip[604], continued to introduce a number of nationalist policies, including the 'Pledge' which became a compulsory ceremony held every morning in all primary schools[605]. During his time a number of official history books published for the nourishment of Turkish intellects were described by Morgan, the British representative in Ankara, as 'indigestible'[606]. The summary of the main points of official Turkish history - the use of which was made compulsory after 1923 in every school - is the work of Dr. Reşat Galip, quoted in the same report which warrants a mention[607]:

1 - 'the cradle of mankind is Central Asia. Life first evolved there.
2 - the world's first civilisation was established in Central Asia by the Turkish race, the original people and first inhabitants.
3 - anthropologically, the brachycephalic Alpine Homo Sapiens represents the Turkish race.

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[600] Commander Blackburn (Admiralty) to Colville, Turkey Intelligence Report, 19 May 1938, FO 371/21935/E3006. For an analysis of the 'liberal and free policy of Turkey' see *Ανεξάρτητος*, 8 June 1930.

[601] *op.cit.* Another chauvinistic slogan introduced by Atatürk himself as the defining motto of Kemalism, memorised by every student in Turkey was as follows: 'Oh Turk, boast, work, trust. Happy are those who call themselves Turks! A Turk is worthy of the whole world'.

[602] Sagay held office between 27 September 1930 and 19 September , 1932.

[603] Cf. Yücel 1994:364-365. This declaration was issued by the Ministry in December 13, 1931.

[604] Clerk to Henderson, Constantinople, 29 September 1932, FO 371/16089/E5141. Dr. Galip held office between September 20, 1932 and August 13, 1933.

[605] Binbaşıoglu 1995:232 The pledge was as follows: I am a Turk, I am just and work hard ... what a joy to say: I am a Turk'. 'The orthodox political creed which was mechanically taught to all school children and to all disciples of the People's Party is based on a narrow form of nationalism which uses 'Turkey for the Turk' as its motto and inspiration ... ' see Turkey Intelligence Report, Commander Blackburn (Admiralty) to Colville, 19 May 1938, FO 371/21935/E3006.

[606] Morgan to Simon, Annual Report 1933, Ankara, 20 January 1934, FO 371/17959/E596.

[607] *op.cit.*,

4 - the large scale migrations resulting from the contact of Europe and Asia took place from East to West, not from West to East.
5 - the Turks spread to different territories in wholesale migrations, the principal causes of which were the droughts which occurred at various epochs in Central Asia with increasing severity; they established ancient civilisations in those places. These civilisations, with a common source and creator, developed according to the particular conditions of the new surroundings.
6 - the Turkish language is the mother tongue. The appropriate solution of literary problems is impossible without considering the palaeontology, archaic structure and forms of the Turkish language.
7 - as in the case of ancient civilisations, any foundation and achievement in the civilisation of more recent epochs is accredited to the Turks.
8 - in view of the fact that its climate was not dissimilar to that of Central Asia and that geographically it formed a bridge leading to Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the Aegean and the continent of Europe, the plain of Anatolia became one of the most frequented passages and assembling grounds in all the migrations. For this reason Anatolia became Turkicised towards the end of the Palaeolithic age and this process spread with maximum rapidity in the calcolithic (sic) age; by the end of the Selçuk era the currents of invasion and immigration which had flowed for thousands of years had made Anatolia from a racial perspective a stage representing Turkism in its purest and most unalloyed form, to such an extent that the ancient history of Turkism can be traced as much in Anatolia as in Central Asia ...
10-... nobody can establish false claims to pride of race if he ignores the Turkish nation. The Turkish nation alone is the foundation and the origin'.

Hikmet Bey was appointed as Galip's successor even though it was doubtful whether the new Minister of Education possessed Reşat Galip's qualifications for the post[608]. After a number of other ministers[609], on 28 December 1938 a very influential figure, Hasan Ali Yücel, held office. In one of his first major speeches he clearly stated the ideological framework of Turkish national education:

> 'In this matter we make no difference between right or left tendencies ... anything which remains outside the *system of belief* we call Kemalism, and to the principles

[608] Morgan to Simon, Ankara, 31 October 1933, FO 371/16984/E6977.
[609] In July 1934 Zeynelabidin (or Abidin Özmen) was appointed as Minister of Education. Saffet Arıkan held office in June 1935 after the resignation of Özmen, in Morgan to Hoare, Ankara, 13 June 1935, FO 371/ 19034/E3966.

laid down by him [Kemal Atatürk], would be harmful to us. Such dangerous ideas are forbidden to enter schools and we must not allow them to enter the country either'[610].

In the meantime in January 1935, with a new law passed by the GNA, military instruction for boys was made compulsory from the age of 13[611]. Those who failed in this subject were not allowed to pass to a more advanced class and had to repeat their year[612]. Greece, in contrast, for the first time since 1922, acquired a strong government[613] able to deal with both internal and external political events. After the experiences of the Anatolian war and the Lausanne settlement, by 1928 Venizelos had emerged to promote the idea of a peaceful Greek-Turkish co-existence[614]. 'We desire', he affirmed during his first major speech on foreign policy, 'to establish with Republican Turkey ... as friendly relations as possible'[615]. The Turkish government's positive response[616] to Venizelos' peace initiatives rendered this 'rapprochement' possible. Hence, a treaty of friendship between Greece and Turkey was first signed on 10 June 1930 by the Turkish Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras and Spyridon

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[610] Yücel 1994:235.

[611] Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 23 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E862. On the teaching of military subjects see Circular no. 5/ 29263 issued by the Ministry of Education on 4 June 1936. See also Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, 5 July 1936, AYE/Γ/1a.

[612] Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, 5 July 1936, AYE/Γ/1a.

[613] The Liberal Party achieved an overwhelming vote of support in the parliamentary and senatorial elections of 1928 and 1929. It is worth mentioning that Venizelos was idolised by the Asia Minor refugees and therefore was an extra asset to the ruling government.

[614] During his official visit to Turkey in October 1930, Venizelos conveyed to the Greek minority that Greece had definitely abandoned all desire for Constantinople and so exhorted them to be loyal Turkish subjects. See Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 24 October 1930, FO 371/14576/E5768.

[615] *Le Messager d' Athènes,* 23 July 1928. For the full text of Venizelos' speech in Thessaloniki on 22 July 1928 see BMAEV/173.

[616] The willingness of the Turkish premier for such an undertaking is apparent from his response to Venizelos: *'C'est avec un vif plaisir que j'ai pris connaissance ... répondant entièrement à mes propres vues et marquant dans l'histoire des rapports Helléno-Turcs l'ouverture d'une nouvelle ère de tendance franchement et loyalement amicale.'* İsmet to Venizelos, Ankara, 27 September 1928, BMAEV/50. Furthermore, the attendance, for the first time in history, of the Turkish representative in Greece, Mehmet Enis Akaygen, at the official *Te Deum* on the anniversary of Greek independence was a significant development of Turkey's more positive approach. See Ramsey to Henderson, Athens, 26 March 1930, FO 371/14575/E1570.

Polychroniadis, the Greek representative in Ankara[617]. This agreement dealt specifically with the elimination of differences arising from the application of the Treaty of Lausanne and of the agreement on the exchange of populations. There is no doubting the compromises which Greece had to make in order to sign this agreement[618]. However Venizelos believed that this was the price Greece had to pay in order to safeguard the future of the Greek minority in Istanbul[619]. During this period, the Greek vice-consul in Istanbul, Dalietos, drew a realistic picture of the difficulties confronting the Greek minority in Turkey[620]. He outlined the pressure applied to Greek communal schools even after the signing of the Ankara convention[621]. Similar views were shared by the

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[617] Cf. Ladas 1932:567-583. Clerk to Henderson, Ankara, 16 January, 1930, FO 371/14575/E463, in Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 7 July 1930, FO 371/14563/E3742 and in Commander Blackburn (Admiralty) to Colville, Turkey Intelligence Report, 19 May 1938, FO 371/21935/E3006. See also *Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως*, 3 July 1930. Concerning Turco-Greek negotiations see files Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 21 February 1930, FO 371/14575/E1108, Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 4 March 1930, FO 371/14575/1168, Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 26 February 1930, FO 371/14575/E1232 and Roberts to Henderson, Ankara, 10 June 1930, FO 371/14575/E3052. On the *Entente Cordiale* signed between Greece and Turkey on 14 September 1933 in Ankara see *Εφημερίς Της Κυβερνήσεως*, 14 February 1934. See Appendix C.

[618] For an analysis and overall evaluation of the convention see Ladas *op.cit.*,p.582-583 and Clerk to Henderson, Ankara, 16 January 1930, FO 371/14575/E463 and Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854. Consequently, both governments agreed that it was not possible to reach an accurate estimate for the property belonging to exchangeables and therefore they considered both Greek and Turkish claims as balancing one another. Despite concerns from Athens that the properties of some 1,400,000 successful Ottoman Greeks were much greater in value than the properties left behind by about 300,000 Hellene Muslims, the Ankara convention was signed after considerable Greek concessions for the sake of peaceful relations with Turkey.

[619] 'The treatment which Greeks of Turkey will get is directly analogous to the state of Greco-Turkish relations'. Ramsey to Henderson, Athens, 18 June 1930, FO 371/14576/E3403. See also *Le Méssager d' Athènes,* 17 June 1930. The fact that there were five influential former Constantinopolitan Greeks who since 1928 had been members of the Venizelist government was another important factor for the future of the Greek minority in Istanbul. After this agreement, Turkey recognised all Greek Orthodox inhabitants who were actually living in Istanbul as Turkish citizens, regardless of the date of their arrival to the city or their place of birth. In this context, the prime beneficiaries were the Metropolitans of the Patriarchate and the Patriarch himself who received a certificate, signed by the mixed commission, acknowledging his *établis* status *Ορθοδοξία*, 6 1931: 547. As such, according to the official Turkish census of 1935, there were 125,046 *établis* Greek Orthodox of whom 17,642 were Hellenic nationals. See Hurst to Maby, Istanbul, 6 December 1944, FO 195/2483/154/18 and in *IY* 9 1936/37:41-43.

[620] Dalietos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 13 August 1930, BMAEV/228/14. He emphasised the need to adopt a 'friendly but firm policy' with Turkey on the minority question; otherwise, he predicted, 'the Hellenic character of Constantinople would be sacrificed for the Greco-Turkish friendship'.

[621] Daletos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 11 June 1930, BMAEV/228/14.

Greek representative in Ankara, Spyridon Polychroniadis[622]. In the same way, on the eve of the Greek premier's visit to Turkey in October 1930, the Greek consul general in Istanbul, Sakelaropoulos, made Venizelos once again aware of the various impediments faced by the Greeks[623]. Above all, he emphasised the necessity for the recognition of minority rights especially in the field of education. On 26 October 1930, the Greek premier, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andreas Michalakopoulos, arrived in Turkey in order to sign a comprehensive treaty of friendship whose aim was to lay the cornerstone for a lasting mutual détente[624]. Without taking into account the reports of Greek representatives, Venizelos, while in Turkey, also promised the removal of certain anti-Kemalist Muslim religious leaders[625] in the hope that Turkey would also take similar action against Papa Efthym and his associates and return the occupied churches of Galata to their owners[626]. Even though the Greek press, with few exceptions, had adopted a favourable attitude towards the visit of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign

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[622] Polychroniadis to Venizelos, Therapia, 28 June 1930, BMAEV/57. During the same period in a letter to Venizelos in July 28, 1930, the Greek diplomat affirmed that the Constantinopolitan community together with the Muslims in Greek Thrace should constitute a 'uniting link' instead of an impediment to the development of Greek-Turkish relations.

[623] Sakelaropoulos to Venizelos, Cons., 16 October 1930, BMAEV/58. 'It is certain that no one of those who form our co-national minority in Turkey questions the necessity of absolute loyalty to the sovereign state (i.e. Turkey). Aware of this, the Greeks in Turkey simply ask the fulfilment of those indispensable conditions under which they will be able to develop as a law-abiding yet self-sufficient minority in accordance with their distinctive traditions'. This could be achieved through the organisation of the forty Greek community parishes and the free election of community representatives and administrators of parish properties'.

[624] For an analysis of the Greco-Turkish friendship pact see Pikros 1996 and Theodoropoulos 1988. For the full text of the pact see *Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως*, 3 July 1930, no.226., also in *Resmi Gazete*, 15 March 1931 the approval of the pact by the Turkish assembly which became law (no. 1758/1931). See also Harvey to Henderson, Athens, 21 August 1930, FO 371/14576/E4664 and Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 24 October 1930, FO 371/14576/E5768.

[625] According to several reports which appeared in the Greek Press the Governor General of Thrace had ordered 10 anti-Kemalist Turks to be expelled from Greece by 16 January 1931. See Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 19 December 1930, FO 371/14576/E6928. Although there was no intervention by the Turkish government to expel Papa Efthym or restrict his activities, the expulsion of Muslim religious leaders from Greek Thrace did effect a radical change on the community's secularisation development. Thereafter the religious minority of Greek Thrace began to make some compromises towards secularisation.

Affairs[627], in contrast, the British and French representatives in Athens were careful not to express any opinion, but they trusted that time alone would judge the sincerity of Venizelos' 'new friends'[628]. Other critics asserted that Venizelos had 'sacrificed the rights of the refugees and brought back nothing but a confirmation of the superiority of the Turkish navy'[629]. However, through these diplomatic initiatives, relations between the two countries, regardless of the minority issue, entered a more amicable phase. This precipitated an intensive exchange of cultural activities between the two countries, culminating in a cordial reception accorded to the Turkish leaders, İsmet İnönü and Rüştü Aras[630], who visited Athens in October 1931[631]. Dismissing another memorandum written by Polychroniadis on the eve of İsmet İnönü's visit to Athens, Venizelos once more did not raise the issue of the Constantinopolitan Greek community[632]. Thus, vital issues for the Constantinopolitan education in Istanbul, such as the prohibition against employing theologians from outside Turkey at the Theological Academy of Chalki, continued to constitute an obstacle, transforming the institution into a simple college for the training of priests[633]. In contrast with the Turkish

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[626] Ramsey to Henderson, Athens, 19 December 1930, FO 371/14576/E6928.
[627] Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 29 October 1930, FO 371/14576/E6042.
[628] Ramsay to Henderson, Athens, 17 November 1930, FO 371/14576/E6199. At the same time Venizelos also nominated Atatürk for the Nobel Peace Prize. See Theodoropoulos 1988:121.
[629] *op.cit.*
[630] After the fall of the Venizelos government in 1932 both the Tsaldaris and Metaxas governments followed the line of the former as far as Greco-Turkish relations were concerned. *Πολιτεία*, 2 May 1936.
[631] *op.cit.* For instance Venizelos together with a number of Greek and Turkish officials was permitted to visit the Patriarchate on 1 November 1930. However five days later Atatürk in his response to the congratulatory telegram of Patriarch Photios II addressed him as 'the Patriarch of the Orthodox in the Phanar'. Since the formation of the Turkish Republic Turkey has always addressed the Patriarch as *başpapaz* (head priest),an issue which caused constant friction between the two countries. See *The Times* and for the Turkish point of view *Cumhuriyet* 9 March 1930.
[632] Polychroniadis to Venizelos, Ankara, 16 September 1931, BMAEV/228/14.
[633] Zervopoulos 1934:138-142 (II). Thus between 1932 and 1937 the school had only 65 students with 15 teachers of whom three were Turks. Particularly after the deaths of distingiushed theologians such as Comnenos and Andoniadis it became very difficult to keep up its traditional standards.

side, who demanded and gained further concessions in favour of the Muslims of Greek Thrace, the Greek government naively trusted that the Turkish government would respond to the needs of the Greek community[634]. In October 1931, the Turkish officials informed Venizelos that 'with the removal of the undesirables (anti-Kemalists) , 50 per cent of the Muslims in Greek Thrace had already adopted Latin characters'[635].

However, after all this political enhancement, the *status quo* of minorities was expected to show some improvement. Yet, according to the British annual report for Turkey, the overall picture from the minorities' perspective was still unchanged even though the Greco-Turkish agreement of 1930 found the Greek minority to be 'in a relatively favourable position'[636]. One concession after the signing of the Ankara convention was that the Greeks of Istanbul were allowed to travel freely in the interior of Turkey, a privilege enjoyed only by the Muslim and Jewish Turkish citizens up to that time[637]. In November 1930, during the course of an interview, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that 'as far as the Greek community of Istanbul was concerned, there was no problem at all after the signing of the Greco-Turkish arrangement'[638]. Furthermore, in February 1935, for the first time the Turkish government invited members of the minorities to join the Turkish assembly[639]. In this context,

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[634] '*Minutes of the discussions between the Greek and Turkish premiers and the ministers of Foreign Affairs*', 5-6 October 1931, BMAEV/61.

[635] *op.cit.*

[636] Clerk to Henderson, Annual Report, Constantinople, 18 February 1931, FO 371/15376/E913.

[637] Only when Greeks wished to remain in Asia Minor for more than three months was special permission required from the local authorities. See Clerk to Henderson, Constantinople, 18 February 1931, FO 371/15376/E913. In addition, Orthodox Greeks were not only free to travel within the country but were also entitled to sell and purchase property at will. See Morgan to Simon, Ankara, 1 March 1932, FO 371/16091/E1246.

[638] British Delegation to Foreign Office, League of Nations, 29 November 1930, FO 371/14578/E6499.

[639]The Greek member Dr. Nicholas Taptas was nominated as an independent deputy for Ankara and, as he himself pointed out in an interview with *Ulus*, 'I do not wish to be the representative of a minority but of the Turkish nation, and my labours in the Assembly will ever be in faithful conformity with this principle'. Speech quoted in Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 15 February 1935, FO

in order to contribute to the general atmosphere of goodwill during the second annual Balkan Conference, Atatürk sent a secretary to the Greek Patriarchate to enquire about the health of the Patriarch who had been indisposed[640]. But soon after, in 1934, as part of the secularisation programme of the Turkish state, a new law voted by the GNA on 3 December banned the wearing of clerical dress and accessories connected with foreign political and military organisations[641]. This law caused considerable resentment in Greece[642], yet it was eventually made possible only for the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs as well as the Grand Rabbi 'to continue to dress as they please'[643].

However, two years after the signing of the Ankara Convention[644], Stephen Ladas[645] observed that :

371/19034/E1208. In the Minutes (by A.K. Helm) of the same report the Foreign Office official comments: ' ... The moral to be drawn is that the Ghazi's control is as complete as ever for, in spite of the quota for "Independents", the position really was that no candidate not approved by the Ghazi was allowed to stand ...' Also, according to the press, Dr Taptas 'was extremely distressed at being made to stand for the Assembly and ... apparently his Turkish rivals who wanted to get hold of his practice came to the conclusion that they could only do so by removing him to the salutary climate of the Turkish capital'. Together with the Greek deputy Dr. Taptas, an elderly and highly respected Armenian Catholic named Keresteciyan, formerly assistant manager of the Ottoman Bank, and a Jewish doctor named Abrayava were selected as deputies for the Grand National Assembly in Turkey. As stated in the Foreign Office Minutes, even though all three deputies belonged to Constantinople, the constituencies for which they had been elected were Ankara, Afyonkarahisar and Nigde - **cities with no minority population**. On this matter see '*Memorandum on Turkish actions against the minorities in Istanbul*' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944. Another important point is that Turkey extended the right to vote and to be elected to women through the constitutional amendment of 5 December 1934. However, this proved to be only a symbolic gesture as in reality these rights were denied to all citizens due to the system of indirect election and lack of democratic freedom in Turkey, where MPs were selected and appointed only by the leader. Parla 1992:230 and Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 15 February 1935, FO 371/19034/E1208. Dr. Taptas remained an independent deputy for ten years. He was then replaced by Michalis Kayioglou, a Greek lawyer, for a short while. In 1945 Nicholas Facatchellis – another Constantinopolitan Greek doctor - was elected for the Republican Party and served until 1950.

[640] Clerk to Henderson, Ankara, 1 November 1931, FO 371/ 15379/E5561.

[641] Loraine to Henderson, Ankara, 5 December 1934, FO 371/17962/E7432 and in Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854.

[642] Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854.

[643] *op.cit.*, and Morgan to Hoare, Ankara, 4 July 1935, FO 371/19040/E4264. See also *The Times*, 25 June 1935. The same right did not apply to lesser clergy.

[644] Signed by the government of Greece and Turkey in order to ameliorate their relations.

[645] Although he was an American Greek scholar, S. P. Ladas prepared and published his work under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College which makes his work one of the most reliable sources on the exchange of populations issue between Greece and Turkey. Ladas 1932:726.

'Even today, after the Convention of Ankara of 1930, the Greeks of Constantinople are not as yet treated in the same way as Turkish citizens. They are deprived of political and civil rights, they are hampered by discriminating and vexatious restrictions and burdens, their schools and their institutions are threatened with economic destruction'.

In June 1935, in accordance with the stipulations of the civil code of 1926 and with a new law (no.2762) concerning the entire issue of communal property, the administration of minority schools and charitable institutions was handed over to a so-called *tek mütevelli*, or 'sole trustee', who was to be appointed by the Turkish authorities[646]. Taking advantage of the situation, Istamat Zihni Özdamar[647], a leading member of the 'Turkish-Orthodox Church'[648] managed to get himself appointed chief trustee of the

[646] *Resmi Gazete*, 13 June 1935. The law did apply six months after its publication in the official *Gazette*. Archdeacon Austin Oakley to Knatchbull-Hugessen, Istanbul, 22 January 1940, FO 195/2462/29. In the times of the Ottoman Empire, parishes and institutions were managed by a committee of *ephoroi* chosen among the congregation. This body was supervised by the ecclesiastical authorities of each parish. The system permitted by the Turkish government was again the elected body of *ephoroi* but now its composition had to be submitted to the Turkish authorities. The election of a single lay representative instead of a committee who would have complete control of business and finance was now insisted upon by the Turkish government. Further, this single trustee or representative could only be appointed by the Turkish government. Also, according to a very detailed memorandum prepared by the Greek consulate in Istanbul on 9 September 1942, the Turkish government in 1929 first invited *Leemann*, a Swiss professor of law, in order to study and adapt the old Turkish *vakıf* (communal property) legislation. His proposals became Law no. 2762 of the Turkish state. According to this law all religious establishments - Muslim and non-Muslim - were Turkish institutions. Consequently the Department of Religious Foundations (*Evkaf Genel Müdürlüğü*) was responsible for the supervision of communal property (religious, cultural, educational institutions property) owned by all creeds. Such property was divided into two categories. The first, the *mazbut* which included all the Muslim property was administered directly by the state through the Department of *Evkaf*. The non-Muslim property was attached to the *mülhak* (dependent) category, which was to be administered by committees of trustees (*mütevelli heyetleri*/κοινοτικές εφορείες) elected by the members of each parish. The trustees were also supervised by the *Evkaf*. In the same memorandum there is also a reference to the interest shown by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the matter of sole trustees and the Greek community in Istanbul. See 'Memorandum on Turkish actions against the minorities in Istanbul' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944. Also in '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/105/6/3/ for 1948. On the administration of communal property prior to 1923 see Dimitropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 4 June 1951, AYE/Φ/9.

[647] Istamat Zihni Özdamar (or Stamatis Poulloglou), even though of Anatolian Greek origin, became an anti-Patriarchal militant who was associated closely with Papa Efthym. Only through the help of his influential political connections in government, he was appointed deputy in 1935.

[648] Another attempt made by the Turkish government to encourage the schismatic movement known as the Turkish Orthodox Church was 'set on foot by a renegade Orthodox priest who fabricated a letter of consecration as a Bishop of the Orthodox Church. This individual of a very low cultural type was given two Orthodox Churches in Galata (district of Istanbul) for his new venture'. In spite of the fact that nobody had ever attended the services of his church beyond members of his own family he

historic Greek hospital of *Baloukli*[649]. Özdamar also played a significant role in the establishment of the 'association of lay Christian Turks'[650]. Moreover important educational institutions, such as the *Megali tou Genous Sholi* or the *Zappeion* school for girls, were under the direct threat of Efthym and his entourage as they were trying to appoint themselves *sole trustees* of these institutions[651]. In a confidential report, dated 22 January 1940, Rev. Austin Oakley, the chaplain at the Crimean Memorial Church in Istanbul, referred specifically to the difficulties encountered by Greek institutions after the appointment of 'Efthymists' to the great parishes and above all to the Greek hospital in *Baloukli*. This he predicted 'is the beginning of the end of the survival of the Orthodox community in this place'[652]. The system of government-appointed trustees did not change until late 1949 when once again the community institutions were to be

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continued to exist and cause significant annoyance to the Patriarchate. See Archdeacon Austin Oakley to Knatchbull-Hugessen, Istanbul, 22 January 1940, FO 195/2462/29.

[649] Although the Greek deputy Dr. Taptas, in collaboration with the Patriarchate, had suggested seven different Greek doctors to be appointed by the Turkish state to this post, all of them had been found 'unsuitable' by the Turkish government except the Efthymist Özdamar. '*Memorandum on Turkish actions against the Minorities in Istanbul*' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944. According to the Greek Foreign Ministry's Historical Archive only in July 1946, after several diplomatic attempts, did the Turkish government take action in order to remove Özdamar from the administration of the Greek hospital. See Melas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 November 1946, AYE/39/8.

[650] In one of its first meetings the association expressed its readiness to break away from the Greek and Armenian communities, to give up the mother tongues and to be assimilated entirely into the Turkish culture. Hence their intention to close down all minority schools. However, like the previous attempts of Papa Efthym and his entourage, the 'association of lay Christian Turks' failed to get support fom the minorities and therefore soon disappeared from the political arena. Loraine to Hoare, Constantinople, 2 August 1935, FO 371/19037/E4806. The main tendency of the Association, composed largely of Armenians, was to break away from Armenian and Greek communities, to give up the mother tongue, and become fused with the Turks. Its secretary was an Efthymist. This movement largely enjoyed the support and goodwill of the People's Party. See Trinandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 November 1935, AYE/1936/1. *Açık Söz* and *Cumhuriyet,* 9 November 1936. Costas Papadopoulos, the owner of the Greek daily *Μεταρρύθμισις*, was also supportive towards this Association. See *Μεταρρύθμισις*, 16 July 1935.

[651] '*Memorandum on Turkish actions against the Minorities in Istanbul*' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944.

[652] According to Oakley ' ... it seems that the Turkish Government is ready to take advantage of this Papa Efthym schism to further whatever ends it has in view in the promulgation of this enactment.'. Archdeacon Austin Oakley to Knatchbull-Hugessen, Istanbul, 22 January 1940, FO 195/2462/29. See also the reply given by the British representative in Ankara Knatchbull-Hugessen to Archdeacon Oakley, Ankara, 22 February 1940, FO 195/2462/29.

administered by persons elected by the Greek minority[653]. By 1936 the Turkish Ministry of Education published the new *Regulations*[654] for the functioning of the minority and foreign schools. Article 33 of these regulations stressed that under no circumstances could anyone be appointed as a director in such schools if they were not fluent in Turkish[655]. All directors and teaching staff of minority schools who were still not fluent in Turkish must be examined by the committee provided by the Directorship of the Ministry of Education[656]. Moreover, according to Article 37 of the same regulations, lectures on fitness and music must be given by Turkish teachers. However, soon after the publication of these regulations, a representative committee of the Greek schools went to Ankara to discuss the effects of the new *Regulations* imposed by the government[657]. Here, the Greek *trustee,* Mirmiroglou, suggested that as the Greek teachers must know Turkish, the Turkish primary teachers - as a prerequisite - should also know Greek. Additionally, those qualified in teaching the Turkish language in the primary schools should be chosen also amongst the Greeks. Further, taking into account the financial constraints of the Greek schools, he suggested that the schools be exempted from income tax[658]. Reacting to the Turkish measures taken against the Greek minority schools, Constantinos Spanoudis[659], in a series of articles in the *Ελεύθερον Βήμα,* also protested against the miserable conditions under which these institutions were expected to function[660]. In

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[653] Law no.5404/1949. For more detail see Chapter V below.
[654] Gafos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 28 November 1936, AYE/1936/1. *Cumhuriyet* 28 November 1936.
[655] Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 20 February 1936, AYE/B/23/IV.
[656] *op.cit.*
[657] Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 26 March 1936, AYE/B/23/IV.
[658] *op.cit.*
[659] A Constantinopolitan Greek journalist.
[660] *Ελεύθερον Βήμα* of 14, 15 and 16 February 1935 and 13 November 1936. Comparing the Greeks of Istanbul to the Muslims in Greek Thrace, he maintained that the Muslim minority in Greece was a

particular, he complained about the enforcement of a relatively large number of Turkish teachers (190 Turks compared to 230 Greeks) appointed by the government but paid from the schools' budget. For instance he set out that, during 1934 in the Pera (Beyoglu) parish, out of a total budget of 75,000TL, 35,000TL had to cover the salaries of the Turkish teachers. Yet Greek teachers were not being paid properly as most schools were in serious debt[661]. Several taxes (i.e. tax on income, property tax, V.A.T, prefecture tax) for which minority schools were assessed, together with the constant flow of emigration, constituted fundamental reasons for the weakening of the Greek educational system[662]. Unfortunately, once again Greek diplomats failed to convince leading members of the Greek community that to ensure the future survival of Greek education in Istanbul it was necessary to pool resources and reduce running costs (i.e. reduce the number of schools, requiring the amalgamation of some schools and thereby the re-housing of families)[663]. Several appeals for more economic aid were received by the Greek Consulate in Istanbul during this period[664]. At this crucial time the Turkish government did make a small contribution to the Greek minority schools'

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thriving community which was growing and expanding. He also referred to 38 Constantinopolitan Greek law graduates of Turkish Universities who were not allowed to exercise their profession.

[661] *op.cit.*, and in Dalietos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 19 November 1930, AYE/B/33. Financial analysis of the Greek schools and how much support each *Archbishopric* required can be found in this report. This situation was also affecting other foreign schools as they also were required to employ Turkish teachers. For instance, Sir P. Loraine, the British representative in Ankara, reported that ' the fixed hours of instruction in Turkish' were imposed by the authorities and 'enforced by frequent and disturbing visits from ministerial representatives'. See Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854. See Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 6 February 1936, AYE/B/23/IV and Mavroudis to Greek Consulate in Cons., Athens, 13 February and 21 December 1936 respectively, in AYE/B/8a/T.

[662] Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 6 February 1936, AYE/B/23/IV. Even if the schools did not make any profit they still had to pay the minimum amount required by the Turkish authorities for income tax. For example the *Zappeion* was given a charge of 373TL per year. The prefecture tax for the same school came to 980TL per year. By 1936 the prefecture of Istanbul was demanding 4,000TL from *Zappeion*, as several years' taxes had not been paid due to lack of funds. Also according to the same report the school had to pay a VAT of 700TL per year for the legacy left by Zappas.

[663] Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 6 February 1936, AYE/B/23/IV.

funding: in the academic years of 1934-1935 and 1935-1936 the Turkish Ministry of Education granted the sum of 4,625TL to 53 Greek schools in total[665]. During the academic year of 1933-1934 the Greek community in Istanbul sustained six high schools and forty-seven primary schools with 7,667 students, 252 Greek and 182 Turkish teachers[666].

The financial situation of Greek schools in Istanbul got worse, no doubt, after the outbreak of the Second World War and the *varlık* tax[667] imposed on the Greek minority and its institutions by the Saraçoglu government[668] . Unable to pay 195 Greek teachers their proper salaries, the *ephoroi* once again turned to the Greek state for emergency funding. The Greek community's economic support towards its institutions was also drained after the impact of the tax on wealth (*varlık vergisi*)[669]. Hence, not only all community members, institutions, schools and school properties, but also teachers, were taxed heavily and in many cases 'unrealistic' amounts were assessed by the Turkish officials. The tax estimated on the Greek Patriarchate and schools amounted to a total of 400,000TL[670]. After several diplomatic manoeuvres, this amount was reduced to 190.200TL[671]. ' ...It is hard to describe the conditions under

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[664] *op.cit.*

[665] 2,312 TL were allocated per year. Romanos to Foreign Ministry, 27 July 1936, AYE/B/23/IV.

[666] Zervopoulos 1934:233 (part I). According to *Istanbul Town Guide of 1934*, 1934:182, there were 8,422 Greek students (6,492 in primary, 438 at gymnasium and 1,492 at lyceum level), 469 teachers (Greeks and Turks) and 53 Greek schools in total.

[667] A heavy arbitrary one-off payment imposed on the non-Muslims in Turkey and seemingly unrelated to the ability to pay. About the *varlık* tax see part III of this chapter. In the end most schools were exempted from this tax.

[668] Cf. Ökte (translated by Mystakidou into Greek) 1998:355-358 and 363. Capetanidis to the Greek Embassy in Ankara, 25 November 1942, AYE/B/33 and in AYE/21/2 for 1944.

[669] *op.cit.*, Subsequently, more than 60per cent of the Greek teachers were paid less that 50 TL per month.

[670] Foreign Office minute prepared by Loxley on 'the position of Greek nationals under the new tax on wealth', 5 January 1943, FO 371/37399/R180.

[671] Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 7 August 1943, AYE/19/3. According to Capetanidis not only the Greek cultural and educational buildings and properties but also the all-Greek academic staff as well as the cleaners were heavily taxed. For example a cleaner of a Greek high school was taxed 500TL when her salary did not exceed 15 TL per month. Even though the Greek government wanted to support the Greek academic staff in Istanbul by an extra 60,000TL per year, this could not

which Greek teachers have to operate…' was the Greek ambassador's view on the economic crisis that surrounded the Greek schools at the time[672]. Although an exemption was granted to most foreign schools and churches several months later, psychologically the will of many to remain in Istanbul had been crushed. During this period a number of parishes had to set up their own messing arrangements[673], as many students could not be supported by their own families. The declining conditions of the Greek schools in Istanbul were commented on by a number of impartial observers[674]. In the minutes of a Foreign Office memorandum of the time, it was stated that:

> 'the Turkish political theory and the programme of the Turkish Republican Party furnish direct contradictions of the principle of toleration embodied in the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkish legislation has in many cases been in complete opposition to the provisions of Articles 37-44 of that Treaty, which Turkey is bound by Article 37 to regard as fundamental law'[675].

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be achieved without an increase in the Turkish teachers' salaries which would have meant another 40,000TL. See Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 October 1943, AYE/19/3 and Skepheris to Greek Consulate in Istanbul, Cairo, 14 September 1943, AYE/54/3. Finally on 1 September 1943 an extra 32,075TL was sent by the Greek government as immediate aid. See Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 11 March 1944, AYE/54/3 and Capetanidis to Greek Embassy in Ankara, Cons., 2 March 1944, AYE/54/3. With regard to the tax exemption of Church buildings and schools see Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden, Lambeth Palace, 18 January 1943, FO 371/37400/R616 and Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 30 March 1944, AYE/54/3. In the end, no Greek school and only a few foreign schools were taxed. Cf. Ökte (tr. Mystakidou) 1998:355-358 and 363. Skeferis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 9 February 1947, AYE/1947/30.

[672] Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 1 December 1942, AYE/54/3.

[673] *op.cit.*, About 18 new messes were established between 1937 and 1947.

[674] *'Minorities in Turkey: application to Turkish cases of the Minorities procedure of the League'*, Foreign Office Minutes by Lambert, 6 May 1936, FO 371/20093/E2517 and Archdeacon Austin Oakley to Knatchbull-Hugessen, Istanbul, 22 January 1940, FO 195/2462/29.

[675] Foreign Office Minute by Lambert, 6 May 1936, FO 371/20093/E2517. According to these Minutes the following cases of Turkish legislation of this nature may be quoted as being *typical* of the general trend:

1 - 'A Turkish law of the 31st March 1927 authorised the Turkish government to "exclure de la nationalité turque ceux des sujets ottomans qui, au cours de la guerre de l'indépendence, n'ont pas pris part à la lutte nationale".

2 - Regulations of the 10th December 1930 allowed Turkish subjects, who had left the country without a passport, to return subject to certain formalities…

3 - A law was passed in 1934, (No.2510), which regulated the distribution and settlement of the population in Turkey…

4 - **Turkish regulations regarding education, and particularly the imposition of fixed hours of education in Turkish, have made it increasingly difficult for foreign schools to carry on, and the International College at Smyrna was closed in 1934. It would be difficult however, as in the**

Bold?

The same statement was repeated in a number of FO memoranda of the time, characterising the Treaty of Lausanne as 'a dead letter' due to the 'definitely discriminatory' attitude of Turkey towards her non-Muslim communities[676]. Thus, there was a general Turkish desire to see foreign schools 'closing their doors'[677]. Regardless of the pressure applied to Greek schools, an 'exceptionally close friendship was maintained' between Greece and Turkey towards the end of the 1930s[678]. In fact, with the approval of other Balkan *Entente*[679] partners, a Turco-Greek treaty to supplement the existing friendship treaties of 1930 and 1933 was signed in Athens in April of 1938[680]. In contrast to such developments, 'the Turkish attitude towards foreign schools operating in Turkey continued to be hostile on the whole'[681]. On 18 February 1944 the Greek schools' directors were called up for a meeting with the director of the Ministry of Education in Istanbul[682]. The main issue discussed during the course of

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previous case, to point to any specific infraction of the Treaty of Lausanne. As a result of this and other similar legislation non-Moslem minorities in Turkey have suffered considerable hardship... The Minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne are for all practical purposes **a dead letter** and ... the Minorities Committee have not been able to take effective action ...' A few years later, in 1942, while the taxation law was reducing many Greeks to destitution, in the Foreign Offices Minutes (by Clutton) it was affirmed that: 'The minorities are of course protected by certain articles in the Treaty of Lausanne under which the Turkish government undertakes to assure them equality of treatment with Muslim Turks. Turkey is bound under the Treaty of Lausanne to regard these articles as fundamental laws... Unfortunately, since 1930 the minority clauses of **the treaty of Lausanne** have been for practical purposes **a dead letter** and Turkish legislation had definitely been discriminatory on more than one occasion.'. See also Palairet to Sargent, Athens, 19 February 1943, FO 371/37401/R1552.

[676] Foreign Office Minutes by Clutton in Palairet to O. Sargent, Athens, 19 February 1943, FO 371/37401/R1552.

[677] Morgan to Eden, Ankara, 10 October 1936, FO 371/20094/E6519.

[678] Loraine to Halifax, Ankara, 11 February 1939, FO 371/23301/E1214. Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 20 November 1938, AYE/B/10/T.

[679] About the signing of the Balkan *Entente see op.cit.* Greece had signed another treaty of friendship with Turkey on 14 September 1933 which was ratified by the GNA on 8 March 1934. See Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854.

[680] *op.cit.* It was signed on 27 April 1938 by Metaxas and Bayar. See Sarris 1992:278.

[681] *op.cit.*, The British representative in Ankara stated that 'only energetic representations by His Majesty's Ambassador succeeded in securing the exemption of the schools from building tax ... a liability which would have crippled the two British schools financially ...'

[682] Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 30 March 1944, AYE/54/3. It is worth remembering that in 1945 the Turkish Ministries' names were translated into the modern Turkish language. For instance the *Maarif Vekaleti* became *Milli Egitim Bakanlıgı*. *Ulus*, 17 April 1945.

the meeting was the demand to increase Turkish teachers' salaries which were described by the Turkish official as 'totally insufficient'[683]. Although they had to point out the severity of the economic debts these institutions were under, the Greek directors still thought it was not entirely their place to discuss this matter while the *ephoroi* were in charge to regulate such issues. Fearing that another burden might be laid upon Greek schools, two senior members of the Greek trustees, Mirmiroglou and Papadopoulos, requested a private audience with the Minister of Education himself in order to explain the difficult situation which the Greek schools were in and to prevent further restrictions[684]. During this meeting the Minister promised to exempt all Greek schools from a tax on income and property (*mukataa* tax). He also assured the two trustees that there would be no official demand to increase Turkish teachers' salaries[685]. As far as the subject of Turkish assistant directors in Greek schools was concerned, he then suggested that there would be no change on this matter. Quite pleased with the meeting, the Greek trustees, hoping that the promises given by the Turkish official would materialise, left the Turkish capital. Towards the end of 1946, when the American Embassy in Turkey required information from the Greek Consulate regarding the Greek schools of Istanbul, it was observed that minor changes had since occurred. In a rather short reply to the US diplomats, however, the Greek diplomat in Istanbul reminds us that Greek schools were still more or less facing the same problems towards the end of the 1940s[686].

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[683] *op.cit.*

[684] *op.cit.*

[685] *op.cit.* Among other subjects discussed, the issue of the *Vakıf* (Communal property) Directorship's demand to regulate Greek schools' finances and be paid 5per cent of the total income (the so-called *mukataa* tax) was also mentioned to the Turkish Minister of Education. As with the previous cases, he promised to do what he could to ensure fair treatment.

[686] Melas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 November 1946, AYE/39/8. The following instances regarding the continuous harassment of the Greek minority schools in Istanbul can be enumerated: The main threat of *mukkataa* tax among other taxes, the administration problem arising from

2. Restrictions on the Greek community and Law no. 2007.

After the Greco-Turkish agreement, Ankara renewed the work permits of the Constantinopolitan Hellenic subjects in 1930, while at the same time pursuing a strong policy for Turkish economic self-sufficiency which led to the reservation of a wide range of professions and trades exclusively for Turkish nationals[687]. 'Vast numbers of economically useful and politically harmless elements of the population, both natives [e.g Greeks born in Turkey] and foreigners [with foreign nationality] had already been ejected by the Turks[688]'. According to the same source, the Turks were now suffering from a 'nationalist xenophobia'. The campaign against the employment of all except those 'officially-Islamic-Turkish speaking nationalist Turks' had indeed long been going on almost as a new form of religion[689]. This measure was to be enforced gradually, in six periods of three months each, commencing on 1 December 1933[690].

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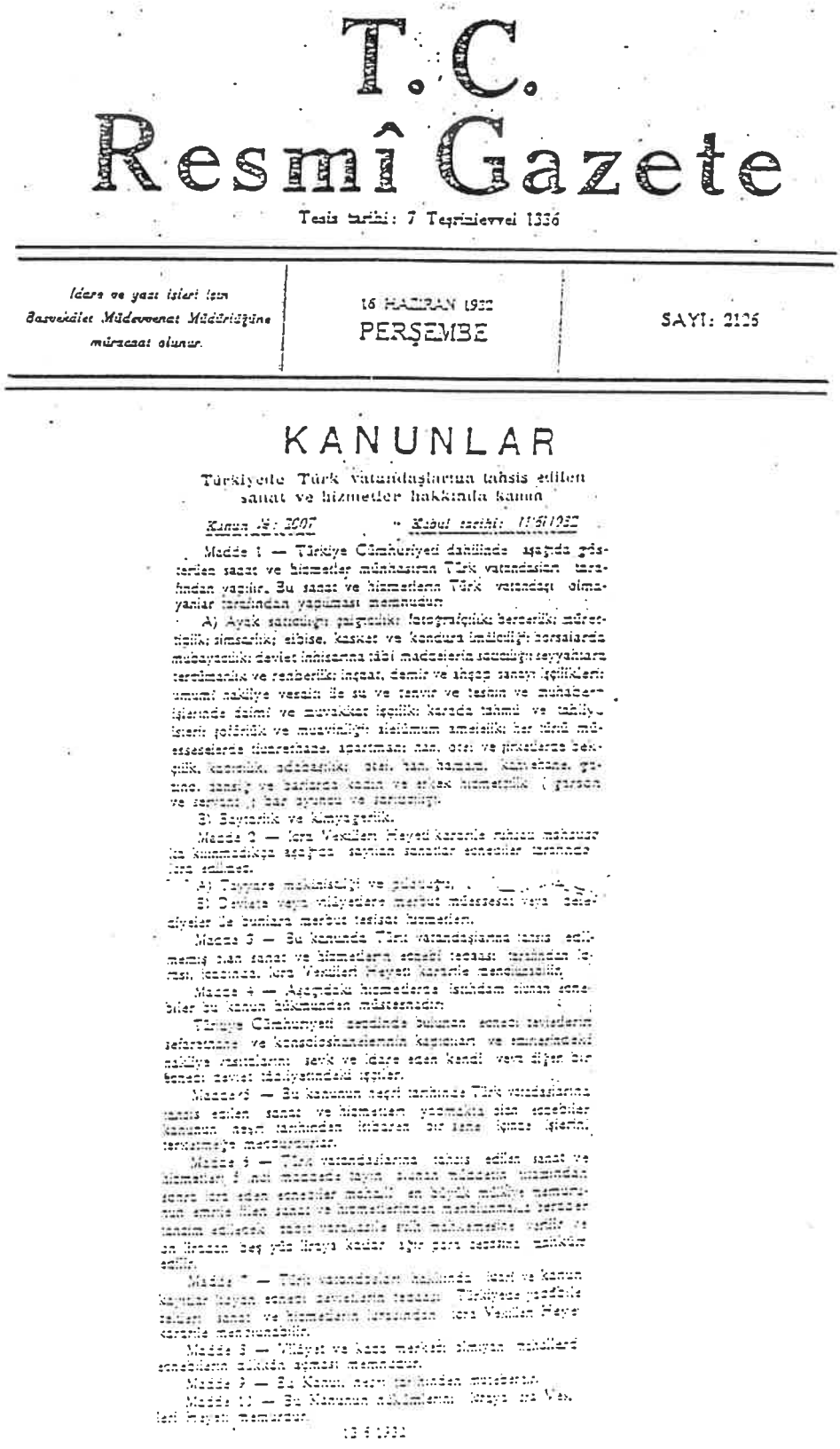
having a sole trustee (*tek mütevelli*) appointed by the government (and not the usual committee of trustees, the so-called *ephoroi*), the compulsory appointment of Turkish co-directors, the absence of economic support from the Turkish government, the appointment of several Turkish teachers to each Greek school, and the endless cases of indirect pressure or financial extortion. In addition, properties such as the Commercial School at Chalki had been confiscated by the Turkish government.

[687] Law no.2007/4 June 1932 in *Resmi Gazete*, 16 June 1932 (illustration no.18). '*Memorandum on Turkish actions against the minorities in Istanbul*' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944 and also in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 November 1946, AY/39/8.. Clerk to Henderson, Constantinople, 4 August 1931, FO 371/15377/E4135 and Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854 and especially Clerk to Simon, Ankara, 3 February 1933, FO 371/16984/E826. In the last report, the British representative referring to dismissed foreign nationals identifies them simply as: 'victims of Turkish nationalism'. For a detailed account on the Turkish law reserving certain occupations to Turkish nationals see the whole file of FO 371/16985. All the sub-sections of the file are directly related to Law no.2007/4 of June 1932. For a full list of the number of Hellenes dismissed see Kapsalis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 29 October 1934, AYE/B/37.

[688] Foreign Office Minutes by Rendel Clerk to Simon, Ankara, 3 February 1933, FO 371/16984/E826.

[689] *op.cit.* This law was primarily aimed at foreign nationals living in Turkey. However, a number Turkish citizens with Greek origin were also affected. See Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 12 November 1933, AYE/B/37.

[690] As far as the Greek nationals were concerned there had been a one year postponement of the enforcement of the law. See *The Times*, 11 May 1933, in FO 371/16985/E2483, Triandafyllakos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 February 1932 and Sakelaropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 12 November 1933, AYE/B/37. For the modifications of certain provisions of the no.2007 see Clerk to Simon, Ankara, 9 June 1933, FO 371/16985/E3179. There is ample evidence in the Public Record Office, London, on this matter. The whole of FO 371/ 16985 (Turkey, 1933) deals with Turkish Law no.2007. In particular see Ramsay to Simon, Athens, 12 May 1933, FO 371/16985/E2496 and Polychroniadis to Greek Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 June 1932, AYE/B/37.



T.C.

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16 HAZİRAN 1932
PERŞEMBE

SAYI: 2125

KANUNLAR

Türkiyede Türk vatandaşlarının tahsis edilen sanat ve hizmetler hakkında kanun

Kanun No: 2007 Kabul tarihi: 11/6/1932

Madde 1 — Türkiye Cümhuriyeti dahilinde aşağıda gösterilen sanat ve hizmetler münhasıran Türk vatandaşları tarafından yapılır. Bu sanat ve hizmetlere Türk vatandaşı olmayanlar tarafından yapılması memnudur.

A) Ayak tellâllığı, çalgıcılık, fotoğrafçılık, berberlik, mürettebiye, simsarlık, elbise, kaskat ve kundura imâlciliği, borsalarda mübaşirlik, devlet inhisarına tâbi maddelerin satıcılığı, seyyahlara tercümanlık ve rehberlik, inşaat, demir ve ahşap sanayi işçilikleri umumî nakliye vesaiti ile su ve tamir ve tesbih ve muhabere işlerinde daimî ve muvakkat işçilik, karada tahmil ve tahliye işleri, çöpçülük ve muavinliği, asansörcülük, her türlü müesseselerde idarethane, apartıman nazırı, otel ve pansiyonlarda bekçilik, kaptanlık, aşçılık, otel, han, hamam, kahvehane, gazino, sinema ve sahnelerde kadın ve erkek hizmetçilik (garsonluk ve sermaiyedarlığı hariç aşçılık ve terzilik).

B) Seyyarlık ve Kimyagerlik.

Madde 2 — İcra Vekilleri Heyeti kararile ruhsatı mahsusa ile kullanmadıkça aşağıda sayılan sanatlar esnafları tarafından icra edilmez.

A) Taşçılık mühendisliği ve müteahhitliği.

B) Devlete veya mülhidlere merbut müessesat veya belediyeler ile bunlara merbut tesisat hizmetleri.

Madde 3 — Bu kanunda Türk vatandaşlarına tahsis edilmemiş olan sanat ve hizmetlerin esnafı tarafından icrası lüzumu, İcra Vekilleri Heyeti kararile tavsiye olunur.

Madde 4 — Aşağıdaki hizmetlerde istihdam olunan esnaflar bu kanun hükmünden müstesnadır.

Türkiye Cümhuriyeti sınırında bulunan esnafı tarifelerin seferlerine ve konsolosluklarımızın kapılarının ve numaralarının nakliye vesaitlerini sevk ve idare eden kendi veya diğer bir esnafı devlet idaresindeki işler.

Madde 5 — Bu kanunun neşri tarihinde Türk vatandaşlarına tahsis edilen sanat ve hizmetleri yapmakta olan esnaflar kanunun neşri tarihinden itibaren bir sene içinde işlerini tasfiyeye mecburdurlar.

Madde 6 — Türk vatandaşlarına tahsis edilen sanat ve hizmetleri 5 inci maddede tayin olunan müddetin inkizasından sonra icra eden esnaflar mahallî en büyük mülkiye memurunun emrile ilân olunur ve hizmetlerinden menolunmuş bulunur. Tebliğ edilecek esnaf vesikasile mülk mahkemesine verilir ve on liradan beş yüz liraya kadar ağır para cezasına mahkûm edilir.

Madde 7 — Türk vatandaşları bulunduğu takdirde lüzum ve kanun sayılan hallerde esnafı serbestinin tesisini Türkiyede yapılacak tesisat ve hizmetlerin tarafından icra Vekilleri Heyeti kararile menedebilir.

Madde 8 — Vilâyet ve kaza merkezi olmayan mahallerde esnafların dükkân açması memnudur.

Madde 9 — Bu Kanun neşri tarihinden mütebaridir.

Madde 10 — Bu Kanunun ahkâmlarını İcra Vekilleri Heyeti memurdur.

13/6/1932

Illustration 18: Turkish official *Gazette* restricting the exercise of a number of professions to Turkish nationals only.

Naturally, such a policy mostly affected the Hellenic nationals, who numbered 26,431 and formed the largest foreign community in Turkey[691]. Likewise, the most common professions among Hellene Greeks were all now reserved for Turkish nationals[692]. In a typical article, the *Observer* alleged:

> 'First of all, none of them will be allowed to have a shop or to carry on a profession anywhere but in the chief towns. In the latter they are not allowed to be artisans, itinerant dealers, gardeners, musicians, printers, toy manufacturers, journalists, agents, guides, car drivers, bar artists, physicians, veterinary surgeons, chemists, dentists, engineers and lawyers. The measure will mostly affect Greeks who form the largest foreign community here. The Greeks are especially good at handicrafts and are to be found in large numbers in most of the professions included in the new Bill. According to news coming from Athens, this new step has caused a stir there. The Press express the hope that the Great National Assembly, in view of the newly inaugurated policy between the two countries will modify the Bill, so as not to force on Greece a new immigration ...'[693].

Indeed, 'the measures taken by the Turkish government to reserve numerous trades and callings to Turkish nationals threw some thousands of Greek citizens out of work in Constantinople, a considerable number of whom emigrated to Greece'[694]. In fact, the results of such policies are evident from the British Foreign Office's reports where it is recorded that, soon after the enforcement of the law in July 1934, 150

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[691] Eleni Strouvali, the Hellene director of *Zappeion* school for girls, was also included among those foreign nationals whose profession was not allowed to be exercised by the Turkish authorities. See Gafos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 April 1937, AYE/B/15. Even Hellene nationals who had valid professions or Turkish citizens with non-Muslim origin still fell foul of police arrests. Gafos to Foreign Ministry, 20 January 1937, AYE/B/15.

[692] *Akşam*, 15 January 1932, and FO 371/16093/E967.

[693] *Observer*, 24 January 1932. For the Turkish law reserving certain professions to Turkish nationals see also Clerk to Simon, Ankara, 16 June 1932, FO 371/16093/E2983. *Le Progrés*, 23 June 1934.

[694] Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854 (paragraph 92). On the serious effects of this law on the Greek community of Istanbul see Kapsalis to Foreign Ministry, 4 and 6 December 1934, AYE/B/37.

Constantinopolitan Hellenes who were mainly 'drivers, tailors and shoemakers emigrated to Greece'[695]. Within a few months this figure had reached 2,000[696]. According to the official Turkish census of 1927, there were 26,431 Hellene Greeks in Istanbul. In 1935 this figure was down to 17,642[697]. This tallies with the British Embassy estimations, which reported a reduction of approximately 10,000 Constantinopolitan Hellenes over the same period[698].

Despite the hasty change of attitude towards the Greek minority of Istanbul, Turkish nationalist policies - partly influenced by the extreme nationalist movements of Germany and Italy - remained a principal feature of Turkish political life throughout the 1930s and 1940s. While there had been attempts to pursue a more friendly attitude between Greece and Turkey, the prejudices and enmities of the recent past were not to be forgotten. The main state policy now was to adopt an employment and general economic policy giving preference to full citizens of the Turkish Republic and possibly create a Turkey run only by Muslim Turks[699]. According to the British consul in İzmir, 'in the eyes of the law, the foreigner (non-Muslim) and the Turk are equal. In practice this equality is like that of a democracy of older creation, where you are as good a man as me, and I am a better man than you'[700]. In this context, not only the

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[695] *The Times*, 27 July 1934.

[696] Waterlow to Simon, Athens, 18 July 1934, FO 371/18396/R4179.

[697] Hurst to Maby, Istanbul, 6 December 1944, FO 195/2483/154/18 and in *IY* vol.,13 1940 census p.65. Also the 1935 Turkish census showed that all the minorities together amounted to two and a half million citizens which meant only 14per cent of the population. (taking the population of Turkey as eighteen million) Toynbee (foreign research and press service, Oxford) to Ronald, FO 371/30146/R8647.

[698] Waterlow to Simon, Athens, 18 July 1934, FO 371/18396/R4179. See also Knatchbull-Hugessen to Eden, Ankara, 21 January 1944, FO 371/44151/R1794.

[699] Although this policy was never implemented as a law, in practice the non- Muslim citizens of Turkey were regarded and treated as second-class citizens.

[700] Hole to Eden, İzmir, 28 October 1944, FO 195/2486/855. In the same report it is stated that, besides the efforts of the government to establish as many monopolies as possible, no foreigner was able to work without engaging Turkish partners.

Greek minority of Istanbul, but every non-Muslim minority in Turkey was faced with this anti-foreign feeling. For instance, in 1934 all Jews were forcibly expelled from the strategically sensitive zones of Edirne (Adrianople) and the Straits[701]. More importantly, after the compulsory adoption of surnames[702] by every Turkish citizen in 1935, pressure was exerted upon the minorities to also adopt Turkish-sounding surnames[703]. This applied particularly to Greeks who were forced to drop endings from their surnames such as *poulos* or *ides* and translate them into Turkish[704]. Activities such as the 'Citizen Speak Turkish' movement had a significant psychological effect on the minority. As a result, members of non-Muslim communities were often stopped and fined by the authorities simply because they were talking to each other in their native tongues and not in Turkish[705]. In the meantime, in 1935 military instruction for boys was made compulsory from the age of 13[706]. During the course of a military

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[701] *The Times*, 4 July 1934. According to this article a new law just published in the *Official Gazette* laid down that Turkey was divided into three zones:
1-districts in which the population of purely Turkish upbringing and education had to be increased,
2-districts in which inhabitants most suited to assimilate Turkish culture were to be settled and
3- districts from which the inhabitants whose culture was not purely Turkish were to be removed and residence prohibited because of economic, cultural, political and military expediency.

[702] Law no. 2525 voted on 21-6-1934. For instance the President of the Turkish Republic had taken the family name 'Atatürk' and from that day on he was addressed as Mr. Kemal Atatürk, President of the Republic. Titles such as Gazi, paşa, efendi, hazretleri were officially dropped. Referring to the adoption of surnames, the British representative in Ankara, Sir P. Loraine, stated ' It may be well understood that the Turks are at present finding great difficulty in remembering their own new names and those of their friends.' Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 3 December 1934, FO 371/17971/E7431 and Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 20 December 1934, FO 371/17971/E7713.

[703] Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 December 1934, FO 371/19034/E158.

[704] Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854 (paragraph 163). *Ελεύθερον Βήμα*, 25 and 30 September 1934. For instance, if your Greek surname was *Ξανθόπουλος* the stem was automatically translated into the Turkish equivalent of '*Sarı*', to which was added the traditional and popular Turkish ending of *oglu*, giving *Sarıoglu*.

[705] According to Bennett, the British Consul-General in Istanbul, during the course of a visit to Istanbul even the Greek ambassador 'had been the subject of insulting epithets for talking Greek in the street and the wife of the Naval Attaché had been stopped in the street and insulted for the same reason.' Knatchbull-Hugessen, Ankara, 31 March 1943, FO 371/37403/R3392. *Son Posta* of 17 December 1938, *Bu Gün* of 22 December 1938 and *Son İkdam* of 19 May 1939. The latter questioned 'when will our co-citizens start speaking in Turkish?'.

[706] Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 23 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E862.

camp the *Zographeion* school for boys' students were also prohibited from speaking in Greek to each other during their free time[707].

During the 1930s and 1940s an intense attack on every Greek cultural activity and especially on the Greek language continued to be a popular subject in the Turkish press[708]. In December 1938, the Turkish *Cumhuriyet* was questioning 'why has the teaching of the Turkish language and culture has not yet achieved a satisfactory level among foreign schools?'[709]. Towards the second half of the 1930s the British ambassador in Turkey, Sir Percy Loraine, reported that 'the urge of Turkish nationalism led on several occasions during the year to local Jews or Greeks being fined or blamed for speaking a non-Turkish language'[710]. Greek songs played in Greek-owned coffee shops were interpreted by the Turkish newspapers as 'insulting the Turkish national anthem'[711]. Nonetheless, several Constantinopolitan newspapers, such as the *Μεταπολίτευσις,* carried the headline 'The Greek by being a good Turkish patriot cannot be separated from his Greek identity'[712].

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[707] Christodoulos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 1 August 1938, AYE/B/8a/T. About the teaching of the military subjects see Circular no. 5/ 29263 issued by the Ministry of Education on 4 June 1936. Also in Triandafyllidis to Foreign Ministry, 5 July 1936, AYE/Γ/1a.

[708] *Cumhuriyet*, *République* and *Yeni Sabah* of 7 July 1938 and *Μεταπολίτευσις* of 8 and 9 July 1938. Also *Cumhuriyet* and *République* of 30 July 1938 and a reply of *Μεταπολίτευσις* of 31 July and 1 and 4 August 1938. See also Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 6 March 1937, AYE/B/8/T.

[709] Coutsas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 12 December 1938, AYE/B/8a/T.

[710] Annual Report, Loraine to Halifax, Ankara, 11 February 1939, FO 371/23301/E1214. It has to be noted that in Alexandris' book (A. Alexandris, *The Greek Minority in Turkey and Greek-Turkish relations 1918-1974*, Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, p.183) there is a mistake with regard to this reference. The reference given by the author is: Annual Report, Turkey 1938, Clerk to Eden, Ankara, FO 371/23301/E1214 instead of **Annual Report, Loraine to Halifax, Ankara, 11 February 1939, FO 371/23301/E1214 (paragraph 116)**. Also the text of the annual report has been changed and it is not quoted with precise attention. In the same page there is another erroneous reference. Alexandris quotes this as Loraine to Eden, Ankara, 31 December, 1938, FO 371/23290/E150 **instead of the correct reference which is Loraine to Halifax, Ankara, 31 December, 1938, FO 371/23290/E150.** For the compulsory use of the Turkish language see also *Son Posta, Haber*, and *Tan* of 3 and 4 March 1937.

[711] A reply to the article of *Cumhuriyet* is given in the Greek daily *Μεταπολίτευσις*, 28 July 1938. To the attacks on the same subject of the *Kurun*, the *Μεταπολίτευσις* of 5 July 1938 explained that in modern democratic Turkey there is a place for every foreign song or theatre or opera. See also *Πατρίς* 8 March 1937.

[712] *Μεταπολίτευσις,* 23 June 1939. See illustration no.19.

Ο ΡΩΜΗΟΣ ΜΕ ΤΟ ΝΑ ΕΙΝΕ ΤΟΥΡΚΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟ ΔΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΧΩΡΙΖΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΗΚΗ ΟΝΤΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΠΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΕΝΔΥΣΩΜΕΝ ΜΕ ΣΤΙΛΒΑΔΑΜΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΩΣΩΜΕΝ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΑΡΕΝΙΟ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΜΕΝΕΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΑΛΠΙ

«Κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τῆς μὴ ἐκδόσεως τῆς «Μεταπολιτεύσεως» ἡ «Ἰκδάμ» ἔγραψε περὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως τῶν ἄλλων γλωσσῶν καὶ τῆς ὑποχρεωτικῆς χρήσεως τῆς τουρκικῆς γλώσσης.

Εἰς τὸν ἔντιμον κ. Διευθυντὴν τῆς „Ἰκδὰμ» τὸν συνηχρήσαντα, ὅπως ὑποχρεοῦνται ὅλοι νὰ ὁμιλοῦν μόνον τὴν τουρκικὴν γλῶσσαν ἀντὶ ἄλλης ἀπαντήσεως παραπέμπομεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πρό τινος ἐγερθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου δημοσιογραφικὴν πολεμικὴν εἰς ἣν ἀπήντησε ὁ ἐξ. βουλευτὴς Ἀγκύρας Ἀκὰ Γκιουντούζ.

Ὁ ἀξιότιμος βουλευτὴς Ἀγκύρας κ. Ἀκὰ Γκιουντοὺζ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου ἔγραψε ἐξῆς:

Νομίζομεν, ὅτι πᾶσα ἄλλη ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ἀπάντησις θεωρεῖται περιττή »

Σᾶς παρακαλῶ νὰ μὲ συγχωρήσετε ἐὰν σᾶς ἀπασχολῶ, καὶ ἐὰν σᾶς σκοτίζω ὀλίγον.

Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον θέλομεν, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀναμένομεν, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμηοὺς συμπατριώτας μας, εἶναι αὐτό. Ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον πῶς ἠμποροῦμεν νὰ διατυπώσωμεν μὲ μίαν καλλιτέραν φράσιν ; Νὰ τὸ διατυπώσωμεν καλλίτερον μὲ τὴν φράσιν (Πατριῶτα, ὡμίλει Τουρκιστὶ) ἢ μὲ τὴν φράσιν (Πατριῶτα, μάθε Τουρκικά ;)

Κατὰ τὴν γνώμην μου, ἡ φράσις ἡ ὁποία προσαρμόζεται καλλίτερον εἰς τὴν πραγματικότητα εἶναι ἡ δευτέρα.

Ἡμεῖς εἴμεθα ἓν ἔθνος τὸ ὁποῖον ἔκαμε μίαν ἱστορίαν, μίαν βιομηχανίαν, μίαν ἐκπαίδευσιν, μίαν ἐποχήν.

Εἴμεθα εὐγενισταί. Ὁ εὐγενισμός μας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἕως τέλους εἶναι γεμᾶτος ἀπὸ πράγματα σεβάσμια. Ἐκ τούτων τὴν πρώτην ἠραμμὴν κατέχει ἡ γλῶσσα. Ὅσον εἴμεθα ἀφοσιωμένοι πιστοὶ καὶ εὔθικτοι εἰς τὰ ἱερά μας ἰδεώδη, τόσον εἴμεθα φιλοδίκαιοι καὶ ὑπολήπτομεθα τὰς ἄλλας εὐγενικότητας. Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν ἐγκρίνομεν διὰ τὸ ἰδικόν μας ἔθνος, δὲν τὸ ἐγκρίνομεν καὶ δι' ἄλλο. Οἱ Ρωμηοὶ εἶναι ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς κυρίους κλάδους τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ οἰκογενειακοῦ δένδρου. Καὶ αὐτὸ ἔκαμε ἱστορίαν, βιομηχανίαν, παιδείαν, ἐποχήν. Καὶ αὐτὸ ἔχει τὰ ἱερά του. Εἰς τὴν πρώτην γραμμὴν ἔρχεται ἡ γλῶσσα.

Ἂς ἀφήσωμεν κατὰ μέρος τὴν Δωζάνην, τὰς μειονότητας, τὴν πολιτικὴν καὶ ἂς ἐξετάσωμεν τὴν πραγματικότητα. Αὐτὸ ἔτι εἶναι. Ἀφοῦ εἴμεθα εὐγενισταὶ κατὰ καθῆκον, ἀπὸ τὸν συμπατριώτην μας Ρωμηόν, ὅσον θέλομεν νὰ γνωρίζῃ Τουρκικήν, τόσον θέλομεν νὰ γνωρίζῃ καὶ νὰ ὁμιλῇ τὴν τρικήν του γλῶσσαν.

Ἡ ἱστορία μας συνήνωσεν εἰς μίαν πατρίδα καὶ ὁ μεγαλεί μας Ἀρχηγὸς μᾶς κατέστησεν εὐτυχεῖς ἐντὸς μιᾶς ἱστορίας.

Διὰ τὸν Ρωμηόν, ἡ ὑποχρέωσις διὰ τὴν ἐκμάθησιν τῆς Τυ κῆς γλώσσης εἶναι κάτι τι φυσικόν, εἶναι ἀπαραίτητον.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινωνικὴν ζωὴν δὲν ὁμιλεῖ ἄλλην γλῶ ἐκτὸς τῆς Τουρκικῆς τοῦτο ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι θεωρεῖ τιμὴν καὶ ε ρίστησιν τὸ νὰ ζῇ ὑπὸ μίαν ἔνδοξον σημαίαν.

Ὁ Ρωμηὸς ὅσον γνωρίζει τὸν Ὅμηρον τόσον πρέπει νὰ γ ζῃ καὶ τὸν Γιουνοὺς Ἐμρέ καὶ τὸν Φαρούκ Ναρῆς. Ἡ ἄλ Ρωμηὸς ὅσον γνωρίζει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς Θερμοπύλας περισσότερον πρέπει νὰ γνωρίζῃ τὸν Ἀτατοὺρκ καὶ τὸ Τσανάκκ

Ὁ Τοῦρκος ὁ ὁποῖος ἀποτελεῖ ἔθνος πού ἀντιλαμβάνεται Παιδείαν, τὴν Ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνικὴν ζωὴν τοιουτοτρόπως πτεται καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη.

Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πέρασε, τὸ Βυζάντιον κατέρρευσε, ἡ δὲ ο Σταμπούλ, ζῇ ὑπὸ τὴν αἰωνίαν Τουρκικὴν σημαίαν. Ὁ Ρωμηὸς ρίζει τοῦτο πολὺ καλά. Ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ νὰ γνωρίζῃ τοῦτο δὲν σ ὅτι πρέπει νὰ ἀποχωρισθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐθνικότητά του.

Ἐὰν διασχυρισθῇ τοιοῦτον τι διαπράττει μικροπρέπειαν.

Μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶναι τις Τοῦρκος Πατριώτης τὸ τοιοῦτο δὲν τὸν ρίζει ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν ἐθνικότητά του.

Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς: Κράτος ἀνεξάρτητον, ἰσχυρόν, ἔντιμον, ἐλεύ καὶ φιλοδίκαιον. Ἰδοὺ αἱ ἀγκάλαι μας εἶναι ἀνοικταί. ναντι τούτων τί ζητῶμεν ἡμεῖς ; ἀγάπην καὶ γνῶσιν τῆς γλώ Δύο πράγματα τόσον εὐκολα ὥστε δὲν ἀξίζει νὰ ἐνδιατρύψωμεν περ τερον εἰς αὐτά.

Ὁ καθαρὸς καὶ ἁγνὸς Πατριώτης Πέτρος εἶναι ἁγνὸς καὶ παραμένει Πέτρος, ὅπως καὶ ὁ Καραμπὲτ καὶ ὁ Μεχμὲτ ἂν Μεχμέτ.

Τὸν καλπικον Πατριώτην καὶ ἐὰν ἀκόμη τὸν ἐπενδύσωμε φόρεμα ἀπὸ στιλβαδάμαντας καὶ ἂν τὸν ὠνομάσωμεν μαργαριταρέν πώνυμον νὰ παραμένῃ καὶ πάλιν καλπικος.

Δὲν ὑπῆρξαν ἄλλωστε ἐξ ἄλλων στοιχείων καταγόμενοι Φε δες, Ζεκῆδες, Κεμαλῆδες οἱ ὁποῖοι δὲν ἦσαν καλοὶ πατριῶται ;

Ἡ πραγματικότης αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ ἰδία καὶ διὰ τοὺς Ἀρμε Τούρκους πολίτας.

Illustration 19: *Μεταπολίτευσις*, 23 June 1939. Source: AYE/B/8a/T for 1939.

In the meantime under the orders of Hasım Bey, the mayor of Tenedos island, the use of any other language except Turkish became illegal[713]. After the Greek ambassador's complaints, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aras, stated that 'these measures usually were taken for the Jewish minority and not for the Greek'[714]. Further, he confirmed he was prepared to set up a Greek language department in Turkish universities[715]. Despite these reassurances, after the requisitioning of Greek schools in Imbros and Tenedos, children of 10 to 15 years old were found to be completely illiterate[716]. Turkish officials and soldiers sent by the government were still treating the locals as 'slaves'. In another memorandum of the Greek Foreign Office the situation of the Greek schools in Tenedos was described as :

> *A l' ile de Ténédos il y avait une école grecque pour garçons et une autre pour jeunes filles. Toutes les deux ont été fermées en 1923 et celle des garçons transformée en ilk Mektebi* (Turkish primary school). *L'école pour jeunes filles reste toujours fermée sans avoir été utilisée jusqu' à présent par les autorités turques ... il n'existe actuellement aucune école grecque à Tenedos et que les enfants de la population de cette ile restent sans aucune instruction dans leur langue maternelle ...*[717].

[713] Serious fines were applied in the case of islanders who continued to speak in Greek, their mother tongue. See Gafos to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 24 October 1936, AYE/B/15. In this report several other cases of discrimination and injustice were encountered by the Greek representative. He especially refers to the 120 Turkish soldiers and their activities on the islands of Tenedos. Since their arrival, strict rules about the use of the Turkish language and diverse discrimination against the local Greek population seemed to have increased. Also in Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 19 November 1936, AYE/B/15. See illustration no.20.

[714] Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 6 and 10 November 1936, AYE/B/15aT.

[715] *op.cit.* and Baydur 1999:129. Even though ancient Greek had been taught in Ankara University since 1935 it was only in 1942-1943 when the actual Classical Studies Department was established in Istanbul University that the teaching of the old Greek language was taught systematically.

[716] Archbishop of Imbros and Tenedos to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Imbros, 11 December 1930, AYE/1936/1. By 1930 all the Greek schools of these islands were illegally seized by the Turkish government and transformed into Turkish primary schools. The teaching of the Greek language was limited to two hours per week for each school. For the economic support of the islands see Romanos to Greek Embassy in Alexandria, Ankara, 10 February 1936, AYE/B/15a/T.

[717] '*Memorandum on the Greek education of Tenedos, 1923-1933*', 14 December 1930, AYE/1936/1.

The continuous Turkification programme on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos became more intense after the end of the Second World War. The aim was to 'establish 6,000 pure Turks on the island of Imbros and 600 small holdings'[718]. This, it was believed, was the Turkish government's plan 'in order to forestall claim to Imbros on ethnological grounds'[719]. In addition, despite the treaty of Lausanne, a large amount of Greek property such as the vast estates belonging to the Monastery of *Hagia Lavra*, were confiscated by the Turkish municipal authorities of the island[720].

The Turkish government, equally, did not allow détente to interfere with her Kemalist policies which led to the 'Turkification' of every non-Turkish element as well as the commercial life in Turkey. In a memorandum prepared by Morgan, the British representative in Ankara, it was observed that

> 'while Turkey is making it impossible for old established foreigners and foreign concerns to work in Turkey, she is continually engaging from abroad specialists of different nationalities to help her in the task of building up new Turkey. It is noticeable of recent years that a great many of these specialists are German ...'[721].

Moreover, the economic crisis which engulfed the world during the 1930s affected Turkish trade considerably[722]. A few years later, during the first months of the Second World War, did Turkey, declining to participate actively in the conflict, adopt a policy of neutrality. However, to secure German friendship the Turkish government signed an agreement of friendship and commerce with the Nazis on 18 June 1941.

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[718] Consul in Çanakkale to Ambassador in Ankara, Çanakkale, 8 October 1944, FO 195/2486/831.
[719] *op.cit.*
[720] '*Memorandum on Turkish actions against the minorities in Istanbul*', Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944.
[721] Loraine to Hoare, Ankara, 27 November 1935, FO 371/19030/E7226.
[722] For a detailed account of Turkish fiscal policy after 1923 see Tezel 1994.

Suret

Türkçe bilip konuşmiyanlar ve bu ilân tarihinden itibaren (6) al
ay zarfında türkçe öğrenmiyenler ve türkçeden başka dil ile konu-
şanlar görülecegü taktirde haklarında tutulacak zabit varakalari
üzerine daimi encümence cezalandirilacaklardir. Bu karar ilan ta-
rihinden itibaren mutebertir.

Ilân

Bozcaada Belediye daimi encümeninin 12/10/1936 tarih ve 386 karar-
ı suretı aynen yukariya yazilmakla keyfiyet ilân olunur.

15/10/1936

Şarbay.

(imza)

(damga).

'Those who know Turkish but don't speak and those who still will not have learnt the Turkish language in the next six months as well as those who talk to each other in any other language than Turkish will be arrested and penalised. This decision (no. 386 of 12 October 1936) is applicable as from the day of its publication.
15 October 1936

Tenedos (Bozcaada) Prefecture
signed and stamped.

Illustration 20: Turkish major Hasıp's orders making ~~compulsory~~ the use of the Turkish language in Tenedos island. Source: AYE/80/8 of 1946.

Compulsory

Influenced by German methods of 'ethnic cleansing', the Turkish government began to show ruthless discriminatory attitudes towards its minorities[723]. Indeed, at about the time this agreement was signed, a decision was taken by the Turkish government to mobilise all non-Muslim men between the ages of 18 and 45[724]. These men were sent to special camps and were instructed to engage themselves in the infamous 'work battalion' (*amele taburu*) for road construction in Anatolia[725]. The concentration of all non-Muslim males in such camps caused great apprehension among the minorities[726]. The harsh winter and poor living conditions claimed a high mortality in these camps[727]. Before the end of December 1941, men between the ages of 38 and 45 were allowed to return to their homes. The remaining young men were detained a further six months before they were released.

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[723] Since the 1930s German ex-officers had been employed as instructors in the staff training college and the military school in Turkey, see Loraine to Simon, Ankara, 31 January 1935, FO 371/19037/E854. Also, according to a secret letter written by the Southern Department to the Chancery, it was affirmed that a *Te Deum* was arranged to be sung at the Greek Church of the Holy Trinity at Taxim on St. George's day, the feast day of the King of Greece. The Greek Consul General was to attend but at the very last minute, after German influence, the service was cancelled on the orders of the Turkish major of Istanbul. See Southern Dept., to Chancery, Ankara, 5 June 1940, FO 195/2463/102/R6427.

[724] Ankara Chancery to Southern Dept., Ankara, 15 May 1941, FO 371/30031/R5813 and Melas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 November 1946, AYE/A/3.

[725] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 19 May 1941, FO 371/30031/R5357. They mostly sent to Erzurum and Aşkale. See Appendices for a detailed map of Turkey.

[726] *op.cit.*

[727] Ankara British Chancery to Southern Dept., 4 June 1941, FO 371/30031/R5813.

3. The *Varlık* tax and its impact upon Greek education.

The mistrust felt by the Turkish government towards their minorities and the increasing influence of a nationalistic Germany over the ruling Republican People's Party was best demonstrated during the *varlık* episode[728]. Although Turkey avoided direct involvement in the war it was not possible to escape from the financial crisis which was affecting the world at that time. As a measure to prevent further deficiencies and be able to reduce her high inflation, on 12 November 1942 a new emergency tax measure was adopted by the government[729]. In spite of assurances from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs that there was 'no need to fear discrimination' and that the law was to be 'applied ruthlessly to Turks and foreigners', the Greek community strongly feared that they would be victimised once again[730]. Just before the vote, the government initiated a detailed secret enquiry into the involvement of minorities in Turkish businesses, aimed at their complete elimination from the Turkish market[731]. One month later, by December 1942, the British ambassador in Ankara was agreeing fully with the United States' ambassador that there

[728]See Melas to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 25 November 1946, AYE/39/8. Also in 'Memorandum on Turkish actions against the minorities in Istanbul' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944. Cf. Ökte (tr. Mystakidou) 1998:65. The executives of the RPP were influenced by the latest ideologies such as Nazism and anti-Semitism. As a result the Capital Tax was focused on Greek, Armenian and Jewish minorities, - which had an important share of Turkish trade up to that time - in order to curtail their economic power. See also Kitsikis 1981:284-286, Poulton 1997:117, Zürcher 1994:208 and Ahmad 1994:102. We can see the continuity of the 'Young Turk' policies in that this tax was originally designed in 1917 by the CUP leaders in order to eliminate the involvement of the non-Muslims from Turkish business and trade. The ultimate aim of this law was to secure the tranfer of wealth from non-Muslims to the Muslim Turks. See Toprak 1982:302-303 and Sarris 1992:291.

[729] *op.cit.*, p.85. The *varlık vergisi* or the capital levy was approved by 350 out of 429 deputies in the Turkish assembly. Among those who abstained were the Greek and Jewish deputies Nicholaos Taptas and Abravaya Marmaralı. See *Loi de l'impot sur la fortune*, no.4305/1942.

[730] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 1 December 1942, FO 371/33389/R8219. For an account of the assessment and implementation of the law see Ökte 1951 (tr. Mystakidou). See also Akar 1992. For more information about the capital levy and its implementation see the file FO 371/33389.

[731] Akar 1992:127.

already was a 'victimisation of Greek nationals'[732]. In a memorandum prepared by the British Consul-General in Istanbul on the assessments of tax on the Greek community, it showed 'beyond any question of doubt how much the Turkish tax on wealth discriminates against the Greek minority and the Greek colony in Istanbul'[733]. This was instigated by the government to ultimately increase the involvement of the Muslim Turks in trade and commerce which were still predominantly in the hands of non-Muslim minorities and foreigners[734]. Moreover several Turkish officials, 'who had been moved from Greece with the exchange of populations', were now 'frequently employed' by the government to deal with Greek minority issues 'just because of their knowledge of the Greek language'[735].

> 'It was especially this type of Greek speaking Turkish official with a grievance which had, besides ruining many Greek families through the ruthless application of the capital levy, created difficulties for the Ecumenical Patriarchate by their administration of certain laws relating to charitable institutions including schools...'[736].

The Greek diplomats regarded the capital levy as ' a savage attack on the Greek community as a whole with political rather than fiscal objectives'[737]. Indeed, small Greek businessmen had been taxed twice or three times the amount of their total assets thus rendering it impossible to pay the tax, even if they sold all their possessions. However, in spite of

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[732] Bennett to Foreign Office, Ankara, 24 December 1942, FO 371/33389/R8960, Bennett to Foreign Office, Ankara, 23 December 1942, FO 371/33389/R8928 and Bennett to Foreign Office, Ankara, 21 December 1942, FO 371/33389/8837. Also in Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 20 April 1943, AYE/Φ/105, Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 11 August 1943, AYE/Φ/105.

[733] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Office, 29 January 1943, FO 371/37401/R1110. In the same report it was stated that 'the Greek element as a whole, although constituting a very small proportion of the total population of Turkey, is called upon to pay within a very short time the fantastic sum of more than eighty million Turkish liras, i.e., more than 20per cent of the total tax levied'.

[734] *op.cit.*

[735] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099.

[736] *op.cit.*

[737] Bennett to Foreign Office, Ankara, 21 December 1942, FO 371/33389/R8837.

official assurances the tax revenue was disproportionally raised at the expense of minorities[738].

> 'Discrimination was particularly marked in the case of employees of banks and other institutions. Greek employees were very heavily taxed whereas Turkish employees paid nothing. Greek priests, schools and hospitals like other philanthropic institutions had been taxed on so-called war profits'[739].

Remarkably, when the American hospital was charged 2,000TL Capital Tax, the Greek hospital in Istanbul had to pay 70,000TL[740]. As affirmed in the same report by the British representative in Ankara, ' ... taxation demands meant nothing less than complete extermination of the Greek community and represented a pre-concerted plan to drive the Greeks out of business and take over their trade'[741]. The Foreign Office's response to the Greek appeals for immediate help was to follow a neutral policy and 'not to mix up (sic) in this affair'[742]. From the minutes of the Foreign Office at the time, it is clear that the British believed that the 'Turks were determined to eliminate the Greeks from Turkish national life, whether they formed part of the Greek minority with Turkish citizenship or were Greeks of Greek nationality who played a large part in the commercial and cultural life of Istanbul...'[743]. The tax assessed on the Greek Patriarchate

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[738] Tax payers were divided into four main categories: the 'G' category for the non-Muslim Turkish citizens (*gayrimuslim*) and the 'M' category for those of the Muslim faith. Two more categories comprising the Aliens 'E' (*ecnebi*) and 'renegades' 'D' (*dönme*) were set up for tax collection purposes. The latter referred to people who changed from the Jewish to the Muslim faith but retained their own culture.

[739] *op.cit.*, and Bennett to Foreign Office, Ankara, 23 December 1942, FO 371/33389/R8890.

[740] *op.cit.*

[741] *op.cit.*

[742] *op.cit.*

[743] '*Minutes by Clutton on the Minorities in Turkey*', in FO 371/33389/R8837. It is worth noticing that US representatives of the time shared the same view as their British counterparts favouring a 'non-action policy'. See Bennett to Foreign Office, Ankara, 23 December 1942, FO 371/33389/R8885, Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons, 15 May 1944, AYE/Φ/30, Rafail to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 17 March 1943, AYE/Φ/75 and in Rafail to Tsouderos, Ankara, 27 May 1943, AYE/Φ/75.

and schools amounted to a total of 400,000TL[744]. At the same time, when there was a desire from the Archbishop of Canterbury to intervene regarding the position of the Patriarchate and its schools, Foreign Office officials advised him to refrain from 'pressing to take up cudgels on behalf of the Patriarchate'[745]. Yet reports which appeared in the Turkish press after the promulgation of the law imposing the tax on wealth emphasised ~~that~~

> 'apart from its purely fiscal object, the tax is intended more especially to mulct the non-Turkish elements, both 'minority' and foreign who are regarded, with more or less justification, as having hitherto battened on Turkish hospitality while evading their fiscal and patriotic responsibilities'[746].

A further example of this chauvinist and potentially anti-Semitic feature of the Turkish press can be found in the leading article of the pro-Axis *Cumhuriyet* (*La République*) of 23 January 1943, stating that those who 'refuse to sacrifice their wealth for national defence should be made to perform labour for the state if they were Turks or quit the country if they were foreigners'[747]. Even though the Greeks in Turkey were particularly affected by the taxation law to the point of destitution[748], from what the Turkish government had said to the British government it was clear that 'the last thing they had in mind was to allow this problem to

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[744] '*Minutes by Loxley on the position of Greek nationals under the new tax on wealth*', 5 January 1943, FO 371/37399/R180. After several diplomatic negotiations this amount was reduced to 190.200TL. Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 7 August 1943, AYE/19/3.

[745] Archbishop of Canterbury (William Temple) to Eden, 18 January 1943, FO 371/37400/R616.

[746] 'Turkey had for many years been a paradise to minorities - Greeks, Jews and Armenians - whose lack of national spirit had nevertheless appeared since the days of the war of independence and who were now being punished for their abuse of hospitality and the magnanimous gift of Turkish national status...' Quotation from a Turkish newspaper in Knatchbull-Hugessen to the Foreign Office, Ankara, 29 January 1943, FO 371/37401/R1212. The name of the newspaper is not stated. See also Capetanidis to Papandreou, Cons., 6 June 1944, AYE/Φ/30 and Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 18 May 1945, AYE/Φ/30.

[747] *op.cit.*,

[748] Palairet to Sargent, Athens, 19 February 1943, FO 371/37401/R1552.

influence their policy of close friendship and collaboration with the Greek government'[749]. Foreign Office officials took the view that the Greek ambassador in Ankara had probably 'exaggerated in his reports the importance of each individual incident and taken too tragic a view of the question as a whole ... '[750] The advice therefore given to the Greek Prime Minister Tsouderos by the British government was that the tax on wealth was 'a minor issue' which should not be allowed to cloud Turco-Greek relations[751]. The British government, protecting their own interests in the Middle East, did not think that the Turks had 'in any way modified their policy of friendship towards the Greeks'[752], in spite of their acknowledgement that minorities were being 'more harshly treated in the question of the tax than the Turks'[753]. In a personal appeal to the Turkish Prime Minister Saraçoglu, the Greek Premier Tsouderos stated that:

> '*...il semble cependant que les grecs habitant de la Turquie subissent tout particulièrement aux rigueurs de la loi et que de ce fait un certain nombre de grecs se trouve réduit au plus complet dénument qui frise à la ruine et la misère. Le gouvernement et le peuple grecs pourront difficilement comprendre qu'à un moment où l'Hellenisme subit les dures vicissitudes d'une triple occupation ennemie la Turquie amie et alliée n' aura pas à coeur de donner des instructions nettes aux organes administratifs turcs pour ceux-ci apportent les tempéraments nécessaires à l'application d'une*

[749] The Turkish Prime Minister 'rather naively admitted that his government had not taken into consideration the effect of the tax on wealth on this friendship.'. See Foreign Office Minutes by Clutton in Palairet to Sargent, Athens 19 February 1943, FO 371/37401/R1552 and M. Tsouderos (conversation with the Secretary of State, A. Eden), Foreign Office, 25 January 1943, FO 371/37512/R735.

[750] M. Tsouderos (conversation with Eden), Foreign Office, 25 January 1943, FO 371/37512/R735.

[751] *op.cit.*, In a later memorandum prepared by the Foreign Office the line of the British policy on the matter was to 'allow the Greeks and the Turks to settle the matter between themselves.' Archbishop of Canterbury to Eden, Lambeth Palace, 17 February 1943, FO 371/37401/R1564.

[752] Minutes by Howard in Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 7 February 1943, FO 371/ 37512/R1124.

[753] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 18 February 1943, FO 371/ 37512/R1547.

loi qui sans cela risque de mener à la misère un élément dont la loyauté à la cause greco-turque est hors de doute.'[754].

Despite Saraçoglu's reassurances[755] that the tax law applied equally to all citizens of Turkey, there was ample evidence to clearly contradict the Turkish Ministers' statements. Three months later the Turkish Premier, in his speech at the close of the Party Congress, affirmed that 'if the Turkish government thinks that it is necessary again to extort money from the minorities they would not hesitate to do so...'[756] During this period, the Turkish authorities also arrested both the Archbishop of Imbros and the Archbishop of Chalcedon - senior Metropolitans of the Patriarchate, the latter a candidate for the Patriarchate - and deprived them of all their ecclesiastical status[757]. In the case of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos (Gökçeada and Bozcaada), after the decision of the Court of Martial Law of the Dardanalles, many Greeks were deported as 'undesirables'[758].

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[754] Palairet to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 3 March 1943, FO 371/37402/R1957. It is worth noting part of the Turkish Premier's answer regarding Tsouderos' appeal. Saraçoglu includes in his response: '*...Les autorités de ressort s'emploieront vous pouvez en etre assuré à ce que l'égalité de traitement soit assurè à tous les contribuables et qu'une charge plus lourde ne vienne pas grever les ressortissants Hellenès fraternellement unis aux Turcs...*'.

[755] *op.cit.*

[756] Knatchbull-Hughessen to Eden, Ankara, 21 June 1943, FO 371/37470/R5698. In the same speech the Turkish Prime Minister stated 'their only idea was that the minorities should contribute to the state finances in the same way as did 'loyal' Turks. According to the British ambassador 'the tone in which [this statement] was said and the reception it received from its hearers indicated something more than a mere desire for 'equal' sacrifice...'.

[757] Knatcbull-Hugessen to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 27 January 1943, FO 371/3751/R796 and for a detailed account see Archbishop of Canterbury to the Secretary of State, Lambeth Palace, 4 February 1943, FO 371/37512/R1098. See also M. Tsouderos (conversation with A. Eden), Foreign Office, 25 January 1943, FO 371/37512/R735.

[758] *op.cit.*, 'From a list of 28, there had been sent to Brussa through the Straits and Constantinople the following: Safaris Momorgos (Mayor of Imbros), Ioannis Maurodaris (Member of Municipal Council), Mihail Phanariotis and Ioannis Kambouropoulos. These have joined four other quiet and law abiding citizens, sent away some months ago.' Quoted from the statement of Oakley, the British Embassy Chaplain in Istanbul, Archbishop of Canterbury to the Secretary of State, Lambeth Palace, 4 February 1943, FO 371/37512/R1098.

Those unable to pay the tax imposed on them by the government were sent to forced labour camps in Anatolia[759]. Indeed all those sent to such camps were exclusively members of the minorities[760]. Dread of the camps must have been a heavy psychological burden on those unable to pay the horrendous taxes and suffer the uncertainty of the labour camps even though, according to the Foreign Office, '...the conditions of the internees round Erzerum and in Northern Turkey were not those which generally associated with concentration camps. There may have been isolated cases of brutality, but on the whole the internees lived the life of political exiles rather than political prisoners.'[761] . Out of 40,000 tax debtors, 4,000-5,000 were sent to such camps where 21 of them died due to poor conditions[762]. According to a speech delivered by Churchill, the British Premier of the time, it was affirmed that the Turk was 'a much more suitable friend to Hitler than to himself.' Moreover, 'he (the Turk) understands and admires Nazi methods but not ours'[763].

By March 1944, with the defeat of Germany becoming inevitable, the Turkish government cancelled the tax law and minority citizens were allowed to return to their homes. From a total of 315,000,000TL, 280,000,000TL had been collected from the minorities[764]. However, it is evident from the Greek Foreign Office's archives that, after the Capital

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[759] Knatchbull-Hugessen to the Foreign Office, Ankara, 17 January 1943, FO 371/37401/R1419. For a copy of the Turkish government's decree no.2/19288 of 7 January, giving forced labour regulations for non-payment of tax on wealth, see Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 26 January 1943, FO 371/37401/R1106. *Resmi Gazete* 12 January 1943. See also Appendix B for a detailed map of Turkey.

[760] Bennett (Ministry of Information) to Clutton (Foreign Office), London, 16 September 1943, FO 371/37406/R8857.

[761] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Foreign Ministry, 30 August 1943, FO 371/37406/R8574.

[762] By September 1943, the number of defaulters who had been despatched to labour camps at Sivrihisar was about 1.100. Of these 158 were sent from Istanbul, 30 from Bursa 19 from İzmir and the rest from the Erzurum and Aşkale camps. See Ankara British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 6 September 1943, FO 371/37406/R8832.

[763] Postal and Telegraph Censorship, London, 27 May 1943, FO 371/37403/R4768.

[764] *Resmi Gazete*, 17 March 1944.

Tax, many people from minority groups in general and from the Greek community in particular emigrated. The census figures for 1935 showed that, out of a total of 318,421 non-Muslims then in Turkey, 226,167 were Christians and 125,046 Orthodox, of whom 108,725 persons were registered as Greek-speaking[765]. Deducting approximately 17,000 for Hellene nationals, there would have been approximately 90,000 Greeks in Istanbul by 1940. Apart from the islands of Imbros (6,000) and Tenedos (1,500), there were no Greeks left in Asia Minor[766].

The main goal of eliminating the commercial power of the minorities and 'Turkifying the economic life of the country'[767] was entirely successful through the Capital Tax law[768]. This could be more fully appreciated if we look briefly at the characteristic features of the law: First, special secret commissions were set up in each city under the chairmanship of the governor who was assisted by the tax collector and three other members appointed by the Ministry of Finance. The commission met in secret sessions and no opportunity was given for the taxpayer to present his case or produce his Balance Sheet and accounts which would ordinarily establish the true state of his financial standing. It was for the commission alone to determine, without any hearing for the tax payer, the amount of tax which the latter would be called upon to pay. There was no schedule on

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[765]Knatchbull-Hugessen to Eden, 21 January 1944, FO 371/44151/R1794 (this report can also be found in British Embassy to Eden, Ankara, 21 January 1944, FO 195/2483/154/4/44). Also in 'Minorities in Turkey' 12 November 1943, FO 195/2480/779/8. In Imbros the Greek population came to 6,000 and in Tenedos to 1,500. In British Embassy to Eden, Ankara, 21 January 1944, FO 195/2483/154/4. For the Turkish 1940 census which gives the same figures see Hurst to Maby, Istanbul, 6 December 1944, FO 371/2483/154/18/44.

[766] *op.cit.*

[767] Bennett (Ministry of Information) to Clutton (Foreign Office), London, 16 September 1943, FO 371/37406/R8857. The information quoted in this report on the treatment of non-Turkish minorities had been circulated anonymously to persons in the United Kingdom. There were suggestions as to the origin of the report that it may have come either from an American authority or the editor of 'New Times and Ethiopian News'. The writer however seems to be well informed.

which to assess the liability of the taxpayer and no explanation was given by the commission to the interested party as to how the amount of the tax had been fixed. The commission was all-powerful and there was no right of appeal. The tax payer was not directly notified of the amount of the tax he was asked to pay. They were expected to go and find it out for themselves by consulting the notice which was posted up at the local offices of the Ministry of Finance. The tax was due for payment in cash fifteen days from the date of the notice. If the tax was unpaid during this period the taxpayer was allowed another fortnight, but 2 per cent interest was added to the original amount. In the event of the tax still being unpaid at the end of thirty days the entire property of the taxpayer (private chattel, furniture, shares, cash, goods, lands, houses, etc.) was confiscated and sold at public auction. Furthermore, by the mere fact that they had not discharged themselves of their liability, these taxpayers were automatically sentenced to hard labour, which in practice meant a life term, since the miserly 'pay' they received while in jail could not possibly have covered the unrealistic tax burden. The tax payers could not protest against any of the formalities bearing upon the assessment or the collection of the tax even when these formalities were in absolute contradiction to the spirit of Law 4305[769]. For instance, in the case of a non-Turkish citizen, whose entire property was valued by the authorities at 100,000TL, he was asked to pay 250,000TL in cash[770]. Moreover, no civil servant or employee of Turkish origin was liable for the property tax. In contrast all Christian public servants and employees were taxed without exception. Moreover,

[768] The former tax director of Constantinople, Faik Ökte, acknowledges in his book that 'the Capital Tax represents a page in our fiscal history which should shame us all.' See Ökte (tr.Mystakidou) 1998:33-38.
[769] *op.cit.*, and Bennett (Ministry of Information) to Clutton (Foreign Office), London, 16 September 1943, FO 371/37406/R8857.
[770] *op.cit.*

even though the law prescribed that defaulters over the age of 55 should not be deported 'unless they are found fit after a medical examination', taxpayers over seventy and in very poor health were exiled to Anatolia[771]. Finally, in December 1943, before İnönü met Churchill and Roosevelt in Cairo, the last deportees were permitted to return home[772]. On 15 March 1944, under a new law, all unpaid dues were cancelled. Meanwhile diplomatic pressure for a possible exemption of taxation with regard to Church buildings and foreign schools was applied for by foreign diplomats[773]. Subsequently, most minority and foreign schools were exempted from the *varlık* tax[774]. However, only by June 1943 did the British representative in Ankara admit that, overall, there had been 'a gradual and fairly rapid development of anti-minority feeling.'[775] In the same period, in a speech given by M. Bozkurt (former Minister of Justice between the years 1924-1930), it was stated that 'if the Turks had wished it, there would not have been a single Christian in the Balkans today …'[776]. He then went further, asserting that 'there was no room in Turkey for anyone other than the Turks. Either they (the non-Muslim population) should become Turks (and Muslims at that) or they must leave …'[777]. British dignitaries, comparing the current well-being of non-Muslim minorities to that of the Ottoman era, noted that 'although they were better treated under the Republic than under the Empire' they remained 'disliked,

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[771] *op.cit.*, and Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden, Lambeth Palace, 28 January 1943, FO 3371/37400/R935. According to this report, Anthony Eden, the British Secretary of State, was advising the Archbishop of Canterbury that 'the wisest course' was 'to allow the Greeks and the Turks to come to an amicable solution between themselves.'. See illustration no. 21.

[772] Cf. Poulton 1997:117 and Sarris 1992:297.

[773] The Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. Eden, Lambeth Palace, 18 January 1943, FO 371/37400/R616 and Capetanidis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 30 March 1944, AYE/54/3.

[774] Cf. Ökte (tr. Mystakidou) 1998:355-358 and 363. Only one Armenian and two American schools had to pay the tax, even though the initial amount requested by the authorities was reduced by more than 60per cent. In the same way a few Greek and Armenian churches were taxed.

[775] Knatchbull-Hughessen to Eden, Ankara, 21 June 1943, FO 371/37470/R5698.

[776] *op.cit.*

[777] *op.cit.*

mistrusted and ostracised'[778]. Life was still made 'as hard as possible for them'[779]. In this state of affairs, to remain in their native land became a mighty challenge for the steadily diminishing Greek minority of Istanbul. The weakening position of the Greek schools and the systematic official and unofficial pressure applied to them, no doubt rendered this challenge a bridge too far for many.



Illustration 21: A group of Greeks deported to Anatolia as labour. Source: R. Akar 1992.

[778] Knatchbull-Hugessen to Eden, 21 January 1944, FO 371/44151/R1794.
[779] *op.cit*

CHAPTER V

THE REVIVAL OF GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS 1945-1954

1.The background to and subsequent election of Athenagoras I.

In 1945 the tension caused by the *varlık* tax was still perceptible in Turkey. The Greek minority in Istanbul, 'now greatly reduced in numbers by the *varlık*' - seemingly applied to them 'deliberately with special severity' - was cautious not to cause offence by any 'political indiscretion'[780]. Yet, during the course of a conversation with the British ambassador in Turkey, Sir Maurice Peterson, the Turkish Premier Saraçoglu affirmed that the Greek minority in Istanbul still constituted the only unresolved problem between his country and Greece[781]. On other occasions the Turkish Premier addressing the Patriarchate thought 'it was asking too much of the Turks to expect them to do very much for an alien religious institution' and that he was seriously contemplating the idea of removing 'the seat of the Phanar to Athens ...'[782]. However, as the Soviet Union posed a greater threat[783] to the Turkish government, Ankara had to

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[780] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 23 January 1947, FO 371/67273/R904. British ambassador Kelly remarked that after the tax on wealth, the 300,000 Greeks of Istanbul had dwindled to 80,000, reducing many of them 'literally to destitution'. See Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099.

[781] British Chancery to the Southern Department, Ankara, 3 April 1945, FO 371/48349/R6606. Worth mentioning in here that Turkey and Greece became NATO members in 1952, fact which formalised their common interest in containing communism and acted as a conduit to improved relations.

[782] M. Peterson to Southern Department, Ankara, 3 April 1945, FO 195/2487/280/13. The same report can also be found in British Chancery to South. Department, Ankara, 3 April 1945, FO 371/48349/6606.

[783] In 1945 the Soviet Union refused to renew the 1925 treaty of friendship without substantial concessions from Turkey. Before such a treaty could be discussed the Soviets had claimed the districts of Kars and Ardahan, which had been Turkish since 1921. They also asked for the revision of the Montreux Straits Convention in order to gain control over the waterways of the Black Sea powers. When Ankara refused to negotiate it became the subject of intense diplomacy until 1953. For details see Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 4 February 1947, FO 371/67305/B/R1971. See also Harris 1974:25-28.

review its policy on the minority question[784]. Aware of the weakening of the Phanar, the Stalin government also began to raise the international profile of the Russian Patriarchate[785]. Thus the Russians, in order to increase their prestige abroad, challenged the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate[786]. In this way, the Russian Church hoped to secure the spiritual primacy of Moscow in the Eastern Orthodox Church by excluding the Phanar and assuming the leading role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul[787]. Such a potential (Soviet) threat persuaded the Turkish government to reconsider and consequently change her policy towards the Greek minority in general and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular. Yet Turkey feared that the Patriarchate of Moscow might well establish a pretext, in order to intervene in Istanbul as the leading Orthodox church, to 'protect' the Patriarchate. This was confirmed by Peterson, who was of the opinion that Moscow seemed 'too anxious in these days to find sticks with which to beat the Turks ... '[788]. This led to a considerable change of attitude in Turkish policy vis-à-vis the position of the Greek minority and its educational establishments. Now the Turks, 'in view of the danger which they feared from the North', were not only 'extremely anxious to

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[784] The Communist revolt in Greece (1946-1949) had been another reason for serious concern in Turkey.

[785] The Patriarchal throne of Moscow, which had remained vacant since 1924, was filled in 1943 when Sergius was elected Patriarch. In 1945 he was succeeded by Alexei. See British Embassy to South., Department, Moscow, 10 August 1945, FO 371/48349.R14255.

[786] 'The Patriarchate at Moscow, disregarding the ancient prerogatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate who alone possesses the right to convoke, with the concurrence of other Orthodox Churches a Pan-Orthodox Church Conference addressed lately to all Autocephalous Orthodox Churches an invitation to attend a P.O.C. Conference to be assembled in Moscow in order to discuss some matters affecting the Eastern Orthodox Church and especially its attitude towards the World Council of Churches ... a reply has been sent to Moscow ... to the effect that the Ecumenical Patriarchate does not consider the present moment as propitious for the convening of a Pan-Orthodox Church Conference but that if and when a favourable opportunity arises the Ecumenical Patriarchate, exercising its ancient prerogative, will gladly take note of the suggestion of the Patriarchate of Moscow and convoke such a conference if the other Autocephalous Churches are agreeable to it ... ' Article quoted on the Ecumenical Patriarchate, written for *The Times* by Mavroudis, their Istanbul correspondent in Kelly to Wallinger, Istanbul, 9 August 1947, FO 371/67293/R11242.

[787] Kelly to Wallinger, Istanbul, 9 August 1947, FO 371/67293/R11242.

[788] British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 25 March 1945, FO 195/2487/280/12.

get along well with the Greeks' but they began to value the Patriarchate as 'an asset from a political perspective'[789]. The Greek government - which now had some leverage to approach the Turkish government with - was keen to improve the plight of the Patriarchate and the Greek community[790]. Meanwhile in an informal capacity, British diplomats approached the Turkish government in order to re-emphasise the significance of the Patriarchate for the Turks themselves[791]. Thus, despite the recent Turkish disappointment in handing over sovereignty of the Dodecanese islands to Greece, Turkish relations with Greece remained generally friendly[792]. In fact, on 6 September 1946, in response to an invitation by their Turkish counterparts, a number of Greek journalists visited the cities of Istanbul, İzmir and Ankara. In the days that followed, the Turkish Press were unanimous in their assessment of the visits, proclaiming an 'eternal Greco-Turkish friendship'[793]. Due to particular international conditions that arose, Turkey not only tolerated the Patriarchate but also encouraged the idea of re-building its prestige[794]. Following British advice, Greek religious and political leaders now demanded that the Phanar be revitalised. The death of Patriarch Veniamin I, on 17 February 1946[795], and the election to the Patriarchate of Maximos, Metropolitan of

[789] British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 25 March 1945, FO 195/2487/280/12.

[790] *op.cit.*

[791] Peterson to Southern Department, Ankara, 3 April 1945, FO 195/2487/280/13.

[792] During this period a number of semi-official unions and associations (such as the Helleno-Turkish Union and the Helleno-Turkish Fraternal Association of America) were established to encourage Greco-Turkish friendship. See S. Venizelos to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 28 July 1947, AYE/Φ/30 and A. Goutas to Maximos, Athens, 21 April 1947, AYE/Φ/30.

[793] *Yeni Türkiye*, *Tanin* and *İkdam Gece Postası* of 8 September 1946. See also *Son Telegraf* of 13 September 1946 and *Cumhuriyet* of 18 September 1946.

[794] Peterson to Southern Department, Ankara, 3 April 1945, FO 195/2487/280/13. Peterson suggested to Saraçoglu two ways of improving the Patriarchate's prestige. Firstly, there was need for economic support. Saraçoglu's response to this was positive. Secondly, since the Greek community had all but dissolved and there were no Greco-Turkish bishops to form the Holy Synod, the Turkish government could by agreement allow the entry of Hellene bishops from Greece, from time to time, without imposing on them the necessity to become Turkish subjects, to work for the Patriarchate. On this proposal, the Turkish premier affirmed 'he was going to think about it' - quoted from the same report.

Chalkedon 'provided the Turkish government with an opportunity to show their goodwill towards the Phanar ...'[796]. In view of the British reports of the time, Maximos V was regarded as 'by far the strongest candidate' and his election after the death of Veniamin I 'was almost certain'[797]. Indeed, Maximos was known for his dynamism and administrative skills[798]. Unfortunately, in early 1946, soon after his election to the Patriarchal throne, Patriarch Maximos V had become ill and the state of his health[799] 'made it advisable for him to undertake a journey to Greece for a change of air'[800]. Ever since the new Patriarch Maximos had become 'the victim...of fits of morbid melancholia'[801] the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the British government in a secret communiqué that they were 'very interested in his successor...'[802]. Among the three possible

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[795] *Ορθοδοξία*, 21 (1946) 37-147.

[796] Maximos was appointed Patriarch on 20 February 1946. 'Special courtesies were shown during the funeral of the late Patriarch and the election of the new' - a diplomatic tact, interpreted in Orthodox circles as ~~an~~ in 'earnest of the Turkish government's anxiety not to give the Soviet government any opportunity of complaining of their attitude towards the Phanar ... ' Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 4 February 1947, FO 371/67305/B/R1971.

[797] British Chancery to Southern Department, Istanbul, 30 June 1945, FO 195/2487/280/16. After the death of Patriarch Photios II on 29 December 1935, Metropolitan of Chalkedon Maximos (the later Patriarch) was rejected by the Turkish authorities leading to the election of Veniamin Christodoulou, Archbishop of Heracleia, to the Patriarchal throne on 19 January 1936. *The Times* 20 January 1936.

[798] Patriarch Maximos was instrumental in solving the schism problem with the Bulgarian church which resulted in the recognition of the Bulgarian church as an independent body under the presidency of Sofia with the title of Exarch. For more details see British Chancery to the Southern Department, Istanbul, 30 June 1945, FO 195/2487/280/16.

[799] According to the British representative in Istanbul the disorder of the Patriarch was 'ascribed primarily to worry over an unfortunate financial scandal involving the mismanagement of a very considerable legacy left by a rich Greek of Istanbul who died in 1912, bequeathing his fortune to the Greek Navy and various Orthodox religious institutions. Unfortunately, most of the money has apparently been made away with by the executors of the will, three Greek lawyers in Istanbul who happen also to be high civilian dignitaries of the Patriarchate and who in that capacity displayed considerable activity last year in obtaining Maximos's election to the Patriarchate. It is alleged that they even utilised some of the funds in overcoming the scruples of the Patriarch's opponents to his election. Warrants have been issued against the lawyers and the Patriarch is said to have taken the imprudent step of trying to have the scandal hushed up by approaching the legal Holiness authorities in Athens...' in Kelly to Bevin, Istanbul, 23 December 1946, FO 371/59330/R18526.

[800] Article quoted on the Ecumenical Patriarchate, written for *The Times* by Mavroudis, their Istanbul correspondent, found in Kelly to Wallinger, Istanbul, 9 August 1947, FO 371/67293/R11242.

[801] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 4 February 1947, FO 371/67305/B/R1971.

[802] Foreign Office Minute by S. Williams, 15 April 1947, FO 371/67293/R5130.

candidates[803], the Orthodox Archbishop of the United States, Athenagoras[804], seemed the most appropriate candidate both from the American and the British perspective[805]. Moreover, he was the only *persona grata* according to the Turkish officials[806]. Even though the British reports of the time affirmed that 'there was no prospect of a complete cure'[807] for Patriarch Maximos there is evidence to suggest that the Patriarch was actually forced to resign in order to appoint Athenagoras - who was not a Greek from Istanbul, and therefore not familiar with the traditional, conservative infrastructure of the Patriarchate and the Greek community - yet had the support of the State Department[808]. In May 1947 Maximos was ready to resign on the condition that Dorotheos Metropolitan of the Princes' Islands would be appointed as his successor and that the title of Metropolitan of Ephesus[809] will be granted to him after his resignation. A few months later, despite the Greek government's attempts to extract Maximos' resignation from him, the Patriarch returned to Istanbul from Greece where he had been 'completely cured with no

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[803] The Greek government favoured the candidature of Chrysanthos Philipidis. To the Turks however he was *persona non grata* as, during the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-22, while Archbishop of Trebizond, he had played an important role in the independence of Pontus. The second candidate spoken of was Archbishop Damaskinos of Athens. According to British reports of the time his candidature was also regarded by the Turks as undesirable on the grounds that a former Regent of Greece would not be a suitable candidate for the Patriarchal throne. This left Athenagoras from every consideration to be the best candidate as the Greek Government was opposed to any local candidate from the Phanar. For more information see Eyves to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1947, FO 371/67293/R6224.

[804] Athenagoras was born in Northern Epirus and trained at the Chalki Theological College in Istanbul. As Archbishop of Kerkyra (Corfu) (1924-1930) he was conspicuous for his liberalism. He had been a friend of the American president Roosevelt and was also highly regarded by Truman. See Foreign Office Research Department, 2 June 1947, FO 371/67293//7578.

[805] Telegram from Eyves to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1947, FO 371/67293/R6224. Athenagoras, as a mason, was also enjoying the support of international freemasonry. See Papakonstantinou 1989:67-73, 1986:35. Also in Vitalis 1996:83, 73 and 290. It is worth noting that the re-emergence of freemasonry in Turkey on 5 February 1948 coincided with the more liberal post-War period which had just began to develop. Characteristcally on 17 June 1953 the Greek minority in Istanbul established its own Greek speaking lodge under the nickname *Hakikat* (*Αλήθεια*). Stamatopoulos 1996:282-283.

[806] Telegram from Eyves to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1947, FO 371/67293/R6224.

[807] Eyves to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1947, FO 371/67293/R6224.

[808] Portokalis in *Politis* May 1998 and Vitalis 1996.

intention of resigning in favour of the American Archbishop or anyone else'[810]. Trying to take advantage of this situation, 'the Metropolitan of Leningrad, accompanied by a politically minded Archimandrite' made a number of very important visits to the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria[811]. The policy of Moscow tended towards resuming the traditional Tsarist role of protector of the Orthodox Christians in the Near East[812]. Under these circumstances and even though Maximos' health seemed to be restored after a visit to Athens, both the Greek and Turkish governments were inclined to elect a new Patriarch[813]. Yet, as the pawn of political policies and 'a top-heavy institution imposed upon a dwindling community', the Patriarchate was finding it increasingly difficult to function as 'a healthy and effective organism'[814]. In a nutshell, the patriarchal crisis ended on 18 October 1948, when Patriarch Maximos was persuaded to resign[815]. On 1 November 1948, following his resignation, the Holy Synod elected Athenagoras to the Patriarchal throne as a result of strong pressure from Athens and Ankara. On 26 January 1949, Athenagoras arrived in Istanbul in one of President Truman's private planes[816]. From the very first moment Athenagoras genuinely expressed his

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[809] op.cit. This was the second most important position in the Patriarchate after the Patriarch.
[810] Kelly to Wallinger, Istanbul, 9 August 1947, FO 371/67293/R11242.
[811] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 15 January 1947, FO 371/67293/R867. The Metropolitan of Leningrad had suggested the holding of a new ecclesiastical council which would have been the first for thirteen centuries.
[812] Foreign Office Research Department, London, 2 June 1947, FO 371/67293/7578.
[813] Eyves to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1947, FO 371/67293/R6224 and Kelly to Wallinger, Istanbul, 9 August 1947, FO 371/67293/R11242.
[814] Foreign Office Research Department, 2 June 1947, FO 371/67293/7578.
[815] See Kelly to Foreign Office, Ankara, 1 November 1948, FO 371/72538/R12512. It should be noted that the whole file (FO 371/72538) is dedicated solely to the process of persuading Maximos to resign and the details behind Athenagoras' election. See also *Ορθοδοξία*, 22 (1947) 142-149. Vitalis 1996:416.
[816] Charles to Neil, Annual Review for Turkey-1949, 7 January 1950, FO 371/87933/RK1011 and Charles to Foreign Office, Ankara, 16 August 1951, FO 371/95311/RK1781. Also in *Ορθοδοξία*, 24 (1949) 19-43 and *The Times*, 28 January 1949.

devotion to President İnönü and to the Turkish people[817]. Consequently the Turks and the Americans believed that they had 'someone reliable who will not be likely to conspire with the Greeks or the Russians against their interests at this moment of international tension'[818].



Illustration 22: Athenagoras' arrival in Istanbul, 26 January 1949. Source: The Ecumenical Patriarchate.

[817] *The Times*, 28 January 1949 Speech delivered by Athenagoras on 27 January 1949 upon his enthronement. As soon Athenagoras arrived in Turkey, the officials granted him Turkish citizenship and withdrew his American passport. *Interview with Oguz Gökmen*, (retired Turkish ambassador and at the time Turkish ambassador to Paris) 16 November 1996, Istanbul. I would like to thank *Oguz Gökmen* for providing me with detailed information. See illustration no.22.
[818] Charles to Foreign Office, Ankara, 16 August 1951, FO 371/95311/RK1781.

2.The Greek minority and gradual developments.

In the meantime, from 13 to 15 May 1946 a Patriarchal delegation visited Ankara and furnished the government with a list of requests[819]. Soon after, the Turkish press announced that the authorities had decided to hand over the administration of the *Baloukli* hospital to a special committee representing the Greek minority[820]. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the elective committees of the Greek community (*ephoroi*) which were 'arbitrarily replaced by single designated (Turkish) officials (single representatives)', after the Prime Minister's initiative, were now to be replaced by their original traditional committees (*ephoroi*)[821]. Law no. 2762 of June 1935 - the appointment of a single trustee (*tek mütevelli*) to each Greek communal establishment - which had prevented the community from ~~administer~~ administrating their own institutions, was now promised some modification[822]. The tension which arose between the Patriarchate and the Turkish state, after the long-standing Turkish request to gain both the Greek commercial school and the Theological school on the island of Chalki, together with the two old Byzantine Churches in the vicinity of the Commercial college, had now been settled through a 'compromise' solution : the Turks could retain the commercial school and the two old Byzantine Churches on condition that the Theological Seminary would remain within the Patriarchate[823]. Subsequently the Patriarchal authorities

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[819]The delegation was received by the Turkish Prime Minister. More details in Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099. '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105.

[820] *op. cit.*, The Turkish Prime Minister Saraçoglu asked Papa Efthym and the administrator of the Greek hospital Istamat Zihni Özdamar to renounce all claims over the hospital's property. Ergene 1951:230-232. On 17 September 1946 the Patriarchal authorities took over the administration of the Greek hospital. *Ορθοδοξία*, 22 (1946) 250-253.

[821] See Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099.

[822] *op.cit.*, and '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105.

[823] In 1942 the Turkish government officially claimed the building with its chapel and all adjoining sections. This was the price for being able to retain the Theological school. Finally the school was taken over by the Turkish authorities and transformed into a military school. See Oakley to Bennett,

were able to register the Theological Seminary as a property owned by the Patriarchate[824]. Thus a potential confrontation was avoided. In addition, the disruption caused by the Turkish government with regard to the compulsory adoption of the Turkish language in Greek schools of Imbros and Tenedos islands - instead of being added to the curriculum simply as a compulsory subject - was now assured some regulation[825].

After the Turkish government's initiative to return to the Greek community one of the two Galata churches illegally occupied by Papa Efthym[826], a considerable number of Greeks showed their appreciation by voting for the RPP during the general elections in 1946[827]. According to the British representative in Ankara, 'Roughly speaking, the Greeks voted either democratic (sic) on commercial grounds, or republican (sic) on community grounds, out of gratitude for various concessions made by the Prime Minister towards towards charitable and educational institutes on

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Constantinople, 25 August 1942, FO 195/2474/664. See also '*Memorandum on Turkish actions against the minorities in Istanbul*' , Cons., 9 September 1942, AYE/21/2 for 1944 and Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 25 November 1946, AYE/39/8. The Byzantine churches were classed as national monuments. Also in Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099. See pages 53 and 134.

[824] Several questions regarding the ownership of Greek community property were settled in April 1949. The *Baloukli* pious foundation was also registered patriarchal property under Law no. 978/2470 of 9 April 1949. See Berki 1963:30-31 and 1950:62-65.

[825] '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105. However, issues such as the illegally seized properties, the prohibition of many islanders from returning to their homes and the denial of their right to apply for administrative posts were still applied to Greek islanders. Dimitropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 4 June 1951, AYE/Φ/9. See also *Hetairia Meleton Constantinoupolis*, '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Turkey*', 1947:27.

[826] *op.cit.*

[827] After the defeat of Nazism and Italian Fascism , the Turkish single party regime felt the need to adapt itself to the new political realities. As part of this transformation the President of the Turkish Republic İnönü allowed the formation of political parties in July 1945. The following year on 7 January 1946, headed by Celal Bayar, the Democratic Party - among others - was founded in Turkey. Thus during the 1946 elections Vassileios Konos, a Constantinopolitan Greek psychiatrist from Istanbul, was elected to parliament as a member of the Democratic Party opposition. With the victory of the Democratic Party in the elections of 1950 two Greek deputies were included : Vassileios Konos and Achilleas Moschos, a Greek lawyer . The first was replaced by Alexandros Chatzopoulos in the following elections in 1954 and the latter by another Greek lawyer Christos Ioannidis in 1958. Alexandros Chatzopoulos served as headmaster in the Greek school for girls *Ζάππειον Παρθεναγωγείον* (1946-1962).

the eve of the elections'[828]. In the succeeding elections, held in July 1946, the new Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Peker, stated that his government 'would show extreme tolerance towards the minoritarians and that they would enjoy equal rights with the Turks'[829]. He particularly referred to the Patriarchate which, he assured, he would protect[830]. At the same time, the Greek Prime Minister, Tsaldaris, during the course of an interview, confirmed once again that Greek-Turkish relations 'had always been excellent and both countries had in political, social and cultural fields common interests ... '[831]. In fact, in a memorandum prepared by the British authorities on the position of minorities in Turkey, a 'very gradual development' was also observed, particularly since the general elections of 1946[832]. Representing more than one-third of the electorate in Istanbul, the non-Muslim population still constituted a significant part of Turkish society and yet continued to be subject of discrimation and harassment[833]. Measures such as being excluded from working in the public sector, not to mention frequent attacks by the public and press for speaking in their mother tongues were typical symptoms of a deep-rooted Turkish

[828] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 21 January 1947, FO 371/67273/R964. According to the Greek Consul-General in Istanbul, the most 'divided' community among all the non-Muslim minorities of Istanbul were the Greeks and that could easily have been seen with the Turkish elections. It was also stated that among the Jewish and the Armenian communities a more united spirit existed. See Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 4 December 1948, AYE/Φ/105.

[829] The RPP government headed by Recep Peker took office on 21 July 1946 and ruled until 10 September 1947. British Chancery to the Southern Department, Ankara, 16 August 1946, FO 371/58868/R12280 and *F.O.R.D. Memorandum*, 2 June 1947, FO 371/67293/R7578. This was also repeated during the Menderes era. See Memorandum on 'Minoritarians in the Turkish Armed Forces and in Civil Life' British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 3 June 1952, FO 371/ 101893/WK1823.

[830] Southern Department, Ankara, 16 August 1946, FO 371/58868/R12280.

[831] Kelly to Foreign Office, Ankara, 15 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10674.

[832] '*Memorandum on Minoritarians in the Turkish Armed Forces and in Civil Life*' British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 3 June 1952, FO 371/ 101893/WK1823.

[833] During the 1940s the 'Citizen Speak Turkish' movement continued to put pressure on the Greek community to adopt the Turkish language. More importantly during this period the law on 'insulting Turkism' caused panic among the members of minorities. It was enough for any Muslim Turk to claim that any Greek or non-Muslim had insulted Turkism for the latter to find himself in prison and subject to more persecution. See '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105.

xenophobia and suspicion towards minorities[834]. By 1948, during this superficial improvement of Greek-Turkish relations, rumours of a possible expulsion of Greek nationals were increasing[835]. The Turkish mistrust towards all non-Muslim minorities, especially among the younger generation, was still widely apparent in Turkey. By 1947, according to Greek official statistics, there were approximately 80,000 Greeks in Istanbul, Imbros and Tenedos[836]. Among other key reasons for the Greek emigration from Istanbul was the fact that military service was still compulsory for all Turkish citizens in Turkey. In addition, the unwritten prohibition laws excluding non-Muslims from several public posts and the increased tendency of the Turkish government to establish new state monopolies, reducing the number of private initiatives, was another fundamental reason for the Greek exodus. Several Greek tradesmen were obliged to employ Turkish partners to enable them to continue their businesses[837]. Measures such as the 'Citizen Speak Turkish' movement were applying considerable pressure upon the Greek minority in Istanbul.

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[834] *op.cit.*, For example, although there was no legal restriction to prevent a non-Muslim from occupying a post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or any other government institution, in practice this would have been quite impossible. Also the Turks did not want to have non-Muslims as combatants. Advertisements in the press calling upon Turks to volunteer for Turkish Military or Naval Schools were specifying that applicants should belong to the **Turkish race** (Türk ırkı). Cases were also known of young Muslim Turks being prevented from admission into such schools because they had either a non-Muslim mother or a mother originally of a foreign nationality, even if she had turned Muslim. According to the same report - with the exception 'of a certain Jew who was allowed to teach shorthand at Istanbul University for the simple reason that he was the inventor of the only existing Turkish shorthand system' - 'minoritarians were even excluded from teaching at the universities'. According to the Greek representative in Istanbul this discrimination in business and trade as well as in the public sector was one of the fundamental reasons behind the Greek exodus of the dwindling community. In addition, the difference in treatment between Muslims and non-Muslims during military service led to the emigration of several families. See '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105.

[835] According to the Greek Consul-General it was becoming more and more difficult to renew the visas and work permits of Hellene nationals in Istanbul. At this period the government had also asked for the precise number of Hellene nationals in Turkey. High ranking officials were trying to find ways of reducing their numbers. Those Hellene citizens who went to Greece had no right to return to Turkey. See Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 15 July 1948 AYE/Φ/105.

[836] *op.cit.*

[837] *Hetairia Meleton Constantinoupolis*, '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Turkey*', 1947:11.

In the courts or in public services such as banks they could not attempt to talk in Greek, a privilege widely enjoyed by the Muslim communities in Greek Thrace[838].

Meanwhile, in the sphere of national education the new Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Peker, stated that his government would continue to follow the RPP line[839]. The next two governments, led by Hasan Saka[840], continued similarly[841]. The last RPP government of the Turkish single party period was headed by Şemsettin Günaltay, who held office between 16 January 1949 and 22 May 1950 where the only alteration, though significant, was a return to 'optional' religious instruction[842]. The inclusion of religion into the state system of national education was thus first carried out by a RPP government. As for the primary and secondary school curricula of 1948 and 1949, the fundamental aim of education was 'to inject children with national culture' and make them feel proud and honoured to be of Turkish descent[843]. After the Democratic Party won the elections of 1950, Celal Bayar became the President and Adnan Menderes the new Prime Minister of Turkey[844]. With regard to education the government drew a line of continuity with the past by following the

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[838] '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105 and *Hetairia Meleton Constantinoupolis*, '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Turkey*', 1947:2-13.

[839] Cf. *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:130, Daglı and Aktürk editions. Recep Peker, declared that: 'The basis of our work on education and instruction will be the strengthening of the national emotions of the Turkish youth at all levels of education ... ' The goal of education of the 1943 RPP programme, which emphasised the importance of 'keeping the national character at the lofty level inspired by our profound history and to seek the *only* happiness in serving the nation' was now modified as 'to keep supreme the national character inspired by our history and ... to seek happiness in serving the nation'. Tunaya 1952:593 (CHP Programı).

[840] In office between 10 September 1947 and 10 June 1948.

[841] Cf. *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:141-147.

[842] *op.cit.* p.150. and Sakaoglu 1992:114. The government issued a decree permitting courses on religion in the last two years of primary school. Yet it was left optional and only at the request of the parents. See also '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105.

[843] Cicioglu 1985:82 and Binbaşıoglu 1995:281.

[844] The first Adnan Menderes government took office from 22 May 1950 to 9 March 1951.

stereotype of the Turkish ideology on national education and emphasising its determination to prevent any 'extreme leftist movement' from being established in the country. As such, the religious teaching in schools 'as a means of fighting communism' was developed by the DP and thus defined as 'an anticommunist serum and moral strengthener for modern Turkish youth'[845]. The four successive Menderes governments focused on the 'spiritual values' of the nation as an essential factor for the 'survival of the nation'[846]. It is worth noting that pastor and preacher schools were first re-opened by the RPP government and, during the 1950s, developed by the DP[847].

Fearing the Soviet threat and following positive diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey, on 12 May 1947 another Patriarchal delegation was invited to the Turkish capital[848]. They primarily demanded the abolition of the *vakıf* law of 1935 and stressed the cancellation of the *mukataa* taxation on the minority institutions as vital[849]. Indeed in 1949 the latter was removed by the Turkish government[850]. Thus the system

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[845] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 14 January 1947, FO 371/67273/R866 and Kelly to Foreign Office, Ankara, 13 February 1948, FO 371/72539/R2103. Especially in Charles to Bevin, Ankara, 8 January 1951, FO 371/95267/RK1011/1.

[846] Cf. *Hükümetler ve Programları*, 1988:197. The second Menderes government was in office between 9 March 1951 and 17 May 1954, the third from 17 May 1954 to 9 December 1955, the fourth from 9 December 1955 to 25 November 1957 and the last held office from 25 November 1957 to 27 May 1960 when it was overthrown by the military coup.

[847] See BBC Monitoring Reports, 8 January 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/1 and Chapter VI of this thesis . In 1948 such courses were open in the Turkish provinces. See Cicioglu 1985:298. In 1951 alone 7 such schools were opened by the DP. By 1959 there were 35 such schools. On the growth of Islam see Scott Fox to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 20 May 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK1013/11. For the demonstrations of the religious fanatics against the Kemalist secular reforms see the very detailed Helm to Eden, Annual Report for Turkey, 1951, Ankara, 2 January 1952, FO 371/101848/WK1011/1 and Charles to Foreign Office, Ankara, 3 July 1951, FO 371/95269/RK1013/16 and FO 371/95269/RK1013/7.

[848] *Ορθοδοξία*, 22 (1947) 156-157.

[849] *op.cit.*, and 'Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105. This law imposed a tax of 5per cent of their total income on all cultural, philanthropic and sporting associations and was payable to the Department of *Evkaf* (pious foundations). Law no. 5404 of 31 May 1949, in *Resmi Gazete*, 4 June 1949.

[850] *'Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople'* in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105. Apparently in 1936, with the replacement of elective committees by a single trustee, Greek schools were registered by the Turkish authorities as

whereby community property was controlled by an elected lay council was reinstated[851]. The Patriarchal delegation had also asked permission for the reorganisation of the Theological school at Chalki and at the same time, permission was requested of the Turkish authorities to add one more class in the theological department (the fourth year), to recognise high schools as equivalent to lyceums, for authorisation to appoint graduates in communal schools as teachers of theology and lastly, to simplify the enrolment of students from abroad. Soon after, permission for the reorganisation of the Theological school was granted[852]. Under the leadership of Patriarch Athenagoras a new period of Greek-Turkish co-existence began to develop[853]. Under his aegis, a substantial number of restrictions were removed from the institutions of the Greek community as 'he received unprecedented attention from the Turkish authorities'[854]. Hence, the Patriarchate was allowed to re-establish its own press bureau. Permission was granted for the publication of a theological journal , the *Απόστολος Ανδρέας*. Also, the *Ορθοδοξία* resumed its publication in 1951[855]. After acquiring Turkish citizenship, two archbishops with Hellenic nationality were permitted to work in the Patriarchate. More importantly the Theological college at Chalki was once again allowed to accept students from Greece as well as other Christian countries. In the academic year of 1951 this school had twenty-five teachers (of whom five

'profit making institutions' and therefore one of the taxes they had to pay was the so-called *mukataa* tax.

[851] Law no.5404/1949. The Greek Orthodox parishes were permitted once again to select their own clerical spokesmen with the approval of the government. *Op.cit.*

[852] The first *Regulations* to be certified by the Turkish government were the 1951 *Regulations* approved by the Turkish authorities in September of the same year. Stavridis 1969:16.

[853] Patriarch Athenagoras visited the Turkish President, İnönü, and delivered a personal message from President Truman. He also had a number of private meetings with the Turkish Prime Minister, Şemsettin Günaltay and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Emin Erişirgil. All these political steps taken by the new Patriarch were the first of their kind since the foundation of the Turkish republic. *Ορθοδοξία*, 24 (1949) 59-64.

[854] Charles to Neil, Annual Review for Turkey 1949, 7 January 1950, FO 371/87933/RK1011.

were Turkish) and seventy students (of whom forty-seven were foreign nationals)[856]. Eager to spread the idea that the Greeks should fully integrate into modern Turkish society, Athenagoras ordered that the Patriarchate, like every other official institution in Turkey, be decorated on Sundays with the Turkish flag. Thus, through this and similar gestures, he was quickly able to win favour with Turkish public opinion. At the same time, for the first time since the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, a Patriarch - Athenagoras - was allowed to visit the Greek minority schools. Consequently the Patriarch was very pleased with the recent regulations which had given power to the Orthodox Church in Turkey[857]. Not only in the Patriarchate, but throughout the Greek community conditions in general were improved[858]. After the general elections of 1950,[859] Athenagoras paid an official visit to Ankara on 26 May 1952 and was received by the Turkish President Celal Bayar, and Turkish Premier Adnan Menderes[860]. In 1952 the latter paid an official visit to the Patriarchate for the first time in Turkish history. Now Patriarchal officials were also allowed to travel freely abroad. At the same time, even though several editorials had kept the Cyprus question in Turkish headlines, on 3 May 1951, during a visit to the Turkish President, the leader of the Turco-Greek Friendship Society of Thessaloniki stated that 'Cyprus was too unimportant a matter to become the cause of friction between two

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[855] *Ορθοδοξία* first began printing in 1926.

[856] At that time there were 29 Hellene nationals, 16 Constantinopolitan Greeks with Turkish nationality, 6 from the island of Imbros and 1 from Tenedos, 6 Ethiopians, 5 Cypriots, 2 British, 2 Syrians, 1 Egyptian, 1 South African and 1 Lebanese. *Ορθοδοξία*, 26 (1951) 396-400.

[857] Charles to Neil, Annual Review for Turkey-1949, 7 January 1950, FO 371/87933/RK1011.

[858] Charles to Foreign Office, Ankara, 16 August 1951, FO 371/95311/RK1781. For instance, from 1950 the Democratic Party's decision to make available credit facilities for independent businessmen was vital for the commercial reconstruction of the Greek community.

[859] Significantly after 27 years, for the first time in modern Turkey, power changed hands by the normal constitutional process with free judgement of the electorate. See Charles to Bevin, Ankara, 8 January 1951, FO 371/95267/RK1011/1.

countries bound together by membership of the same "family of nations"...'[861]. On 16 February 1952 Turkey and Greece officially became members of NATO[862]. When the Greek Prime Minister visited Ankara it was decided that a mixed Greek-Turkish commission should be permanently established to deal with questions of common interests and security[863]. On 26 April 1952, a Turkish delegation under the presidency of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes arrived in Athens in order to return the visit paid by Venizelos in February 1952[864]. According to the conclusion of the discussions on 2 May 1952, a communiqué issued in both capitals affirmed that there had been complete agreement in all subjects and that the Greek and Turkish people could look to the future with optimism[865]. On 27 November 1952, within a few days of the formation of Marshall Papagos' government in Greece, the President of Turkey arrived in Athens

[860] Scott Fox to Foreign Office, Ankara, 3 June 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK1013/12. See *Ορθοδοξία*, 25 (1950) 282-85. As soon as Athenagoras arrived in Ankara he laid a wreath on the tomb of Atatürk.

[861] Scott Fox to Foreign Office, Ankara, 8 May 1951, FO 371/95269/RK1013/12. On the friendly Greco-Turkish relations of the time see Charles to Bevin, Ankara, 8 January 1951, FO 371/95267/RK1011/1 (the same report also exists with the date 13 January 1951). On the increasing importance of the Cyprus issue during the 1950s in the Turkish press there are seemingly endless reports and memoranda in the PRO. For instance see Charles to Foreign Office, Ankara, 10 April 1951, FO 371/95269/RK1013/8, British Chancery to Foreign Office, Ankara, 22 May 1951, FO 371/95269/RK1013/13 and Helm to Foreign Office, Ankara, 12 February 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK1013/4.. On the statement of the National Committee of Turkish Youth 'uncompromisingly reaffirming Turkish claims to Cyprus' see Helm to Foreign Office, Ankara, 28 July 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK 1013/16.

[862] Helm to Eden, Ankara, 9 January 1953, FO 371/107547/WK1011.

[863] *The Times,* 26 April 1952. On 15 February 1952, Greece and Turkey officially became members of NATO; see *The Times*, 18 February 1952.

[864] 'It is worth noting that the Greek deputy from Istanbul accompanied the Prime Minister on his recent visit to Athens...' in Memorandum on 'Minoritarians in the Turkish Armed Forces and in Civil Life' British Chancery to South. Department, Ankara, 3 June 1952, FO 371/ 101893/WK1823. Also in Helm to Foreign Office, Ankara, 22 April 1952 and Helm to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK1013/10.

[865] *The Times,* 3 May 1952. Further, the abolition of visas between Greece and Turkey in May 1952, the free travel facilities for Greek and Turkish deputies, youth and commercial movements, were all further steps to encourage tourism and cultural exchanges between the two countries. Helm to Foreign Office, Ankara, 6 May 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK1013/10.

in order to return the visit paid to Turkey by the King and the Queen of Greece in June of the same year[866].

However, in the early 1950s the Greek community developed increasing concern over Cyprus, as they were often placed in the middle of this political issue by the Turkish press. Regardless of the developments, Athenagoras continued to demonstrate 'an extremely friendly attitude towards the Turkish government'[867]. By this time, according to the Greek Consul-General, there were approximately 75,000 Greeks left throughout Istanbul and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos[868].



Illustration 22a: Athenagoras with the King and the Queen of Greece in June 1952. Source: The Ecumenical Patriarchate.

[866] Helm to Foreign Office, Ankara, 2 December 1952, FO 371/101849B/WK1013/25. Also in Scott Fox to Foreign Office, 17 June 1952, FO 371/101849/WK1013/13. From 8-15 June 1952 King Pavlos and Queen Frederiki visited Turkey in an official capacity. They also met with the Patriarch Athenagoras on 13 June 1952. See *The Times* 13 June 1952. See illustration no. 22a.

[867] '*Memorandum regarding a comparative examination of the situation of the Greeks in Istanbul and the Muslims in Greek Thrace*' by the General Administrator of Thrace, Calligatsis, , 13 July 1951, Komotini, AYE/Φ/9.

[868] This figure covers both the Hellene and the Turkish nationals. See Capasabelis to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 28 March 1953, AYE/Φ/9.

3. The cultural agreement of 1951 and Greek education.

In 1944, after the Turkish Permanent Council of Education's suggestion, Turkish subjects taught in foreign and minority schools were upgraded in their status and proportion. As a result of this new law (no.410 of 27 October 1944) those students who were marked below five out of ten in any two Turkish subjects had to repeat the whole year[869]. The long hours dedicated to the teaching of Turkish subjects such as Turkish history[870], geography and sociology lessened the time available for the teaching of foreign languages. This became a primary incentive for many Greek families to send their children to foreign schools[871]. In this way they hoped to achieve a good education in English or French, essential for maintaining their position in trade and business. At the same time, all books used in minority schools, as well as curricula and the appointment of Greek teachers, continued to depend on the approval of the Turkish government[872]. Secondary school inspectors sent by the government were also vigilant. Another restriction in force since 1935, but now rigorously enforced, was the prohibition of Greek parishes from buying any property or receiving donations or endowments[873]. Regarding official vacations, the Greek schools, apart from the official Turkish national days, continued to remain closed on their major religious holidays, such as Christmas and

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[869] This was the 27th article of the new law adopted in 1944. It has to be noted that under the same circumstances in a Turkish state high school the student would not have been under the same limitations. See '*Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople*', 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9 .

[870] It should be noted that up to 1936 the subject of history was taught in Greek and Turkish. In 1937, with the curriculum published by the Ministry of Education for secondary education, the teaching of Greek history in Greek was cancelled. From the academic year of 1937-1938 the subject of history was taught only in Turkish.

[871] According to a survey conducted by the Greek Embassy in Ankara, only 16-17per cent of Constantinopolitan Greek children were at the time studying in Greek schools. See '*Greek Education in Turkey*', Ankara, 24 September 1951, AYE/ Φ/9 .

[872] See *'Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople'*, 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9.

Easter. Subsequently during the academic year of 1945-1946 the number of Greek students in Istanbul reached its lowest point since the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, amounting in total to 3,712[874]. As for academic staff, there were 32 Greek professors[875] and 165 teachers in total, of whom none was entitled to belong to or establish a 'Teachers Union'[876].

Soon after this rather bleak period for the Greek schools in Istanbul, however, the improvement in diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey began to have a positive impact on the Greek minority and its institutions. From the academic year of 1946-1947, Greek schools began to face considerably less pressure and harsh treatment[877]. In parallel with these developments, the Greek student population had also shown a small increase, amounting to 5,030 in 1947[878]. The establishment of the 'Society for the Encouragement of [Greek] Schools' *Σύνδεσμος Προς Ενίσχυσιν Των Σχολών* in 1947 certainly did strengthen the community schools in some ways. By 1951-1952, according to the Greek Consul-General, there were 5,321 Greek students in Istanbul.

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[873] In 1935, the government passed Law 2007 which decreed that henceforth no one could donate property to the churches or to Greek charitable institutions. Calligatsis to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Komotini, 13 July 1951, AYE/Φ/9. *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:23.

[874] '*Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople*', 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9. According to the same report 3,140 were primary and only 572 [3,712 in total] were secondary school students. The same figures are given in Alexandris 1988:137 and Stamatopoulos 1996:108.

[875] Meaning high school teachers with a University degree. Primary school teachers usually held degrees from a semi-gymnasium or lyceum. '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105.

[876] Capsabelis to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 16 April 1953, AYE/Φ/1.

[877] The intense persecution of Greeks in Imbros and Tenedos, however, continued. Greek schools were being taken over by the Turkish authorites. The possibility of sending their children to the neighbouring village where there was a functioning Greek school was also strictly forbidden by the Turkish authorities. The teaching of the Turkish language was made compulsory while Greek was removed from the curricula after Turkish demands. The use of the Greek language in public was prohibited. See '*Memorandum of the Imvrian Society in Athens, concerning the current situation of Imbros*', 8 November 1946, AYE/108/1 and AYE/108/2.

[878] During 1947-1948 there were 4,344 primary and only 686 secondary school students. '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Constantinople*' in Melas to Foreign Ministry, Constantinople, 29 December 1947, AYE/Φ/105. The statistical information obtained from the Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry coincides with the numbers given by the

1948–1949 Ders Yılı Orta II Sınıf Talebesinden 12 Numaralı Artemis Vasiliyadu

Tarih	Coğrafya	Yurt Bilgisi	Din Dersi	Aritmetik ve Hesap	Matematik	Fizik	Kimya	Tabiiye	Felsefe	Pedagoji	Kozmografya	Askerlik	Fransızca	Ev idaresi	El işleri, Biçki	Jimnastik	Musiki	Resim ve Yazı	Tal ve hareket	Devam mesaidaki günleri	MÜDÜRÜN İMZASI	ÖĞRENCİ VELİSİNİN İMZASI	Terfi	İkmal	İpka
5	10	6	6	6	6	7	9	10	8	–	–	–	–	7	–	10	10	8		10	–				
6	9	7	5	8	8	7	9	10	7	–	–	–	–	8	–	10	10	9	7	–	10	8			
7	8	7	5	8	9	8	10	10	8				7	9		8	10	8	7		10	8			
6	9	7	5	7	8	7	9	10	8					8	–	9	10	9	7		10	16			

NOTLARI: 9-10=Pekiyi 7-8=İyi 5-6=Orta 3-4=Zayıf 1-2=Çok zayıf

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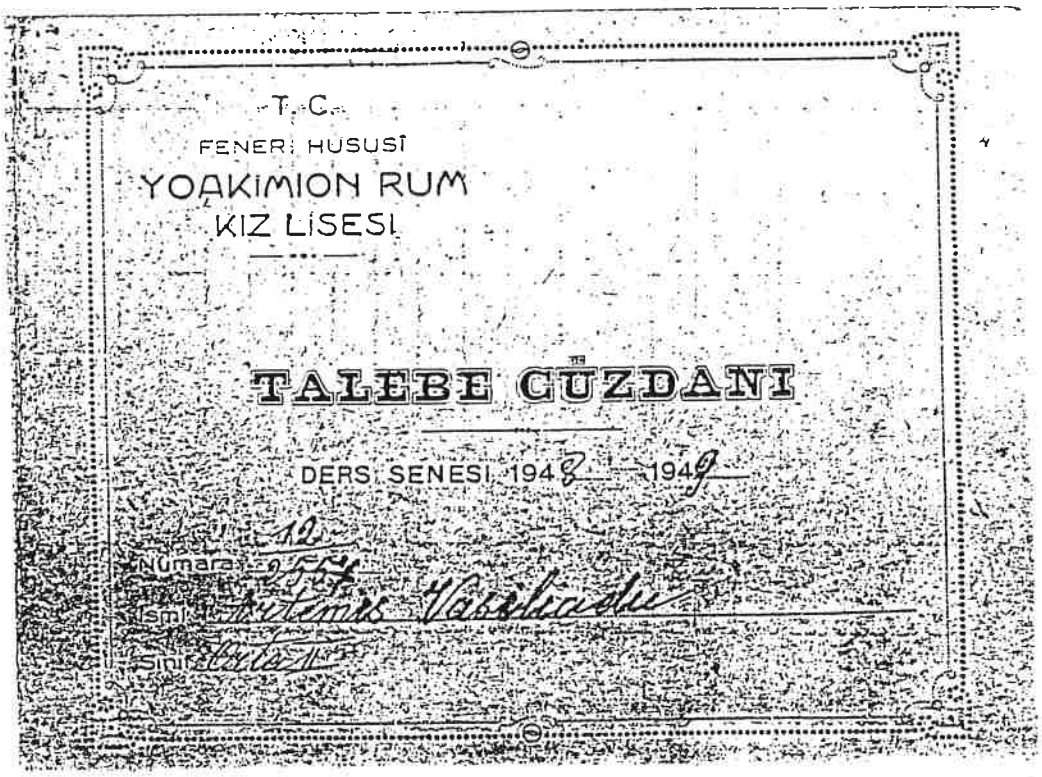


Illustration 23: Annual grade report of the *Ioakeimeion* Greek secondary school. Source: private collection of S. D. Tarinas.

anonymous private collector. See also '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Turkey*', *Hetairia Meleton Constantinoupolis*, 1947:6 and Stamatopoulos 1996:108 for a general historical account.

During this period, the Greek community maintained one theological academy, four *lycées*, one semi-gymnasium and thirty-six primary schools[879]. There were three different areas of specialisation among Greek secondary schools in Istanbul: classical studies (with emphasis on literature), science and commerce[880]. Usually a selection was made in the first year of the *lyceum.* However, in the Patriarchal school [*Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή*], only in the final year was such an option - between classical or science subjects - offered[881].

Towards the end of the 1940s, as the Greek community began to recover from the infamous tax on wealth, a new period of intense cultural activity began to emerge under the aegis of Athenagoras[882]. With the support of the Hellenic Union [883] and together with several newly established cultural associations, academic lectures, book exhibitions, concerts and theatres were now organised to respond to the community's educational needs[884]. The publication of the new *Regulations* of the Ministry of Education, concerning the administration of minority schools, also had some positive effects on the development of Greek educational standards. Soon after 1947, without any prior notice, all school

[879] *op.cit.,* Several primary schools - despite their economic problems - were still kept 'for historical reasons'.

[880] The three-year *gymnasium* period was standard and in the first year of the three-year lyceum a choice of subjects had to be made according to the preference of each student.

[881] See '*Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople*', 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9 . The *Zographeion* school for boys for example offered science and commerce Departments. During that time the *Zappeion* or *Ioakeimeion* school for girls had mostly followed the classical studies programme.

[882] See illustration no. 24.

[883] Ivrakis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 March 1955, AYE/Φ/11. Founded in 1933, this society organised cultural and philanthropic activities. Lectures and conferences were also held at the Union.

[884] *op.cit.* During this period the Greek community maintained five daily, two religious and one children's newspaper. Alexandris 1988:138.

could only
celebrations/events were allowed to be held on condition that half the programme be conducted in Turkish[885].





Illustration 24: Athenagoras the first Patriarch to be allowed to visit Greek schools since 1923. Source: S.D. Tarinas.

[885] See *'Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople'*, 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9 . Prior to 1947, special permission had to be granted by the Ministry of Education to Greek schools before any official celebration could take place; all speeches and performances had to be translated and approved by the Turkish authorities.

Even though strictly under the supervision of the Turkish Ministry of Education[886], in the first half of the 1950s the number of Greek students attending Greek schools increased. Hence, in 1954-1955 the Greek student population increased to 6,495 (5,350 primary, 1,145 secondary) and in 1955-1956 to 6,589 (5,380 primary, 1,209 secondary)[887]. During this period there was one Theological Academy with its *lyceum*, four gymnasia[888] and one semi-gymnasium with 75 teachers[889]. In the same period, only two out of five Greek high schools had a Turkish co-director. The policy of appointing Turkish co-directors to these schools from 1951 was further relaxed, allowing the Greek directors to freely administer their schools[890]. Also in 1951, for the first time the Turkish teachers were to be paid by the government[891]. Even though there was no financial help granted to Greek schools from the Ministry of Education, the fact that Turkish teachers' salaries were now covered by the state was a significant improvement. Thus, before the official commencement of the academic year each school should have planned its budget and submitted it for approval to the founder of the school[892]. In spite of the fact that Greek

[886] For instance the curriculum of each minority school had to be approved by the Turkish authorities each year. See illustration no.25 demonstrating the curriculum of the Greek school *Zappeion* (primary school section) approved by the Ministry of Education on 16 June 1954, decision no. 142.
[887] See '*Statistics for Greek schools in Turkey*', Cons., AYE/Φ/9 for 1953 and AYE/Φ/14 for 1949. See also *Ηχώ*, 21 May 1978.
[888] Two for girls, two for boys.
[889] See Eleopoulos 1952:11-12.
[890] Calligatsis to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Komotini, 13 July 1951, AYE/Φ/9.
[891] *op.cit.* Prior to this, from 1920s to 1951, the salaries of both the Greek and Turkish teachers were covered by the Greek schools' budgets, in contrast to the Greek teachers appointed and paid by the Greek state in Muslim schools as directed by Law no. 132/36. For instance, the Greek schools in Istanbul in 1928 out of a total budget of 327,000TL had to spend 99,399 000TL to cover the salaries of the Turkish teachers. By 1946 this amount - out of an annual budget of 440,000TL - had increased to 147,000TL, still approximately one third of the total budget. For a detailed report see '*Memorandum on the Greek minority of Turkey*', *Hetairia Meleton Constantinoupolis,* 1947:6.
[892] See '*Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople*', 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9 . According to the 1921 Regulations of private and foreign schools in Turkey, every school must nominate a person with Turkish nationality as its 'founder'. Even though this nomination was symbolic, through such a method the Turkish authorities assumed responsibility only for the founder of each school. As we have seen in previous chapters, by this

schools were exempted from the *mukataa* tax (5 per cent) - Circular no. 93/12-1759/ 1 September 1950 - and very small subsidies were given by the prefecture of Istanbul (between 100 and 200TL per year), most Greek educational establishments still faced financial difficulties[893]. The difficulty that clergy and laymen had in co-operating with one another was one of the major causes of friction among the administrators of Greek schools and the Patriarchate, which often led to a disproportionate allocation of subsidies[894]. The academic standards of Greek schools were further improved after the Greek-Turkish educational agreement in 1951[895]. This agreement, signed on 20 April 1951 by Coutoumas-Akdur[896] was an initiative of foreign ministers from the European Council, of which both Greece and Turkey were part members[897]. Under the terms of this pact, a fixed number of Hellenic teachers were allowed to teach in Greek minority schools while the equivalent number of Turkish teachers were sent to Greek Thrace to meet the educational needs of the Muslim minorities[898]. From 1954, each government was able to supply its own minority with school books[899]. Thus, immediately after this agreement, an ample supply

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means all minority schools were taxed as 'private' institutions. Pandermalis to Foreign Ministry, 31 March 1946, Constantinople, AYE/91/4.

[893] See '*Memorandum on the history and functioning of the Greek schools in Constantinople*', 4 June 1951, classified in 1953 file AYE/Φ/9 and in Calligatsis to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Komotini, 13 July 1951, AYE/Φ/9.

[894] *op.cit.*

[895] The Greco-Turkish cultural agreement of 20 April 1951, after being approved by the Greek government, became Law no. 2073 of 18/23 April 1952. In Alexandris' book (1983 and 1992) the date for the Greek-Turkish education agreement is given as 1954. However, the actual agreement was signed in 1951 and not in 1954.

[896] For the Greek version of the educational pact signed between Greece and Turkey see Appendices. Coundoumas to Foreign Ministry, 21 April 1951, AYE/1957/Φ/8/3. The agreement was ratified by the Greek government on 23 April 1952 in Law no.2073. See *Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως*, 23 April 1952.

[897] The European Council was established in 1949.

[898] Law no.5932 in *Resmi Gazete*, 17 May 1952.

[899] Capsabelis to the Greek Embassy in Ankara, Cons., 7 March 1956, AYE/Φ/11. As the book supply arriving from from Greece met considerable delays for bureaucratic reasons, the Greek community began to publish its own school books during this period. Callergis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 28 November 1956. For Constantinopolitan Greek school books see Stamatopoulos 1996:123-124.

of Greek books and magazines was sent to Turkey from Greece, following the approval of the Ministry of Education. In addition both governments agreed to provide financial help to minority schools. As a result of the cultural agreement between the two countries, a Mixed Commission was also established to examine the school books of both countries[900]. The cultural revival of the Greek community was reinforced with the repair of several old school buildings and the establishment of Sunday schools[901]. In 1950, after the revocation of Article 14 of Law no.1151/1927 by the Turkish GNA, the educational life in Imbros and Tenedos returned to normal[902]. Subsequently Greek schools were now able to run according to the Treaty of Lausanne. From the academic year 1951-1952, Greek lessons were re-established in the curricula. Greek teachers were now permitted to teach in the communal schools. Following these developments, in 1952 the semi-*gymnasium* of Panagia in Imbros and a primary school in Tenedos were established[903]. These new developments coincided with the appointment of the young and dynamic Metropolitan of Imbros and Tenedos, Meliton. Under his leadership, another primary school was established in Imbros in 1954[904]. Simultaneously and for the first time new cultural associations and literary societies were founded to improve the socio-cultural level of the islanders. Despite these improvements, Turkey still did not recognise Article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne, providing for self-administration to both islands[905]. At about the

[900] Georgiadis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 April 1954, AYE/Φ/11. The actual summit of the educational Mixed Commission began on 19 April 1954.

[901] Stamatopoulos 1996:109. Under the leadership of Athenagoras the Sunday schools were reestablished in Istanbul.

[902] Law no.1151/1927 was replaced by law no.5713/1951.

[903] Cf. Karas 1987:293. The semi-gymnasium of Panagia in Imbros functioned as a primary school as well. During this period another primary school at Castro (Imbros) was established.

[904] *op.cit.* This was established at Agridia village on 7 September 1954.

[905] Alexandris 1988:143 and 1998:2-15

same time, the Greek government provided scholarships for the whole student population of these islands[906].

Altı Sınıflı

İlk Okullarına Mahsus

Ders dağıtma cetveli

ve

Müfredat Programı

Baskı: Herman Matbaası Beyoğlu

T. C.
İSTANBUL
Maarif Müdürlüğü
Bölümü: Özel Okullar
Sayı: 326/512

7 Temmuz 1954

Zapyon Rum Kız Lisesi Müdürlüğüne

Rum İlk Okulları müfredat programı ile ders dağıtma cetveli Talim ve Terbiye Kurulunun 16/VI/1954 tarih ve 142 sayılı kararı ile kabul edilmiştir.

Bir örneği bağlı bulunan müfredat programı ile dağıtma cetveline göre ders yapılmasını ve bunun bütün Rum okullarına duyurulmasını rica ederim.

Maarif Müdürü y.
Osman Güney
İmza

ALTI SINIFLI RUM İLK OKULLARI

HAFTALIK DERS DAĞITMA CETVELİ

DERSİN ADI	Sınıflar I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
Türkçe	10	7	7	6	6	6
Tarih	—	—	—	2	2	2
Coğrafya	—	—	—	2	2	2
Yurttaşlık Bilgisi	—	—	—	2	1	1
Din Dersleri	2	2	2	1	1	1
Rumca ve Rumca kompozisyon	10	10	10	9	9	9
Matematik	3	3	3	3	3	4
Hayat Bilgisi	1	2	2	—	—	—
Tabiat Bilgisi	—	—	—	2	3	2
Fransızca	—	—	—	2	3	3
Beden Eğitimi	1	1	1	1	1	1
Müzik	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kaligrafi — Resim	1	2	2	1	1	1
Elişleri	1	2	2	2	1	1
	30	30	30	34	34	34

Illustration 25: Circular from the Turkish Education Directorship regulating Greek primary schools curricula. Source: private collection of I. Sarioglou.

[906] Capsabelis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 1 December 1955, AYE/Φ/11 and Theodoropoulos to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 4 May 1955, AYE/Φ/11.

CHAPTER VI

THE CRISIS OF SEPTEMBER 1955

1. The Anti-Greek riots of 1955.

In spite of the increase in the American contribution to sustain Turkey's military defence and expansion throughout 1955, the Turkish government's financial situation continued to deteriorate[907]. At the same time, contrary to Athenagoras' expectations for a permanent Greco-Turkish union[908] and despite the diplomatic visits exchanged between Greece and Turkey at this period, the animosities between the two countries re-emerged as Greek Cypriot nationalist aspirations over Cyprus increased dramatically from the early 1950s. By 1954 the Greek minority of Istanbul once again found itself at the centre of a political storm as a result of attacks by the Turkish press. Athenagoras was criticised heavily by several Turkish newspapers for maintaining a neutral attitude towards the conflict over Cyprus[909]. In the same way, the Constantinopolitan Greek press was also the target of Turkish nationalist movements[910]. On 6/7

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[907] '...the Turkish government continued ... their policy of living beyond their means. They spent more than their revenue, they imported more than they could pay for ... ' in Bowker to Lloyd, Annual Report on Turkey for 1955, Ankara, 16 January 1956, FO 371/123999/RK1011/1. 'There was an American predominance due to the large amount of money they were putting into the country' observed Brant, the Foreign Office official on 7 February 1957. See Bowker to Lloyd, Annual Report for 1956, Ankara, 31 January 1957, FO 371/130174/RK1011/1. About America's financial help see also Bowker to Foreign Offcie, Annual Report for 1957, Ankara, 4 February 1958, FO 371/136450/RK1011/1. In this last report the following information concerning Turkey's dependence on the USA is quoted as: 'The USA continued as before, to sustain Turkey's defence and economy (45per cent of all Turkey's imports were financed in one way or another by the USA) ... and the Turkish Government continued throughout the year to seek the US Government's advice and support on all points connected with their policy in the Middle East ...'.

[908] Paleologos 1972:57-73. Also in Dosdogru 1993 and Margosyan 1999.

[909] British Chancery to Research Department, Ankara, 10 September 1955, FO 371/117743/RK1781/2. Headed by *Cumhuriyet, Tercüman* and *Hürriyet*, the Turkish press accused the Patriarch of not being able to discipline Archbishop Makarios. See *Tercüman* 2 July 1955, *Hürriyet* 18 July 1955, and *Cumhuriyet* 28 August 1955.

[910] The Constantinopolitan Greek press did not publish any pro-Greek Cypriot comments and remained neutral and silent on the issue of Cyprus. They only published the news as it appeared in

September 1955 serious riots broke out against the Greek community in Istanbul[911]. The immediate cause appears to have been a report, received three or four hours earlier and published by two Istanbul papers in special evening editions, alleging that Atatürk's birthplace and the Turkish consulate in Thessaloniki had been attacked and blown up by Greek demonstrators[912]. Almost simultaneously with the circulation of the news[913], demonstrations protesting against this incident were organised in Istanbul by the 'Cyprus is Turkish Association'[914]. Soon, however, the demonstrations turned into rioting and the looting of property of the Greek minority in Istanbul, which continued until the following morning. The

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the Turkish press. *Ελεύθερη Φωνή*, 28 August 1995, *Εμπρός* of 29 August 1955. Both newspapers expressed the frustration of the Greek community and the Patriarchate over the constant imaginary speculations of the Turkish press.

[911] Young to Stewart, Foreign Office, 21 November 1955, FO 371/117711/RK10110 and in FO 371/117711/RG1034450. See also Dosdogru 1993, Sarris 1995:13, Arkan 1996:6-8, Kaloumenos 1991, Tsoukatou eds., 1998. See also *The Times* and *Cumhuriyet* of 26 October 1960. On the Greek deputy's speech confirming that the riots were organised well in advance by the government see *Cumhuriyet*, 2 November 1960.
Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450.

[912] Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450. According to the Minister of Northern Greece at 00.10 on 6 September 1955 an explosion occurred in the courtyard of the Turkish Consulate at Thessaloniki, a building located adjacent to Atatürk's house, 'which from the basic prerequisite of the preliminary inquiry, everything points in every way to the fact that the author of the explosion ... was a person within the Turkish Consulate...'. Apart from a few windows shattered there was no damage done to either building. See British Chancery to Southern Department, 16 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG 10344/45. At the time of the explosion the Consulate's watchman, a Turk who was known to be fanatically anti-Greek, was inside the Consulate and had set off the explosions while inside the building. See Foreign Office Minutes by Thompson, London, 16 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/39. Towards the end of September a twenty-four-year-old Turkish student of Thessaloniki University, Oktay Engin Faik, was arrested for 'moral complicity in the dynamite outrage at the Turkish consulate in Thessaloniki, for which the night watchman, Mehmet Oglu Hasan was also under arrest'. The latter, who was a resident of Komotini at the end of 1952, took advantage of a visit of the Turkish president to Komotini and escaped to Turkey. He then disappeared, only later emerging, when he was sent as an usher to the Turkish Consulate in Thessaloniki. According to the British Foreign Office reports 'he hates the Greeks and has the confidence of the Turkish authorities, who extend to him their protection.', in British Embassy, Athens, 16 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/45. See also British Chancery to Southern Department, Athens, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/56.

[913] See illustration no.28. The photographs of the original Turkish newspapers were taken during an exhibition on the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955 organised by the Turkish Human Rights Society, on 7 September 1996 in Istanbul. See Appendix F.

[914] British Consul-General to Foreign Office, Istanbul, 7 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RK10110/1 and 8 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RK10110/6.

rioting quickly spread 'throughout the city and suburbs, the asiatic (sic) side and the Princes Islands where there are Greek minorities...'[915].



Illustrations 26-28: Turkish newspapers before and after the anti-Greek riots.

[915] *op.cit*

ULUS

ADIMIZ ANLIMIZDIR

tanbul ve İzmir'de örfi

KIBRIS KONFERANSI DEVAM EDERKEN

anlılar Atatürk'ün ne bomba attılar

...ce geç vakitlerde bahçeye atılan iki bombadan ... Evin 17, Konsoloshanemizin 40 camı infilâktan ... Polis adları açıklanmıyan 6 kişiyi tevkif etti



Hükümet bir tebliğ neşretti

Tebliğde memleket menfaatlerine aykırı hareket edildiği bildiriliyor

KIBRIS HAKKINDA

Üçlü Londra konferansının dünkü oturumu

Konferansın dün sabah yapılan gizli ... iki buçuk saat devam etti-Bas...

Hürriyet

DEMİRBANK

YILBAŞI İKRAMİYESİNE

...amızın Selânikte doğduğu eve atılan bombanın sebep olduğu hâdiseleri önlemek için

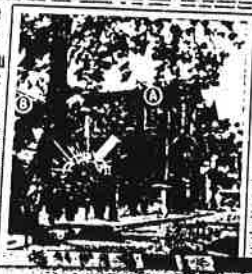
İstanbul ve İzmir'de örfî idare ilân edildi





...lanın doğduğu eve ...ılan saatli bomba

...nat makamları 5 şüpheli ...kum tevkifini bildirdiler



Hâdiseleri önlemek için şehirde sıkı tedbir alındı

Ordu birlikleri şehirde vazifesi bitiren ...kadar ... dakikalar hazır ...

Patrikhane sıkı kontrol altında



İstanbul Ekspres

GECEYARISINDAN SONRA İSTANBUL













İstanbul Ekspres

İSTANBUL, DÜN GECE BİR TARİH YAŞADI

ŞEHRİMİZDEKİ BÜYÜK HÜKÜMETİ NİÇİN TEK TARİP EDİLDİ. ATAKİRA YAPILAN SUİKAST HEPİMİZİ KARŞILADI



















Hürriyet

DEMİRBANK

1 mayıs gecesi tahrikât yapan
üzdan fazla komünist yakalandı

görülenlere 10-15 yıl arasında hapis cezası verilecek

Vilâyetteki temas ve toplantılar

TO konseyi gizli toplantı yaptı

Londra'daki Üçlü Kıbrıs Konferansında bulunan
F. R. Zorlu ve heyetimiz gece

Örfî idare Komutanlığı dün bir tebliğ neşretti

Saat 23 ile sabahın 5 i arasında sokakda gezmek yasak edildi

Menderes - Varren dün görüştüler



Vakit

NE DÜN, NE BUGÜN, YARIN İÇİN...

Konferansında Herhangi Bir
şmaya Varılamayacağı Anlaşılıyor

Eskişehir ve Bursada şiddetli yağmur'ar

Bazı semtlerde evleri su bastı

İzmirde dün gece
müessif hâdiseler oldu

Gönüllü olarak Kıbrısa gitmek istiyen mahkümlar



AKŞAM

Hükümetin dün aldığı fevkalâde tedbirlerden sonra

ASAYIŞ TEMİN EDİLDİ

Örfi idare kumandanlığının bir
tebliğ yayınlaması bekleniyor

Cumhurreisi: «Türk milletinin tarihinde bu gibi hâdiselere tesadüf edilmemiştir» dedi

Örfî idare Komutanı İstanbula geldi

Başvekâletin tebliği

RESMİ TEBLİĞ

Only the Greek Consulate in Istanbul - like all the other foreign consular establishments[916] - and the Patriarchate were heavily protected. News of the rioting reached the Prime Minister while he was on a train from Istanbul to Ankara. Menderes was immediately forced to return to Istanbul with the President of the Republic, Celal Bayar, after declaring martial law in the three main cities for six months[917].

According to the British ambassador, Stewart, the rioting had been organised well in advance by the Turkish government to coincide more or less with the end of the London Conference on Cyprus[918]. 'Indeed the [Turkish] government had admitted as much' reported the British representative to the Foreign Office[919]. Neither the Turkish police, nor the garrison troops who were on duty, made any real attempt to restrain the rioters[920]. Hikmet Bil, the president of the 'Cyprus is Turkish Association' [*Kıbrıs Türktür*], though under arrest after the riots, had previously spent an hour with Prime Minister Menderes on the evening of 5 September 1955. According to 'reliable information' received by Stewart, the Turkish government had agreed to an anti-Greek demonstration to be organised

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[916] However the Greek Consulate in Izmir was set on fire. Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 24 September 1955, FO 371/117711/10344/46. In addition the Greek officer attached to NATO headquarters was also attacked. See Lambert to Foreign Office, Athens, 20 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/40.

[917] *op.cit.*

[918] The Tripatrite Conference on the Cyprus issue had started in late August between Greece, Turkey and Britain, in London. Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450.

[919] *op.cit.*

[920] op.*cit.* According to the Foreign Office dignitaries, this in itself constituted enough evidence to give rise to liability under international law. Young to Stewart, Foreign Office, 21 November 1955, FO 371/117711/RK10110 and in FO 371/117711/RG1034450. Arthur Richard, the American Consul-General as an eye-witness reporting the anti-Greek riots confirmed that: ' ... the destruction was completely out of hand with no evidence of police or military attempts to control it. I personally witnessed the looting of many shops while the police stood idly by or cheered on the mob'. For the full report of the American representative see *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:7. See also the speech of A. Chatzopoulos [the Greek deputy who was also an eye-witness], delivered on 12 September 1955 in the Turkish assembly and published in the Greek Constantinopoliatn daily *Εμπρός*, 15 September 1955. Also in *Καθημερινή, Επτά Ημέρες* 10 September 1995.

under the auspices of this Association[921]. Great damage was inflicted in almost all the Greek parishes[922] of Istanbul as well as on the islands of the Sea of Marmara. İzmir, simultaneously with the rioting in Istanbul, was also faced with the same incidents and wherever there were Greeks - and only rarely other foreign communities[923] - they were also attacked. Unable to justify the inactivity of the Turkish police, Menderes, during his speech at the National Assembly on 12 September 1955, admitted[924] foreknowledge of the demonstrations. As a result, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Namık Gedik (who was in Istanbul during the rioting) together with the Minister of State, resigned and the Chief of Police, the Director of Security and three senior generals were dismissed from their posts[925]. In the government's explanation, delivered by the Turkish Premier and the deputy Minister Köprülü, they attempted to justify the riots as:

> 'the spontaneous expression of national feeling inflamed by the report[926] of the intended massacre of Turkish Cypriots on 28 August 1955 and concern for their Cypriot brothers. The police and armed forces were understandably affected by the same

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[921] Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450.

[922] *op.cit.* Especially in Beyoglu (Pera), Kurtuluş (Tatavla), Samatya (Psomatheia), Florya - and in other Greek centres of the city.

[923] *op.cit.* A few other non-Muslim communities such the Armenian, Jewish, British, Italian, French and Austrian were also attacked. According to the British representative in Istanbul the Anglican clergy and property in Istanbul were not attacked. See British Consulate General to Southern Department, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/ 117711/RG10344/48. About the damage to British property in İzmir and Istanbul see British Chancery to Southern Department, 22 September 1955, Istanbul, FO 371/117711/RG 10344/53, Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation to Johnston, London, 15 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RK 10110/4. According to another Foreign Office report the governor of İzmir made a formal apology for the incidents to General Read, the Senior Greek General and the Greek Consul General in İzmir the day after the riots. See Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 24 September 1955, FO 371/117711/10344/46.

[924] *op.cit.*

[925] *op.cit.* and in British Consul-General to Foreign Office, Istanbul, 7 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RK10110/1.

'psychosis' which accounted for their hesitation and relative ineffectiveness. But beyond the natural and to some extent legitimate activities of students and the like, there were dark forces, Red agents, and ill-disposed individuals, who had momentarily succeeded in capitalising the feelings of the country and had brought disgrace and material disaster...'[927].

Attributing the riots to Red agents did not seem plausible since there was no threat of Communists in Turkey. A more feasible alternative to the Communists was the 'Cyprus is Turkish Association' which had most likely done all "the planning for the systematic identification of Greek property, the organisation of taxis for the demonstrators, the despatch of roving bands to the outlying Greek colonies and the transport to Istanbul of gangs from the provinces'[928]. However, the British ambassador in Ankara was of the opinion that this Association could not alone have been responsible for 'the wave of methodical destruction which followed the early demonstrations nor for the wholesale ransacking and burning of Greek Churches and schools, the widespread desecration of the *Şişli* cemetery, nor the attacks on the property of minorities ... '[929]. There was also evidence to suggest that the local Democrat Party representatives were amongst the leaders of the rioting in various parts of Istanbul and in the Marmara islands[930]. Martial law was imposed shortly after midnight, at the end of the rioting on 7 September 1955, and the GNA was summoned for an extraordinary session on 12 September 1955[931].

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[926] According to Stewart 'for the spreading of which incidentally the Turkish government was solely responsible ... ' in Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450.

[927] Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450.

[928] *op.cit.*

[929] *op.cit.*

[930] Stewart to Macmillan, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/50.

[931] All unofficial telegraphic correspondence abroad was prohibited for some days. Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450

Incidentally, soon after the anti-Greek riots, the chief security office of the Turkish police in Istanbul was destroyed[932].

Meantime, full compensation for the victims was promised by the government[933]. A few Greek businessmen, whose property by chance was not damaged, were asked to contribute large sums for immediate economic help[934]. A committee was also set up under the patronage of President Bayar and the chairmanship of Menderes to assist those who had suffered damage in the incidents[935]. On 7 September 1955 the first official communiqué said that the State would make urgent reparations and indemnify losses[936]. The following day President Bayar, in a public statement, promised that the government would indemnify all those who had suffered losses. The second official communiqué on 10 September stated that 'sacrifices would be made to compensate these losses'[937]. In his speech to the National Assembly on 12 September, the Prime Minister, referring once again to the losses of the 'Turkish nationals'[938], underlined that it was government's duty to repair the damage. The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs also published a statement inviting foreigners whose property had been damaged during the riots to submit a list of their losses[939]. Three months later, in December 1955, Zorlu, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, estimated the claims of foreign nationals at 41

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and in British Consul-General to Foreign Office, Istanbul, 7 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RK10110/1.

[932] Report by Michael Richards in *The Daily Telegraph* 15 October 1955.

[933] Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/50.

[934] *Interview with Professor Neoklis Sarris*, 19 April 1997, Athens. For instance, the Constantinopolitan brothers Vamvakopoulos can constitute such an example.

[935] British Consul-General to Foreign Office, Istanbul, 7 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RK10110/1.
A number of prominent bankers, businessmen and leading members of the Red Crescent association had made large contributions in order to raise funds for the victims of the rioting.

[936] Wyrouboff to Falla, London, 15 December 1955, FO 371/117721/RK 10110/14 and in British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 14 September 1955, FO 371/117721/RG10344/34.

[937] *op.cit.*

[938] Mainly Greek with Turkish citizenship.

million TL, of which 27 million TL were Greek claims[940]. However, it was decided that compensation for stolen goods was not to be paid. Meantime the Turkish press, under conditions of martial law, followed the Turkish government's official line, blaming the imaginary 'communists and red agents'. They rarely criticised the government's handling of the riots and in only a few cases did they suggest that the incidents had been carefully organised and planned well in advance[941].

In the aftermath of the anti-Greek vandalism, the British Consul-General in Istanbul, questioned, in a secret communiqué, the degree of the responsibility borne by the Turkish state or the Democrat Party for the riots, discussed the matter with his American counterparts. The American Embassy in Ankara appeared strongly inclined to accept the official Turkish line about 'Communist inspiration and organisation', even though for the British this appeared to be 'nonsense'[942]. Incidentally, when the U.S senator Homer Capehart[943], who was travelling in Europe as representative of the U.S Senate Foreign Relations Committee, came to Istanbul three days after the riots and spoke at a press conference in Athens on 15 September 1955, he estimated $300 million damage had been done by these 'carefully organised riots'[944]. It is worth noting that Allen Dulles, the head of the US Central Intelligence Agency, was in Istanbul at the time of the riots attending a criminology congress[945]!

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[939] *The Times*, 16 September 1955.

[940] Stewart to Young, Ankara, 20 December 1955, FO 371/117721/RK10110/15.

[941] For a full analysis of the Turkish press of the time see Stewart to Macmillan, Istanbul, 21 September 1955, FO 371.117711/RG10344/51. It has to be noted that a number of them were suspended [such as the *Ulus, Hürriyet* and *Tercüman*] and the opposition newspaper *Sabah Postası* was closed down.

[942] H. M. Consul-General, Istanbul, 3 October 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/62.

[943] Representative of Indiana.

[944] See British Chancery to Southern Department, Athens, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/56.

[945] Fuat Köprülü who was deputy minister at the time of the riots and one of the accused, during his testimony on 21 October 1960 stated that the violent demonstrations had been inspired by Zorlu and organised by Menderes, even though the original idea was suggested by Allen Dulles, head of the US

According to the Greek press attaché in Istanbul, the Greek community in Istanbul consisted of 80,000 Greeks, of whom 25,000 were Greek nationals and the rest Turkish[946]. The total amount of the damage caused by the Turkish attackers, taking into account all the houses, shops, churches and schools, was difficult to assess, partly because of the wide area in which the anti-Greek riots took place. However, according to the Greek attaché, three out of five Greek high schools were badly damaged and 28 out of 45 primary schools partly destroyed[947]. Out of 83 Greek Orthodox Churches, 72 were seriously damaged as were numerous cemetries at *Şişli* and *Baloukli* [948]. One thousand shops and business premises owned by Greek nationals were completely destroyed[949]. Another 3,000 premises owned by Greeks with Turkish nationality were destroyed[950] and, according to the chief surgeon of the Greek hospital at *Baloukli,* 60 girls had been assaulted in various parts of Istanbul[951]. In the same report, particular reference is made to five out of seven Greek language newspapers, whose premises were badly damaged during these incidents. Only the Phanar, which was 'well protected by large numbers of police in advance of the riots', had suffered no damage. 'Great damage was done to the monuments and tombs in the Greek Orthodox Cemetry at

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Central Intelligence Agency). However as he was unable to provide enough evidence he was forced to modify his charges. *The New York Times* and *Cumhuriyet* 21-22 October 1960.

[946] British Chancery to Southern Department, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/52.

[947] For a detailed report on the damage to Greek schools see *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:45-49. See Kaloumenos 1991 and illustration 32.

[948] *op.cit.*, About ten Greek Orthodox Churches had been completely destroyed by fire, containing many valuable statues and several icons. Several priests had been attacked and injured. The collection of large family tombs in the centre of *Şişli* cemetery was the principal target of the attackers. Several eye-witnesses, including the grand-mother of the author confirmed that bodies were torn out of their coffins and burned by the mob. *Interview with Irini Araitzopoulou*, 25 February 1999, Athens. On the fifteen people killed during the riots see note 985 above.

[949] *op.cit.*, The owners assessed the damage at 300 million TL but the Greek consul believed that 100 million TL would be more accurate.

[950] *op.cit.*, According to this report the damage inflicted on the Greeks with Turkish nationality came to 250 million TL.

Şişli, where the church was burnt, coffins and caskets were forced open and bodies and bones were exposed and scattered nearby...' [952]. As far as the damage to Greek schools and churches was concerned, the British representative in Istanbul gave approximately the same figures as those given by the Greek attaché. The seminary on the island of Chalki, he reported, was also partially damaged and 'the Greek Catholic Church and school facing the British Consulate General were completely sacked ...'[953]

In condemning these incidents, the General-Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Visser't Hooft, could not believe that such crimes could be committed in an age when Human Rights supposedly were promoted on the International Agenda[954]. Another member of the refugee service of the World Council of Churches, Maxwell, who visited Istanbul himself and realised the extent of the destruction of Greek community and schools, reported that 'over sixty out of 80 Orthodox Churches in and around Constantinople were either completely destroyed or have been rendered completely unserviceable ... the Greek cemetery tombstones have been overturned and graves remain open ... the 70 Greek schools in Constantinople ... have been completely destroyed'[955]. The press all over the world, and especially the ecclesiastical heads of the Eastern countries such as the Bulgarian, Russian and Roumanian Churches, protested against the anti-Greek riots in Istanbul through declarations published in

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[951] *op.cit.*
[952] British Consulate General to Southern Department, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/48.
[953] *op.cit.*
[954] BBC Monitoring Report, 29 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/65. About the WCC's economic aid and a full analysis of the riots see British Consulate-General, Istanbul, 22 December 1955, FO 371/117721/RG 10110/16.
[955] Foreign Office Minutes by Johnston, London, 4 October 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/64.

nearly all their newspapers[956]. A telegram was also sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople expressing his 'profound grief and horror at the destruction of the Orthodox Churches in Istanbul'[957]. Telegrams of condolence and horror had also been received from the Patriarch of Antioch and the Secretary-General of the United Nations respectively[958]. The Soviet press for their part also condemned the riots against the Greeks in Istanbul, emphasising that the USA and NATO were responsible for serving the interests of the strong to the detriment of the weak[959]. Among those who dissented from the Turkish line on the anti-Greek riots in the strongest terms was an anonymous Englishman - an ex-service man from the 1939-1945 War - who wrote to the British Premier and the Turkish ambassador in London to protest against the incidents of 6/7 September for which he believed the Turkish government and nation were responsible[960]. A few days later

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[956] British Chancery to Southern Department, Sofia, 30 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/66 and in British Consulate General to Southern Department, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/ 117711/RG10344/48.

[957] Foreign Office Minutes by Johnston, London, 30 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/61.

[958] Messages from Turkish *Müfti* (spiritual leader) and community in Rhodes were also received. See British Chancery to Southern Department, Athens, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/56.

[959] The Soviet press also took a favourable position towards the Cypriot people's right to self-determination. British Chancery to Southern Department, Moscow, 22 September 1955, FO 371/RG10344/57.

[960] See Foreign Office Minutes by Johnston, London, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/60. A letter sent to the English premier asks 'from the leaders of the UK, USA, France ...' to be aware of the minority groups in Turkey who place their hopes for life into their hands ...' For the letter of Berkol, the Turkish ambassador in London, informing the Foreign Office about '...the unsigned letter mailed in Istanbul by a person stating to be an Englishman ... who is understood to be simply an antagonist of the Turkish nation ... ' and the reply sent by the British Secretary J.G. Ward to Turkish ambassador one may consult the same file. As one might expect, what seemed to matter to the Turkish and British sides was 'the maintenance of Anglo-Turkish friendship'. Ward to F.N. Berkol, London, 10 October 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034460. However the letter sent to the ambassador of Turkey in London is written in a very emotional and threatening tone as the anonymous Englishman had experienced the night of 6/7 September 1955 in Istanbul. He also states that for security reasons his identity must remain secret until he arrives in England where at the first available opportunity in London or elsewhere in the U.K. 'he will spit in the face of the Turkish ambassador' as a symbolic gesture to condemn 'the Turkish race and nation'. He also accused the Turkish nation of hiding behind the mask of democracy, wearing hats [sc. Western dress] and other so-called European innovations. He underlines that the '6/7 September 1955 will always remain a stigma of how far from Decency and Civilisation the Turkish nation stands ... a proof of barbarism and savage instincts ... ' According to the author of the above, the main driving force behind its composition was his unfortunate experience during the night of 6/7 September 1955, 'a

Istanbul was getting itself back into some sort of shape to receive the delegates for the International Bank and Monetary Fund Conference. Turkey, economically in a critical position after the 'communist incidents', was now hoping to rely even more on American funding.

The Greek Premier Papagos, in a message to the Greek nation on 17 September 1955, affirmed that ' … in view of our sincere adherence to the friendship and alliance with Turkey, we expected different treatment and that is why reparation should be complete and absolute … '[961]. Three days later, on 18 September 1955 an identical message sent by the US Secretary of State, J.F. Dulles, to both the Greek and Turkish governments respectively had a very negative impact on the Greek side[962]. Interested purely in the NATO alliance, the US secretary in his message paid tribute only to political issues, ignoring the fact that there had been a violent attack by Turkey on innocent people. He could not believe that ' … in the face of this record of common achievement, any problem will long disrupt the course of Greek-Turkish friendship ... nor can I believe', he continued,

> 'that the unhappy events of the past two weeks will reverse policies of co-operation which were initiated 25 years ago under the far-sighted leadership of Eleftherios Venizelos and Kemal AtatÜrk … I am confident that the spirit of close co-operation that Greece and Turkey had so often demonstrated in the past as fellow members of the

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night of horror and terror not witnessed by myself even during my War service … a night where the whole nation be it by acts or by thoughts attacked **helpless** and **defenceless** people under its domination.'. The writer continues by making a reference to the *Varlık* tax where minorities had been 'crushed economically and were sent, after having sold their last shirt, to concentration camps'. On the night of 6/7 September 'only a Dante Alighieri or a Middle -Age writer, to whom terror and torture were common day happenings, could have expressed in words what has happened in Istanbul and I hear in İzmir, on that infamous night…'. At the end of the four - page letter he accuses once again the Turkish nation 'for what happened on the night of the 6/7 September 1955.

[961] British Chancery, Athens, 19 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/44 and in Foreign Office Minute by Thomson, London, 21 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/55.

[962] Foreign Office Minutes, London, 20 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/43. The Turkish press was not allowed to comment on Dulles' message. The Greek press, however, was vociferous in denouncing Dulles' message and in declaring that if it came to a choice Greece would choose Cyprus every time. It should be made clear that the Cyprus question is outside of the scope of this thesis.

United Nations, NATO and the Balkan Alliance, will enable you to transcend immediate differences in the interests of free world unity'[963].

The fact that his message made no specific reference to the Turkish violence against the Greek minority in Istanbul, nor offered any words of sympathy towards the victims of such atrocities, was deeply disappointing for the Greek press and government[964]. In his reply to the US secretary, Menderes emphasised that the friendship and alliance between his country and Greece 'will not be destroyed by the recent events'[965]. Trying to justify the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September, the Turkish Premier mentioned that, due to the Cyprus problem, tension had reached its 'uttermost limit ... and spread, through the work of Communist organisations ... '[966]. The Turkish press had not been allowed to make any comment[967]. In a speech made on 28 September 1955, Menderes stated that ' ... Turkey had done her best to satisfy Greece. If these efforts had not been fully recognised and did not satisfy Greece, Turkey could only regret it ... '[968]. A personal message was also sent by Menderes to Greek Premier Papagos[969]. A reply to the Turkish Prime Minister's message was sent by Marshal Papagos before the latter died[970]. The feelings aroused before and during the riots were so high that the

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[963] Foreign Office Minute by Thomson, London, 20 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/43.

[964] Foreign Office Minute by Thomson, London, 21 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/55. The Greek premier Marshal Papagos in his reply to Dulles' message among others, affirmed that '... morals and justice should not be overlooked. Those two factors are at the disposal of the democratic world, and particularly move the Greek people who are sensitive to in every question affecting national honour ... ' See British Chancery, Athens, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/56 and about the astonishment of the Greek press Lambert to Foreign Office, Athens, 20 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG 10344/41.

[965] Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 21 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/42.

[966] *op.cit.*

[967] Foreign Office Minute by Thomson, London, 23 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/43A and in Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 23 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/47.

[968] Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 29 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/58.

[969] *op.cit.*

[970] Stewart to the Foreign Office, Ankara, 7 October 1955, FO 371/117711/RG10344/67.

'threats against the 'infidels' were still continuing long after the riots'[971]. Moreover, according to the British representative in Istanbul it was 'unfortunately true' that the recent riots had 'stirred up the latent religious fanaticism and xenophobia of the Turkish masses'[972]. In February 1956 the Martial Law Command completed its investigation into the causes and the people responsible for the riots of September 1955. Thus the blame was laid on the 'Cyprus is Turkish Association' and to a lesser degree on the Turkish National Students' Federation[973]. The Secretary-General of the 'Cyprus Is Turkish Association', Kamil Önal, was accused of being the main ringleader for the riots[974].

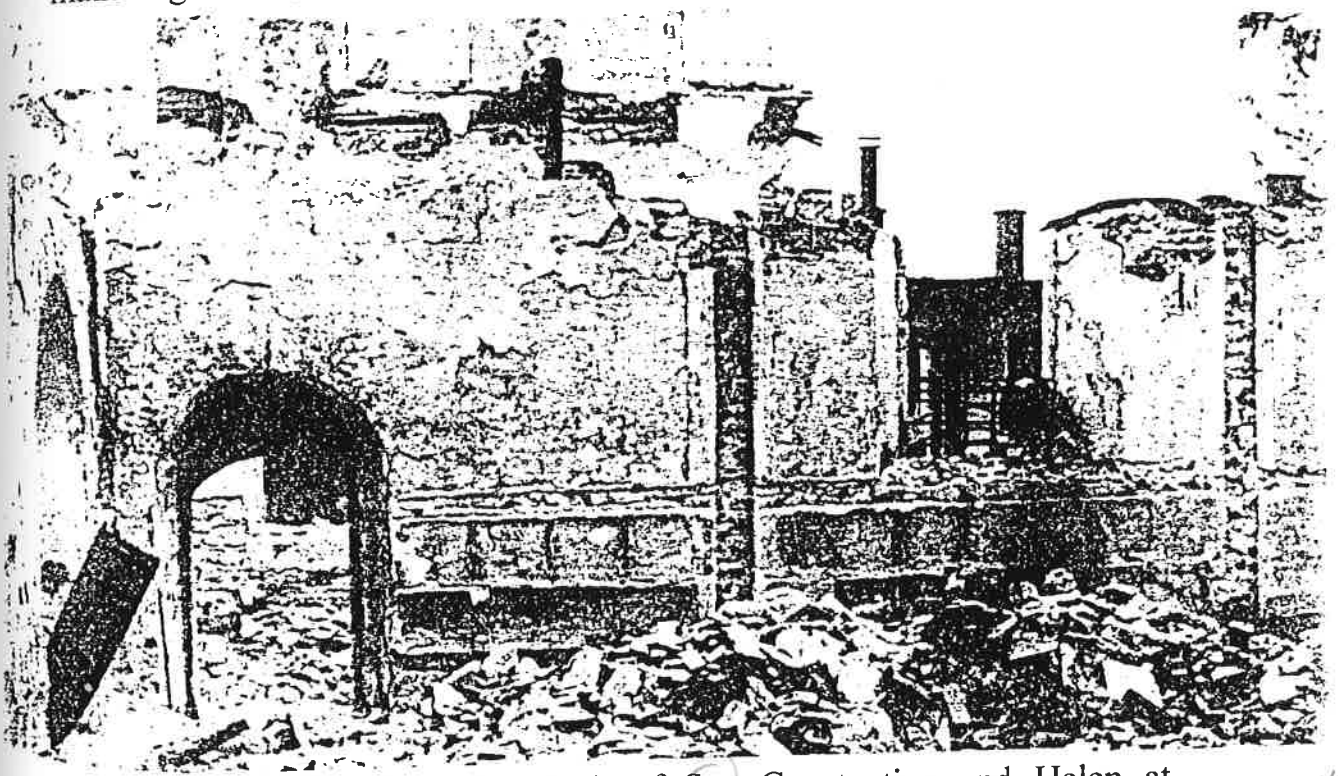


Illustration 29: The burned church of Sts. Constantine and Helen at Psomatheia. Source: D. Kaloumenos.

[971] British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 15 October 1955, FO 371/117721/RK 10110/10.

[972] British Chancery to Southern Department, Istanbul, 12 October 1955, FO 371/117721/RK 10110/9.

[973] For the full report and the people accused see Bowker to Lloyd, Ankara, 21 February 1956, FO 371/124003/RK 10110/5.

[974] *Extract from BBC monitor* on the Cyprus is Turkish Association, 11 February 1956, FO 371/124003/RK 10110/4. A communiqué of the Martial Law Command, issued in Istanbul, stated that as a result of investigations in connection with events of 6/7 September 1955, 17 persons had been found guilty and were to stand trial on 13 February 1956.

2. The minority question and the crisis between Greece and Turkey.

One year after the anti-Greek riots, the Turkish government's policy on the Patriarchate and the Greek minority in Istanbul seemed unchanged[975]. Even though the Bill providing compensation had been passed and more verbal assurances had been granted by the end of April 1956, there was still no compensation granted to the victims of riots by the government[976]. Yet it was announced that payments under the Compensation Bill would be made to a total of 60 million TL. The Turks stated that the total of foreign claims came to 41 million TL of which, according to the British Foreign Office minutes, approximately 30 million were Greek claims[977]. Complaining about the inadequacy of this amount to Köprülü, the Greek ambassador confirmed that the actual damage was far greater than the amount compensated[978].

In a new series of measures against the 'infidels', the Turkish government had 'forbidden the export of the Patriarchal periodical' and the Patriarch was advised not to leave the Phanar[979]. The Turkish government

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[975] British Consulate-General to British Embassy, Istanbul, 14 November 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/9. For instance no repair work to the Greek Churches had been done since they were attacked and only 2,800,000TL was given by the *Evkaf Bank* to start restorations. See also Southern Department to British Chancery in Ankara, Foreign Office, 12 September 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/4. In the last report it was also stated that the Patriarch had received from the Turkish government a total of 14 million TL as a compensation for the destroyed churches.

[976] British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 29 February 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/7, British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 28 February 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/6 and British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 25 April 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/9. Towards October 1956 the compensation procedure was still ~~under~~ progress. See Hillier-Fry to Arculus, Istanbul, 13 October 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/17.

[977] Foreign Office Minutes by Johnston, London, 23 March 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/8. Law no. 6684 regarding compensation to be paid by the Turkish government can be found in this report. For the decree no.4/7474 on the regulations regarding the principles determining the losses suffered by actual and juridical persons see British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 24 July 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/13. For the initial draft of the Compensation Decree no.4/592 see Bowker to Lloyd, Ankara, 3 January 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/2.

[978] Stewart to Young, 25 April 1956, FO 371/124003/RK10110/10.

[979] Waddams to Johnston, Lambeth Palace, 5 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/6. In the summer of this year when the Patriarch asked for passports from the Turkish authorities for two of his representatives, he received no reply and it therefore became impossible for them to attend a meeting of the Central Committee of the WCC at Yale in July 1956. See Booth to Addis, London, 20

remained intolerant towards the sale of Greek printed material and it was on the suggestion of Turkish police that 'the circulation of the Patriarchate's own newspaper was reduced to 1,000'[980]. Secular language newspapers, which once had a daily circulation of approximately 10,000 each before September 1955, now only sold about 3,000 to 4,000 copies[981]. Meanwhile, on 10 November 1956 the Turkish police raided and shut down the Hellenic Union of Constantinopolitans[982]. They also arrested some forty-three people[983] in connection with the Union, after a number of documents on 'the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, reports and material for propaganda about the riots of September 1955 ... ' were found on the Union's premises[984]. After the wave of arrests which took place, Maxwell, who visited Istanbul and Athens on behalf of the WCC, found the Greek community and Patriarchate 'in consternation'[985]. These arrests naturally intensified the pressure upon the Greek minority to leave Turkey. In fact the infrastructure of the Greek community crumbled, as long established 'well-to-do families' did indeed leave[986]. Under these circumstances, the Patriarchate was extremely dismayed over the future of

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December 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/20. Four years later when the trials of the Menderes regime were held, delegates from the Patriarchate asked once again for passports from the Turkish authorities in order to attend another visit of the WCC. Their demand was again refused by the Turkish government. See Anagnostopoulos to Satterthwaite, Chalki Island, 16 August 1960, FO 371/153091/RK 1781/2.

[980] British Consulate-General to British Embassy, Istanbul, 14 November 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/9 and about the general anti-minority feeling during this period see British Consulate-General, Istanbul, 22 December 1955, FO 371/117721/RG 10110/16.

[981] British Consulate-General to British Embassy, Istanbul, 14 November 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/9.

[982] This was an association for all Istanbul Greeks regardless of their nationality. British Embassy to Southern Department, Ankara, 16 November 1956, FO 371/124008/RK10319/2.

[983] The president and a number of committee and ordinary members were arrested. Among the names of the persons detained was the Bishop of Troy. See British Chancery to Foreign Office, Athens, 26 November 1956, FO 371/124008/RK10319/4.

[984] British Embassy to Southern Department, Ankara, 23 November 1956, FO 371/124008/RK10319/3. It is interesting to note that the Greek representative in Ankara, Calergis, attempted to see the accused. However access was denied by the Turkish authorities.

[985] '*Memorandum on Christian Minorities in Istanbul and the Ecumenical Patriarchate*' by Maxwell, in Barron to Brant, Lambeth Palace, 10 December 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/10.

[986] Waddams to Johnston, Lambeth Palace, 5 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/6.

the Greek minority. It was clear that Athenagoras' main concern now was to ensure the survival of the Greek community in Istanbul[987]. The riots of 6/7 September had seriously shaken the Greek community and many prosperous families had begun to leave the city[988]. It was reported that since the attacks of September 6, 1955, 8,000 - both Greek and Turkish subjects - had left by December 1956 and that hundreds were continually emigrating from Istanbul[989]. The Greeks - like all the non-Muslim minorities in Turkey - were still in shock after recent events and were apprehensive about their future[990]. As the pressures were building up against the Patriarchate[991], Athenagoras was trying hard to keep his policy of good relations with the Turkish authorities and to do everything possible in order to retain the Patriarchate in Istanbul, ignoring rumours about the possibility of transferring the Patriarchate to Mount Athos[992]. It is interesting to observe that George Allen, the American ambassador in Athens, was also of the opinion that due to Turkish nationalism the Patriarchate's position might become untenable and thus he had better

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[987] Southern Department to British Chancery in Ankara, Foreign Office, 12 September 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/4.

[988] Waddams to Bowker, Lambeth Palace, 19 September 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/7 and Minutes by Brant in Barron to Brant, Lambeth Palace, 10 December 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/10.

[989] 'Memorandum on Christian Minorities in Istanbul and the Ecumenical Patriarchate' by Maxwell, in Barron to Brant, Lambeth Palace, 10 December 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/10.

[990] Bowker to Waddams, Foreign Office, 15 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/7.

[991] British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 16 November 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/9.

[992] Waddams to Young, Lambeth Palace, 29 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/8 and Young to Waddams, Foreign Office, 31 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/8. Particularly since the riots of September 1955 Athenagoras had striven for a policy of avoiding recriminations or provocative actions vis-à-vis the Turkish government, in furtherance of his policy of co-operation with the Turkish authorities prior to the Turkish vandalism of September 1955. See British Consulate General to British Embassy, Istanbul, 14 November 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/9. On the rumours surrounding the Patriarchate's expulsion see 'Memorandum on Christian Minorities in Istanbul and the Ecumenical Patriarchate' by Maxwell, in Barron to Brant, Lambeth Palace, 10 December 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/10 and especially about the Turkish deputy's Bill introducing the expulsion of the Patriarchate, see British Chancery to Southern Dept., Ankara, 11 January 1957, FO 371/ 130225/RK 1781/4. On the Patriarchate's low profile (for instance no processions were being held in 1957 to mark Epiphany) see also this last report. Averoff, the Greek Foreign Minister of Foreign

consider moving, for example, to the island of Rhodes[993]. In a confidential communiqué, the assistant head of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sakıp Bayaz, asserted to the British Chancery that 'there was no discrimination against the Greek minority in Istanbul, although the Turkish government could not make any further concessions towards them...'[994]. Several reports also referred to the (strong) financial measures taken with the application of the new National Protection Law aimed at keeping all the price levels down in Turkey, which had affected the trade and business of Greeks among others[995].

Towards the end of 1956 the Turkish government went so far as to suggest that 'any change in the status of Cyprus' would have required new adjustments to the Treaty of Lausanne with regard to the Greek minority in Istanbul and the Patriarchate[996]. The Turkish side believed that if Greece continued to 'provoke them on the Cyprus issue' it would be better if the Greek minority left Istanbul[997]. Thus, according to Galsworthy, a Foreign Office official, if the Greek community left the city, there would be 'no further justification for the continued existence of the Patriarchate there ...'[998]. The Turkish press propaganda for the immediate removal of the Patriarchate continued throughout 1957. The Turkish newspapers were now proposing that the head of the Orthodox Church should be in an

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Affairs, was also contemplating the idea of the removal of the Patriarchate to an island. British Embassy to Southern Dept., Athens, 9 January 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/2.

[993] Visser't Hooft to Archbishop of Canterbury, Geneva, 6 December 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/10.

[994] British Chancery to Southern Dept., Ankara, 11 January 1957, FO 371/ 130225/RK 1781/4.

[995] Even though this law was not aimed particularly at the Greek business community, naturally they had suffered in the same way as other businessmen. See British Consulate-General to British Embassy, Istanbul, 14 November 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/9 and Waddams to Johnston, Lambeth Palace, 5 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/6 and British Chancery to Southern Dept., Ankara, 11 January 1957, FO 371/ 130225/RK 1781/4.

[996] Waddams to Young, Lambeth Palace, 29 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/8 and Young to Waddams, Foreign Office, 31 October 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/8.

[997] Foreign Office Minutes by Galsworthy, London, 20 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/7.

[998] *op.cit.*

Orthodox country[999]. Under these pressures, on 15 February 1957 a large group of prominent members of the Greek community in Istanbul paid a visit to the Governor (*Vali*) Gökay to underline that they had nothing to do with Greece's campaign over Cyprus, and this visit was followed by a visit of the Patriarch the following day[1000]. They all had expressed their complete satisfaction with their position in Turkey and condemned the members of the Cypriot Church who indulged in politics. In spite of Athenagoras' efforts to retain peaceful relations with the Turkish authorities, more incidents occurred aimed at Church property but relatively little damage occurred soon after his visit to the Governor[1001]. As the attacks of the Turkish press[1002] continued, the Patriarch felt the need to issue a press communiqué stating that Cyprus was a purely political question and hence outside the Patriachate's functions, concluding: 'Therefore the Patriarchate declares and considers it a duty not to act in a way that will arouse feelings of doubt for our loyalty to the country, respect and obedience to its laws and our love and sincerity.'[1003] However, even when the representatives from the Commission of Churches on International Affairs visited the Patriarch, 'he followed his usual line', emphasising his friendly relations with the Turkish authorities[1004]. He also affirmed that the riots of September 1955 were 'forgotten and forgiven' and made quite clear that 'any representation from

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[999] *Şehir*, 21 February 1957 in Istanbul Press Review, 21 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/11.
[1000] *Cumhuriyet*, 17 February 1957, in Istanbul Press Review, 21 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/11 and in British Consulate-General to British Chancery in Ankara, Istanbul, 23 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/12.
[1001] British Consulate-General to British Chancery in Ankara, Istanbul, 23 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/12.
[1002] *Cumhuriyet, Vatan, Yeni Istanbul* and *Şehir* of 4 April 1957.
[1003] British Chancery to Southern Dept., Ankara, 16 April 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/15a. The communiqué was signed by the Patriarch's deputy, Archbishop Emilianos.
[1004] Bowker to Young, Istanbul, 8 March 1957, FO 371/130225/RK 1781/13. During the course of the conversation the Patriarch also expressed his gratitude for the help he had received from the WCC.

abroad' would do more harm than good. However as the Cyprus conflict was still very much on the agenda of both Greece and Turkey the Turkish press continued to attack the Patriarchate vigorously[1005]. Threats to expel the Patriarchate and the Greek nationals of Istanbul were still under consideration by the Turkish authorities[1006]. Further, a possible massacre of the Greek community in Istanbul, together with the expulsion of the Patriarchate, was admitted by Ürgüplü, the Turkish ambassador in London, during the course of a conversation to Canon Waddams, the representative of the Council on Foreign Relations of the Church of England[1007]. If this approach represented the Turkish government's future plans, Broad, the British Consul-General in Istanbul, found it hard to believe that despite all the rumours the Patriarch himself did not let any of his fears be known to the latter[1008]. The 'spiritual leader' of the Greeks, however, was content at every opportunity to declare himself as ' a loyal Turk'[1009]. The Greek community after all this turbulence was reduced to 75,000 people[1010].

[1005] Foreign Office Minutes by Galsworthy, London, 2 May 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/16.

[1006] Bowker to Young, Ankara, 9 May 1957, FO 371/130225/RK 1781/17. The deportation of the Hellenic nationals from Istanbul started during this period. The first group expelled on 9 August 1957 consisted of Theodoros Markouizos (journalist), Stefanos Papadopoulos (journalist), Georgios Patriarcheas (journalist) and the Tsitouris brothers (publishers). In January 1958 the patriarchal photographer and journalist Dimitrios Kaloumenos and Constantinos Kombodekras, a correspondent of a number of Greek, American and Egyptian newspapers, were also expelled. *Interview with Professor Neoklis Sarris*, 18 April 1997, Athens and with *Dimitrios Kaloumenos*, 28 February 1999, Athens.

[1007] *Record of Conversation between Canon Waddams and Mr. Stewart, Counsellor at H.M. Embassy in Ankara,* 7 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/7.

[1008] Broad had called on the Patriarch the day this report was written. See Broad to Bowker, Istanbul, 19 January 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/6.

[1009] Broad to Bowker, Istanbul, 1 May 1957, FO 371/130225/ RK 1781/17. The comments of Athenagoras were sometimes understood by American diplomats as 'superfluous' rather than anything else. See British Embassy to Southern., Dept. Ankara, 31 May 1957, FO 371/130225/RK 1782/18.

[1010] See British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 28 January 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/8. There is evidence to suggest that according to the **provisional** official Turkish general census for 1955 - subject to an error of up to 10per cent - there were 81,799 Greek speaking people in 1955. This number includes the Greeks of Imbros and Tenedos as well as the Greek nationals. See Minford to Lloyd, Ankara, 23 January 1959, FO 371/14480/RK 1821/1.

News of the riots of 6/7 September 1955 had serious international repercussions for Turkey[1011]. Once again had the riots stigmatised Turkish 'democracy'. Even though the Turkish government was not 'particularly sorry' about the riots, they had 'enough political sense to see that these had done them great harm ...'[1012] As reported by the British representative in Ankara, the riots

> '... were of great significance in the context of Turkey's development as a 'Western' country. They showed that in spite of the docility of the Turkish people and the steady expansion of the authority of the central government since the Revolution, the country was yet far from having developed to the stage reached by the democracies of Western Europe ...'[1013].

Yet, Greco-Turkish relations were further impaired through 'charges brought against the Turkish Consul-General and Vice-Consul at Salonica of having introduced by the diplomatic bag the bomb the explosion of which in the house where Atatürk was born had been responsible for ...'[1014].

In this state of affairs, Greek schools and education in Istanbul suffered considerably from the general exodus of the Greek population. Foreign and minority schools were still perceived as nests of espionage in Turkey[1015]. During the course of a conversation between Birgi, the Turkish ambassador to London and Bowker, the British ambassador to Ankara, the former assented that 'it was well-known to the Turkish

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[1011] Stewart to Macmillan, British Embassy Residence, Istanbul, 22 September 1955, FO 371/117711/RG1034450.
[1012] *Record of Conversation between Canon Waddams and Mr. Stewart, Counsellor at H.M. Embassy in Ankara,* 7 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/7.
[1013] Bowker to Lloyd, Annual Report on Turkey for 1955, Ankara, 16 January 1956, FO 371/123999/RK1011/1.
[1014] *op.cit.*
[1015] Bowker to Young, Ankara, 15 March 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/14.

authorities that instruction in the Orthodox Seminary at Heybeli (Chalki) island ... was strongly mixed with politics ...'[1016]. Under Article 31 of the Press Law no. 5680 of 15 July 1950 the Council of Ministers was empowered to forbid the entry into Turkey of any publication or film produced abroad[1017]. In the same report, referring to foreign observers' views on Turkish censorship, Americans in particular believed that this was one more proof of 'Turkish intolerance and backwardness'[1018].

With the increasing importance of Turkey in NATO, the political scene of the time was, as the WCC representative affirmed while on a fact-finding visit in Turkey, increasingly 'governed by the idea of making a friend of Turkey'[1019]. At the same time, Islam in Turkey continued to grow rapidly under the auspices of the Menderes government[1020]. In a speech at Konya, the Turkish premier stated that:

> ' ... We have not the least doubt about the fact that religion and politics are separate. As to freedom of conscience, the Turkish people are Muslims. The teaching of the Muslim faith to children and coming generations is an indisputable condition for the perpetuation of the Muslim faith. In the absence of religious classes in the schools,

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[1016] *op.cit* and *Record of Conversation between Canon Waddams and Mr. Stewart, Counsellor at H.M. Embassy in Ankara,* 7 February 1957, FO 371/130225/RK1781/7. Birgi also affirmed that 'the real trouble was the traditional Christian suspicion born of past history that the Muslims were fundamentally hostile to the Christians and perpetually working against them. In fact Muslims were broadly tolerant of other religious faiths. If the Turkish government were ever obliged to take action against a representative of the Orthodox Church, it would be for political reasons and because of the religion ...'.

[1017] Bowker to Lloyd, Ankara, 31 January 1957, FO 371/130217/RK1451/1.

[1018] *op.cit.*

[1019] *Memorandum on Christian Minorities in Istanbul and the Ecumenical Patriarchate* by Maxwell, in Barron to Brant, Lambeth Palace, 10 December 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/10.

[1020] On 21 February 1955 during the discussion of the religious affairs budget in the National Assembly the Prime Minister's department declared that it had risen from 5 million TL in 1950 to almost 15 million in 1955 and that there was further increase expected in the near future. A proposal was then accepted by the Assembly to add a further 2 million TL, bringing the total figure for the 1955 religious affairs budget to 17 million TL. See British Chancery to Southern Department, Ankara, 6 April 1955, FO 371/117743/RK1781/1.

citizens who want to teach their religion to their children are deprived of this means. A Muslim child must not be deprived of a very natural right - learning his religion'[1021].

On 8 September 1956, the Minister of Education announced at a press conference that religious education would be introduced in secondary schools in the forthcoming academic year[1022]. By the end of 1957 it was clear that 'no political party in Turkey can oppose Islam on Kemalist lines and win an election'[1023]. The intolerance, however, towards other non-Muslim religious institutions and particularly towards the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to grow. Since the Second World War, when the Patriarchate had been burnt down, Patriarchal officials had been planning to rebuild it. The Turkish government, however, had been refusing to grant permission for the renovation of the Patriarchate or for any Greek institution[1024]. The years between 1954 and 1964 were generally claimed to have been a difficult period for the Greek community in Istanbul, filled with persecution and officially sanctioned harassment[1025]. At the end of November 1962 the *Vali* (Governor) of Istanbul wrote two letters to the Patriarch asking him not to invite any prelate or religious officer from any country outside Turkey without permission from the Turkish authorities

[1021] BBC Monitoring Reports, 8 January 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/1. When the DP came to power in 1950 it was their fundamental policy to encourage religious practice within the framework of the secular state. This process was continuously underlined by the Turkish Premier. The budget of the Religious Affairs department rose from 3 million TL in 1950 to 18 million TL for 1956. At the same time the Islamic Research Institute attached to the Faculty of Theology in Ankara was established. For a detailed account see Bowker to Lloyd, Ankara, 24 January 1956, FO 371/124053/RK 1781/2 and Stewart to Lloyd, Ankara, 17 September 1956, FO 371/124053/RK 1781/5.

[1022] Stewart to Lloyd, Ankara, 17 September 1956, FO 371/124053/RK1781/5.

[1023] Bowker to Lloyd, Ankara, 13 November 1957, FO 371/130225/RK 1781/19. According to this report 36,827,550 TL was spent over the previous seven years by the Turkish government for the construction of new mosques. In contrast, between 1923 and 1949 only 6,790,000 TL of government money had been spent for this purpose.

[1024] Warr to Allen, Istanbul, 23 August 1963, FO 371169554/CT1781/5. According to the British Consul General in Istanbul, Father Gabriel, Athenagoras' deacon, had told him that approximately one million dollars had been collected from Greek nationals and sympathisers in the USA but until permission was given by the Turkish authorities nothing could be done with the money.

[1025] Warr to Allen, Istanbul, 25 April 1963, FO 371/169554/CT1781/3. *Hareket*, 14 April 1963.

and not to interfere in communal affairs. Athenagoras was once again refused, in writing, by the *Vali* to rebuild the Patriarchate as 'it was not allowed to build where a building already exists'[1026].

Had international bodies been allowed to ~~interfere~~ and protest against the Turkish government's policies, the situation of the Greek minority in Istanbul might have been improved. However, this was not an easy ~~decision~~ to make. Perhaps one of the most challenging criticisms of Athenagoras was the fact that every time an opportunity presented itself for an international appeal against Turkey or a decision had been made to speak out publicly, he stressed his admiration for the Turkish government and his love for the nation. Beyond these flattering comments there was no action taken against all this persecution by the Greek community's spiritual and only leader[1027].



Illustration 30: Athenagoras with Adnan Menderes. Source: private anonymous collection.

[1026] See Minute of discussion between the Greek Consul-General Chryssanthopoulos and the British Consul Adams, Istanbul, 27 March 1963, FO 371/169554/CT 1781/2 and 2b.

[1027] This was remarked in several Foreign Office reports. As long as the Patriarch confirmed that he was happy with these circumstances there was nothing that could have been done to change anything. Mackie to Jamieson, Ankara, 4 March 1963, FO 371/169554/CT1781/1. See also Paleologos 1972:18-28. See illustrations nos.30 and 31.



Illustration 31: Athenagoras emerging from the ruins at the Church of St. Constantine and Helen in Psomatheia. Source: D. Kaloumenos.

3. The consequences of the anti-Greek riots upon Greek education.

Shortly after the September riots a new Turkish press campaign against the Patriarchate and the Greek schools began to develop[1028]. The 'cordial, sincere and perpetual Greco-Turkish friendship' advertised by the Turkish press nearly a decade ago was soon forgotten[1029]. In September 1957, *Vatan* alleged that all Greek schools would shortly be inspected as they were using text books not approved by the Turkish authorities[1030]. From now on, the Turkish newspaper claimed, all Greek schools would be subjected to intense government control[1031]. In the same period *Hürriyet* stated that 'the strict inspection of all minority schools must soon be arranged'[1032]. The latter also confirmed that the appointment of a Turkish co-director was now to be implemented in all minority schools. Fearing a new attack or another anti-Greek riot, a steady flow of emigration of the Constantinopolitan Greek community began. The intense 'Citizen Speak Turkish' movement, the law against insulting Turkism together with the threat of Papa Efthym reappeared on the Turkish political and social scene[1033]. Hence in July 1959 a Greek student was nearly lynched for dropping a periodical which had a picture of Atatürk on its cover[1034].

[1028] *Yeni Istanbul* 9 and 17 April 1957 quoted in Armaoglu *SBFD* 13/2, 1958: 344-346. They often alleged that the Muslim communities in Greek Thrace were not treated as well as their Greek counterparts in Istanbul. See Naoum to Foreign Ministry, 17 July 1957, AYE/Φ/11/3.

[1029] *Cumhuriyet* 18 September 1946, *Son Telegraf* 13 September 1946, *Ulus* 16 September 1946, *Son Saat* 9 September 1946, *Tanin* 8 September 1946, *İkdam, Gece Postası* 8 September 1946 and *Tasvir* 10 September 1946.

[1030] Ivrakis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 17 September 1957, AYE/Φ/11/3. *Vatan* 17 September 1957.

[1031] *op.cit.*

[1032] Ivrakis to Foreign Minister, Cons., 1 May 1957, AYE/Φ/11/3.

[1033] Capsabelis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 May 1958, AYE/Φ/20/5 and in Ivrakis, Cons., 31 January 1958, AYE/Φ/20/5. See also *Cumhuriyet* 29 August 1957, *The Times* 29 August 1960. During this period the Christ Church was demolished in order to enlarge the road. See *Cumhuriyet* 11 May 1958.

[1034] Irakleidis to Foreign Minsitry, Cons., 17 July 1959, AYE/Φ/13.

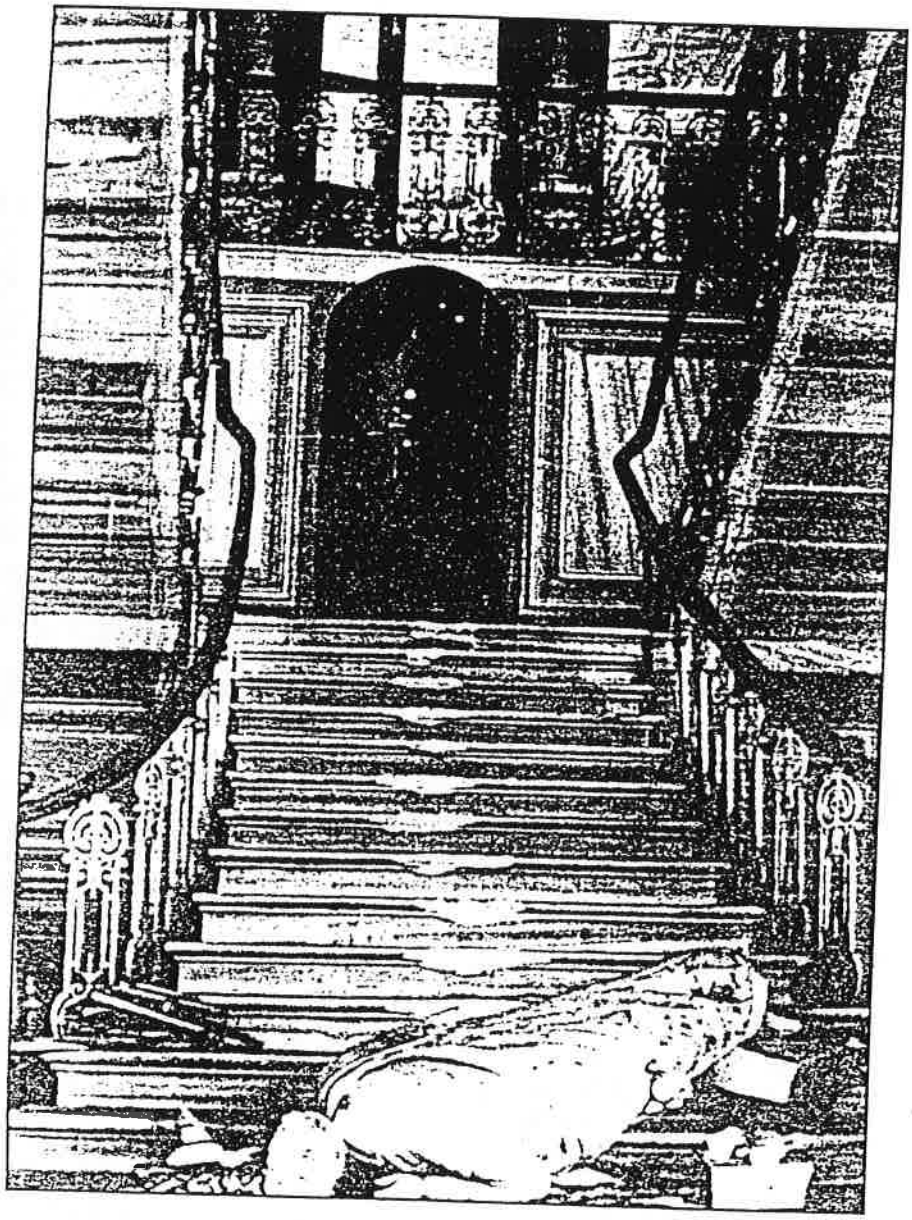
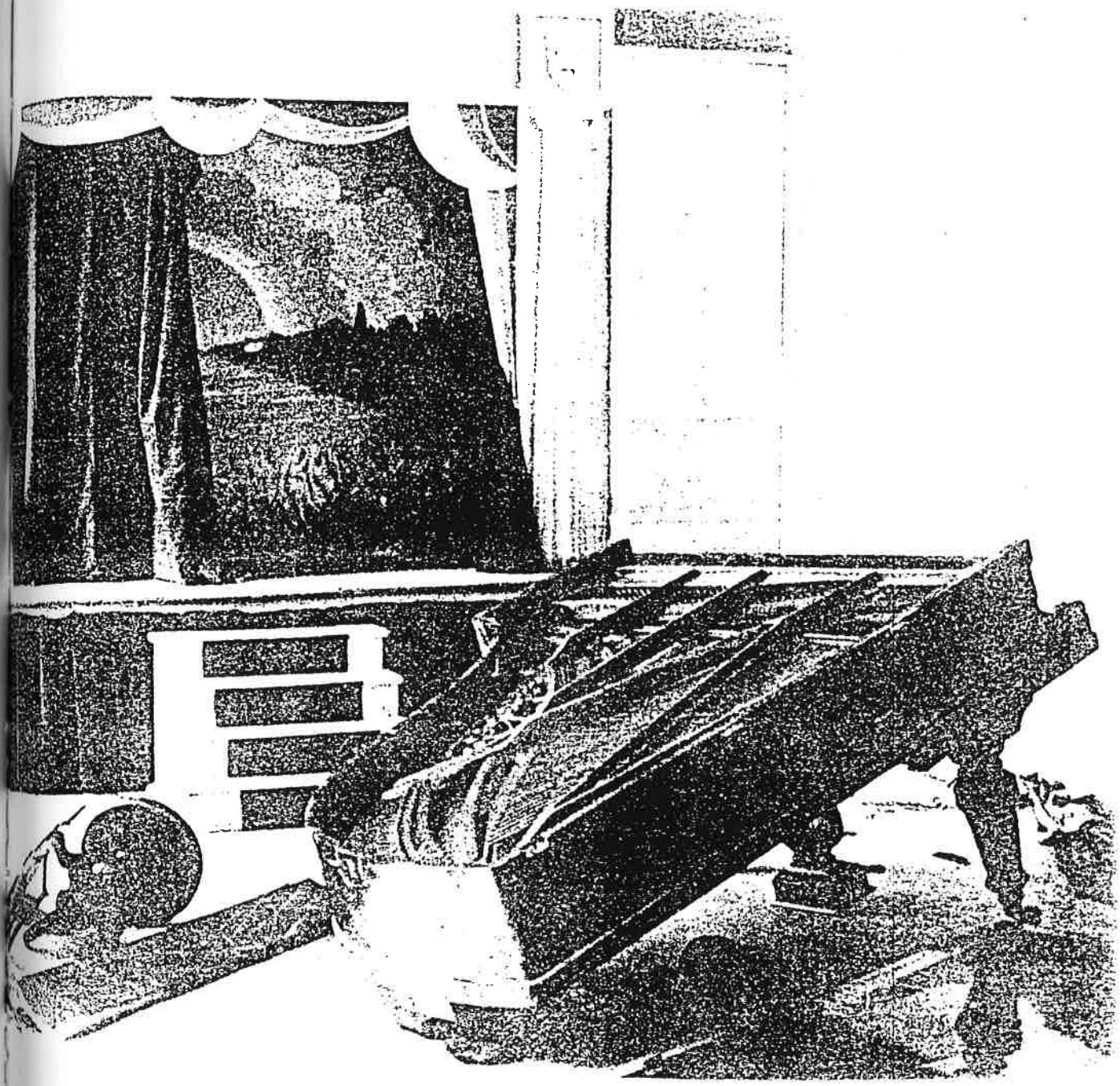


Illustration 32: The Greek high school for girls *Zappeion*, like most Greek schools, had suffered damage during the anti-Greek riots. Source: D. Kaloumenos.



In October of the same year four Greek students were charged with 'insulting Turkism'[1035]. In this state of affairs the Greek community felt the need to establish an educational committee in order to discuss the immediate educational problems facing Greek schools and students[1036]. On 11 February 1957, under Law 9532, the Turkish government prohibited the entry of all Greek journals and periodicals[1037]. In addition, there were long delays in the arrival of Greek school text books, leaving students for several months without any[1038]. According to the Greek cultural attaché, the educational situation of Greeks in Istanbul following the riots had deteriorated and the government was, by different methods, putting them under constant pressure[1039]. Immediate action needed to be taken to avoid further deterioration[1040]. The already ~~weak~~ dire financial ~~situation~~ predicament of Greek schools ~~was challenged even~~ worsened more after the riots. ~~Likewise~~, many Greek teachers ~~were still~~ continued to be underpaid[1041]. In a detailed memorandum discussing the problems of Greek education in Istanbul, the Greek representative Capsabelis drew attention to the fact that most Greek teachers had reached their retirement age and still undertook a very busy teaching programme[1042]. This, no doubt, was a significant factor in the lowering of educational standards.

[1035] In the end the accused were found not guilty. These charges mostly aimed at applying psychological pressure to students and their families. See Irakleidis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 22 October 1959, AYE/Φ/13.

[1036] Ivrakis to Foreign Minsitry, Cons., 2 April 1957, AYE/Φ/11/3.

[1037] Pesmatzoglou to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 18 September 1957, AYE/Φ/11/3. Also from 31 December 1956 under Law 9497 the Turkish government prohibited the publication of all matters concerning the Cyprus issue. Naoum to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 14 August 1957, AYE/Φ/11/3.

[1038] Callergis to Foreign Ministry, Ankara, 28 November 1956, AYE/Φ/11/2.

[1039] Ivrakis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 4 October 1956, AYE/Φ/11/2.

[1040] *op.cit.* Among the solutions he suggested was to increase the payment of the Greek primary school teachers, to be more selective in the directors appointed and establish a technical school. According to the same report in 1956 there were 45 Greek primary schools with a student population of 5,523.

[1041] Capsabelis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 24 February 1956, AYE/Φ/11/2.

[1042] Capsabelis to Foreign Ministry, Cons., 20 July 1956, AYE/Φ/11/2.

Evaluating the aftermath of the anti-Greek riots and the heavy Greek emigration from Istanbul, one should also bear in mind that the period from 1960 to 1980 began with a military coup on 27 May 1960 and ended with another military coup on 12 September 1980 defining one of the most turbulent times in modern Turkish history[1043]. The economic and political polarisation of society, under the impact of industrualisation, was aggravated through the sympathy of paramilitary forces, with the active support of the ruling class against democratic currents. The dramatic increase of religious intolerance, the growing 'ultra-nationalist tendencies', together with a new campaign against minorities - at a time when the trials of the former regime were continuing to be heard in the 1960s[1044] - seemed a new threat to the non-Muslim communities in Istanbul[1045]. Having recently experienced the fury of the Turkish masses, a number of Constantinopolitan Greeks began to leave Turkey. Thus, the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955 and the persistence of anti-minority campaigns marked the beginning of the end of the Greek community and its institutions in Turkey.

[1043] There also was a minor coup on 12 March 1971. For a detailed analysis of the military coup and the fall of the DP government see Weiker 1963.

[1044] Soon after the Turkish revolution of 27 May 1960, which resulted in the overthrow of the Menderes government, the trial on the Marmara island of Yassıada (Plati) began on 14 October 1960 (Yassıada is the Turkish name for the island of Plati. Alexandris refers to Oxia island as Yassıada; Oxia is another small island near Yassıada (Plati) under the name of Sivriada in Turkish. See Alexandris 1992:263 note 35). Menderes and his cabinet were charged with violating the constitution (which meant a death sentence), corruption and a variety of other crimes, including the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955. However it is worth noting that Menderes and his cabinet were not put on trial on the grounds of Article 141(racial discrimination against citizens) of the Penal Code. Nor did on the grounds of Article 495 (rioting), or Article 177 (destroying churches and cemetries). They were accused on the basis of Article 517 (damaging foreign fortune/property) which reflected the level of municipal damage. The prosecution alleged that the accused were responsible for a bomb exlosion at the Turkish Consulate in Thessaloniki and the adjoining birthplace of Atatürk which had provoked the riots. Hasan Uçar, a former employee of the Turkish Consulate, and Oktay Engin, an ethnic Turkish student from Greek Thrace, who were among the accused, despite the existing evidence produced by a Greek Court of causing the explosion were not found guilty. See Sarris 1995:15.

[1045] Whitteridge to Foreign Office, Istanbul, 5 December 1960, FO 371/153091/RK1781/6.

Meantime Athenagoras - like the Armenian Patriarch - was called as a witness and his evidence had 'pleased nobody'[1046]. Soon after the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Istanbul in late November 1960, an exchange of Theology students between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches occurred[1047]. Greece was keen to improve relations with Turkey and so on 20/1/1961 ~~instructed~~ was instructed Alexander Matsas, the Greek Ambassador to Ankara, ~~on 20 January 1961~~, to decorate Selim Sarper, the Turkish Foreign Minister, with the highest ranking honour of King George in recognition of his services for Greco-Turkish friendship[1048].

Despite all this political turmoil and the adverse day-to-day living conditions which ensued, the Greek community manifested a strong desire to maintain its distinctive way of life, along with its five secondary schools and one Theological Academy[1049], essential components for the upkeep of the language and cultural identity. The Constantinopolitan Greek exodus[1050] had begun in 1957, according to statistics obtained from a Constantinopolitan Greek newspaper. But as ~~far as~~ regarding Greek secondary school students - in ~~contrary~~ contrast to the number of primary school students - ~~were concerned~~, there was a small increase in their numbers[1051]. Another positive development during this period was the increase of female students attending secondary schools[1052].

[1046] *op.cit.* and in Anagnostopoulos to Satterthwaite, Chalki Island, 16 August 1960, FO 371/153091/RK 1781/2. During his testimony Patriarch Athenagoras confirmed that a few hours before the riots took place, he was visited by senior police officials who had informed him about the demonstration and reassured him that nobody would be hurt. ~~He had also~~ Two hours before the riots he had also received a telephone call from the Governor of Istanbul, Gökay, who also informed him that there would be some trouble. See also *The Times*, 26 October 1960.

[1047] *op.cit. The Times* 29 and 39 November 1960 and *Sobornost*, series 4, no.9, summer 1963:528-531.

[1048] Cf. The Turkish Year Book of International Relations, 1961:228.

[1049] Paleologos 1972:80.

[1050] See *Ηχώ* 21 May 1978. According to this newspaper research in 1956 the Greek community amounted to 61,567. In 1959 this amount was down to 56,622 ~~which meant~~ meaning that from the anti-Greek riots up to the end of the 1950s approximately 9,691 Greeks left Istanbul. time of the

[1051] See Table I, below.

[1052] See *Ηχώ* 21 May 1978 and in Table II, below.

Secondary education of Greeks in Istanbul. Table I[1053].

Institution name	School level	Studens 1956-57	Studens 1957-58	Students 1958-59	Students 1959-60
Patriarchal Lycée	Secondary (boys)	294	342	353	378
Zographeion Lycée	Secondary (boys)	505	558	581	637
Kendrikon Lycée	Secondary (girls)	149	172	203	238
Zappeion Lycée	Secondary (girls)	255	260	270	336
Ioakeimeion Lycée	Secondary (girls)	143	136	149	191
		total = 1,346	total = 1,468	total = 1,556	total = 1,780

Increase in the number of Greek female students attending secondary schools. Table II[1054].

School Year	Male Students	Female Students
1956-1957	799	547
1957-1958	900	568
1958-1959	934	622
1959-1960	1,015	765

[1053] See *Ηχώ* 21 May 1978. The Theological college is not included.

[1054] *op.cit.*, The percentage of female secondary school students from 40,64per cent in 1956 had increased to 43,2per cent in 1959.

In the early
From the beginning of the 1960s the incidence of Greek emigration from Turkey reached its peak. This was mainly due to the Turkish government's decision to expel all Greeks who had Greek citizenship on the grounds that they were dangerous to the internal and external security of the state[1055]. Ironically, for Greek secondary students the start of the decade seemed promising. Thus, in the academic year of 1960-1961 in the five secondary schools of the Greek community - exempting the Theological college - there were 1,932 students, of whom 1,075 were male and 857 female[1056]. In this state of affairs, in 1961 all minority schools were placed under the department of private schools of the Turkish Ministry of Education (law 222/1961), thus losing their official status and making them no longer 'communal schools' entitled to protection under the Treaty of Lausanne[1057]. Moreover, displeased with the situation of the Greek minority in general and the Theological Academy at Chalki in particular, the Turkish authorities, without any specific evidence, began to insinuate that 'the Greek minority was basically disloyal and that the Patriarchate was one of the main sources of trouble'[1058]. According to Erkin, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Tuluy, his administration officer for Greek affairs, the Theological School and Monastery were 'a provocation', as they supplied 'clergy to the Greek minority and also clergy to international Orthodox churches' and, they insisted, ought to be removed from Istanbul[1059]. In January 1963, the government's Religious Property Administration arrived suddenly in

[1055] Cf. *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:9. On this subject see Chapter VII of this thesis.
[1056] *Ηχώ* 21 May 1978.
[1057] *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:15.
[1058] This was affirmed by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Erkin to Averoff, his Greek counterpart, during the visit of the former to Ankara in August 1962. See Minute of discussion between the Greek Consul-General Chryssanthopoulos and the British Consul Adams, Istanbul, 27 March 1963, FO 371/169554/CT 1781/2 and 2b.
[1059] *op.cit.*

Chalki and demanded to inspect the school. The authorities of the school explained at the time that the schools as educational institutions were under the jurisdiction of the Turkish Education authorities. Unable to inspect the school, the RPA authorities returned with unsatisfactory results[1060]. Shortly afterwards, inspectors from the Ministry of Education arrived to continue inspecting the school. This resulted in 14 students, all Greek nationals, being asked to leave, on the grounds that their certificates from the Greek Church high schools were not compatible with Turkish standards. As the tension between the Turkish government and the Greek community mounted, new measures were taken by the authorities which had the effect of further damaging the ability of the Greek community to sustain its educational facilities. Thus the Turkish government required that the Orthodox Theological Academy in Chalki should draw at least 50 per cent of its students from Turkey, although it was aware that in 1963 up to 90 per cent of its students came from overseas[1061]. Overall, as the Greek community continued to decrease, its former high educational standards also diminished. Although in 1960 there were 56,944 Greeks left in Istanbul, in 1963 this number went down to 53,089, and in 1965 to 38,667.

[1060] *op.cit.*

[1061] Warr to Allen, Istanbul, 23 August 1963, FO 371169554/CT1781/5. There were only 10per cent who were either Turkish nationals of Greek race or Greek nationals from Istanbul.

Illustration 33: The final year students of *Zappeion* high school on Turkish Democracy day, 29 October 1954. Source: private collection of S.D. Tarinas.

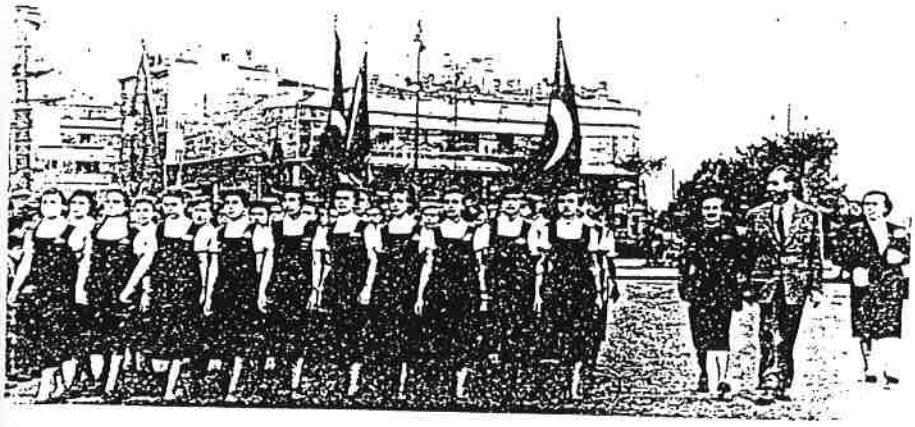




Illustration 34: The final year students of *Zographeio* high school with one of the most prominent Constantinopolitan Greek teachers of Istanbul, Vassilis Moutsoglou.

CHAPTER VII

Emigration from Istanbul, 1964-1974

1. The expulsions of 1964 and their impact upon Greek intelligentsia.

From the time Athenagoras took office in 1948 he had been doing his best to overcome centuries of Turkish suspicion over the role of the Patriarchate. In fact, for many he had shown unprecedented friendliness towards the Turkish government and authorities. Despite this, by 1964 the Patriarch and his flock were still 'under heavy attack' from the Turkish authorities[1062]. The Patriarchate's publishing house was suspended and all its official publications were banned[1063]. In September 1964, through a new directive, the distribution of the children's magazine *Η Συντροφιά μου* [My Companion] and all Greek school text books were forbidden in minority schools[1064]. An 'Aide-Memoire' sent by the Greek government to the UK, French, Italian and US governments, in order to rally support for the condemnation of Turkish harassment towards the Patriarchate and its institutions, was dismissed by the British Foreign Office as manipulative and an attempt to win sympathy from the Allies over the Cyprus question[1065]. As the Turkish authorities refused to grant permission to rebuild the Patriarchate, which was gutted by fire in the Second World War, Athenagoras asked the Turkish authorities for the Church of St. İrini as a replacement. Not only was his request refused by

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[1062] Goulden to Central Department, Ankara, 12 June 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/34.

[1063] Greek Embassy to Secretary of State, London, 20 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/19. On 10 April 1964 by decision of the chief of the civil administration of the police department the Patriarchate's printing house ceased to operate as according to Law 5681 only physical and legal entities had the right to a printing licence. However, for the Turkish authorities the Patriarchate did not constitute a legal entity.

[1064] Circular no. 3385 of 13 September 1964.

[1065] Foreign Office Minutes by Conolly, London, 7 May 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/12 and Murray to Foreign Office, Athens, 20 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/10.

the Turkish authorities but it also left an impression that the Patriarch wanted to extend his authority, giving rise to heightened Turkish suspicions about his office[1066]. It was a period when the Patriarchate as well as 'all Greek schools and seminaries were continually subjected to vexatious harassment, sometimes of a major kind'[1067]. As such, no Greek building was allowed to be repaired or rebuilt. This relentless barrage of restrictive policies by the Turkish authorities towards the Greek minority and the Patriarchate, aimed at winning popularity at home and exerting pressure on the Greek state, continued throughout the 1960s. Thus, in 1964 Greek primary and secondary schools were once again obliged to accept the appointment of Turkish asistant headmasters recruited by the Ministry of Education, a fact leading to a direct contravention of the educational clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne[1068]. Subsequently, in June of the same year, three priepals of Greek schools and eleven teachers were dismissed on the grounds that they were 'undesirable'. Under Protocol no. 8549 of 18 February 1964 Greek students were forbidden to use their mother tongue during breaks between classes. Likewise, applications for the appointment of new Greek teachers and/or headmasters were found inadequate from the Turkish language point of view and therefore Greek minority schools fell into the hands of Turkish deputy masters[1069]. Government inspectors paid frequent visits to Greek communal schools often with an intention to discover 'anti-Turkish feeling or behaviour'[1070]. In April 1964 the Turkish authorities prohibited the

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[1066] Goulden to Central Department, Ankara, 12 June 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/34.

[1067] *op.cit.*

[1068] Their main role was to make the Greek headmasters' job as difficult as possible and to provoke the intervention of the Turkish authorities.

[1069] *Ελεύθερη Φωνή*, 8 May 1965. A Turkish language test was made compulsory in October 1964.

[1070] *Interview with Keti Sarioglou*, 2 January 1999, Istanbul, secondary school student at the time. One of the very prominent teachers dismissed during the late 1960s was the famous poet and critic D. K. Papakonstantinou.

operation of the Greek orphanage on the island of Prinkipo, throwing out 117 boys and 46 girls[1071]. Earlier on 28 January 1964, there was an expulsion of seven Greek nationals for 'alleged subversive activities in Turkey'[1072]. Under Law 410/16, of 12 March 1964, all clerics were prohibited from entering the premises of Greek minority schools and Protocol no. 3885 of November 1964 banned Greek schools from holding morning prayers[1073]. Soon after, with Decision no. 3385 of 23 September 1964, the Turkish Ministry of Education prohibited the teaching of religion at Greek schools as well as the disribution of Greek text books.

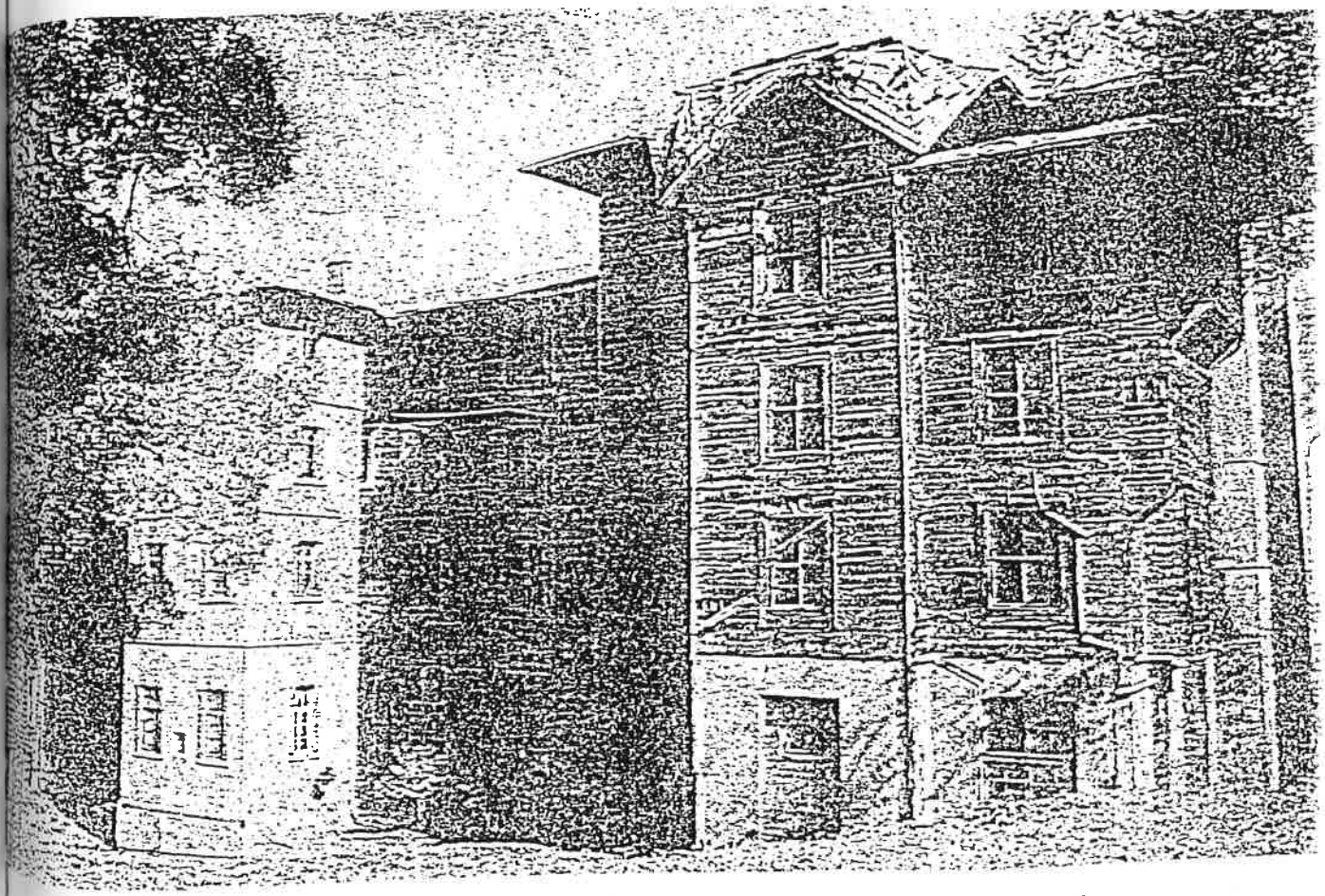


Illustration 35: The orphanage at Prinkipo island. Source: private collection of I. Sarioglou.

[1071] *Cumhuriyet Dergi*, 22 September 1996. The Turkish authorities argued that the building was not safe enough to accommodate the orphans. However, they refused to grant permission to renovate it. See illustration 35.
[1072] Allen to Walker, Ankara, 6 January 1965, FO 371/180150/CT 1011/1.
[1073] *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:15.

Moreover, the six Greek schools and the semi-gymnasium in Imbros, as well as the only public school in Tenedos, were shut down by the authorities[1074]. As the Cyprus issue gathered momentum 'in the press, on the posters, on compulsory tax stamps, on telegrams and railway tickets, chalked on walls, the characteristic shape of this island' was floated constantly before one's eyes in what was described by the British representative in Istanbul as an 'obsessional phantasmagoria'[1075]. However, the Cyprus question, rationally speaking, was utterly distinct from that of the Christian Orthodox population of Turkey. Indeed, it was alarming to see how 'rare' was 'the maturity and common sense [in Turkey]' able to identify this[1076]. It was at this ~~moment~~ time that Turkey once again decided to employ the Constantinopolitan Greek community as a diplomatic tool in her negotiations over Cyprus.

On 16 March 1964 the Turkish government unilaterally decided to denounce the 1930 agreement of establishment, commerce and navigation with Greece, ~~resulting in~~ with the expulsions of Greek nationals ~~in~~ to follow six months ~~time~~ later. However, as the Cyprus conflict intensified between the two countries, Turkey decided that she could not wait the six months prescribed by the treaty but, using the pretext that her safety was threatened (Article 16 of the same agreement), she immediately proceeded to expel the Hellene nationals from Turkey[1077]. This affected over 12,000 Constantinopolitan Hellenes who were established in Istanbul under the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne and the 1930 Convention. Unlike the majority of the Constantinopolitan Greeks who held Turkish passports,

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[1074] On Imbros and Tenedos see below in this chapter.
[1075] McWilliam to Dodson, Istanbul, 29 January 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2.
[1076] *op.cit.*
[1077] British Chancery to Brown, 13 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/25. Despite the fact that the abrogation of the Establishment Treaty was not to be implemented until 16 September 1964, the Turkish authorities were already behaving as though it was no longer in force. Demir & Akar 1994:64.

approximately one third of them were Greek *établis*, holding Hellene citizenship. Like all the Greek *établis*, they had been settled in Istanbul prior to 1918 and were therefore entitled to remain in Turkey according to the exchange of populations agreement (30 January 1923) between Greece and Turkey.[1078]. Initially, only a number of churchmen and leading personalities of the Greek community were expelled. Throughout 1964 the expulsions became more widespread, affecting businessmen, school teachers and community leaders[1079]. Subsequently, however, they became all-encompassing. 'Washerwomen and carpenters - the whole community was threatened as more and more lists were prepared, as schools emptied, as church congregations thinned out'[1080]. Petty uncertainties and miseries produced a cumulative effect of anxiety and depression. The fundamental issue, according to British Foreign Office officials was the fact that the progressive expulsion of Greek nationals had undermined the position of the Patriarch himself and, as the number of Orthodox Greeks continued to decrease, the justification for his continued presence in Istanbul correspondingly weakened[1081]. 'Schoolmasters were removed from their posts in Orthodox schools here for showing their pupils a film of His All Holiness's visit to Jerusalem in which he appears in canonical vestments in the Pope's company'[1082]. On 4 April 1964, Archbishop Makarios, the Cypriot president, abrogated the 1960 treaty between Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, leading to heavy fighting in the north-west of the island. On 21

[1078] In accordance with the Lausanne Convention respecting conditions of residence, foreign nationals resident in Istanbul were permitted to remain in Turkey for a seven-year period (Article 20). In October 1930 the right of the Hellenes to remain in Turkey was extended with the signing of a new agreement. See *LCTS.*, pp. 139-141.
[1079] McWilliam to Dodson, Istanbul, 29 January 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2.
[1080] *op.cit.*
[1081] Foreign Office Minutes by Makins, 11 February 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2.
[1082] McWilliam to Dodson, Istanbul, 29 January 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2.

April 1964, as another measure of intimidation[1083] towards the Patriarchate, two Metropolitans, the Vicar General Emilianos of Seleukeia (Christophoros Zacharopoulos) and Iakovos of Philadelpheia (Georgios Tzanavaris) were expelled from Turkey[1084]. The Turkish reply to the protests coming from all over the world[1085] - including a telegram sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury - concluded: ' ... we do not consider righteous the reaction to the expulsion of two men of religion, of circles which have kept silent over the massacre that has been going on in Cyprus for so long.'[1086]. In this state of affairs, the Turkish policemen on duty outside the Patriarchate was in charge for observing all visitors[1087].

After the application of the law on 'undesirable Greek nationals' the Turkish government was 'taking pains to distinguish between undesirable Greek nationals and law abiding Turks of Greek origin ...'[1088]. In the meantime, 300 shops were closed down and many of their owners deported[1089]. The deportation had particularly affected shopkeepers,

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[1083] *op.cit.* The reason given afterwards in the Turkish press was that the two prelates had contravened currency regulations by smuggling money to Greece. However, according to an official Turkish statement published from the Turkish Embassy in Amman and dated 5 May 1964, it was affirmed that both '... interfered with the educational matters of the community making strong propaganda for Hellenic interests ...' See Satterthwaite to Brown, Lambeth Palace, 9 June 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/33. According to the same report the fact that they were expelled and not sent to court was already a sign of Turkish leniency.

[1084] For a detailed report on this matter see McWilliam to Foreign Office, Istanbul, 18 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/9. See also Greek Embassy to Secretary of State, London, 20 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/19 and Foreign Office Minutes by Brown, London, 21 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/16. For Archbishop of Canterbury's telegram to Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs and the latter's reply, see Satterthwaite to Brown, Lambeth Palace, 20 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/13. It is worth noting that all of the twelve Metropolitan members of the Synod were Turkish citizens and six of them and the Patriarch were naturalised citizens of Turkey. According to 1928 law a naturalised Turkish citizen could be deprived of his citizenship for reasons of public interest by a decision of the Council of Ministers. Under the law of 22 May 1964 such citizenship could only be revoked in the case of a naturalised Turkish citizen located abroad. See British Chancery to Brown, 13 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/25.

[1085] Foreign Office Minutes by Rennie, London, 15 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/6.

[1086] British Chancery to Central Department, Ankara, 21 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/17.

[1087] McWilliam to Dodson, Istanbul, 29 January 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2.

[1088] British Chancery to Foreign Office, Ankara, 16 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/7a. For the expulsion of Hellene Greeks see Demir & Akar 1994.

[1089] British Chancery to Brown, 13 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/25. *Cumhuriyet*, 17 April and 4 July 1964.

prominent businessmen, priests and several Greek teachers. In addition there was a campaign against small shopkeepers based on Law no. 2007 prohibiting skilled professions for aliens[1090]. The property of Greek nationals expelled from Istanbul was taken over by the Turkish Central Bank though this did not apply to Greeks with Turkish citizenship[1091]. An appeal was now made by Patriarch Athenagoras himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury in order to draw world attention to the Turkish persecution of the Patriarchate and the Greek community in Istanbul[1092]. Only fifteen years after his arrival in Istanbul in 1964 did Athenagoras perhaps realise that his strategy of unobjectionable cooperation to 'ingratiate himself with the Turkish authorities' had failed, as it had not prevented him from witnessing the severe, continuous harassment and persecution of his flock, and indeed of the Patriarchate itself[1093]. Warr, the British Consul-General in Istanbul, believed that Athenagoras may even have come to the conclusion that 'things might have been better had the Turkish government frankly recognised the Patriarchate as an enemy ...' as, according to the British diplomat, the Turkish authorities were more 'bewildered than pleased by the Patriarch's show of friendliness ... after centuries of enmity ... wondering what devilment lies behind the show of friendliness and clearly they were not convinced by it'[1094]. By the summer of 1964, against

[1090] See Chapter IV, section II. Despite the October 1930 agreement between Greece and Turkey, under a law (2007/1932) forbidding foreign residents in Turkey to practise a variety of professions, many Hellenes found themselves out of work in 1932. Several Hellene Greeks emigrated then to Greece while those who preferred to stay changed professions. According to Turkish official statistics, there were 26,431 Hellenes in Istanbul in 1927. After the application of law 2007 their numbers reduced to 17,672 in 1935, 13,598 in 1945. By 1960 there only 10,488 Hellenes left in Istanbul. See *IY.*, no. 380 (1959) 84, *IY.*, no. 460 (1960-1961) 78-79.

[1091] After the abrogation of the 1930 treaty, the Hellenes were subjected to Article 35 of the title deed (tapu) law which prohibited the ownership of immovable property by foreigners. Under this law (6/3801 of 2-11-1964) Greeks were barred from any legal transaction for the transfer of property rights. Wright to Brown, Washington, 12 May 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/26 and *Cumhuriyet*, 19 March 1964. See also *Milliyet* 10 July 1964.

[1092] Foreign Office Minutes by Brown, London, 14 April 1964, FO 371/175009/CT1781/5.

[1093] Allen to Brown, Ankara, 13 January 1964, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/1.

[1094] Warr to Allen, Istanbul 30 December 1963, FO 371/175009/CT 1781/1.

a background in which the Greek government rejected direct talks with Turkey over Cyprus, the Turkish officials were trying to 'squeeze out the Ecumenical Patriarchate from Istanbul[1095]. Patriarch Athenagoras, however, vigorously defended the belief that the Ecumenical Patriarch's authority would evaporate with his removal from Constantinople. According to the Archbishop of Canterbury's personal representative to the Patriarchate, W. Castle, the dilemma of the Patriarchate derived from the fact that Constantinople was a constant 'reminder of the twenty-five centuries of Greek life and over one thousand years of imperial government'[1096].

Athenagoras had nobody to speak for him in parliament; his letters to officials were not always answered; early in 1964 there was a press campaign for the pulling down of part of the Patriarchate buildings in a road widening scheme; the Patriarchate press and publications were suppressed[1097]. Philip Mears, the Archbishop of Canterbury's nominee for the annual studentship at Chalki, was expelled from the college by the police on Christmas Eve, on the grounds that his residency was illegal,

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[1095] Moberly to Edes, Athens, 31 August 1965, FO 371/180167/CT 1781/4.

[1096] McWilliam to Dodson, Istanbul, 29 January 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2.

[1097] McWilliam to Dodson, Istanbul, 29 January 1965, FO 371/180167/CT1781/2. In a more detailed FO report on Philip Mears' visit to Turkey the following information is given: 'In September 15, 1964, Mr. Mears' name was submitted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Turkish Ministry of Education, requesting a visa, to study at the Theological Academy at Heybeliada [Chalki]. On October 15, Mears, then resident in Salonica, received a letter of authorization from the Theological Academy, and applied at the Turkish Embassy in Athens for a visa; on November 10, the Turkish ambassador in Athens returned Mears' letter of authorisation to him and told him to go to the Turkish consulate in Salonica as instructions had already been given for the granting of the visa. Mears therefore called at the Consulate in Salonica, when the Consul said that he had received no instructions, and that he was not prepared to issue a visa. On November 24, Mears travelled to Istanbul as a tourist. In November 27 he visited Heybeliada; after one month he was informed that he was unable to remain in Turkey on the grounds that he could not stay without a visa. After the end of December Mears left Turkey. On March 4, 1965, the Turkish police called at the home of the Rev. Castle in Istanbul to deport Mears, who was then not resident in Turkey. In March 9, a visa was granted by the Turkish Consul in Salonica; in March 23 Mears therefore re-entered Turkey, but on arrival on 25th March at Heybeliada was informed that he could not reside in the Academy as the Turkish Ministry of culture in Ankara considered that he was 'unsuitable' and 'unqualified' to be a student there. In April 12 Mears left Turkey having been unable to pursue any further studies', see Satterthwaite to Dodson, Lambeth Palace, 6 October 1965, FO 371/180167/CT 1781/6

having previously applied and waited for a visa for some considerable time[1098]. During this period, under Law 6980 of 15 October 1964, the Turkish authorities forbade the appointment of teachers at Greek schools who were graduates of the Theological school at Chalki. As the expulsions intensified, Greece asked for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider the 'mass expulsion of Greek citizens from Turkey' in September 1964[1099]. Even though the Turkish side alleged that those expelled had been guilty of 'criminal subversive activities' against Turkey's security, later on, when faced with concrete evidence, they were obliged to admit that the Turkish official lists of those required to leave the country ~~carried~~ contained even the names of ~~dead~~ deceased persons[1100]. The expulsions were carried out with extreme harshness. The deportees were allowed to take ~~out~~ with them no more than $22 and only one suitcase containing clothing[1101]. They were also forced to sign a declaration - without being allowed to read its ~~context~~ - affirming that they had committed currency offences, sent money to 'the Greek terrorists in Cyprus and, among other things, they confirmed that they were leaving Turkey of their own free will'[1102]. On October 11, 1964, the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* jubilantly reported that 30,000 Turkish nationals of Greek origin had left Turkey permanently, in addition to those of Hellene nationality who had been expelled. The publisher of the newspaper *Ελεύθερη Φωνή*, Andreas Lambikis, was arrested, imprisoned and finally deported for 'vilification of Turkishness'[1103]. In the British annual review

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[1098] *op.cit.*
[1099] Bitsios to the Secretary-General, UNSC/S/5941.
[1100] UNSC/Official Records/1146:13-24.
[1101] *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:9.
[1102] Dimitropoulos to the Secretary-General, 10 September 1964, UNSC/S/5951.
[1103] Reacting to this state of affairs the outspoken Greek in May 1965 published an open letter to the Minister of Education Cihat Bilgehan requesting an end to the constant persecution of Greek minority schools in Istanbul. As his appeal remained unanswered he tried to publish another letter to the president Gürsel, though he was prevented by the Turkish authorities from so doing. On 19 July 1965

of Turkey for 1965 it was observed that, 'in ill-judged pursuit of this aim [sc. possession of Cyprus] the expulsion and harassment of Greek nationals in Istanbul continued'[1104]. In late October 1965 Premier Ürgüplü declared:

> 'I cannot guarantee what might happen in Istanbul if one Turk was killed in Cyprus. Additional security measures have been taken to prevent riots and possible attacks. Such measures however have been taken before, as during the riots of 6/7 September 1955'[1105].

In 1966 the Greek government's fears over the future position of the Patriarchate continued to grow[1106]. On 31 May 1966 Nicolareisis, the Greek ambassador to London, presented British high-ranking officials with an aide memoire expressing the Greek government's concern regarding a possible Turkish threat to the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople[1107]. The government responded positively to Greek demands for intervention on their behalf, claiming they did not intend to be part of 'the game of chess between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus'[1108]. Nicolareisis stressed that Turkish policy had resulted in a reduction of the Greek community in Istanbul from 100,000 to some 30,000 persons and that it now looked as though the Turkish government was seeking to reduce the entourage of the

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he published a blank editorial space indicating the censorship of his article. Even though Lambikis was a Turkish national on 11 September 1965 he was expelled from Turkey. The premises of his journal were ransacked and previous issues destroyed. See *Ελεύθερη Φωνή* 1, 8, and 15 May 1965.

[1104] Allen to Stewart, Ankara, 5 January 1966, FO 371/185824/CT1011/1.

[1105] *Cumhuriyet*, 16 October 1965.

[1106] On 7 December 1965 simultaneous ceremonies annulling excommunications pronounced in 1054 took place at the Patriarchate and the Vatican. After these the ecumenical character of the Patriarchate was more intensely undermined. See Warr to Parsons, Istanbul, 13 December 1965, FO 371/180167/CT 1781/7. However Athenagoras seemed determined to do all he possibly could to assure the Turkish authorities that he was a loyal Turkish national. See Warr to Parsons, Istanbul, 16 December 1965, FO 371/180167/CT 1781/7(b).

[1107] Foreign Office Minutes by Hohler, 31 May 1966, FO/371/185856/CT1781/4. In more detail the Aide Memoire urged the 'Western Family of nations' to take some action against Turkey's attitude towards the Patriarchate in order to prevent Moscow becoming the leading Orthodox Church.

[1108] Foreign Office Minutes by Dodson, 1 June 1966, FO 371/185856/CT1781/4.

Patriarch[1109]. He also drew attention to the persecution of the Greek populations of Imbros and Tenedos, the Aegean islands reserved for Turkey in the treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne, and to unfounded allegations regarding the treatment of the Turkish minority in Greek Thrace[1110]. Nicolareisis said that the measures being taken against the Patriarchate and the Greek communities in Turkey were part of the Turkish government's policy of seeking to put pressure on the Greek government with regard to the Cyprus issue[1111]. At the same time, Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church in North America, on the suggestion of the US President, Lyndon Johnson, submitted a memorandum to the State Department[1112]. However, the American official line continued to be that 'it might be just as well for the Old Man [Athenagoras] to leave'[1113]. In spite of the enormous pressures applied to the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul, Athenagoras continued to insist that he was not neutral but a 'loyal' Turkish citizen[1114]. On 3 February, the Turkish press quoted the Turkish Minister of the Interior, Sukan, that on the expiry of their permits 48 more Greek nationals would be deported in March and April, after which none would remain in Turkey[1115] . Indeed, at a press conference on 7 April, Sukan gave the following information about Greek nationals in Turkey: 'Of 12,592 Greek nationals resident in Turkey in April 1964, 977 had been deported, 2,176 had been obliged to leave on

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[1109] Foreign Office Minutes by Hohler, 31 May 1966, FO/371/185856/CT1781/4.
[1110] *op.cit.*
[1111] Foreign Office Minutes by Hohler, 31 May 1966, FO/371/185856/CT1781/4.
[1112] Satterthwaite to Warr, Istanbul, 16 August 1966, FO 371/185856/CT 1781/5.
[1113] *op.cit.*
[1114] There had been rumours that during this period the Patriarchate was bugged and the prelates therefore had to resort to written, instead of oral, communication to each other.
[1115] Allen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 10 February 1966, FO 371/185858/CT1821/1c. At the same period Ankara, ignoring her own Muslim minorities, began to counter the growth of nationalism among the Kurds of the eastern provinces and absorb them as citizens of the Turkish Republic. On 29 October 1966, the Turkish National Day, President Sunay included in his message to the nation a statement which seems to refer directly to the Kurdish question: 'Racialism and its integral part

the expiry of their residence permits and 4,913 had left voluntarily'[1116]. Commenting on the Turkish Minister's statements, Tsirimokos, the Greek Foreign Minister, suggested to the Turkish government that only by confining itself exclusively to peaceful means would it be possible to settle the Cyprus issue[1117]. According to the British Foreign Office minutes, the Greeks could have done very little if the Turks had decided to throw out the remaining Greeks in Istanbul or, for that matter, in Imbros and Tenedos[1118]. Indeed, almost simultaneously with the expulsions of the Constantinopolitan Hellene nationals, the Turkish government undertook another similar task aiming at the elimination of the Greeks in Imbros and Tenedos through the so-called 'dissolution programme' (eritme programı). Under Law no.502/1964, the teaching of Greek in community schools was abolished once again, with effect from 23 July 1964[1119]. All Greek teachers and staff were dismissed[1120]. This law forbade community ownership of property, including schools, making church buldings the only exception. In 1965 the Turkish government established on Imbros an open agricultrual prison for Turkish mainland convicts and farming land was expropriated for this purpose. Between 1960 and 1974 about 200 churches and chapels were also destroyed. Faced with continuous persecution most

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regionalism are incompatible [with the principles of the Republic] and cannot be considered legal'. Quoted in the same report.

[1116] Allen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 10 February 1966, FO 371/185858/CT1821/1. Here by the term 'voluntarily' meant that several Greeks were threatened by the Turkish police authorities until they signed a declaration - without being allowed to read its context - affirming that they were leaving 'voluntarily' from Turkey. See Demir & Akar 1994:187-191.

[1117] On 8 August 1964 Turkish aircraft had attacked Cyprus, before the United Nations intervened to impose a ceasefire.

[1118] Foreign Office Minutes by Francis, 10 February 1966, FO 371/185858/CT1821/1.

[1119] A Turkish law passed in 1927 (1151/1927) set forth rules for administering the islands and flouted the right to self-administration provided by the Treaty of Lausanne. The same law also outlawed the teaching of the Greek language in communal schools. However on 5 February 1951 under Law 5713/1951, Article 14 of the 1151/1927 law was dismissed. From 1952 Greek schools on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos began to function only until July 1964 when the Turkish government re-introduced Law 1151/1927.

[1120] See Karas 1987:269-277.

of the island's Greek population was forced to leave[1121]. By 1967 the application of Article 14 of Law 1151/1927 was put into force thus transforming the Greek schools into Turkish state schools. Those who wanted their children to learn the Greek language and religion had to apply to the Turkish Governor (*Kaymakam*) for special permission and only if an 'appropriate' teacher, according to the Turkish authorities, was found and the family was willing to cover the expenses, was their child was entitled to have private tuition every week. Having said that, this tuition was obliged to follow the curricula of Greek schools in Istanbul and nothing else was allowed to be taught[1122].

On 30 January 1967, the Greek Consul-General informed his British counterpart that only recently the expulsions of Greek nationals had stopped[1123], though the situation on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, he continued, was becoming untenable for those of Greek race, forcing them to leave. The evident intention, according to the Greek diplomat, was to populate the island with purely Turkish people. However as 'this process did not affect Greek nationals the Greek government had decided that they could not intervene...'[1124]. On 5 December 1967 the Turkish press announced that nine Greek schools in Istanbul had been closed by the Ministry of Education on the grounds that the standard of teaching was too low and that many of them had hardly any pupils[1125]. Thirty-nine Greek teachers were also dismissed. Furthermore, entrance to minority schools was refused to children whose identity cards included the word Christian (*Hristiyan*) and not Greek Orthodox (*Rum Ortodoks)*. The Greek ambassador 'feared that they closed these schools in order to have a card

[1121] Alexandris 1990:25-26 and *Helsinki Human Rights Watch*, March 1992:28.
[1122] Karas 1987:278.
[1123] Warr to Mackie, Istanbul, 30 January 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/13.
[1124] *op.cit.*
[1125] Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 5 December 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/6.

in their hands to play at some later stage in return for some Greek concession [over Cyprus]'[1126]. The following week, the Consul-General in Istanbul reported that the closure of Greek schools had been suspended and they were to be inspected shortly[1127]. Subsequently six out of nine Greek minority schools were forbidden to function. According to the official results of the Turkish census held in 1965[1128], on the basis of their mother tongue, there were 49,143 Greek-speaking people left in Istanbul[1129]. However, according to Greek statistics, in 1965 there were only 38,667 Greeks left in Turkey[1130].



Illustration 36: Some of the 'dangerous and undesirable'[1131] deportees. Source: Demir & Akar 1994.

[1126] *op.cit.*

[1127] Stewart to Foreign Office, Ankara, 14 December 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/7.

[1128] Pemberton-Pigott to Brown, Ankara, 19 December 1966, FO 371/185858/CT1821/5. The first detailed findings of the population census held throughout Turkey on 24 October 1965.

[1129] *op.cit.* The figure for Greek nationals was shown as 802 but at least one small group of Hellene Greeks had been expelled from Turkey since October 1965. Altogether approximately 10per cent of the population in Turkey did not speak Turkish as a mother tongue. Of these there were 2,180,721 Kurds, 368,971 Arabs, 147,707 Zaza, 57,337 Circassian, 32,484 Armenians, 32,334 Georgians, 27,715 Laz, 23,299 Pomac. In total there were 215,000 Christians and 38,000 Jews. Of foreign nationals the Americans with 31,000 were the most numerous compared to 5,000 Europeans and 3,000 Arabs. The 1965 census revealed a population total of 31,391,207.

[1130] *Ηχώ*, 21 May 1978.

[1131] Another term used by the Turkish government was the 'Greek nationals who were engaged in harmful activities against Turkey'. *Interview with Professor Sarris*, 19 April 1997, Athens. Also in Eralp to the Secretatry-General, 29 September 1964, UNSC/S/6728.









2. The background to the Greco-Turkish educational protocol of 1968.

The increasing Turkish complaints about maltreatment of Turks in Greek Thrace had produced results. Greek authorities had given firm assurances that the tension in Greek Thrace had eased and the situation would soon return to normal[1132]. Like the Greeks in Turkey, the Muslim communities in Greek Thrace were also used from time to time - though to a lesser degree - as a 'tactical weapon in the Cyprus dispute, with the level of controversy tending to rise and fall according to the apparent prospects of a Cyprus settlement'[1133]. However, British Embassy staff in Ankara, who had visited the island of Imbros recently, were well aware that there were very few Greeks with Greek nationality left and only a few hundred with Greek origin but Turkish nationality who were reported to be 'in a very depressed state'[1134]. In contrast, the Muslims in Greek Thrace were a growing community amounting to some 100,000 people[1135]. In October 1967 the Turkish press continued to allege that the Muslims in Greek Thrace were being persecuted. This time it was said that school teachers were being dismissed and members of the Turkish communal councils had been replaced by others known to co-operate with the Greeks[1136]. Adnan Bulak, the Director General of the Cyprus and Greece department in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had told the British ambassador that the Turkish government had made about 60 representations to the Greek government between May and November 1967[1137]. Bulak said to the British diplomat that they were either going to draw the attention of the

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[1132] Allen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 10 July 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/8.
[1133] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 7 November 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/9.
[1134] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 7 November 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/9.
[1135] *op.cit.*
[1136] *op.cit.*
[1137] *op.cit.*

signatories of the Treaty of Lausanne to Article 45, which was not being honoured by the Greek government, or to bring the matter formally to the attention of the Council of Europe's Commission on Human Rights. He also noted that they had very encouraging indications that they would be warmly supported by the Scandinavians and the Benelux countries[1138]. On 17 December 1967 the Turkish Foreign Minister Çaglayangil published a written reply to a Parliamentary question on the position of the Turks in Western Thrace[1139]. He emphasised that since the military coup of 21 April in Greece, further measures had been taken against the Muslim schools. He did not approve of the appellation 'Muslim school' and believed that the aim of the Greek government was to 'upset the Turks and secure their emigration or make them forget their identity'[1140]. The following day, Çaglayangil declared that:

> 'the Constitution and laws are all applied without discrimination in Turkey and they constitute safeguards for everyone. As a legal state, Turkey lets all her citizens enjoy their rights regardless of race and religion. What is at stake is the legal status and rights of the Turkish minority in Greek Thrace which are based on reciprocal agreement. These are shown in Articles 38-45 of the Lausanne Treaty. It is evident that this commitment has to be observed mutually. For this reason, demanding and assuring the observation of the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty for our kinsmen of Western Thrace is a duty to which our Government gives special emphasis'[1141].

[1138] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 7 November 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/9 and Allen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 10 July 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/8. On 20 September 1967 the governments of Denmark, Sweden and Norway together made formal applications to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for allegations about the violation of human rights in Greece to be referred to the European Commission of Human Rights. On 26 September 1967 the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe passed a Resolution which *inter alia* records general support for the Scandinavian initiative.
[1139] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 21 December 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/11.
[1140] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 21 December 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/11.
[1141] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 21 December 1967, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/11.

Pattakos, the Greek Minister of the Interior in an interview with the Istanbul daily *Milliyet*, replied to the accusations, denying that any incidents of maltreatment towards Turks had taken place[1142]. A few days later in a speech made at Xanthi on 28 December 1967, Pattakos referred to the people of Northern Greece, paying tribute to the people of provinces of Xanthi and Rodopi for their 'impeccable and friendly behaviour towards the Muslims living in those districts'[1143].

According to the Turkish Embassy in Athens, however, the Muslim community of Turkish origin, some 60,000 people, were treated as second class citizens. Particularly since the formation of the revolutionary government, the Greek authorities had removed the elected heads of the communities and imposed their own nominees, most of whom had been obliged to leave Turkey after 1922 as they had opposed Atatürks's national movement and were therefore not at all sympathetic towards the Turkish authorities in Ankara[1144]. The response to these claims, given by the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Pipinellis, was positive in that he was looking for ways of improving Greco-Turkish relations, and for his part he had promised to conduct a thorough examination of the Turkish complaints regarding the treatment of their minority in Greek Thrace. At least, as the British ambassador remarked, 'he considered that there might be some substance in the Turkish complaints'[1145]. Pipinellis especially thought that there were issues affecting Muslim schools and communities which constituted causes of friction between the two countries and they had to be eliminated, provided the Turks agreed to reciprocate in their treatment of Greek nationals in Turkey. Pipinellis therefore soon

[1142] Allen to Foreign Office, 28 December 1967, FCO 9634//CT3/9/12.
[1143] Bridges to Lucas, Athens, 9 January 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/13.
[1144] *op.cit.*
[1145] *op.cit.*

discussed the question of the Muslim minority in Greek Thrace and the Greek minority in Istanbul with Çaglayangil, his Turkish counterpart[1146]. Each Foreign Minister agreed to designate a representative for this purpose who would meet alternately in Ankara and Athens[1147].

It was officially made known on 22 February 1968 that an agreement had been signed between Greece and Turkey, as a result of which the Greek ambassador in Ankara and the Turkish ambassador in Athens were allowed to visit their national minorities living in Greece and Turkey respectively[1148]. However, as stated in the Greek press of the time, although the Turkish Consul in Komotini was free and able to visit Turks in Greek Thrace, it was the Greek Consul in Istanbul and the Greek ambassador in Ankara who were prevented from paying visits to their nationals in Istanbul. As for the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, Greek requests for permission to pay a visit was 'obstinately refused'[1149] by the Turkish authorities. As a result of the weak positions of the previous Greek governments and of the relentless action taken by Turkey against the Greek population of Turkey contrary to international agreements, between 1963 and 1967, the Greek population of Imbros sank from 5,800 to just 300 persons. Meanwhile, the Turkish population of Imbros, which amounted to 300 in 1963, had exploded to 3,300 by 1967 as a result of the

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[1146] Stewart to Foreign Office, Athens, 9 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/14.

[1147] Pemberton-Pigott to Foreign Office, Athens, 9 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/15 and *The Pulse*, 19 February 1968 and *Tercüman* 18 February 1968. See also *The New York Times*, 15 February 1968. The latter, in a detailed article entitled '*Greece Agrees to Discuss Turkey's Complaints About Thrace*', affirms: '...Turkey's complaints about Thrace rose sharply after the Greek military coup last year. This was partly because the junta deposed many Turkish elected officials in the course of ousting elected officials throughout the country and replaced them with Turks of their own choosing'.

[1148] On 22 February 1968 the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs issued a statement declaring that: 'The Turkish and Greek governments have decided to elect one representative from each country to discuss unresolved bilateral problems, in particular the minorities question and to put forward proposals as to the measures which must be taken. These representatives will meet in Athens and Ankara respectively'. See Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 26 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/20.

[1149] Stewart to Foreign Office, Athens, 23 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/18.

transfer of Turks from the mainland, including convicts in open prisons[1150]. Çaglayangil agreed that a bilateral commission would investigate the Greek and Turkish claims[1151].

Adnan Bulak, Director General of the Cyprus and Greece Department in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had been appointed the Turkish representative at talks 'to discuss unresolved bilateral problems'[1152]. The Greek representative was Ioannis Tzounis, 'an old friend' of Dodson, the British representative in Athens[1153]. The talks began in Athens and, as both sides declared, 'were continuing in a spirit of frankness and mutual goodwill'[1154]. The first round of talks took place between 15 and 22 March 1968 in Athens. Prior to these discussions Bulak paid a visit to Thrace (from 11th to 15th) while Tzounis was to make the reciprocal trip to Istanbul on 10 April, five days before the second round of talks which were due to start on 15 April. During the discussions in Greece, the Turks had presented a long list of complaints about the treatment of the Muslim minority in Greek Thrace and the Greeks had tried to explain the special characteristics of the minority and region. In 1923, Tzounis explained, the Mixed Commission had delivered 106, 000 'certificates of establishment' to the Muslims of Turkish origin in Greek Thrace. The Greek provisional estimate of the number of Muslims in Greek Thrace in 1967 was 108,000[1155]. Among several issues discussed in Athens concerning the Muslims of Turkish race, was included the issue of anti-Kemalist

[1150] Stewart to Foreign Office, Athens, 23 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/18.
[1151] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 22 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/19.
[1152] Edmonds to Lucas, Ankara, 29 February 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/21.
[1153] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 18 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/23.
[1154] *op.cit.* In this period the Turkish government replaced Tuluy, the Turkish ambassador to Athens with Turkmen who was Assistant Secretary-General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On this matter see Stewart to Davidson, Athens, 19 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/24.
[1155] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25. According to the 1961 census the Turkish minority had by then slipped to 101,137. This was due to the outbreak of the

newspapers. Tzounis conceded that, under the Treaty of Lausanne, the Greeks were obliged to allow the Turkish community their own religion and culture. A large part of this community, who did not agree with Kemalist reforms, still preferred their children to be taught the Arabic script at school and it was not possible to interfere in this matter, in the name of freedom and Human Rights. Yet, although there was no ban on the entry of members of the Turkish community to Greek Reserve Officers' schools, the standard of the Greek language in such schools, despite the efforts of the Greek government, was still very ~~low~~ poor[1156]. The biggest current issue was the dismissal of the elected committees after the Greek coup d' état in April 1967. On this issue, he hoped the Greek government would take some action[1157].

However, the Turkish government now demanded the elimination of the village committees and the administration of all *Vakıfs* (pious foundations) to be ~~concentrated~~ handled by one of the ~~in the hands of the~~ three main committees of Xanthi, Komotini and Didymoteicho[1158]. They also wanted the powers of the Greek prefects who supervised the administration of the *Vakıfs* to be rescinded. In addition they asked that the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne should be extended to the Turkish minority in the Dodecanese. With such extensive demands from Turkey, even the British representative in Athens was shocked. Dodson therefore asked Tzounis how the Turks reconciled what seemed to him far reaching demands with their own more drastic treatment of the Greeks in Istanbul. Tzounis replied by reminding

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Second World War - during which Thrace had been occupied by the Bulgarians - the Greek Civil War of 1947-49 and various events, including the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955.

[1156] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.

[1157] *op.cit.*

[1158] Apart from those committees which ran the Turkish schools, other committees were elected to adminster the Turkish philanthropic estates, the so-called *Vakıfs*. There were three committees administrating the *Vakıfs* in the three main towns of Xanthi, Komotini and Didymoteicho and separate committees in the villages. Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.

his old friend that the talks so far had been entirely concerned with the Turkish desiderata[1159]. The Greek demands, he underlined, would be put forward when he went to Ankara. He would then draw the attention of the Turkish authorities to the treatment of the Greek minority in Istanbul 'the number of which had diminished from 100,000 at the time of the Treaty of Lausanne to 30,000; the expulsion of some 12,000 Greek subjects from Istanbul ... and the treatment of the Greek community in Imbros'[1160]. Overall Tzounis was optimistic that the talks so far had been very 'frank and friendly'[1161].

Tzounis also emphasised that 80 per cent of the Muslim community in Greek Thrace was an agricultural/rural population[1162]. In 1968 the administrative body of the Muslim minority in Greek Thrace consisted of 20 community presidents, 7 municipal counsellors and 136 communal counsellors[1163]. The use of the Turkish language - in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne - was free in public and private, in the Courts where there were official interpreters provided by the state and the *Müftis* (religious leaders) were free to use their own language in their correspondence with institutions or during the composition of public acts (circulars, memoranda, laws)[1164]. The minority also possessed 260 mosques, many of which had been restored by the Greek state. The *Müftis* were considered to be public servants and they were not subject to the disciplinary jurisdiction of the State. The *İmams* and the *Hatips* were

[1159] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1160] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1161] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1162] Having said this it is important to note that the Muslims of Greek Thrace had and still have a superior standard of agricultural income (per head) compared to Turkey or the rest of the Greek agricultural population. See Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1163] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1164] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.

exempted from military service[1165]. According to the same report, in the academic year of 1966-1967 there were 294 primary[1166] schools and two secondary[1167] schools with a total of 16,496 students. Apart from the Greek language, geography, history and civic courses, the curriculum was taught in Turkish. Since 1945 the Greek state had spent 15,318,812 drachmas on the construction or renovation of Muslim schools. There was another 3,147,000 which should be added to this sum for contributions from Prefectures. The school in Komotini, for example, was established with state funding in the region of 2,500,000 drachmas. The total expenditure for schools construction and maintenance was 20,966,622 drachmas, approximately 700,000$. From 1954, the Greek state had approved the sum of 864,000 drachmas for the funding of Muslim schools each year. With several other sources, the support amounted to 3,000,000 drachmas, approximately 100,000$. There were 22 Turkish subject teachers and 425 Greek subject teachers in the Muslim minority schools. These schools were administered by the local administrative committees. There were five different Unions. By 1967 there were seven newspapers, though two of them printed in Arabic letters stopped their publication thereafter[1168]. The common characteristic of all these publications was the fact that they were not particularly 'friendly' towards the Hellenic Administration. Prior to the coup of 21 April 1967 they were deeply hostile, but freely circulated[1169].

This situation still applies today. When the British representative visited Bulak in Ankara 'to receive his own account of the talks', he

[1165] Unlike the Ecumenical Patriarch, the Holy Synod or any clergymen in Turkey the Muslim religious leaders were exempted from military service in Greece.
[1166] 114 in Xanthi, 157 in Rodopi and 23 in Evros. Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1167] One in Rodopi with 359 and one in Xanthi with 96 students.
[1168] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 22 March 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/25.
[1169] *op.cit.*

suggested to the Turkish diplomat that 'the Greek minority nevertheless had a feeling of insecurity and had pretty good grounds for it'. Bulak admitted that this might have been so on one or two occasions in the past but that it was no longer the case[1170]. Bulak also confirmed that on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos there might have been some instances where the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne had not been strictly observed. He also stressed that when the Greek diplomat arrived in Istanbul for the fact-finding mission, he would not be allowed to visit Imbros and Tenedos as he himself was not allowed to visit the Pomac zone in Greek Thrace. On 22 April 1968 the British official from the Central department expressed his genuine satisfaction with the Greco-Turkish talks which provide tangible evidence' that they both wanted to get on better terms[1171].

As already agreed, Tzounis arrived in Istanbul on 10 April; discussions started in Ankara on 15 of April and ended on 26 of the same month. Bulak said that this series of talks had been the first opportunity for examining the problems of the minorities since 1959 when Kuneral met Bitsios and had talks on bilateral issues which for various reasons had not been followed through[1172]. Now it was Tzounis' turn to list the problems and the turn of the Turks to listen. In 1930 the Greek nationals had been granted many rights as part of the legislation giving effect to the Treaty of Lausanne. In March 1964, as the Cyprus crisis escalated, it was decided to cancel those rights. As a result, the number of Greek nationals resident in Istanbul had dropped from over 10,000 in 1963 to about 2,000 in 1968[1173]. Turkey suggested that she was prepared to consider restoring Greek rights, allowing families to reunite. Bulak believed that despite the

[1170] Pemberton-Pigott to Davidson, Ankara, 2 April 1968, FCO 9/634.CT3/9/27.
[1171] Snodgrass to Dodson, Central Department, 22 April 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/29.
[1172] Edmonds to Snodgrass, Ankara, 29 April 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/30.
[1173] *op.cit.*

Greek regime's obvious problems, as long as Pipinellis remained in the Foreign Office they would continue the very friendly atmosphere of the talks[1174]. Bulak's own impression from his recent visit to Greece was that 'there was a general attitude of laissez-faire among the Greek people' and he wanted to take advantage of it[1175]. *Cumhuriyet*'s edition of 30 April 1968 suggested that the third stage of the discussions would be conducted in Vienna in mid-May[1176]. The objective was to prepare reports which would be discussed by Çaglayangil and Pipinellis during the Nato meeting at Reykjavik in late June[1177]. Indeed, the talks were to begin on 20 May and last about ten days. While in Istanbul Tzounis had several meetings with representatives of the Greek colony (Hellene nationals) and the Greek minority (Turkish nationals). He also visited the Patriarchate and met Athenagoras. He confirmed that the Greek minority in Imbros had been reduced by half and their land had for the most part been compulsorily expropriated in order to provide room for a Turkish prison and an experimental farm. In addition, the teaching of Greek in the Greek schools on Imbros had been compressed to only one hour per week and this hour had to be especially paid for by the parents[1178]. Regarding the Greek colony in Istanbul, Tzounis, on behalf of the Greek government, requested that either the Convention of Establishment of 1930 - which the Turks had denounced in 1964 - be revalidated or that a new Convention be negotiated. Even though there was little hope that those already expelled would be able to return to live in Istanbul, a significant number of those who were expelled did wish to return, at least for short periods in order to

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[1174] *op.cit.*
[1175] Edmonds to Snodgrass, Ankara, 29 April 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/30.
[1176] *Cumhuriyet*, 30 April 1968.
[1177] Allen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 8 May 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/33.
[1178] Dodson to Snodgrass, Athens, 10 May 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/34.

deal with their property[1179]. Tzounis' discussion with Bulak provided several examples of the difficulties to which the Greek community had been subjected: the government's refusal to allow the rebuilding of a wing of the Patriarchate destroyed by fire in 1941; the constant troubles caused by Papa Efthym and his illegal occupation of four Orthodox Churches[1180] in the city (property owned by the Patriarchate); the various forms of arbitrary taxation imposed upon the Greek community with those unable to pay having their properties seized and auctioned off; but especially (as was the case for the islands of Imbros and Tenedos) the targeting of the Greek community's schools under Turkish nationalist policies[1181]. Tzounis like his Turkish counterpart was to be in Vienna on 19 May for the talks which were to begin on 20 May[1182]. Tzounis thought that the Greek government would be able to meet a number of the Turkish demands with regard to schools[1183]. However, regarding the matter of reverting to the system whereby the school committees were elected, Tzounis said that the decision to nominate committees rather than allow them to be elected was a decision which applied throughout the country and therefore was unlikely to be changed 'to meet the requirements of one particular region'[1184]. By the end of the 1960s the Muslim minority was estimated at approximately 110,000 - more or less what it was at the conclusion of conclusion of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923 - whereas the Greek community numbered between 35,000 and 40,000, reduced by more than

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[1179] *op.cit.*

[1180] For a detailed account see Foreign Office Minutes by Edes, 14 September 1965, FO 371/180167/CT 1781/5. Also in *The Times* and *The Guardian* of 27 and 28 September 1965.

[1181] Dodson to Snodgrass, Athens, 10 May 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/34.

[1182] *op.cit.* Meanwhile there was another positive development. The Greek Minister of Commerce Papadimitrakopoulos accompanied by a delegation visited Turkey between 10 and 14 May and met with his Turkish counterpart Turkel in order to improve commercial co-operation. For more details see Edmonds to Snodgrass, Ankara, 17 May 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/36.

[1183] *op.cit.*.

half[1185]. Greece described the conditions under which the minority had to live and work. The Turkish authorities, equally, explained that the whole character of Istanbul had changed in the past 45 years and that the surge of new Turkish commercial and professional classes meant that certain functions no longer belonged to Greeks[1186]. The status of the Greek minority was a separate matter from that of the community of Greek nationals which had once been established in Istanbul. Prior to 1964, they numbered 8,000, but after the expulsions they had been reduced to 1,200, consisting mostly of either very old people or young children who had been left with their grand-parents while their parents sought to establish roots elsewhere. The fate of this community was sealed when Turkey unilaterally denounced the treaty of establishment with Greece in 1964[1187].

In a nutshell, the problems encountered by the Greek minority in Turkey and the Muslim minority in Greece revolved largely around matters of education, schools and property. The Greek-speaking community in Imbros had some 70 per cent of its land expropriated under various pretexts. This community had shrunk to half its former size of 6,000. There had also been difficulties over the registration of property titles by members of the Greek minority in Istanbul[1188] . As far as education was concerned, there was a reciprocal arrangement between Greece and Turkey under which 35 Greek nationals were allowed to teach in Greek minority schools in Turkey while a corresponding number of Turkish nationals were allowed to teach in Turkish minority schools in Greek Thrace. These teachers were chosen by their respective Ministries of Education. Another fundamental obstacle for Greek schools in Istanbul

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[1184] *op.cit.*.
[1185] Goldschlag to Foreign Office, Ankara, 9 May 1968, , FCO 9/634/CT3/9/35.
[1186] Goldschlag to Foreign Office, Ankara, 9 May 1968, , FCO 9/634/CT3/9/35.
[1187] *op.cit.*
[1188] *op.cit.*

was the fact that any Turkish national of Greek origin who had completed their studies in Greece was not - as a rule - given permission to teach in Greek minority schools in Turkey. Furthermore, such individuals, who in many cases were already teaching, had been dismissed. Similarly there had been suspensions of Turkish-trained teachers from Muslim community schools in Greek Thrace. Turkey argued that teaching in these schools was now largely in the hands of primary school graduates and of religious instructors whose attitude to the modern Turkish language was sharply antagonistic[1189]. One result of this educational warfare was that on the island of Imbros all Greek schools had been shut down[1190].

Turkey, for her part, argued that the dismissal by the Greek government of elected members of Turkish communal Councils in Greek Thrace and their replacement with people who did not enjoy the confidence of their own community was not consistent with Articles 40-45 of the Lausanne Treaty, though she was prepared to admit that the measures taken by the present Greek government against elected local bodies generally did not discriminate against either the Greek or Turkish communities. Regarding the matter of the Patriarchate, although Turkey stressed that she did not intend to expel it as she regarded it purely and simply as a Turkish national religious institution, they disliked the recent Ecumenical initiatives which the Patriarch had undertaken with neighbouring Balkan countries. Overall the talks were conducted in an extremely friendly environment[1191].

[1189] Goldschlag to Foreign Office, Ankara, 9 May 1968, , FCO 9/634/CT3/9/35.

[1190] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 21 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/44. According to the Greek report submitted to Bulak during the bilateral talks in mid-April in 1960 there were 5,898 Greeks and 300 Turks in Imbros. In 1968 the Greeks were down to 3,062 and the Turkish were 3,700. From the total of 242 Greek Orthodox Churches and seven minoritarian schools in 1964, there were only 56 Churches and Greek schools at all left in Imbros in 1968. *Καθημερινή- Επτά Ημέρες*, 22 Μαγ 1994. See Table II.

[1191] Goldschlag to Foreign Office, Ankara, 9 May 1968, , FCO 9/634/CT3/9/35.

Greek Education in Imbros 1963-1964 and 1967-1968. Table II[1192]

Community	Schools	Classes	Students	Schools	Classes	Greek Students
Çınarlı (Παναγία)	Greek gymnasium	3	72	Turlish teachers' school	3	---
	Greek primary school	6	178	Turkish gymnasium	3	2
				Turkish primary	5	70
Yenimahalle (Ευλάμπιο)	----	----	----	----	----	-----
Derekōy (Σχοινούδι)	Greek primary school	6	174	Turkish primary	5	34
Tepekōy (Αγρίδια)	Greek primary school	6	128	Turkish primary	5	24
Zeytinlikōy (Αγ. Θεόδωροι)	Greek primary school	6	90	Turkish primary	5	39
Bademlikōy (Γλυκύ)	Greek primary school	6	51	Turkish primary	5	10
Kalekōy (Κάστρο)	Greek primary school	6	17	Turkish primary	5	10
Total	7		**710**	**8**		

[1192] The information quoted in this table is derived from the FO document classified as Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 21 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/44. a detailed account of Imbros.

3. The signing of the protocol and the sharp intellectual decline of the Greek minority.

The representatives of both Greek and Turkish Ministers under the chairmanship of the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs met in Vienna to discuss their mutual minority problems[1193]. By the end, Bulak and Tzounis had succeeded in producing a joint report for their respective Foreign Ministries. Petrou, the Greek Counsellor in Ankara, in a private discussion with his British counterpart, Edmonds (having examined the joint report produced), affirmed that it 'was perfect in syntax, ridiculously thin in substance'[1194]. It seemed therefore that Tzounis and Bulak had only gone as far as identifying the problems, as seen by the two sides, but that any promising suggestion for solving these problems was not yet on the agenda[1195]. The report was in four parts. The first part listed the meetings between Bulak and Tzounis and made reference to the contracts undertaken by Greece and Turkey under the Treaty of Lausanne. It stated that, in deciding to re-examine the questions affected by these contracts, both governments aimed to re-establish good relations, which they considered to be to their mutual advantage. The second part of the report dealt with education. It stated that the two representatives had agreed on the need for the satisfactory working of the Mixed Commission, foreseen in the Cultural Agreement signed by Greece and Turkey on 20 April 1951. With reference to the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, the two representatives agreed on the prime importance of language teaching in the schools of the two minorities. There also were a number of concrete proposals regarding the use of the minority language in schools, the use of educational material, the establishment of libraries and the use of

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[1193] Scott to Foreign Office, Vienna, 30 May 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/37.
[1194] Edmonds to Snodgrass, Ankara, 10 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/38.
[1195] *op.cit.*

textbooks. The report stated that the two representatives agreed that the minority schools suffered from a lack of text books in minority languages. They proposed, as an urgent remedial measure, that permission should be immediately given for the use of all such text books which had been previously approved for use and that approval should likewise be given for the use of all text books which had been previously submitted for approval[1196]. The third part of the report underlined a number of problems for which further discussion would be necessary. The fourth and final section of the report stated that the two representatives agreed on the need to continue to discuss and examine these problems. The Turkish representative suggested that this should be done by means of the establishment of a permanent Mixed Commission whereas the Greek representative suggested it should be done by the appointment of *ad hoc* committees as necessary[1197].

Pipinellis agreed to meet with Çaglayangil in London after the NATO Ministerial meeting at Reykjavik on 21 June 1968[1198]. As a result of the meeting of ambassadors in Vienna, an agreement was reached on two matters affecting the treatment of minorities. These concerned the administration of the schools, but there were a number of other issues on which the ambassadors were unable to agree and carried them forward for further discussion between the two Foreign Ministers[1199]. According to Çaglayangil, 'it was impossible to reach a settlement [on these matters] independently of a settlement on Cyprus, for 'public opinion in Turkey', he admitted, 'would not accept that these questions should be settled

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[1196] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 21 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/44.
[1197] *op.cit.*
[1198] Dodson to Foreign Office, Athens, 15 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/40 and in Dodson to Foreign Office, Athens, 15 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/39.
[1199] Dodson to Foreign Office, Athens, 15 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/40.

whilst the major question of the Turkish minority in Cyprus remained unsettled'[1200]. Ultimately, it seemed that the bilateral discussions to improve first school and education facilities took place too late for the Greeks in Istanbul. The exodus of people of Greek descent with Turkish passports was now showing a significant increase, as Grigoriadis, the Greek Consul-General, reported[1201]. Trying to report the dramatic changes in Istanbul on 2 July 1968, the British representative concluded:

> '...even in the space of a year I have been struck by the change that is taking place in the atmosphere of Istanbul. As more and more Turkish peasants come from Anatolia, the cosmopolitan character of the place is still further eroded. Increasingly Istanbul is becoming a rough, tough, noisy (and xenophobic) Turkish town'[1202].

Replying to an interview with the Turkish *Akşam*, Pipinellis, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, once again underlined that there was no difference in treatment between the Hellene and the Hellene Muslim citizens of Greek Thrace[1203]. When Pipinellis returned to Athens, during the course of a conversation with the British ambassador, Pipinellis confirmed how difficult a time he had had with Çaglayangil at the end of June[1204]. The position of the Greeks in Imbros and Tenedos was indeed deplorable. Out of thirty thousand stremmata formerly owned by the Greeks (1 stremma = 1,000sq. metres, about ¼ acre), twenty-four thousand had been expropriated by the Turkish government. The majority of the Greeks on both islands therefore were left with no adequate means of subsistence. Moreover, the Turks had recently taken to using the two

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[1200] Allen to Foreign Office, Ankara, 18 June 1968, FCO 9/CT3/9/42 and 41.
[1201] *op.cit.* and in Burrows to Snodgrass, Istanbul, 2 July 1968, FCO 9/CT3/9/45.Grigoriadis also affirmed that applications for visas to Greece were not limited to minority citizens of Greek descent. There was an increasing number of visa applications from Jews and Armenians.
[1202] Burrows to Snodgrass, Istanbul, 2 July 1968, FCO 9/CT3/9/45.
[1203] Stewart to Central Department, Athens, 10 July 1968, FCO 9/CT3/9/46.

islands as penal settlements (open prisons)[1205]. When Pipinellis conveyed these points to his Turkish counterpart, the latter replied with a degree of offensiveness, making it clear that Pipinellis should not press the Turkish any further, 'risking their relations on other and possibly more important matters'[1206]. According to the British ambassador to Athens, it was clear that there would be no Greeks left in Istanbul before long. British reports from Turkey suggested that the Hellenes and Greeks had now been leaving Istanbul in very considerable numbers for some time and there was no sign of the exodus stopping. It appeared, therefore, that there would shortly be practically no Greeks in Turkey while Greece would remain host to a minority of more than one hundred thousand Muslim people in Thrace[1207]. Pipinellis confirmed the rapid exodus of the Greeks from Istanbul. Despite these scenarios, the Greek Premier Papadopoulos and the Greek Deputy Prime Minister Pattakos were pointing out the benefits of a 'federalisation' between Greece and Turkey[1208].

On 4 September 1968, the Athens News Agency published a joint Greco-Turkish communiqué, announcing that the two countries had reached agreement on the free use of language in national minority schools in each country[1209]. The communiqué stated that this agreement had been put into effect in time for the school year and that the decision followed on the recommendations of the Greek-Turkish commission set up the previous February to study minority matters[1210]. In the same way, the two governments had also agreed to convene shortly in Ankara, at the Joint Committee provided for in the cultural agreement signed between the two

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[1204] Bridges to Snodgrass, 30 July 1968, Athens, FCO 9/CT3/9/47.
[1205] *op.cit.*.
[1206] *op.cit.*
[1207] Bridges to Snodgrass, 30 July 1968, Athens, FCO 9/CT3/9/47.
[1208] Edmonds to Macrae, Ankara, 10 June 1968, FCO 9/634/CT3/9/349.
[1209] Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 5 September 1968, FCO 9/CT3/9/52.
[1210] *op.cit.*

countries in 1951, with a view to studying ways and means of implementing the recommendations set out in the report of the two representatives. The communiqué concluded that 'the two governments reiterated the significance they attached to the full and genuine execution of the obligations they had undertaken through the Treaty of Lausanne to maintain the best possible relations between the two countries, based on mutual confidence'[1211].

However, with the emergence of the Cyprus dispute, living conditions for Greeks in Turkey once again deteriorated. Attempts to implement recommendations set out in the cultural and education agreements in practice had failed to promote the interests of the minorities. Before long such agreements soon became ammunition in the constant Greco-Turkish political conflicts and the usual nationalist policy of successive Turkish governments towards the Greek schools in Istanbul re-emerged. Thus students were, and continue to be, denied the educational rights stipulated by the Treaty of Lausanne.

On 11 February 1969, under Directive no. 47/2/7, the attendance of all Orthodox Christian students of Syrian origin was prohibited and those

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[1211] See illustration no.37. Dodson to Davidson, Athens, 5 September 1968, FCO 9/CT3/9/52. Çaglayangil and Pipinellis had also agreed *ad referendum* to their respective governments, on seven further measures, four of which were to be taken by the Greeks and three by the Turks. Those to be taken by Greece were: the establishment to be permitted in Xanthi with boarding institutions for Turkish schoolchildren; the Greek Government to assist with the building of a new gymnasium in Xanthi; those members of the teaching personnel in the Turkish schools in Thrace who had no adequate professional formation to be gradually replaced and lastly the language in which teaching took place to be clearly stated on the name board of each school. The three measures to be taken by Turkey were: the Greeks to be allowed to repair and re-open the orphanage on the island of Prinkipo; permission to be given for the building of a Greek gymnasium of three classes on the island of Chalki and the posts of assistant director in the minority schools to be abolished. Unfortunately, although the Greek government had approved the adoption of the four measures to be taken by them, the Turkish government did not agree with the implementation of their measures [the three Turkish points]. As a result no action was taken. Regarding the Mixed Cultural Committee referred to in the communique, its purpose would be to discuss and agree on ways of implementing Part II of the Vienna report. For instance, the use of textbooks written in the minority language were to be allowed. However these should avoid wording likely to cause offence to the host country. It was now therefore necessary to agree on how any text books which had been previously approved should be submitted for approval by each country.

Statement

During their discussion in London in June, 1968, the Foreign Minister of Turkey and Greece approved certain sections of the report prepared by their representatives who had been appointed to examine outstanding questions between the two countries and in particular the minorities question. These recommendations concerned in particular the problem of education in minority schools on both sides.

The aim of these recommendations is to remove any restrictions on the use of minority languages in minority schools and to give the schools the opportunity to teach fully and effectively in the minority languages.

The two governments have agreed that these recommendations should be implemented as from 15 August 1968, as a contribution to the development of relations between the two countries and in order that minority schools may benefit from them at the beginning of the 1968/69 academic year.

The two governments have also agreed that the joint mixed mission envisaged in the 1951 Turco-Greek cultural agreement should meet shortly in Ankara to examine, as a whole and in detail, the recommendations in the Report of the two representatives.

The two Governments affirm the importance they attach to the fulfilment in good will of the commitments undertaken in the Treaty of Lausanne and to the maintenance of good relations based on mutual confidence between their two countries.

Illustration 37: Translation of Turkish Foreign Ministry Statement, 3 September 1968. Source: The Public Record Office, FCO 9/CT3/9/53.

already registered in Greek minority schools were required to transfer their registration immediately to a Turkish state school[1212]. In 1971 the University division of the Theological school at Chalki - in operation since 1844 - was suspended by the Turkish authorities, thus constituting a vital problem for the supply of new clergymen for the Ecumenical Patriarchate[1213]. In the same way the *Lyceum* ceased to function in 1984. After all this persecution, the only 'realistic' solution for a number of Greek families was to take immediate leave of Turkey. As a result, by 1970 the Greek population of Turkey numbered 26,067 and only five years later, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, there were only 11,345 Greeks left in Turkey[1214]. In 1973 the Greek and the Turkish governments exchanged complaints about the maltreatment of their respective minorities. A few months later, during the course of a conversation with the Turkish Premier, the Greek Foreign Minister, Palamas, referred to the 'disappearance of the Greek community in Turkey'[1215]. As for the total of Greek students ~~population~~ in 1964 there were 7,417 students (primary and secondary) and in the academic year of 1980 ~~there was just a total of~~ only 584 (primary and secondary) ~~students~~ were left[1216].

From the mid-1970s the Greek minority in Istanbul ~~has~~ started living its concluding chapter. The attempts of the Turkish state to assimilate the

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[1212] *Επτάλοφος*, July 1999. The protocol is signed by Ziya Arıkan, principal of the Education Directorship in Istanbul.

[1213] According to a new law introduced in 1965 (no.625 of 8 June 1965) all private educational institutions for religious education could not be established in Turkey. In August 1971 the Turkish government closed the academy pursuant to Law 625 of 8 June 1965 and to a Constitutional Court Decree of January 12, 1971, that nationalized private institutions of higher education. ~~Until~~ Before its abolition, hundreds of priests had been trained at the Chalki academy for religious service in Turkey, Greece, America and other parts of the world. Despite the fact that today there are several Turkish private universities the Theological Academy remains closed.

[1214] *Ηχώ*, 21 May 1978.

[1215] Sazanidis 1979:65.

[1216] See *Özel Okullar Yayınları* 1964. According to ~~the~~ Turkish official statistics in 1964 there were 95 theology students at Chalki and 178 orphans at Prinkipo before the closure of the orphanage. In the academic year of 1980-1981 there were just 21 secondary school students left at the Theological college.

Greek schools in Republican Turkey led to the gradual disappearanc of the Greek community. Despite all the multilateral agreements signed between Greece and Turkey, Greek schools and education in Istanbul were mostly used as political pawns against Greece whenever relations between the two countries intensified. During such periods of strained relations (namely between 1922-1929, 1955-1959, 1963-1968 and 1972-1975) the four main Greek emigrations occurred. Although Turkey fought hard at Lausanne in order to secure complete deportation of the Ottoman Greeks, they finally had to come to terms with the international pressure to exempt a small number of Greeks in Istanbul - with an approximately equal number of Muslims left in Greek Thrace - from the compulsory exchange of populations.

The estimations of the British ambassador to Athens, that there would be no Greeks left in Istanbul before long, proved accurate[1217]. Whether or not it can be proved that the Turkish state aimed ~~at the elimination of~~ to eliminate the Greek minority and its institutions, the results of ~~her~~ the various policies it followed had this effect. The final blow for the Constantinopolitan community and its cultural institutions came with the expulsions of the Hellene nationals in 1964 and the invasion of Cyprus in 1974. There were 60,489 Greeks in Istanbul in 1957 but only twenty years later, in 1977, ~~no more than 8,756~~ less than 9,000 remained. ~~Likewise,~~ Similarly, the secondary student population of 1,346 in 1957 had decreased to 619 students by 1977[1218].

[1217] Bridges to Snodgrass, 30 July 1968, Athens, FCO 9/CT3/9/47.
[1218] *Ηχώ*, 21 October 1978.

CONCLUSION

In the aftermath of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey began to follow a strict 'assimilate or leave' policy towards its minorities. This was best reflected in her nationalist education programme, which on the one hand exalted the Turkish nation, and on the other aimed at producing loyal Turkish nationalist citizens. Generally accepted concepts such as Human Rights, equality of citizens, freedom of education and minority rights were outside the scope of this programme. From the very beginning (1920) the ideology of the national education programme was based on nationalist ideologies. This was more apparent in the case of minority schools and particularly from the pressure applied to Greek communal schools in order to transform them into Turkish state schools. The Greek schools together with the Patriarchate, have constituted the principal target of Turkish nationalism until recent times.

Despite the Venizelos-Atatürk effort towards a *rapprochement* in the early 1930s, the Greek minority and particularly its educational institutions, continued to suffer. Under the strict supervision of both the Ministry of Education and the Ankara government, a nationalist programme was systematically imposed upon Greek educational establishments; their curricula rapidly became 'Turkified', teachers were dismissed and students were faced with the dilemma of trying to maintain their own identity and culture whilst satisfying the demands of their Turkish teachers and co-directors. Thus, the cosmopolitan character and high standards of Greek high schools began to stagnate in the aftermath of 1923. With ever-increasing resources dedicated to Turkish subjects, these inevitably constituted the dominant features of the curricula. Kemalist nationalism also created a prevailingly Turkish culture induced and

propagated by a centralised education system and the central state organs. Strong social and political pressures were applied to ensure all citizens spoke Turkish as their mother tongue. The state-propagated nationalism [Kemalism] was seen as a panacea for all social, political, economic and cultural problems[1219]. This dogma became the basis for all school history textbooks for almost eight decades.

In contrast to the concept of a modern democratic and secular Turkey, deep-seated differences between the treatment of Muslims and of non-Muslim citizens have remained a determinant factor in Turkish political and social life. Thus non-Muslims continued to be treated as second class citizens facing a number of restrictions in their public life. Every non-Muslim was viewed with distrust - a distrust which came to the fore in the Second World War with the notorious Capital Tax of 1942. Despite the pressure felt by Greek minority schools, during the first five decades the Greek community as a whole resisted the inroads of Kemalist nationalism, maintaining its own distinct cultural and religious identity. Especially during the periods of strained Greek-Turkish relations, Turkish suspicions of their Greek fellow-citizens sometimes reached levels of hysteria. Certainly the imposition of the Capital Tax represents an institutionalised equivalent of this.

As a result of this, the Greek minority in Istanbul became economically exhausted. In fact, most of the Constantinopolitan Greeks were left destitute. After the end of the Second World War, however, both the Greek community in Istanbul and public opinion in Greece was keen once again to improve relationships with Turkey. As one foreign observer explained it: 'The average Greek in Greece decided to forget all old scores against the Turks and get together with them in view of the common

[1219] For Kemalism see Kili 1969.

Soviet menace'[1220]. Whether this is true or not, it does appear that both Greece and Turkey in the aftermath of the Second World War period were keen to improve friendly relationships towards each other[1221]. After the earthquake in Turkey in the summer of 1946, the Greek government's message of condolence to Turkey and the attitude of the Greek press was in general characterised by their air of conciliation. Unfortunately, this sentiment of goodwill does not appear to have been particularly widespread throughout the population of Turkey and the goodwill of the Turkish government was frequently frustrated by the anti-Greek sentiments of lower officials[1222]. These strong anti-Greek feelings, with the careful planning of the Menderes goverment, culminated in the anti-Greek riots of September 1955. Thereafter, the flow of Greek emigration from Istanbul was intensified. The final blow for the Constantinopolitan community and its institutions came with the expulsions of the Hellene nationals in 1964. There were 60,489 Greeks in Istanbul in 1957 but only twenty years later, in 1977, no more than 8,756 remained. Likewise, the secondary student population of 1,346 in 1957 had decreased to 619 students by 1977[1223]. In 1999, the Greek secondary student population totalled just 148[1224]. The tiny Greek community of Istanbul, today comprising some 1,200 people, hardly ever constitutes a 'minority'.

Fifty-three years after the Turkish earthquake of 1946, in the summer of 1999, there was another serious earthquake in Turkey[1225]. The Greek government sent a message of condolence to Turkey. A more conciliatory policy also re-emerged in the summer of 1999 under the leadership of

[1220] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099.
[1221] *op.cit.*
[1222] Kelly to Bevin, Ankara, 3 July 1946, FO 371/58868/R10099.
[1223] *Ηχώ*, 21 October 1978.
[1224] *Πυρσός*, 26 October 1998. See also Appendix H.
[1225] On 17 August 1999.

Giorgos Papandreou, the Greek Foreign Minister. Referring to the Muslim minority of Greek Thrace, Papandreou officially declared that he would have no problem with Muslims calling themselves ethnic Turks as long as this was not accompanied by Turkish territorial claims against Western Thrace[1226]. He even suggested that Greece might recognise a Turkish minority on its territory in future and added, '...it is quite possible that at some point we will have to accept it'[1227]. Soon after Papandreou's declarations, three Greek Muslim MPs called upon Papandreou and the government to recognise the existence of Turkish and Macedonian minorities[1228]. In fact, the major powers at Lausanne, primarily Britain, had placed particular emphasis on the religious identity of the minorities, rather than ethnic or linguistic, which were to benefit from Article 2 of the Lausanne Convention - the Muslims in Greek Thrace and the Greek Orthodox in Istanbul. The purpose of this was precisely to protect the exempted minorities from being victims of nationalist rivalry in future, a purpose which Papandreou appears completely to have ignored. Although the discussions about the Muslim/Turkish minority in Greece intensified in the Autumn of 1999, the fact that there are only 1,200 Greeks in Istanbul today does not seem to have attracted attention. Greek schools in Turkey are still placed under the department of private schools within the Ministry of Education, thus making them no longer 'communal schools' entitled to protection under the Treaty of Lausanne[1229]. The educational system and the teaching of Greek on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, abolished in 1964, are still prohibited. Likewise the question of the Theological

[1226] *Athens News*, 30 July 1999.
[1227] *op.cit.*
[1228] *Athens News*, 25 July 1999.
[1229] One of the most recent examples arising from this political side-step is the consideration of minority schools as Turkish private institutions. Thus last year the Turkish Ministry of Education ordered the Greek primary schools to abandon their existing six-year programme and follow the new eight year structure. See *Πυρσός*, 26 October 1998.

Academy on the island of Chalki remains one of the major unsolved issues of the tiny Greek community. Looking back, over the last eight decades, it is easy to observe how in crucial times such as these, the ever decreasing Greeks in Turkey had been forgotten. International opinion has also tended to be relatively indifferent. Despite all the violations of the Lausanne Treaty regarding minorities by successive Turkish governments[1230], both Greece and Turkey have signed a number of multilateral documents designed to safeguard human and minority rights.

More recently, the minority provisions of documents of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe concluded in Vienna in 1989 (CSCE, now OSCE), in Copenhagen in 1990, in Moscow in 1991 and Helsinki in 1992, represented an even more contemporary recognition of the problem than the relevant clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne[1231]. Despite all these multilateral agreements, the deep-rooted Turkish perception that the Patriarchate and the Greek schools in Istanbul

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[1230] The major breaches of the Treaty of Lausanne by successive Turkish governments can be summarised as follows:

1 - By applying restrictions to the Patriarchate and to the functions of the Patriarch who, as Archbishop of Constantinople, was also the religious leader of the community, the Turkish authorities were in breach of the 'free exercise of religion' stipulated by Article 38.

2 - The occupation of the four Greek Orthodox Churches, with the support of local officials, by the renegade priest, Papa Efthym, who was not a member of the Greek minority in Istanbul, was also contrary to this article.

3 - The third paragraph of Article 38 was also violated when during the first decade of the Republican Turkey, members of the Greek minority were not allowed to travel to any other part of Turkey without special permission. The third paragraph of Article 39 stating that 'differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, as for instance, admission to public life, functions and honours' was never observed.

4 - Similarly, no adequate facilities were ever given to Turkish nationals without Turkish as a mother tongue for the use of their own language in the court.

5 - The legal restrictions and constant interference of the Turkish authorities in the administrative affairs of the Greek minority schools as well as communal property are also contrary to Articles 40 and 41 of the Treaty of Lausanne.

6 - The successful policy of the Turkish government to force leading minority citizens to renounce Article 42 of the Lausanne Treaty in 1925 was another fundamental violation.

7 - The abolition of the clerical garb in 1934, the refusal to establish new religious and charitable institutions, the closure of the Prinkipo orphanage in 1964, the discriminatory Capital Tax of 1942 and the anti-Greek riots of 1955 were equally against the Lausanne provisions.

[1231] Grigoriou 1993:297-309.

constitute a vehicle of Greek expansionism and espionage still persists. Yet with a total student population of 277 and four secondary and ten primary schools the reality of the situation of the Greek minority in Turkey hardly bears this out, for the effects of seventy years of Turkish nationalist educational politics has led to the virtual disappearance of the Greek minority. Indeed, after the 1970s, with the rise of the Kurdish conflict in South-East Turkey in the 1970s, Syrian Christian Orthodox families began to emigrate to Istanbul. The result has been that the Arabic-speaking Orthodox population now exercises a significant influence on the formation of a new cultural identity within the Greek community. By the same token, the standards of the Greek schools have been further lowered with the reduction in the numbers of Greek students and the increase in those from the Orthodox Arabic speaking population.

Whether or not it can be proved beyond doubt that the Turkish government aimed to eliminate the Greek minority from Istanbul, the cumulative results of the various policies it pursued, ultimately, had this effect. Today Greek schools are effectively Turkish schools, with only a few hours of Greek teaching[1232]. The small student community has no opportunities to learn and improve its mother tongue. With the admission of the Arabic speaking students, the use of the Greek language has been restricted entirely to a few lessons. In this state of affairs, both Greek and Arabic-speaking students suffer: for the former, because the lowering of school standards has meant that they have great difficulty in continuing into further education; for the latter, because to be admitted into Greek schools without any previous knowledge of the Greek language is equally damaging. In both cases students achieve relatively low grades.

[1232] See Appendix G for a recent curriculum of *Zappeion* high school.

With hindsight, despite the Greek-Turkish agreements on education (1951 and 1968), these failed to promote the interests of the minorities. Such agreements soon became ammunition in the relentless Greco-Turkish political conflicts, preventing teachers coming to Istanbul from Greece or to Greek Thrace from Turkey from arriving in time for the academic year. Thus students were, and continue to be, denied the educational rights stipulated by the Treaty of Lausanne. In considerable contrast with this, is the fact that in Thrace the 1951 and 1968 protocols produced a structure of Turkish education which prepared students for further study in Turkey and not in Greece[1233].

I have tried in this thesis to examine the effects of the political transformation of Turkey (under Atatürk) on the Greek minority in Istanbul and its educational institutions. While the evidence is sometimes ambiguous and sources biased, a clear picture has emerged of the effects upon this culturally isolated community, bearing a particular historically determined and nuanced relationship with the surrounding society driven by nationalist politics. The statistics speak for themselves. There has been a steady, and at times dramatic, outflow of the Greek community from Istanbul and elsewhere as successive Turkish governments have created a hostile environment. By describing the extent and impact of this, British and American observers' reports have been extensively quoted and consulted. For Greeks this paints a uniformly depressing picture and offers little hope for future improvements. For Turks it provides undoubtedly a regrettable footnote in their contemporary history which saw a nominal socio-political transformation in the twentieth century. For outside observers it illustrates ways in which international agreements

[1233] Alexandris 1998:24.

have been
~~were~~ thwarted, agreements ~~that had been~~ drafted with the best of intentions in order to protect Human Rights and secure social justice.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: The minority clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne[1234].

***Article* 37:** Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them.

***Article* 38:** The Turkish government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or in part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defence, or for the maintenance of public order.

***Article* 39:** Turkish subjects belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding the existence of official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.

[1234] Original spellings &c have been preserved.

***Article* 40:** Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

***Article* 41:** As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turksih language obligatory in the said schools.

original text or typing error?

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of these sums which may provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned.

original or type error?

***Article* 42:** The Turkish Government underatkes, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those minorities.

These measures will be elaborated by special Commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish Government and of representatives of each of the minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from amongst European lawyers.

The Turkish Government undertakes to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries and other religious establishments of the above mentioned minorities. All facilities and authorisation will be granted to the pious foundations, and to the religious and charitable institutions of the said minorities at present existing in Turkey, and the Turkish Government will not refuse, for the formation of new religious and

charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which are guaranteed to other private institutions of that nature.

***Article* 43:** Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend Courts of Law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest.

This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

***Article* 44:** Turkey agrees that, in so far as the preceding articles of this section affect non-Moslem nationals of Turkey, these provisions constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Te British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent to any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

original or typing error ?

Turkey agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Turkey further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these articles between the Turkish Government and anyone of the other Signatory Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of he League of Nations. The Turkish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

***Article* 45:** The rights conferred by the provisions of the present Section on the non-Moslem minorities of Turkey will similarly be conferred by Greece on the Moslem minority in her territory.

APPENDIX B: Map of Turkey.



APPENDIX C: The Greco-Turkish Treaty of Friendship of 30 October 1930.

TRAITE D'AMITIE, DE NEUTRALITE, DE CONCILIATION ET D'ARBITRAGE.

Le Président de la République Hellénique et le Président de la Republique Turque, soucieux de suivre en toute circonstance une politique de concorde, voulant affirmer leur désir de contribuer à l'oeuvre de la paix générale et de résoudre selon les principes les plus élevés du Droit International Public, les différends qui viendraient à s'élever entre la Grèce et la Turquie ont décidé de réaliser dans un Traité leur intention commune et ont désigné par leurs plénipotentiaires.

Le Président de la Republique Hellénique.

Son Excellence M. ELEFTERIOS K. VENISELOS, Président du Conseil des Ministres.

Son Excellence M.ANDRE MICHALAKOPOULOS, Vice-Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Le Président de la Republique Turque:

Son Excellence ISMET PASA, Président du Conseil des Ministres député de Malatya.

Son Excellence le Docteur TEVFIK RUSTU BEY, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères député d' Izmir.

lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et dûe forme, sont convenus des dispositions suivantes.

Article 1.

Les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent réciproquement à n'entrer dans aucune entente d'ordre politique ou économique et dans aucune combinaison dirigées contre l'une d'elles.

Article 2.

Au cas où l'une des Hautes Parties contractantes malgré son attitude pacifique serait l'objet d'une agression de la part d'une ou de plusieurs Puissances, l'autre Partie s'engage à observer la neutralité pendant toute la durée du conflit.

Article 3.

Les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent à soumettre à la procédure de conciliation prévue dans les articles 7—19 ci-après toutes les questions qui viendraient à les diviser et qui n'auraient pu être résolues par les procédés diplomatiques ordinaires. En cas de non réussite de la procédure de conciliation un règlement judiciaire sera recherché conformément aux articles 20—23 du présent Traité, à moins que les Parties ne tombent d'accord pour recourir à un tribunal arbitral constitué conformément aux articles 35 et suivants de la Convention pour le règlement pacifique des conflits internationaux du 18 Octobre 1907 ou à tout autre accord existant entre elles.

Article 4.

Les dispositions de l'article précédent ne s' appliquent pas aux questions qui, en vertu des Traités en vigueur entre les Hautes Parties contractantes, rentrent dans la compétence de l'une d'elles, ni aux questions qui se rapportent au droit de souveraineté. Chacune des Parties aura le droit de déterminer, par une déclaration écrite, si une question relève du droit de souveraineté, l'autre Partie pouvant, en cas de contestation recourir à l'arbitrage ou à la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale pour faire décider de cette question préjudicielle.

ΣΥΝΘΗΚΗ ΦΙΛΙΑΣ. ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΟΤΗΤΟΣ. ΔΙΑΛΛΑΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΙΤΗΣΙΑΣ

Ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοκρατίας καὶ ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Τουρκικῆς Δημοκρατίας, ἐν τῇ μερίμνῃ των ὅπως ἀκολουθήσωσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν πολιτικὴν ὁμονοίας, καὶ θέλοντες νὰ διαδηλώσωσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν των ὅπως συμβάλωσιν εἰς τὸ ἔργον τῆς γενικῆς εἰρήνης, λόγῳ συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς ὑψίστας ἀρχὰς τοῦ Δημοσίου Διεθνοῦς Δικαίου τὰς διαφορὰς αἵτινες ἠθελον ἀναφυῇ μεταξὺ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Τουρκίας, ἀπεφάσισαν νὰ πραγματοποιήσωσι διὰ συνθήκης τὴν κοινὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν καὶ ὥρισαν πρὸς τοῦτο ὡς πληρεξουσίους των.

Ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοκρατίας :

τὴν Α. Ε. τὸν κ. ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΝ Κ. ΒΕΝΙΖΕΛΟΝ, Πρόεδρον τοῦ Ὑπουργικοῦ Συμβουλίου.

τὴν Α. Ε. τὸν κ. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΝ ΜΙΧΑΛΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΝ, Ἀντιπρόεδρον τοῦ Ὑπουργικοῦ Συμβουλίου, Ὑπουργὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν.

Ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Τουρκικῆς Δημοκρατίας :

τὴν Α. Ε. τὸν ΙΣΜΕΤ ΠΑΣΣΑΝ, Πρόεδρον τοῦ Ὑπουργικοῦ Συμβουλίου, Βουλευτὴν Μαλάτυας.

τὴν Α. Ε. τὸν Δόκτωρα ΤΕΦΗΚ ΡΟΥΣΔΗ ΒΕΗ, Ὑπουργὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν, Βουλευτὴν Σμύρνης.

οἵτινες ἀφοῦ ἐκοινοποίησαν ἀλλήλοις τὰ πληρεξούσια αὐτῶν ἔγγραφα εὑρεθέντα ἐν τάξει συνεφώνησαν τὰ ἑξῆς :

Ἄρθρον 1.

Τὰ Ὑψηλὰ Συμβαλλόμενα Μέρη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἀμοιβαίως τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν ὅπως εἰς οὐδεμίαν εἰσελθώσιν συμφωνίαν πολιτικῆς ἢ οἰκονομικῆς φύσεως ἢ συνδυασμὸν ἐστραμμένον ἐναντίον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Ἄρθρον 2.

Ἐν' ἡ περιπτώσει τὸ ἕν τῶν Ὑψηλῶν Συμβαλλομένων Μερῶν, παρὰ τὴν εἰρηνικήν του στάσιν ὑποστῇ ἐπίθεσιν μιᾶς ἢ πλειόνων Δυνάμεων, τὸ ἕτερον Μέρος ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ τηρήσῃ οὐδετερότητα καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς συρράξεως.

Ἄρθρον 3.

Τὰ Ὑψηλὰ Συμβαλλόμενα Μέρη ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ ὑποβάλωσιν εἰς τὴν διαδικασίαν τῆς συνδιαλλαγῆς τὴν προβλεπομένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατωτέρω ἄρθρων 7—19, πάντα τὰ ζητήματα ἅτινα ἤθελον τυχὸν διαιρέσει αὐτὰ καὶ ὧν ἡ λύσις δὲν θὰ ἐπετυγχάνετο διὰ τῆς συνήθους διπλωματικῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἐν περιπτώσει ἀποτυχίας τῆς διαδικασίας συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ ἐπιζητηθῇ δικαστικὸς διακανονισμὸς συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ ἄρθρα 20—23 τῆς παρούσης Συνθήκης, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν τὰ Μέρη συμφωνήσωσιν ἵνα προσφύγωσιν εἰς διαιτητικὸν δικαστήριον συσταθησόμενον συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ ἄρθρα 35 καὶ ἑπόμενα τῆς Συμβάσεως περὶ εἰρηνικοῦ κανονισμοῦ διεθνῶν διαφορῶν τῆς 18 Ὀκτωβρίου 1907 ἢ εἰς πᾶσαν ὑπάρχουσαν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἑτέραν συμφωνίαν.

Ἄρθρον 4.

Αἱ διατάξεις τοῦ προηγουμένου ἄρθρου δὲν ἐφαρμόζονται εἰς τὰ ζητήματα ἅτινα, δυνάμει τῶν ἐν ἰσχύϊ μεταξὺ τῶν Ὑψηλῶν Συμβαλλομένων Μερῶν Συνθηκῶν, ἀνήκουσιν εἰς τὴν ἁρμοδιότητα ἑνὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ σχετιζόμενα μὲ τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς κυριαρχίας. Ἑκάτερον τῶν Μερῶν θὰ ἔχῃ τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ καθορίσῃ δι' ἐγγράφου δηλώσεως ἐὰν ζήτημά τι ἀνάγεται εἰς τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς κυριαρχίας, τοῦ ἑτέρου Μέρους δυναμένου, ἐν περιπτώσει ἀμφισβητήσεως νὰ προσφύγῃ εἰς διαιτησίαν ἢ εἰς τὸ Διαρκὲς Δικαστήριον Διεθνοῦς Δικαιοσύνης ἵνα προκαλέσῃ ἀπόφασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προδικαστικοῦ τούτου ζητήματος.

Les dispositions de l'article précédent ne s'appliquent également pas aux différends nés de faits qui sont antérieurs au présent traité et qui appartiennent au passé.

Article 5.

Les différends pour la solution desquels une procédure speciale serait prévue par d'autres conventions en vigueur entre les Parties en litige seront réglés conformément aux dispositions de ces conventions.

Article 6.

S'il s'agit d'un différend dont l'objet, d'après la législation intérieure de l'une des Parties, relève de la compétence des autorités judiciaires ou administratives, cette Partie pourra s'opposer à ce que ce différend soit soumis aux diverses procédures prévues par le présent Traité, avant qu'une décision définitive ait été rendue dans des délais raisonnables par l'autorité compétente.

La Partie qui, dans ce cas, voudra recourir aux procédures prévues par la présent Traité, devra notifier à l'autre Partie son intention dans un délai d'un an, à partie de la décision susvisée.

Article 7.

Sur la demande adressée par l'une des Parties contractantes à l'autre Partie, une commission permanente de conciliation sera constituée dans les six mois qui suivront l'échange des ratifications du présent Traité.

Sauf accord contraire des Parties, la commission de conciliation sera constituée de la façon suivante:

1. La Commission comprendra cinq membres. Les Parties en nommeront chacune un, choisi parmi leurs nationaux respectifs. Les trois autres commissaires seront choisis d'un commun accord parmi les ressortissants de tierces Puissances. Ces derniers devront être de nationalités différentes, ne pas avoir leur résidence habituelle sur le territoire des Parties, ni se trouver à leur service. Parmi eux, les Parties désigneront le Président de la Commission et, en cas de désaccord, le sort déterminera lequel des trois Commissaires sera le Président.

2. Les commissaires seront nommés pour trois ans et seront rééligibles. Les commissaires nommés en commun pourront être remplacés au cours de leur mandat, de l'accord des Parties.

Tant que la procédure n'est pas ouverte, chacune des Parties aura le droit de procéder au remplacement de son commissaire nommé par elle.

3. Il sera pourvu, dans le plus bref délai, aux vacances qui viendraient à se produire par suite de décès ou de démission ou tout autre empêchement, suivant le mode fixé pour les nominations.

Article 8.

Si, lorsqu'il s'élève un différend, il n'existe pas une commission permanente de conciliation nommée par les Parties, une commission spéciale de conciliation sera constituée pour l'examen du différend dans un délai de trois mois à compter de la demande adressée par l'une des Parties à l'autre. Les nominations se feront conformément aux dispositions de l'article précédent, à moins que les Parties n'en décident autrement.

Article 9.

Si la nomination des Commissaires à désigner en commun n'intervient pas dans les délais prévus aux

Αἱ διατάξεις τοῦ προηγουμένου ἄρθρου δὲν ἐφαρμόζονται ἐπίσης εἰς διαφοράς ὀφειλομένας εἰς γεγονότα προηγηθέντα τῆς παρούσης συνθήκης, καὶ ἄπινα ἀνήκουσιν εἰς τὸ παρελθόν.

Ἄρθρον 5.

Αἱ διαφοραὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπίλυσιν τῶν ὁποίων εἰδικὴ προβλέπεται διαδικασία ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐν ἰσχύϊ μεταξὺ τῶν Μερῶν συμβάσεων, θὰ λύωνται συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς διατάξεις τῶν συμβάσεων τούτων.

Ἄρθρον 6.

Προκειμένου περὶ διαφορᾶς ἧς τὸ ἀντικείμενον κατὰ τὴν ἐσωτερικὴν νομοθεσίαν ἑνὸς τῶν Μερῶν, εἶναι τῆς ἁρμοδιότητος τῶν δικαστικῶν ἢ διοικητικῶν αὐτοῦ ἀρχῶν, τὸ Μέρος τοῦτο δύναται νὰ ἀντιταχθῇ εἰς τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῆς διαφορᾶς εἰς τὰς διαδικασίας τὰς προβλεπομένας ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης συμβάσεως πρὶν ἢ ἐκδοθῇ ἐντὸς λογικῆς προθεσμίας ὁριστικὴ ἀπόφασις ὑπὸ τῆς ἁρμοδίας ἀρχῆς.

Τὸ Μέρος τὸ ὁποῖον ἐν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει θὰ θελήσῃ νὰ προσφύγῃ εἰς τὰς προβλεπομένας παρὰ τῆς παρούσης Συνθήκης διαδικασίας ὀφείλει νὰ κοινοποιήσῃ τὴν πρόθεσίν του εἰς τὸ ἕτερον Μέρος ἐντὸς ἑνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁριστικῆς ἀποφάσεως.

Ἄρθρον 7.

Κατόπιν αἰτήσεως ἀπευθυνθησομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς τῶν Συμβαλλομένων Μερῶν πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον Μέρος, θὰ συγκροτηθῇ ἐντὸς ἓξ μηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς τῶν ἐπικυρώσεων τῆς παρούσης Συνθήκης διαρκὴς ἐπιτροπὴ συνδιαλλαγῆς.

Πλὴν τῆς περιπτώσεως ἀντιθέτου Συμφωνίας τῶν Μερῶν ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ συγκροτηθῇ ὡς ἑξῆς:

1. Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ θ' ἀπαρτίζηται ἐκ πέντε μελῶν. Ἕκαστον τῶν Μερῶν θὰ διορίζῃ ἕνα Ἐπίτροπον, λαμβανόμενον μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπηκόων του. Οἱ τρεῖς λοιποὶ ἐπίτροποι θὰ διορίζωνται ἀπὸ συμφώνου μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπηκόων ξένων Ἐπικρατειῶν. Οὗτοι δέον ν' ἀνήκωσιν εἰς ἕκαστος διάφορον ἐθνικότητα, νὰ μὴ ἔχουν τὴν συνήθη αὐτῶν κατοικίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδαφῶν τῶν Μερῶν, οὔτε νὰ διατελοῦν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν των. Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τὰ Μέρη θὰ ὑποδείξωσι τὸν Πρόεδρον τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ, ἐν περιπτώσει ἀσυμφωνίας, διὰ κλήρου θ' ἀπαρισθήται τίς τῶν τριῶν Ἐπιτρόπων θὰ ἦ Πρόεδρος.

2. Οἱ Ἐπίτροποι θὰ διορίζωνται διὰ τρία ἔτη. Θὰ δύνανται νὰ ἀπανακληθῶσιν. Οἱ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ διορισθέντες Ἐπίτροποι θὰ δύνανται ν' ἀντικατασταθῶσι διὰ κοινῆς συμφωνίας τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ των. Ἐὰν τὰ Μέρη συμφωνήσωσι σχετικῶς. Ἐφ' ὅσον δὲν ἔχει τεθῇ ἀρχὴ τῆς διαδικασίας δύναται ἕκαστον τῶν Μερῶν νὰ ἴδῃ τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ προβαίνῃ εἰς τὴν ἀντικατάστασιν τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διορισθέντος Ἐπιτρόπου.

3. Ἐν περιπτώσει χηρείας θέσεως κατόπιν θανάτου, παραιτήσεως ἢ πάσου κωλύματος αὐτῆν θὰ πληροῦται τὸ ταχύτερον συμφώνως μὲ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ὁριζόμενον διὰ τὸν διορισμόν.

Ἄρθρον 8.

Ἐὰν ἔταν ἀναφῇ διαφορά, δὲν ὑπάρχει διαρκὴς Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς διορισμένη ὑπὸ τῶν Μερῶν, εἰδικὴ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ συγκροτῆται διὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἐντὸς προθεσμίας τριῶν μηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπευθυνθησομένης παρὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς τῶν Μερῶν εἰς τὸ ἕτερον αἰτήσεως. Οἱ διορισμοὶ θὰ γίνωνται συμφώνως μὲ τὰς διατάξεις τοῦ προηγουμένου ἄρθρου, πλὴν ἐὰν τὰ Μέρη ἄλλως ἀποφασίσωσιν.

Ἄρθρον 9.

Ἐὰν ὁ διορισμὸς τῶν Ἐπιτρόπων οὕτινος δέον νὰ γίνῃ διαχρῶσιν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, δὲν γίνῃ ἐντὸς τῶν ὑπὸ τὰ ἄλλα

articles 7 et 8, le soin de procéder aux nominations nécessaires sera confié à une tierce Puissance choisie d'un commun accord par les Parties et si l'accord ne s'établit pas à ce sujet, chaque Partie désignera une Puissance différente et les nominations seront faites de concert par les Puissances ainsi choisies. Faute de quoi dans un délai de trois mois, ces deux Puissances n'ont pu tomber d'accord, chacune d'elles présentera des candidats en nombre égal à celui des membres à désigner. Le sort déterminera lesquels des candidats ainsi présentés seront admis.

Article 10.

La Commission de conciliation sera saisie par voie de requête adressée au Président par les deux Parties agissant d'un commun accord, ou, à défaut, par l'une ou l'autre des Parties.

La requête, après avoir exposé sommairement l'objet du litige, contiendra l'invitation à la Commission de procéder à toutes mesures propres à conduire à une conciliation.

Si la requête émane d'une seule des Parties, elle sera notifiée par celle-ci sans délai à l'autre Partie.

Article 11.

Dans un délai de quinze jours à partir de la date où l'une des Parties aura porté un différend devant la commission de conciliation, chacune des Parties pourra, pour l'examen de ce différend, remplacer son commissaire par une personne possédant une compétence spéciale dans la matière. La partie qui usera de ce droit en fera immédiatement la notification à l'autre Partie, celle-ci aura, dans ce cas, la faculté d'agir de même dans un délai de quinze jours à compter de la date où la notification lui sera parvenue.

Article 12.

La Commission de conciliation se réunira, sauf accord contraire des Parties, au lieu désigné par son président.

Article 13.

La Commission de conciliation aura pour tâche d'élucider les questions en litige, de recueillir à cette fin toutes les informations utiles et de s'efforcer de concilier les Parties.

Après examen de l'affaire elle formulera, dans un rapport, les propositions en vue du règlement du différend.

Article 14.

La Commission de conciliation réglera elle-même sa procédure-qui dans tous les cas devra être contradictoire-en tenant compte, si elle n'en décide autrement à l'unanimité, des dispositions du titre III de la Convention de la Haye du 18 Octobre 1907 pour le règlement pacifique des conflits internationaux.

Article 15.

Les travaux de la Commission de conciliation ne seront publics qu'en vertu d'une décision prise par la commission avec l'assentiment des Parties.

Article 16.

Les Parties seront représentées auprès de la Commission de conciliation par des agents ayant mission de servir d'intermédiaires entre elles et la commission; elles pourront, en outre, se faire assister par des conseils

προμένων εἰς τὰ ἄρθρα 7 καὶ 8 προθεσμιῶν, θ' ἀνατίθηται εἰς τρίτην Δύναμιν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἐκλεχθησομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μερῶν, ἡ ἐντολὴ τοῦ νὰ προβῇ εἰς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους διορισμούς, καὶ ἐὰν δὲν ἐπέλθῃ σχετικὴ συμφωνία. Ἑκαστον Μέρος θὰ ὑποδείξῃ μίαν διάφορον Δύναμιν, καὶ οἱ διορισμοὶ θὰ γίνουν ὑπὸ τῶν οὕτω ἐκλεχθησομένων Δυνάμεων ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Τέλος ἐὰν ἐντὸς προθεσμίας τριῶν μηνῶν αἱ δύο αὗται Δυνάμεις δὲν δυνηθοῦν νὰ συμφωνήσουν, ἑκάτερα θὰ ὑποδείξῃ ἀριθμὸν ὑποψηφίων ἴσον πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν διοριστέων Μελῶν. Ὁ κλῆρος θ' ἀποφασίσῃ τίνες τῶν οὕτω ὑποδεικνυομένων ὑποψηφίων θὰ γίνωσι δεκτοί.

Ἄρθρον 10.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ ἐπιλαμβάνεται δι' αἰτήσεως ἀπευθυνομένης εἰς τὸν Πρόεδρον ὑπὸ τῶν δύο Μερῶν ἐνεργούντων ἐκ συμφώνου ἢ ἐλλείψει συμφωνίας ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Μερῶν. Ἐν τῇ αἰτήσει θὰ ἐκτίθηται περιληπτικῶς τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς διαφορᾶς καὶ θὰ καλῆται ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ νὰ λάβῃ πάντα τὰ μέτρα τὰ δυνάμενα ν' ἀγάγωσιν εἰς συνδιαλλαγήν.

Ἐὰν ἡ αἴτησις προέρχεται ἐξ ἑνὸς μόνον τῶν Μερῶν, θὰ κοινοποιῆται συγχρόνως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἕτερον Μέρος

Ἄρθρον 11.

Ἐντὸς 15 ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμερομηνίας τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῆς διαφορᾶς ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Μερῶν πρὸ τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς Συνδιαλλαγῆς, ἑκάτερον τούτων δύναται διὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς ταύτης ν' ἀντικαταστήσῃ τὸν Ἐπίτροπόν του διὰ προσώπου ἔχοντος εἰδικὴν ἁρμοδιότητα ἐν τῷ ζητήματι.

Τὸ Μέρος τὸ ὁποῖον ἤθελε κάμει χρῆσιν τοῦ δικαιώματος τούτου θὰ κοινοποιήσῃ τοῦτο εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ ἄλλο Μέρος τὸ ὁποῖον ἐν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει θὰ ἔχῃ τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ πράξῃ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐντὸς προθεσμίας 15 ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμερομηνίας τῆς ὡς ἄνω κοινοποιήσεως.

Ἄρθρον 12.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ συνεδριάζῃ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ ὁριζομένῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Προέδρου της, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν τὰ Μέρη ἤθελον ἀποφασίσῃ ἄλλως.

Ἄρθρον 13.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ ἔχῃ ὡς ἔργον τὴν διευκρίνισιν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ζητημάτων, τὴν συλλογὴν ἐπὶ τῷ σκοπῷ τούτῳ πάσης χρησίμου πληροφορίας καὶ τὴν προσπάθειαν ἐπιτεύξεως συνδιαλλαγῆς τῶν Μερῶν.

Μετὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοῦ ζητήματος θὰ συντάσσῃ ἔκθεσιν ἐν ᾗ θὰ διατυποῦνται προτάσεις ἐπὶ σκοπῷ διακανονισμοῦ τῆς διαφορᾶς.

Ἄρθρον 14.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ κανονίζει ἡ ἰδία τὴν διαδικασίαν της, ἥτις πάντως δέον νὰ εἶναι κατ' ἀντιμωλίαν λαμβάνουσα ὑπ' ὄψιν, ἐὰν δὲν ἀποφασίσῃ παμψηφεὶ ἄλλως τὰς διατάξεις τοῦ τίτλου III τῆς Συμβάσεως τῆς Χάγης τῆς 18ης Ὀκτωβρίου 1907 περὶ εἰρηνικοῦ διακανονισμοῦ τῶν διεθνῶν διαφορῶν.

Ἄρθρον 15.

Αἱ ἐργασίαι τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ εἶναι δημόσιαι μόνον ἐὰν ληφθῇ σχετικὴ ἀπόφασις τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῇ συγκαταθέσει τῶν Μερῶν.

Ἄρθρον 16.

Τὰ μέρη θ' ἀντιπροσωπεύωνται ἐνώπιον τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Συνδιαλλαγῆς παρὰ πράκτορων ὧν ἡ ἀποστολὴ θὰ εἶ ν νὰ χρησιμεύωσιν ὡς σύνδεσμοι μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς. Τὰ Μέρη θὰ δύνανται πρὸσέτι νὰ χρησιμοποιῶσι σ

seils et experts nommés par elles à cet effet et demander l'audition de toutes personnes dont le témoignage leur paraitrait utile.

La commission aura, de son côté, la faculté de demander des explications orales aux agents, conseils et experts des deux Parties ainsi qu'à toutes personnes qu'elle jugerait utile de faire comparaître avec l'assentiment de leur gouvernement.

Article 17.

Les Parties s'engagent à faciliter les travaux de la Commission de conciliation et, en particulier, à lui fournir, dans la plus large mesure possible, tous documents et informations utiles, ainsi qu'à user des moyens dont elles disposent pour lui permettre de procéder sur leur territoire et selon leur législation à la citation et à l'audition de témoins ou d'experts et à des transports sur les lieux.

Article 18.

La Commission de conciliation présentera son rapport dans les quatre mois à partir du jour où elle aura été saisie du différend, à moins que les Parties ne conviennent de proroger ce délai.

Un exemplaire du rapport sera remis à chacune des Parties.

Le rapport n'aura, ni quant à l'exposé des faits, ni quant aux considérants juridiques et aux conclusions, le caractère d'une sentence arbitrale.

Article 19.

La Commission de conciliation fixera le délai dans lequel les Parties auront à se prononcer au sujet des propositions de règlement contenues dans son rapport. Ce délai ne dépassera pas trois mois.

Article 20.

Pendant la durée effective de la procédure, chacun des commissaires nommés de commun accord recevra une indemnité dont le montant sera arrêté par les Parties et payé par elles dans une égale mesure. Chaque Partie, par contre, fixera et payera l'indemnité du membre de la commission nommé par elle.

Les frais généraux occasionnés par le fonctionnement de la commission seront supportés également par les deux Parties.

Article 21.

Si les recommandations de la Commission ne sont pas acceptées par les deux Parties, chacune d'elles aura la faculté de soumettre le différend à la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale, dans le délai fixé par le rapport de la Commission.

Dans le cas où, de l'avis de la Cour, le litige ne serait pas d'ordre juridique, les Parties conviennent qu'elle pourra le trancher ex aequo et bono, si une règle du droit international ne peut pas lui être appliquée.

Article 22.

Les Parties Contractantes établiront, dans chaque cas particulier, un compromis spécial déterminant nettement l'objet du différend, les compétences particulières qui pourraient être dévolues à la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale, ainsi que toutes autres conditions arrêtées entre elles.

Le compromis sera établi par échange de notes entre les gouvernements des Parties contractantes et sera interprété en tous points par la Cour de Justice. Si le texte du compromis n'est pas arrêté dans les trois mois

ὑπηρεσίας συμβούλων καὶ ἐμπειρογνωμόνων ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοῦτο διοριζομένων καὶ νὰ ζητῶσι τὴν ἐξέτασιν παντὸς προσώπου οὗτινος ἡ κατάθεσις ἤθελε φανῇ αὐτοῖς χρήσιμος.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ θὰ ἔχῃ ἐξ ἄλλου τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ ζητῇ προφορικὰς ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τοὺς πράκτορας, συμβούλους καὶ ἐμπειρογνώμονας τῶν δύο Μερῶν, ὡς καὶ εἰς πᾶν πρόσωπον, τοῦ ὁποίου ἤθελε κρίνει χρήσιμον τὴν ἐξέτασιν, ἐφ' συγκαταθέσει τῆς Κυβερνήσεώς των.

Ἄρθρον 17.

Τὰ Μέρη ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν νὰ διευκολύνωσι τὰ ἔργα τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Συνδιαλλαγῆς καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως νὰ παράσχωσιν αὐτῇ ἐν τῷ εὐρυτέρῳ δυνατῷ μέτρῳ πάντα τὰ ἔγγραφα καὶ πᾶσαν χρήσιμον πληροφορίαν ὡς καὶ νὰ χρησιμοποιήσωσι πάντα τὰ εἰς διάθεσιν αὐτῶν μέσα ἵνα δυνηθῇ ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ νὰ προβῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους των καὶ συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν νομοθεσίαν των εἰς τὴν κλήτευσιν καὶ ἐξέτασιν μαρτύρων ἢ ἐμπειρογνωμόνων, ἢ εἰς ἐπιτοπίαν ἔρευναν.

Ἄρθρον 18.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ ὑποβάλῃ τὴν ἔκθεσιν της ἐντὸς τεσσάρων μηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν ἐπελήφθη τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐκτὸς ἐὰν τὰ Μέρη συμφωνήσωσι νὰ παραπείνωσι τὴν προθεσμίαν ταύτην. Ἓν ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἐκθέσεως θὰ παραδοθῇ εἰς ἑκάτερον τῶν Μερῶν. Ἡ ἔκθεσις δὲν θὰ ἔχῃ χαρακτῆρα διαιτητικῆς ἀποφάσεως οὔτε ὡς πρὸς τὸ πραγματικὸν οὔτε ὡς πρὸς τὸ νομικὸν μέρος αὐτῆς, οὔτε καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὰ συμπεράσματά της.

Ἄρθρον 19.

Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Συνδιαλλαγῆς θὰ ὁρίσῃ τὴν προθεσμίαν ἐντὸς τῆς ὁποίας τὰ Μέρη ὀφείλουσι νὰ ἀποφανθῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν προτάσεων διακανονισμοῦ τῶν περιεχομένων ἐν τῇ ἐκθέσει. Ἡ προθεσμία αὕτη δὲν θὰ ὑπερβαίνῃ τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας.

Ἄρθρον 20.

Κατὰ τὴν πραγματικὴν διάρκειαν τῆς διαδικασίας, ἕκαστος τῶν κοινῇ συναινέσει διωρισμένων Ἐπιτρόπων θὰ λαμβάνῃ ἀποζημίωσιν ἥτις θὰ ὁρισθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν δύο Μερῶν· ἑκάτερον τῶν ὁποίων θὰ καταβάλῃ ἴσον μέρος αὐτῆς. Ἑκάτερον τῶν Μερῶν θὰ κανονίζῃ καὶ θὰ καταβάλῃ τὴν ἀποζημίωσιν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ διοριζομένου μέλους τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς. Τὰ δύο Μέρη θὰ συνεισφέρουν ἐξ ἴσου εἰς τὰ γενικὰ ἔξοδα ἅπινα θὰ προκληθῶσιν ὡς ἐκ τῆς λειτουργίας τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς.

Ἄρθρον 21.

Ἐὰν αἱ προτάσεις τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς δὲν γίνουν δεκταὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δύο Μερῶν, ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν δύναται ἐντὸς τῆς ὁριζομένης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς προθεσμίας νὰ ὑποβάλῃ τὴν διαφορὰν εἰς τὸ Διαρκὲς Δικαστήριον Διεθνοῦς Δικαιοσύνης. Ἐν ᾗ περιπτώσει κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ Δ. Δ. Δ. Δ. ἡ διαφορὰ δὲν εἶναι νομικῆς φύσεως τὰ Μέρη συμφωνοῦν ὅπως αὕτη λυθῇ ex aequo et bono, ἐφ' ὅσον οὐδεὶς κανὼν διεθνοῦς δικαίου δύναται νὰ ἐφαρμοσθῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου.

Ἄρθρον 22.

Τὰ Συμβαλλόμενα Μέρη θὰ καταρτίσωσιν ἐν ἑκάστῃ εἰδικῇ περιπτώσει εἰδικὸν συνυποσχετικὸν καθορίζον ἐπακριβῶς τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς διαφορᾶς, τὰς ἰδιαιτέρας ἁρμοδιότητας τὰς παρεχομένας ἐνδεχομένως εἰς τὸ Δ. Δ. Δ. Δ. δύνατηται τὰς παρεχομένας ἐνδεχομένως εἰς τὸ Δ. Δ. Δ. Δ. ὡς καὶ οἱανδήποτε ἄλλην ὅρον κανονισθέντα ἐκ συμφώνου.

Ἡ κατάρτισις τοῦ συνυποσχετικοῦ θὰ γίνηται διὰ ἀνταλλαγῆς διπλωματικῶν μεταξὺ τῶν Κυβερνήσεων τῶν Συμβαλλομένων Μερῶν, θὰ ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ ἐφ' ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν σημείων ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαρκοῦς Δικαστηρίου. Ἐὰν τὸ κείμενον τοῦ συνυποσχετικοῦ δὲν καταρτισθῇ ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς

compter du jour où l'une des Parties a été saisie d'une demande aux fins de règlement judiciaire, chaque Partie pourra saisir la Cour de Justice par voie de simple requête.

Article 23.

Si la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale établissait qu'une décision d'une instance judiciaire ou de toute autre autorité relevant de l'une des Parties contractantes se trouve entièrement ou partiellement en opposition avec le droit des gens et si le droit constitutionnel de cette Partie ne permettait pas ou ne permettait qu'imparfaitement d'effacer les conséquences de la décision dont il s'agit les Parties conviennent qu'il devra être accordé par la sentence de la Cour à la Partie lésée une satisfaction équitable.

Article 24.

L'arrêt rendu par la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale sera exécuté de bonne foi pas les Parties.

Les difficultés auxquelles son interprétation pourrait donner lieu seront tranchées par la Cour de Justice que chacune des Parties pourra saisir à cette fin par voie de simple requête.

Article 25.

Durant le cours de la procédure de conciliation ou de la procédure judiciaire, les Parties contractantes s'abstiendront de toute mesure pouvant avoir une répercussion préjudiciable sur l'acceptation des propositions de la Commission de conciliation ou sur l'exécution de l'arrêt de la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale.

Article 26.

Si une procédure de conciliation ou une procédure judiciaire est pendante lors de l'expiration du présent Traité, elle suivra son cours conformément aux dispositions du présent Traité ou de toute autre convention que les Parties seraient convenues de lui substituer.

Article 27.

Les contestations qui pourraient surgir soit dans l'interprétation soit dans l'exécution du présent traité, y compris celles relatives à la qualification des litiges, seront soumises directement par une simple demande, à la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale.

Article 28.

Le présent traité sera ratifié dans le plus bref délai possible et entrera en vigueur immédiatement après l'échange des ratifications. Il est conclu pour la durée de cinq ans à compter de son entrée en vigueur. S'il n'est pas dénoncé six mois avant l'expiration de ce terme, il sera considéré comme renouvelé pour une seconde période de cinq ans et ainsi de suite.

En foi de quoi les plénipotentiaires susnommés ont signé le présent traité.

Fait à Ankara le 30 Octobre 1930.

(s.) E. K. VENIZELOS (s.) ISMET
(s.) A. MICHALAKOPOULOS (s.) T. RUSTU

ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς ἐκουνησθείσθη εἰς ἕν τῶν Μερῶν αἴτησις ἐπὶ σκοπῷ δικαστικοῦ διακανονισμοῦ ἑκάτερον τῶν Μερῶν δύναται νὰ ἀγάγῃ τὸ ζήτημα πρὸ τοῦ Διαρκοῦς Δικαστηρίου δι' ἁπλῆς αἰτήσεως.

Ἄρθρον 23.

Ἐὰν τὸ Διαρκὲς Δικαστήριον Δ. Δικαιοσύνης ἀπεφαίνετο ὅτι μία ἀπόφασις δικαστικὴ ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀρχῆς ἑνὸς τῶν Συμβαλλομένων Μερῶν εὑρίσκεται ὁλοσχερῶς ἢ ἐν μέρει ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τὸ Διεθὲς Δίκαιον, καὶ ἂν τὸ Συνταγματικὸν Δίκαιον τοῦ Μέρους τούτου δὲν ἐπέτρεπεν ἢ ἐπέτρεπεν ἀτελῶς τὴν ἐξάλειψιν τῶν συνεπειῶν τῆς περὶ ἧς πρόκειται ἀποφάσεως, τὰ Μέρη συμφωνοῦσιν ὅπως χορηγηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τοῦ Δικαστηρίου δικαία ἱκανοποίησις εἰς τὸ ζημιούμενον Μέρος.

Ἄρθρον 24.

Ἡ ἀπόφασις τοῦ Διαρκοῦς Δικαστηρίου Δ. Δ. θὰ ἐκτελεσθῇ καλῇ τῇ πίστει ὑπὸ τῶν Μερῶν.

Αἱ δυσκολίαι εἰς ἃς δύναται νὰ προσκρούσῃ ἡ ἑρμηνεία της θὰ λύωνται ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαρκοῦς Δικαστηρίου ὅπερ θὰ ἐπιλαμβάνηται δι' ἁπλῆς αἰτήσεως ἑνὸς τῶν Μερῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Ἄρθρον 25.

Κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς διαδικασίας Συνδιαλλαγῆς ἢ τῆς Δικαστικῆς διαδικασίας, τὰ συμβαλλόμενα Μέρη θ' ἀπόσχωσι πάσης μέτρου δυναμένου νὰ ἔχῃ δυσμενῆ ἀντίκτυπον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς τῶν προτάσεων τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Συνδιαλλαγῆς ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκτελέσεως τῆς ἀποφάσεως τοῦ Δ. Δ. Δ. Δ.

Ἄρθρον 26.

Ἐὰν διαδικασία τις Συμβιβαλλαγῆς ἢ Δικαστικὴ ἐκκρεμεῖ κατὰ τὴν λῆξιν τῆς ἰσχύος τῆς παρούσης Συνθήκης, θέλει ἐξακολουθήσῃ τὴν πορείαν της συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς διατάξεις τῆς παρούσης Συνθήκης ἢ οἱασδήποτε ἄλλης συμβάσεως δι' ἧς τὰ Συμβαλλόμενα Μέρη θὰ εἶχον συμφωνήσῃ νὰ τὴν ἀντικαταστήσουν.

Ἄρθρον 27.

Αἱ ἀμφισβητήσεις αἵτινες δύνανται νὰ προκύψωσι εἴτε κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν εἴτε κατὰ τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν τῆς παρούσης Συνθήκης περιλαμβανομένων καὶ τῶν σχετικῶν πρὸς τὸν χαρακτηρισμὸν τῶν διαφορῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων, θὰ ὑποβάλλωνται ἀπ' εὐθείας δι' ἁπλῆς αἰτήσεως εἰς τὸ Δ. Δ. Δ. Δ.

Ἄρθρον 28.

Ἡ παροῦσα Συνθήκη θὰ κυρωθῇ τὸ ταχύτερον καὶ θὰ τεθῇ ἐν ἰσχύι εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπικυρώσεων. Συνομολογεῖται διὰ διάρκειαν πέντε ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνάρξεως τῆς ἰσχύος της. Ἐὰν δὲν καταγγελθῇ ἓξ μῆνας πρὶν ἐκπνεύσῃ, ἡ προθεσμία αὕτη θὰ θεωρηθῇ ὡς ἀνανεωθεῖσα διὰ δευτέραν περίοδον πέντε ἐτῶν καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς.

Πρὸς πίστωσιν οἱ προμνησθέντες πληρεξούσιοι ὑπέγραψαν τὴν παροῦσαν Συνθήκην.

Ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῇ 30 Ὀκτωβρίου 1930.

(Ὑπ.) E. K. BENIZELOS (Ὑπ.) ISMET
(Ὑπ.) A. MICHALAKOPOULOS (Ὑπ.) T. RUSTU

PROTOCOLE.

Les deux Hautes Parties contractantes, imbues des principes qui les ont conduites à la signature du Pacte d'Amitié et d'Arbitrage signé en date de ce jour et désireuses de prévenir de vaines augmentations de leurs dépenses pour les armements navals et de marcher de pair dans la voie de la limitation parallèle de leurs forces respectives en tenant compte des conditions particulières à chacune d'Elles, s'engagent à ne procéder à aucune commande, acquisition ou construction d'unités de guerre ou de leurs armements sans aviser, au préalable l'autre Partie contractante six mois à l'avance, afin que l'occasion soit ainsi fournie aux deux Gouvernements de prévenir éventuellement la course aux armements navals au moyen d'un échange amical de vues et d'explications de part et d'autre dans un esprit de parfaite sincérité.

Ankara, le 30 Octobre 1930.

(s.) E. K. VENISELOS (s.) ISMET

(s.) A. MICHALACOPOULOS (s.) T. RUSTU

ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΛΟΝ

Τὰ δύο Ὑψηλὰ Συμβαλλόμενα Μέρη, ἐμφορούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἵτινες ἦγαγον εἰς ὑπογραφὴν τοῦ Συμφώνου Φιλίας καὶ Διαιτησίας ὅπερ ὑπογράφη σήμερον, ἀπεφασισμένα δὲ νὰ προλάβωσι ματαίας αὐξήσεις τῶν διὰ ναυτικοὺς ἐξοπλισμοὺς δαπανῶν των καὶ νὰ βαδίσωσιν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ἐκ παραλλήλου περιορισμοῦ τῶν ἀμυντικῶν αὐτῶν δυνάμεων, λαμβανομένων ὑπ' ὄψει τῶν εἰδικῶν ἑκατέρου συνθηκῶν, ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν εἰς οὐδεμίαν νὰ προβαίνωσι παραγγελίαν, πρόσκτησιν ἢ κατασκευὴν πολεμικῶν μονάδων ἢ ὁπλισμῶν αὐτῶν, ἄνευ προηγουμένης εἰδοποιήσεως τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν συμβαλλομένων Μερῶν παρεχομένης ἓξ μῆνας πρότερον, ἵνα οὕτω δοθῇ εὐκαιρία εἰς τὰς δύο Κυβερνήσεις νὰ προλάβωσιν ἐνδεχομένως τὸν ἀνταγωνισμὸν εἰς τοὺς ναυτικοὺς ἐξοπλισμοὺς διὰ φιλικῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς ἀπόψεων καὶ ἐκκαθαρίσεων ἐξηγήσεων ἐν πνεύματι πλήρους εἰλικρινείας.

Ἄγκυρα, 30 Ὀκτωβρίου 1930.

(Ὑπ.) Ε. Κ. ΒΕΝΙΖΕΛΟΣ (Ὑπ.) ΙΣΜΕΤ

(Ὑπ.) Α. ΜΙΧΑΛΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (Ὑπ.) Τ. ΡΟΥΣΔΗ

APPENDIX D: The Greek-Turkish educational agreement of 1951 and the educational protocol of 1968.

Η ΜΟΡΦΩΤΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ ΤΟΥ 1951

ΜΟΡΦΩΤΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ

μεταξύ του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος και της Τουρκικής Δημοκρατί-

φ.Δ. της 18/23 Απριλίου 1952 (Α 103). Περί κυρώσεως της μεταξύ Ελ- και Τουρκίας μορφωτικής Συμφωνίας της 20ης Απριλίου 1951).

Η Βασιλική Ελληνική Κυβέρνησις και η Τουρκική Κυβέρνησις, ...ούσαι να συνάψωσι Συμφωνίαν επί τω σκοπώ της προαγω- δια φιλικής συνεργασίας και ανταλλαγών, της πληρεστέρας ...της συνεννοήσεως μεταξύ των οικείων αυτών χωρών επί του ...τικού, καλλιτεχνικού και επιστημονικού πεδίου, ως επίσης ...ς κατανοήσεως των θεσμών και του κοινωνικού βίου των χω- ...ν. Διώρισαν κατά συνέπειαν προς τον σκοπόν τούτον, Πλη- ...ίους οι οποίοι δεόντως εξουσιοδοτημένοι επί τω τέλει τού- ...ν των οικείων αυτών Κυβερνήσεων, συνεφώνησαν τα ακόλου-

...ρθρ. 1. Εκάστη των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θέλει κατα- ...πάσαν προσπάθειαν προς εξασφάλισιν της ιδρύσεως εις τα ...στήμια ή έτερα εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα κείμενα επί του ε- ...ς της,

...θημάτων ή διαλέξεων πραγματευομένων περί της γλώσ- ...λογίας και της ιστορίας της χώρας της ετέρας των ...ούντων Κυβερνήσεων ως και περί παντός άλλου σχετικού ...αντικειμένου.

...ρθρ. 2. Εκάστη των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θα δύναται ...τήση μορφωτικά ιδρύματα επί του εδάφους της ετέρας, ...σα όπως συμμορφωθή προς τας γενικάς διατάξεις της ...ς της χώρας της ρυθμιζούσης την εγκατάστασιν τοιού- ...των.

...ρθρ. 3. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θα ενθαρρύνουν την ...ν μεταξύ των οικείων αυτών χωρών, πανεπιστημιακού ...ού, καθηγητών, φοιτητών επιστημονικών ερευνητών, τε- ...αντιπροσώπων άλλων επαγγελμάτων και δράσεων.

...ρθρ. 4. Εάν τα δικαιώματα εγγραφής και άλλα εις τα Πανεπι- ...τα επιστημονικά ιδρύματα μιας των Συμβαλλομένων ...ων είναι ανώτερα εις την μιαν ή εις την άλλην χώραν, η ...ση Κυβέρνησις της χώρας εις την οποίαν τα δικαιώμα- ...τερα, θέλει αντιμετωπίσει την δυνατότητα ελαττώσε- ...ωμάτων διά γενόμενον αποδεκτόν αριθμόν φοιτητών ...των ισχυόντων εις την χώραν του ετέρου Συμβαλλομέ- ...λαμβανομένου υπ' όψιν του αριθμού των φοιτητών της ...ώρας οίτινες σπουδάζουσιν εις την ετέραν χώραν.

...ρθρ. 5. Εκάστη των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θα θεσπίση ...ς και υποτροφίας σπουδών επί τω σκοπώ όπως επι- ...ς φοιτητάς ή τους διπλωματούχους της χώρας της ...βαλλομένης Κυβερνήσεως να παραμείνωσιν επί τινα ...ν έδραν της πρώτης ίνα αναλάβωσιν εν αυτή σπου- ...ν προς αποπεράτωσιν της τεχνικής αυτών καταρτί-

...ρθρ. 6. Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θέλουσιν ενθαρρύνει ...ν την στενοτέραν συνεργασίαν μεταξύ των επιστη- ...των οικείων αυτών χωρών προς αμοιβαίαν προς ...ταν επί του πεδίου της πνευματικής, επιστημονι- ...κοινωνικής δράσεως.

...ρθρ. 7. Εκάστη των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θα διευκο- ...του ετέρου Μέρους και εφ' όσον τούτο θα είναι ...τρόξει, τας επιστημονικάς και μορφωτικάς ερεύνας ...επί του εδάφους της υπό των υπηκόων ή όμάδας ...τέρου Μέρους.

...ρθρ. 8. Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θα μελετήσωσιν τους ...οποίους θα δύναται να αναγνωρίζεται το ισότιμον

των εξετάσεων τόσον των εισαγωγικών εξετάσεων όσον και ετησίων εξετάσεων, ας υπέστη τις ως προς την απόκτησιν νομ ακαδημαϊκού βαθμού, ή εις ωρισμένας περιπτώσεις επί επαγ ματικώ τινι σκοπώ επί του εδάφους της μιας ή της άλλης χώ προς τας αντιστοίχους δοκιμασίας εις την ετέραν χώραν.

Άρθρ. 9. Εκάστη των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θέλει θαρρύνει το σύστημα των θερινών μαθημάτων για το πανεπι μιακό προσωπικόν, τους καθηγητάς τους φοιτητάς ως και τ μαθητάς (α) μιας των χωρών επί του εδάφους της ετέρας και αντιθέτως της τελευταίας ταύτης χώρας επί του εδάφους πρώτης.

Άρθρ. 10. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θέλουσιν ενθαρρύ δια προσκλήσεων και επιχορηγήσεων τας αμοιβαίας επισκέ αποστολών εκλεγομένων προς τον σκοπόν τούτον, επί τω τε προαγωγής της μορφωτικής και επαγγελματικής συνεργασίας.

Άρθρ. 11. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θέλουσιν ενθαρρ την συνεργασίαν μεταξύ των οργανώσεων νεολαίας και των ορ νώσεων ανδρών των επιδιωκουσών εκπαιδευτικόν σκοπόν και ο γνωρισμένων υπό των οικείων αυτών χωρών. Αύται θέλουσιν σχύσει την προσέγγισιν, τας συναντήσεις και την αλληλοβοήθε επί του πεδίου των σπορ και του προσκοπισμού και θα οργανών προσκοπικά ταξίδια και καταυλισμούς.

Άρθρ. 12. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θα παρέχουν προς λήλας βοήθειαν προς εξασφάλισιν εις εκάστην χώραν καλυτέ γνώσεως της μορφωτικής αναπλάσεως του ετέρου δια των α λούθων μέσων: α)βιβλίων, περιοδικών και άλλων δημοσιευμάτ β)διαλέξεων και συναυλιών, γ)καλλιτεχνικών και άλλων μορφ κού χαρακτήρος εκθέσεων, δ)δραματικών παραστάσεων, ε)ρα φωνίας, κινηματογραφικών ταινιών, δίσκων γραμμοφώνου και λων μηχανικών μέσων.

Άρθρ. 13. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θα παρέχουν προς λήλας βοήθειαν δια: Την ανταλλαγήν αρχαίων αντικειμένων αντικειμένων μουσείων, ων αι δυο χώραι κατέχουσι πλεονάζο αντίτυπα. Την ενημέρωσιν των ενδιαφερομένων ειδικών της γεί νος χώρας επί ενεργουμένων ερευνών και αρχαιολογικών ανασκ φών, επί επιδιορθώσεων και αναστηλώσεων ιστορικών μνημείων την πρόσκλησιν αυτών να μετάσχουν εις τα έργα ταύτα εξασφα ζοντες ούτω αμοιβαίαν συνεργασίαν είτε εις την εκτέλεσιν τ έργων είτε εις την εκτίμησιν των επιτυγχανομένων αποτελεσμ των. Την χορήγησιν αμοιβαίας αδείας εντός του πλαισίου της κείας των δύο Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων νομοθεσίας, προ

λήψιν ομοιωμάτων αρχαιολογικών υλικών και υλικών μουσεί προς φωτογράφησιν χειρογράφων διατηρουμένων εις βιβλιοθήκ την προσωρινήν παράδοσιν των ρηθέντων χειρογράφων και ανταλλαγήν των πλεοναζόντων αντιτύπων αυτών ως και την χ σιμοποίησιν των εγγράφων και βιβλίων οιασδήποτε φύσεως κρα κών αρχείων (συμπεριλαμβανομένων των αρχείων των δικαστη αρχών και του κτηματολογίου) δι' ιστορικάς μελέτας.

Άρθρ. 14. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θα μεριμνούν, εν των επιτρεπομένων υπό της οικείας αυτών εσωτερικής νομοθεσ ορίων, ίνα, τα σχολικά βιβλία τα εκδιδόμενα εις τας δυο χώρας, παρέχωσι ανακριβείας αναφερομένας εις εκάστην των δύο χωρ

Άρθρ. 15. Αι Συμβαλλόμεναι Κυβερνήσεις θα ανταλλάσσ γνώμας επί της χρησιμότητος ενθαρύνσεως συναντήσεων εμπει γνωμόνων και διασκέψεων προς μελέτην των μορφωτικών και ε στημονικών προβλημάτων των ενδιαφερόντων την γεωγραφι ζώνην εν τη οποία περιλαμβάνονται αι δύο χώραι.

Άρθρ. 16. Προς εφαρμογήν της παρούσας Συμφωνίας θέλει σταθή Μόνιμος Μικτή Επιτροπή περιλαμβάνουσα τέσσαρα με άτινα δεν είναι απαραίτητον να είναι κρατικά όργανα. Η Επιτρο αύτη θα περιλαμβάνη δύο τμήματα, το έν αποτελούμενον εκ μελ Ελλήνων και εδρεύον εν Αθήναις και το έτερον αποτελούμενον μελών Τούρκων και εδρεύον εν Αγκύρα. Έκαστον τμήμα θα πε λαμβάνη δύο μέλη. Το Ελληνικόν Υπουργείον Δημοσίας Εκπαιδ σεως από συμφώνου μετά του Ελληνικού Υπουργείου Εξωτερικ θα διορίση τα μέλη του ελληνικού τμήματος και το Τουρκικόν πουργείον Εθνικής Παιδείας από συμφώνου μετά του Τουρκι Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών, θα διορίση τα μέλη του Τουρκικού Τμήμ τος. Έκαστος κατάλογος θα διαβιβάζεται προς έγκρισιν εις τ ετέραν των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων δια της διπλωματι

17. Η Μόνιμος Μικτή Επιτροπή θα συνέρχεται εις γενικήν
σάκις θα καθίσταται αισθητή η προς τούτο ανάγκη,
τον δε άπαξ του έτους εναλλάξ εν Ελλάδι και εν Τουρκία.
συνεδριάσεις ταύτας αι Επιτροπαί θα συμπληρούνται διά
προσώπου διοριζομένου υπό της Κυβερνήσεως της χώρας
τευούσαν της οποίας θα λαμβάνη χώραν η συνεδρίασις.

18. -1. Εκ των πρώτων σκοπών της Μικτής Επιτροπής θα
τροβή κατά γενικήν τινα συνεδρίασιν, εις την εκπόνησιν
ων προτάσεων, διά την εφαρμογήν της παρούσης Συμ-
μετά την έγκρισιν αυτών υπό των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερ-
ι προτάσεις αύται θέλουσι συγκεντρωθή εις παράρτημα

ημενον εις την παρούσαν Συμφωνίαν. Η έγκρισις των Συμ-
ων Κυβερνήσεων θέλει κοινοποιηθή δι' ανταλλαγής Δια-
ων.
υνεχεία η Μικτή Επιτροπή θα εξετάζη την λειτουργίαν της
ως και θέλει προτείνει εις τας Συμβαλλομένας Κυβερνή-
ων τροποποίησιν του Παραρτήματος θεωρηθησομένην α-

ού των συνεδριάσεων της Μονίμου Μικτής Επιτροπής δύ-
ούτως να προταθώσι τροποποιήσεις του Παραρτήματος
ενός ή του άλλου τμήματος υπό την επιφύλαξιν της συμ-
του ετέρου.
ποποιήσεις του παραρτήματος θα ισχύουν μετά την έ-
αυτών υπό των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων. Η έγκρισις
ινοποιήται δι' ανταλλαγής Διακοινώσεων.

19. Εκάστη των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θα έχη την
α να διορίση οργανώσεις ή πρόσωπα όπως βοηθήσουν ή
ούν εις την εκτέλεσιν των σχετιζομένων προς την ε-
της Συμφωνίας ταύτης διατάξεων.

20. Η παρούσα Συμφωνία θέλει κυρωθή. Αύτη θέλει ισχύ-
της παρελεύσεως δεκαπενθημέρου μετά την εν Αθήναις
των οργάνων επικυρώσεως.

21. Η παρούσα Συμφωνία θα παραμείνη εν ισχύϊ τουλάχι-
ιαν περίοδον πέντε ετών. Ακολούθως και πλην αν έχη
η υπό μιας των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων έξ, του-
μήνας προ της εκπνοής της περιόδου ταύτης θέλει πα-
ν ισχύϊ μέχρι της εκπνοής περιόδου έξ μηνών από της
ως καθ' ην μία των Συμβαλλομένων Κυβερνήσεων θέλει
ται την καταγγελίαν της. Εφ' ω οι υπογεγραμμένοι πλη-
υπέγραψαν την παρούσαν Συμφωνίαν και εναπέθεσαν
ίδας των. Εγένετο εις διπλούν
τη 20η Απριλίου 1951.

Διά την Ελληνικήν Κυβέρνησιν: ΚΟΝΤΟΥΜΑΣ.

Διά την Τουρκικήν Κυβέρνησιν: ΑΚΝΤΟΥΡ.

ΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΟ ΜΟΡΦΩΤΙΚΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΛΟ ΤΗΣ 20-12-1968

ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΛΟ
Συνεδριάσεις της Ελληνοτουρκικής Μορφωτικής Επιτροπής εν Αγκύρα και Αθήναις.

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Συμφώνως προς τας προτάσεις τας περιλαμβανομένας εν τ
εκθέσει των αντιπροσώπων της Ελληνικής και της Τουρκικής Κ
βερνήσεως, και εγκριθείσας υπό των Υπουργών Εξωτερικών τω
δύο χωρών κατά την εν Λονδίνω συνάντησιν αυτών τη 27 Ιουνίο
1968, η υπό της Ελληνοτουρκικής Μορφωτικής Συμφωνίας της 20η
Απριλίου 1951 προβλεπομένη Μικτή Επιτροπή συνήλθε διαδοχικώ
εν Αγκύρα από της 21ης Οκτωβρίου μέχρις της 9ης Νοεμβρίου 196
και εν Αθήναις από της 11ης μέχρι της 20ης Δεκεμβρίου 1968.

Κατά τας εργασίας αυτής η Επιτροπή εξέφρασεν την εκτίμησ
αυτής διά τας αμφοτέρωθεν μέχρι σήμερον καταβληθείσας προ
σπαθείας επί τω τέλει εξασφαλίσεως εις τας δύο μειονότητας τω
συνθηκών και των μέσων καλυτέρας και συγχρονισμένης εκπαιδε
σεως.

Εν τω πνεύματι των εν τη εκθέσει των δύο αντιπροσώπων κ
θοριζομένων αρχών η Επιτροπή εκφράζει την ελπίδα ότι εν όλ
του ιδιαιτέρου χαρακτήρος της μειονοτικής εκπαιδεύσεως, αι κ
τωτέρω διατυπούμεναι συστάσεις θέλουσιν αμφοτέρωθεν εφα
μοσθή εν πνεύματι καλής θελήσεως.

Η Επιτροπή υπογραμμίζει εξ άλλου την σπουδαιότητα την ενέχ
διά τα δύο Μέρη η εκ του σύνεγγυς παρακολούθησις της εφαρμ
γής των κατωτέρω συστάσεων, και συνομολογεί ότι εκάτερον τω
Μερών θα είχε πάντοτε την ευχέρειαν όπως εισηγηθή διά των κα
ταλλήλων μέσων αναθεωρήσεις των συστάσεων καθ' όσον αφορ
εις τας λεπτομερείας της εφαρμογής αυτών.

Εκφράζει την πεποίθησιν ότι αι συστάσεις αύται δεν είναι φυ
σεως ευνοούσης μίαν μειονότητα επί ζημία της ετέρας, και υπο
γραμμίζει την σημασίαν του κατά την εφαρμογήν αυτών σεβασμο
της αρχής της αμοιβαιότητος.

Η Επιτροπή υιοθέτησε τας ακολούθους συστάσεις:

Ι. ΜΕΙΟΝΟΤΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ

1. Η Επιτροπή συνιστά όπως το υφιστάμενον καθεστώς εν τω
θέματι της χρήσεως εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς της μειονοτικής
και της επισήμου γλώσσης, εξακολουθήση εφαρμοζόμενον εν τω
μέλλοντι ως και κατά το παρελθόν. Ειδικότερον:

α) Τα μέχρι σήμερον εις την επίσημον γλώσσαν διδασκόμενα
μαθήματα θα διδάσκωνται και εν τω μέλλοντι εις την αυτήν γλώσ-
σαν.

β) Η διδασκαλία πάντων των άλλων μαθημάτων θα γίνεται εις
την μειονοτικήν γλώσσαν άνευ εξαιρέσεως.

γ) Εν σχέσει προς τας προηγουμένας διατάξεις, η Επιτροπή
συνιστά την δια της διπλωματικής οδού ανταλλαγήν καταλόγων
των εν ταις αντιστοίχοις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς εις την επίσημον
και μειονοτικήν γλώσσαν διδασκομένων μαθημάτων. Εις τους κατα-
λόγους τούτους θα εμφαίνηται ο εν εκάστη τάξει των μειονοτικών
σχολών των διαφόρων βαθμών αριθμός ωρών των μαθημάτων.

2. Υπό την επιφύλαξιν των διατάξεων του εδαφίου (α) της παρα-
γράφου (1), η υπό των μαθητών και των διδασκόντων εν ταις σχο-
λαίς χρήσις της μειονοτικής γλώσσης θα επιτρέπηται άνευ περιο-
ρισμού εις πάσαν άλλην περίπτωσιν ως εις τα διαλείμματα, σχολι-
κάς δραστηριότητας, διαλέξεις, συμβούλια διδασκόντων.

ΠΤΙΚΟΝ ΥΛΙΚΟΝ

φώνως τη ήδη εν Βιέννη μεταξύ των αντιπροσώπων των
ων συναφθείση συμφωνία, (Έκθεσις Βιέννης, κεφάλαιον II
ρος 7), η Επιτροπή συνιστά όπως η χρήσις του εις την
κήν γλώσσαν εποπτικού υλικού είναι κατόπιν ελέγχου α-
τως ελευθέρα εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς κατά την διδα-
των εις την γλώσσαν ταύτην διδασκομένων μαθημάτων.

Επιτροπή συνιστά την ακόλουθον διαδικασίαν διά την απο-
τον έλεγχον, και την εις τας σχολάς διανομήν του υπό των
ων χορηγουμένου εποπτικού υλικού:
α δύο Μέρη θα υποβάλλωσιν δια της διπλωματικής οδού εις
σιν των εκατέρωθεν αρμοδίων Αρχών τον κατάλογον και
ματα του εποπτικού υλικού. Τα δύο Μέρη θα δύνανται ταυ-
ς να διατυπώσιν ευχάς όσον αφορά εις την διανομήν του
τούτου. Η σχετική απόφασις των Αρχών δέον να ανακοινω-
το ενδιαφερόμενον Μέρος εντός προθεσμίας ενός μηνός
λήψεως του καταλόγου και των δειγμάτων.
α δύο Μέρη θα αποστέλλωσιν εις τας οικείας Προξενικάς
Αρχάς το εν τοις εγκριθείσι καταλόγοις εμφαινόμενον υλι-

α Προξενεία θα παραδίδωσιν εις τας αρμοδίας Αρχάς προς
ν το περί ου πρόκειται υλικόν. Αι ρηθείσαι Αρχαί υποχρε-
να προβαίνωσιν εις την διανομήν του υλικού προς πάσας τας

ς σχολάς άνευ οιασδήποτε εξαιρέσεως.
συμφώνως προς τον κατάλογον έλεγχος, και η εις τας
παράδοσις του φέροντος την σφραγίδα του ελέγχου υλι-
συντελώνται υπό των αρμοδίων Αρχών εντός ενός, το
ρον, μηνός και ο πίναξ διανομής θα αποστέλληται εις το εν-
ενον Μέρος.

την τη προηγουμένη παραγράφω αναφερόμεναι προθεσμίαι
σει επ' αμοιβαιότητι.

ΟΛΙΚΑΙ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΑΙ

φώνως τη εκθέσει των αντιπροσώπων των δύο Κυβερνή-
ιτροπή συνιστά όπως επιτραπή η κατάρτισις βιβλιοθη-
ν και βιβλιοθηκών σχολείων και ενθαρρυνθή ο εμπλουτι-
ήδη εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς υφισταμένων βιβλιοθη-

τω τέλει εξασφαλίσεως της βάσει της αμοιβαιότητος
αρμογής της συστάσεως ταύτης τα δύο Μέρη θα συμορ-
ρος την ακόλουθον διαδικασίαν:
τάλογοι και εν αντίτυπον των διά τας περί ων πρόκειται
ος προτεινομένων βιβλίων δέον να υποβάλλωνται εις την
των αντιστοίχων αρμοδίων Αρχών υπό των Διευθυντών
ατικών σχολών ή, εν απουσία αυτών, υπό των αναπλη-
των.
ς ενός, το βραδύτερον, μηνός, αι Αρχαί αύται οφείλουσι
ωσιν εγγράφως τας αποφάσεις αυτών εις τους Διευθυ-
χολών ή τους αναπληρωτάς αυτών.

ρος κατάλογος πάντων των βιβλίων των ήδη υφισταμένων
ν σχολών και τάξεων θα υποβληθή υπό των Διευθυντών
ικών σχολών εις την έγκρισιν των αρμοδίων Αρχών. Αι
α θα προβώσιν εις την κατά τρόπον κατάλληλον και
εξέτασιν των βιβλίων και θα ανακοινώσωσι το ταχύτε-
ρος, τας αποφάσεις αυτών εις τους Διευθυντάς των
ν πάση περιπτώσει η εξέτασις αύτη δεν θα κωλύη την
ις τας Βιβλιοθήκας ταύτας προσέλευσιν των διδασκό-
ν μαθητών.

ύο Μέρη δύνανται να προβαίνωσιν εις δωρεάς βιβλίων
κείας μειονοτικάς σχολάς μέσω των Προξενείων των.
α θα παραδίδωσι τα βιβλία ταύτα εις τας αρμοδίας
των τέλει εγκρίσεως και διανομής, συντελεστέας εντός
θεσμίας. Τα δύο Μέρη δύνανται να δηλώσωσι διά της
ν οδού τας επιθυμίας των καθ' όσον αφορά εις την

ν βιβλίων τούτων. Ο πίναξ διανομής θα διαβιβάζηται
ενδιαφερόμενον μέρος αμέσως μετά την διανομήν των βι-
ς μειονοτικάς σχολάς.

ς Βιβλιοθήκας προσέλευσις θα είναι ελευθέρα διά
ντας και τους μαθητάς.

IV. ΣΧΟΛΙΚΑ ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΑ

11. Η Επιτροπή διαπιστεί μεθ' ικανοποιήσεως ότι τα δύο Μέ
συνεμορφώθησαν ήδη εν ευρεί μέτρω προς τας προτάσεις της ε
θέσεως της Βιέννης σχετικώς προς τα επειγόντως ληφθέντα μέτ
προς εξεύρεσιν προσωρινής λύσεως του ζητήματος των σχολικ
βιβλίων.

Κατά την μεταγενεστέραν εφαρμογήν των επειγόντων μέτρω
τα δύο Μέρη θα καταβάλλωσιν επιμέλειαν όπως μη δυσχερανθή
εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς διδασκαλία.

Προς συμπλήρωσιν της εφαρμογής των προτάσεων τούτων
Επιτροπή συνιστά τα ακόλουθα:

12.α) Αι δύο Αντιπροσωπείαι υπέβαλον εις την Επιτροπήν τ
συννημμένους καταλόγους εγχειριδίων. Δύο αντίτυπα των εν τ
καταλόγοις εμφαινομένων εγχειριδίων δέον να παραδοθώσι το τ
χύτερον δια της διπλωματικής οδού. Οι κατάλογοι ούτοι περιλα
βάνουσι την κατηγορίαν των σχολών, τας τάξεις, και τα μαθήμα
δι' ά προορίζονται τα εγχειρίδια.

β) Τα δύο Μέρη οφείλουσι να ανακοινώσωσιν αντιστοίχως τ
αποφάσεις αυτών μέχρι τέλους Φεβρουαρίου 1969. Εντός τ
αυτής προθεσμίας τα δύο Μέρη δύνανται να προτείνωσι τρ
ποποιήσεις εν τοις εγχειριδίοις ων τα σημερινά κείμενα δεν θ
ωρούνται αποδεκτά.

γ) Το σύμφωνον προς τας προταθείσας τροποποιήσεις κείμενο
των εγχειριδίων τούτων δέον να παραδοθή δια της διπλωματικ
οδού εις το ενδιαφερόμενον Μέρος μέχρι τέλους Μαΐου 1969, κ
η οριστική έγκρισις των εγχειριδίων τούτων δέον να δοθή μέχ
τέλους του σχολικού έτους 1968-69.

δ) Τυπικαί κατά την διαδικασίαν ταύτην ελλείψεις θα εί
εκατέρωθεν ανεκταί, τοιαύται δ' ελλείψεις δέον όπως μη παρακ
λύωσι την ταχείαν περαίωσιν των διατυπώσεων.

13. Χάριν της καλής λειτουργίας της διδασκαλίας εν ταις μει
νοτικαίς σχολαίς, τα δύο Μέρη οφείλουσι να μη απαγορεύσωσ
μέχρι της, κατά την προηγούμενην παράγραφον, οριστικής εγκρί
σεως, την χρήσιν των ήδη εγκεκριμένων ή ανεκτών εγχειριδίων.

14. Εις ήν περίπτωσιν χειρόγραφα εγχειριδίων έχουσιν υ
βληθή εις την έγκρισιν των αρμοδίων Αρχών, η έγκρισις αύτη
χορηγηθή εντός δεκαημέρου από της υπογραφής του παρόν
πρωτοκόλλου. Άμα τη εκτυπώσει των περί ων πρόκειται χειρογ
φων, τα βιβλία θέλουσιν υποβληθή υπό την οριστικήν αυτών μ
φήν εις τας αρμοδίας Αρχάς προς έλεγχον του περιεχομένου
τών, και χορήγησιν της αδείας χρησιμοποιήσεως των. Ο έλεγχ
οφείλει να περαιωθή, και η δεια να χορηγηθή εντός προθεσμι
είκοσιν ημερών, από της υποβολής των περί ων πρόκειται βιβλί
Η άδεια θέλει ανακοινωθή εγγράφως εις τους Διευθυντάς των ε
διαφερομένων μειονοτικών σχολών, και το ενδιαφερόμενον Μέρ
θέλει ενημερωθή σχετικώς.

Εις περίπτωσιν καθ' ήν τα ενδιαφερόμενα Μέρη θέλουσι προτ
νει την προσωρινήν χρησιμοποίησιν εγχειριδίων τινων διά διδακ
κήν ύλην τα δι' ήν οριστικά εγχειρίδια τελούσιν υπό εκτύπωσιν,
δύο Μέρη θέλουσι διευκολύνει τας δια την έγκρισιν των προσωρ
νών εγχειριδίων απαιτουμένας διατυπώσεις. Χορηγηθείσης τ
αδείας ταύτης, τούτο θέλει ανακοινωθή εις τους Διευθυντάς τω
Σχολών εντός προθεσμίας 20 ημερών από της παραδόσεως τω
εγχειριδίων τούτων, και το ενδιαφερόμενον Μέρος θέλει σχετικώς
ενημερωθή.

15. Τα δύο Μέρη θα δύνανται, οσάκις ήθελον κρίνει τούτο αν
γκαίον, να προτείνωσι νέα εγχειρίδια (χειρόγραφα ή έντυπα) δι
διδακτέαν ύλην διδασκομένην εις την μειονοτικήν γλώσσαν.

Προς τον σκοπόν τούτον, και συμφώνως προς την υπό του Πρω
τοκόλλου της Βιέννης δοθείσαν αυτή εντολήν, η Επιτροπή συνιστ
την ακόλουθον διαδικασίαν διά την υπό των ενδιαφερομένων Με
ρών αποστολήν, τον έλεγχον και την διανομήν τών εις μειονοτική
γλώσσαν εγχειριδίων (χειρογράφων ή εντύπων), των προοριζομέ
νων δια χρήσιν εις τας μειονοτικάς σχολάς:

α) Τα εγχειρίδια ή τα χειρόγραφα των εγχειριδίων θα υποβάλ
λωνται δια της διπλωματικής οδού εις τας αρμοδίας Αρχάς με
χρι της 30ης Σεπτεμβρίου εκάστου έτους. Τα χειρόγραφα θα συ
νοδεύωνται υπό των τυχόν εν αυτοίς περιλαμβανομένων εικόνων.

β) Τα εγχειρίδια και τα χειρόγραφα ουδέν δέον να περιλαμβά
νωσι το δυνάμενον να παραβλάψη τας μεταξύ των δύο χωρών σχέ
σεις. Αι αρμόδιαι Αρχαί θα δύνανται να διαγράφωσι παν ό,τι εί
τα κείμενα των χειρογράφων ή τας εικόνας θα αντέκειτο προς
την αρχήν ταύτην.

γ) Η εξέτασις των κειμένων δέον να περαιωθή, και το αποτέ
λεσμα να ανακοινωθή εις το ενδιαφερόμενον Μέρος μέχρι τέλους
Φεβρουαρίου του επομένου έτους. Τα σημεία ων ζητείται η αφαί-
ρεσις θα εμφαίνωνται εν τη ανακοινώσει ταύτη.

δ) Τα δύο Μέρη θα είναι ελεύθερα όπως αποβαίνωσιν εις την εν τη ιδία Χώρα εκτύπωσιν των εις την γλώσσαν αυτών συντεταγμένων χειρογράφων.

ε) Δύο αντίτυπα των εκτυπωθέντων βιβλίων θα αποστέλλωνται δια της διπλωματικής οδού προς οριστικήν έγκρισιν μέχρι τέλους του μηνός Ιουλίου του αυτού έτους.

στ)Η οριστική έγκρισις δέον να ανακοινούται μέχρι της 1ης Σεπτεμβρίου.

ζ) Τα εγκριθέντα βιβλία θα αποστέλλωνται μέσω των οικείων Προξενείων εις τας αρμοδίας Αρχάς, 'αίτινες αφού επιθέσωσιν επ' αυτών την σφραγίδαν του ελέγχου, οφείλωσι να θέτωσι ταύτα εις την διάθεσιν πασών των μειονοτικών σχολών μέχρι της 15ης Σεπτεμβρίου. Το ενδιαφερόμενον Μέροξ θα ενημερούται περί τούτου εγγράφως.

Αι προθεσμίαι αυταί θα ισχύωσι επ' αμοιβαιότητι.

16. Η εν τη προηγουμένη παραγράφω καθοριζομένη διαδικασία θα είναι δυνατόν να αναθεωρηθή, αιτήσει εκατέρου των Μερών, επί τω τέλει όπως καταστή πλέον αποτελεσματική, υπό το φως της εκ της πρακτικής αυτής εφαρμογής πείρας.

17. Τα ενδιαφερόμενα Μέρη θα έχωσι το δικαίωμα να προτείνωσι μεταγενεστέρως τροποποιήσεις και διορθώσεις εἰς τα ήδη εγκριθέντα κείμενα των εγχειριδίων. Πάντως η αρχή της καλής λειτουργίας της παιδείας δέον να είναι σεβαστή.

V. ΣΕΒΑΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΗΣ ΦΥΛΕΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΕΩΣ

18. Η Επιτροπή υπογραμμίζει την σπουδαιότητα της εν παραγράφω 10 της Εκθέσεως της Βιέννης τιθεμένης αρχής περί του σεβασμού της θρησκευτικής, φυλετικής ή εθνικής συνειδήσεως του ελληνικού και του τουρκικού λαού, και συνιστά:

α) Όπως αι επιγραφαί, εικόνες, προσωπογραφίαι κλπ. εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς είναι τοιαύται ώστε να ενισχυσώσι τους δεσμούς φιλίας μεταξύ των δύο χωρών.

β) Όπως ληφθώσιν αμφοτέρωθεν τα κατάλληλα μέτρα προς άρσιν των παραβλαπτόντων την εφαρμογήν της αρχής ταύτης στοιχείων.

γ) Όπως εξαιρέσει του μορφωτικού χαρακτήρος διακοσμητικού υλικού, η μόνιμος διακόσμησις των σχολικών κτιρίων περιορίζηται εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς της Δυτικής Θράκης εις την προσωπογραφίαν του Αρχηγού του Ελληνικού Κράτους και εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς της Κων/πόλεως εις την προσωπογραφίαν του Ατατούρκ. (Οίκοθεν νοείται ότι επ' ευκαιρία των εθνικών εορτών της Χώρας εν τη εδρεύει η σχολή, ή επ' ευκαιρία άλλων εκτάκτων περιστάσεων, αι μειονοτικαί σχολαί θα είναι δυνατόν να διακοσμώνται καταλλήλως, καταβαλλομένης επιμελείας όπως αποφεύγηται πάσα εν τη διακοσμήσει υπερβολή.).

δ) Όπως απαγορεύηται η οργάνωσις δραστηριοτήτων ασυμβιβάστων προς την ανωτέρω τιθεμένην αρχήν.

ε) Όπως απαγορεύηται εις τους διδάσκοντας εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς να προβαίνωσιν εις παρατηρήσεις δυναμένας να ταπεινώσωσι τους μαθητάς λόγω του ότι ούτοι ανήκουσιν εις ωρισμένον εθνος ή θρησκειαν.

στ)Όπως αποφεύγηται αμφοτέρωθεν πάσα δραστηριότης δυναμένη να αγάγη τους μειονοτικούς μαθητάς εις αλλαξοπιστίαν.

Αι δύο Αντιπροσωπείαι είναι εξουσιοδοτημέναι όπως δηλώσωσιν ότι αι Κυβερνήσεις αυτών αποδέχονται πάσας τας ανωτέρω συστάσεις, αίτινες συνεπώς τίθενται εν ισχύϊ από της χρονολογίας της υπογραφής του παρόντος Πρωτοκόλλου.

22αν Φεβρουαρίου 1968 οι Υπουργοί των Εξωτερικών ...ς και της Τουρκίας απεφάσισαν όπως έκαστος διορίση ...πρόσωπον, οίτινες θα είχον ως αποστολήν να εξετάσουν ...ούντα διμερή ζητήματα και ειδικώτερα τα μειονοτικά ... επί τω τέλει, όπως προβώσιν εις προτάσεις προς τας ...ς των επί των ληπτέων μέτρων εν προκειμένω.

...τιν της αποφάσεως ταύτης οι κ. Ι. Α. Τζούνης, Πληρε... Υπουργός εις το Υπουργείον Εξωτερικών της Ελλάδος, και ...ULAK, Γενικός Διευθυντής εις το Τουρκικόν Υπουργείον ..., διωρίσθησαν ως αντιπρόσωποι και συνηντήθησαν αλ...χως εν Αθήναις, Άγκυρα και Βιέννη την 11-24 Μαρτίου ...Απριλίου και την 20-31 Μαΐου 1968 αντιστοίχως, ίνα ε... AD REFERENDUM, την παρούσαν έκθεσιν, η οποία θα ...ας τους δύο Υπουργούς των Εξωτερικών, προς μελέτην.

...διευκολύνωσι μιαν ανταλλαγήν απόψεων μεταξύ των δύο ... οι δύο Αντιπρόσωποι επεδίωξαν:
...ντοπίσουν τα υπάρχοντα προβλήματα
...διατυπώσουν προτάσεις διά να τεθούν εκποδών ωρισμένα ...τα.
...αφέρουν τα ζητήματα, άτινα χρήζωσι μιας βαθυτέρας

...πράττοντες οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι είχον πλήρη επίγνωσιν ...τος, ότι οι δύο Υπουργοί είχον θέσει ως σκοπόν των να ... διά των καταλληλοτέρων μέσων την εξομάλυνσιν των ...δυσχερειών και την κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπον εξυγίανσιν ...των μεταξύ Ελλάδος και Τουρκίας.

...διά την διάρκειαν των συνομιλιών των οι δύο αντιπρόσω... κυρίως υπ' όψιν των τας ακολούθους σκέψεις:
... του γράμματος και του πνεύματος της Συνθήκης της Λω... δύο Κυβερνήσεις συνομολόγησαν συγκεκριμένας υπο... έναντι των μειονοτήτων, ελληνικής και τουρκικής, των ...ένων επί των αντιστοίχων εδαφών των. Η εν τω συνό...πιστος εφαρμογή των υποχρεώσεων αυτών τυγχάνει ...διά την διατήρησιν των καλλιτέρων σχέσεων μεταξύ των ... βασιζομένων επί της αμοιβαίας εμπιστοσύνης.
...βασίζουσαι να χωρήσουν εις την εξέτασιν των διμερών ... και ειδικώτερον του ζητήματος των μειονοτήτων, αι ...ήσεις απέβλεπον ιδίως εις την αποκατάστασιν του κλί...ός συνεννοήσεως και αμοιβαίας εμπιστοσύνης μεταξύ των δύο χωρών. Η απόφασις αυτή εστηρίζετο επίσης επί μιας νής εκτιμήσεως της Διεθνούς καταστάσεως και αντεκατόπτ την πεποίθησιν των δύο Κυβερνήσεων, ότι τα μακροπρόθε συμφέροντα της Ελλάδος και της Τουρκίας εξαρτώνται από εγκάρδιον συνεννόησιν και μίαν καρποφόρον συνεργασίαν μετ των δύο χωρών εφ' όλων των πεδίων.

γ) Η Συνθήκη της Λωζάννης εδημιούργησεν επίσης μιαν ισορ πίαν μεταξύ της Ελλάδος και της Τουρκίας επί μειονοτικών θε των. Αι δύο Κυβερνήσεις έχουσι πλήρη επίγνωσιν της αναγκαιό τος να διαφυλάξουν και ν' αποκαταστήσουν το πνεύμα αυτής ισορροπίας δια μίας αυστηράς εφαρμογής των διατάξεων της Σ θήκης ταύτης, των σχετικών προς τας δύο μειονότητας, λαμβα μένης υπ' όψιν της προβλεπομένης εν προκειμένω αμοιβαιότητος

5.- Οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι ησχολήθησαν όλως ιδιαιτέρως με τήματα της μειονοτικής εκπαιδεύσεως εις τας δύο χώρας. Υπ γράμμισαν την ανάγκην της επειγούσης συγκλήσεως και την σπο δαιότητα της καλής λειτουργίας της Μικτής Επιτροπής, της πρ βλεπομένης υπό της Μορφωτικής Συμφωνίας της υπογραφείσ μεταξύ της Ελλάδος και της Τουρκίας την 20ην Απριλίου 1951.

6.- Οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι, αναφερόμενοι εις τας εν προκειμέν ρητάς διατάξεις της Συνθήκης της Λωζάννης συνεφώνησαν επί τη κεφαλαιώδους σπουδαιότητος, την οποίαν ενέχει διά τας δύο μει νότητας η διδασκαλία της γλώσσης των εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχ λαίς, εν ίση μοίρα προς εκείνην (την διδασκαλίαν) της επισήμο γλώσσης της χώρας.

7.- Συνεφώνησαν, όπως διατυπώσουν τας ακολούθους προτ σεις:

Η χρήσις της μειονοτικής γλώσσης εν ταις σχολαίς της μειονο τητας, θα έδει να επιτρέπηται άνευ περιορισμών.

Η χρήσις οπτικού εκπαιδευτικού υλικού συντεταγμένου εν τ μειονοτική γλώσση θα έδει να επιτρέπηται άνευ περιορισμού ε ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς.

Ο σχηματισμός εν ταις μειονοτικαίς σχολαίς βιβλιοθηκών απο τελουμένων εκ βιβλίων εν τη μειονοτική γλώσση, εγκεκριμένων υπ των αρμοδίων αρχών των δύο χωρών, θα έδει να επιτρέπηται και η χρήσις των βιβλιοθηκών αυτών υπό των μαθητών και του διδακτι κού σώματος θα έδει ωσαύτως να είναι ελεύθερα.

Η χρήσις σχολικών βιβλίων εν τη μειονοτική γλώσση επί τω τέ λει της διδασκαλίας των εν γλώσση ταύτη παραδιδομένων μαθημά των θα έδει να επιτρέπηται. Ουχ' ήττον τα βιβλία ταύτα θα έδει να επιθεωρώνται και να εγκρίνονται προηγουμένως υπό των αρμοδίων

αρχών, ίνα εξασφαλισθή, ότι δεν περιέχουσι ύλην επιβλαβή διά τας σχέσεις των δύο χωρών.

8.- Οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι διεπίστωσαν, ότι αι μειονοτικαί σχολαί υποφέρουσιν αυτήν την στιγμήν, αμφοτέρωθεν, εις όλα τα επίπεδα της διδασκαλίας από μίαν σοβαρωτάτην έλλειψιν σχολικών βιβλίων συντεταγμένων εις την μειονοτικήν γλώσσαν. Προς πλήρωσιν της ελλείψεως αυτής οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι προτείνουν ως μέτρα επειγούσης φύσεως:

α) Όπως επιτραπή εκ νέου η χρήσις των βιβλίων, άτινα είχον εγκριθή κατά το παρελθόν.

β) Όπως, εν η περιπτώσει σχολικά βιβλία ή χειρόγραφα σχολικών βιβλίων υπεβλήθησαν ήδη προς έγκρισιν εις τας αρμοδίας αρχάς, η περί ης πρόκειται έγκρισις χορηγηθή.

γ) Όπως ο τρόπος διακανονισμού επί μονίμου βάσεως του ζητήματος τούτου αποτελέση εν εκ των αντικειμένων των εργασιών της Μικτής Μορφωτικής Επιτροπής.

9.- Επί του θέματος του διδακτικού προσωπικού των μειονοτικών σχολών όπερ απηλάγη των καθηκόντων του εκατέρωθεν, κατά την διάρκειαν των ετών 1967 και 1968, οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι προτείνουν όπως τούτο επανενταχθή ομοιβαίως και κατά το μέτρον του δυνατού.

10.- Οι δύο αντιπρόσωποι συνεφώνησαν επίσης επί της ανάγκης, όπως απαγορευθή, εν τω εσωτερικώ των μειονοτικών σχολών η χρήσις επιγραφών ή η οργάνωσις δραστηριοτήτων δυναμένων να προσβάλωσιν την θρησκευτικήν εθνικήν ή εθνικιστικήν (NATIONALE) συνείδησιν του ελληνικού και του τουρκικού λαού.

11.- Συνεφωνήθη ωσαύτως, ότι οι γονείς και οι κηδεμόνες μειονοτικών μαθητών θα έδει να δύνανται να επικοινωνούν ελευθέρως μετά της Διευθύνσεως και του Διδακτικού σώματος των σχολών, εις τας οποίας φοιτώσιν οι υπό την φροντίδα των μαθηταί.

Δια την ακρίβειαν
της υπογραφής

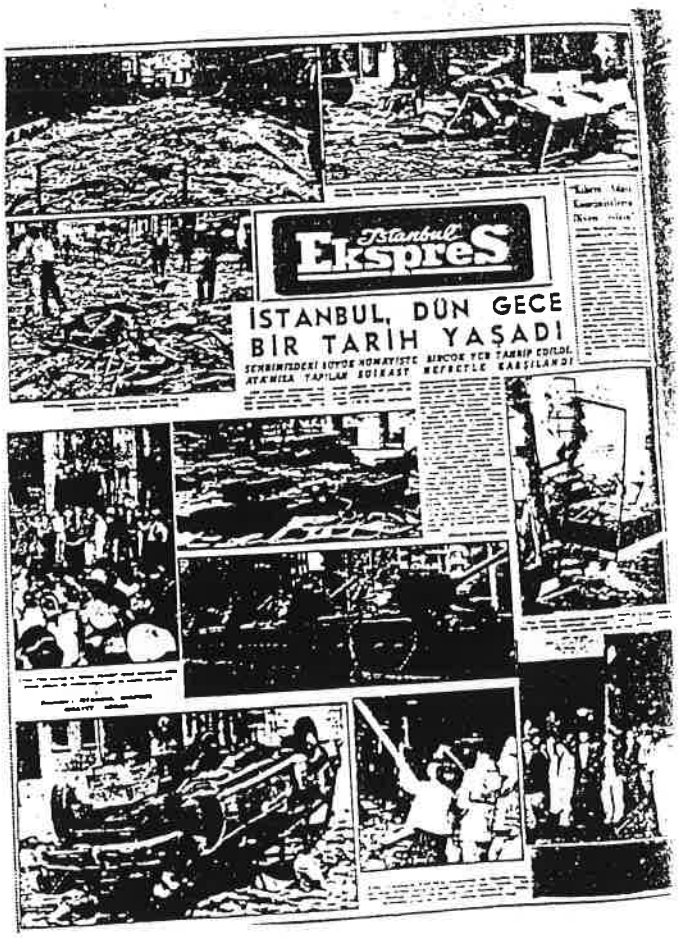
Ι. Α. ΤΖΟΥΝΗΣ
Πληρεξούσιος Υπουργός

APPENDIX F: Turkish press during the anti-Greek riots of 6/7 September 1955. The first Turkish exhibition ever held in Turkey on the anti-Greek riots of 1955, organised by the Turkish Human Rights Society.





...n doğduğu eve
...n saatli bomba
...makamları 5 şüpheli
...ı tevkifini bildirdiler
...ilgili makamları, telefonla
...müracaata cevap vermedi



Fevkalâde hal kaldırıldı

Hükümet kuvvetlerinin vaziyete hâkim olmaları üzerine fevkalâde halin devamına lüzum olmadığı anlaşıldı

Vatandaşların maruz kaldıkları zararlar telâfi ve tazmin edilecek

Memleket ağır bir komünist tertip ve tahribine maruz kaldı

Cumhurreisi ve Başvekil sabaha kadar Vilâyette kaldılar

2000 kişi tevkil edildi

İNGİLTERE Kıbrısa 6000 deniz eri sevkediyor

İzmirdeki Yunan konsolosluğu ve

MET TEBLİĞİ: "DÜN GECEKİ HÂDİSELER KOMÜNİST TERTİBİDİR"

İstanbul EkspreS

rfi idare kaldırıldı

İ BİRLİKLERİN ALDIĞI TEDBİR NDE ŞEHİR SUKÛNA KAVUŞTU

HÜKÛMET ZARARI ÖDEYECEK

"KIBRIS ADASI, İLERİDE KENDİ MUKADDERATINI TAYİN ETSİN"

UNİST TERTİP VE CİNE MARUZ KALDIK"

İdare âmirleri ve komutanlar hakkındaki tahkikat derinleştiriliyor

Valinin ve Emniyet müdürünün vazifelerinden uzaklaştırılacakları, yolsuzluk ve ... yapıldığı

Üçgenerale işten el çektirildi

İSTANBU BİR TAR

ŞEHRİMİZDEKİ BÜYÜK NÜ ATA'MIZA YAPILAN SU

DİKKATLER

Gazinocu ve tarhiçi

İtalya B.M.e girmek istiyor

Fas'ta yeni hâdiseler

Ermeni patriği Erivan'a gidiyor

SELER KOMÜNİST TERTİBİDİR"



Yunan Konsolosu motörle İzmiri geceyarısı terketti



ALTAY'LA OYNUYOR

İZMİR'E, GİDECER

Reis Emniyet'ten Ihraç edildi

HÜKÜMET TEBLİĞİ: "DÜN GECEKİ HA



Hâdiseleri önlemek için şehirde sıkı tedbir alındı

Ordu birlikleri şehirde vaziyete hâkim olmcaya kadar bazı dükkânlar hasara uğradı

Patrikhane sıkı kontrol altında





SOFÖRÜN SİGORTA

7 EYLÜL 1955

Eksp

de örfî idareden edildi





Kıbrıs Konferansında Londranın yeni planı

İzmirde 9 Eylül hazırlıkları

APPENDIX G: A typical classrom and timetable of *Zappeion* high school today .






İSTİKLAL MARŞI





	I	II		II SOSYAL	LİSE II FEN	LİSE III
PAZARTESİ	Ahlâk	Fen Bilgisi		İngilizce	Fizik	Rumca
	Türkçe	Ahlâk		İngilizce	Geometri	Fizik
	Türkçe	İngilizce		Ahlâk	Kimya	Matematik
	Fen Bilgisi	Rumca		Türk Edeb.Tarihi	Ahlâk	Edebiyat
	İngilizce	Rumca		Edebiyat	Matematik	Ahlâk
	Milli Coğrafya	Güzel Kon.Yazma		Edebiyat	İngilizce	Sosyoloji
	Din Bilgisi	Milli Coğrafya		Beden Eğitimi	Edebiyat	Biyoloji
		Müzik		Türkiye Fiz.Coğr.	Edebiyat	Beden Eğit.
SALI	Matematik	Beden Eğitimi		Trafik	Bilgisayar	Kimya
	Bilgisayar	Matematik		Tarih	Din Bilgisi	İngilizce
	Milli Tarih	Fen Bilgisi		Rumca	İngilizce	Matematik
	Rumca	Türkçe		Milli Güvenlik	İngilizce	Matematik
	Rumca	Türkçe		İngilizce	Milli Güven.	Rumca
	İngilizce	Resim		Rumca	Rumca	Edebiyat
	Beden Eğitimi	Rumca		Edebi Met.	Matematik	Biyoloji
	Beden Eğitimi			Edebi Met.		Beden Eğit.
ÇARŞAMBA	Fen Bilgisi	Matematik		Ülkeler Coğ.	Kimya	İnkılâp Tar.
	Matematik	İngilizce		Genel Türk Tar.	Fizik	Kimya
	İngilizce	Fen Bilgisi		T.Fizik Coğ.	Tarih	Matematik
	Rumca	Milli Tarih		Ülkeler Coğ.	Edebiyat	Fizik
	Rumca	Rumca		Edebiyat	Matematik	İngilizce
	Türkçe	Din Bilgisi		Rumca	Geometri	İngilizce
	Türkçe	Resim		Rehberlik	Rehberlik	Rehberlik
						Edebiyat
PERŞEMBE	Milli Coğrafya	Matematik		Psikoloji	Biyoloji	Sosyoloji
	Fen Bilgisi	Milli Coğrafya		Psikoloji	İngilizce	Bilgisayar
	Matematik	Rumca		T.Fiz.Coğ.	Fizik	İnk.Tarihi
	Türkçe	Rumca		Ülkeler Coğr.	Tarih	İngilizce
	Türkçe	İngilizce		Beden Eğitimi	Rumca	Rumca
	Resim	Türkçe		İngilizce	Rumca	Rumca
	Müzik	Türkçe		Rumca	Beden Eğit.	Biyoloji
				Edebi Met.	Beden Eğit.	
CUMA	Fen Bilgisi	Fen Bilgisi		Tarih	Biyoloji	Matematik
	Matematik	Beden Eğit.		Genel.Türk T.	Fizik	Kimya
	Bilgisayar	Matematik		Genel Türk T.	Kimya	Fizik
	Rumca	Türkçe		Trafik	Matematik	Fizik
	Rumca	Türkçe		Türk Ed.Tarihi	Matematik	Bilgisayar
	Milli Tarih	Güzel Kon.Yazma		Din Bilgisi	Bilgisayar	Edebiyat
	Müzik	Milli Tarih		Edebiyat	Rumca	Din Bilgisi
					Edebiyat	

Bu haftalık ders programı 15.09.1997 tarihinden itibaren geçerlidir.

APPENDIX H: Greek education in Istanbul: Recent Statistics.

Secondary education of Greeks in Istanbul. Table I[1235].

Institution name	School level	Studens 1964	Studens 1980
Patriarchal Lycée	Secondary (boys)	488	72
Zographeion Lycée	Secondary (boys)	631	122
Kendrikon Lycée	Secondary (girls)	702	33
Zappeion Lycée	Secondary (girls)	805	98
Ioakeimeion Lycée	Secondary (girls)	251	37
		total = 2,877	total = 362

[1235] In the above table students at the Theological college, in primary schools and at the orphanage are not included. According to the Turkish official statistics in 1964 there were 95 theology students at Chalki and 178 orphans at Prinkipo, before the closure of the orphanage. In the academic year of 1980-1981 there were just 21 secondary school students left at the Theological college which are not included in these statistics.

Secondary education of Greeks in Istanbul. Table I[1236].

Institution name	School level	Studens 1984-1985	Studens 1989-1990	Students 1993-1994	Students 1994-1995
Patriarchal Lycée	Secondary (mixed since 1988)	21	29	62	64
Zographeion Lycée	Secondary (mixed since 1998)	105	87	62	56
Kendrikon Lycée	Secondary (girls)	43	5	15	8
Zappeion Lycée	Secondary (girls)	78	88	45	25
Ioakeimeion Lycée	closed in 1988	19	----	----	----
		total = 266	total = 209	total = 184	total = 153

[1236]Information obtained from the Greek Consulate in Istanbul.

Primary and secondary education of Greeks in Istanbul. Table II[1237].

Institution name	School level	Studens 1997-1998	Students[1238] 1998-1999	Students 1998-1999	Students[1239] 1998-1999
Patriarchal Lycée	Secondary (mixed since 1988)	70	16	68	16
Zographeion Lycée	Secondary (mixed since 1998)	55	4	55	
Kendrikon Lycée	Secondary (girls)	3	3	2	2
Zappeion Lycée	Secondary (girls)	26	1	23	
Ioakeimeion Lycée	closed in 1988	----	----	-----	
		total = **154**	total = 24	total = **148**	total = 18
Primary students	**141** (primary)	total no. of students = **295**		**129** (primary)	total no.of students = **277**

[1237] *Πυρσός*, 26 October 1998.
[1238] This column indicates the number of Arabic-speaking students.
[1239] This column indicates the number of Arabic-speaking students.

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