

CONTACT WITH THE 'OTHER': PERCEPTIONS OF THE GREEKS ABOUT THE
TURKS AFTER THE TURKISH-GREEK RAPPROCHEMENT

CHRYSANTHI PARASCHAKI

106605005

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S PROGRAMME

THESIS SUPERVISOR:
ASST. PROF. DR. ILAY ROMAIN ÖRS

2008

CONTACT WITH THE 'OTHER': PERCEPTIONS OF THE GREEKS ABOUT THE
TURKS AFTER THE TURKISH-GREEK RAPPROCHEMENT

A dissertation submitted to the Social Sciences Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of International Relations Master's
Programme

By

CHRYSANTHI PARASCHAKI

106605005

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S PROGRAMME

THESIS SUPERVISOR:
ASST. PROF. DR. ILAY ROMAIN ÖRS

Contact with the ‘Other’: Perceptions of the Greeks about the Turks after the Turkish-
Greek Rapprochement

‘Öteki’ ile Temas: Türk-Yunan Yakınlaşmasından sonra Yunanların Türklere ait
Algılamaları

Chrysanthi Paraschaki

106605005

Asst. Prof. Dr. İlay Romain Örs :.....
Asst. Prof. Dr. Harry Z. Tzimitras :.....
Asst. Prof. Dr. Serhat Güvenç :.....

Date of Approval: 18/09/2008

Total Page Number: 112

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Türk-Yunan İlişkileri
- 2) Türk-Yunan Yakınlaşması
- 3) Ulusal Stereotipler
- 4) Temas Hipotezi
- 5) Ortak Kültürel Miras

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Turkish-Greek Relations
- 2) Turkish-Greek Rapprochement
- 3) National Stereotypes
- 4) Contact Hypothesis
- 5) Common Cultural Heritage

Özet

Milli inşa prosedürü sonucunda, Yunanlar Türkler hakkında bazı stereotipler oluşturdu. Yunan tarihi, eğitimi ve medyasında, Türkler olumsuz bir biçimde veya 'Öteki' olarak sunuluyor. Fakat 1999'dan itibaren Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinde yeni bir dönem başladı. Hem devlet hem de sivil toplum düzeyinde iki taraf arasında temaslar arttı. Ege'nin her iki tarafından gelen insanlar birbirleriyle tanışmaya başladı. Türkler hakkında Yunanlar'ın aklına iyice yerleşmiş olumsuz algılamalar yer almaya devam ettiği halde, iki halkın ortak insancılığına ve unsurlarını vurgulanmış olan temaslarını, etkileşimlerini ve de algılamalarını; kuşkulama ve itiraz etme gücü varmış gibi görünüyor. Bu sürecin sonucunda, bazı Yunanlar, milliyetçi önyargılarını aşmaya başladılar.

Abstract

As a result of nation-building process, Greeks have formed certain stereotypes about the Turks. In Greek history, education and media, the Turks are presented as the significant negative 'other'. However after 1999, there is a new era in Greek-Turkish Relations. Contacts between the two parts increased in governmental as well as societal level. People from both sides of the Aegean got to know each other. Even though well-established negative perceptions about the Turks persist in the minds of the Greeks, it seems that contacts and interactions which are based on the common humanity of the two people and make their commonalities come to the forth, have the potential to challenge and question these perceptions. As a result of this process, some Greeks start to move beyond nationalistic stereotypes.

Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor İlay Romain Örs for her useful remarks and the inspiration she provided me with throughout this master program. I am grateful to John C. Alexander for all that he taught me, to Vassilis Gounaris for giving me the opportunity to participate in this master program and to Harry Z. Tzimitras for helping me adjust to its requirements. I should also thank Efe Öztürkmen for his valuable help and support. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for supporting me and believing in me.

Contents

Özet - Abstract.....	4
Acknowledgements.....	5
Contents.....	6
Introduction.....	7
Chapter 1: A Historical Overview of Greek-Turkish Relations.....	15
a. Ottoman Empire.....	16
b. The formation of the Greek state.....	18
c. The Lausanne Treaty and the Exchange of Populations.....	20
d. After the Lausanne Treaty: Greek-Turkish Relations until 1955.....	21
e. The Cyprus Problem.....	23
f. The Minority issue.....	26
g. The Aegean disputes.....	32
h. The Imia / Kardak Crisis.....	36
i. The Öcalan Crisis.....	37
Chapter 2: We and the Other: How the Greeks think about the Turks historically.....	38
Chapter 3: The Turkish-Greek Rapprochement from 1999 until today.....	47
Chapter 4: How the Greeks think about the Turks after the rapprochement: Persistence of Stereotypes and Change.....	54
Chapter 5: Contact with the ‘Other’: Factors that may change perceptions of Greeks toward the Turks.....	61
a. Education.....	68
b. Tourism.....	75
c. NGOs.....	80
d. Arts and Media.....	86
e. Economic Relations.....	94
Conclusion.....	98
Bibliography.....	103

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine how the well-established stereotypes the Greeks have about the Turks are starting to change after the Turkish-Greek Rapprochement in 1999. In that sense, I try to understand how contacts and face-to-face experiences with the ‘other’¹ transform national perceptions and generalizations into regular and personal opinions about the ‘other’

It is widely accepted that national stereotypes and perceptions play an important role in the way a nation, here the Greeks, understand themselves and the others. Through a process of nation construction and education, the Turk emerged as the predominant other of the Greek.² However after the catastrophic earthquakes in 1999, a Greek-Turkish Rapprochement³ was a reality coupled with an increase in contacts between the two people and an interest to meet the other. These increased contacts might challenge the negative image of the Turks in the minds of the Greeks and might give way to a more differentiated view of the other.

Concerning nationalism and national identity formation, here I follow the modernist approaches on the matter. Modernist approaches maintain that nationalism and nation are the result of modernity, that is to say, of recent economic, political or social transformations. In that sense, nations are not preexistent entities but the product of nation-building in the states that were formed after the French Revolution.⁴

¹ The national ‘other’ or others are neighboring nations perceived as enemies of the Greek ‘self’. I will discuss this matter in the 2nd chapter.

² For more information see the 2nd chapter.

³ I will elaborate the use of this term below.

⁴ For a detailed description of modernists’ theories and their critics see Özkırımlı, Umut, 2000, Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction, London: Macmillan Press, pp. 85-166.

Particularly, I concentrate on the use of the ‘other’⁵ in order to speak about the self which is evident in the case of Greek nationalism. And this particular ‘other’ is mostly the ‘Turk’, though other ‘others’ have existed historically such as the Bulgarians⁶. As Millas observes both the Greeks and Turks fought their ‘War of Independence’ against each other and both of them created their nation-states as a consequence of this victory.⁷ It comes as no surprise that both Greece and Turkey have become the ‘Other’ of each other. The analysis made in this thesis is based on nation-building imposed by the state through national education and historiography⁸ and its reproduction in the everyday life of the citizens.

Concerning the state of Greek-Turkish relations after 1999 there are three terms which are used interchangeably to describe it. The term ‘rapprochement’ comes from the French verb ‘rapprocher’ which means ‘to bring together’ and it is used in international relations in order to describe the establishment of good relations between two countries. Another term often used is the French word ‘détente’, which means relaxing or easing. In international politics it is used to describe the relation of previously hostile states which engage in diplomatic talks in order to reduce tensions. There is also the term ‘friendship’ used for countries which have no difference whatsoever and enjoy friendly relations at all levels. In this thesis, I prefer to use the term ‘rapprochement’ because it better describes the status of Turkish-Greek Relations after 1999. The term ‘détente’ could also be eligible but in Greek-Turkish relations there

⁵ For the use of the other as opposed to the self see Michael Billig’s ideas in *ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

⁶ See Achlis, Nikos, 1983, Oi Geitonikoi mas Laoi, Boulgaroi kai Tourkoi, sta Scholika Vivlia Istorias Gymnasiou kai Lukeiou, (Our Neighboring People, Bulgarians and Turks, in History Schoolbooks), Thessaloniki: Ekdotikos Oikos Afon Kuriakidi

⁷ Millas, Hercules, 2002, The Imagined ‘Other’ as national identity, Ankara: CSDP, p. 55.

⁸ For the role of education and historiography see Millas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Ellinon kai Tourkon: Scholika vivlia, Istorioграфия, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotipa, (Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature, and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria and Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona, 1997, ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria

is not just diplomatic discussion but cooperation in many fields of common interests stemming from the respective governments as well as from the societies of the two countries. On the other hand, I avoid using the term ‘friendship’ since that would imply that all problems are solved and no bilateral difference exists between Greece and Turkey. In that sense, Greek-Turkish Rapprochement is something more than a Greek-Turkish D tente and something less than a Greek-Turkish Friendship.

In order to examine how interactions can bring about change in perceptions, I try to locate the forms of Turkish-Greek relations which involve contact of everyday people. In that respect, I refer to the ‘contact hypothesis’, as a theoretical background of the analysis made in Chapter 5. The ‘contact hypothesis’ is based on Allport’s original ideas and contends

that contact between people – the mere fact of their interacting – is likely to change their beliefs and feelings toward each other...if only one had the opportunity to communicate with the others and to appreciate their way of life, understanding and consequently a reduction of prejudice would follow.’⁹

This theory is generally used with reference to racial prejudice and discrimination but here I will use it to refer to ethnic stereotypes.¹⁰ I should mention that this theory was criticized since mere contact may not always result in a reduction of stereotypes but on the contrary it can confirm and consolidate them.¹¹ For that reason

⁹ Amir, Y, 1969, Contact hypothesis of ethnic relations, *Psychological Bulletin*, 71, pp. 319-320 quoted in Sampson, Edward E., 1999, *Dealing with Differences: An Introduction to the Social Psychology of Prejudice*, Harcourt College Publishers, p. 237.

¹⁰ According to the ‘United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination’, there seems to be no difference between racial and ethnic discrimination, since the term ‘racial discrimination’ is used with the reference to race, color, religion, national or ethnic origin. Here, I just want to make clear that I use the term to refer to the generalized representations of an ethnic or national group.

¹¹ See Sampson, Edward E., 1999, *Dealing with Differences: An Introduction to the Social Psychology of Prejudice*, Harcourt College Publishers.

Allport had suggested some conditions for successful contact and cooperation between groups. The most important of these are that people who come in contact should have an equal status, their contact should be supported institutionally, it must occur in a cooperative rather than competitive setting so that they can recognize their similarities and it must give people a sense of their common humanity.¹² The contact should also be of sufficient duration, frequency and closeness in order to facilitate the development of close relationships.¹³ A study conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp confirmed that indeed face-to-face interaction between members of different groups was related to a reduction of prejudices. The researchers particularly stressed that contact has more chance to result in a reduction of prejudices when it is supported by authorities in such ways that gives people the opportunity to have sustained interactions and develop friendships.¹⁴

Most of the contacts between Greeks and Turks involve most or all of the conditions for successful interaction indicated by Allport, and give the Greeks the chance to develop long interpersonal relations with the Turks. I could argue that all contacts are actively supported by the Greek and Turkish states and most of them involve cooperative relations and give the chance to develop friendship (educational exchanges, NGOs, cultural exchanges and economic cooperation).

In order to trace these contacts and evaluate the opinion of the participants I used books and academic articles on Greek-Turkish Relations in the domain of history, international relations and anthropology. Also newspapers and the internet provided a valuable source of information on this matter.

¹² Ibid., pp. 238-239.

¹³ Chrysochoou, Xenia, 2004, Cultural Diversity: Its Social Psychology, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, p. 68.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 67-69.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, I draw a historical outline of the Greek-Turkish relations emphasizing the Greek side. It starts from the Ottoman Empire and the position of the Rum Millet and continues with the foundation of the Greek state in the 18th century and its expansion at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. The next sections are on the Greco-Turkish war (1919-1922) and the Exchange of Populations between Greece and the newly founded Turkey. The period 1930-1955 is characterized as a period of rapprochement with little or no tensions. However, this situation changed with the emergence of the Cyprus question. The relations of the two countries deteriorated while the Cyprus problem, culminating in a de facto partition of the island, continued to be a thorn in the bilateral relations. Another issue is that of the minorities which were exempted from the exchange of populations. Both Greece and Turkey have repeatedly violated the rights of the Muslim/Turkish minority of Western Thrace and of the Rum Orthodox minority of Istanbul respectively and both states had complained for the treatment of their kin from the other. Then there is the friction over the Aegean starting from 1970s and comprising a number of disputes which often brought the two countries near war: the continental shelf, the territorial waters, the air space and FIR control, the militarization of the Eastern Aegean islands. I also chose to add two more recent events to the historical overview: the Imia/Kardak crisis which brought the two countries on the brink of war over the ownership of some rocky islets in the Aegean and the Öcalan crisis when the Greek government found itself in a hard position when the Kurdish leader of PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, was found on Greek soil while he was persecuted by the Turkish authorities.

The second chapter refers to the formation of the Greek national identity and the formulation of negative stereotypes about the Turks. The Greek national identity was

constructed upon the assumption of continuity of the Greek nation from classical antiquity, first supported by the Greek intellectual, Adamantios Korais, to Byzantium, which was incorporated by the Greek historian, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, and reaches to the modern times. Characteristics of the Greek nationalism are a strong 'Hellenic' identity coupled with Orthodox Christianity. The Ottoman period is excluded from nationalist narrative and is perceived to be a period of slavery for the Greek nation. In that sense, the Turk becomes the significant 'other' of the Greek 'self'. Thus, schoolbooks draw a picture of the Turks as being oppressive and barbarians. These images are propagated through education and are reproduced by other institutions such as the Greek Church and the Media.

In the third chapter the process of the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement is discussed. The rapprochement was actually initiated by the Turkish and Greek Ministers of Foreign Affairs. However, the earthquakes that hit the two countries in August and September 1999 have accelerated the process. More important, the citizens of the two countries, deeply moved by the plight of their neighbor, were the first to extend a helping hand. Although the main bilateral problems remain unsolved (Cyprus, Aegean), Greece supports Turkey's candidacy for becoming a member of the EU, and the two countries enjoy steady good relations and cooperation in low politics issues.

However, in spite of the Turkish-Greek rapprochement negative perceptions about the other seem to persist in the minds of Greeks. According to some gallops, the Turk continues to be the significant other of the Greeks and, as the results of anthropological research have shown, there is mistrust and suspicion on the part of Greeks concerning the process of the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement. Nevertheless, in the 1990s other 'others' made their appearance, such as the Macedonian state/FYROM

and the immigrants that settled in Greece. These others might have diverted the attention of the Greek public from the significant other, Turkey. Despite the persistence of stereotypes change is obvious and more and more people are involved in the process of rapprochement.

In the last chapter, I try to locate the domains where contact happens and to evaluate this contact with relation to whether it has a positive effect on the reduction of negative stereotypes. To do that, I draw on statements of people who participate in activities that bring the two people together (tourists, NGO members) and on more implicit evidence such as declaration of interest for the other (education, literature) and the popularity of the ways of the other (TV series, food, music). In the fifth chapter, refugees, immigrants and minorities are discussed separately because of their particularities: refugees had experiences of symbiosis with the other before the Exchange of Populations, immigrants find that the Turks are more close to them in a foreign, North-European environment and minorities combine elements of both identities and in that sense they can become bridges that unit the two countries. In the first part of chapter 5, the interest for the other is expressed through education, that is to say, the foundation of Greek university departments on Turkish or similar studies. In the second part, I examine the experiences of Greek tourists in Turkey. In the third part, contact through participation to NGOs is considered. In the fourth part, I discuss the influence of popular art relevant with Turks and Turkey (movies, TV series, literature, music) and cooperation on media. Finally, the fifth part copes with economic cooperation and especially the popularity of Turkish products in Greece.

In this respect, it is really interesting to see how the Greeks are starting to reconsider their opinions and well-rooted images about the Turks after the two countries have come closer and developed their relations and contacts.

Chapter 1

A historical overview of Greek-Turkish Relations

It is difficult to define when Greek-Turkish relations first started. One could indicate the creation of the Greek state at the beginning of 19th century and its relations with the Ottoman Empire as a starting point. The beginning of Turkish-Greek relations could also be traced in the early 20th century, when the Turkish state came into being. However, here I start the historical review from the Ottoman Empire since that plays an important role in the formation of national identities of both states.¹⁵

The foundation of the Greek state in early 19th century was followed by its constant expansion at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. However, it was the Lausanne Treaty and the Exchange of Populations in early 1920s that marked the territorial completion of Greece and the foundation of the Turkish state. In the 1930s and early 1950s the relations of the two countries were in a period of *détente* interrupted shortly by World War II. Although there were also other periods of *détente*¹⁶, in this historical review I focus on the periods of crisis and I try to examine the problems that shaped the antagonistic relations of the two countries, namely the Cyprus issue, the minority issue and the Aegean disputes. These issues occupied the two countries mainly in the second half of the 20th century.

One should also keep in mind that the oscillations in the Greek-Turkish Relations are relevant to the wider international context. For example, the Greco-Turkish war in 1919-1922 is relevant to the post World War I context. Similarly, the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in 1930s and early 1950s should be understood as an

¹⁵ I will elaborate the formation of the Greek national identity later in the 2nd chapter.

¹⁶ Like the Davos process in late 1980s.

effort of Greece and Turkey to attain security after the two World Wars respectively. Particularly, after World War II the two countries became allies joining NATO in the Cold War Era. Finally, I find useful to refer to the Imia/Kardak crisis and the Öcalan crisis as the most recent examples of the hostile predisposition that existed between Greece and Turkey.

a. Ottoman Empire

The conquest/fall of Constantinople in 1453 marks the end of the Eastern Roman Empire and the beginning of the Ottoman Empire. Gradually, the Ottomans would come to occupy all the territories of the previous empire and even more. The Ottomans had a well-organized army which fought for Islam and they formed an empire. However, their non-Muslim subjects (mainly Christians and Jews) were recognized as peoples of the Book¹⁷, they were allowed to keep their faith and they were given a form of autonomy and self-administration to rule their own matters.

Nevertheless, there were some restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims which emphasized their inferior status in the Ottoman society. The color of their clothes had to be different from that of the Muslim's. The word of a non-Muslim was not accepted in a court against that of a Muslim. A non-Muslim man could not marry a Muslim woman, although the opposite was possible. Non-Muslims could not bear arms or ride horses and they could not do military service, but instead of that they had to pay a special tax, *cizye*. Moreover, non-Muslims were subjected to the so-called child levy, also known as *paidomazoma* in Greek and *devşirme* in Turkish, literally meaning gathering of children. According to that, Christian families from the Balkans were obliged to deliver

¹⁷ Lewis, Bernard, 1984, The Jews of Islam, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 20. The people of the Book were divided into *Millets*, that is to say communities based on their religion, mainly, Rum, Armenian and Jewish. See Braude, Benjamin and Bernard Lewis, 1982, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society, New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers

their male children to the Ottoman authorities in order for them to become elite soldiers and bureaucrats. Although they were taken away from their families, these children could acquire power and status in the Ottoman society.¹⁸

The biggest non-Muslim religious community in the Ottoman Empire was the Rum Millet. It comprised a population with different ethnic and linguistic background (Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Albanians) all sharing the same religious faith, Orthodox Christianity. The leader of this community or *milletbaşı* was the Patriarch, the head of the Orthodox Church. The Patriarch assumed the position of Pasha, an official of the Ottoman state and he was responsible for the internal matters of the community as well as its relation with the Ottoman state.

Despite their inferior status, members of the Rum millet started to engage in commerce and banking and some managed to become public employees, mainly interpreters and secretaries of the Sultan. These were the Phanariots, prominent members of the Rum Millet, of a Greek or Hellenized Romanian or Albanian origin, who assumed the role of diplomats of the Ottoman Empire in its relations with the West. They were also princes or governors of the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, appointed by the Sultan.¹⁹

In that sense, non-Muslims were not entirely excluded from the public space of the Ottoman society. As Quataert puts it:

Consider the assertion, too popular in Middle East literature, that by mere fact of their religious allegiance, Muslims enjoyed a legally superior status to non-Muslims. A glance at the historical records quickly shows that vast numbers of Ottoman Christians and Jews were higher up the social hierarchy than Muslims, enjoying greater wealth and access to

¹⁸ Clogg, Richard, 1997, A Concise History of Greece, Cambridge University Press, p. 14.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

political power. For example, in many circumstances, a wealthy Christian merchant possessed greater local prestige and influence than an impoverished Muslim soldier. That is, the category of Muslim or Christian or of being part of the subject or the military class alone did not encompass a person's social, economic, and political reality. Rather, such a quality was but one of several attributes identifying that individual.²⁰

b. The formation of the Greek state

An uprising against the Ottoman rule in Peloponnese, in March 1821, resulted in the formation of an independent Greek state with the intervention of the Great Powers almost ten years after. The new state comprised Peloponnese, southern Roumeli and a number of islands near to this mainland. Also, the Great Powers chose a king to rule Greece. That was Otto of Wittelsbach, son of the King of Bavaria.

However, only one third of the Greek population was residing in the Greek kingdom. The rest were still subjects of the Sultan in the domain of the Ottoman Empire. This gave rise to the formation of the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea), that is, to unite all Greeks (those of the Greek Kingdom, the Balkans and Anatolia) in one single state, whose capital would be Constantinople. The term was first used by Ioannis Kolettis in a speech he delivered in the Constituent Assembly concerning the question of *heterochthonoi*, the Greeks who were living outside the borders of the Greek kingdom. According to Kolettis, they were the unredeemed brethren and they and the territories they lived on should be incorporated in the Greek state.²¹ The Great Idea came to be the dominant ideology of the new state in the 19th century and enabled Greece to lay irredentist claims at the expense of the Ottoman Empire and later, her neighboring Balkan states.

²⁰ Quataert, Donald, 2005, The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, Cambridge University Press, p. 143.

²¹ Clogg, Richard, 1997, A Concise History of Greece, Cambridge University Press, p. 48.

In 1862, King Otto was overthrown, and in 1864, Prince George of the Danish Glücksbürg dynasty came to Greece as King George I of the Hellenes. The coming of the new king brought to Greece the Ionian Islands expanding thus the territory of the Greek Kingdom. In 1881, Greece annexed Thessaly and the Arta district of Epirus from the Ottoman Empire. Although further aspirations were crushed when the Greeks were defeated by the Ottomans in 1897, in the so-called “Thirty Day War” in Thessaly, the island of Crete gained autonomous status.

However, the rise of Eleftherios Venizelos, maybe the most important political figure of Greece for the first half of the 20th century, marked the return of the Great Idea. In 1912 and 1913²² Greece was engaged in the Balkan Wars and she was able to gain Macedonia, Epirus, a big number of islands in the Aegean and finally Crete.

After World War I, hopes for further expansion of Greece were resumed when Venizelos undertook the Smyrna operation on 15 May 1919, landing Greek troops in Smyrna. According to the Treaty of Sevres, signed in August 1920, Smyrna was to remain under Greek administration but Turkish sovereignty. After five years the region could be annexed to Greece if the local parliament requested so. This, together with the gains in Thrace, enabled Venizelos’ supporters to talk about him having created “a Greece of two continents and five seas”²³.

However, the Treaty of Sevres was not ratified by the Turks. Also, Venizelos lost the elections and his rival, King Constantine, who assumed power decided to continue with the Asia Minor campaign. But the revived Turkish nationalist forces

²² In the first Balkan War Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro allied and attacked the Ottoman Empire. Their gains were recognized by the Treaty of London, May 1913. However, in the summer of 1913 Greece and Serbia allied against Bulgaria. With the Treaty of Bucharest, August 1913, Serbia and Greece expanded their territories in Macedonia at the expense of Bulgaria. See *ibid.*, pp. 81, 83.

²³ The two continents were Europe and Asia and the five seas were the Mediterranean, the Aegean, The Ionian, the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea. See *Ibid.*, p. 95.

under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal did not let that happen. In 1922, the Turkish troops forced the Greeks to withdraw and they finally occupied Smyrna/Izmir. The defeat of the Greek forces was devastating, as a large part of the city was burned and refugees tried to escape to save their lives.

c. The Lausanne Treaty and the Exchange of Populations

The peace talks that started in Lausanne on 30 November 1922 more or less shaped Modern Greece and Turkey. Following a series of negotiations, a convention for a compulsory exchange of populations was signed between Greece and Turkey, on 30 January 1923. According to the 1st article of this convention:

...There shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Muslim religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece without the authorization of the Turkish government or of the Greek government respectively.²⁴

Also, the convention defined how the transferring of property and compensation would be made and provided for the establishment of a Mixed Commission to supervise the exchange. The character of the exchange was mandatory and those who had departed leaving behind their properties before the signing of the convention would not be allowed to return.²⁵

The criterion of the exchange was based on religion. In this respect, more than 1 million Orthodox Christians migrated from Turkey and settled to Greek soil while about half a million Muslims left Greece and settled to Turkey. However, two groups were

²⁴ Clark, Bruce, 2006, Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions that Forged Modern Greece and Turkey, Cambridge – Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p. 11.

²⁵ Hirschon, Renee, 2004, “‘Unmixing Peoples’ in the Aegean Region”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 7-8

exempted from the exchange of populations: the Rum Orthodox of Istanbul (and also those of the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos²⁶) and the Muslims of Western Thrace.²⁷ On 24 July 1923, Greece and Turkey also signed the Treaty of Peace which determined the territorial boundaries of the two countries. Thus, for the Greeks Lausanne marked the consolidation of the country's population within its national borders, while for the Turks it marked the establishment of their modern nation-state.²⁸ More important, with the exchange of populations, the two countries had reached a high degree of religious homogeneity. I should mention that the exchange of populations had a series of demographic, economic, political, social and cultural effects which irreversibly shaped the character of the two countries.²⁹

d. After the Lausanne Treaty: Greek-Turkish relations until 1955

Despite their common bitter past, Greece and Turkey tried to improve their relations after the Treaty of Lausanne. In 1930, Venizelos paid a visit to Ankara and met with Kemal. On 30 October 1930, Venizelos and Turkish Prime Minister İnönü signed an agreement of friendship, neutrality, conciliation and arbitration and also an agreement on naval armaments, establishment and commerce. With the agreement of friendship the two countries declared that: they would not become members of any alliance that was going to attack the other, they would remain neutral in case the other was attacked by a third country and they would try to arrange their differences through conciliation or through a mutually accepted arbitration organ. On 14 September 1933,

²⁶ They were exempted according to the Treaty of Peace signed on 24 July 1923. Ibid., p. 8.

²⁷ Koliopoulos, John C. and Thanos M. Veremis, 2002, Greece, The Modern Sequel, From 1831 to the Present, London: Hurst & Company, pp. 286-287.

²⁸ Hirschon, Renee, 2004, "'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 9.

²⁹ See Hirschon, Renee, 2004, "Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An Overview", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.13-20.

they also signed an agreement of alliance according to which the two countries would ally in case their common border in Thrace was attacked.³⁰ It is important to stress that the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in the 1930s was more a consequence of realism and a need for security in the post-war environment and less the result of a mutual desire for reconciliation.³¹

In 1936 Turkey and Greece signed the Montreux Convention which permitted Turkey to take full sovereignty over the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, while Greece was allowed to refortify some of the islands in the Aegean. During World War II, when Greece was occupied by Nazi Germany, the Greek resistance fighters were allowed to pass through Turkey and also Turkey sent food supplies when the Greek populations were suffering from the 1941-1942 famines. However, the imposition of the wealth tax by the Turkish government during World War II was a source of tension between the two states. That is because, although the tax was regulated in order to stop people from accumulating wealth as a result of the war, it mainly targeted non-Muslims, Greeks, Jews and Armenians. Nevertheless, no problem arose when Greece annexed the Dodecanese islands in 1947. Also, with the beginning of the Cold War after World War II, both Greece and Turkey became members of NATO in 1952, participating at the same international organization.³²

³⁰ Koukoudakis, George, 2006, "The role of Citizens in the Current Greek-Turkish Rapprochement", Paper for the 56th Annual Conference of Political Studies Association, April 4-6, Reading, p. 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

³² Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation. A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 14-15.

e. The Cyprus problem

The good climate in Turkish – Greek Relations was to be reversed when the Cyprus issue emerged. The island of Cyprus was under British rule from 1878.³³ However, in the 1950s the Greek Cypriots started to express their desire for unification with Greece. In 1955, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA³⁴) started a campaign against the British administration demanding the unification of the island with Greece. This was perceived as a threat for the Turkish Cypriot community of the island which represented 18 per cent of the population. Also, Turkey felt that a potential Greek sovereignty over Cyprus would enable Greece to control access to its southern ports.³⁵

Several attempts for talks were made mainly by Britain but they were all unsuccessful since the Greek Cypriots were adamant in their request for *enosis* (unification) with Greece.³⁶ On the other hand, Turkey started to see *taksim* (partition) of the island and the union of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities with Turkey and Greece respectively as a solution. Also, the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT³⁷) was created in order to protect Turkish Cypriots from the EOKA activity.³⁸

Finally, according to the Zurich and London agreements of 1959, an independent Republic of Cyprus was founded on 16 August 1960.³⁹ A constitutional structure that

³³ In 1878 Britain took administrative control of the island from the Ottoman Empire. In 1914 the island was annexed and in 1925 it was declared a crown colony of Britain. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁴ EOKA: Ethniki Organosi Kypriou Agoniston, (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters).

³⁵ Bahcheli, Tozun, 2004, "Turning a New Page in Turkey's Relations with Greece? The Challenge of Reconciling Vital Interests", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 102.

³⁶ Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, p. 16.

³⁷ TMT: Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı, (Turkish Resistance Organization).

³⁸ McDonald, Robert, 2001, "Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict", in Dimitris Keridis and Charles M. Perry (eds.) Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization, Everet, MA: Brassey's, p. 117.

³⁹ Great Britain agreed on the creation of an independent state after having secured two sovereign base areas on the island.

would keep in balance the two communities on the island was set by the above mentioned agreements. Thus, there would be a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice president, both bearing veto power over laws and decisions, a seventy-thirty division of posts in the cabinet and of the seats in the parliament, a seventy-thirty division of posts in the public service and a sixty-fourty division of posts in the army. Also, with the treaties of Guarantee and Alliance, Great Britain, Greece and Turkey were responsible for the preservation of the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and Greece and Turkey were allowed to establish a small number of troops on the island.⁴⁰

However, the two communities never managed to cooperate and in 1963 incidents erupted in several towns on Cyprus, when the Greek Cypriot president, Archbishop Makarios proposed thirteen constitutional amendments with the aim of reducing the status of the Turkish Cypriot community into a minority. The United Kingdom established a buffer zone between the two communities in the capital city of Nicosia and in 1964 a UN peacekeeping force was dispatched on the island.⁴¹

The fighting between the two communities went on unremittingly, while all efforts for a solution were condemned to failure. In that period, Greek and Greek Cypriot ultra-nationalists had resurrected the idea of *enosis* and formed EOKA-B to fight their cause. In the meantime, it seemed that Archbishop Makarios started to abandon the quest for unification⁴² and became favorable of an independent Cypriot

⁴⁰ McDonald, Robert, 2001, "Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict", in Dimitris Keridis and Charles M. Perry (eds.) Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization, Everet, MA: Brassey's , p. 118.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 118-119 and Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, p. 17.

⁴² He and the Cypriot Communist Party did not want unification under the military junta established in Greece in 1967. McDonald, Robert, 2001, "Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict", in Dimitris Keridis and Charles M. Perry (eds.) Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization, Everet, MA: Brassey's , p. 119

state. On 15 July 1974 the colonels' regime had him replaced by Nikos Samson, an extreme anti-Turkish supporter of the unification. This gave Ankara the pretext to take action. On 20 July 1974 the Turkish forces intervened unilaterally on the island. The Greek Junta was unable to react and collapsed. After the restoration of democracy in Greece, peace talks started but it seemed that Ankara's intention was not the restoration of the 1960 constitution according to the Treaty of Guarantee. Instead, Turkey demanded the creation of a bi-zonal federation. Thus, peace talks failed and the Turkish military made a second operation on the island, invading further along and occupying 36 per cent of the island.⁴³

The war of 1974 marked the de facto division of Cyprus. As a result, around 160,000 Greek Cypriots and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots became refugees on their own island. This displacement created two ethnically homogeneous communities, with the Greek Cypriots on the southern and the Turkish Cypriots on the northern part of the island. Also, Turkey allowed tens of thousands of Turkish citizens to settle on the Turkish part of the island in order to balance Greek Cypriot presence.⁴⁴

Even though, an independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was established in 1983 and was recognized by Turkey, the international community continued to recognize the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus as a legitimate government of the whole of the island. All efforts for a solution have been unsuccessful while many issues concerning Cyprus have been contentious between Greece and Turkey, such as the promotion for the accession of Cyprus to the EU by Greece and the

⁴³ Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, p. 18.

⁴⁴ Bahcheli, Tozun, 2004, "Turning a New Page in Turkey's Relations with Greece? The Challenge of Reconciling Vital Interests", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 104.

S-300 missiles crisis.⁴⁵ The Cyprus problem continues to be one of the most important bilateral issues between Greece and Turkey.

f. The Minority issue

Another important issue that causes friction between Turkey and Greece is the Minority issue. At the Lausanne Conference, Greece and Turkey decided to exempt from the exchange of populations that was to take place, the Rum Orthodox of Istanbul, as well as those of the islands Imbros/Gökçeada and Tenedos/Bozcaada, and the Muslims of Western Thrace. These people were to become nationals of Turkey and Greece respectively and enjoy a special minority status regulated by the Lausanne Treaty, section III on the protection of minorities (articles 37-45). The criterion for the designation of the minorities was the same with that of the exchange of populations. It was based on religion: non-Muslim minorities⁴⁶ in Turkey and Muslim minority in Greece. According to the Lausanne Treaty, the two minorities in the respective countries were to enjoy protection of life and freedom and have the same civil and political rights as the majority. They should also have the right to establish and control their religious institutions and schools and they should be able to settle their judicial differences according to their customs.⁴⁷ The rights of the minorities were reconfirmed and rectified by the 1930 agreement.

⁴⁵ In the spirit of the Joint Defense Doctrine (JDD), according to which Cyprus was included in the Greek sphere of defensive interest, Greek Cypriots ordered S-300 missiles from Russia. Turkey strongly objected stating that the deployment of the missiles on the island would be a cause for serious conflict. Finally, a crisis was avoided when the missiles were deployed on the Greek island of Crete. McDonald, Robert, 2001, "Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict", in Dimitris Keridis and Charles M. Perry (eds.) Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization, Everet, MA: Brassey's, p. 139-140.

⁴⁶ Besides the Rum Orthodox, in Istanbul there were also Jews and Armenians. Non-Muslim is used to describe all three groups who were given minority status.

⁴⁷ See The Lausanne Treaty, section III, articles 38-42, available at <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwj/1918p/lausanne.html>. The provisions of the Lausanne Treaty were somehow a continuation of the Millet system of the Ottoman Empire

However, it seems that for most of the 20th century both minorities were never fully incorporated in their respective host states. On the contrary, they were perceived as foreign bodies, as the ‘other within’ and suffered the consequences of hostile relations between Turkey and Greece.⁴⁸

In the Turkish state, the Rums were perceived to be the agents of the Great Idea and they were at the target, together with other minorities, of the Turkish government’s policies of Turkification. Accordingly, the Turkish state imposed the Wealth Tax (Varlık Vergisi) during World War II (1941-44). This tax targeted mainly the non-Muslims who were called to pay ten times more than the Muslims. The payment of the tax should be made within fifteen days and the properties of those who would not pay would be confiscated and sold. Still, if the payment was not made within a month, the debtors would be sent to a labor camp in Aşkale. Indeed, properties and businesses were confiscated, and around 2,000 people who could not pay were arrested and deported to the labor camp. They were mainly non-Muslims, among them also members of the Rum Orthodox minority.⁴⁹

After that the Rum Orthodox minority benefited from the good climate between Greece and Turkey. However this climate was reversed with the emergence of the Cyprus issue. The riots of 6-7 September 1955 that erupted in Istanbul and Izmir are said to have been retaliation for the sufferings of the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriots. With the emergence of the Cyprus problem, the Turkish press and some Turkish organizations, such as the Cyprus is Turkish Association (Kıbrıs Türktür Cemiyeti), played an important role stirring up nationalist feelings. In 6 September,

⁴⁸ Oran, Baskın, 2004, “The Story of Those who stayed: Lessons from Articles 1 and 2 of the 1923 Convention”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 97-116.

⁴⁹ For a detailed account of the wealth tax see Aktar, Ayhan, 2000, Varlık Vergisi ve ‘Türkleştirme’ Politikaları, İstanbul: İletişim.

Turkish radio and some newspapers reported that a bomb⁵⁰ exploded in Mustafa Kemal's house in Thessaloniki the previous night. In the evening of the same day, a furious mob gathered in places resided by non-Muslims and started to destroy minority property, stores, houses, churches and cemeteries. 59 per cent of the business and 80 per cent of the houses that were destroyed that night belonged to the Rum Orthodox. It has been argued that the Turkish government was closely involved in organizing and instigating these riots as part of a project for the homogenization of the nation.⁵¹

In 1964, as a result of inter-communal conflict that erupted on Cyprus, the Turkish government abrogated the Treaty of Friendship of 1930 that permitted Greek citizens⁵² to reside in Istanbul and according to that, 12,592 members of the minority with a Greek citizenship were expelled from Istanbul. However, because of the close relationships (family, business) developed between the minority members of Greek citizenship with those of Turkish citizenship, it is estimated that around 30,000 minority members of Turkish citizenship also left Istanbul together with those expelled.⁵³

From that period up to now, the Rums of Istanbul have gradually dwindled to around 2,500 in the winter and 5,000 in the summer⁵⁴. This is also the case for the

⁵⁰ It was proved that it was a member of the Muslim/Turkish minority of Western Thrace, Oktay Engin who placed the bomb in the house, following orders of the Turkish Intelligence Agency.

⁵¹ See Güven, Dilek, 2005, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

⁵² According to Alexandris, of the 110,000 Rum Orthodox who were exempted from the exchange of populations, two thirds were Ottoman national who were given Turkish citizenship and one third were nationals of Greece who were established in Istanbul before 1918. These people constituted the Rum Orthodox minority of Istanbul. In 1930, the right of these Greece national to stay in Istanbul was reconfirmed by the Greek-Turkish Establishment, Commerce and Navigation Treaty. Alexandris, Alexis, 2004, "Religion or Ethnicity: The Identity Issue of the Minorities in Greece and Turkey", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 118.

⁵³ Demir, Hulya and Ridvan Akar, 2004, *Oi Teleutaioi Exoristoi ths Konstantinoupolis*, (The Last Exiles of Istanbul), Athens: Tsoukatou, pp. 98-99 and Alexandris, Alexis, 1988, "To Meionotiko Zitima, 1954-1987", (The Minority Question, 1954-1987), in *Oi Ellinotourkikes Sxeseis 1923-1987*, (The Greek-Turkish Relations 1923-1987), Athens: Gnosi, p. 512.

⁵⁴ Alexandris, Alexis, 2004, "Religion or Ethnicity: The Identity Issue of the Minorities in Greece and Turkey", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population*

Imbriot and Tenediot Rum Orthodox. As a result of legal and administrative restrictions they were forced to migrate either to Greece or abroad.⁵⁵ Today the main concern of the Rum Orthodox minority is the preservation of its schools and pious foundations. Another issue is the reopening of the Theological Seminary of Chalki which was closed in 1971 and it is important for the training of the clerics of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate.⁵⁶ Also, concerning the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate, the designation ‘*Ecumenical*’ has become controversial and created suspicion to the Turkish side as it is perceived to be a political term while Greece supports that the designation is spiritual and cultural.

Concerning the treatment of the Muslim/Turkish minority of Western Thrace by the Greek state, in the 1920s, Greece supported the religious and conservative inclination of the minority by accepting 150 Turkish anti-kemalist fugitives, among them the last *Şeyh-ül-İslam* of Istanbul, Mustafa Sabri,⁵⁷ preventing thus the spread of Kemalist ideology among its members. However, in the spirit of the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement of the 1930s, the minority started to be infiltrated with Turkish nationalist ideas. After World War II, further turkification of the minority was promoted, in order to prevent Bulgarian-Communist influence from the North.⁵⁸ Also,

Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 119. Also Vyron Kotzamanis who conducted a survey on the number of the Rums of Istanbul found that they were around 5,000. Kotzamanis, Vyron, 2006, “A Demographic Profile of the Rums of Istanbul and of the related groups”, Paper presented at the Meeting in Istanbul: Present and Future.

⁵⁵ Alexandris, Alexis, 2004, “Religion or Ethnicity: The Identity Issue of the Minorities in Greece and Turkey”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 120-121.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 121.

⁵⁷ Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, I Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”, (Greece and the Danger from the East), Athens: Polis, p. 307.

⁵⁸ The relations that the Slavic-speaking Muslim Pomak villagers of Greece had developed with the villagers of the Bulgarian border were deemed dangerous after the prevalence of Communism in Bulgaria. In this context the mountainous area of Rodhoppe became a ‘restricted zone’ and remained as such until 1996. Troumbeta, Sevasti, 2001, Kataskevazontas Taftotites gia tous Mousoulmanous tis Thrakis: to paradeigma ton Pomakon kai ton Tsigganon, (Constructing Identities for the Muslims of Thrace: the Paradigm of Pomaks and Gypsies), Athens: Kritiki/ KEMO, p. 45.

in 1951, a Greco-Turkish cultural agreement was signed in order to regulate educational matters. With this agreement, Greece allowed minority schools in Western Thrace to be called “Turkish”.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, things started to change for the minority after the emergence of the Cyprus issue and the September riots in Istanbul. A change in policy was evident through the confidential reports of the minority education between 1955 and 1967. These reports echoed a rhetoric on reciprocity and made recommendations irrelevant to educational matters such as ‘how to buy lands from the minority’, ‘how to reduce its size’, ‘how to eradicate Turkish consciousness’.⁶⁰

From 1967 onwards, the Muslim/Turkish minority of Western Thrace became the target of strict measures taken by the military junta (1967-1974). These measures aimed to reduce the size of the minority by forcing its members to migrate to Turkey or by assimilating them. The most important discriminatory measure had to do with the deprivation of the Greek citizenship under article 19 of the Greek Nationality Code of 1955.⁶¹ Other restrictive measures comprised expropriations of minority land and refusal of the right to buy land and houses and refusal of the right to set up businesses. Minority members were not permitted to repair their schools and mosques or to build new ones. Moreover, they could not obtain driving licenses for tractors and cars and they could not become public employees. They were also subjected to restriction of

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 43 and Dragonas, Thalia and Anna Frangoudaki, 2006, “Educating the Muslim Minority in Western Thrace”, Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 27. The schools were named ‘Turkish’ according to a law issued in 1954. Oran, Baskin, 2004, “The Story of Those who stayed: Lessons from Articles 1 and 2 of the 1923 Convention”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 103.

⁶⁰ Cited in Dragonas, Thalia and Anna Frangoudaki, 2006, “Educating the Muslim Minority in Western Thrace”, Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 27.

⁶¹ According to this article “*a person of non-Greek ethnic origin leaving Greece without the intention of returning may be declared as having lost Greek nationality*” cited in Whitman, Lois, 1990, Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Turks of Greece, New York: Human Rights Watch, p. 11.

their freedom of expression, information and movement through convictions of minority journalists and passport seizures.⁶²

Moreover, according to a law enacted in 1972 “Turkish schools” were renamed into “Minority schools”. Also, the junta tried to control the minority education by establishing the special Pedagogical Academy of Thessaloniki (EPATH) in order to train minority members to become teachers in minority schools.⁶³ After the collapse of the junta the restrictive measures did not loosen up. On the contrary, they were preserved, due to Greek fear from the “danger from the East”, following the Turkish Invasion/Intervention on Cyprus and the emergence of the Aegean dispute. As a result of the treatment of the minority by the Greek state, minority members turned to Turkey to find what Greece denied to give them and their ties with the ‘motherland’ Turkey were strengthened.⁶⁴

In the mid-1980s minority members started to claim a common Turkish consciousness and demanded the right to identify themselves as Turkish and use that designation for their minority organizations and associations. This right was denied by the Greek state and minority members who used it were legally prosecuted.⁶⁵ This

⁶² Ibid., pp 11-42, Meinardus, Ronald, 2002, “Muslims: Turks, Pomaks and Gypsies”, in Richard Clogg (ed.), Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society, London: Hurst & Company, p. 90 and Troumbeta, Sevasti, 2001, Kataskevazontas Taftotites gia tous Mousoulmanous tis Thrakis, to paradeigma ton Pomakon kai ton Tsigganon, (Constructing Identities for the Muslims of Thrace, the Paradigm of Pomaks and Gypsies), Athens: Kritiki/ KEMO, pp. 48-49.

⁶³ So that exchanged teachers from Turkey were made redundant. Troumbeta, Sevasti, 2001, Kataskevazontas Taftotites gia tous Mousoulmanous tis Thrakis, to paradeigma ton Pomakon kai ton Tsigganon, (Constructing Identities for the Muslims of Thrace, the Paradigm of Pomaks and Gypsies), Athens: Kritiki/ KEMO, p. 49.

⁶⁴ Akgönül, Samim, 1999, Une Communauté, Deux Etats: la minorité turco-musulmane de Thace occidentale, Istanbul: Isis, 213.

⁶⁵ For example, a minority candidate for the national elections of 1989, Ahmet Sadık, was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment because he had used the terms ‘Turk’ and ‘Turkish’ to refer to the minority. Kourtovik, Yianna (1997), “Dikaiosi kai Meionotites”, (Justice and Minorities), in Konstantinos Tsitselikis & Dimitris Christopoulos (eds.), To Meionotiko Phonomeno stin Ellada, mia Simvoli ton Koinonikon Epistimon, (The Minority Phenomenon in Greece, a Contribution of the Social Sciences), Athens: Kritiki/ KEMO, p. 260.

created tensions between Christian and Muslim communities culminating in riots and incidents of vandalism against minority property in 29 January 1990.⁶⁶

After these riots the Greek policy towards the minority started to change gradually but steadily. In a gathering, the leaders of the biggest Greek parties agreed to abolish the discriminatory and repressive measures and according to this, the Mitsotakis government initiated a policy of *isonomia* (equality before the law) and *isopolitia* (equality of civil rights) concerning the treatment of the minority.⁶⁷ Even though the overall situation of the minority has changed, Greece continues to deny minority members' right to designate themselves as Turks and maintains that according to the Lausanne Treaty the minority is Muslim and consists of three ethnic groups, those of Turkish origin (called *Tourkogeneis* by the Greeks), the Slavic-speaking Pomaks and the Roma. On the other hand, Turkey claims that the minority is an ethnic Turkish minority and calls Greece to respect its rights.

g. The Aegean disputes

The Aegean issue started in the 1970s and comprises a series of disputes between the two states: the delimitation of the continental shelf, the territorial waters, the air space, the FIR control and the militarization of eastern Aegean islands.

According to the Convention of the Continental Shelf by the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, issued in 1958, a state could claim a continental shelf that covered the seabed adjacent to its coastline, including islands, to a depth of two hundred meters.

⁶⁶ For more details see Giannopoulos, Aristeidis and Dimitris Psaras, 1990, "To Ellhniko 1955", (The Greek 1955), *Scholiastis*, 85 (3), pp. 18-21.

⁶⁷ Anagnostou, Dia, 2001, "Breaking the Cycle of Nationalism: The EU, Regional Policy and the Minority of Western Thrace, Greece", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 130

Also, a state could claim a continental shelf extended beyond the boundaries of its territorial waters.⁶⁸

Greece has signed the convention and for its dispute with Turkey on that matter believes that the islands of the Aegean also have a continental shelf and that the point of demarcation should be the median line between the Greek islands of the Eastern Aegean and the Turkish coastline. On the other hand, Turkey argues that the islands of the Eastern Aegean constitute a natural prolongation of the Anatolian peninsula and they should not have a continental shelf and that the point of demarcation should be the median line between the Greek and the Turkish coastlines. That would mean that the Turkish continental shelf would stretch westwards past a number of Greek islands.⁶⁹

The issue of the continental shelf first emerged in the 1970s when the Greek government permitted petroleum companies to conduct research in the Aegean and later announced that oil had been found close to the island of Thasos, in the northern Aegean. In 1974, Turkey reacted by sending a survey ship accompanied by warships to conduct its own research in the disputed area. In 1976 Greece brought the issue before the International Court of Justice which was not able to come up with a decision on the matter.⁷⁰ However the two countries signed the Bern Declaration and engaged in talks until 1981, when the new Prime Minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreu, decided to

⁶⁸ Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, I Ellada kai o "Ex Anatolon Kindinos", (Greece and the 'Danger from the East'), Athens: Polis, pp. 207-208 and Aydin, Mustafa, 2004, "Contemporary Turkish-Greek Relations: Constraints and Opportunities", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁰ The ICJ returned its judgement two years later. Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 21-21.

end the talks with Turkey.⁷¹ All efforts for talks were fruitless and tensions resumed culminating in the 1987 Aegean crisis.

In early 1987, Greece took control of the Canadian owned North Aegean Petroleum Company and authorized it to start drilling in international waters. Turkey also issued licenses to the Turkish Petroleum Company to conduct exploration in a number of disputed areas. Then, Greece warned Turkey that it would take all necessary measures to stop the Turkish ship from entering any “Greek areas”⁷². Turkey replied that it would do the same if its ship was harassed. Finally, the crisis was averted since the Turkish ship stayed in Turkish waters and later the two countries decided to refrain from conducting exploration in the disputed areas.⁷³

Concerning the territorial waters, Greece has signed the Convention on the Law of Sea in 1982, that gives her the right to extent its territorial waters from six to twelve miles. Turkey has not signed the Convention and argues that if Greece were to extent its territorial waters from six to twelve miles its sovereignty over the Aegean waters would be doubled from 35% to 63.9%. However, if Turkey were to extent its territorial waters to twelve miles its sovereignty over the Aegean would increase from 8.8% to 10%. This would transform the Aegean into a “Greek Lake”, living little space for Turkey to exercise its naval rights.⁷⁴

Another dispute has to do with the air space. Greece is the only state internationally that has extended its air space to 10 miles over its 6-mile territorial

⁷¹ Aydin, Mustafa, 2004, “Contemporary Turkish-Greek Reactions: Constraints and Opportunities”, in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 29.

⁷² Areas that Greece considered to be its own.

⁷³ Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 24-26. After the crisis, in 1988 the Prime Ministers of the two countries, Ozal and Papandreou met at an economic forum in Davos and decided to start a dialogue on a series of issues concerning the bilateral relations. However the good climate did not last long.

⁷⁴ Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, I Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”, (Greece and the ‘Danger from the East’), Athens: Polis, p. 211.

waters in 1931. Turkey came to question this in 1970s.⁷⁵ From that time up to these days dogfights over the Aegean have been almost a daily routine for the two states. There is also a dispute concerning the control of Flight Information Region (FIR) over the Aegean. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) decided to include much of the Aegean area to the FIR of Athens. From 1974, Turkey supports that Greece uses its FIR responsibility in order to control Turkish movements over the Aegean.⁷⁶ This resulted in a blockade of the international flights over the Aegean until 1980.⁷⁷ Turkey desires a more equitable rearrangement for the control of the flights over the Aegean.

Another point of friction between Greece and Turkey is the militarization of the eastern Aegean islands. At some point in the 1960s⁷⁸, Greece started to fortify its eastern Aegean islands⁷⁹ which according to previously signed international treaties should remain demilitarized. This caused Turkey to complain and establish its Fourth Army, called “Aegean Army” by Greeks, on its west coast. As described by Aydin, it is a “chicken and egg” situation in which the Turks support that the establishment of the Fourth Army was necessary after the militarization of the Greek islands and the Greeks talk of the need for the militarization of the islands because of the “Aegean Army”.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 215-216.

⁷⁶ Aydin, Mustafa, 2004, “Contemporary Turkish-Greek Relations: Constraints and Opportunities”, in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 30.

⁷⁷ Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, I Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”, (Greece and the ‘Danger from the East’), Athens: Polis, p. 223.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 220.

⁷⁹ These islands are: Limnos, Samothrace, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Ikaria, and the Dodecanese. For a detailed description see Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, I Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”, (Greece and the ‘Danger from the East’), Athens: Polis, pp. 217-223.

⁸⁰ Aydin, Mustafa, 2004, “Contemporary Turkish-Greek Relations: Constraints and Opportunities”, in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations. The Security Dilemma in Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 30.

h. The Imia / Kardak Crisis

In 1996, the so-called Imia / Kardak Crisis, almost brought Greece and Turkey to the brink of war. In fact this crisis was triggered and manipulated by the media of both countries. In 26 December 1995 a Turkish merchant ship ran aground in the waters of the rocky islet Imia, East of the island of Kalymnos. In the existing international treaties this rocky islet appears to belong to Greece, though Greek sovereignty is not explicitly mentioned in any document signed by both Greece and Turkey. This fact led Turkey to challenge the status quo of this islet. The two countries disagreed over who had the right to rescue the boat and the foreign ministries exchanged notes with their contradicting claims. The ship was eventually detached by a Greek tugboat.⁸¹

The incident was forgotten until late January 1996, when the Greek television station ANT1 aired the notes exchanged between Athens and Ankara over the dispute. After the revelation, the Mayor of Kalymnos followed by other inhabitants, hoisted the Greek flag on the islet. A couple of days later a crew of the Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet* landed on the islet and raised the Turkish flag after removing the Greek one. The following day, a patrol boat of the Greek Navy changed the flag. The crisis reached its peak between 30 and 31 January 1996, when Greek and Turkish military forces stood against each other in the area. A group of Turkish troops landed on a rocky islet opposite Imia/Kardak and a Greek helicopter crashed into the sea. Finally, war was deterred thanks to USA and UN intervention and the forces of the two countries withdrew from the region.⁸² This incident added another issue to the list of the Aegean

⁸¹ Dimitras, Panayote Elias, 1998, "The apotheosis of hate speech: the near-success of (Greek and Turkish) media in launching war", in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), 'Hate Speech' in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, p. 65.

⁸² Neofotistos, Vasiliki, 1998, "The Greek-Turkish "Imia/Kardak" Crisis in Dates", in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), 'Hate Speech' in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, p. 69.

disputes, that of “grey zones” in the Aegean, that is, islets and rocks, the ownership of which is unclear.

i. The Öcalan Crisis

In 1999 another important crisis came to shake the Greek-Turkish relations. In October 1998 Turkey launched an operation to capture Abdullah Öcalan, an outlawed terrorist or the leader of the Kurdish liberation movement and the Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK). After wandering in many European countries, Öcalan arrived in Greece with the contribution of Greek ultra-nationalist circles. Öcalan’s close friend, retired Admiral Antonis Naxakis provided him with a Lear jet to facilitate his arrival.⁸³

The Greek government, being in an extremely difficult position, could not endanger offering asylum to Turkey’s most wanted enemy and decided to offer a temporary shelter until an asylum elsewhere could be arranged. On 2 February, Öcalan was transferred to the Greek Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. A couple of days later, his whereabouts were made known to the Turkish secret services and Öcalan was finally captured on 16 February, on his way to the airport.⁸⁴ As a result of these events, it was difficult for the Greek government to prove to Turkey that it was not involved in the case and the Greek-Turkish relations deteriorated yet another time.

⁸³ See Black, Joshua, “Greek Diplomacy and the Hunt for Abdullah Öcalan”, WWS Case Study 4/00, p. 4.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

Chapter 2

We and the Other: How Greeks think about the Turks historically

After the foundation of the Greek Nation-State, the Greeks had to acquire a specific identity in order to feel proud of being the members of the same nation. The Greek state inspired this identity to all Greeks through the education system. This identity stresses the continuity of the Greek nation through the years. It has as point of reference the glorious past of the Greeks, i.e. Ancient Greece and it recognizes the Byzantine Empire as Greek but it excludes the Ottoman Empire.

The connection of Modern Greeks with the Classical Past was established by Adamantios Korais, an intellect and representative of the Neohellenic Enlightenment. Influenced by the European romantic classicism and Philhellenism which held ancient Greece as their source of inspiration, Korais believed that the heritage of the classical Greece was maintained during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods but it was suppressed under the Christian Byzantine Empire and even more under Ottoman rule. This heritage was revived by the European Enlightenment but its true heirs, Modern Greeks, remained unaware of it. So, Korais and the supporters of his beliefs tried to establish a link between modern Greece and ancient Greece.⁸⁵

The next step in the formation of the Greek national identity happened when Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos included the Byzantine era as an important period of the history of the Greek nation, thus bridging the chronological gap that existed between classical antiquity and modern period and establishing a historical continuity of the Greek nation. With the inclusion of the Byzantine era in the Greek history, religion,

⁸⁵ Özkırmılı Umut and Spyros A. Sofos, 2008, Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey, London: Hurst & Company, pp. 77-82.

Orthodox Christianity, became an important element of national identity, now recognized as Hellenic-Christian synthesis.⁸⁶

However, this synthesis was contradictory by definition, since its elements, the ideal of classical antiquity and that of Byzantine Christianity were mutually exclusive. This is the *Hellenist-Romeic* dispute concerning the national identity and it is about choosing between the ancient pagan glories and the more familiar Orthodox Christianity. Were the Greeks *Hellenes* or *Romioi*?⁸⁷ According to Herzfeld, this division indicates a “difference between an outward-directed conformity to international expectations about the national image and an inward-looking, self-critical collective appraisal.”⁸⁸ This distinction permits the Greeks to include or exclude themselves from Europe both geographically as well as culturally. In that sense, these terms can be used by the same interlocutor in different occasions and contexts.

However, the official name of Greece is Hellas (Hellenic Republic) and its official ideology is based on the Hellenic-Christian synthesis. This ideology was propagated by national historiography and official education. The history lesson plays an important role in the formation of national identity in school because the ‘national narrative’ it produces concentrates on the notion of continuity and homogeneity and favors the idea of the uniqueness of the nation. Thus, history textbooks constitute the place where the images of the ‘national self’ and the other people, mainly the neighbors,

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 83-85.

⁸⁷ A designation used for the people of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire and later for the Christian Orthodox (Rum) subjects of the Sultan in the Ottoman Empire.

⁸⁸ Herzfeld, Michael, 1986, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece, New York: Pella, p. 20.

are constructed and reproduced through a unified and coherent narration about the important events of the past and about ‘enemies’ and ‘friends’.⁸⁹

In that sense, a new role is ascribed to historical events in order to serve nationalistic discourse. Thus, the Capture of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman history, the Greek War of Independence, the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922, the exchange of populations in 1923, the Cyprus problem and the Turkish Invasion/Intervention in 1974 and the condition of the Greek/Rum Minority of Istanbul, Bozcaada and Gökçeada and that of the Turkish/Muslim Minority of Thrace are presented with a reference to a negative ‘other’. In this long history of Greek-Turkish conflicts, the ‘Self’ is always presented benevolent and superior in contrast to a malevolent and inferior ‘Other’. In this sense, the image of the ‘Other’ is an integral part of the national identity. The ‘Other’ is what ‘we’ are not.

Thus, ‘*Tourkokratia*’ (Turkish Rule) or the Ottoman ‘yoke’ is perceived as a period of slavery and suffering for the Greek nation and the main reason for Greece’s delay in joining the developed world. A myth illustrating the life of the Greeks during the Ottoman Empire is that of the *Krifo Scholio* (Secret School). According to this popular belief, the Greeks were forced to organize illegal underground schools in monasteries and churches because, allegedly, education in the languages of the non-Muslims was prohibited by the Ottoman authorities. These schools, and consequently the church, are thought to have played an important role in the maintenance of the Greek language during the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁰ Even though it has been debunked, the

⁸⁹ Avdela, Efi, 1997, “I Sugkrotisi tis Ethnikis Taftotitas sto Elliniko Scholeio: ‘emeis’ kai oi ‘alloi’”, (The Construction of National Identity in the Greek School: ‘we’ and the ‘others’), in Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona (eds.), ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ *Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi*, (What is our motherland?: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria, p. 37.

⁹⁰ For more details on the myth of the Secret School see Aggelou, Alkis, 1997, *To Krifo Scholio: Chroniko enos Mithou*, (The Secret School: Chronicle of a Myth), Athens: Estia.

Krifo Scholio is a powerful myth which preoccupies the minds of the Greeks concerning the idea they have about the Ottoman Empire and the position of the Greeks in it. Thus, the War of Independence was the heroic struggle of the Greek Nation against the Ottoman oppressor. Moreover, the Greek-Turkish encounters in the 20th century rendered the Turks the number one enemy in the mind of the Greeks.

As a result, the Greeks have formed a negative image for the Turks. According to a research⁹¹ on history textbooks of 1979-1980, the Turks appear to have only negative characteristics: They are presented as a nomadic tribe of Asiatic origin, prone to war and conquest and they never engage in commerce and craft. They are thought to be barbarians, arrogant, bellicose, maniacs, furious and cruel, they have wild instincts and they tend to commit murders, massacres and other hideous crimes. Also, they like to plunder and they organize the slave markets. They are a race incompatible to European humanism and they are ethnically and religiously fanaticized against the Greeks. Moreover, they try to exterminate Hellenism with every possible means: child levy, deportations, persecutions, Islamizations. They are expansionists and they continue to have claims in the Balkan area. They are sneaky, dishonest and treacherous and they tend to violate treaties and agreements. Their governments are authoritarian and oppressive and they do not respect justice. They are conservative and naïve, they lack interest for arts and they have an inferior oriental culture. They are the source of the misfortunes of the Greek people.⁹²

⁹¹ See Achlis, Nikos, 1983, Oi Geitonikoi mas Laoi, Boulgaroi kai Tourkoi, sta Scholika Vivlia Istorias Gymnasiou kai Lukeiou, (Our Neighboring People, Bulgarians and Turks, in History Schoolbooks), Thessaloniki: Ekdotikos Oikos Afon Kuriakidi.

⁹² Milas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Hellinon kai Tourkon: Scholika vivlia, Istorigraphia, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa, (Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature, and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria, p. 305.

Also, according to a folk stereotypical representation in many places in Greece, during ‘*Tourkokratia*’, the Turks were raping, molesting and abducting Greek women in order to take them to their harems because they were pure and beautiful. According to Kirtsoglou and Sistani, this description of the Turk as the male oppressor and of the Greek powerless but pure women might be a gender metaphor to convey the concept of Turkish domination over the Greeks.⁹³

In 1990s, schoolbooks have changed for the better and blatantly offensive references about the Turks have been removed.⁹⁴ However, negative images continue to persist. In the new history textbooks, the Ottoman Empire and Turks are thought to pose a threat to cultural and national integrity and homogeneity of the Greeks, since they have endangered the physical and cultural existence of ‘Hellenism’. They are described in a negative way because of the ‘sufferings’ they have caused to the Greeks for 400 years. There is an explicit contempt for the Turks who occupied themselves with war and they were not able to progress in commerce, sciences and literature. There is a lack of reference to any development whatsoever to the Ottoman culture, literature and arts, which implies the absence of those activities. The period from the fall of Constantinople until the independence of the Greek state is referred to as ‘slavery’, ‘yoke’, ‘bondage’, and ‘Turkish Rule’. According to Frangoudaki, the replacement of the term ‘Ottoman Empire’ by these terms is an attempt to implicitly undervalue its importance, strength, and status. The term ‘Turks’, and not ‘Ottomans’, is used as a subject. There are also

⁹³ Kirtsoglou, Elisabeth and Lina Sistani, 2003, “The Other *Then*, the Other *Now*, the Other *Within*: Stereotypical Images and Narrative Captions of the Turk in Northern and Central Greece”, Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 195-197.

⁹⁴ Milas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Hellinon kai Tourkon: Scholika vivlia, Istorioграфия, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa, (Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature, and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria , p. 307.

inconsistencies and lacks concerning the size and power of the Ottoman Empire and it is referred to as ‘the giant with its feet made of clay’.⁹⁵

The image of Greek school teachers about the Turks is not far from that presented in the schoolbooks. According to the results of a questionnaire⁹⁶ that Greek school teachers were asked to answer, they tend to deny any similarity to or interaction with the Turks, even though the two people were living together and were in contact for 400 years. However, they seem to contradict themselves when they admit that indeed there was an influence from the Turks which was negative.⁹⁷ In that sense, the negative characteristics of the Greek nation are remnants of the Ottoman rule and its contact with the Turks: laziness, backwardness, corruption, arbitrary rule.⁹⁸ The Ottoman rule signifies a period of hibernation for the Greek nation which is resurrected when it gets free from it.⁹⁹

Besides school books and historiography nationalistic ideas about the other are also expressed by the Autocephalous Church of Greece. The Church claims the role of the protector of the Christians during the ‘400 years of slavery’ under Ottoman rule and

⁹⁵ Frangoudaki, Anna, 1997, “‘Apogonoi’ Ellinon ‘apo ti Mykinaiki epohi’: I Analysi ton Egheiridion Istorias”, (‘Descendants’ Greeks from the ‘Mycenean Era’: Analysing History Schoolbooks), in Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona (eds.), ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 367-370.

⁹⁶ Part of a research on ethnocentrism in education. See Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona, 1997, ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria.

⁹⁷ Frangoudaki, Anna, 1997, “Oi Politikes Synepies tis anistorikis parousias tou Ellinikou Ethnous”, (The Political Consequences of the a-historic Presentation of the Greek Nation), in Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona (eds.), ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 189-190.

⁹⁸ Koliopoulos, John C. and Thanos M. Veremis, 2002, Greece, The Modern Sequel. From 1831 to the Present, London: Hurst & Company, p. 260. I should say that these characteristics are recognized outside from the Greek ‘self’ with reference to the West (Hellenist position). However in moments of introspection they become inherent to Greek ‘self’, a part of his/her Romeic identity. See Herzfeld, Michael, 1986, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece, New York: Pella, p. 20.

⁹⁹ Milas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Hellinon kai Tourkon: Scholika vivlia, Istoriographia, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa, (Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature, and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria, p. 312.

that of the savior of the Greek language.¹⁰⁰ Archbishop Christodoulos¹⁰¹ had used a nationalistic political discourse to refer to the enemies of the Greek people among them the Muslims, the Jews, the Americans, the Turks, all of whom want to destroy Hellenism. According to him the only institution that can protect and save Hellenism is the Church.¹⁰²

This is the position of Neo-orthodoxy, whose supporters believe that the combination of the ancient ‘Hellenic character’ with Christianity makes the Greeks unique. The supporters of this thesis, which is a result of the Hellenic-Christian synthesis, are strongly anti-western and anti-Turkish. According to Giannaras, a most known representative of Neo-orthodoxy, the ‘insolent and militarist Turkey’ never stops its outrageous claims against Greece. It desires to expand from China to the Adriatic Sea, and that is why it helps ‘Skopje’, Albania and Muslim Bosnians in order to create a Turkish-Muslim curtain in the Balkans.¹⁰³

Another important medium that plays a significant role in the propagation of the perceptions about the other is press and television. The Greek media don’t just perpetuate these perceptions but they even go beyond that, casting oil on fire whenever they refer to the ‘Other’.

For example, before and during the escalation of the Imia/Kardak crisis, most media in the two countries engaged in extreme ‘hate speech and war mongering’. The

¹⁰⁰ See the myth of the *Krifo Scholio* mentioned in this chapter.

¹⁰¹ He passed away this year.

¹⁰² Chrysoloras, Nikos, “Orthodoxy and Greek National Identity: An analysis of Greek Nationalism in light of A. D. Smith’s Theoretical Framework”, p. 18, available at <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW7/GSW%206/Nikos%20Chrysoloras%20Paper.pdf>

¹⁰³ Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, *I Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”*, (Greece and the Danger from the East), Athens: Polis, p. 88.

Greek media appeared to be more aggressive than the Turkish ones.¹⁰⁴ Titles written in newspapers and statements made at TV stations are indicative: “Turkish provocation”, “The Turks grew insolent. Now they lay claim to a Greek island”, Turkey was presented as the “eastern hyena” and Turks as “the barbaric Hordes of the East”, “the butchers of our region”. When Turkish soldiers landed on the other islet, the media talked of “Invasion of Turks”, “The Turks humiliated us”, “The Turkish crescent on an islet of ours”, “Imia, the new Manzikert for Europe”. Comments on the Turkish people were degrading: “The Turks are scums”, “opium-smokers and cowards”, “a mob”, “the most hateful people in the world”, “omnivorous” “Tourkalades”. Turkish claims on Aegean islands were encountered as follows: “Ciller threatens us with war, Ciller wants 1.000 islands!”, “Why not? Ciller for Imia? We for Constantinople which is beyond any doubt Greek! Do you have any objection?”. USA and EU appeared to support the Turkish side: “The Allies are pro-Turkish Pilates”, “With American backing the game in Imia”, “Filthy American plan with Turkish executioners. We are heading for war”. The crashed Greek helicopter appeared to have been fired by the Turks: “The Turks shot down our helicopter in Imia and murdered the 3 intrepid men in cold blood”, “The ‘vertigo’ was Turkish bullets”. The Greek media insisted on making this claims even when it was made known that the helicopter fell because of a technical breakdown. After the incident, titles appeared claiming that “Ankara is preparing a new hot incident in the Aegean”.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Dimitras Panayote Elias, “The apotheosis of hate speech: the near-success of (Greek and Turkish) media in launching war”, in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), ‘Hate Speech’ in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights 1998, p. 66.

¹⁰⁵ For a more detailed description of titles and statements made by the Greek Media see Neofitistos Vasiliki, 1998, “The Greek Media on the Imia/Kardak Conflict”, in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), ‘Hate Speech’ in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, pp. 71-77.

The presentation of the ‘other’ in the Imia/Kardak crisis contributed to the perpetuation of all the accumulated stereotypes and misperceptions about the ‘other’. Whenever a tension between the two states cropped up, a distorted image of the ‘other’ would be reproduced again and again by the media, using a highly sensationalized nationalistic discourse.

According to Heraclidis, it seems that Greeks need the Turks to be ‘barbarian’ otherwise their self-esteem is in danger. In that sense, hatred for Turkey equals love for the Greek motherland. If someone declares, with every chance given, how horrible the Turks are, it is like declaring his/her great love and adoration for Greece, thus, proving how much Greek he/she is.¹⁰⁶ This is the result of a national identity constructed with reference to a negative other.

¹⁰⁶ Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”, (Greece and the Danger from the East), Athens: Polis, p. 73.

Chapter 3

The Turkish-Greek Rapprochement from 1999 until today

After the Imia/Kardak and the Öcalan crisis, Greek-Turkish relations took a U-turn. The end of the cold war and the upheavals in the Balkan region that followed caused the two states to redefine their policies towards each other. The collapse of a stable Cold War environment, where the two countries had found their positions in, created insecurity and disorientation.¹⁰⁷ The aforementioned crises can be understood in this highly uncertain environment.

However, these crises functioned as catalysts to the improvement of the Greek Turkish relations. Thus, the Imia/Kardak crisis can be seen as a “blessing in disguise” because the United States and the European Union exercised pressure, especially to the Greek side, to de-escalate the crisis and forced the Greek government to accept to get involved in a dialogue with Turkey.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, as a result of the Öcalan crisis, some Greek officials who followed a hard and uncompromising line in the relations with Turkey, among them Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos,¹⁰⁹ were dismissed. The new Foreign Minister, Georgios Papandreou was moderate and willing to initiate a dialogue with Turkey.

The Greek foreign minister talked with his counterpart in a meeting concerning the Kosovo refugees on April, 1999, since both Greece and Turkey were involved in the Kosovo operation as NATO allies. In the summer, the two foreign ministers exchange

¹⁰⁷ See Gündoğdu, Ayten, 2001, “Identities in question: Greek-Turkish relations in a period of transformation?”, *Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 107-108.

¹⁰⁸ Athanassopoulou Ekavi, 1997, “Blessing in Disguise? The Imia-Kardak Crisis and Greek-Turkish Relations”, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 97.

¹⁰⁹ In 1997 he had stated: “We have nothing to do with Turkey. A man can’t discuss things with murders, rapists and thieves.” In Gündoğdu, Ayten, 2001, “Identities in question: Greek-Turkish relations in a period of transformation?”, *Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 107.

letters¹¹⁰ and they met again at a UN meeting on Kosovo, in New York, on 30 June 1999 and decided to start a dialogue on low politics issues.¹¹¹ They agreed to establish bilateral committees¹¹² to deal with these issues of mutual interest in order to build mutual confidence, while the high politics issues, such as the Aegean and Cyprus were not discussed. The product of these meetings were nine bilateral agreements signed by early 2000, on cooperation on customs administration, economic cooperation, promotion and protection of investments, cooperation on environmental protection, cooperation on tourism, maritime transport, science and technology, cultural cooperation and combating crime, especially terrorism, organized crime, illicit drug trafficking and illegal immigration.¹¹³

These first timid steps towards a Greek-Turkish rapprochement were followed by an unexpected event: two natural catastrophes came to shake not just the ground but also the perceptions of the negative 'other'. On 17 August 1999 a severe earthquake of 7.5 degrees of Richter Scale hit the area of Marmara in Turkey. Buildings fell apart and people were trapped under the debris. More than 15,000 people lost their lives and 200,000 were left homeless. Some weeks later, on 7 September 1999 Athens was also hit by a smaller scale earthquake (5.6 Richter).

¹¹⁰ On 24 May 1999, Cem wrote a letter to Papandreou and proposed talks on the issue of terrorism and also the development of a plan for the two countries. Papandreou replied on 25 July 1999 and proposed a dialogue on a wider range of topics such as tourism, environment, culture, organized crime, etc. See Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation: A year of Rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London – New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 45-46, 50-51.

¹¹¹ Bertrand, Gilles, 2002, "Le rapprochement Greco-Turc : Dirigeants Charismatiques, opinion publique et integration regionale", Etudes Balkaniques : état de savoir et pistes de recherche, Paris, 19 et 20 decembre, p. 14 and Heraclides, Alexis, 2004, "The Greek-Turkish Conflict: Towards Resolution and Reconciliation", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, Routledge: London and New York, pp. 75-76.

¹¹² These committees met in Ankara on 26-27 July and in Athens on 29 July. See Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation: A year of Rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London – New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 54-55.

¹¹³ Heraclides, Alexis, 2004, "The Greek-Turkish Conflict: Towards Resolution and Reconciliation", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, Routledge: London and New York, p. 78.

What was amazing in the earthquake incidents was that in both cases help came from the 'other' side. It was the 'enemy' who stretched a helping hand to the suffering neighbor. After the earthquake in Turkey, Greece was among the first countries to send well-equipped rescuers (EMAK, unit for facing natural disasters), fire department disaster workers, doctors, quake damage experts, medical and food supplies, tents etc. The Greek people were deeply affected by the drama of their neighbor and contributed to the aid operation. An amount of 24 million Drachmas (\$75,000) was raised by ordinary Greek people for a donation to the victims of the earthquake in Turkey. Also, there was a coordination of the municipalities of five major Greek cities for the distribution of the humanitarian aid, called 'Operation Solidarity'.¹¹⁴

Turkey reciprocated this help when Athens was struck by an earthquake, sending also a rescue team (AKUT), doctors and supplies. Although the earthquake was of a much smaller scale and there were only 140 deaths (compared to 15,000 in Turkey) the Turkish response was immediate. Turkish officials tried to reach their Greek counterparts to send their condolences and also ordinary Turkish citizens expressed wishes for quick recovery.¹¹⁵

The role of the media in this case was important in positively influencing the public opinion by presenting the damages and inspiring empathy for the victims. The Greek press stressed that the Greeks mourned for the Turks. For example, a Greek film producer said: "I was very distressed on hearing about this catastrophe. It was as though it was happening to my own people. I sincerely wish you all a speedy recovery. Please let me know what I can do." A Greek woman offered to host homeless survivors of the

¹¹⁴ For more details on the the reaction of the Greek Government and public see Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation: A year of Rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London – New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 57-60.

¹¹⁵ See Ibid., pp. 68-70.

earthquake in Turkey saying: “My door is open to any family which has suffered from the earthquake. If they cannot come here I will give the equivalent of ten years’ rent-money to one of these families.” A Greek man offered to donate his kidney to one of the survivors of the earthquake in Turkey.¹¹⁶ The aid coming from Greece really touched the Turkish people. A Turkish citizen said: “After all I realized that I like the Greeks. One of the news items which consoles us during these hard times is the gesture of brotherhood displayed by Greece.” The image of Turkish rescue workers pulling a child out of the wreckage was conveyed by a Greek correspondent in that way: “It’s the Turks! They’ve got the little boy! They saved him...”¹¹⁷

The press really re-constructed the image of the ‘other’. The title of a Greek newspaper article about the earthquake in Turkey cried: “We are all Turks!” and a Turkish news paper thanked the Greeks in Greek: “Efharisto poli, file!” (Thank you, friend!)¹¹⁸ The Greek journalist Anna Stergiou criticizing the policies of the governments wrote:

When we saw the corpses of the Turkish mothers and babies, our eyes were filled with tears. Maybe these same mothers would be crying over their children after a possible Greek-Turkish conflict... We have been spending millions of drachmas for armament, and now we feel something that we never felt before... The pains of these people left a sour taste in us and there was a lump in our throats. As we see the victims of the earthquake in the neighboring country, we feel as if this lump will strangle us.¹¹⁹

The Turkish journalist Stelyo Berberakis made a similar commentary: “If the leaders on both sides of the Aegean can leave their political interest aside for a moment, and act

¹¹⁶ Ayman, S. Gulden, “Springtime in the Aegean”, Privateview, spring 2000, p. 57.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.58.

¹¹⁸ Gündoğdu, Ayten, 2001, “Identities in question: Greek-Turkish relations in a period of transformation?”, Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal, Vol. 5, No. 1, p.112.

¹¹⁹ Quoted in Ibid., p.112.

according to the real feelings of the people, then maybe the painful experiences can be left under the rubbles.”¹²⁰ The Turkish journalist Can Dunder’s comment is indicative of the change of perceptions:

You Nicos, with the helping hand you provided, not only saved our daughters and sons, but also took away a century-old prejudice from our lands... We are just like two brothers who have found each other after so many years... We were bloody enemies just a few days ago; and we have become blood brothers after the earthquake.¹²¹

Tragic though it might be, the earthquakes united the Greek and Turkish people in a strange way. This time the ‘other’ was not coming to fight ‘us’ but to help us and support us at a difficult moment. Thanks to independent and unprejudiced media coverage of the tragedy and of the rescue operations, Greeks and Turks came to realize that the ‘other’ was a natural human being and had nothing to do with the caricature they have learned to hate. As Keridis puts it:

Natural disasters can remind quarrelsome neighbors of the importance of what unites them rather than what divides them. After all, neighbors share a common region that often requires joint management. From time to time, nature has a way of making a mockery of the artificial borders drawn by competing nations.¹²²

In the post-quake period the Greek-Turkish relations made vast strides towards reconciliation. The most important event that brought together the two governments was Greece’s support to Turkish candidacy in becoming a full member of the EU in the

¹²⁰ Rumelili, Bahar, 2005, “The European Union and Cultural Change in Greek-Turkish Relations”, Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflicts Studies, No. 17, p 11.

¹²¹ Quoted in Gundogdu, Ayten, 2001, “Identities in question: Greek-Turkish relations in a period of transformation?”, Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 112.

¹²² Keridis, Dimitris, 2006, “Earthquakes, Diplomacy, and New Thinking in Foreign Policy”, The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 30: 1, pp. 209-210.

Helsinki summit, held on 10 December 1999.¹²³ As the two Foreign Ministers stated, the Greek-Turkish rapprochement was given a new impetus by the will of both societies to cooperate. George Papandreou wrote upon that matter: “Through their moving expressions of solidarity, the citizens of Greece and Turkey effectively coined a new political term: ‘seismic diplomacy’...They taught us that mutual interests can and must outweigh tired animosities.”¹²⁴ Ismail Cem made a similar statement: “As representatives of Turkey and Greece, George and I are standing before you today for one simple reason: We have faithfully translated the feelings of the Turkish and Greek peoples into policies and acts.”¹²⁵

The good climate in Greek-Turkish relations was preserved even after the change of government in both states. Especially from the Greek side, the government continued to support the Turkish EU candidacy even though Cyprus entered the EU without a solution to its problem in May 2004. Greece was not eager to support Cyprus at its effort to make Turkey sign the customs union protocol which would constitute an act of formal recognition of the Republic of Cyprus, because it didn’t wish to upset its good relations with Turkey.¹²⁶

Also, in 2004, the new Prime Minister, Kostas Karamanlis, welcomed Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to Athens. It was the first time that a Turkish prime minister was visiting Greece since Turgut Özal’s visit sixteen years earlier. At that occasion Karamanlis stated: ‘a rapprochement between Greece and Turkey began five years ago, and it continues very satisfactorily...Relations have acquired a directness, which is very

¹²³ See Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation: A year of Rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London – New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 97-99.

¹²⁴ Quoted in Gündoğdu, Ayten, 2001, “Identities in question: Greek-Turkish relations in a period of transformation?”, Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 106.

¹²⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 106.

¹²⁶ Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, “Greek-Turkish Rapprochement under New Democracy”, The International Spectator, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 240-241.

important.’ The Greek government continues to support steadily Turkey’s EU accession because it believes that the bilateral problems can best be resolved within the EU framework.¹²⁷

Despite the development of friendly relations after 1999, there are two major problems that need to be solved between Turkey and Greece and these are the Aegean issue which is a direct bilateral problem and the Cyprus problem which may not be a bilateral problem but has the power to affect Greek-Turkish Relations. Concerning the Aegean, the two countries have different approaches in solving these issues. On the one hand, Greece wants to preserve legal and de facto status quo in the Aegean Sea and believes that the best way to resolve the disputes is by resorting to international justice. On the other hand, Turkey calls for revision of the status quo in the Aegean Sea and wants to engage in bilateral dialogue and negotiations with Greece.¹²⁸

The Cyprus problem was supposed to be solved before May 2004, when the island entered the EU as full member state. However, the two parties were unable to reach to an agreement and the finding of a solution was transferred to the future. Concerning Cyprus it is Turkey that wants the preservation of the status quo while Greece desires a revision.

These two problems constitute the real challenges to the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement and pose an obstacle to further amelioration of bilateral relations as they remain unsolved and as much as they have the power to produce negative feelings and suspicion between Turkish and Greek people.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 243-244.

¹²⁸ See Heraclides, Alexis, 2004, “The Greek-Turkish Conflict: Towards Resolution and Reconciliation”, in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, Routledge: London and New York, pp. 81-83.

Chapter 4

How the Greeks think about the Turks after the rapprochement:

Persistence of stereotypes and change

Although Greek-Turkish relations are in a period of rapprochement and cooperation, the stereotypes that Greeks have about Turks seem to persist.

According to a survey¹²⁹ conducted in 2006 in Greece and Turkey, 77.7% of the Greeks believed that Turkey poses the main threat to Greece. Another research¹³⁰ showed that 70.5% of the Greeks asked had a negative or rather negative opinion about Turkey. On the question: ‘How do you judge the policy of Turkish government toward Greece’, 36.4% of the Greeks that took part at the research found it arrogant, 29.4% found it suspicious, 28.6% thought it is hostile and 25.6% thought it is revisionist. To the question whether Turkey has territorial claims against Greece or not, 73.4% of the Greeks answered yes or rather yes. It is obvious that even after a good climate in Turkish-Greek relations, Greeks are reserved and suspicious against Turkey.

Theodossopoulos who conducted anthropological research in Patras, a Greek city on the South, found that although Greeks recognize their prejudices towards the Turks, they are unwilling to challenge the history from which these prejudices are created. So, whenever an incident – like the dogfights above the Aegean – occurs between the two countries, they are very easy to blame the other side telling: ‘Look

¹²⁹ For the results in Greece and Turkey see Tsiordas, Dimitris (ed.), 2007, “Tourkoi autoi ki emeis Romioi”, (They Turks and we Rums), *Eleftherotypia*, (10-06-2007), available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=110,id=20573804,26245100,34135404

¹³⁰ The research was carried out by Kapa research from 16 to 21 January 2008 and 1,910 people from Greece and 1,038 people from Turkey took part. Research results available at <http://www.kapa-research.com>

what the Turks did again...How can we have peace when the Turks behave like this?'.

Here is what a businessman has to say about this:

When I finished school my engagement with business and my profession helped me forget my childhood enmity towards Turks. But the continuous aggressive activity on the Turkish side forced me to remember what I learned at school. There was the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the infringements of the Turkish planes over the Aegean, the Turkish threats of war during the Imia incident. Occasions like these proved what I learned at school to be right.¹³¹

Another account on Greek-Turkish Rapprochement comes from a Greek Army Officer:

Listen, people talk about friendship. My mum for instance uses the term 'friendship' and she asks can you trust the Turks to be your friends? And she is being hopeful but slightly suspicious. What I have to say about this is 'Let's be reasonable.' We are not talking about friendship between people here. Two countries are enemies or not enemies.¹³²

Despite positive feelings of the Greeks towards the Turks' plight after the earthquake, negative perceptions seem to persist. Here is what a Greek inhabitant of Volos, a town in central Greece, has to say about the Turks:

You cannot expect anything good from the Turks. Our relationship with them is marked by history to be one full of animosity and hatred. Since Constantinople has fallen into their hands, they were trying for four hundred years, to exterminate the Greeks and they never quite really came to terms with the fact that we liberated ourselves. Their eye is still fixed upon us. What to mention first? The expulsion of Asia Minor Greeks, the Pontians, the

¹³¹ Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, 2004, "The Turks and Their Nation in the Worldview of Greeks in Patras", History and Anthropology, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 39.

¹³² Kirtsoglou, Elisabeth, 2006, "Phantom Menace: What Junior Greek Army Officers Have to say about Turks and Turkey", South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 168.

Cypriots? They always wanted everything, even our sea [the Aegean], and if possible the very air we breathe.¹³³

In this statement we can discern the influence of historical stereotypes about the Turks projected to the present: The Turks have always treated the Greeks in an unfair manner and they continue like that.

Again, the Turkish-Greek Cooperation is considered with suspicion and hesitation. Suspicion, as well as reproduction of the well-established stereotypes, is also evident in the discourse of *Antiphonitis*, a Greek journal published in Komotini, a town in Western Thrace. This journal adopts and spreads the image of the ‘Kemalist Turk’ when it refers to Turkey and to the Thracian minority. Indeed, many articles refer to the activities of ‘Kemalist agents’ within the minority and argue that this activities pose a threat on Greek Thrace.¹³⁴

Suspicion and hesitation is also the case at a series of workshops that took place in Istanbul and in Athens as a part of the Turkish-Greek Dialogue Project in 2003 and 2004. At these workshops, 42 Greeks who participated in the Project were asked to write down a list of complaints answering the question: ‘What do you think the negative qualities of the Turks are? / What do you not like about the Turks?’. The answers the participants gave were revealing as how the Greeks thought about the Turks. They more or less sketched an image of an arrogant Turk because he used to be a ruler of a big empire, i.e. the Ottoman Empire and because he likes to remind the Greeks that Turkey is a big country. He wants to feel superior when he talks with the Greeks but he does that only to hide his insecurity and low self-esteem and he thinks that the West and the

¹³³ Kirtsoglou, Elisabeth and Lina Sistani, 2003, “The Other *Then*, the Other *Now*, the Other *Within*: Stereotypical Images and Narrative Captions of the Turk in Northern and Central Greece”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 199.

¹³⁴ See Tsibiridou, Fotini, 2006, “Writing about Turks and Powerful Others: Journalistic Heteroglossia in Western Thrace”, *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 129-144.

Greeks conspire against him. He lives in an oppressive state where the military controls all aspects of life and no freedom of expression exists. According to the Greeks, the Turk accepts this situation in his state because he is persuaded easily by the politicians, lacks critical thought and he is unwilling to change his life because he is conservative and conformist. He might seem polite but he is rather cunning and hides his real intentions. He is a nationalist and even chauvinist because he supports a revisionist army and bad politicians that delay solving bilateral problems such as the Cyprus issue. He is influenced by an ethnocentric educational system and does not understand 'our' culture. His friendship is superfluous and he is ignorant of a common heritage with the Greeks. He sticks to old hatreds and does not respect human rights and democracy. In that sense, the Greeks believe that the above described Turk poses a treat on them.¹³⁵

I should add that there are some more moderate views expressed by those who consider the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in a positive manner but they always tend to blame Turkey for tensions and bad relations. In this respect a young Patrinios (inhabitant of Patras) states that:

The people of Turkey are very friendly with the Greeks, but if they want to hope for a better future they should get rid of the military which governs their state. They will have to make their country more democratic and deal with the danger of Islamic fundamentalism. They should also stop bothering Greece with this unnecessary friction about the Aegean. If all these happen, then and only then, peace and progress will come to both our countries.¹³⁶

In spite of these well established views on the Turks, one could argue that the Greek state and society have started to recognize other 'others'. In this respect, the

¹³⁵ Millas, Hecules, 2004, The Imagined 'Other' as National Identity, Greeks & Turks, Ankara: CSDP, pp. 25-26.

¹³⁶ Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, 2007, "Politics of friendship, worldviews of mistrust: The Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in local conversation", in Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios (ed.), When the Greeks think about the Turks: the view from anthropology, London: Routledge, p. 199.

emergence of the contemporary Macedonian question has turned the Greeks' attention to the north. As a result of the dissolution of Yugoslavia a new state was formed on its south. On 8 September 1991, the Republic of Macedonia proclaimed its independence. Immediately, there were objections by Greece concerning the use of the name 'Macedonia' and the flag of the new state. This happened because in Greece there is also a province called Macedonia and the emblem used on the flag of the new state, the Vergina star, was engraved on a gold larnax found in the Greek town Vergina. The Greeks, strongly protested against, what they perceived to be, the appropriation of their national symbols and their history. The name of the state changed into FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), although afterwards a number of states recognized it with its constitutional name that is Republic of Macedonia while Greece refers to it as 'Republic of Skopje', and the Vergina star was dropped from the flag. The Greeks would not accept the use of the name 'Macedonia' for the state and the designation 'Macedonian' for its people and language.¹³⁷ The two states have engaged in talks in order to agree on a mutually accepted name and since then Greece blocks the participation of the Republic of Macedonia/FYROM to international organizations such as NATO and EU. One could argue that from the 1990s onwards it was this newly founded Republic that took the place of the 'significant other' in the minds of the Greeks.

Moreover, the collapse of the communism in early 1990s affected Greece in another way. It was at that time that Greece started to accept flows of immigrants coming mainly from the Balkans and the wider Eastern Europe region as well as from the Middle East. The majority of these migrants come from the Balkans and especially

¹³⁷ See Danforth, Loring M., 1995, The Macedonian Question: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

from Albania.¹³⁸ The presence of migrants in the Greek society has raised feelings of xenophobia and suspicion. Indicative of this situation are some incidents involving migrants which caused disputes in the Greek Media. One of those happened in Nea Mihaniona, in Thessaloniki when an Albanian student, Odise Cenaj, was selected to hold the Greek flag at the parade for the national celebration of 28 October twice, one in 2000 and the other in 2003, because he had gathered the highest score¹³⁹. The event received excessive media attention and the local community took over the school where the young Albanian attended his courses, expressing its objection to the idea of a foreigner holding the Greek flag. The student was asked by panel guests and journalists if he was feeling more Greek than Albanian and eventually strong opposition forced him to resign from carrying the Greek flag in both cases, even though there were people who supported his right to do so.¹⁴⁰ Fear and suspicion toward migrants also indicates that they constitute another 'other' for the Greek society. We could also argue that the presence of migrants, with all the controversies it has created, it initiated at least to some part of the Greek society a process of taking into account the other and seeing him/her as an equal member of the Greek society, a process which involves implications for a redefinition of the Greek national identity.

As much as it seems that the Macedonian question and the influx of migrants have temporarily diverted Greece's attention from its 'classic enemy', Turkey, they might also have a small contribution to the welcoming of the Greek-Turkish *Rapprochement* as something positive within an environment of negative experiences

¹³⁸ Cavounidis, Jennifer, 2004, "Migration to Greece from the Balkans", *South Eastern Europe Journal of Economics*, 2, pp. 35-59.

¹³⁹ In Greece, students that gather the highest scores are given the honor to hold the Greek flag at the parades of national celebrations.

¹⁴⁰ Karakatsanis, Neovi M. and Jonathan Swarts, 2007, "Attitudes toward the Xeno: Greece in Comparative Perspective", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 117-118.

with the neighbors. Thus, even though national stereotypes and images persist and suspicion about the intentions of the 'Other' is evident, something is changing in Greek-Turkish Relations after 1999 and it is not only between the governments. People from both sides of the Aegean are actively involved in the rapprochement process, in ways I will examine in the next chapter. This fact creates optimism for the future of Greek-Turkish Relations. Koukoudakis believes that 'the increase of interaction and socialization and of the so called human touch between the societies of the two countries aiming to delete prejudices and suspicion that exists for the 'Other'' is an important thing and that

the involvement of citizens in the rapprochement effort between Greece and Turkey will lead eventually to its legitimization as a policy in the minds of the electorates in both countries. In other words, for the first time in the history of the bilateral relations of Greece and Turkey there will be a bottom up policy transformation towards rapprochement and reconciliation.¹⁴¹

It's hard to tell whether this assumption stands true. Probably, the existence of the bilateral problems will continue to be a bone of contention between the two countries and the persistence of negative images and perceptions about the 'Other' will keep people from gaining a clear view about who the other really is. In that context, as contacts between Greeks and Turks are increasing, it is interesting to observe whether these interactions lead to a more differentiated view of the other than that offered by nationalist discourse.

¹⁴¹ Koukoudakis, George, 2006, "The Role of Citizens in the Current Greek-Turkish Rapprochement", Paper for the 56th annual Conference of Political Studies Association, April 4-6, pp. 13-14.

Chapter 5

Contact with the 'Other': Factors that may change perceptions of Greeks towards the Turks

Nowadays, after the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement, opportunities to meet and obtain a better understanding of the other have increased considerably. According to Bahar Rumelili, there are various actors in both countries that play a role in the course of Greek-Turkish Relations. She distinguishes five groups: the first group consists of politicians, the second group of former politicians, diplomats, think-tanks, the third group comprises journalists, artists, educators and grassroots activists that are politically active, the fourth group comprises actors that may not be politically active but have relations with the other country such as businessmen, tourists, mixed couples and minority members, and finally there are simple people who do not have any direct relations with the other country.¹⁴² Of all these actors, I am interested in those that belong to the third and fourth category, that is to say people who are not politicians or former politicians or simple people that have never met the other, but those that might be politically and socially active and they have met the other through their activities. To these two groups I would like to add refugees¹⁴³ who hold first and second hand experience with the other, and immigrants¹⁴⁴ abroad who also had direct contact with Turks.

¹⁴² Rumelili, Bahar, 2005, "The European Union and Cultural Change in Greek-Turkish Relations", *Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflict Studies*, No. 17, p. 3.

¹⁴³ I mean refugees of the Exchange of Populations who might be of first (this is difficult since most of them have passed away), second, third or fourth generation. This is so since even the younger generations continue to maintain a refugee identity based on the stories and narratives of the older about their 'homelands' and the life they lived there.

¹⁴⁴ Greeks and Turks who have migrated abroad to western countries with a different cultural background something that enabled them to recognize their commonalities.

First, I discuss the case of refugees, migrants and minority members in both countries. These are of particular interest since particularly refugees and even so minorities are groups of people that stand in-between the two countries.

According to Hercules Millas, who conducted research on the images of Greeks and Turks in schoolbooks, historiography and literature, contact with the 'real other' may improve the image of the other. Millas found that most of these works depicted the other in a negative way with the exception of some literary works where the image of the other was more complex and differentiated. This dichotomy between the 'negative historical/abstract other' and the rather 'positive real/concrete other'¹⁴⁵ has an explanation. The first one was dictated by nationalist perception that wants the other to be enemy, while the second one was the result of personal experience of the writer with the other. Millas found that Greek writers who lived in Asia Minor before the Exchange of Populations in 1923 presented a more diversified image of the Turks than those writers who lived in Greek lands:

Greek writers who actually met and lived with Turks portray a much more realistic picture of the 'other' relative to the authors who sketch an imaginary 'other'. Some Greek writers, who lived in Asia Minor within the Ottoman lands and closer to the Turks, were I. Venezis, Str. Mirivilis, N. Politis and M. Iordanidou. These authors wrote mostly about recent times, about their experiences (1890-1950). Writers who lived only in Greek lands, e.g. M. Karagastis, Th. Kastanakis, P. Prevelekis, and distanced from Turks, wrote about 'historical' Turks, about imagined Turks and 'old times' (sixteenth to early nineteenth century). Literary characters and events that are drawn from 'life', in other words heroes who are inspired by concrete personalities, are much more balanced and portray complex

¹⁴⁵ Milas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Ellinon kai Tourkon. Scholika vivlia. Istoriographia. Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa, (Images of Greeks and Turks, Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 353-355.

and realistic characters. It should be remembered that the same trend is noticed in Turkish literature too.¹⁴⁶

The image that the refugees had about the other before the exchange of populations is the result of years of symbiosis and contact while this image alters after their separation. Examining the short and long-term effects of the exchange of populations on people, Renee Hirschon argues that:

The separation of peoples can be seen to produce serious problems in the longer term, and here the case of Greece and Turkey is illustrative. Through time, the process of separation rather than symbiosis inevitably entails diminished contact. The loss of shared experiences is accompanied by growing ignorance of the ways of others; thus, separation entails the loss of ground for communication. What is lost is familiarity which carries with it the possibility for understanding and respect, and this is all too often replaced by suspicion, hostility and the inability to cooperate. At the socio-psychological level a process of projecting negative stereotypes onto the 'other' exacerbates the collective alienation. This process is particularly acute in the case of the violent 'unmixing' of populations which have had closely interwoven relations over long periods of time.¹⁴⁷

However, refugees who had face-to-face contact with the other seem to keep memories of good relations with the other, thus resisting to negative stereotyping. This is also the case with some Greek refugees interviewed by Renée Hirschon. In their oral accounts perceptions of the other are much more varied and different than the stereotypical images suggested by nationalist discourse. Most of the refugees remember

¹⁴⁶ Milas, Hercules, 2004, "National Perception of the 'Other' and the Persistence of some Images", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.), Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 60. For more diversified image of the Greek in Turkish literature see Milas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Ellinon kai Tourkon. Scholika vivlia, Istoriographia, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa, (Images of Greeks and Turks, Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 251-256.

¹⁴⁷ Hirschon, Renee, 2004, "'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey, New York-Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 10.

that they got on well with the Turks and even during the troubled times of war they are reserved to blame or hate the Turks. That is what one woman has to say about the Turks:

They were good; we were bad. We were fine there [before]. Afterwards, the Greeks came and did whatever they wanted with the Tourkales [Turkish women]; they cut off the breasts of the woman. So, of course, when they left, the Turks did what they liked to us.¹⁴⁸

These cases of the image of the Turks in some literary works whose authors lived in Asia Minor before the Exchange of Populations and the accounts of Asia Minor refugees about the Turks are very important since they prove that knowledge of and familiarity with the other potentially can help people form a more balanced and spherical opinion about the other.

Today, children and grandchildren of refugees from both sides of the Aegean cross the Greek-Turkish borders in search of their roots in the neighboring country, their homeland. They try to find and visit the houses of their grandfathers and they seek to establish contact with the other. Feeling the uprooting as a common heritage of the two people, the refugees become friends with one another and make a valuable contribution to the rapprochement of the two neighbors. Sefa Taşkın from Bergama visits often his parents' places in Greece (Lesbos and Greek Macedonia) and he always receives a warm welcome from the Greeks who live there because they themselves are refugees from Turkey. As he states, talking with them they come to the same conclusion: "The 'old homelands' unite us, through food, drink, architecture, habits. We are all children

¹⁴⁸ Hirschon, Renée, 2006, "Knowledge of Diversity: Towards a More Differentiated Set of 'Greek' Perceptions of 'Turks'", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 74.

of refugees and that is why we can live together.”¹⁴⁹ Müfide Pekin, a Cretan Turk says about her visit to Crete: “The Greeks I met in Chania helped me a lot because they were also refugees from Asia Minor and they had relative experiences, if not worse.”¹⁵⁰ Also Greeks of a Pontian origin who visited their grandfathers’ places have only good words to say about the local Turks and their hospitality.

Another category of people that is worth mentioning is the Greek migrants in Europe and especially Germany, who had the chance to meet and interact with Turks. These people describe the experience of this interaction in a positive way. A Greek woman who lived in Germany says on that matter:

When I was in Germany I was working in a restaurant. There was a Turkish woman (*Tourkala*) who was working there too. And although she was Turkish, to be honest I liked her very much. Actually it was because of her that I started learning the German language. Otherwise I wouldn’t be able to communicate with her.¹⁵¹

This is also the case for Greek students in Britain or France where they had the chance to meet Turks and discovered that they had much in common with them in contrast to the ‘Northerners’.¹⁵²

Both the Greek and the Turkish state have seen their minorities with suspicion and they have treated them as foreign bodies, the other within. However, after the Greek-Turkish rapprochement, both minorities emerge as important actors in this process. According to Bahar Rumelili, the Rum-Orthodox minority in Turkey and the

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Koutalianou, Zoyia, 2008, “Ellines kai Tourkoi Anazitoun tis rizis tous”, (Greeks and Turks in Search of their Roots), (24-04-2008), available at

<http://www.emprosnet.gr/emprosnet/news/article.asp?cid=85&uid=2008042444892>

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Koutalianou, Zoyia, *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Kirtsoglou, Elisabeth and Lina Sistani, 2003, “The Other *Then*, the Other *Now*, the Other *Within*: Stereotypical Images and Narrative Captions of the Turk in Northern and Central Greece”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 202.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

Muslim-Turkish minority in Greece hold the key to surpassing the dichotomy between the other and the self, a result of the construction of the Greek and Turkish identities. That is because their identities are different from those of the people of their kin state. They have hybrid identities which are neither wholly Greek nor wholly Turkish.¹⁵³ For example, a Rum from Istanbul describes himself as both Greek and Turkish: “I have two ears. When I go to Turkey I use my Greek ear; and when I am in Greece I listen with my Turkish ear. My brain brings the two together; I am both Grekoturkish and Turkogreek.”¹⁵⁴

Even though minorities still face a lot of problems, in this period, there is a tendency in both Greece and Turkey to face them within the perspective of multiculturalism. Through the promotion of the idea of multiculturalism in Istanbul and recently in Western Thrace, the two minorities have become visible at least from a part of the majority. In that sense, there are certain events organized in order to promote this notion of multiculturalism. For example, there is a food festival organized in Komotini, Western Thrace, which includes plates by the three ethnic groups, Turks, Pomak, Roma, all members of the Muslim minority.¹⁵⁵

Another important thing is that the two minorities have become the object of research by academicians and research centers and conferences are being organized on them. In that sense, the Minority Groups Research Center in Greece is in touch with the Foundation for Lausanne Treaty Immigrants and the two have made joint projects and they have participated in conferences. Through such organizations the voices of the

¹⁵³ Rumelili, Bahar, 2005, “The European Union and Cultural Change in Greek-Turkish Relations”, Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflict Studies, No. 17, p. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Örs, İlay Romain, 2006, “Beyond the Greek and Turkish Dichotomy: The *Rum Polites* of Istanbul and Athens”, South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 82.

¹⁵⁵ For an evaluation of this event see Yakoumaki, Vassiliki, 2006, “Ethnic Turks and ‘Muslims’, and the Performance of Multiculturalism: The Case of the *Dromeno* of Thrace”, South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 145-161.

minorities can be heard. This is particularly important since both minorities and the refugees can be seen as bridges that unite the two countries.¹⁵⁶

Besides the above mentioned bridges that connect Greeks and Turks, Greeks have also the opportunity to come in contact with Turks through arts and media, economic cooperation, educational exchanges, tourism and activities of various NGOs, as it will be elaborated in the following sections.

¹⁵⁶ See <http://www.kemo.gr> and <http://www.mubadele.org>

a. Education

Around the period of the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement and especially after the earthquakes, five new academic departments were founded in Greece, where Greek young people are given the chance to study Turkish language, history and culture. These academic departments are distributed to various Greek towns: there is the Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies at the University of Athens, the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies at the University of Macedonia, the Department of Mediterranean Studies at the University of the Aegean, the Department of Languages, Literature and Culture of the Black Sea Countries and the Department of Balkan Studies at the University of Western Macedonia.

The Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies in Athens started to operate in 2003-2004 and accepts about 60 students every academic year for the specialization of Turkish Studies.¹⁵⁷ According to the Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the department, Athanasios Markopoulos:

The Turkish Studies Department [...] seeks to introduce the academic study of the language, history and culture of a neighboring people with whom the Greek world, in the broadest sense of the word, has been in contact for a very long time; academic as distinct from the sort of amateurishness, ethnocentric bombast, popularization and sentimentality we can easily recognize and – to some extent – understand. The Department's Administrative Committee, and by extension the University of Athens, are of the opinion that these studies will give rise to academics and specialist researchers who, knowing the Turkish world from within, will be equipped to make a substantial contribution to – *inter alia* – the Greek academic community's approach to, and understanding of, this world,

¹⁵⁷ Markopoulos, Athanasios, "The Turkish Studies Department", available at http://www.turkmas.uoa.gr/en/ind_EN.html.

thereby *facilitating unimpeded communication between these two adjacent states on every level, academic, cultural, socio-political and economical* (my emphasis). For it is universally accepted that states and peoples can only draw closer together if sufficient effort is made in the educational sphere to properly convey those historical ‘chapters’ of which a working knowledge will ensure respect for the nature, singularities and the general cultural level of the Other.¹⁵⁸

As posted on its website, the Department gives emphasis to the teaching of Turkish language and literature and the students are taught nine hours per week in Turkish according to their curriculum. Apart from Turkish language knowledge, “the degree aims to provide students with a spherical and holistic knowledge of Turkey” by including lessons concerning ancient and modern history, international relations and culture. It is also important to stress that the department has started Erasmus programs with Turkish Universities and that creates opportunities for contact with Turkish people. Thus, students have the chance to visit Turkey and attend courses at Boğaziçi University, Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul University in Istanbul and at Trakya University in Edirne.¹⁵⁹

In the end of his presentation of the department, Markopoulos stresses that the presence of such a department will

play a part in consigning to the past careless thinking, wild imaginings and mental contortions in the field of political theory; provide solutions to a number of impasses and

¹⁵⁸ Markopoulos, Athanasios, “The Turkish Studies Department”, available at http://www.turkmas.uoa.gr/en/ind_EN.html

¹⁵⁹ “Programma antallaghs foithwn Sokraths/Erasmus”, (Socrates/Erasmus student exchange program), available at http://www.turkmas.uoa.gr/gr/ind_GR.html

syndromes; and, by enhancing our self-confidence, do much to enrich our knowledge and understanding of our neighbors across the Aegean...¹⁶⁰

In addition to all that, the University of Athens and the Department of Turkish and Modern Asia Studies organized the 1st International Symposium on ‘*Turkish Studies Today*’ on 1-2 June 2007. Many Greek Professors and scholars engaged in the study of Ottoman and Modern Turkish History, Language and Culture, participated in this conference and delivered speeches on their particular domain.¹⁶¹ This is indicative of the increasing interest Greek scholars have in Turkey and Turkish Studies.

The Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies was established in 1996 in Thessaloniki and the first students were admitted for the academic year of 1998-1999. According to the Presidential Decree that permitted the establishment of this department, its mission is ‘to cultivate and promote knowledge of the language, history and culture of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental countries and study and develop economic, social and political relations of these countries with Greece’ (Π.Δ. 363/1996, Article 1).¹⁶² At the third year of their studies, students should choose among three areas of specialization (Balkan, Slavic and Oriental) and two fields of study: economic studies which include economic and law courses and social studies which include sociology, history, culture and political science courses. It should be noticed that Turkish is one of

¹⁶⁰ Markopoulos, Athanasios, “The Turkish Studies Department”, available at http://www.turkmas.uoa.gr/en/ind_EN.html

¹⁶¹ See “Io Diethnes Symposio- Oi Tourkikes Spoudes Shmera”, (1st International Symposium- Turkish Studies Today), (30-05-2007), available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/article_827.shtml

¹⁶² “Apostoli kai Stohoi tou Tmimatos”, (Mission and Objectives of the Department), available at <http://www.uom.gr/index.php?tmima=8&categorymenu=2>

the two main languages (the other being Russian) taught during the four years of studies at the Department.¹⁶³

As mentioned on its website, besides Turkish language, the curriculum of this program includes a lot of lessons concerning Turkey such as: Ethnography of Turkey and Middle East, Introduction to Ottomanology, Turkey in the 20th century, Turkish Literature and Culture.

In addition, according to the same webpage, the language professors of this department organize educational trips to foreign universities every summer, where students have the chance to attend language courses and to come in contact with the people that speak the respective language. Turkey is one of the countries student groups of this department have visited.¹⁶⁴

Moreover, the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies cooperates with two Turkish universities: Bogazici University (2008-2010) and Istanbul Bilgi University (2006-2008), through the ERASMUS student exchange program.¹⁶⁵

The Department of Mediterranean Studies was established in 1999 in the island of Rhodos and started to operate in the academic year of 1999-2000. According to the Presidential Decree that permitted the establishment of this department, its mission is:

to cultivate and promote knowledge of language, ancient and modern history, ancient civilization, economic and political structure of Mediterranean countries, emphasizing in South and South-Eastern Mediterranean; the systematic study of comparative linguistics, structure and evolution mainly of the languages of South-Eastern Mediterranean, of

¹⁶³ “Programma spoudwn”, (Program of Studies), available at <http://www.uom.gr/modules.php?op=modload&name=Mathimata&file=index&tmima=8&categorymenu=2>

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ “Sunergazomena Ekpaideutika Idrumata Ypodohis”, available at http://compus.uom.gr/erasmus/?q=partner_institutions

economic, historic and political development ... of the Mediterranean countries among them as well as of their relations with Greece.¹⁶⁶

The curriculum of this department includes courses such as Turkish Language and Culture, History of the Ottoman Empire, Greek-Turkish Relations, Greek-Turkish Linguistic Relations, Contemporary Political Movements in Turkey.¹⁶⁷

The Department of Languages, Literature and Culture of the Black Sea Countries was established in the town of Komotini, in 2000 with the Presidential Decree Π.Δ. 90/2000 and accepted its first students in the same year. Its main mission is

to cultivate, promote and propagate the linguistics, literature and culture of the people of the Black Sea countries, by teaching and research of language [...] and to prepare scientists able to study, research, understand and propagate the languages, literature and culture of the people of the above mentioned countries such as Greeks, Russians, Turks, etc.¹⁶⁸

This department comprises three sectors: Language and Philology, History and Culture and Social Sciences.¹⁶⁹ Its curriculum includes many courses on Turkish Language and Literature as well as Ottoman and Turkish History.¹⁷⁰ Also, students at this department are given the chance to attend courses at Hacettepe University through the ERASMUS student exchange program.¹⁷¹

The Department of Balkan Studies was established in 1999, in Florina. In its educational program are included the studies of Economics, Law, Political Science,

¹⁶⁶ “Idrush”, (Establishment), available at http://www.rhodes.aegean.gr/tms/Γενικές%20Πληροφορίες/ίδρυση_gr.htm

¹⁶⁷ “Endeiktiko programma”, (Indicative Program), available at http://www.rhodes.aegean.gr/tms/Πρόγραμμα%20Σπουδών/ΠΡΟΠΤΥΧΙΑΚΑ/ενδεικτικό_πρόγραμμα_gr.htm

¹⁶⁸ “Istoria”, (History) available at <http://www.bscc.duth.gr/index.php?rm=1&pm=73&sm=59>

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ “Eidikeusi Tourkikis Glwssas, Filologias kai Politismou”, (Specialization of Turkish Language, Philology and Culture), available at <http://www.bscc.duth.gr/index.php?cid=68&st=1>

¹⁷¹ “Antallagi Foithwn”, (Student Exchange), available at <http://www.bscc.duth.gr/index.php?rm=1&pm=75&sm=73>

Social Anthropology, Culture, ancient and modern History, International Relations, Mass Media and Political Communication, Balkan and Russian Languages. The Department 'encourages the intensification of inter-religious and inter-cultural relations of Greece with the Peoples of Balkan Peninsula, of Eastern Europe and Euxine Sea so that to favor the correct neighborhood and communication.'¹⁷²

It seems that the existence of these departments is one of the factors which have contributed to the popularization of and the increase of interest for Turkish language and culture in Greece. In that way, many public and private language centers have included Turkish language to their programs, since there was demand for this. Tina Zogopoulou, the director of such a language center in Athens states that after 2004 there was an increasing demand for Turkish Language and believes that good neighborly relations between the two states are certified by the establishment and operation of departments of Turkish and Oriental studies at Greek universities recently.¹⁷³

It seems that all these departments have a different approach in their way of understanding of the neighboring countries than that used in Greek secondary education. As it is stated in their missions and objectives, besides conducting study and research in a particular neighborly area, they also aim to promote good relations with adjacent to Greece states and move beyond stereotypes and misperceptions about the 'Other' and particularly about Turks. Especially, the Department of Turkish Studies in Athens and the Department of Languages, Literature and Culture of the Black Sea Countries in Komotini directly produce experts on Turkish Studies. The other

¹⁷² "A brief presentation", available at <http://www.balkan.uowm.gr/ep-english.html>

¹⁷³ "Sunenteuksh me thn ka Tina Zogopoulou, Diethuntria tou Ellhnotourkikou Kentrou Glwssas kai Politismou", (Interview with Tina Zogopoulou, Director of the Greek-Turkish Center of Language and Culture), (01-03-2007), available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/article_791.shtml

departments as well dedicate a lot of courses to Turkey including them to a particular area of study (the Balkans, the Mediterranean).

An important thing about these departments is that they organize educational trips to Turkey. Students who learn Turkish Language and are particularly interested in Turkey have the chance to visit this country and attend summer courses on Turkish Language. Besides that, students can apply for Erasmus program and if chosen they do a part of their studies at a Turkish university. These trips on the 'other side', mostly Istanbul, bring the Greek youth in contact with the real 'other'. Thus, Greek students have the chance to discover (or rediscover) for themselves Turkey and Turkish people and they can form their own conclusions and personal opinions about them. This might not always result in change of perceptions but it may be the starting point for a more objective consideration of the 'Other'.

b. Tourism

Tourism is another thing that brings together Greeks and Turks and makes a great opportunity to meet the other. After the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in 1999, the number of Greek and Turkish tourists visiting the ‘other’ country has considerably increased and resulted in cooperation in tourism. We observe a steady increase in the number of Greek tourists visiting Turkey. According to statistical data presented by the Greek ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greece is 8th in the row of the countries that visit Turkey the most. Greek tourists visiting Turkey were increased from 197,258 in 2001 to 280,033 in 2002 and to 393,397 in 2003.

	Country	2003	2002	2001	Change %	
					2003/02	2002/01
1	Germany	3.327.834	3.481.671	2.884.051	-4,42	20,72
2	Russia	1.258.964	946.511	757.446	33,01	24,96
3	G. Britain	1.091.197	1.037.507	845.536	5,17	22,70
4	Bulgaria	1.006.281	834.073	540.452	20,65	54,33
5	Netherlands	938.673	873.278	632.975	7,49	37,96
6	Iran	494.809	432.282	327.146	14,46	32,14
7	France	470.156	522.740	524.170	-10,06	-0,27
8	Greece	393.397	280.033	197.258	40,48	41,96
9	Austria	379.692	377.036	360.363	0,70	4,63
10	Israel	321.094	270.263	310.604	18,81	-12,99
11	Belgium	308.073	313.585	310.296	-1,76	1,06
12	Italy	236.827	210.657	315.286	12,42	-33,19
13	Ukraine	225.514	192.661	177.245	17,05	8,70
14	USA	222.635	247.629	429.563	-10,09	-42,35
15	Sweden	204.175	203.648	200.709	0,26	1,46
16	Other countries	3.078.724	3.032.454	2.805.869	1,53	8,08
	Total	13.958.045	13.256.028	11.618.969	5,30	14,09

Table 1: Number of tourists visiting Turkey in 2001, 2002 and 2003, source: Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, available at <http://agora.mfa.gr/turkey>

According to additional data offered by the Greek Statistical Service, Greek tourists in Turkey amounted to 585.000 in 2005. The number of Turkish tourists visiting Greece is also rising although it is not corresponding to the number of Greek tourists. This is because Turkish citizens have difficulty in getting a visa which is required for a trip to Greece, since Greece belongs to the Schengen border system. They have to apply at least two weeks before the planned trip at the Greek consulates in Istanbul, Izmir and Edirne or the Embassy in Ankara and they have to prepare a lot of documents and pay 40 euros for the visa and extra money for international health insurance.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, Greeks willing to visit Turkey do not have to pay for a visa and after 2007 they can use their ID card as a traveling document.¹⁷⁵

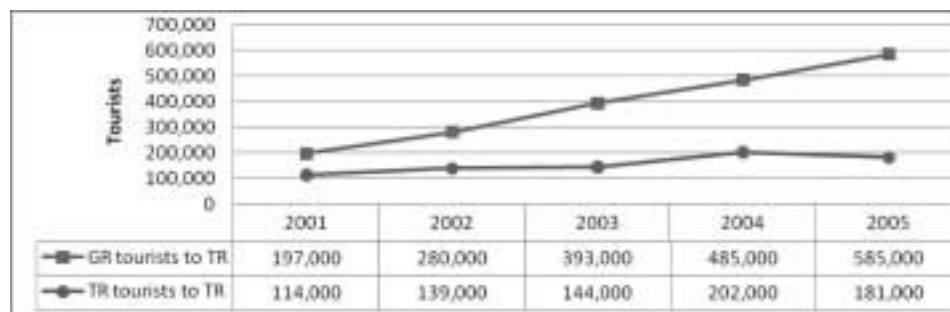


Table 2: Greek tourists to Turkey and Turkish tourists to Greece from 2001 to 2005, source: Greek Statistical Service (www.statistics.gr) in Coulombis, Theodore A. and Alexander E. Kentikelenis, 2007, "Greek-Turkish Relation and the Kantian Democratic Peace Theory", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 526.

The willingness of Greeks to choose Turkey as a holiday destination made the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism to start a campaign in order to attract more

¹⁷⁴ Rumelili, Bahar, 2005, "The European Union and Cultural Change in Greek-Turkish Relations", *Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflicts Studies*, No. 17, p. 25.

¹⁷⁵ The new Greek ID card that write the name in Latin characters is considered to be a reliable traveling document by Turkey. "Horis Diavatirio stin Tourkia", (In Turkey without a Passport), (22-05-2007), available at http://www.ktel-thes.gr/index.php?Itemid=120&id=77&option=com_content&task=view&lang=el

Greek tourists.¹⁷⁶ Recently, advertisements (such as below) calling Greeks to visit Turkey made their appearance on Greek newspapers, magazines and even on TV channels.

Indeed, the trend of Greeks for visiting Turkey is confirmed by a research¹⁷⁷ carried out by Kapa Research on behalf of the 5th Greek-Turkish Media Conference. In that research, when the Greeks were asked if they had traveled to Turkey 24% of the sample answered 'yes'. When those who had visited Turkey were asked to state their opinion about Turkey, a 58.4% answered that it was positive/rather positive and a 39.5% answered that it was negative, while a 70.5% of those who had not visited Turkey yet, expressed their will to do so in the future. When the Greeks were asked if they wanted to visit Istanbul in 2010 when it will be the Capital City of Europe, a 70.6% was positive. Also, to the question whether Greece should abolish visas for the Turks who would like to visit it, 50.6% of the Greek sample answered 'yes', contrary to 44.7% who answered 'no'. Results in that research are indicative of the eagerness Greeks have to travel to Turkey.

Short holiday on the other side of the Aegean is a great opportunity to come in contact with the other. This first hand experience in a foreign country that is considered to be hostile by the Greeks may cause reconsideration for the images and perceptions they have formed about their Turkish neighbors. Jutta Lauth Bacas has conducted anthropological research in the island of Lesbos interviewing Greeks who visited Turkey. He refers to the experience of a Greek woman around her 40s who went on a

¹⁷⁶ This campaign is not only intended to Greeks but other tourists as well. The Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism has set a goal to increase the number of tourists visiting Turkey. See <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN/Default.aspx?17A16AE30572D313D4AF1EF75F7A79681D9DD78D03148A6E>

¹⁷⁷ The research was carried out from 27 May to 2 June 2008 on a random sample of adults from Greece and Turkey (1,000 persons from Greece and 1,097 persons from Turkey). Its results were presented at the 5th Greek-Turkish Media Conference. Research results available at <http://www.kapa-research.com>

trip to Ayvalik. Given the turbulent past of the two countries and hostile predispositions from both sides of the Aegean, Bacas stresses the importance of such a decision to cross the border:

After having had only visual contact with the opposite Turkish coast for four decades, Irini's excursion meant more than just crossing the blue waters of the Aegean Sea. Her decision to travel to a neighboring country that was previously seen with suspicion and animosity indicates to a certain extent some determination on her part to cross not only international borders, but to cross symbolic boundaries and some willingness to encounter the Turkish reality, too.¹⁷⁸

Indeed, as the above mentioned data indicate, after the improvement in Greek-Turkish relations, more and more Greeks started to visit Turkey and their decision to do so carries the dual meaning Irini's visit has.

One of the experiences of contact with the other that Irini narrated was with a Turkish lady who gave her information about an Orthodox church in Ayvalik.

She looked like a typical Turkish woman with a long coat and a scarf around her face. But then she turned out to be very friendly, she answered our questions first in English then in Greek. She remembered the name of the Saint the church had been devoted to. I would never have expected that.¹⁷⁹

In that case, contrary to what Irini might have expected, the Turkish woman was friendly and helpful. This first hand contact with a Turk might cause Irini to question well established stereotypes of Turks being hostile towards Greeks.

Another experience of an encounter with the other belongs to a Greek housewife from Patras:

¹⁷⁸ Bacas, Jutta Lauth, 2003, "Greek Tourists in Turkey: An Anthropological case study", Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 249.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 249-250.

When I was in Turkey for holidays I saw a man. He was tall and blond with blue eyes and nice clothes. He was holding a camera. I liked him and I approached him to make a ‘connection’ [she used the English word]. When he told me that he was a Turk something broke within me (kati espase mesa mou). It happened spontaneously, but I realized that the Turks can be beautiful and educated...¹⁸⁰

Her first hand contact with a Turk makes her reconsider her previous ideas about Turks being unrefined and uneducated.

However, not all Greeks have positive experiences when they meet with Turks. Bacas refers to the encounter of a Greek member of the Lesbos Cruising Club with a high-ranking Turkish officer in Kusadasi, where the latter raised the question of sovereignty in the Aegean Sea, claiming that the border should be in the middle.¹⁸¹ In this case, the meeting of a Greek with a Turk was not a pleasant experience because the main subject of discussion was one of the differences in the Greek-Turkish relations.

Thus, it is not realistic to claim that short trips in Turkey are able to recast well-established negative perceptions about Turks, nor can they change the history of antagonistic Greek-Turkish Relations in a few days. However, firsthand contact ‘might add new layers of meaning’¹⁸² to the existing attitudes, perceptions and images about the ‘Other’. In that way, direct experience enables people to form their own personal ideas about the ‘Other’ and might help them – difficult though it may seem – to move one step ahead from deeply rooted nationalist preconceptions.

¹⁸⁰ Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, 2004, “The Turks and Their Nation in the Worldview of Greeks in Patras”, *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 38.

¹⁸¹ Bacas, Jutta Lauth, 2003, “Greek Tourists in Turkey: An Anthropological case study”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 253-254.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 252.

c. NGOs

Another field where Greeks and Turks can come in contact is through the activity of various non-governmental organizations. After the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in 1999 a lot of NGOs – existing or newly founded ones – started to promote Turkish-Greek cooperation in various fields and encourage Greek-Turkish civic dialogue. Some of these organizations are AEGEE, Winpeace, TurGreSoc and Defne – Nea Dafni.

AEGEE (Association des Etats Généraux des Etudiants de l' Europe – European Student's Forum) is a student organization that aims to promote cooperation and integration amongst young people in Europe and wants to help develop an open and tolerant society. It was founded in 1985 in Paris and has about 15,000 student members in 235 local branches. AEGEE organizes conferences, seminars, exchanges, case study trips and working group meetings, bringing together young people from all over Europe. Also, its main activities are concentrated in peace and stability, active citizenship, cultural exchange and higher education.¹⁸³

AEGEE got involved in Greek-Turkish Rapprochement when its branch in Ankara organized a project on Turkish – Greek Civic Dialogue from 2002 to 2005, with the cooperation of other AEGEE branches in Greece. As stated on the relevant webpage, the objectives of this project were: 'to facilitate and enhance partnership and cooperation between Greek and Turkish NGOs, to foster intercultural dialogue between Turkish and Greek NGOs, to enhance networking activities between Turkish and Greek

¹⁸³ Turkish-Greek Civic Dialogue Project 2002-2005, AEGEE-Ankara 2006, p.12.

NGOs and university students and to reinforce structure of Greek and Turkish youth NGOs .¹⁸⁴

The first event of this project was a conference with the title ‘Rebuilding Communication’, organized in Sakarya on 20-23 March 2003. Around a 100 young people from Greece and Turkey participated in panels and workshops discussing issues such as NGOs and governments, the role of young people in Turkish-Greek civic dialogue, the role of education and history writing. Following, the KayaFest Youth and Culture Festival was organized on 27 July-3 August 2003, in Fethiye, in Kayakoy-Levissi. A total of 3,000 young people from Greece and Turkey had the chance to participate in concerts, making of movies and documentaries, exhibitions, dance courses, etc. A third event was the ‘Population Exchange Symposium’, held in Istanbul on 7-8 November 2003, in cooperation with the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants. At that symposium 250 academics, master students and members of youth organizations from Greece and Turkey had the opportunity to take part in panel discussions on various aspects of the Population Exchange. The project’s final conference took place on 2-4 April 2004, in Ankara and its aim was to present the outcomes of the project. More than 80 people from both countries participated on interactive workshops some of which were on empathy and sympathy, peace education and role-playing.¹⁸⁵

It should be noted that within this project three workshops were organized in both countries (two in Istanbul and one in Athens) where 80 people from different fields of civic initiatives took part. These workshops aim at moving away from ‘simple get

¹⁸⁴ “Turkish Greek Civic Dialogue”, available at <http://www.karl.aegee.org/calendar.nsf/c23c7d9c6ea50613c1256db10069843c/9ca79c4e804f4461c1256dbb0000d640?OpenDocument>

¹⁸⁵ Turkish-Greek Civic Dialogue Project 2002-2005, AEGEE-Ankara 2006, pp. 17-18.

together' to a process which will create more effective and deeper networks between Greek and Turkish civic initiatives and joint projects. Thus, the workshops were concentrated on the mutual mistrust that exists between the Greek and Turkish societies and which is based on prejudices and negative stereotypes about the other.¹⁸⁶

The organization of such a project that brought together Greek and Turkish young people was very important and created a great opportunity for meeting the other, even though Greek participants were fewer than the Turkish ones. As Sophia Kompotiati, member of AEGEE-Athens, states 'we have once again seen that cooperation in arts and culture can be powerful tools in eliminating prejudices.'¹⁸⁷

Then, there is Winpeace (Women's Initiative for Peace of Greece and Turkey), an association of Greek and Turkish women. Winpeace was established after the Imia/Kardak crisis, when Margarita Papandreou, president of the Center for Research and Action on Peace contacted Zeynep Oral, a writer, peace activist and co-founder of Turkish Greek Friendship Association, in order to take action against violent solution of conflicts between Greece and Turkey. This resulted in a meeting of Turkish and Greek women that declared the formation of the organization.¹⁸⁸

The mentality of this organization is against war and conflict and it aims to promote peace and understanding between the two nations. As stated on the organization's website

...to establish security we believe that we must create a 'peace culture' by teaching people and specially the coming generations how to resolve their conflicts by 'non-violent ways' and be at peace with themselves through the teachings of 'Peace education', by getting to

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 15-16.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁸⁸ "Winpeace, History, How it started, A proposal for a Greek-Turkish women's peace network", available at <http://www.winpeace.net/history.htm>

know 'the Other' and seeing the similarities, thus ending their prejudices and by seeing the fact that 'security can only be sustainable by equality', a fair sharing of everything and by abolishing all kinds of discrimination; gender, ethnic, religious, status, etc.¹⁸⁹

Winpeace has organized several meetings in various Greek and Turkish cities (Istanbul, Athens, Ankara, Bodrum, Rhodos, Lesbos, etc.). In 2002, the organization held a project funded by the EU and aiming at promoting cooperation between women of Greece and Turkey. The project consists of three activities. The first of these activities is focused on the development of cooperation on agro tourism. According to that, women from a Greek village cooperative (Petra-Lesbos) will provide knowledge and help Turkish women from a village near Ayvalik to establish their own cooperative on agro tourism. Among others the objective of this program is 'to introduce women from both countries to the similarities and differences of people of both countries and establish a ground for cooperation.'¹⁹⁰ The second one is the Peace Education and Disarmament Campaign Project. The aim of this project is to promote peace education in schools in Greece and Turkey, organize meetings and start a campaign that will involve the participation of media and decision making authorities in both countries, trying to reduce armament expenditures.¹⁹¹ The last project is on literature exchange. The project takes over the translation of one book written by a female author of each country into the other country's language and afterwards Winpeace will contact publishing houses in order to publish the books in the Greece and Turkey respectively. The aim of this project is 'to contribute to the reduction of negative stereotypes and misperceptions by stimulating readers to read books dealing with the two cultures in a

¹⁸⁹ "Winpeace, The way we think", available at http://www.winpeace.net/way_we_think.htm

¹⁹⁰ "Winpeace, Agro Tourism Project", available at http://www.winpeace.net/agro_tourism.htm

¹⁹¹ "Winpeace, Peace Education and Disarmament Campaign Project", available at http://www.winpeace.net/peace_education.htm

positive constructive manner by increasing the production and translation of these books and to contribute to the understanding ‘the other’.’¹⁹²

Another important organization that brings together Greek and Turkish young people is TurGreSoc, Turkish-Greek Society of Youth, which was created in 2002. Its main aims are to strengthen the ties between societies of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, to achieve a perspective of mutual understanding for solving the conflicts, to explore the commonalities of these cultures and to create a lively and friendly communication network.¹⁹³ This society organizes student forums in Greece and Turkey on a regular basis and on disciplines such as politics, history, sociology and law. Meetings were held in various cities on both sides of the Aegean (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Athens, Nafplio and Cyprus) and on topics such as Cyprus issue, EU, Minorities, Democracy, Cultural Similarities.

The most recent meeting of this organization was held in Istanbul, at Bogazici University, on 26 April – 3 May 2008. The topic of this forum was: ‘Common Past: Sources of mistrust or reference for the better of Turkish-Greek Relations: Challenging the origins and the basis of the common cultural heritage of Turkish and Greek societies’. Greek and Turkish students from various universities had the opportunity to participate in three workshops based on the above mentioned topic.¹⁹⁴

There is also another organization which is active mostly on cultural issues. That is *Defne* in Istanbul and its Greek counterpart, *Nea Dafni* in Athens. *Defne-Nea Dafni* was one of the first non governmental organizations established to create a new

¹⁹² “Winpeace, Literature Exchange Project”, available at http://www.winpeace.net/literature_exchange.htm

¹⁹³ “TurGresoc, Turkish-Greek Society of Youth”, available at <http://www.safia.gr/uploads/file/TurGreSoc%20IDENTITY-HISTORY.pdf>

¹⁹⁴ “TurGreSoc, Turkish-Greek Society of Youth, Forum upon Remembering and Forgetting”, available at [http://www.safia.eu/uploads/file/TURGRESOC%20forum%202008\(details\).pdf](http://www.safia.eu/uploads/file/TURGRESOC%20forum%202008(details).pdf)

functional model promoting peace between the two countries. The organization was founded in 2002 by prominent academics, artists, journalist and businessmen and since then it has hosted numerous significant joint programmes bringing the Greek and Turkish people closer.¹⁹⁵

The 7th Greek-Turkish Friendship Festival was held by *Defne-Nea Dafni* from 7 to 10 June 2008 first in Aydin Turkey and later on the Greek island of Fourni. As all the previous festivals, this one as well, was attended by academics, artists, students, journalists and businessmen who meet and exchange views trying to ‘build new bridges of friendship’.¹⁹⁶

NGO meetings, conferences and festivals are great opportunities of coming in contact with the other. Through the above mentioned NGO activities several Greeks – especially Greek young people – had the chance to meet Turks, talk and exchange their views on various topics of common interest. These meetings might not be enough to change well-rooted negative images and perceptions about the other, but first hand contact might make them insignificant.

¹⁹⁵ “Festival Ellhno-Tourkikhs Filias”, (Greek-Turkish Friendship Festival), available at <http://www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=11421&subid=2&tag=9283&pubid=1092531>

¹⁹⁶ “Sunanthsh mousikwn, episthmonwn, dhmosiografwn: 7o festival ellhnotourkikhs filias”, (Meeting of Musicians, scientists, journalists: 7th Greek-Turkish Friendship Festival), (10-06-2008), available at <http://www.xronos.gr/news/detail.php?ID=40427>

d. Arts and Media

The interest about the “other” was also expressed through art and popular culture and Media. It is believed that cultural products such as movies, books and TV series as well as Media exercise a great influence to the masses and have the power to impose or lift stereotypes.

In 2003 the movie *Politiki Kouzina* (Istanbul Cuisine) became a success at the Greek cinemas. The movie tells the story of a Rum-Greek family that was deported from Istanbul in 1964 and ‘focuses on the family’s love of food to depict their different Istanbul-based identity and the conformist pressures placed on them by the nationalist ideologies both in Turkey and Greece.’ Another movie in this context is *Bulutlari Beklerken* (Waiting for the Clouds). The movie was based on Georgios Andreadis’ novel *Tamama* and depicts the story of Ayşe-Eleni whose Greek family migrated from the Black Sea in 1916 while she was adopted by a Turkish family. The movie is about how she begins searching for her lost real family.¹⁹⁷

Also, two TV series are worth mentioning. *Yabancı Damat* (The Foreign Groom) is about a love affair between a Turkish woman Nazli and a Greek man Niko. The young couple tries to persuade their families to move beyond national stereotypes and historical prejudices.¹⁹⁸ In summer 2005, the series was also broadcasted in Greece and unexpectedly became a huge success. According to Penelope Papailias, what was new about this series concerning its Greek audience was that it “offered Greek viewers the rare opportunity to peek into Turkish homes, to overhear their conversations, to glimpse their perhaps unexpected nostalgias, insecurities, and desires, and above all, to

¹⁹⁷ Rumelili, Bahar, 2005, “The European Union and Cultural Change in Greek-Turkish Relations”, *Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflict Studies*, No. 17, p. 22.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

find out how they imagine and remember ‘us Greeks’”.¹⁹⁹ In 2004 the Greek TV series *Mi mou les antio* (Don’t say goodbye) received a warming welcome by the Greek audience. The series was based on a Novel of Anastasia Kalliontzi and talks about the love affair of a Greek-Christian student Christina and a Turkish-Muslim teacher Murat, member of the Turkish minority in Thrace. In these popular culture products the ‘other’ tends to be a normal human being. These series, especially *Yabancı Damat*, have evoked the interest of the Greek viewers to learn more about their Turkish neighbors.²⁰⁰

From the late 1990s and even more after 1999, a visitor to a Greek bookstore can find an abundance of publications about Turkey. These books are mainly concentrated on history, international relations and social sciences in general and they might be written by Greek, Turkish or foreign authors. It seems that this is a result of the increasing interest of the Greek readers to acquire a better understanding of their neighbors in the East.²⁰¹ Besides the needs of the general readers, one can argue that these publications came to cover the need for scientific and academic books on Turkey and on Greek-Turkish relations to be used as reliable teaching material at the various Greek university departments which focus on these matters.²⁰²

Similarly, Greek readers started to be interested in Turkish literature which led to the translation in Greek and publication of Turkish literary works. As Charisiadou and Zaragalis inform us:

¹⁹⁹ Papailias, Penelope, 2005, “TV Across the Aegean: The Greek Love Affair with a Turkish Serial”, available at www.lsa.umich.edu/UMICH/modgreek/Home/ TOPNAV WTGC/Media%20and%20Culture/TV%20Across%20the%20Aegean.pdf

²⁰⁰ See Pouloupoulou, Katerina, 2005, “Me Dynami apo tin Tourkia”, (With Power from Turkey), *Eleftherotypia*, (21-08-2005), available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=112,dt=21.08.2005,id=89760040

²⁰¹ For an indicative list of those books see Vasiliou, Thanasis, 2005, “I Tourkia stis Prothikes ton Vivliopolion”, (Turkey at Bookstore shelves), *Kathimerini*, (02-10-2005), available at http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_civ_1_02/10/2005_158360

²⁰² See subchapter on education.

...the big bang happened after 1999, when there was an increase in the interest of the two people (Greeks and Turks) to meet their “neighbor” through literature, which is the shortest and the safest way and consequently of the publishers to engage in Turkish literature. Today, most of the publishing houses include some Turkish writers in their publication lists...²⁰³

From the same source we also learn that Greek translations of Turkish literary works are more than 100. Concerning the writers, Aziz Nesin, Yaşar Kemal, Nedim Gürsel, Orhan Pamuk, Duygu Asena and Murathan Mungan are among those with the most translations in Greek. Particularly, Orhan Pamuk is very popular in Greece and his works become best-sellers.²⁰⁴

In 2007, another book of a Turkish writer was translated and published in Greece. It is a novel by Kemal Anadol, “*O megalos Horismos*” (The Great Separation) referring to the symbiosis of Christians and Muslims during the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the events of the Greco-Turkish war 1919-1922 which resulted in the separation of the two communities.²⁰⁵ Recently there was a presentation of this book in Mytilini, organized by the Prefecture of Lesbos and attended by a number of Turkish and Greek officials. In this presentation, the Prefect of Lesbos, Pavlos Vogiatzis stressed the value of such books and of writers such as Kemal Anadol, who surpass stereotypes in the relations of the two countries and give a real meaning to the idea of the Greek-Turkish friendship and referring to the presence of Turkish officials in the

²⁰³ My translation. Charisiadou, Maria and Thanos Zaragalis, 2007, “Metafraseis tourkikis logotechnias sta ellinika”, (Translation of Turkish Literature in Greek), in Tourkiki logotechnia: Tourkoi logotecnes tou eikostou aiona and Tourkoi logotechnes grafoun kai miloun gia tous Romious, (Turkish Literature: Turkish writers of the 20th century and Turkish writers write and talk about Rums), Proceedings of two conferences, Athens: Etaireia Meletis tis kath imas Anatoles, p. 250.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 251. For an indicative list of translated literary works see *ibid.*, pp. 252-260.

²⁰⁵ The title of the book in Turkish is “*Büyük Ayrılık*”. The book “*Matomena Homata*” (Farewell Anatolia) written by Dido Sotiriou, a refugee herself, has the same subject. Kemal Anadol dedicated his book to her. See Papagiannidou, Mairy, 2007, “To Krime sto Laimo tous”, (They should be held responsible), To Vima, (02-09-2007), available at http://tovima.dolnet.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=15153&m=S06&aa=1

event, he said that “it is of great importance to visit our islands, to live our people, to ascertain their friendly sentiments and participate, them as well, in an effort to make the Aegean a sea of peace.”²⁰⁶

Music is also another point of contact for Greece and Turkey. *Rebetiko* is a form of music oriental in character which has been attributed to Greek refugees of Asia Minor. In fact, *rebetiko* existed on both sides of the Aegean Sea and it comprised two different styles: the Smyrnaean born in Western Asia Minor under the influence of Ottoman music and performed mainly by non-Muslim musicians and the Piraean born in the port of Piraeus near Athens.²⁰⁷ However, after 1922, Asia Minor refugees’ contribution to the development and production of *rebetiko* songs in Greece is undeniable. In that sense, they emerged to be the representatives of this genre. Thus, Innes, an executive of the British Gramophone Company who visited Greece in 1930, writes in one of his reports that *rebetika* are “light songs of the low class people, introduced in 1923 by the refugees from Asia Minor.”²⁰⁸ In late 1930s, the Metaxas regime banned oriental music in an attempt to promote westernization and this pushed the refugee musicians into obscurity.

However, in late 1960s and 1970s there was a revival of the *rebetika* but also the emergence of a new genre, an evolution of the *rebetiko* song which combined oriental and western elements, what is called *laika* (popular songs) or *skyladhika* (dog-songs) in

²⁰⁶ Quoted in “Synyparxi me istoria kai politiki”, (Coexistence with history and politics), (28-06-2008), available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/article_948.shtml

²⁰⁷ For a more detailed description of the two styles see Koglin, Daniel, 2008, “Marginality – A key Concept to Understanding the Resurgence of Rebetiko in Turkey”, *Music and Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 6.

²⁰⁸ Cited in Gauntlett, Stathis, 2004, “Between Orientalism and Occidentalism: The Contribution of Asia Minor Refugees to Greek Popular Song and its Reception”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchanges between Greece and Turkey*, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 251.

their extreme manifestation.²⁰⁹ Accordingly, today the new *rebetiko* became the music genre of a well-educated middle to upper class with a leftist orientation while the *laiko-skyladhiko* is preferred by the under-educated lower and middle class.²¹⁰ It is important to mention that early *rebetiko* was admired by its supporters as the most genuine form of Greek music while at the same time it was despised by its opponents as part of the Ottoman legacy.²¹¹ This is also the case today where the revived form of *rebetiko* music is praised as Greek and the *laiko-skyladhiko* style is criticized as oriental and inferior.²¹²

Drawing on this analysis, I could say that Greek popular music has the same roots with Turkish popular music since they both originated in the Ottoman period, and this makes them sound so similar to one another. As a result of this similarity, many compositions have been exchanged across the Aegean creating a Greek and a Turkish version of the same song, in the style of *rebetiko*²¹³ as well as the contemporary popular music.²¹⁴ Many Greek singers are popular in Turkey such as Haris Alexiou, Eleftheria Arvanitaki, Anna Vissi, Despoina Vandi and Antzela Dimitriou, while it seems that the Greek public started to be interested in Turkish music after Sertab Erener won the Eurovision Song Contest in 2003.

It is also important to mention that more and more Greek and Turkish artists cross to the other side to give concerts and participate in music festivals. From the first

²⁰⁹ In the same period, a similar music genre makes its appearance in Turkey, *arabesk* music, also combining oriental and western elements. Koglin, Daniel, 2008, "Marginality – A key Concept to Understanding the Resurgence of Rebetiko in Turkey", *Music and Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 24.

²¹⁰ See analysis made by Koglin. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

²¹¹ See Pennanen, Risto Peka, 2004, "The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 1-25.

²¹² See Koglin, Daniel, 2008, "Marginality – A key Concept to Understanding the Resurgence of Rebetiko in Turkey", *Music and Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 20, 25.

²¹³ Many of the classic *rebetiko* songs were originally Turkish. Today there are also Turkish versions of song of Haris Alexiou and Eleftheria Arvanitaki

²¹⁴ Melody exchanges exist between artists such as Giorgos Mazonakis and Rober Hatemo, Tarkan and Lefteris Pantazis and recently Peggy Zina, Despoina Vandi and Mustafa Sandal and others.

concerts of Mikis Theodorakis and Zülfü Livaneli²¹⁵ to those given by Haris Alexiou and Sezen Aksu in order to help the earthquake-struck people in both countries, common concerts are organized in both countries almost every year. Recently, Turkish musicians such as the Taksim Trio and Muammer Ketencoglou appeared at the Athens Festival.²¹⁶

Another important cooperation worth mentioning is that of a common Greek and Turkish Youth Orchestra of a classic music repertoire which unites 50 Greek and 50 Turkish young musicians. The orchestra was created out of an initiative of Greek and Turkish intellectuals and from 24 to 30 July 2008 gave four concerts to Ankara, Istanbul, Athens and Patras. It aims at cultivating contact, dialogue, and creativity among young artist as well as among the audiences of the two neighboring countries.²¹⁷ The orchestra is directed by Vladimir Askenazi, a prominent musician, who stated that:

Music is 'platform' which can bring people together, in this case Greeks and Turks. Through the experience of 'sharing', one learns more about themselves and moves beyond historical, religion and cultural differences. This cooperation can only have positive effects, such as making new friends, and acquiring a better understanding for the other. That is what happens through music.²¹⁸

Media and journalists are thought to have played a negative role in the Turkish-Greek Relations perpetuating stereotypes and fueling conflicts. This is particularly evident at the Imia/Kardak Crisis. However, when Turkey and Greece were hit by

²¹⁵ Mikis Theodorakis and Zülfü Livaneli are personal friends and promoters of friendship and peace among Greek and Turkish people. For that they have organized numerous concerts.

²¹⁶ See relevant articles available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/cat_index_38.shtml

²¹⁷ "I Ellinotourkiki Orchistra Neon Xekina tis Synavlies se Ellada kai Tourkia", (The Greek-Turkish Youth Orchestra starts its Concerts in Greece and Turkey), available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/article_953.shtml

²¹⁸ My translation from an interview to Voulgari, Sandra, 2008, "Ekato neoi, duo ethni, mia foni...", (A hundred young people, two nations, one voice...), *Kathimerini*, (13-07-2008), available at http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_civ_2_13/07/2008_277191

earthquakes the media in both countries started to report the news in such a way that caused feelings of compassion and empathy to emerge. In 2000, a group of Turkish and Greek journalists, such as Giannis Tzanetakos, Panos Koliopoulos, Alkis Kourkoulas, Oktay Ekşi, Nur Batur and Haluk Şahin took the initiative to organize the First Greek-Turkish Media Conference in order to examine the role of the media in the improvement of Greek-Turkish Relations. This took place in Athens with the participation of the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Ismail Cem, George Papandreou, both of whom talked about the contribution of Media to the rapprochement of the two people.²¹⁹

After that first step, the Greek-Turkish Media Conference is held interchangeably in a Greek and a Turkish city. At the third conference held again in Athens in 2005 the Greek Minister of State and Government Spokesman, Theodoros Roussopoulos stressed the importance of

meetings such as the Media Conference for building a common language of communication and cooperation between the two parts. We have already found that language. To enrich it, to make it functional and useful in practice, is maybe the hardest step we are invited to take. Unquestionably, after a long period of being numb, we have at last lifted one leg. The point is that by putting it down, we should move ahead. Fighting for objectively informing the citizens, without excesses, distorting mirrors and demonizations, is a basis and a condition of our common vision for the future.²²⁰

It seems that the last words of the Minister reflect the willingness of the participant journalists to promote Turkish-Greek cooperation by reporting news in a more objective and balanced way. For the same conference, Nur Batur, a Turkish correspondent in

²¹⁹ “O Tuπος kai ta Ellinotourkika”, (Media and Greek-Turkish Relations), *To Vima*, (06-02-2000), available at http://www.tovima.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=12838&m=A70&aa=1

²²⁰ My translation from “Heretismos Roussopoulou sto 3o Ellinotourkiko Dimosiografiko Synedrio”, (Roussopoulos greets the 3rd Greek-Turkish Media Conference, (19-02-2005), available at http://www.grtnews.com/gr/publish/article_397.shtml

Athens wrote that at “the Turkish-Greek Conference we saw some taboos fall apart.”²²¹ The following year, the fourth Media Conference was organized in Istanbul and the main topic of discussion was similarities in culture and arts in the two countries.²²²

Recently, a fifth Greek-Turkish Media Conference was held in Heraklion. The main subject of this conference was tourism and the Greek Minister of Tourism, Aris Spiliotopoulos stated that the abolition of visas for the Turkish tourist who wanted to visit Greece was a matter of time. More important, the results of a research conducted both in Greece and Turkey were presented at that conference.²²³ According to that research the Greeks seemed to be more reserved than the Turks concerning the future of the Greek-Turkish relations while both Greeks and Turks accused the Media in the two countries of cultivating conflict. However, both people (the Greeks less) considered the initiative for organizing a Media Conference a positive development. Moreover, both Greeks and Turks desired a continuation of the policy of rapprochement between the two countries. For almost 60% of the Greeks and Turks who participated at the research the Aegean is a sea that unites (not separates) the two countries.²²⁴

All the above mentioned references can be considered indirect contacts that are based mostly on the common cultural background that Greeks and Turks share and stress their similarities. This is particularly important for the overcoming of stereotypes through a process of understanding how close to ‘other’ ‘we’ are.

²²¹ See Batur, Nur, 2005, “Türk-Yunan Medya Konferansında Bazı Tabuların Yıkıldığını Gördük”, (At the Turkish-Greek Conference we Saw some Taboos Fall Apart), (27-02-2005), available at <http://www.voanews.com/turkish/archive/2005-02/2005-02-27-voa11.cfm?renderforprint=1&textonly=1&&TEXTMODE=1&CFID=27036343&CFTOKEN=67369140>

²²² “4. Türk-Yunan Medya Konferansı... - Sanatçı Livaneli: “Kültür Akrabalığı Dünyada Her Şeyden Önemlidir””, (4th Turkish-Greek Media Conference... - The Artist Livaneli: “Cultural Kinship is the Most Important Thing in the World”), (10-06-2006), available at <http://www.haberler.com/4-turk-yunan-medya-konferansi-sanatci-haberi/>

²²³ “Protasi Ekplixi tou k. Spiliotopoulou gia katargisi tis visas gia tous Tourkous”, (An Unexpected Proposal of Mr. Spiliotopoulos for the abolition of visas for the Turks), (12-06-2008), available at <http://www.greekinsight.com/?conID=11992&PHPSESSID=6385fab5389b3c5f11c4c33bc81cea4a>

²²⁴ Research results available at <http://www.kapa-research.com>

e. Economic Relations

Economic cooperation between Greek and Turkish businessmen is one of the most important areas where progress is evident. While before the rapprochement business cooperation between the two countries stayed at a low level, after the improvement of relations new opportunities were created. As Panagiotis Koutsikos, the President of the Greek-Turkish Chamber of Commerce said, the volume of trade between the two countries was increased from \$200 million in 1999 to \$1.93 billion in 2004 and there were 80 Greek companies operating in Turkey.²²⁵ According to data gathered by the Economic and Trade Affairs Office of Greek Embassy in Ankara, commercial exchange between the two countries is steadily increasing.

Greek-Turkish Bilateral Trade (in US \$)						
Years	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
GR exports to TR	631,46	393,87	369,19	470,27	554,97	709,95
GR imports from TR	428,83	563,52	645,15	779,63	992,51	956,45
Volume of Trade	1.060,29	957,39	1.014,34	1.249,90	1.547,48	1.666,40

Table 3: Greek-Turkish Bilateral Trade (in US\$), source: Economic and Trade Affairs Office, Greek Embassy of Ankara, Economic and Commercial Relations, available at http://www.greekembassy.org.tr/greek/thematiki_enotita_3/genika_thematikis_enotitas_3_gr.htm

The Greek-Turkish Business Council²²⁶ which was created in 1988 by the Greek Industrialists Union (SEV) and the Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) have played an important role at the development of economic relations by organizing business forums to bring together Greek and Turkish businessmen, thus creating

²²⁵ Koutsikos Panagiotis, "Significant Progress in Greek-Turkish Business Relations, Trade with Greece", available at http://www.acci.gr/trade/No34/TRADE_12_13.pdf

²²⁶ For more information see http://www.deik.org.tr/Pages/TR/IK_AnaSayfa.aspx?IKID=50

opportunities for cooperation. The last of these forums was organized in January 2008 with the occasion of Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis' visit to Turkey. Almost 170 Greek businessmen participated in the forum and half of them engaged in bilateral meetings with 100 Turkish companies took. The economic relations are steadily improving and in 2007 the trade volume reached nearly \$3 billion and the Greek capital invested in Turkey amounts to \$5.5 billion.²²⁷ At the forum, the Chairman of SEV, Dimitris Daskalopoulos stressed that economic cooperation between Greece and Turkey is the only mutually profitable solution and a way out of the traditional problems between the two neighboring countries. He also added that Greek and Turkish businessmen have been pioneers in the Greek-Turkish cooperation, thus playing an important role in the rapprochement.²²⁸

Investments made by Greece in Turkey are located in the banking sector. Thus, the National Bank of Greece has purchased Finansbank, Eurobank purchased Turkey's Tekfenbank and Alpha Bank took Turkish Alternatifbank. Also other Greek companies have an important presence in Turkey. One of them is Greek Intralot which cooperated with Turkish Turkcell to establish Inteltek, a lottery company. Other Greek companies have either purchased Turkish companies or have created joint venture with Turkish partners. Some of these are Thrace Plastics, Crete Plastics, Sarantis, Eurodrip, Nireas, Selonta, Sato, Kleeman.²²⁹ It is important to stress that economic cooperation involves a degree of trust and bona fide between both parties. In that context, we can assume that

²²⁷ Kremida, Damaris, 2008, "Greek Businessmen seek further Opportunities", *Turkish Daily News*, (28-01-2008), available at <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=94848>

²²⁸ "A Greek-Turkish Business Forum was held in Istanbul", (26-01-2008), available at <http://www.emportal.co.rs/vesti/srbija/35565.html>

²²⁹ Georgas, Vasilis, 2007, "Oi Ellinikes Epihiriseis pou exoun parousia stin Tourkia", (Greek Companies with a presence in Turkey), (02-05-2007), available at <http://www.capital.gr/news.asp?Details=286593>

Greek businessmen's trust towards Turkey was increased after 1999, something that led them to make investments and partnerships in Turkey.

On the other hand, a lot of Turkish companies made their appearance in Greece or showed interest in expanding their activities in Greece. Thus, the Turkish Ziraat Bank is planning to open two branches one in Athens and one in Komotini. Istikbal, a company specializing in household commodities, has an important presence in Greece with ten branches.²³⁰ Moreover, Turkish companies specializing in clothes and shoes have made a dynamic appearance in the Greek market. Turkish fashion names such as Ipekyol, Gizia, Mavi jeans, Koton and Inci Shoes operate a number of shops in Athens with a great success since the Greek consumers seem to show their preference leaving their owners satisfied.²³¹

However, the most successful businesses are those involved in the food and restaurant sector. It seems that Tasos Mpoulmetis' movie *Politiki Kouzina* created a demand for authentic Turkish, and especially Istanbul cuisine, among the Greeks. Thus, a lot of Turkish restaurants have extended their businesses in Greece but also a lot of restaurants of a Greek ownership but Turkish personnel were established in the Greek capital city. In restaurants such as Tike, Pandeli, Tsiflik Bahtse²³², Sirkeci²³³, Politi.co²³⁴ Greeks can taste Turkish meze, kebab, dolma, hungar begendi, manti and lahmacun and

²³⁰ Chrysikopoulou, N., 2007, "Tourkikes Etaireies Pernoun to Aigaiο", (Turkish Companies Cross the Aegean), *Eleftherotupia*, (16-12-2007), available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=114,id=83484784

²³¹ Alatiini, Lendianna, 2008, "Apo tin Poli erxontai me fagita kai rouha", (They come from Istanbul with food and clothes), *Eleftheros Tuπος*, (27-01-2008), available at <http://www.e-tipos.com/newsitem?id=23549>

²³² See Stamatiadou, Angela, 2006, "Tsiflik Bahtse: I Dytiki Athina Paei Anatoli", (Tsiflik Bahtse: West Athens goes to the East), *Athinorama*, (16-03-2006), available at <http://www.athinorama.gr/restaurants/articles/default.aspx?c=tsiflik&i=1536>

²³³ Deligiannis, Panos, 2007, "Sirkeci: Oriental beat and eat", *Athinorama*, (20-12-2007), available at <http://www.athinorama.gr/restaurants/articles/default.aspx?i=1628&c=sirkeci>

²³⁴ Antonopoulos Dimitris, 2008, "Anatolitiki Dynami", (Oriental Power), *Athinorama*, (12-06-2008), available at <http://www.athinorama.gr/restaurants/articles/default.aspx?i=1653&c=politi>

eat Turkish desserts such as kunefe, kazan dibi and baklava. Most of such restaurants have an oriental décor, play oriental music or rebetika and some of them like Tsiflik Bahtse and Sirkeci include belly dance programs.²³⁵ Particularly Tike is one of the most successful Turkish restaurants in Greece. It came in Greece in 2004 and within a year its gains reached 2.3 € millions. The owner of the Athens branch is a Greek, Al. Louvaris, who on his visit to Turkey some years earlier he had dined at the famous restaurant and believing that the Greeks would love such a restaurant decided to open one in Athens.²³⁶

Also, we could say that *Yabancı Damat* exercised a similar influence on the Greek public concerning Turkish baklava and other famous Istanbul desserts. Thus, the most famous, for its baklava, patisserie in Istanbul, Gulluoglu opened four branches in Athens and one in Thessaloniki. The exclusive representative of Gulluoglu in Greece, Aris Prodromidis, stressed that Mr. Gullu is grateful to the Greeks for supporting him and for making baklava famous to whole of Europe.²³⁷

Economic cooperation is another field where Greek-Turkish contacts take place. It is very important that businessmen from both sides of the Aegean trust each other and start up businesses together. Also, the success of Turkish restaurants in Athens indicates that the Greeks identify themselves with oriental food and entertainment that is a common element in both countries.

²³⁵ This is not to surprise us since recently oriental entertainment has gained a lot of popularity in Greece and coming closer to Turkey may have a share on that. On the other, in Turkey, there seems to be an interest for everything Greek, a Hellenomania. For more details on that see Massavetas, Alexandros, 2006, "Ellinomania: I Nea Moda ton Tourkon", (Hellenomania: the New Trend of the Turks), *Kathimerini*, (01-10-2006), available at http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_world_399930_01/10/2006_199827

²³⁶ Tsakiri, Tonia, 2005, "Estiatorio Kebap me tziro 2.3 ekat euro", (Kebap Restaurant with gains of 2.3 million euro), *To Vima*, (03-07-2005), available at http://tovima.dolnet.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=14504&m=D06&aa=1

²³⁷ Alatini, Lendianna, 2008, "Apo tin Poli erxontai me fagita kai rouha", (They come from Istanbul with food and clothes), *Eleftheros Tupos*, (27-01-2008), available at <http://www.e-tipos.com/newsitem?id=23549>

Conclusion

No one can tell whether the latest Greek-Turkish Rapprochement will be sustainable or not. For the time being it seems to work. However, as long as the major bilateral problems, namely Cyprus and the Aegean issue, remain unsolved there is always a possibility for a deterioration of relations. It seems that a major crisis stemming from these problems has the power to drop the Turkish-Greek Relations back to the pre-rapprochement era. Moreover, what happens if the EU-Turkish relations do not work well and if Turkey does not become an EU member? It is obvious that the evolution of these things will affect Turkish-Greek Relations and this is a challenge that both Greece and Turkey would have to cope with in the future.

On the other hand one should not overlook that there is considerable progress in the Greek-Turkish Relations. Meetings between Greek and Turkish officials have increased considerably, something that was unthinkable before 1999, and cooperation in various domains of mutual interest is a reality for the two countries. Maybe progress achieved so far would have to make the two countries consider what their gains and losses would be if they return back to conflict and tensions. If the process of rapprochement is interrupted, it appears that no one will gain anything since Greece and Turkey were not able to solve their problems by following an aggressive and intransigent policy towards each other in the past. On the contrary, they risk losing what they have built so far, a result of good will and mutual trust.

More important, in the current rapprochement no one should overlook the role of civil society of both countries, of ordinary people who actively participate in the process. Greeks and Turks share a bitter past full of wars, conflicts and disputes and

they have formed negative opinions about each other as a result of nation-building and based on nationalistic discourse propagated through education, historiography and reproduced by the media. In that sense, the breadth of interactions after 1999 is remarkable.

In this thesis, I tried to locate the places where contact between Greeks and Turks takes place. Particularly, I examined contacts from a Greek point of view to see whether they led to a more differentiated image of the other, compared to the image presented in nationalist discourse. It seems that there is an increased interest of the Greeks to learn about the Turks and that is expressed in education with the establishment of university departments which have included courses of Turkish studies in their curricula. It is also expressed through a plethora of academic and literary publications referring to Turkey and Turks and translations of foreign and Turkish authors' works in Greek. Moreover, face-to-face interaction with Turks takes place through educational exchanges, when Greek and Turkish students visit Turkey and Greece respectively. Also, Greek tourists who had visited Turkey generally describe their experiences as positive. Greek members of NGOs had the opportunity to meet and interact with Turks while participating in joint programs. There is also contact between Greek and Turkish businessmen and it seems, taking into account the Greek investments in Turkey, that Greeks trust the Turks as economic partners. Greeks showed preference for serials and movies which refer to the 'other' and they love to hear oriental music and eat oriental food in Turkish restaurants in Athens.

Negative images about the Turks seem to persist when the Greeks think about the Turks in – as Millas describes it – their historical/abstract dimension. Moreover, the Greeks are suspicious about the Turkish state and perceive it in a negative way. This is

pertinent to the image the Greeks have about their own state as being 'western', modern and democratic, compared to a perceived as oriental, backward and un-democratic Turkish state. This happens when the Greeks include themselves in the West, in Europe.²³⁸ On the other had, things seem to change when there is first hand experience with the Turks. Then the other becomes actual/concrete and most of the time the experience is positive.

In this respect, I would argue that the contacts of Greeks with the Turks described above are successful and have the potential to lead to a reduction of stereotypes. This happens because all of these contacts are supported by the Greek and Turkish governments, that is to say, they are institutionalized in the context of the Turkish-Greek Rapprochement and they constitute the main domains of Greek-Turkish cooperation (education, tourism, culture, etc.). As I already have elaborated in the introduction, institutionalized support is one of Allport's conditions for successful contact.

Another one of Allport's conditions for contact that leads to a reduction of stereotypes is interaction based on the common humanities of the two groups. The contacts analyzed in the previous section permit the common humanity that Greeks share with the Turks to come to the surface. In that sense, the Turk becomes familiar and 'more like us' when the Greek self is considered in an intimate way, outside the West. In that sense, I could say that the Greeks share an oriental 'cultural intimacy'²³⁹, with the Turks, a result of their symbiosis with the other in the past that shaped their

²³⁸ A modern Hellenic and European identity when presenting the self to the west. See Herzfeld, Michael, 1986, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece, New York: Pella, p. 20

²³⁹ See Herzfeld, Michael, 1997, Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-state, New York: Routledge.

oriental/Romeic identity²⁴⁰. It is simple commonalities, like food, music, a similar way of life that enables Greeks to overcome stereotypes and consider the Turks close to them.

Another important point, and also another one of Allport's conditions, is that the Greek-Turkish contacts are frequent and it seems that they increase as time goes by. Thus, more and more Greek students, tourists and businessmen visit Turkey. That permits them to interact with Turkish people, reconsider their opinions about them and develop relations with them. Moreover, more and more Greek ordinary people start to show interest for Turkish cultural products, as the success of movies, series, music and food with reference to Turkey among the Greek public clearly indicates.

The Turkish-Greek contacts that happened after the latest Greek-Turkish Rapprochement are very important because they showed that an overcoming of stereotypes is possible if people are willing to cooperate based on their similarities. The contacts and the reconsideration of stereotypes about the other can be useful in a wider context, in examining other bilateral relations similar to the Greek-Turkish ones. In that sense, those of the Greek-Turkish contacts that are successful can be a paradigm for other neighboring hostile countries that share a common cultural background (like the one Greeks and Turks share). In this respect, besides Greeks and Turks, other people as well might overcome their national stereotypes about their own others by establishing contact with them. However, the emergence of this common cultural heritage through the interaction of people who have been artificially separated requires further research and study.

²⁴⁰ An identity which emerges in moment of introspection. See Herzfeld, Michael, 1986, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece, New York: Pella, p. 20.

According to Millas there are two things that one can do in order to help overcome nationalistic dilemmas. The one is to “combat in the cognitive sphere the typical traits of nationalism, i.e. xenophobia, insecurity, stereotypes, prejudices etc.” and the other is to “create opportunities in which the members of the two communities may meet the ‘concrete other’, i.e. increase the communication between the parties”²⁴¹. Millas finds that the first is really difficult, while the latter is more accomplishable. I agree with that and I would further argue that contacts should be based on the similarities which take the place of a common ‘language’ that only the two people know how to speak.

²⁴¹ Millas, Hercules, 2004, “National Perception of the ‘Other’ and the Persistence of Some Images”, in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (ed.), Turkish-Greek relations – The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, p. 64.

Bibliography

Books

- Achlis, Nikos, 1983, Oi Geitonikoi mas Laoi, Boulgaroi kai Tourkoi, sta Scholika Vivlia Istorias Gymnasiou kai Lukeiou, (Our Neighboring People, Bulgarians and Turks, in History Schoolbooks), Thessaloniki: Ekdotikos Oikos Afon Kuriakidi
- Aggelou, Alkis, 1997, To Krifo Scholio: Chroniko enos Mithou, (The Secret School: Chronicle of a Myth), Athens: Estia
- Akgönül, Samim, 1999, Une Communauté, Deux Etats: la minorité turco-musulmane de Thace occidentale, Istanbul: Isis
- Aktar, Ayhan, 2000, Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları, İstanbul: İletişim
- Alexandris, Alexis, 1988, "To Meionotiko Zitima, 1954-1987", (The Minority Question, 1954-1987), in Oi Ellinoturkikes Sxeseis 1923-1987, (The Greek-Turkish Relations 1923-1987), Athens: Gnosi
- Alexandris, Alexis, 2004, "Religion or Ethnicity: The Identity Issue of the Minorities in Greece and Turkey", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 117-132
- Avdela, Efi, 1997, "I Sugkrotisi tis Ethnikis Taftotitas sto Elliniko Scholeio: 'emeis' kai oi 'alloi'", (The Construction of National Identity in the Greek School: 'we' and the 'others'), in Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona (eds.), 'Ti einai I patrida mas?' Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (What is our motherland?': Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 27-45
- Aydin, Mustafa, 2004, "Contemporary Turkish-Greek Relations: Constraints and Opportunities", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 21-52
- Bahçeli, Tozun, 2004, "Turning a New Page in Turkey's Relations with Greece? The Challenge of Reconciling Vital Interests", in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 95-122
- Braude, Benjamin and Bernard Lewis, 1982, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society, New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers
- Charisiadou, Maria and Thanos Zaragalis, 2007, "Metafraseis tourkikas logotechnias sta ellinika", (Translation of Turkish Literature in Greek), in Tourkiki logotechnia: Tourkoi logotecnes tou eikostou aiona and Tourkoi logotechnes grafoun kai miloun gia tous Romious, (Turkish Literature: Turkish writers of the 20th century and Turkish writers

write and talk about Rums), Proceedings of two conferences, Athens: Etaireia Meletis tis kath imas Anatolis, pp. 249-260

Chrysochoou, Xenia, 2004, Cultural Diversity: Its Social Psychology, Malden: Blackwell Publishing

Clark, Bruce, 2006, Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions that Forged Modern Greece and Turkey, Cambridge – Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Clogg, Richard, 1997, A Concise History of Greece, Cambridge University Press

Danforth, Loring M., 1995, The Macedonian Question: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

Demir, Hulya and Ridvan Akar, 2004, Oi Teleutaioi Exoristoi ths Konstantinoupolis (The Last Exiles of Istanbul), Athens: Tsoukatou

Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona, 1997, ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria

Frangoudaki, Anna, 1997, “‘Apogonoi’ Ellinon ‘apo ti Mykinaiki epohi’: I Analsi ton Egheiridion Istorias”, (‘Descendants’ Greeks from the ‘Mycenean Era’: Analysing History Schoolbooks), in Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona (eds.), ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 344-400

Frangoudaki, Anna, 1997, “Oi Politikes Synepeies tis anistorikis parousiasis tou Ellinikou Ethnous”, (The Political Consequences of the a-historic Presentation of the Greek Nation), in Frangoudaki, Anna and Thalia Dragona (eds.), ‘Ti einai I patrida mas?’ Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidefsi, (‘What is our motherland?’: Ethnocentrism in Education), Athens: Alexandria, pp. 143-198

Gauntlett, Stathis, 2004, “Between Orientalism and Occidentalism: The Contribution of Asia Minor Refugees to Greek Popular Song and its Reception”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchanges between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 247-260

Güven, Dilek, 2005, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı

Heraclidis, Alexis, 2001, I Ellada kai o “Ex Anatolon Kindinos”, (Greece and the Danger from the East), Athens: Polis

Heraclides, Alexis, 2004, “The Greek-Turkish Conflict: Towards Resolution and Reconciliation”, in Aydin, Mustafa and Kostas Ifantis (eds.) Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 67-94

- Herzfeld, Michael, 1986, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece, New York: Pella
- Herzfeld, Michael, 1997, Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-state, New York: Routledge
- Hirschon, Renee, 2004, “Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An Overview”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 13-20
- Hirschon, Renee, 2004, “‘Unmixing Peoples’ in the Aegean Region”, in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 3-12
- Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, Crisis and Conciliation, A year of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, London-New York: I.B. Tauris
- Koliopoulos, John C. and Thanos M. Veremis, 2002, Greece, The Modern Sequel, From 1831 to the Present, London: Hurst & Company
- Kourtovik, Yianna, 1997, “Dikaiosini kai Meionotites”, (Justice and Minorities), in Konstantinos Tsitselikis & Dimitris Christopoulos (eds.), To Meionotiko Phomeno stin Ellada, mia Simvoli ton Koinonikon Epistimon, (The Minority Phenomenon in Greece, a Contribution of the Social Sciences), Athens: Kritiki/ KEMO, pp. 245-280
- Lewis, Bernard, 1984, The Jews of Islam, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- McDonald, Robert, 2001, “Greek-Turkish Relations and the Cyprus Conflict”, in Dimitris Keridis and Charles M. Perry (eds.) Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization, Dulles, VA: Brassey’s, pp. 116-150
- Meinardus, Ronald, 2002, “Muslims: Turks, Pomaks and Gypsies”, in Richard Clogg (ed.), Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society, London: Hurst & Company, pp. 81-93
- Millas, Hercules, 2004, “National Perception of the ‘Other’ and the Persistence of some Images”, in Mustafa Aydin and Kostas Ifantis (eds.), Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 53-66
- Millas, Hercules, 2004, The Imagined ‘Other’ as National Identity, Greeks & Turks, Ankara: CSDP
- Millas, Hercules, 2005, Eikones Ellinon kai Tourkon: Scholika vivlia, Istoriographia, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa, (Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature, and National Stereotypes), Athens: Alexandria

Oran, Baskin, 2004, "The Story of Those who stayed: Lessons from Articles 1 and 2 of the 1923 Convention", in Renee Hirschon (ed.) Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 97-116

Özkırmılı, Umut, 2000, Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction, London: Macmillan Press

Özkırmılı Umut and Spyros A. Sofos, 2008, Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey, London: Hurst & Company

Quataert, Donald, 2005, The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, Cambridge University Press

Sampson, Edward E., 1999, Dealing with Differences: An Introduction to the Social Psychology of Prejudice, Harcourt College Publishers

Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, 2007, "Politics of friendship, worldviews of mistrust: The Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in local conversation", in Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (ed.), When the Greeks think about the Turks: the view from anthropology, London: Routledge, pp. 193-210.

Troumbeta, Sevasti, 2001, Kataskevazontas Taftotites gia tous Mousoulmanous tis Thrakis: to paradeigma ton Pomakon kai ton Tsigganon, (Constructing Identities for the Muslims of Thrace: the Paradigm of Pomaks and Gypsies), Athens: Kritiki/ KEMO

Turkish-Greek Civic Dialogue Project 2002-2005, AEGEE-Ankara 2006

Whitman, Lois, 1990, Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Turks of Greece, New York: Human Rights Watch

Articles – Conference papers

Anagnostou, Dia, 2001, "Breaking the Cycle of Nationalism: The EU, Regional Policy and the Minority of Western Thrace, Greece", South European Society and Politics, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 99-124

Athanassopoulou, Ekavi, 1997, "Blessing in Disguise? The Imia-Kardak Crisis and Greek-Turkish Relations", Mediterranean Politics, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 76-101

Ayman, S. Gulden, 2000, "Springtime in the Aegean", Privateview, Summer, pp. 56-60

Bacas, Jutta Lauth, 2003, "Greek Tourists in Turkey: An Anthropological case study", Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 239-258

Bertrand, Gilles, 2002, "Le rapprochement Greco-Turc : Dirigeants Charismatiques, opinion publique et integration regionale", Etudes Balkaniques : état de savoir et pistes de recherche, Paris, 19 et 20 decembre

Black, Joshua, "Greek Diplomacy and the Hunt for Abdullah Ocalan", WWS Case Study 4/00

Cavounidis, Jennifer, 2004, "Migration to Greece from the Balkans", South Eastern Europe Journal of Economic, 2, pp. 35-59

Chrysoloras, Nikos, "Orthodoxy and Greek National Identity: An analysis of Greek Nationalism in light of A. D. Smith's Theoretical Framework", available at <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW7/GSW%206/Nikos%20Chrysoloras%20Paper.pdf>

Coulombis, Theodore A. and Alexander E. Kentikelenis, 2007, "Greek-Turkish Relation and the Kantian Democratic Peace Theory", Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 517-532

Dimitras, Panayote Elias, 1998, "The apotheosis of hate speech: the near-success of (Greek and Turkish) media in launching war", in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), 'Hate Speech' in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, pp. 65-69

Dragonas, Thalia and Anna Frangoudaki, 2006, "Educating the Muslim Minority in Western Thrace", Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 21-41

Giannopoulos, Aristeidis and Dimitris Psaras, 1990, "To Elliniko 1955", (The Greek 1955), Scholiastis, 85 (3), pp. 18-21

Gündoğdu, Ayten, 2001, "Identities in question: Greek-Turkish relations in a period of transformation?", Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 106-117

Hirschon, Renée, 2006, "Knowledge of Diversity: Towards a More Differentiated Set of 'Greek' Perceptions of 'Turks'", South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 61-78

Karakatsanis, Neovi M. and Jonathan Swarts, 2007, "Attitudes toward the Xeno: Greece in Comparative Perspective", Mediterranean Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 113-134

Keridis, Dimitris, 2006, "Earthquakes, Diplomacy, and New Thinking in Foreign Policy", The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 207-214

Ker-Lindsay, James, 2007, "Greek-Turkish Rapprochement under New Democracy", The International Spectator, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 237-247

- Kirtsoglou, Elisabeth and Lina Sistani, 2003, “The Other *Then*, the Other *Now*, the Other *Within*: Stereotypical Images and Narrative Captions of the Turk in Northern and Central Greece”, Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 189-213
- Kirtsoglou, Elisabeth, 2006, “Phantom Menace: What Junior Greek Army Officers Have to say about Turks and Turkey”, South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 163-177
- Koglin, Daniel, 2008, “Marginality – A key Concept to Understanding the Resurgence of Rebetiko in Turkey”, Music and Politics, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-38
- Kotzamanis, Vyron, 2006, “A Demographic Profile of the Rums of Istanbul and of the related groups”, Paper presented at the Meeting in Istanbul: Present and Future
- Koukoudakis, George, 2006, “The role of Citizens in the Current Greek-Turkish Rapprochement”, Paper for the 56th Annual Conference of Political Studies Association, April 4-6, Reading
- Koutsikos Panagiotis, “Significant Progress in Greek-Turkish Business Relations, Trade with Greece”, available at http://www.acci.gr/trade/No34/TRADE_12_13.pdf
- Neofitistos Vasiliki, 1998, “The Greek Media on the Imia/Kardak Conflict”, in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), ‘Hate Speech’ in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, pp. 71-77
- Neofotistos, Vasiliki, 1998, “The Greek-Turkish “Imia/Kardak” Crisis in Dates”, in Mariana Lenkova (ed.), ‘Hate Speech’ in the Balkans, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, pp. 69-71
- Papailias, Penelope, 2005, “TV Across the Aegean: The Greek Love Affair with a Turkish Serial”, available at www.lsa.umich.edu/UMICH/modgreek/Home/ TOPNAV WTGC/Media%20and%20Culture/TV%20Across%20the%20Aegean.pdf
- Pennanen, Risto Peka, 2004, “The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece”, Ethnomusicology, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 1-25
- Örs, İlay Romain, 2006, “Beyond the Greek and Turkish Dichotomy: The *Rum Polites* of Istanbul and Athens”, South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 79-94
- Rumelili, Bahar, 2005, “The European Union and Cultural Change in Greek-Turkish Relations”, Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflicts Studies, No. 17
- Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, 2004, “The Turks and Their Nation in the Worldview of Greeks in Patras”, History and Anthropology, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 29-45

Tsibiridou, Fotini, 2006, "Writing about Turks and Powerful Others: Journalistic Heteroglossia in Western Thrace", South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 129-144

Yakoumaki, Vassiliki, 2006, "Ethnic Turks and 'Muslims', and the Performance of Multiculturalism: The Case of the *Dromeno* of Thrace", South European Society and Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 145-161

Newspaper articles, magazines

"1o Diethnes Symposio- Oi Tourkikes Spoudes Shmera", (1st International Symposium-Turkish Studies Today), (30-05-2007), available at http://www.grtnnews.com/gr/publish/article_827.shtml

"4. Türk-Yunan Medya Konferansı... - Sanatçı Livaneli: "Kültür Akrabalığı Dünyada Her Şeyden Önemlidir"", (4th Turkish-Greek Media Conference... - The Artist Livaneli: "Cultural Kinship is the Most Important Thing in the World"), (10-06-2006), available at <http://www.haberler.com/4-turk-yunan-medya-konferansi-sanatci-haberi/>

"A Greek-Turkish Business Forum was held in Istanbul", (26-01-2008), available at <http://www.emportal.co.rs/vesti/srbija/35565.html>

Alatini, Lendianna, 2008, "Apo tin Poli erxontai me fagita kai rouha", (They come from Istanbul with food and clothes), Eleftheros Tupos, (27-01-2008), available at <http://www.e-tipos.com/newsitem?id=23549>

Antonopoulos Dimitris, 2008, "Anatolitiki Dynami", (Oriental Power), Athinorama, (12-06-2008), available at <http://www.athinorama.gr/restaurants/articles/default.aspx?i=1653&c=politi>

Batur, Nur, 2005, "Türk-Yunan Medya Konferansında Bazı Tabuların Yıkıldığı Görüldü", (At the Turkish-Greek Conference we Saw some Taboos Fall Apart), (27-02-2005), available at <http://www.voanews.com/turkish/archive/2005-02/2005-02-27-voa11.cfm?renderforprint=1&textonly=1&&TEXTMODE=1&CFID=27036343&CFTOKEN=67369140>

Chrysikopoulou, N., 2007, "Tourkikes Etaireies Pernoun to Aigaiο", (Turkish Companies Cross the Aegean), Eleftherotupia, (16-12-2007), available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=114,id=83484784

Deligiannis, Panos, 2007, "Sirkeci: Oriental beat and eat", Athinorama, (20-12-2007), available at <http://www.athinorama.gr/restaurants/articles/default.aspx?i=1628&c=sirkeci>

"Festival Ellhno-Tourkikh's Filias", (Greek-Turkish Friendship Festival), available at <http://www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=11421&subid=2&tag=9283&pubid=1092531>

- Georgas, Vasilis, 2007, “Oi Ellinikes Epihiriseis pou exoun parousia stin Tourkia”, (Greek Companies with a presence in Turkey), (02-05-2007), available at <http://www.capital.gr/news.asp?Details=286593>
- “Heretismos Roussopoulou sto 3o Ellinotourkiko Dimosiografiko Synedrio”, (Roussopoulos greets the 3rd Greek-Turkish Media Conference, (19-02-2005), available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/article_397.shtml
- “Horis Diavatirio stin Tourkia” (In Turkey without a Passport), (22-05-2007), available at http://www.ktel-thes.gr/index.php?Itemid=120&id=77&option=com_content&task=view&lang=el
- Koutalianou, Zoyia, 2008, “Ellines kai Tourkoi Anazitoun tis rizes tous”, (Greeks and Turks in Search of their Roots), (24-04-2008), available at <http://www.emprosnet.gr/emprosnet/news/article.asp?cid=85&uid=2008042444892>
- Kremida, Damaris, 2008, “Greek Businessmen seek further Opportunities”, Turkish Daily News, (28-01-2008), available at <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/article.php?enewsid=94848>
- Massavetas, Alexandros, 2006, “Ellinomania: I Nea Moda ton Tourkon”, (Hellenomania: the New Trend of the Turks), Kathimerini, (01-10-2006), available at http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_world_399930_01/10/2006_199827
- “O Tuπος kai ta Ellinotourkika”, (Media and Greek-Turkish Relations), To Vima, (06-02-2000), available at http://www.tovima.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=12838&m=A70&aa=1
- Papagiannidou, Mairy, 2007, “To Krima sto Laimo tous”, (They should be held responsible), To Vima (02-09-2007), available at http://tovima.dolnet.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=15153&m=S06&aa=1
- Poulopoulou, Katerina, 2005, “Me Dynami apo tin Tourkia”, (With Power from Turkey), Eleftherotypia, (21-08-2005), available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=112,dt=21.08.2005,id=89760040
- “Protasi Ekplixi tou k. Spiliotopoulou gia katargisi tis visas gia tous Tourkous”, (An Unexpected Proposal of Mr. Spiliotopoulos for the abolition of visas for the Turks), (12-06-2008), available at <http://www.greekinsight.com/?conID=11992&PHPSESSID=6385fab5389b3c5f11c4c33bc81cea4a>
- Stamatiadou, Angela, 2006, “Tsiflik Bahtse: I Dytiki Athina Paei Anatoli”, (Tsiflik Bahtse: West Athens goes to the East), Athinorama, (16-03-2006), available at <http://www.athinorama.gr/restaurants/articles/default.aspx?c=tsiflik&i=1536>

“Sunanthsh mousikwn, episthmonwn, dhmosiografwn: 7o festival ellhnotourkikhs filias”, (Meeting of Musicians, scientists, journalists: 7th Greek-Turkish Friendship Festival), (10-06-2008), available at <http://www.xronos.gr/news/detail.php?ID=40427>

“Sunenteuksh me thn ka Tina Zogopoulou, Diethuntria tou Ellhnotourkikou Kentrou Glwssas kai Politismou”, (Interview with Tina Zogopoulou, Director of the Greek-Turkish Center of Language and Culture), (01-03-2007), available at http://www.grtrnews.com/gr/publish/article_791.shtml

Tsakiri, Tonia, 2005, “Estiatorio Kebap me tziro 2.3 ekat euro”, (Kebap Restaurant with gains of 2.3 million euro), To Vima, (03-07-2005), available at http://tovima.dolnet.gr/print_article.php?e=B&f=14504&m=D06&aa=1

Tsiordas, Dimitris (ed.), 2007, “Tourkoi autoi ki emeis Romioi”(They Turks and we Rums), *Eleftherotypia*, (10-06-2007), available at http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=110,id=20573804,26245100,34135404

Vasiliou, Thanasis, 2005, “I Tourkia stis Prothikes ton Vivliopolion”, (Turkey at Bookstore shelves), *Kathimerini*, (02-10-2005), available at http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_civ_1_02/10/2005_158360

Vimagazino, issue 397, (25-05-2008)

Voulgari, Sandra, 2008, “Ekato neoi, duo ethni, mia foni...”, (A hundred young people, two nations, one voice...), *Kathimerini*, (13-07-2008), available at http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_civ_2_13/07/2008_277191

Internet sources

The Lausanne Treaty, available at <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/1918p/lausanne.html>

TurGresoc, Turkish-Greek Society of Youth, available at <http://www.safia.gr/uploads/file/TurGreSoc%20IDENTITY-HISTORY.pdf>

TurGreSoc, Turkish-Greek Society of Youth, Forum upon Remembering and Forgetting, available at [http://www.safia.eu/uploads/file/TURGRESOC%20forum%202008\(details\).pdf](http://www.safia.eu/uploads/file/TURGRESOC%20forum%202008(details).pdf)

<http://www.kapa-research.com>

<http://www.turkmas.uoa.gr>

<http://www.grtrnews.com>

<http://www.uom.gr>

<http://www.rhodes.aegean.gr>

<http://www.bscc.duth.gr>

<http://www.balkan.uowm.gr>

<http://agora.mfa.gr/turkey>

<http://www.kultur.gov.tr>

<http://www.karl.aegee.org>

<http://www.winpeace.net>

<http://www.greekembassy.org.tr>

<http://www.deik.org.tr>

<http://www.kemo.gr>

<http://www.mubadele.org>