RE-MEMBERING CITIZENSHIP:

THE DEPORTATION OF GREEKS OF ISTANBUL IN 1964-65

ELİF KEVSER ÖZER ALBAYRAK

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2024

RE-MEMBERING CITIZENSHIP:

THE DEPORTATION OF GREEKS OF ISTANBUL IN 1964-65

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Philosophy of Doctorate

in

History

by

Elif Kevser Özer Albayrak

Boğaziçi University

2024

Re-membering Citizenship:

The Deportation of Greeks of Istanbul in 1964-65

The thesis of Elif Kevser Özer Albayrak

has been approved by:

Assist. Prof. Yaşar Tolga Cora _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Arzu Öztürkmen Yılmaz _____
(Thesis Co-Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Abdullah Ahmet Ersoy _____

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Yücel Terzibaşoğlu _____

Assist. Prof. Akif Ercihan Yerlioğlu _____

Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Ozil _____
(External Member)

Assist. Prof. Fahriye Dinçer _____
(External Member)

December 2023

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Elif Kevser Özer Albayrak, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature……

Date ……

ABSTRACT

Re-Membering Citizenship:

The Deportation of Greeks of Istanbul in 1964-65

The deportation of Greek citizens from Istanbul in 1964-65 stands as a significant historical period, viewed as the beginning of the significant decrease in the Rum of Istanbul —a yet often overlooked chapter in history. This study, the first comprehensive oral history research on the deportation of Greek citizens from Istanbul, is constructed based on a series of oral history interviews conducted between 2020 and 2023. It centers on individuals who were deported during the years 1964-65, those who were forced to leave Istanbul due to the deportation of their relatives, and witnesses of the era. The field research, which resulted in the creation of an audio-visual archive, comprises interviews with 80 individuals. The narratives transcend the scope of existing literature, offering diverse insights into pre-exile experiences of being Rum in Istanbul through daily life accounts. The study delves into the challenges faced by individuals in establishing a new order after exile, detailing areas of struggle and sources of support. At their core, these testimonies highlight precarity and resilience as two prominent concepts. Grounded in the personal narratives of the witnesses of the deportation period, this study aims to humanize historiography by making it more democratic.

ÖZET

Vatandaşlığın Hatırlanması:

1964-65 Yıllarında İstanbul Rumlarının Sınırdışı Edilmesi

Yunan vatandaşlarının 1964-65 yıllarında sınır dışı edilmeleri, İstanbul Rum toplumunun yok oluşunun başlangıcı olarak görülen, ancak tarihte genellikle göz ardı edilen önemli bir tarihsel dönem olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yunan vatandaşlarının sınır dışı edilmelerine ilişkin ilk kapsamlı sözlü tarih araştırması olan bu çalışma, 1964-65 yıllarında sınır dışı edilenler, yakınlarının sınır dışı edilmesi nedeniyle İstanbul'u terk etmek zorunda kalanlar ve dönemin tanıkları merkeze alınarak 2020-2023 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilen bir dizi sözlü tarih görüşmesi üzerine kurgulanmıştır. Saha araştırması sonucunda 80 kişiyle yapılan görüşmelerden oluşan görsel-işitsel bir arşiv oluşturuldu. Anlatılar, mevcut yazılı kaynakların kapsamını aşarak, gündelik yaşam anlatıları üzerinden İstanbul'da Rum olmanın sürgün öncesi deneyimlerine dair çeşitli içgörüler sunmakta, sürgün sonrası yeni bir düzen kurarken bireylerin karşılaştığı zorlukları irdelemekte, mücadele alanlarını ve destek kaynaklarını detaylandırmaktadır. Bu tanıklıkların özünde, kırılganlık ve dayanıklılık öne çıkan iki konsept olarak vurgulandı. Tehcir döneminin tanıklarının kişisel anlatılarına dayanan bu çalışma, tarih yazımını daha demokratik hale getirerek insanileştirmeyi amaçlıyor.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Elif Kevser Özer Albayrak

DEGREES AWARDED

PhD in History, 2024, Boğaziçi University
MA in Cultural Studies, 2014, İstanbul Şehir University
BA in Turkish Language and Literature, 2011, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Oral History, Ethnography, Minority Studies, History of Christians and Jews in the Republic of Turkey, History of Migration, History of Emotions, Memory/Remembering, Storytelling, Nonviolent Communication

AWARDS AND HONORS

Honors List, Boğaziçi University, 2011
The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) Achievement Scholarship for Ph.D. education, 2015-2019

GRANTS

THYESPA Summer School Scholarship, 2018
ARIT (The American Research Institute in Turkey) W.D.E. Coulson & Toni Cross Aegean Exchange Fellowships Program Year 2020, Dissertation Research Fellowship
The OTSA (Ottoman & Turkish Studies Association) Vangelis Kechriotis Memorıal Travel Grant, 2022

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles

Özer, Elif Kevser. (Jan. 2015). Rak Rak Raki Yaktın Bizi TOKİ. *AltUst.*
Özer, Elif Kevser. (2022). The History of A Neoliberal Transition Period: Sulukule. *Synchrona Themata*, (vol.157), [in Greek].

Book Chapters

Özer, Elif Kevser. (2021). Mapping A Neoliberal Transition: The Case of Sulukule. In (Proceedings of International Congress of Social Sciences II-CONGIST'19) *On Interaction Between The City And The Language(S): Individual To Society.* Istanbul University Publication.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I wish to convey my deepest gratitude to my advisors, Arzu Öztürkmen, for introducing me to oral history and providing expertise and insightful feedback that significantly contributed to the development of this dissertation; and Yaşar Tolga Cora, for his invaluable guidance and encouragement throughout the research and writing process, which provided strength during challenging times.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to the other members of my thesis committee: esteemed professors Abdullah Ahmet Ersoy, Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, Ayşe Ozil, Fahriye Dinçer, and Akif Ercihan Yerlioğlu. Their valuable comments and contributions greatly enriched the final evaluation of the research findings. Furthermore, I am indebted to them for their time and cooperation during the thesis submission process.

This dissertation was made possible through the support of numerous individuals and institutions over an extended period of research. Antonis Anastasopoulos and Marinos Sariyannis, assisted me in establishing the necessary network to initiate my initial interviews in Athens. Nikolas Uzunoglu, the President of the Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans, has consistently been one of my greatest supporters, never withholding his assistance whenever I needed it throughout my extensive research. Pepi and Dimitri Tsoukatou, the owners and administrators of Tsoukatou Publications, were always prepared to provide support, particularly for their efforts in enabling access to female interviewees. I express my gratitude to Adelia Tsoukatou not only for collaborating with me in the archives of the Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey but also for her friendship. Stathis Arvanidis, who frequently informed me about community events,

accompanied me to these events, for which I am grateful. I also extend my gratitude to Herkül Millas and his dear wife, Ms. Evi. Our discussions in Athens regarding my thesis led to the emergence of its main structure; disparate narratives aligned as we conversed, forming the framework of the thesis. I thank them for patiently listening, expanding my horizons with their questions, and assisting me in viewing things from different perspectives. I highly value their friendship. Thanos Zarangalis was immensely helpful in the translations of *O Politis*, and I express my gratitude to him. Angela Malafouris's support in providing access to resources at the OIMKO Library is invaluable. Nikolaos Zahariadis greatly aided me in accessing archival documents; he and his spouse, Ms. Agni, welcomed me into their home multiple times, and I am grateful to them. I cannot fail to mention my dear professor, İlay Romain Örs, who helped me catch my breath during intense fieldwork, prevented me from losing navigation amidst the field's pace. I express my gratitude to my dear professor Can Candan, who provided guidance on how to record my interviews, offering unwavering support throughout my research. Aydın Kapancık showed kindness by sharing interview recordings for his documentary *Kayıp Vatan*. Nikolaos Kolman, the President of the Zografeion Lyceum Alumni Association, facilitated my initial steps in conducting my field research in Thessaloniki by introducing me to Polyvios Strantzalis, the President of the Association of Constantinopolitans of Northern Greece. My fieldwork in Thessaloniki was made possible by Strantzalis's network support and the hospitality of Dimitra Dourmazer; I am deeply thankful to them. Furthermore, I appreciate the efforts of Maria Kazantzidou and Giorgos Mavroudis from the Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria (Ι.Α.Π.Ε.) for their assistance in scanning archives related to the 1964 expulsion and sharing interview materials with me. I am grateful to Athanasia Stavrou and Eva

Ahladi, who helped me a lot to learn Greek and to progress in my research. I extend my sincere gratitude to Prof. Hanna Nita Scherler, who graciously accommodated my interview request and generously shared her lecture notes with me. Additionally, I appreciate Prof. Vilma Hastaouglou-Martinidis for addressing my inquiry regarding the urban history of Thessaloniki without hesitation. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to my dear professor Savvas Tsilenis and his wife Kalliroi Dafna, who were by my side at every step throughout my research. Savvas Tsilenis introduced me to the Rums of Istanbul community, shared his testimonies as a Rum who witnessed before and after the expulsion process, broadened my horizons with insightful questions, patiently answered my inquiries, and thus evolved into an intermediary in introducing me to the field, an excellent mentor, and eventually, a wonderful friend.

I received financial support from the TÜBİTAK-BİDEB 2211 Domestic Doctoral Scholarship Program for the first four years of my Ph.D. studies. The continuation of my research was made possible by Boğaziçi University's Academic Research Projects (BAP) numbered 17283 and 19501. Furthermore, in 2018, I received the THYESPA scholarship for language training at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. I could not have conducted the field works without the financial support from ARIT and OTSA; I conducted my field research in Athens with the ARIT Coulson-Cross Fund scholarship and in Thessaloniki with The OTSA Vangelis Kechriotis Memorial Travel Grant.

Throughout this entire process, the efforts of all my friends have been invaluable; I am deeply grateful to my dear friends Yankı, Zeynep, Arda, İsmail, and Feyyaz who welcomed me in Athens and Thessaloniki, provided me with the strength to continue through exhausting field days with their companionship. Rahşan,

İlkay, Nil, Fatma, Özkan, Özge, Umut, Abdullah, Seren, Hülya, Yılmaz, Pelin, Vahap, Elif, Enes, Çiğdem, Kader, Filiz, and SU-MEMS team, although we live in different cities and countries, have always been by my side, and I am grateful for their presence.

My family has been very supportive throughout my life; I am truly indebted to my parents, Semiha and Hüseyin Özer, as well as my sisters, Bahar, Esra and Nurcan.

Finally, I wrote my thesis during my pregnancy, completing the final edits while holding my baby in my arms. During this process, my dear spouse Oğuz not only proved to be a wonderful partner but also an amazing father. I am grateful to Oğuz for his love and supporting me so immensely throughout the research and writing process, and to our little son, Can Civan, for giving me the strength to finish my thesis.

And, of course, the greatest gratitude goes to the Rums of Istanbul who were exiled and witnessed the exile, and who contributed to this study. Without their generous sharing of their stories, this study would never have come to fruition.



to Can Civan

Can Civan'a

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 A neglected literature: A brief review 5

1.2 Generating theory through fieldwork 14

1.3 Between belonging and citizenship: the Greek citizens of Rum Polites .. 25

1.4 Thriving or surviving? The ever-regressing status of Rum Polites in a post-republic epoch 35

1.5 A brief history of Apelasis 42

1.6 The complexity of the terminology 49

1.7 Structural overview of the research 52

CHAPTER 2: ON METHODOLOGY AND REFLEXIVITY 54

2.1 An introduction: Oral history as an approach and methodology 54

2.2 Behind the voices: Methodological insights of the study 55

2.3 Living narratives, written records: The dynamics of orality and literacy in the sources 65

2.4 In the realm of research: Challenging algorithms of pandemic, unexpected realties and unforseen insights 68

CHAPTER 3: BEING A RUM IN ISTANBUL: ΤΑ ΚΑΛΎΤΕΡΑ ΜΑΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΆ* 85

3.1 Through the eyes of a child: Daily life before the exile 86

3.2 The habitus of precarity 103

3.3 The precarization mechanisms 130

CHAPTER 4: LEAVING ISTANBUL: ΑΝΤΙΟ ΠΑΤΡΊΔΑ ΜΟΥ* 145

4.1 The 1964 Expulsion: A political ripple or an immanent possibility of the habitus of precarity? 146
4.2 Various paths of deportation: The demise of familiar lives 168
4.3 Navigating precarity: Coping strategies of Istanbul's Rum community facing irreversible departure 190
4.4 Striving to stay: Narratives of those resisting deportation 201
4.5 Customs as the final frontier: Precariousness and flexibilities in the departure narratives from Istanbul 210
4.6 Echoes of absence: The struggle of those left behind in the wake of Rum migration from Istanbul 218
CHAPTER 5: RESETTLING IN GREECE: ΟΙ ΔΎΣΚΟΛΕΣ ΣΤΙΓΜΈΣ* 225
5.1 Residential dynamics of Rum Polites: A journey from Istanbul to Athens 225
5.2 Navigating new beginnings: Adapting to challenges and freedom 229
5.3 Diverse precariousness: Navigating exile's varied challenges 233
5.4 The resilience of expelled Rum Polites 248
CHAPTER 6: RE-MEMBERING ISTANBUL: ΤΙ ΈΧΟΥΜΕ ΠΕΡΆΣΕΙ* 305
6.1 Apelasis: Fragmented meanings of the exile experience 305
6.2 Diverse connections with Istanbul: Remembering and memorialization practices 306
6.3 Struggle for properties: Confronting the habitus of precarity once again 309
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION 315
APPENDIX A: THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EXPULSION 322
APPENDIX B: THE LISTS OF PERIOD FILMS 388

APPENDIX C: THE BANNER EXAMPLE OF THE BOYCOTT “DO NOT SHOP WITH RUMS” 386
APPENDIX D: THE CONSULAR REPORT INDICATING DEPORTEEES NUMBERS BETWEEN 16.03.1965-30.11.1965 387
APPENDIX E: THE PASSPORT PAGE WITH THE CUSTOMS NOTE 388
APPENDIX F: DETAILED MAP OF PLATEIA VATHIS 389
APPENDIX G: AN EXAMPLE OF THE PAID MILITARY SERVICE RECEIPT 390
APPENDIX H: AN EXAMPLE OF THE NOTICE OF CITIZENSHIP REVOCATION 391
APPENDIX I: AN EXAMPLE OF FOREIGN IDENTITY CARD 392
APPENDIX J: THE 1958 CIVIL SERVICE LAW 393
APPENDIX K: THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' DECISION ON THE ABOLITION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL DECREE 394
APPENDIX L: AN INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCE ON THE MINORITY ISSUES ASSESSMENT BOARD 395
REFERENCES 396

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 2011, as a young Erasmus student from Turkey, my friends and I met in a tavern in Athens and talked about how much we missed our home. I said, “I miss Haliç (the Golden Horn) so much! When I go back to Istanbul, I will sit in a café near Haliç and drink strong tea!” An old man who was sitting very close to us called out to me in Turkish, “Child!” he said, “How long has it been since you last saw Haliç?” I replied, “It has been 3 months!” He smiled and asked, “What is three months? Is that long enough?”. A deadly silence fell over us. He continued, “I was born near Haliç, in Tarlabaşı. I grew up there, and I fell in love there. I left my lover, my friends, and my whole life there.” This is how I met Uncle Manolis, who became my best friend with whom I discussed Istanbul’s past and present for days. I subsequently learned that he had been expelled from Turkey in 1964.

In the tavern I visited in Athens on that day, the story I heard stayed with me for a long time. My familial history was the point at which I resonated with Uncle Manolis’ story and the reason of why I embarked on this study. I was an Erasmus student in Athens who has chosen Greece as a destination to see the places where my grandparents were born, from where they were coming from. I have grown up listening to migration narratives within my family for as long as I can remember. In particular, I vividly recall how my young heart was deeply moved by the migration story of my grandmother, whose name I bear, during the period of her struggle with dementia. It appears that I was drawn specifically to the narratives of displaced and migrating individuals, a realization I came to during my doctoral thesis. It is likely for this reason that I resonated deeply with Manolis Uncle's story. The night I

listened to his narrative, all my friends who were seated at the same table still remember Uncle Manolis, but only I among them chose to pursue a doctoral thesis on this subject.

Years later, the initial spark of curiosity for this work, which will become my doctoral thesis, was ignited on that very day. What were the individual stories of the deported Greek citizens and their accompanying relatives, who have always been represented by numbers? What kind of lives did these individuals have before leaving the country? How did they learn about their deportation, and how did they prepare for the journey? What did they experience during this process? How did they continue their lives after leaving Istanbul? What difficulties did they face? What kind of experience did deportation correspond to in their lives?

The expulsion of Greek citizens from Istanbul in the mid-20th century stands as a significant yet often overlooked chapter in history. For this very reason, when I commenced this study, there existed a limited number of inquiries within the literature that could satiate my curiosity, and in terms of content, with few exceptions the majority of these studies did not directly focus on individuals subjected to deportation; rather, they were centered on the expulsion of Greek citizens of Istanbul, addressing the issue within the framework of international law, with the deportees being referred to solely as statistical data. Therefore, to answer the questions above, I adopt oral history as a historiographic approach and a research method and oral history served to broaden the research domain, facilitating the expansion of my curiosity-driven exploration. It propelled me to pursue my inquiries, unlocking entirely new avenues and granting access to the testimonies of individuals conventionally perceived as mere "statistical data".

In line with the approach of oral historian Michael Frisch, it is essential to consider the concepts of “anti-history" and "more history" for explaining the contribution of this research to the literature (Frisch, 1990, p.186). The fieldwork provided a perspective for anti-history, which challenges "established understandings of history" (Öztürkmen & Bornat, 2009), and helped me to distance myself from official history, which argues that Turkey had right to legally deport Greek citizens, relies on one-sided state sources and manipulation of these sources, and criminalizes the Rums of Istanbul.[1] Adopting the "more history" approach, I aim to reveal unrecorded and undocumented aspects of the history of the expulsion through its subjects life stories. By listening to the life stories of Rum Polites and recording their experiences of the expulsion, I generated new sources in this field. These new sources allowed me to go beyond the boundaries of the existing literature, to include the before and after of the expulsion in my research, gave me a different perspective, and made possible a more bottom-up historiography through the subject of the expulsion.

This study is constructed based on a series of oral history interviews conducted between 2020 and 2023 (two series in Athens and one series in Thessaloniki), centering on individuals who were deported during the years 1964-65,

[1] I refer to Greek-speaking, Christian Orthodox, Istanbul-born group of people as “İstanbul Rumları/ İstanbullu Rumlar” (pl.) in Turkish, as the “Rums of Istanbul” and/or the “Istanbulite Rums” can be used in English and the “Rum Polites” as İlay Romain Örs suggested by combining two emic terms - one Turkish (Rum) and one Greek (Polites) word- of self-designation and representing bilingual culture of Rum Polites (Örs, 2006, p. 80; 2018, p. 87). *Rum,* which derives from “Romeos”/“Roman”, denotes the connection to Eastern Roman/ Byzantine origins and was also used by the Ottoman administration for defining the orthodox community of the empire as *millet-i Rum. Polites,* on the other hand, as used in Greek, singular “Politis” (m.) and “Politissa” (f).- means from “the city”, from *Konstantinoupoli*, refers to the will of identification with the heritage of Istanbul –*i Poli* means the City –a symbolic capital in Greek cosmology which is the biggest and most important urban center as the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church, and the adherence to the heritage of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. In order to avoid a confusion about the ethnicity and the citizenship issues, I refrain from refer Rums of Istanbul as “Greeks of Istanbul” as used in English. I do only refer Greek citizens of Rum community as “Greeks of Istanbul”. I will address the terminological choices in the following pages.

those who were forced to leave Istanbul due to the deportation of their relatives, and witnesses of the era. The field research which is resulted in the creation of an audio-visual archive, comprising interviews with 80 individuals, coincided with the pandemic period, and consequently, the conditions under which I endeavored to continue my research were as challenging as the narratives I sought to uncover. The initial months of the pandemic helped me to delve into the written and audiovisual sources which were related to the 1960s and the minorities in Turkey. However, with lifting of pandemic bans and returning to normalization, both my desire to listen and the willingness of my interviewees to share facilitated our navigation through these difficult circumstances. Throughout the interviews, I endeavored to create a space for my interviewees to express what they wished by posing open-ended questions whenever possible. Additionally, I strived to minimize my intervention, allowing the interviewees to guide the conversation. The narratives I encountered transcended the scope of existing written sources, offering diverse insights into pre-exile experiences of being Rum in Istanbul through daily life accounts. Accounts also delved into the challenges faced by individuals in establishing a new order after exile, detailing areas of struggle and sources of support. At their core, these testimonies highlighted precarity and resilience as two prominent concepts. Through these concepts, I gained a fresh perspective on the expulsion of Rums of Istanbul, providing a nuanced understanding of the subject matter. Grounded on the narratives of these witnesses, this narrative aims to humanize historiography by making it more democratic, in contrast to studies that have not hitherto prioritized personal narratives.

In this introduction chapter, how the existing literature deals with the deportation of Greek citizens in 1964-65 will be addressed, the contribution of oral history as an approach and a research method will be deliberated upon. Furthermore,

the question, "Who were the Greek citizens of the Rums of Istanbul community?" will be addressed, an analysis of the factors that have influenced the lives of these individuals during the period preceding 1964 and following the Republic will be undertaken. Finally, the complexity of the terminology of what will be touched upon, and structure of the study will be provided.

1.1 A neglected literature: A brief review

The Rum Polites did not receive significant public attention until the early 1980s, the period of Greece's integration into the European Union, it was not the subject of scientific research. Generally, it is assumed that this step towards the European Union provided a sense of security to discuss the "sensitive" issues of the recent past. Alongside the improvement of mutual relations between Turkey and Greece, Greece's reintegration into NATO, and political negotiations regarding the Aegean dispute, initiatives involving dialogue with Rums of Istanbul were initiated. Simultaneously, a new historical approach to the Ottoman Empire emerged. The Ottoman archives underwent reorganization, new subjects became topics of research, and young historians became more curious and daring in their inquiries. For instance, in the early 1980s, Bernard Lewis and Benjamin Braude published "Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire", which was an important study due to its focus on non-Muslims and their cultures within Ottoman society (Öztürkmen, 2012, p. 67).[2]

[2] Ozil highlights that by the end of the 20th century, the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire was characterized by diversity and difference instead of similarity and unity. She provides a comprehensive literature review on how historians adopted this perspective, integrating Greek and Ottoman contexts and ushering in a new approach to historiography. This change stemmed from the shortcomings of the old *millet* view and served as a response to nationalist historiography. Furthermore, Ozil provides the development of revisionist historiography on the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire as following: as early as in 1939, Michalis Sakellariou emphasized the importance of exploring the Ottoman period to gain a deeper insight into modern Greek history.

During such a period, Alexis Alexandris, himself a Rum of Istanbul, completed his thesis titled "Istanbul's Greek Minority and Greek-Turkish Relations, 1918-1974" in 1983 (and published in 1992). In doing so, he made a contribution to the literature by examining the Rums in Turkey from a comparative minority politics perspective. However, up until the 2000s, this period had not been the subject of academic research, except for a series of individual memoirs[3] published by Rums of Istanbul living in Athens and institutional publications[4] that included the speeches made

---

Starting in the 1960s, but particularly gaining momentum after the 1990s, historians have increasingly incorporated the Ottoman context into their examinations of the Orthodox Christian past. Scholars like John Alexander, Elizabeth Zachariadou, Molly Greene, Heath Lowry, Socrates Petmezas, Evangelia Balta, Eleni Gara, Ilias Kolovos, Marinos Sanyannis, Antons Anastasopoulos, and others have delved into various regional aspects of this integration. Additionally, researchers such as Sia Anagnostopoulou, Paraskevas Konortas, Dimitris Stamatopoulos, and Christine Philliou focused on the Patriarchate and secular Greek leadership within the framework of Ottoman political and administrative structures. In the realm of sociopolitical history, Richard Clogs challenged the conventional narrative of Greek historiography that emphasizes the ascent of Orthodox Christians to social and economic power as a prelude to national liberation. He argued that not every Orthodox economic group harbored political ambitions for the establishment of a Greek nation-state. Scholars like Haris Exertzoglou, Edhem Eldem, and others advocated for a contextualized understanding of Christians' economic activities within the conditions of the Ottoman Empire. By disputing the portrayal of Christians as agents of Great Powers and challenging the 'comprador bourgeoisie' arguments, these scholars presented Christians as a relatively autonomous economic force operating within the imperial realm and connected to the global capitalist markets. The cultural and linguistic diversity among Christians was prevalent, particularly with the dominance of the Turkish language as one moved inland from the Anatolian coastal regions. Sia Anagnostopoulou, Haris Exertzoglou, Paschalis Kitromilides, and Alexis Alexandris illustrated the diverse backgrounds and characteristics of Orthodox settlements in Anatolia. While towns like Izmir and Ayvalık are often considered quintessential Greek settlements, they became predominantly Orthodox only in the nineteenth century due to migration from the Greek mainland and islands. Surprisingly, coastal regions witnessed the arrival of Greek migrants from the newly established Hellenic state seeking economic opportunities in the empire's burgeoning commercial centers. Contrary to expectations, the demographic flow was from the nation-state to the empire, not the other way around, indicating that not every Orthodox Christian was eager to align with or reside in the Greek nation-state.For further information please see: Ozil,A (2014). Introduction. In Ozil, A. (Ed), *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (pp. 10-14). Routledge.

[3] In the late 1970s and early 1980s, individual efforts were made to express the experience of deportation, especially through memoirs written by Rums of Istanbul who were deported. The following names and books have contributed to this public discussion: Stefanos Papadopoulos, Αναμνήσεις από τήν Πόλη (Memories from the City), Atina, 1978; Nikos Damtsas, Η αγωνία της Κωυσταντινουπόλεως (The Voice of Constantinopolis), Atina, 1982; Simos Vafiadis, Ένας Πολίτης Θυμάται, (A Constantinopolitan Remembers) 1998; Dora Koundouraki, Μη Κλαίς Γιαβρί Μου, Κωνσταντινούπολη 1890, Αθήνα 2000 (Dont Cry My Dear, Constantinopolis 1890, Athens 2000), Atina, 2001; Aglaia Konstantinidou-Kloukina, Άιντε πάλι... Ξεριζώνεται ο Ελληνισμός από την Πόλη (Let's Go... Hellenism is Being Erased from the City), Atina.

[4] *30 Χρόνια από τις Απελάσεις: 1964-1994* (The Thirtieth Year of Exile) was published by Σωματείων Ελλήνων Υπηκόων Απελαθέντων εκ Τουρκίας (The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from

during commemorative events organized in Athens for the 30th and 40th anniversaries of their deportation in 1964-1965. In Turkey, after the coup of September 12, 1980, "under the impact of global trends, there was a turn to cultural and subjective identities" (Neyzi, 2010, p. 446). Especially during the discussions surrounding the Kurdish movement in the 1990s, there was a growing inclination to question other ethnicities and engage in identity politics. Consequently, the way national history was perceived underwent a transformation, where "contemporary issues are discussed in relation to the past and the past in relation to the present," as pointed out by Neyzi (2010, p. 446).

In the first half of the 1990s, during the period when reconciliation efforts between Turkey and Greece were underway, Rıdvan Akar and Hülya Demir authored the first book on the 1964 deportation specifically aimed at Turkish readers, titled *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünleri* (The Last Exiles of Istanbul). Akar and Demir referred to the prolonged silence on this topic as a "collective amnesia" and expressed their frustration with the "lack of sources" available for studying the expulsion. They conducted extensive archival research, including newspapers, parliamentary speeches, and interviews, to uncover the historical details. Their research led them to the conclusion that the Turkish government had leveraged the établis status of the Greek citizens in Turkey[5] to pressure Greece into reaching an agreement on the

Turkey) in 1994. This publication, consisting of contributions made during the 30th-anniversary commemoration event, is a pioneering work that brought discussions about the deportation of Greeks of Istanbul into the public discourse in Greece.
Τον Τόπο που Γεννήθηκες Δεν Θα του ξαχάσεις Ποτέ. Οι απελάσεις του 1964: Μαρτυρίες Ελλήνων Κωνσταυτινουπολιτών (You Will Never Forget Where You Were Born: The 1964 Deportation-Testimonies of Greeks of Istanbul) can be seen as a collective memoir book composed of contributions made during the 40th-anniversary commemoration event of the deportation. This book was published as part of the efforts by *O Politis* newspaper, founded by a Rum of Istanbul who had settled in Athens after being deported in 1964, to shed light on the experiences of Rum Polites.

[5] The établis status of the Greek citizens will be explained in the following lines.

Cyprus dispute in favor of Turkey. Stavros Anestidis noted that the expulsion had not been a subject of focus among historians in Greece until recently. He pointed out that even popular history periodicals like *Ta Istoria*, which was managed by a younger generation of historians influenced by the Annales school and a post-Marxist approach, had not addressed the expulsion of Romioi for decades (Anestidis, 2019). However, the 1990s in Turkey, were the years of recalling the previous dwellers of the city with the effect of the rising globalism, neoliberal marketing strategies, and grieving cosmopolitanism. *Tarih ve Toplum,* and *Toplumsal Tarih,* from the early years of broadcasting lives, have provided a suitable ground for discussing *Septemvriana* and *Apelasis*.[6] Although publishing papers about Septemvriana in these magazines were much more popular than writing about Apelasis, Orhan Türker's article on the expulsion in its 35th anniversary (1999) can be seen as an example of this publication intention (Türker O. , 1999).

In the early 2000s, Tasos Boulmetis' film *Politiki Kuzina* (A Touch of Spice, 2004) marked the first significant breakthrough in decades on this subject.[7] The director of the film, Tasos Boulmetis, is the child of a Rum of Istanbul family that was deported. The autobiographical nature of the film, released on the 50th anniversary of the 1955 pogrom, had a profound impact on its audience. In 2005,

[6] I will use the word *Apelasis,* which means expulsion in Greek in generally, but when the relationship of Polites with the city is taken into consideration, it has a very particular meaning of the 1964-1965 expulsion and involuntary migration of Constantinopolitan Greeks. I will also use *Septemvriana* for referring to The Pogrom of 6/7 September 1955 as the interviewees referred in the fieldwork. I will address the terminological choices in the following pages.

[7] The atmosphere created by Boulmetis' film is examined and discussed by Romain-Örs in *Diaspora of The City*, p. 158-159. Furthermore, Aglaia Konstantinidou-Kloukina, the author of *Άιντε πάλι... Ξεριζώνεται ο Ελληνισμός από την Πόλη*, as arguing that the general indifference towards Rums of Istanbul in Greece, and referring that Rum Polites did not receive sufficient support from the Greek governments during either the 1955 events or the events of 1964, emphasizes that "In order for the Greek public to become aware of the 1964 exile and be moved by it, it would have been necessary to screen the Politiki Kuzina film" (Konstantinidou-Kloukina, *Άιντε πάλι...*,p. 17).

following the 50th anniversary of the Semptember 6-7 pogrom, an exhibition featuring Fahri Çoker's archive was held in Istanbul with the sponsorship of the Tarih Vakfı (History Foundation). A year later, in 2006, the first conferences focusing on the Rum Polites, titled "Meeting in Istanbul: Today and Tomorrow," were organized in Istanbul. The proceedings of this conference were published six years later, in 2012, by İstos publication house under the title *İstanbul Rumları, Bugün ve Yarın* (Rums of Istanbul, Today and Tomorrow). This work served as an introductory compilation, encompassing a variety of studies spanning different disciplines, from urban history to international relations, authored by individuals with diverse perspectives. In 2007, amidst a period characterized by a blend of mourning and courage following the assassination of Hrant Dink, and a time when past and present anti-minority policies were being more openly debated, Samim Akgönül published his work titled *Türkiye Rumları* (The Rums of Turkey), which complemented Alexandris's *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974*; Akgönül's work extended this reference book to the present day by incorporating developments that Alexandris had not covered after 1974. This comprehensive study not only interprets the history of the Rum minority in Turkey as a process of gradual disappearance from the early Republican era to the context of globalization today but also makes a dual contribution to the literature. Firstly, in contrast to the widespread belief that Rum Polites left the city immediately after the September 6-7 Pogrom due to a lack of hope and security, Akgönül argues that the Rum population significantly decreased after the deportations of 1964-1965. Thus, the deportations of Greek passport holders to Greece are perceived as a turning point in modern Turkish history. Secondly, this study suggests that the deportations of 1964-1965 should be discussed within the framework of a long-term ethnic and

religious homogenization policy in Turkey. In the same year, another article was published focusing on the 1964 deportations. In his work, Halil Şimşek interprets the deportation decision as an exercise of the state's sovereignty and the use of its rights of dominion. He acknowledges that those who were deported, and their families experienced a tragedy. He emphasizes that the wave of migration that began after the 1964 deportations led to a significant decrease in the Rums of Istanbul community, which had numbered around 100,000 in the early 1960s but has now dwindled to the thousands Şimşek, 2007).

By 2010, as part of Istanbul's tenure as the European Capital of Culture in 2010, the "Hasretim İstanbul" project was initiated to explore the nostalgic and missing elements of cosmopolitan Istanbul through the memories of its former residents. The study includes 47 interviews conducted in Athens and Thessaloniki and was published as a book and broadcast as a documentary. In 2014, conferences,[8] exhibitions,[9] and various publications[10] commemorating the 50th anniversary of the deportation provided a platform for researchers to come together for potential future collaborative work. For instance, the conference organized for the 50th anniversary of the deportation led to the publication of *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri* (The Rums of Istanbul and the Exiles of 1964) in 2019. This edited book, comprising works from various disciplines such as international relations, anthropology, and sociology, directly focuses on the deportation of Rum Polites in 1964-1965. It

[8] The conference "*1964 Expulsions and the Rums of Istanbul: A Turning Point in the Homogenization of Turkish Society"* took place on October 31st to November 1st, 2014, at Istanbul Bilgi University.
[9] The exhibition "20 Dollars 20 Kilos", which opened at Depo Istanbul with the initiative of Babil-Der to share the personal narratives of exiled Rum Polites through video, audio recordings and newspaper clippings, presented the deportation process to the public in a more interactive way.
[10] *Altüst* devoted its April-June issue (12) in 2014 to the expulsion on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the expulsion, the authors and the studies can be listed as: Cengiz Aktar, "Bir Zamanlar Rumlar Vardı",p. 23; Elçin Macar, "İstisna mı Süreklilik mi?", p.24; İlay Romain Örs, "Göç Eden Kent Kimliği" p.26-27; Laki Vingas, "20 Dolar 20 Kilo" p.28-29; Meltem Oral, "20 Dolar 20 Kilo: Belleksizliğe Karşı Direnmek", p. 30; Samim Akgönül, "Kovmakla Biter mi?", p. 25.

thoroughly investigates the possible reasons and consequences, making it the first publication to comprehensively scrutinize this historical event. *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri*, particularly through the inclusion of two pivotal articles, has made substantive contributions to both the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the present study. Herkül Millas undertakes a critical examination of prevailing narratives and initiates discourse on entrenched myths by scrutinizing his father's deportation narrative (Millas, 2019). In parallel, Kazantzidou & Ioannidiou compiles narratives of deported Greeks who resettled in Thessaloniki, drawn from oral history interviews archived by the Municipality of Kalamaria (Kazantzidou & Ioannidiou, 2019). Millas' interrogation of prevailing narratives has broadened the intellectual horizon, while Kazantzidou & Ioannidiou work has facilitated my awareness of an archive providing access to narratives of individuals who are no longer living today.

When looking at master's and doctoral studies conducted in Turkey over the past decade regarding the 1964 Cyprus Crisis, it is possible to observe an increased interest in this topic. These studies often involve archival research, relying on official documents such as consulate reports, UN records, and records from institutions like the Foreign Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office records of The National Archives. The argumentation regarding deportation is typically approached from an international relations perspective and a political history standpoint (Özel, 2019). Additionally, local Turkish-language newspapers are frequently referenced (Yaşar, 2018).[11] However, it should be noted that many of these studies primarily utilize the Turkish state archives as their primary source. This reliance on official archives can

[11] The works of Özel and Yaşar serve as introductory or generic studies on the topic. They provide foundational knowledge for those seeking to familiarize themselves with the subject. However, it is important to note that these works may differ from other academic studies in terms of their academic rigor and ethical considerations.

sometimes lead to the reproduction of the official historical narrative and the dismissal of revisionist historiography as "ideological" (Kallimci, 2015), against the security-minded priorities of the state. Furthermore, there is often a lack of discussion about the sources used in these studies, and textual analysis is sometimes absent. Consequently, some of these works merely present a sequence of newspaper articles, official correspondence and statements from the period, with only a brief mention of the 1964 deportation in a footnote (Karakaya, 2018).[12] In some cases, certain studies do not address the 1964 deportation at all (Yılmaz, 2018; Cankut, 2013).[13]

In the existing literature, there are generally two primary approaches. The first approach evaluates the deportation of Rum Polites in terms of international relations, suggesting that Turkey used them as leverage to compel Greece to step back during the Cyprus conflicts (Alexandris, 1992; Akar & Demir, 1994). The method employed here involves archival research, relying on state archives, consulate reports, UN records, and press archives. On the other hand, in more recent interdisciplinary studies, the deportation of Rum Polites is discussed as the latest link

[12] In the sole footnote where the author mentions the deportation, there is also a reference to the Turkish Orthodox Church's support for the government's decision. However, it is crucial to exercise caution in interpreting this reference. The Turkish Orthodox Church, established as an entity intertwined with the state apparatus during the nation-state building process, boasts a congregation primarily composed of families with specific roles assigned within the church. Consequently, in the context of the Rums of Istanbul, the Turkish Orthodox Church does not wield substantial representational power. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Turkish Orthodox Church has been subjected to various measures aimed at undermining the authority of the Patriarchate and its congregation, not only during the 1964-65 deportation period but throughout the entire history of the Republic. Hence, the expression of support by the Turkish Orthodox Church for the deportation decision should not be considered surprising.
In this particular study, the reference to the Turkish Orthodox Church's support for the government's deportation decision may be attributed, if one were to make a well-intentioned interpretation without considering the possibility of misleading the reader, to the author's potential lack of knowledge about the subject matter and the historical context of the period.

[13] This is not a new phenomenon; it is also discussed in *Istanbul'un Son Sürgünleri* that left-leaning writers and magazines, not expected to support official history, hesitated to write news and comments about the 1964 deportation. A similar "collective amnesia" is observed in researchers and memoir writers of the period who write about the history of that time (Akar & Demir, *Istanbul'un Son Sürgünleri*, p.12).

in the Turkification policies, which are traditionally seen as state practices (Akgönül, 2007; Yücel, 2017; Türker N. , 2015; Romain Örs, 2019). Law No. 2007 on "disqualification from the profession" entitled "On Arts and Services Allocated to Turkish Citizens", the Twenty Classes Military Service, Wealth Tax, and the Pogrom of 6-7 September are considered as examples of these discrimination/suppression policies. It is argued that the practice of deportation, which is seen as the final link in this chain, continues the same state logic. These studies employ qualitative research methods or include them at least. Conducting participant observation, conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews, and utilizing questionnaires are the three observed methods. However, the voices of those deported in 1964-65 *are not widely* heard in these studies.[14] In the aforementioned studies, the interviews with deported individuals are considered supplementary sources. Consequently, these interviews are primarily introduced in the discussions to validate the main narrative of the authors, supporting their arguments which are based on written sources and official archives. Furthermore, *life stories* are not the central focus of these studies, and interviews are not sufficiently theorized and methodologically problematized. Due to the lack of reflexivity regarding these interviews, it remains unknown how, where, and under what conditions these interviews were conducted, evaluated, and analyzed, and how these experiences were transformed into knowledge.

[14] There are also exceptional studies that directly incorporate personal testimonies. For instance, Anna Teodorides discusses the testimonies of the children of deported members of the Elliniki Enosis association, which was shut down in 1958, in her work titled "The First Deportations: Stories of an Irreversible Journey" (Theodorides, "İlk Sürgünler: Geri Dönüşsüz Bir Yolculuğun Hikayeleri") Kazantzidou and Ioannidou, on the other hand, provides a general framework for the 1964 deportation and its aftermath through oral testimonies found in the oral history archive in Thessaloniki (Kazantzidou & Ioannidiou, "İstanbullu Rumların Selanik'e Yerleşmeleri"). In addition to these two studies, Halstead's book *Greeks without Greece* utilizes the oral history method to present the migration/deportation testimonies of Rums of Turkey (Helstead, *Greeks Without Greece: Homelands, Belonging, And Memory Amongst The Expatriated Greeks of Turkey*).

The oral history has the potential to broaden the scope of historical inquiry. It allows us to ask questions like, what were the individual stories of the deported Greeks of Istanbul and their accompanying relatives, who have always been represented by numbers? What kind of lives did these individuals have before leaving the country? How did they learn about their deportation, and how did they prepare for the journey? What did they experience during this process? How did they continue their lives after leaving Istanbul? What difficulties did they face? What kind of experience did deportation correspond to in their lives? To answer these questions, I adopt oral history as a historiographic approach and a research method, and I purpose to give voice of the subject of the expulsion experience and contribute to writing an alternative history of the expulsion. As Michael Frisch argues, oral history is a "powerful tool for discovering, exploring, and evaluating the nature of the process of historical memory – how people make sense of their past, how they connect individual experience and its social context, how the past becomes part of the present, and how people use it to interpret their lives and the world around them" (Frisch, 1996, p 188). In this research, oral history has been an efficient tool to discover experiences of the subjects of the expulsion.[15]

1.2 Generating theory through fieldwork

This study is based on three separate field research conducted between 2020 and 2023, totaling six months, making it the first oral history study directly focused on the 1964 deportation. The field research was conducted in Athens between January-February 2020 and May-July 2022, and in Thessaloniki in March 2023. A total of 80

[15] The primary sources of this study will be detailed in the second chapter.

individuals were interviewed during these field research, with 48 of them participating in one-on-one interviews, while the rest took part in group discussions. Only one interviewee had experienced deportation personally, while among the 48 interviewees, 19 were individuals who had left Istanbul due to their parents' deportation. The remaining interviewees consisted of witnesses to the period who were either relatives, neighbors, or friends of those deported. The oldest interviewee was born in 1937, and the youngest was born in 1961. Most interviews were conducted with individuals born between 1945 and 1955, resulting in the majority of interviewees being over 70 years old. Furthermore, despite efforts to reach female interviewees, the majority (31 out of 48 in one-on-one interviews, and 50 out of 80 including group discussions) were males. With the interviewees' consent, both audio and video recordings were made during the interviews. Consequently, as a result of this research, an audio-visual archive of approximately 250 hours-long voice and video records of the interviews along with photographs of ego-documents and family albums of interviewees has been compiled, making it the first visual and auditory archive directly focused on the 1964 deportation.

Oral history as a method is used by social scientist, but as an approach, its capacity to offer a broader perspective for the issues searched can be neglected. Through its transformative power to open up a variety of unexplored themes and subjects that remained out of view of traditional historiography, oral history provides a fresh breath to ethnographic study by introducing new sources along with new questions and new answers. With reference to the questions, I mentioned above, which inspired this study, the lack of personal testimonies has lead me to do oral history research. The fieldwork enabled me to access new resources, have a fresh perspective to interpret and theorize the narratives and allowed me to overcome the

limits of the existing literature. Following oral historian Michael Frisch's approach, it has to be invoked to the concepts of "more history" and "anti-history" for explaining the contribution of this research to the literature (Frisch, 1990, p.186). Adopting the "more history" approach, I purpose to reveal unrecorded and undocumented aspects of the history of the expulsion through its subjects' life stories. I have produced new sources in this field by listening to the life stories of individuals who had been represented by numbers for years and recording their experiences of expulsion. These new sources have allowed me to transcend the boundaries of existing literature, enabling me to explore the period before and after the deportation, providing me with a different perspective, and making it possible a more bottom-up historiography through the subject of the expulsion. I have sought to depart from the terrain of assessing the justifiability or injustice of state sovereignty and instead engage in a discourse surrounding expulsion through the prism of *precarity* and *resilience* as conveyed by personal experiences. In doing so, I have endeavored to foster a more humane framework and to embark on the construction of a novel discourse. Let me introduce the theoretical frame of this study.

Oral history has rendered the agency of individuals whose voices have been marginalized in the existing literature more prominent. It allowed me to observe how those who have lived through certain experiences interpret their own lives, rather than solely focusing on significant events or prominent figures. Eventually, oral history "...tells us less about *events* than about their *meaning*" (Portelli, 1991, p.50). I conducted all my interviews through life stories, providing space and time for my interviewees to narrate their life stories as they wished, rather than directly asking them about their lives in Istanbul before the exile, their experiences during the exile of either themselves or their deported relatives, and their post-exile life experiences.

This approach aimed to grant participants the freedom to express their experiences in their own words. I opted for this method to allow participants to narrate their experiences in their own words because I was aware that "the organization of the narrative reveals a great deal of the speakers' relationships to their history" (Portelli, 1991, p. 50).

Interviewees, as they narrate their life stories, strive to make sense of their past, give shape to their lives, and place their experiences within a historical context. As Catherine Kohler Riessman argues, it is precisely this effort to create meaning that is the reason why life story narratives cannot be taken as "transparent" representations of lived experience or representations that are clearly distinct from real life (Üstündağ, 2005, p. 15). Therefore, life stories cannot directly reveal what the experience is but rather how the experiencer has transformed this experience into knowledge, in other words, how the experience is narrated. The importance of interpretation and evaluation of life narratives by benefitting from oral history approach that encourages to benefit from discourse analysis, subjectivity and reflexivity issues, stands out. The question of what the allegory of this narrative is remained vivid in my mind throughout all the interviews. When I pursued this question, the life stories narrated by the Rums of Istanbul I encountered during my field research revealed a patterned and interconnected web. This is because their individual stories and memories that interpreting their past were integrated into a collective memory which overlaps the anti-minority politics of the state; the law no 2007 (1932), the Incident of the Twenty Classes (1941-1942), the Wealth Tax of 1942, Septemviriana (1955) and the expulsion (1964-1965). Furthermore, each story was not just an individual life story; it provided insights into what thousands sharing the same identity could experience, as Thompson aptly puts it a single interview can

be used to convey the history of a whole class or community or become a thread around which to reconstruct a highly complex series of events" (Thomson & Bornat, 2017, p. 361). Upon identifying the continuities, recurring themes, unaddressed gaps, swiftly glossed-over memories, or frequently expressed emotions in the life stories I listened to, I realized that these life stories pointed to another reality, a shared common experience that everyone was familiar with.

This shared experience for Rums of Istanbul involved a constant state of vigilance, anxiety, perpetual alertness, caution, and prudence. The life stories I listened to revealed that (1) the Rums of Istanbul, (2) the state that implements anti-minority politics, and (3) the ordinary privileged individuals who shared the same sphere of power with the state that produces and supports these practices, collectively construct a habitus in daily life. This habitus, in turn, renders the Rums of Istanbul precarious.

Therefore, I found the need for a theoretical approach that could focus on this experience by recognizing the inadequacy of interpreting the exile period solely from the state perspective (where Greeks of Istanbul were often seen as pawns in the hands of the state) and centering on the state to define the practices referred to as Turkification of what policies. Thus, I use the concept of habitus as a tool to reflect on the experience of being Rum in Istanbul and to theorize this habitus, I name it *the habitus of precarity,* inspired by Talin Suciyan's *post-genocidal habitus* (Suciyan, 2016) and combined with *precariousness* as Judith Butler theorizes (Butler, 2004). Thus, not only the state, but also the privileged (read as Turks and Muslims) who share the same sphere of power with the state, and the Rums of Istanbul, the subject of precariousness, together became visible as the agency owners who created this habitus.

In the new legal order established after Treaty of Lausanne, the set of created values, daily practices and mechanisms that tend the *precarization* of the Istanbulite Rums, who were exempted from displacement, had been reproduced over and over. Separations, distances, and hierarchical relations inherited in this habitus were internalized by sociation and individuation and transmitted from generation to generation. *Precarization* refers to the breaking of the resistance of both Rum community institutions and individuals; it points out the situations where life experiences, community relations, daily practices relating to life, the world of meaning are shrunk, narrowed and threatened with constant various interventions. With reference to Butler's works concerning livability and greivability (*Precarious Life* (2006), and *Frames of War* (2010), they "makes a careful distinction between "precariousness"—the corporeal vulnerability shared by all mortals including the privileged, and "precarity"—the particular vulnerability imposed on the poor, the disenfranchised, and those endangered by war or natural disaster" (Watson, 2012). Corporeal fragility both equalizes and differentiates: all bodies are menaced by suffering, injury, and death (precariousness), but some bodies are more protected and others more exposed (precarity). In this sense whereas precariousness can be seen as an unavoidable aspects of human nature, stemming from the vulnerability of all lives to the possibility of injury and destruction, precarity can be considered as "social existence of bodily beings who depend upon one another for shelter and sustenance and who, therefore, are at risk of statelessness, homelessness, and destitution under unjust and unequal political conditions" (Butler, 2012). Thus the extent of precarity is dependent upon the organization of economic and social relationships, as well as the existence and lack of supportive infrastructures and social and political institutions. In the case of post-Laussanne Turkey, the habitus of precarity pushed the

Rums of Istanbul away from being visible in the wider society; invisibility and unavoidability can be seen as a survival tactic in a society where precarization was adapted as a strategy. The Rum Polites are constantly kept on the agenda and become a target in the habitus of precarity; their resistances are broken, their hopes are consumed, they are frightened, harassed, fed up, and discouraged. Since thousands of (Greek and Turkish citizen) Rums stayed in Istanbul until the deportations in 1964, they were a part of the habitus of precarity that they were born into; the practices of precarization were customary. I do not intend to claim that living in this habitus was not difficult or that it was easy to endure. However, the point I want to emphasize is that the Rums Polites continued to live in Istanbul under these conditions but left the city when they were forcibly deported and left without solutions. For this reason, the state campaign of massive expulsion in 1964 was a turning point in the destruction of the Rums of Istanbul. Lastly, since the state of precarity was not experienced equally by all the interviewees, a spectrum of experiences should be mentioned; as the life stories of Rum Polities taking into consideration, the class and gender dimension along with language and age, differs the experience of precarity. Placing an older Turkish-speaking man with a wealthy and respected profession at one end of the experience spectrum and a younger, poor girl whose mother tongue is Greek at the other end will help to make sense of the experiences of precarity.

Secondly, within this habitus of precarity, when the Rum community members who had managed to establish their lives were deported or left their homes in Istanbul along with their deported relatives, they quickly found themselves in an unfamiliar city, outside their comfort zones, and far from their support networks. Therefore, the expulsion exacerbated their precarious situation. In the existing literature, post-exile life of Istanbul's Rum community is briefly mentioned,

highlighting only how much they struggled. While this is done with good intentions, perhaps to generate sympathy in the audience, emphasizing the hardships faced by the Istanbul's Rum community after exile ironically renders their agencies invisible. However, the situation is already dire, and there is no need to make it appear worse than it is. These individuals have lost their homes, jobs, loved ones, as well as their cultural, social, and economic capital. They are individuals who have had to start their lives anew. Nevertheless, they have also managed to re-establish their lives and continue on, using various mechanisms to persevere in the face of these difficulties. The experiences of those who have managed to rebuild their lives should not be disregarded. In the life stories I have listened to, hardship and resilience, ending and beginning, fear and courage, rebellion and acceptance are intertwined. Therefore, another experience of Istanbul's Rum community that I seek to deconstruct is their determination and perseverance to survive; to make sense of this experience, I will adopt *resilience* theory.

Resilience is the capacity of positive adaptation to significant adversity; it is not a natural born ability, but rather a dynamic process. In certain periods of our lives, our capacity for resilience may become more adaptable. Some challenges may make us feel less resilient, while certain forms of support can enhance our resilience. Alongside this adaptability and fluidity, it is imperative to acknowledge the existence of various levels of resilience, including individual and social resilience. In the face of certain hardships, an individual's resilience is contingent upon a developmental understanding of their experiences. Simultaneously, resilience is also contingent upon the social resilience ingrained within social networks and support systems (Schouler-Ocak, 2015, p. 77). When considering the post-exile experiences of the Istanbul Rum community, it becomes evident that poverty, destitution, loneliness,

otherization, peer bullying, lack of support, yearning for Istanbul, and hopelessness were recurring themes in the testimonies recounting their initial years in Athens and Thessaloniki. Some of my interviewees shared with me their experiences of leaving Istanbul by placing the deportation at the center of their lives, time was two-way and one-dimensional in these narratives: Istanbul and after Istanbul. Leaving Istanbul had created a major break in time; time had frozen, life had never flowed the same after leaving Istanbul. I don't know if it was Istanbul that was missed, the childhood years, or an imagined nostalgia for happiness. On the other hand, for some of my interviewees, it was a good thing that the Greeks of Istanbul were deported, "What would have happened if we had stayed in Istanbul?"," Would they have spent their lives in fear?". For others, life was like this, Istanbul was abandoned, but for better or worse, life went on. In order to understand these different interpretations, I had to compare the stories of my interviewees. In order to do so, within the frame of personal and social resilience, I looked at (1) the nature of the damage caused by deportation, (2) the extent of adversity, (3) the class dimension of the adversity, (4) the character structure of the person who suffered the adversity, (5) his/her ability to integrate, (6) available support mechanisms, (7) whether he/she had hope for the future, and (8) gender dimension. When I evaluated each story in its specific circumstances, I reached roughly the following conclusions: Young, middle-aged, middle-class men with some kind of talent (playing sports, singing, fluent in a foreign language) were able to adapt more quickly than who did not when they arrived in Athens and Thessaloniki.

On the other hand, the fieldwork provided a perspective for anti-history, and helped me to distance myself both ways between official history and the recurring myths about the expulsion. Through field research, it became more feasible and

effortless for me to exist outside the official narrative, which asserts the state's legal authority to deport Greek citizens, relies on one-sided sources, and manipulates these sources while simultaneously criminalizing Istanbul's Rum community. On the other hand, various narratives, whether conscious or unconscious, tended to perpetuate certain myths in order to depict the situation in a worse light and garner sympathy from the audience.[16] For instance, in the opening segment of the documentary *Kayıp Vatan* (Lost Homeland) a brief statement asserts, "March 18, 1964, would be the last day that Greek national Rum individuals saw Istanbul and their homes" (Kapancık, 2015, 4:10). The notion of a mass deportation occurring on the day Turkey terminated the agreement, or the idea that those deported left Turkey within a single day, within a matter of hours, represents an example of myth; lists of deportees were gradually published within the first month, and deportations gained momentum during the summer of 1964, when tensions around Cyprus escalated between the two countries. After the expiration of the initial six-month period, Greek citizens whose residence permits were not renewed after September 16, 1964, and their close relatives continued to leave the country. This wave of migration persisted until the beginning of 1966. Furthermore, based on my field research, I have encountered cases where Greek citizens were deported within a day, but more commonly, they were granted a one-week grace period. The implementation varied over time based on the country's political situation. Ultimately, a wholesale, immediate mass deportation did not take place. In this context, it should be noted that I believe it is

[16] For instance, one of my interviewees mentioned that in the recordings taken for the documentary "Poli, Nostalgia Mou", he said that he was happy to live in Athens and that he could now find in Athens what he had in Istanbul. Nevertheless, during the editing process of the documentary, his statements underwent distortion and were extracted from their original context. The interviewee experienced surprise and dismay upon observing that numerous aspects he mentioned as currently present in Athens were presented as if he had longed for them over an extended period. The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020, Athens; 20.05.2022, Athens. Thanos was deported in 1964, as his residence permit was not renewed.

crucial to avoid hierarchical interactions that perceive Rum Polites as sacrificial victims and, consequently, evoke sympathy towards them, whether consciously or unconsciously. Being deported is already an inherently distressing experience, and there is no need to exacerbate this further. Moreover, such efforts only serve to disregard the agency of these individuals. Therefore, by distancing ourselves from this myth, we can establish empathy with Rums of Istanbul on a healthier ground.

Secondly, framing the adversity caused by the deportation of Istanbul's Rum community within the discourse of autochthony debates points to another myth, the myth of Istanbul's Rum community being autochthonous. As highlighted by Herkül Millas, the discourse of Istanbul's Rum community's autochthony, often accompanied by the attribution that "they have lived in these lands for hundreds, thousands of years," carries various meanings within the framework of the national paradigm, as described by Millas as the mythos of autochthony: (1) Perceiving individuals not as individuals or families but as ethnic groups; (2) Accepting/imagining a connection spanning thousands of years; (3) Designating certain ethnicities as autochthonous in a particular place (where, for instance, a Kurdish family that has been in Istanbul for five generations is not considered autochthonous, while a recently settled Anatolian Rum in Istanbul is regarded as autochthonous) (Millas, 2019). Therefore, to criticize the deportation of Istanbul's Rum community driven by nationalist motives within the framework of ethnicity-based claims, employing the same nationalist paradigm reinforces the nationalist understanding, perpetuating the habit of thinking primarily in ethnic terms (Millas, 2019). One of my interviewees shared the story of their family's history, tracing it back to the Phanar-based Mavroyenis family, emphasizing their deep-rooted connection to Istanbul. However, does this imply that the children of families who

settled in Istanbul just two generations ago cannot feel like Istanbulites or embrace a Istanbulite Rum identity?[17] Should we dismiss Savvas, whose grandfather hails from Nevşehir and proudly introduces himself as "I am an Istanbulite, a bearer of a thousand years of Rum heritage"?[18] Instead of defending the autochthony of those who were deported or attempting to prove it, which opens up a discussion of ethnic group membership, I consider it important to focus on individuals' connections to the place where they were born, grew up, established their lives, produced, formed relationships, accumulated experiences, and found their roots. Rather than engaging in discourse using nationalist terminology and thinking practices that confine us to the same imaginary assumptions. I believe it is essential to humanize the experience of displacement by looking at it through the testimonies of Istanbul's Rum community, exploring the ramifications of this rupture, and thus, humanizing the process of the community's disappearance.

1.3 Between belonging and citizenship: the Greek citizens of Rum Polites

Examining the population data of the past century proves beneficial in illustrating the impact of the deportation of Greek citizens of Istanbul on the current state of the Rum community. Throughout the last century, the Rum Polites population has experienced emigration, with a notable mass exodus occurring in 1964, either voluntarily or under compelled circumstances. Population censuses serve as a tool

[17] For recent debates on the Rum community identity, please see:
Beylunioğlu, A. M., & Kaymak, Ö. (2017). An Analysis of National and Minority Identity Relationality: The Case of Antiochian Eastern Orthodox Community in Istanbul. *Poligrafi, 22*(85-86), 65-86. Beylunioğlu, A. M., & Kaymak, Ö. (2021). *Kısmet Tabii...'İstanbul'un Rum, Yahudi ve Ermeni Toplumlarında Karma Evlilikler.* İstanbul: İstos.

[18] The interview with Savvas, 08.07.2022, Athens. Savvas' family, being Turkish citizens, avoided deportation. However, Savvas himself left Istanbul in the early 1970s following his graduation because he lost his faith that he would have future in Turkey.

that distinctly highlights this situation. Today, it is estimated that approximately 1,000 Rums reside in Istanbul, a city with a population exceeding 20 million.[19] However, nearly a century ago, the presence and influence of the Rum community in Istanbul were much more substantial. In 1914, amid the First World War, historical records indicate that the population of the city, comprising nearly 1,000,000 individuals, accommodated an estimated 300,000 Rums. They held a capital investment percentage exceeding 50% and enjoyed a powerful economic position, supported by an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie and a skilled working class (Alexandris, 1992, p. 31-32; Örs, 2006, p. 83). During the same period, it should be noted that in addition to the Ottoman citizens of Rum community, there were approximately 65,000 Greek nationals living in Istanbul, as recorded in a document organized by the Patriarchate in 1912 (Alexandris, 1992, p. 50-51).[20] Following the conclusion of the Anatolian War (1919-1922), which is referred to as both the War of Turkish Independence (Kurtuluş Savaşı) and the Asia Minor Disaster (Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή) in Turkish and Greek official histories, it is noteworthy that not only the Greek community in Istanbul but also the populations of both countries had to undergo significant demographic changes (Demirözü, 2007, p.57; Hirschon, 2005, p. 17-18). In August 1922, following the defeat of the Greek army, the Anatolian Rums living in Thrace, Western Anatolia, and the Black Sea region were displaced and forced to migrate along with the retreating Greek forces, partly due to the fear of massacres (Hirschon, 1998; Dobkin, 1988). Meanwhile, during the war and the Allied occupation, the Greek population residing in Istanbul left the city in large

[19] According to the registration of patriarchate, there were 1244 Rums of Istanbul remaining in the city in 2005 (Kalkan, *Son 1244 Rum*).
[20] In his study, Alexandris notes that the increase in economic opportunities following the Treaty of Balta Liman in 1838 led to a growth in the Greek population in Istanbul (Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul*, p. 21-31, 50-51).

numbers towards the end of 1922. Some left out of fear of being arrested on charges of betrayal following the systematic arrests initiated by Turkish nationalists in Istanbul, while others departed with the intention of returning after the situation had calmed down in the city (Alexandris, 1992, p. 83).[21] Between October and December 1922, approximately 50,000 non-Muslims, predominantly comprising the wealthiest segment of the population, fled Istanbul. British High Commissioner Rumbold reported that native Rums were leaving the city at a rate of no less than 3,000 individuals per day (Alexandris, 1992, p. 82).

In the late 1920s, it is accepted that more than one million Rums left Turkey (Arı, 2000, p. 7-8). On the other hand, prior to and after the Balkan Wars, and in the decade leading up to the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey was continuously receiving permanent migration from various regions of the Balkans (Keyder, 2004, p. 42). At that time, the primary concern for both Turkey and Greece was the situation of migrants and the impending "exchange of non-migrants." The Treaty and Protocol Regarding the Exchange of Turkish and Greek Populations, based on the exchange of populations of the two countries, was signed on January 30, 1923, six months before the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, which ended the war. This agreement considered "religion" as a determining factor; according to the first article of The Convention for The Compulsory Exchange of Populations Between Greece and Turkey, Turkish nationals of the Muslim religion established in Turkish territory and Greek nationals of the Muslim religion established on Greek territory were considered exchangeable (Soysal, 1983; Oran, 2003; Kamouzis, 2013). Muslims living in Greece were to be sent to Turkey, and Orthodox Rums living in Turkey

[21] Please see the following memoir for the narrative of the period's testimony: Spataris, H. (2004). *Biz İstanbullular Böyleyiz: Fener'den Anılar*. Kitap Yayınevi.

were to be sent to Greece. As a result of the exchange, 355,635 Muslims were expelled from Greece to Turkey,[22] and 189,916 Rum Orthodox were expelled from Turkey to Greece[23] (Oran, 2003, p.100).

During the protracted negotiations, the Turkish delegation insisted on the complete expulsion of the Rum population in Istanbul in order to accommodate the Muslim refugees arriving from Greece. However, the Greek delegation, supported by statistical data, vehemently opposed this demand, asserting that Greece, which had already taken in over a million refugees, could not bear the additional burden of the Rum population of Istanbul, as it would result in a major catastrophe (Alexandris, 1992, p. 86). Faced with united opposition from the Allied and Balkan delegations against the complete expulsion of Rums,[24] it was eventually agreed that approximately 130,000 Muslims would be allowed to remain in Western Thrace. This decision served as a counterbalance to the roughly equivalent number of the Greek community in Istanbul.[25] Additionally, the institution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the communities of Imbros and Tenedos were preserved.

According to Article 2 of the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations, "All Greeks who were already within the areas under the Prefecture of the city of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, before October 30, 1918, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople". Due to the emphasis on the boundaries defined in 1912 within the city limits,

---

[22] The use of the term “Muslim” is employed to address the inadequacy of simply stating “Vlachs, Pomaks, Albanians, Turks etc.”.
[23] Along with the 1.000.000 refugees who had fled on the defeat of Greek armies, the total number of expelees that Greece received was 1.2 million.(Oran, “The Story of Those Who Stayed”, p.100).
[24] Alexandris underlines that not only the political and symbolic roles (in terms of the existence of Patriarchate and reciprocity between the two countries) but also the financial importance of the Rums of Istanbul as mediators of foreign investments in Istanbul has led the Allies to oppose the Turkish delegations’ claim (Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul*, p. 86).
[25] According to Akgönül, the estimated number of Muslims residing in Thrace was 120,000 (Akgönül, *The Ankara Agreement of 1930,* p. 178).

approximately 38,000 Rums of Istanbul residing outside the municipal boundaries were included in the population exchange (Alexandris, 1992, p. 96; Oran, 2003, p. 100). Those individuals who were within the municipal boundaries defined in 1912 and could meet the criteria of having resided in Istanbul, being registered in the population records, or providing any written documentation or witnesses to substantiate their continuous presence, were considered as "established" (établi) residents (Erdal, n.d.). Consequently, the definition of Rums of Istanbul allowed for individuals to remain in Istanbul with “established” status without specifying their religion or nationality. This policy permitted all Rum individuals of any nationality or religion, to maintain their established status and residence in Istanbul (Oran, 2019).[26]

However, even though Article 6 of the convention stated that those who had left Turkey before the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne had the right to return to Istanbul and enjoy their properties, as "no obstacle shall be placed in the way of the inhabitants of the districts excepted from the exchange under Article 2 exercising freely their right to remain in return to those districts and to enjoy to the full their liberties and rights of property in Turkey and in Greece," Turkish authorities labeled non-exchanged Rums absent from Istanbul as "undesirables." They were denied the exercise of their rights due to the fact that they (along with Armenians) had left the country with Allied travel documents instead of Turkish passports, and their properties were confiscated (Alexandris, 1992, p. 101-102; 117-120). Consequently, the refugees, approximately 40,000 Polites, were transformed into exiles (Kamouzis, 2021). On May 23, 1927, a law was enacted by the Turkish Assembly to

[26] The deportation of Greek citizens of Istanbul has become a subject of legal debate, with the argument being made that Turkey has not fulfilled its obligations under the Treaty of Lausanne (Uzunoglu, “Geçmişin İnsan Hakları İhlalleri Telafisiz Kalırsa”).

denationalize those who were Ottoman subjects, did not participate in the national struggle, remained outside Turkey during the War of Independence, and did not return to Turkish territory between July 24, 1923 and the promulgation of the present (citizenship) law (23 May 1927) (Alexandris, 1992, 117-120; Demirözü, 2007, p. 63).

In the republican era, the Rum population residing in Istanbul consisted of individuals who remained in the city after the war, migration, and population exchange. It is estimated that this population numbered around 100,000 people (Alexandris, 1992, p. 87). Two-thirds of this population were individuals who were formerly Ottoman subjects, including those who had been settled in Istanbul prior to 1918 and Anatolian Rums who had settled in Istanbul through legal or illegal means after the population exchange. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, these individuals acquired Turkish citizenship. On the other hand, following Greece's independence, Istanbul experienced significant migration from mainland Greece and various islands (particularly islands in the Aegean Sea close to Turkey, such as Andros, Santorini, and Chios, which I frequently encountered during my field research). Istanbul was perceived as an attractive destination during this period, amidst political turmoil and poverty in the young Greek Kingdom (Stathis, 2003; Millas, 2005). Thousands of people from these lands that were no longer under Ottoman rule continued to live in Istanbul as Greek citizens. These individuals, who made up at least one-third of the Greek population and were just as indigenous to Istanbul as Turkish citizens, retained Greek citizenship if they had been established

in Istanbul before October 30, 1918.[27] Thus, with the establishment of the nation-state, a "modern, acceptable, and clear" definition of who was considered a foreigner emerged, and among Greek citizens, those who did not belong to the state they were residing in, became more visible (Kristeva, 1991, as cited in Kaliber, 2019, p. 41).

In the 1927 population census conducted in Turkey, the number of individuals in Istanbul who spoke Greek was recorded as 119,822, with 25,000 of them being recognized as Greek citizens (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 348). Tunçay argues that this is a deficient criterion for identifying non-Muslim minorities based on their native language, and his assertion is valid. Indeed, there may be suspicions about whether these numbers accurately represent those who did not have a good command of Turkish (Tunçay, 1983, p. 1563). Furthermore, during the early years of the Republic, when the memories of the war and population exchange were still fresh, the Rum population in Istanbul may have wished to demonstrate their proficiency in Turkish and could have indicated Turkish as their native language during the census. Additionally, Anatolian Rums whose native language was Turkish might not have been included in the count of Greek speakers. In conclusion, the 1927 census reveals that during the early years of the Republic, Greek citizens constituted approximately 20% of the Greek-speaking population and around 30% of the foreign status population residing in Istanbul.[28]

---

[27] Alexandris criticizes that some observers who adopted the official view of Turkish state that tends to comment the existence of the Greek nationals in Istanbul as a result of the Residence, Trade, and Travel Agreement, and reminds that these people were natives of Istanbul who remained in Turkey between 1922-1930 as non-exchangeables under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne (Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul*, p. 132)

[28] There are a total of 26,431 individuals of Greek nationality, consisting of 12,729 males and 13,702 females. This number corresponds to 30.49% of the total foreign population with alien status. Following Greek citizens on the list are Italian citizens, who constitute 11,573 individuals, making up 13.35% of the total.

Throughout my research, I was consistently preoccupied with a fundamental question: Why didn't Greek citizens of Rum Polites become Turkish citizens during their time of residence in the city? Through interviews conducted during my fieldwork, I discovered that Turkish citizenship was not a highly coveted status among my interviewees. This lack of desire can be attributed to the apprehension associated with compulsory military service[29] and the hardship caused by the incident of the Twenty Classes conscription (the Incidents of Reserves), which many of them had witnessed during their youth. Additionally, it is possible to argue that feudal values contributed to a general inclination to preserve one's paternal identity, and this acceptance normalized living as Greek citizens in Turkey.

On the other hand, I encountered numerous examples indicating Turkey's reluctance to grant citizenship to Greek citizens. For instance, the case of İvi Stangali, a Greek citizen and Istanbul-based painter deported in 1964, sheds light on this reluctance. She represented Turkey internationally as a Turkish painter and designed and implemented Turkish pavilions at international fairs. However, despite applying for Turkish citizenship, she never received a response. A signature campaign initiated by artists of the period near the expiration of her residence permit noted Stangali's citizenship application and the lack of response (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 90). Moreover, as evident from two newspaper articles, Stangali was not the only one who applied for citizenship but received no response. Nikos Orlando, a member of the first group deported in 1964, had applied for Turkish citizenship a year earlier and was still awaiting a response when he was deported (*Hürriyet*, April 1, 1964). Similarly, guitarist Andon had applied for Turkish

[29] For example, one witness said that his father-in-law, who was deported in 1964, did not apply for Turkish citizenship and remained a Greek citizen in order to avoid conscription of his four sons (Δρινη, *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες*, p.102).

citizenship seven years before his deportation but never received a response before being expelled (*Hürriyet*, June 8, 1965). Despite anecdotal, these narratives show the context and the reluctance to grant citizenship.

However, it should not be assumed that citizenship remains an unchanging status based solely on mutual reluctance. The three stories I encountered during my fieldwork actually serve as examples of how fluid the issue of nationality can be. The narratives I heard from Greek citizens of Istanbul raise questions about the desirability of Turkish citizenship. Thanos, for instance, is a Turkish citizen who witnessed the challenging experiences faced by his elders due to the Wealth Tax[30] and the Incidents of Twenty Classes[31] conscription. Upon learning about his cousin, who was the same age and a Greek citizen, dying on the day when the military draft notice arrived, he decided to continue his life under his cousin's identity.[32] However,

[30] The Wealth Tax, Varlık Vergisi, was a tax, which was approved by Trurkish parliament on November 11 1942 with the stated aim of raising funds for the country's defence expenses in the event of entry into World War II, and targetted fixed assets, landed estates, buildings and industrial enterprices owned by all citizens. However, it disporportionatelly levied on non-Muslim (Armenians, Rums, Jews and Levantines) citizens (as well as foreigners living in Turkey such as Greek citizens of Rum community) and the tax could not been objected by neither legal nor administrative means. A standard procedure was not followed in taxation; instead, taxation was carried out based on hearsay information or an estimated asset value relying on the taxpayer's social reputation, without adherence to a standardized procedure. As a result of this taxation, taxpayers were forced to either sell their entire assets or borrow to pay the assigned tax. Those who did not pay their taxes were sent to labor camps in Eastern Anatolia. Eventually, The Weath Tax resulted in Turkification of economy of Turkey by diminishing the influence and control of minority populations in trade, and creation a new Turkish bourgeoisie. For further information please see: Ökte, F. (1951). *Varlık Vergisi Faciası.* Nebioğlu Yayınları; Kasaba, R. (2008). *The Cambridge History of Turkey (vol 4).* The Cambridge University; Aktar, A. (2022). *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları.* Aras Yayıncılık; Çetinoğlu, S. (2012). "The Mechanisms for Terrorizing Minorities: The Capital Tax and Work Battalions in Turkey during the Second World War". *Mediterranean Quarterly*. Vol. 23. Duke University Press.

[31] The Incidents of Twenty Classes, Yirmi Kur'a Askerlik, were conscriptions the non-Muslim male citizens by Turkish government during World War II, taking place between May 1941-July 1942. All the twenty classes were assigned to tasks such as road and building construction, military equipment manufacturing, without being provided weapons. In an effort to keep non-Muslim males away from potential fronts in the event of Turkey's entry into the ongoing war, the conscription of the Twenty Classes also led to non-Muslims losing their jobs and property during conscription. For further information please see: Bali, R. (2008). *Yirmi Kur'a Nafıa Askerleri: II. Dünya Savaşında Gayrimüslimlerin Askerlik Serüveni.* İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları; Biberyan, Z. (2019). *Karıncaların Günbatımı*. İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

[32] The interview with Stathis, 5.5.2022, Athens.

approximately 20 years later, he was deported because he held Greek citizenship. As another example, Fotis' grandfather was a German soldier who came to Istanbul during the First World War. After the war, he chose to stay in Istanbul and married a Greek citizen Rum woman, settling in Samatya. Following the Second World War, the grandfather's citizenship changed, and he became a Polish citizen. However, in the 1950s, his children, engaged in trade, faced difficulties traveling in Europe with passports issued by the Polish People's Republic led by a Marxist-Leninist government (PZPR, 1947-1989). After the grandfather passed away, in 1960, the entire family (two brothers, their spouses, and children) became Greek citizens using their mother's baptismal records. However, four years later, they were forced to leave Istanbul due to their Greek citizenship.[33] Certain families from the Istanbul Catholic Greek community shifted to Spanish nationality when Italy occupied Greece. To maintain good relations with the Spanish Consulate, they regularly attended consulate events every Sunday. However, when the consul, during one Sunday gathering, called on Istanbul Catholic Rums to serve in units formed against the Soviets, the families decided to switch from Spanish citizenship to Greek citizenship. By 1964, Istanbul Catholic Rums who held Greek citizenship were exempted from deportation with the support of the Vatican.[34]

What can this fluidity and liminality, which can be examined at various levels (individual, familial, and communal), tell us? Firstly, we can consider that citizenship has practical implications for these individuals. Especially, mandatory military service acts as a litmus test for citizenship; it is evident that a rational and practical connection is established with citizenship, rather than passionate nationalist

[33] The interview with Fotis, 2.5.2022, Athens.
[34] The interview with Konstantinos, 6.6.2022, Athens.

motivations. On the other hand, the point where this fluidity becomes stagnant is the reluctance to choose Turkish citizenship. Considering that Republican anti-minority policies could easily target non-Muslims, especially Turkish citizens, the resistance here can be easily understood. The Rums of Istanbul mentioned in these examples are able to navigate within the spectrum of citizenship based on rational choices, but they choose not to opt for Turkish citizenship due to the policies of marginalization they have witnessed.

1.4 Thriving or surviving?

The ever-regressing status of Rum Polites in a post-republic epoch

The rights of two communities, which were excluded from compulsory population exchange, namely the Rum Orthodox community of Istanbul, Imbros, and Tenedos, and the Muslims of Western Thrace, were established under the title of "Protection of Minorities" in articles 37-44 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Article 37 guaranteed that "the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them". Articles 38-39 granted non-Muslims the same civil and political rights as Muslims. Article 40 ensured that Turkish nationals belonging to non-Muslim minorities would enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. They were granted the right to establish and manage (at their own expense) any religious, educational, charitable, and social institutions, with the right to freely use their own languages and exercise their own religion. Article 41, concerning public education, placed the responsibility on the Turkish government to provide adequate facilities in towns and districts where a significant percentage of

non-Muslim nationals resided, ensuring that instruction would be held in their own languages, while retaining the right to make the teaching of the Turkish language compulsory in these schools. Article 42, which pertained to family law and personal status, required the Turkish government to take measures allowing non-Muslim minorities to address these issues in accordance with their customs. These measures were to be elaborated by special commissions composed of equal numbers of representatives from each of the affected minorities and the Turkish government (Soysal, 1983).

However, in 1925, the Turkish government decided to adopt the Swiss Civil Code, which contradicted Article 42 of the Treaty of Lausanne by placing personal and family status in a unified secular context, in contrast to the existing religious context (referred to as the customs of the minorities in the aforementioned article). In order to avoid outright violation of the treaty, the government formed three mixed commissions composed of representatives of the state and the Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish minorities, respectively, to discuss issues related to Article 42. The Greek Ambassador in Ankara met with the Turkish Foreign Minister and pointed out that forming such commissions would be a violation of the treaty because the Rum representatives were not elected by their fellow Rums. In response, the minister stated that this committee was conducting preliminary work for the special commission. The two other mixed committees did not show serious resistance to the government, and in October 1925, they renounced Article 42. Following these renunciations, pressure on the Rum committee intensified. The government appointed a total of 22 Rums from Istanbul who had the potential to support the renunciation of Article 42. However, the Rum community was divided into two factions, and especially the selected representatives of Rum neighborhoods declared

their disapproval of the government's demands. Three days before the communal assembly regarding the renunciation, they were arrested by the police. On November 27, the communal assembly signed the renunciation petition without the participation of the notables from Pera and Phanar, the two most significant communities both politically and in terms of population (Kamouzis, 2021, p. 109-112). Aktar highlights that the Turkish government, by enacting the civil code, "broke the traditional resistance of non-Muslim communities by making them subject to a secular system that was under its complete control." (Aktar, 2009, as cited Kamouzis, 2021, p. 112).

Following the Treaty of Lausanne, diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece were disrupted due to the need to address the legal and financial issues of more than 1,500,000 exchanged and established populations. However, a period of friendship and cooperation began between the two countries when Eleftherios Venizelos, once at war with Turkish National Movement, returned to power as Prime Minister after the 1928 elections. However, this period, known as the Rapprochement, was characterized by both domestic and bilateral factors, as well as international conditions. Firstly, both countries faced pressing issues that needed immediate resolution, particularly concerning the legal status and properties of the displaced and established populations. Additionally, Greece aimed to maintain a certain distance from its bordering neighbors Bulgaria, which posed revisionist threats, and Italy, where fascism had been on the rise since 1922 under Mussolini's leadership. On the other hand, Turkey sought to avoid falling under the influence of Stalin's Soviet Union (Akgönül, 2013, p. 182). Furthermore, it is essential to consider that the global economic crisis that erupted in 1929 increased the need for both political and economic cooperation. The establishment of an Aegean Union following these agreements supports this perspective (Fırat, 2001). Under these

circumstances, the year 1930 became a turning point. A series of conventions and agreements were signed in 1930, with the first being the Ankara Agreement[35] on June 10, 1930. Articles 4 and 5 of the Ankara Agreement are directly related to the population excluded from the exchange in Istanbul. Firstly, all Rums in Istanbul are considered "établi," regardless of their date of settlement and place of birth, contrary to what was specified in the Treaty of Lausanne. The property rights of Greek citizens living in Istanbul are recognized, and it is stated that their properties will be returned to them in full and free use within two months if any previous measures such as seizure, attachment, or occupation had been applied to these properties (Soysal, 1983). Moreover, three documents were signed during the official visit of Venizelos to Turkey, between 17-31 October 1930; a Convention of Friendship, Neutrality and a Protocol Restricting Naval Forces, and with its termination in 1964, the Residence, Trade, and Travel Agreement (the 1930 Residence, Commerce, and Navigation Agreement, or the Treaty of 1930) that had been used as a legal basis for deportations in Turkey. The Residence, Trade, and Travel Agreement allows the citizens of both countries to freely enter other countries, travel and reside there (with the condition of obtaining residence permits at specific intervals), acquire property, engage in commercial activities, engage in import and export, establish companies and factories, participate in shipping activities, leave inheritances, and ensures equal taxation (Akgönül, 2007, p. 87; Alexandris, 1992, p. 177-181). Additionally, citizens of both countries are registered as the "most favored nation" in the countries where they reside (Greek citizens in Turkey and Turkish citizens in Greece) (Oran, 2019).

[35] The full name of the treaty is "Agreement with Greece for the Settlement of Issues Arising from the Application of the Athens Protocol to the Treaty of Lausanne Regarding the Exchange of Populations."

Following these agreements, it could be speculated that there might have been an increase in the population of Greek citizens of Istanbul since the displaced Rums of Istanbul who had lost Turkish citizenship were allowed to return to Istanbul as Greek citizens to work and settle. However, according to Uzunoglu, after the Residence, Trade, and Travel Agreement, the number of Greek citizens who settled in Turkey is around 100 people (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 349). Moreover, in 1932, Law No. 2007, commonly known as the "Law on Professions and Services Allocated to Turkish Citizens in Turkey" or the "profession ban law," was enacted. [36] This legislation prohibited non-Turkish citizens, including Greek citizen Rums, from participating in various professions such as street vending, hat and clothing

[36] Law No. 2007 is a law that prohibits many professions to non-Turkish citizens and is occasionally used as a state apparatus for anti-minority policies.
The provisions of the law published in *Resmi Gazete* on June 16, 1932, are as follows:
Article 1: Prohibited Occupations and Professions: Peddling; Street performing (busking); Photography; Barbering; Hairdressing; Brokerage; Manufacturing of clothing, caps, and shoes; Brokering in commodity exchanges; Sale of state-owned goods; Interpreting and guiding for travelers; Construction, iron, and wood industry labor; Permanent and temporary labor in general transportation, water, lighting, telecommunications, and communication services; Land loading and unloading operations; Driving and assisting in driving; General labor; Guarding, doorman, and housekeeping in all kinds of businesses, apartments, inns, hotels, and companies; Service as waiter and servant in hotels, inns, baths, coffeehouses, casinos, dance halls, and bars; Bartending and singing in bars; Veterinary medicine and chemistry.
Article 2: Professions that may be performed with the special permission of the Council of Ministers: Aircraft mechanics and piloting; Public institutions or municipalities, as well as the establishments related to them, and their service installations.
Article 3: Additionally, professions not mentioned in this law may be prohibited by a decision of the Council of Ministers if necessary.
Article 4: Doorkeepers and chauffeurs employed at embassies and consulates of foreign states are exempt from this law.
Article 5: Foreign nationals engaged in prohibited professions must leave their jobs within one year from the date of publication of this law.
Article 6: Foreign nationals who do not abandon the arts and services allocated to Turkish citizens within the period specified in Article 5 shall be referred to the peace court and fined.
Article 7: The arts and services that foreign nationals of states applying administrative and legal sanctions to Turkish citizens can perform in Turkey can be prohibited by a decision of the Council of Ministers.
Article 8: Foreigners are prohibited from opening shops in towns and districts that do not have a central administration.
Article 9: This law shall come into force on the date of publication.
Article 10: The provisions of this law shall be enforced by the Council of Ministers.

manufacturing, photography, waitressing, carpentry, guiding, driving and assisting, guarding, caretaking, etc. Consequently, around 12,000 Greek citizens with etablis status (compared to 25,666 in the 1927 census) lost their employment and were compelled to emigrate (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 350). Some of the individuals I interviewed during my field research mentioned that their older relatives left Istanbul after this law was enacted.[37] On the other hand, based on the information I gathered during my field research, it is possible to say that Greek citizens continued their work life in Istanbul with a change in their business model until 1964. Greek citizens employed Turkish citizens (apprentices or assistants), established partnerships with Turkish citizens, or set up businesses/companies through a Turkish citizen intermediary to conduct their trade. For example, a Greek citizen tailor would become a merchant tailor; since working as a tailor was prohibited for him, he would subcontract custom tailoring orders, sell ready-made products and fabrics to customers, or secretly engage in tailoring on holidays.[38]

The 1940s unfolded against the backdrop of the Second World War. While Greece was under Axis Powers' occupation, Turkey maintained a policy of active neutrality (Deringil, 1989) implementing anti-minority measures, which were legitimized under the pretext of the ongoing war. Examples of these policies can be seen in actions such as the Wealth Tax and the Incidents of Reserves. The minorities, often viewed as potential traitors, were held responsible for the economic challenges during the war period and were dispossessed as part of the broader process of

[37] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens. Michalis, a Turkish citizen, remained exempt from deportation. Nevertheless, his father, a Greek citizen, faced deportation in 1964 and subsequently departed Istanbul with his spouse. Michalis himself decided to depart Turkey in the late 1960s, motivated by political considerations.
[38] The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020, Athens; 20.05.2022, Athens.

Turkifying the economy between October 1942- August 1944. During my field research, I came across stories of Rum Polites who lost their jobs or homes in Istanbul, either due to their inability to pay the high wealth tax or, conversely, because they paid high taxes.[39] For instance, the founders of the Kosmetio Foundation, Kiron and Maria Kosmetos, who provided housing opportunities for displaced Rums of Istanbul today, lost all their properties in the neighborhood known as Çiftehavuzlar in Istanbul in 1943 due to the Wealth Tax. The value of Kosmetos familiy's properties amounted to 1% of the total amount collected as Wealth Tax throughout Turkey (Uzunoglu, 2004). During the period of the Incidents of Reserves Non-Muslims ages between 18-45 -a total of about 40,000 non-Muslim citizens- were also kept away from the frontlines through compulsory military service between May 1941-October 1942, disarmed, and assigned to civic duties and labor projects. Similarly, the stories of those who left Istanbul because of compulsory military service were also shared during the interviews. In the 1940s, there were also stories of Rum Polites who volunteered to support the British forces in Egypt during World War II when Greece was under occupation. However, these Turkish citizen volunteers were not allowed to return to Istanbul.[40] The 50s started with hopes for minorities, and the DP government and liberal approach seem to have breathed for a few years. However, the events of political violence that erupted in Cyprus spread to domestic politics; during the official meetings about Cyprus in London, Turkey was experiencing its own *Kristallnacht* in Istanbul. As a result of the organized pogrom of

[39] The interview with Vasilios, 07.06.2022, Athens; the interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.
[40] In the autumn of 1940, a voluntary unit consisting of approximately 300 Greeks of Istanbul left Istanbul in a semi-official ceremony. After Greece was occupied by the Germans and immediately following the signing of the surrender document, these voluntary units were disbanded. Turkish citizen Greeks who wanted to return to Istanbul were not allowed back into the country, and the majority of them were forced to seek refuge in the Soviet Union. Please see: Nikos Mihailidis, *Τα ελληνοτουρκικά και οι Κωνσταντινουπολίτες εθελοντές στον Β΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, 1939-1944,* (Greek-Turkish Relations and the Constantinople Volunteers in the Second World War*)* Estia, 2022.

September 6-7, people were killed and raped, thousands of shops, houses, places of worship, schools and cemeteries belong to non-Muslims were plundered for two days, and thousands of people had a trauma that they will never forget (Güven, 2005, 48-60; Akgönül, 2007, 209). After the September 6-7 pogrom, I also heard testimonies about the departure of the Rum Polites who no longer wanted to live in Istanbul. According to Uzunoglu, the impact of the pogrom on the Rum community was limited in terms of migration rate (%10) (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 352). However, it should be noted that none of the mentioned events and periods were as massive as the departure of the Rum Polites from the city in 1964-65. Nevertheless, these events and periods should be considered as developments that shattered the hope of Rums of Istanbul (both Turkish and Greek citizens) to continue living in Istanbul.

1.5 A brief history of Apelasis[41]

The year 1964 marked the commencement of armed conflicts resulting from the ongoing political crisis between the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus, which also gained significant attention within the Turkish public sphere in Turkey. During this period, the previous policy of neutrality in the era of single-party rule had been set aside, and the September 6-7 pogrom, 1955, had already placed Cyprus firmly on Turkey's agenda. The media of the time, including newspapers and radio broadcasts, utilized discourses designed to engage the masses and maintain the Cyprus issue at the forefront of public discourse. On the other hand, the third coalition government established after the 1960 coup had recently come to power.

[41] A detailed chronology of the expulsion process in 1964 can be seen in the Appendix A.

Faced with criticism from both a robust opposition and potential voters, the government found itself in a weakened position.[42] Consequently, on March 16, 1964, in an attempt to bring Greece to the negotiating table on the Cyprus issue, the government unilaterally announced the termination of the 1930 Residence, Commerce, and Navigation Agreement, which provided legal residence to Greek citizens residing in Istanbul, Turkey. The decision to terminate was made based on Article 36[43] of the aforementioned agreement, citing as its visible justification that it no longer complied with the requirements of the time, given the considerable time elapsed since its signing. On the following day, March 17, 1964, the Istanbul Revenue Directorate assumed oversight of Greek nationals' transactions and commenced auditing their tax statuses. Simultaneously, property transactions, including purchases, sales, and transfers involving Greek citizens residing in Turkey based on the 1930 Law, were halted at the land registry offices. The 1932 Law No. 2007, titled "Law on Artistic and Service Allocations to Turkish Citizens," from which Greek citizens residing in Istanbul were except, was reintroduced, specifying that Greek citizens believed to be working in prohibited occupations were required to cease their employment within 15 days, with the warning of deportation if non-compliant.

According to the agreement, Greek citizens residing in Istanbul had a six-month period to leave the country. However, invoking Article 16 of the same

[42] The specific circumstances that led the deportation, and the mass migration of the Rum community will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

[43] "…The agreement will come into effect one month after the date of signature and will be valid for a duration of two years. From this date onwards, it will remain in effect unless terminated by one of the High Contracting Parties with a notice period of six months from their side…" *Düstur,* Üçüncü Tertip, v. 12 (Ankara:1931) p. 114-173; *Resmi Gazete* 15.3.1931.

agreement, which allowed for the termination of privileges granted in cases concerning the overall security and defense of the country, Istanbulite Greek citizens,[44] who were born and raised there and had established lives, were accused of engaging in activities detrimental to Turkey. They began to be deported in small groups. The names, addresses, occupations, and sometimes photographs of the first deportees were published in newspapers. Especially the departure stories of the initial group of deportees in Istanbul and photographs taken during customs inspections found their way onto the front pages of newspapers. The deportation of two prominent religious figures, who had been stripped of Turkish citizenship and deported, further fueled public interest in the deportation of Greeks.

Initially, the charges of detrimental activities were vague. Within a few weeks, they expanded to include affiliations with the *Elliniki Enosis* association (which had been closed in 1958), sending money to EOKA in support of Cyprus, and involvement in currency smuggling. Those deported were allowed to take only $20 in exchange (200 Turkish Lira) and up to 20 kilograms of personal belongings. Their assets in Istanbul and bank accounts were confiscated. In parallel with the initial deportation measures, on April 6, 1964, the Visa Exemption Agreement, signed in 1955, which allowed visa-free travel between the two countries, was unilaterally terminated. This action aimed to prevent Greek citizens residing in Istanbul, who

[44] The vast majority of those deported were Greeks of Istanbul; a very small portion, including 300 Greek citizens who were Jewish, were also deported (Bali, *İnsan Hakları Derneği'nin Devlet-Azınlık İlişkilerine Bakışı*; Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans, "16 March 1964"). There are testimonies that Catholic Greek citizens were not deported; moreover, throughout the implementation, Turkish official statements emphasized that Turkish-origin Greek citizens were not subject to deportation. With the intensification of international reactions in the autumn of 1964, individuals over the age of 65, those in need of care, and student/teacher groups began to be excluded from the deportation practice. Nevertheless, it should be taken into consideration that until this date, especially during the summer of 1964 when Turkish-Greek relations were highly strained and mass deportation lists were published, a significant number of Greeks of Istanbul, both Greek citizens and Turkish citizens, had left Istanbul. This topic will be elaborated further in the following pages.

were in Greece during the Easter period, from returning to Turkey. During the same days, in April 1964, the Turkish Student Union and the Turkish National Student Federation initiated the "Shop with Turks" campaign (“Alış-Verişi Türkten Yap” a boycott targeting Rum businesses), attempting to discourage transactions with Rums. The "Citizen Speak Turkish" campaign of the 1930s (Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş) (Aslan, 2007; Çağaptay, 2004) was also revived.

In June 1964, when the İnönü Government sought to deploy troops to Cyprus, it was prevented by the intervention of U.S. President Johnson, resulting in a difficult situation for the coalition government in the face of opposition. As a result, deportations were accelerated, and lists of individuals to be deported, numbering in the hundreds unlike the initial small groups, began to be published. Simultaneously, in late June 1964, a practice of placing precautionary attachments on the properties of Greek citizens of Rum community commenced. The rationale behind this attachment decision was to secure the taxes to be collected from income taxpayers who were to be deported (*Milliyet*, July 10, 1964). Individuals subject to precautionary attachment orders were prevented from selling their movable and immovable properties and transferring their businesses. Since household items were included in the attached assets, aside from personal items permitted (one cup, one fork, one spoon, daily clothes), they were not allowed to take any other belongings with them when leaving the country.

With the publication of lists of hundreds of individuals to be deported, the Cyprus interventions in the summer of 1964 created an atmosphere of great fear regarding the possibility of war between the two countries. Due to these two reasons, the primary mass migration occurred in the summer of 1964. The General Directorate of Security announced that as of the end of August 1964, approximately

6,500 Greek nationals of Greek descent had left the country (*Milliyet*, August 28, 1964). Considering that until September 16, 1964, 997 individuals had been deported on the grounds of posing a threat to national security, it can be observed that Greek citizens left the country without waiting for deportation. Turkish citizens who were family members and relatives of these individuals also accompanied them. On the other hand, during the same period, Turkish citizens of Greek descent in Istanbul, due to the implementation of practices targeting the Rum Polites community, such as boycotting Greek-owned businesses, the "Citizen Speak Turkish" campaign, and various pressures on Greek schools, began to leave the country, believing they had no future in Turkey (*Akis*, April 24, 1964).

On September 16, 1964, as the six-month period stipulated by the Residence, Commerce, and Navigation Agreement came to an end, the practice of deporting individuals on charges of detrimental activities did not continue. Consequently, thousands of Greek citizens, whose residence permits were not renewed from this date onwards,[45] found themselves compelled to leave Turkey in groups. However, in October 1964, a very small group of remaining Greek citizens - 1,134 individuals (Fırat, 2001, p. 732) - was exempted from deportation. This group included individuals aged 65 and above, their companions, those married to Turkish citizens, students, and teachers, and it was announced that they would not be deported (Akar & Demir, 1994; p. 114-115). On November 2, 1964, a confidential decree[46] was

[45] Greek citizens residing in Istanbul had the right to stay in Turkey with temporary residence permits lasting for 1-2 years.

[46] The full text of the confidential decree can be seen below:
In response to any measures and actions taken by the Greek government that may harm Turkish citizens in Greece:

1. Stopping any transfers of ownership and disposals related to real estate owned by Greek nationals in Turkey, including all transfers that could have such consequences.

issued, confiscating all assets of the Greek nationals who had left Turkey (Akgönül, 2007; p. 271-273).[47] This migration/displacement, which began in early 1964 and was linked to the expiration of the two-year residence permit, continued until the beginning of 1966.

Considering all these processes, Greek citizens who left Turkey in 1964 can be categorized as follows: (1) Those deported due to detrimental activities, (2) Those who could not return to Turkey due to the cancellation of the visa agreement, (3) Those who were not formally deported but had to leave Turkey due to the non-renewal of their residence permits, (4) Those who left Turkey before their residence

---

2. a) Blocking all payments, revenues, income, and the like arising from the real estate owned by Greek nationals in Turkey without exception. b) Suspending the release of blocked funds related to their real estate (excluding monthly living expenses not exceeding 1,500 liras for those whose only source of income is the blocked funds owned in Turkey).
3. The provisions of the above 1st and 2nd Articles shall not be applied in the pursuit and collection of any taxes, fees, charges, and other receivables belonging to public administrations and legal entities.
4. Exempting the application of the 1st Article of this decree in the expropriation of these real estates.
5. The provision of Article 3 shall remain intact, and without prejudice to the enforcement proceedings initiated for the collection of receivables based on a court decision, no seizure shall be imposed on the real estates mentioned in Article 1 in any way, and they shall not be forcibly sold (excluding enforcement and compulsory execution procedures that may be carried out for the collection of established debts on real estate deemed acceptable following an examination by competent financial authorities in Turkey, conducted by real persons and legal entities).
6. Not allowing the voluntary partition and division of real estates owned by Greek nationals, even if there is an agreement among shareholders, and stating that the elimination of joint ownership can only be done by court order, subject to the provisions of paragraph (a) of Article 2 regarding the separation of funds.
7. The provisions of this decree shall not apply to individuals of non-Greek origin who hold Greek nationality.
8. Disregarding changes in nationality for individuals of Greek nationality after the effective date of this decree.
9. Considering the above matters by courts and other judicial and administrative authorities and reporting immediately to the Local Finance Directorate if any actions contrary to the provisions of this decree are identified.

[These measures are decided] by the Council of Ministers on November 2, 1964, according to the letter dated September 16, 1964, and numbered A. (22) DV.3.382 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in accordance with Article 1 of Law No. 1062. (Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 271-272)

[47] In 1988, during a meeting between the two country's prime ministers, Andreas Papandreou and Turgut Özal, at the Davos Summit, the issue was brought to the agenda. As a result, Özal decided to annul the 1964 Decree, opening the way for legal battles for the return of confiscated properties. In the final section of this study, I will discuss the cases on this matter and their outcomes I encountered during my field research will be discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.

permits expired, either because they were weary of the uncertain political atmosphere and could no longer envision a future for themselves in Turkey, or because they believed they would not be able to pay the high tax debt imposed due to the cancellation of the aforementioned agreement.[48]

When Turkish citizen family members/relatives accompanied Greek citizens leaving Turkey, the departure of Istanbul's Greeks became more widespread. The number of Greek nationals is estimated to be approximately 12,500,[49] with around 40,000 Turkish citizen Rums accompanying them (Akgönül, 2019; p. 381). Following the deportations in 1964-65, which resulted in a significant portion of Istanbul's Greek population leaving the city, the Greek population of Istanbul continued to decline rapidly over the next 10 years. According to the 1960 population census, their population was 106,612 (Akgönül, 2007; p. 293), and by 1975, it had decreased to 5,000 (Güvenç, Pekin, & Turan, 2010). This historical period is today viewed as the beginning of the extinction of the Rums of Istanbul community.[50]

---

[48] Generally, existing literature focuses on three categories: 1) those deported under the pretext of national security (*Apelasis*); 2) those unable to return to Turkey from abroad due to the cancellation of the visa agreement; 3) those whose residence permits were not renewed (*Eksanagasthendes*). However, I find this classification inadequate as it does not encompass those who left Turkey due to their dissatisfaction with the political atmosphere and those who were forced to leave without waiting for their residence permits to expire due to tax debts, which I encountered during my field research.

[49] According to Alexandris, the number of Greek nationals of Istanbulite Rums, in the 1960s was 10,488 (Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul*, p. 281). However, the then Minister of Internal Affairs, Orhan Öztrak, stated in a press release on March 29, 1964, that the number of Greek citizens was 10,244 (*Apoyevmatini*, March 29, 1964, cited in Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 262). During a session in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) on November 20, 1964, in response to a question raised by Member of Parliament Hürrem Kubat regarding the number of Greek citizens and the taxes they paid, the Minister of Finance at the time, Ferit Melen, reported that as of March 2, 1964, there were 12,592 Greek nationals in Turkey (*TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Dönem 1, Toplantı 4, Cilt 33, 11. Birleşim, 20, 11, 1964, p. 520). According to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this number is 12,387 (Katsanos, "Yunan Uyrukluların İş Yaşamından Dışlanması", p. 97). Milliyet newspaper, on the other hand, reported the figure as 9,586 (*Milliyet*, March 17, 1964), while Hürriyet newspaper stated it as 12,000 (*Hürriyet*, March 18, 1964). Ulus newspaper, in addition to providing the total number, also listed the number of Greek citizens in each province and their occupations (*Ulus*, March 18, 1964).

[50] Here, the term 'extinction' refers to the diasporic dispersion of Rum Polites, indicating the continuation of their existence outside the confines of Istanbul.

1.6 The complexity of the terminology

In this field, the terminology is inherently complex, with various terminological options commonly employed in both Greek and Turkish historiography. In this study, terminological choices are determined based on the usages encountered during field research interviews. I refer to Greek-speaking, Christian Orthodox, Istanbul-born group of people as “İstanbul Rumları/ İstanbullu Rumlar” (pl.) in Turkish, as the “Rums of Istanbul” and/or the “Istanbulite Rums” used in English and the “Rum Polites” as İlay Romain Örs suggested by combining two emic terms -one Turkish (Rum) and one Greek (Polites) word- of self-designation and representing bilingual culture of Rum Polites (Örs, 2006, p. 80; 2018, p. 87). As the expression "the Greeks of Istanbul" is prevalent in English usage, it does not correspond to the self-identification of the interviewees, which is reflected in the term "Istanbul Rumları". Therefore, I opt to use the expression "Rums of Istanbul" and “Istanbulite Rums” instead of "Greeks of Istanbul." Additionally, considering the variations in citizenship within the Rum community, with the majority being Turkish citizens and the deported individuals being Greek citizens, along with other nationalities among the Rums, I take care to use the term "Greeks of Istanbul" primarily to emphasize citizenship of Greek citizens of Rum community. *Rum,* which derives from “Romeos”/”Roman”, denotes the connection to Eastern Roman/ Byzantine origins and was also used by the Ottoman administration for defining the orthodox community of the empire as *millet-i Rum. Polites,* on the other hand, as used in Greek, singular “Politis” (m.) and “Politissa” (f).- means from “the city”, from *Konstantinoupoli*, refers to the will of identification with the heritage of Istanbul –*i Poli* means the City –a symbolic capital in Greek cosmology which is the biggest and most important urban center as the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the

Orthodox Church, and the adherence to the heritage of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Moreover, I will use the word *Apelasis* (interchangeably with expulsion and the 1964 Expulsion), which means expulsion in Greek in generally, but when the relationship of Polites with the city is taken into consideration, it has a very particular meaning of the 1964-1965 expulsion and involuntary migration of Istanbulite Rums. I will also use *Septemvriana* ('Events of September' in Greek) for referring to the Pogrom of 6/7 September 1955 as the interviewees referred in the fieldwork.

It is essential to emphasize that the Rum Polites, in relation to this group, are not a homogeneous and autonomous entity.[51] Today, a significant portion of this group resides in various countries around the world. Some maintain Turkish citizenship, while others have acquired the citizenship of the country they have moved to, and still, others utilize dual citizenship. During my field research, one intriguing aspect I encountered, and which piqued my interest was the diversity among Rums of Istanbul, evidenced by their self-identification as sub-groups and their interactions and organization based on these identities; examples include the Karamanlides,[52] Phanariots,[53] and others. My interviewees had generally grown up in

[51] As examining the cultural identity of Rum Polites, Romain Örs situates this group beyond any simplistic division between Turks and Greeks and analyses the diversity and dispersity of them. Please see: Romain Örs, Beyond the Greek and Turkish Dichotomy: The Rum Polites of Istanbul and Athens, 2006.

[52] Rums of Karaman (a region in Anatolia) who were settled Istanbul before 1918 and thus became exception of the population exchange, called themselves as Karamanlıdes by combining two suffixes- one is from Turkish and the other is from Greek ([-LI] a suffix means 'from' in Turkish and [-DES] a suffix making plural in Greek). Aytek Soner Alpan suggests to use Turkophone Rums instead of "Karamanlı"by problematizing the use of "Karamanlı" in various context such as its pejorative use that means "countrymen". For further discussions, please see Alpan, A. S. [Tarih Vakfı].(2022, February 11). Mübadeleden Sonra Türkçe-Dilli Anadolulu Rumlar.

[53] Phanariots, members of one of the Greek families of the Phanar, the Greek quarter of Istanbul. These members held influential roles as administrators in the civil bureaucracy, exerting significant power within Ottoman Empire during 18th century. Phanariots served as drogomans (interpreters-foriegn affair advisors), foriegn embassies, hospodars (rulers) of the Danubian principalities, and also intervened in the administartion of the patriarch of Constantinople. For further information please see: Philliou, C. (2009). Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman

middle-class families, comprising middle-class professionals, skilled craftsmen, or workers.[54] Nearly all of them were proficient in Turkish, and those who couldn't speak Turkish fluently had left Istanbul at a very young age. Those proficient in Turkish predominantly followed Turkish television channels closely, keeping up with current series and daily news updates. In terms of the dialect which they spoke and the vocabulary they used, it differed from the Greek spoken in contemporary Greece; they conversed in a dialect referred to as "Romeika" or "Politika." However, their Istanbulite origins exhibited variations. In my field research, only one individual mentioned their ancestry tracing back several generations to their *Phanariot* forebears, while many others were descendants of individuals who had migrated to Istanbul from either the Aegean islands or Anatolia. They were either first or second-generation Istanbulites. Furthermore, to highlight the diverse composition of the Rum Polites, I occasionally opt to describe their removal as "forced displacement" and "forced/involuntary migration." The events of 1964 constituted an expulsion, and a significant number of the Rum Polites holding Turkish citizenship were compelled to leave the country alongside their expelled family members involuntarily. Even if they were not directly subjected to expulsion, they were indirectly uprooted and compelled to migrate. Given the lack of stringent distinctions among the Greek citizens who departed Turkey in terms of the legal reasons for their departure, I also employed the terms "migration," "displacement," and "expulsion" interchangeably.

Governance. *Comparative Studies in Society and History., 51*(1), 151-181; Sümertaş, F. M., & Erkal, N. (2022). "Of a Piece with Their Habitations": Phanariots and Their Houses on the Phanar Waterfront. *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies 4*, 7-44.

[54] Alexandris (*The Greek Minority of Istanbul*), Bozis (*İstanbullu Rumlar*) and Kamouzis (A Minority in A State of Flux) discuss the socio-economic status of Constantinopolitan Greeks, highlighting that, in addition to the presence of wealthy merchants and bankers, the majority of Greeks of Istanbul were actually middle-class urban dwellers.

Lastly, it must be noted that not all Greek citizens within the Rum community resided in Istanbul, a circumstance which has regrettably remained unaddressed within the scholarship. According to a news article published in the Ulus newspaper on March 18, 1964, the Greek citizens of Rum community who were to be deported were predominantly residing in Istanbul, with a small number also living outside of Istanbul. The cities in question and the number of Greek citizens of Rums living in these cities are as follows: 197 in Izmir, 82 in Hatay, 48 in Ankara, 13 in Edirne, 11 in İçel, 6 in Çanakkale, and 1 each in Adana, Antalya, Konya, and Kayseri (*Ulus,* March 18, 1964). I use the term "Rum Polites" not only because of the connection solely established with Istanbul but also due to the fact that the majority of them resided in Istanbul.[55]

1.7 Structural overview of the research

This study is structured to trace the narratives of the testimonies of Apelasis. Apart from the first two chapter where the general theoretical and methodological frames of the study are explained, there will be a chronological flow of Apelasis. Following the introduction chapter in which the needed background information composing of literature review, theoretical framework, a brief history of the expulsion and the terminological choices deployed were provided, the second chapter sets the methodology of this study. The second chapter gives a detailed explanation of how the wide range of sources were accessed, approached and integrated; and discusses the challenges of the fieldwork and the reflexivity of the researcher. In the third chapter, narratives about life in Istanbul, in which the stories of childhood and youth

[55] The Rums of Imbros and Tenedos are not within the scope of this study.

overlap and diverge, or more broadly, have interrelated to each other, will be analyzed. Through the narratives in this chapter, the experience of being Rum in Istanbul in the 1950s and 1960s will be discussed with the concept of the habitus of precarity. In the fourth chapter, the conditions that paved the way the deportation decision will be detailed, and the process of pre-deportation will be the main focus on the questions of how the interviewees' families learned that they would be deported, how they prepared for leaving Istanbul, how they left for Greece, and the struggles of those who were left behind. In the fourth chapter, the deportation process will be main focus on the questions of how the interviewees' families learned that they would be deported, how they prepared for leaving Istanbul, and how they left for Greece. The fifth chapter will focus on the new life in Greece – how individuals managed to settle down, find new jobs, and create fresh webs of support, essentially 'building their lives from scratch.' To conceptualize the diverse experiences of Rum Polites, the concept of resilience will be employed. The chapter will delve into personal efforts to develop resilience and the role of societal organizations in the coping, adaptation, and transformation processes of post-exile life in Athens and Greece. The final chapter will engage in a discussion on the significance of Apelasis, exploring the sustained connection between Rum Polites and Istanbul. Depending on this connection, various ways of remembering and memorialization practices will be examined. The chapter will also briefly touch upon the ongoing precariousness of Rum Polites, especially in legal struggles.

CHAPTER 2

ON METHODOLOGY AND REFLEXIVITY

2.1 An introduction: Oral history as an approach and methodology

Joanna Bornat reminds us that oral history "turns the historian into an interviewer and changes the practice of the historian into a personal interaction with the past within living memory" (Bornat, 1989, p.16). Thus, oral history enables to do "historical imagination" (Camaroff & Camaroff, 1992). An oral historian prepares herself before the fieldwork by having background information through literature reviews and archival research about her subject matter. She tries to build a competence on important dates and events which would be crucial for the interview process. Such knowledge will guide her to focus on subjects that may be more reproducible, more fertile, or at times not yet touched at all. During the interview, she aims to become less visible and less audible, in order not to impose her own views nor manipulate the informant. The oral historian almost holds her breath so that the informant can have a deeper focus on her narrative, revealing the richness and surprises of the human mind. The intention is to invite to share and provide the best suitable ground for this encounter. Only after a series of interviews, the oral historian feels that her research reached a certain *point of saturation* (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984), and this is when she feels confident to start to decoding, reading and interpreting the narratives. As a final process of her study, the most expressed themes, events/people/periods that are never mentioned –in other words the silences, the velocity of the narration, intervals and repetitions, *uchronias*, inconsistencies and "falsities" will be opened to analysis (Rosenthal, 1993; Portelli, 1991, p.99; Passerini, 1998, p.60). This is where the richness of oral history is achieved: both the

source and the analysis process cannot be predetermined. Unpredictability, creativity, inspiration, and theoretical knowledge are essential for analysis and that makes this research experience a kind of craft. Furthermore, an anthropologist's intention to have a dialogic relation would sound like her research is an example of a democratic process of "knowledge production". But, in a study done by (participant) observation, it is ontologically impossible to create an equal ground for the "observing" researcher and the "observed" informant. This is valid for oral history (as the other disciplines of social sciences) to some extent due to the fact that "testimony is delivered with an audience in mind" (Portelli, 1991). However, *the shared authority* between the oral historian and the informant refers the limited authority of the historian and the aforementioned unpredictability of the informant, and within this mutual relationship sharing the authority, the research becomes possible (Frisch, 1990).[56]

2.2 Behind the voices: Methodological insights of the study

Robert Perks and Al Thomson argues that there is no *one right way* of practicing oral history, stressing how this is a strength of oral history, rather than a weakness, due to the fact that it provides and facilitates diversity (Perks & Thomson, 2016). Within the code of ethics and principles I briefly mentioned above, I conducted my field research by relying on my own intuition and experience in this field, regarding each interview was unique. My interviewees were diverse in terms of their different social class, gender, age. Their life stories also revealed different state of reminiscence and narrative skills. The relationship to me as woman researcher from Turkey also

[56] Please see "the principles and best practices for oral history" on the relevant page of Oral History Association website: https://oralhistory.org/principles-and-best-practices-revised-2018/

varied. Moreover, my interviews were affected by factors such as the physical environment (like the high summer temperature of Athens), or the political atmosphere (some meetings were cancelled or postponed due to news about strained relations between Turkey and Greece). In such moments of critical decision making, I followed my intuition and relied on my former experiences on how to manage the interview process. As Pierre Bourdieu has promptly proposed, life story research involves engaging in interviews with a sociological "feel" or "eye" and actively practicing methodological listening, thereby allowing for the monitoring of the prevailing social structure (Bourdieu, 1996 cited in Thompson & Bornat, 2017). Hence, after all, conducting interviews requires a craftsman's sensitivity.

I employed a multisided approach to reach out to potential interviewees for my research. Initially, I sought introductions through mutual acquaintances and subsequently implemented the snowball sampling technique. Furthermore, I garnered valuable support from several associations representing Istanbulite Rums in Athens such as "The Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans" and "Zografeion Lyceum Alumni Association" along with the Association of Constantinopolitans of Northern Greece in Thessaloniki. Members of the Tsoukatou Publishing House, which published the "*O Politis*" newspaper for long years,[57] also enabled me to establish contact with its subscribers among the deportees. Additionally, I leveraged social media platforms to reach out to potential interviewees.

[57] A newspaper founded in 1964 under the leadership of Athinagoras Tsoukatus, himself an exile, initially began its publication by disseminating information for the expelled Rums in Athens in the form of small brochures, addressing legal issues such as state assistance and military applications, along with job announcements. These brochures evolved over time to cater to the community's needs; with the advent of 1967, *O Politis* transformed into a 4-page newspaper format. Today it is still the newspaper of the Rum community in Athens.

To expand my network and facilitate interactions, I also followed an ethnographic approach in Paleo Faliro, the neighborhood which host many Istanbulites and thus a gathering spot for Istanbulite Rums. Frequenting cafes and attending some neighborhood activities, I found the opportunity to meet and connect with numerous individuals from this community. My active involvement in various events, including commemorations, exhibitions, and book discussions featuring Istanbulite authors, organized by associations formed by Rum Polites and/or the Municipality of Paleo Faliro, served as a platform for seeking assistance from attendees in my research endeavors. This collaborative effort yielded substantial support, enabling me to establish connections with individuals who had experienced or witnessed the expulsion firsthand. Most of the interviews were conducted within the comfort of the interviewees' homes. Before each interview, I provided a comprehensive overview of my research focus and furnished the interviewees with an interview consent form containing essential details about the study, including contact information for myself and my consultants, as well as a list of potential interview questions. I adopted an unstructured approach during the interviews, affording interviewees ample space to express themselves initially. The conversations typically commenced with open-ended inquiries, such as, "Would you like to tell me your life story?". Instead of a list of questions, I had a map of sequence of life thresholds [domains of existence as Bertaux refers (Bertaux 1981; Bertaux and Kohli, 1984)] in my mind. I focused on how the family members were like, what is remembered from childhood memories, how the news of deportation was received, how the following days passed, the first times of the new life after deportation, what it means to be deported from today's perspective. Towards the conclusion of each interview, I made a point to inquire if there were any topics or aspects that we hadn't

discussed yet. This approach allowed interviewees the space and time to bring up matters that may not have initially crossed my mind. In doing so, I found that oral history's richness became particularly evident during these moments of spontaneous sharing and reflection.

My research process was also very mind opening regarding the interview methodology. As I also wanted to create an archive from the interview recordings, the possibility of the interviewees' alienation during the interview was an important concern. In my previous research endeavors, I had relied on my field notes and did not use a tape recorder. This helped me to minimize any sense of alienation that interviewees could experience. Following the interviews, I would usually find a quiet place to promptly jot down a summary of the interview in my field journal. However, in the context of this study, the interviewees, whose stories I was documenting, had experienced the deportation over 60 years ago when they were still young. They represented the last generation of witnesses who could recount this experience today. Consequently, prior to commencing this research, I had taken a decision to create an archive from the interview recordings. The urge of recording the interviews on a sensitive content directed me to consult different methodological approaches. In his pioneering book *The Voice of the Past,* for instance, Paul Thompson suggests that acknowledging the intervention and a sense of alienation may persist throughout the interview process (Thompson & Bornat, 2017, p. 311-314). This led me towards a recording method that would minimize the alienation effect.

This method involved using equipment that would be visibly present during the interview, thus allowing the interviewees to be aware of its presence from the very beginning. As the interview proceeded, however, awareness of its presence would fade into the background and be overlooked. For this reason, during

interviews where interviewees granted permission for video recording, I used my *iPhone 13 Pro* integrated with a *Shure M88* tripod and microphone setup. I placed the phone on a small table tripod, and, once the recording began, I positioned it on a coffee table or the interview table, within the view of the interviewee. Throughout the interview, I endeavored not to draw attention to the recording, only discreetly checking if the recording was ongoing. Two main reasons guided my choice of using a smartphone for recording. Firstly, it possessed a camera capable of capturing high-quality footage that often surpassed that of many professional small cameras. Additionally, the convenience of swiftly transferring and securely storing these recordings through various applications was advantageous. Secondly, the unobtrusive nature of the smartphone in today's context, often overlooked or dismissed when placed on a table or surface during social interactions, facilitated the interviewees' ability to forget about its presence during the recording. When permission for video recording was not granted, I solely utilized an audio recording device, namely my trusty *IC Recorder (Sony ICD-AX412F*).

I must also mention that I observed various benefits to recording interviews. Most interviewees experienced a brief moment of excitement upon the commencement of recording, but they swiftly refocused on the interview. Some interviewees expressed curiosity about what they had discussed during the interview or requested to share the recording as a personal memory. I willingly fulfilled these requests. Subsequent follow-up interviews allowed us to engage in discussions based on the shared recordings, bringing to light topics that had either been omitted or quickly glossed over during the initial interviews. Lastly, with regard to the interview consent form shared with the interviewees, only two of them chose to sign the section pertaining to granting permission for recording. I did not insist or press

further on this matter. The interviewees' hesitancy in this regard, as I will later discuss, represented a form of uneasiness that was more intrinsic to their political concern, than the relationship they had established with me. Therefore, I reaffirmed the interviewees' consent for recording, both audio and video, after initiating the recording.

The majority of the interviews were conducted in Turkish. Among the individuals I interviewed one-on-one, the majority, 39 out of 48, were fluent in Turkish and expressed a preference for conducting the interviews in Turkish. Three of the interviewees were identified themselves as “Karamanlı”, stating Turkish as their mother tongue. The remaining 36 individuals had learned Turkish through formal education in Turkey and continued to speak Turkish over time. As frequently discussed in the existing literature, being proficient in Turkish is considered a component of the Istanbulite identity for Rum Polites (Yücel, 2017). Similarly, during the field research, I observed that the interviewees also conversed in Turkish among themselves. However, in certain instances, such as when an expression in Turkish was not remembered, the interview language switched to Greek and/or English. Therefore, while the interviews were primarily conducted in Turkish, there were moments within the same interview where expressions in English or Greek were also used. These language shifts were typically observed during emotionally charged segments of the interviews. Since it was crucial for the interviewees to express themselves in the manner they preferred, I did not intervene in language changes. I continued the interviews in the language in which the interviewee had most recently spoken. For the nine interviewees who did not prefer to conduct the interviews in Turkish, six interviews were conducted in English. The remaining three interviews were conducted in Greek, as these interviewees expressed a preference for

expressing themselves more comfortably in Greek and requested the presence of their relatives during the interviews. These family members played a facilitating role during the interviews, naturally participating (in Turkish, Greek, or English) when a question was not heard or when I asked for a repetition of a sentence uttered by the narrator, thus contributing to the smooth flow of the conversation.

I also conducted group interviews, particularly during association and group events. To be honest, initially, this was not my preferred approach as I believed one-on-one interviews would offer more privacy. However, it did not take long for me to realize that interviews conducted with companions and group interviews had a different dynamic. Interviewees of advanced age had known their companions who accompanied them or the relatives they gathered with in group interviews for a very long time. These companions were either relatives or childhood friends who had grown up in the same neighborhoods. Therefore, the privacy I aimed to prioritize was not a need felt by the interviewees in reality.

Furthermore, I soon noticed that group interviews and interviews conducted with companions had their own advantages (Slim, 2003). Maintaining focus in group interviews could be challenging; dominant voices might hinder the participation of more reserved interviewees, and individuals within the group might feel compelled to construct a narrative that aligns with the group's dynamics, focusing more on a communal history of myths rather than personal testimonies. However, I was fortunate in this regard. The companions accompanying us during the interviews realized that I prioritized the interviewee, and they maintained a respectful distance in our dialogue. At times, they became a form of "memory aid"; a whispered name or a posed question triggered the interviewees' memories, influencing their storytelling performances. With these small supports, the interviewees felt more at ease and in a

familiar environment. When a language barrier arose, for instance, or when an expression I did not understand was used, they helped me by providing translations. Group interviews, on the other hand, evolved into a performance that I did not want to end. The members sparked off one another, triggering memories, validating or reviewing each other's narratives, and completing stories that one person had begun but could not finish. In this respect, group interviews, as pointed out by Webb, became an experience where I could "pick up more information in one hour than I would acquire during a whole day in a series of interviews" (quoted in Thompson & Bornat, 2017, p. 320).

Describing the everyday and emotions can be challenging. In some interviews, my interviewees found it difficult to narrate their daily lives and express their innermost feelings. Some interviewees were not particularly talkative. In such interviews, I also relied on small memory aids. We looked at family albums together. If available, we examined old passports, letters, school report cards, and diaries belonging to their parents. We explored their former streets on Google Maps and examined the current states of their former homes. I asked them to draw pictures of their old homes or maps of the neighborhoods where they used to live if they had them. In two particular interviews, I noticed that the interviewees were not very eager to open up. When I realized this, I did not push further. I observed their discomfort and chose to stop the recording, reminding them that they could end the interview at any time and that if they wished, we could engage in a casual conversation about daily matters. After stopping the recording - when I actually thought we had concluded the interview - I listened to the two testimonies that had deeply impacted me during the research. As Portelli asserts “Some actions considered legitimate and even normal or necessary in the past are today viewed as

unacceptable and are literally cast out of the tradition. In these cases, the most precious information may lie in what the informants hide (and in the fact that they hide it), rather than in what they tell" (Portelli, 1981, p. 102).

I would also like to briefly mention the awareness generated among my interviewees during my field research. Without exception, the interviews we conducted were emotionally challenging; leaving Istanbul was a painful experience for each of my interviewees, even after many years. Most of them responded to my questions with answers like "I had never thought about this," "Oh, you've reminded me of so much," or "I had never told anyone about this." However, even being able to talk about these challenging subjects offered a degree of solace to my interviewees, who subsequently provided valuable feedback. Two independent interviewees called me days after our interviews, expressing similar sentiments. They remembered memories they had suppressed for years and told me how much they cried, but also how they felt relieved years later. Another interviewee, a few days after our interview, reached out to me expressing a desire to meet again and share more. Yet another interviewee, after our conversation, contacted childhood friends and relatives he had not spoken to in years, sharing that this made him feel very good. I realized in these moments once more that "oral history is not just about studying people, it is also about valuing them." (Zembrzycki & Sheftel , 2013, p. 16).

Following each interview, I made audio recordings for myself regarding the prominent topics discussed during the interview, its significance within my research, and the emotions it evoked. These notes allowed me to create a small catalog that I would later use in shaping my mind-map. Post-interview, the most time-consuming task was transcription. After completing the transcriptions, I anonymized them and stored them in external drives accessible only to me. I read through the transcribed

texts repeatedly, watched the interview recordings, and listened to the audio recordings. I read over the interview transcripts and discovered certain themes that were present in all of them. Based on these commonalities, I constructed the thematic perspective of my analysis. The sources had differences and inconsistencies, as well. Oral sources are not objective, as Portelli points out, and their subjectivity is a result of their inherent artificiality, variability, and partiality (Portelli, 2016, p.55). Moreover, along with these qualities, the fact that "oral sources is unfinished because of the nature of the sources", were on my mind as I was elaborating the narratives (Portelli, 2016, p.56).

I categorized the interview transcriptions and the narratives/experiences shared under various headings. Through mind maps, I could discern which testimonies were interconnected and which ones contradicted each other. In terms of the evaluation of reliability, I followed Alessandro Portelli's approach before interpreting the narratives. He states:

> oral sources are credible, but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge. Therefore, there are no "false" oral sources. Once we have checked their factual credibility with all the established criteria of philological criticism and factual verification which are required by all types of sources anyway, the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that "wrong" statements are still psychologically "true," and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts. (Portelli, 1991, p.51)

As Paul Tompson and Joanna Bornat remind us, each interview needs to be assessed for internal consistency (Thompson & Bornat, 2017, p. 363). I too carefully examined the internal consistency of my interviewees' narratives. In some instances, there were inconsistencies in the dates provided. I addressed these discrepancies by rephrasing questions related to those dates during follow-up interviews or calling them after my visits. Some interviewees supported their narratives with letters,

passports and photographs, while others aimed to corroborate their accounts by showing newspaper articles about their parents' deportation. I approached all sources at an equal distance and often cross-examined an oral source account with a written document in terms of self-validation. As I observed in my field research, the tendency to accept a written source as more reliable may be very problematic. For example, one interviewee's relative had been reported in the news as a smuggler who was arrested, while the testimony I heard presented a completely different version of events. As Thompson and Bornat asserts “Where there are discrepancies between written and oral evidence, it does not follow that one account is necessarily more reliable than another”, however, one should also remind that “the interview may reveal the truth behind the official record. This is especially true of evidence about living … in very corrupt societies” (Thompson & Bornat, 2017, p. 364).

2.3 Living narratives, written records: The dynamics of orality and literacy in the sources

The primary backbone of this study consists of interviews conducted during field research. In addition to these interviews, I made efforts to access personal testimonies obtained through various other interviews. For instance, Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria provided interview transcripts from its oral history archive, which is composed of interviews with individuals who relocated from Anatolia and Istanbul to Thessaloniki over time. These interviews focused on people who were deported in 1964-65 or had family members deported from Istanbul, and their personal information was shared with me on the condition of anonymity. Furthermore, Aydın Kapancık, the director of the documentary *Kayıp Vatan* shared audio recordings of individuals who witnessed the

1964-65 deportation during the filming of the documentary upon my request. Another eyewitness, who centered his life story around his departure from Istanbul, shared his handwritten 12 letters, written over six months during the pandemic, with me via social media. Apart from interviews, the primary sources I relied on include: *30 Χρόνια από τις Απελάσεις: 1964-1994* (The Thiertieth Year of Exile) (O Politis, 1994), and *Τον Τόπο που Γεννήθηκες Δευ Θα του ξαχάσεις Ποτέ. Οι απελάσεις του 1964: Μαρτυρίες Ελλήνων Κωνσταυτινουπολιτών (*Where You Were Born, You Will Never Forget. 1964 Exile: Testimonies of Greeks of Istanbul) (Tsoukatou, 2004), two publications comprising testimonies written by witnesses of the period, compiled during commemorative events held in the 30th and 40th years of the deportation.

I also consulted autobiographical and biographical works as part of my research materials. For instance, the book *Ένας Πολίτης Θυμάται* (A Constantinopolitan Remembers) authored by Simos Vafiadis in 1998, presented the author's personal recollections of the period, wherein he recounted the ordeals faced by his deported family members. Likewise, Aglaia Konstantinidou-Kloukina's publication, *Άιντε πάλι... Ξεριζώνεται ο Ελληνισμός από την Πόλη* (Let's Go Again... Hellenism is Uprooted from the City), which was released in Athens in 2011, served as a source for its narratives related to the deportation events. Additionally, Anesti Nova's *A Man of Two Worlds: From Istanbul to America* (Booklocker.com, 2010), Leonidas Koumakis' *Miracle: A True Story* (Tsoukatou, 2019), Evangelos Alexandris' *Konstantin'in Halefleri Istanbul Rumları: İmparatorluğun Kayıp Evlatlarının Göçü* (Konstantin's Heirs: Greeks of Istanbul - The Migration of the Lost Children of the Empire) (Chiviyazıları, 2016) *Ο Ελληνισμός της Κωνσταντινούπολης μετά την Συνθήκη Ανταλλαγής Πληθυσμών (1923-2016).* (Σταμούλης Αντ., 2021) edited by Eleni Ionnidou and Maria Kazantzidou offered

valuable insights into the experiences of individuals who were deported or witnessed the period and decided to leave Istanbul.

Furthermore, Soula Bozis and Seza Sinanlar Uslu's biography of Ivi Stangali (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019) should also be mentioned here as a source for this study, as it is the only biography I have come across of a deported Rum of Istanbul. In addition, in this research, I have also incorporated various relevant studies containing accounts of deported individuals. For instance, I encountered narratives of deported filmmakers in Soula Bozis's work titled *Paris'ten Pera'ya Sinema ve Rum Sinemacılar* (Cinema and Greek Filmmakers from Paris to Pera) (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014). Additionally, I found accounts of individuals who remained in Turkey due to their Turkish citizenship but had family members who were deported in Yahya Koçoğlu's book *Hatırlıyorum: Türkiye'de Gayrimüslim Hayatlar* (Non-Muslim Lives in Turkey) (Metis, 2003).

Apart from interview transcripts, memoirs, and biographies, I will incorporate Ioannis Iakovidis' doctoral dissertation, Η Ενταξη Στην Ελλαδική Κοινωνια Των Ελληνων Τησ Κωνσταντινουπολησ 1955-2000: Συγκριση Τουσ Με' Τουσ Αιγυπτιωτεσ, Μικρασιατεσ, Ποντιουσ Και Την Αντιστοιχη Διαδικασια Ενσωματωσησ Τουσ (The Integration Into Greek Society Of The Greeks Of Constantinople 1955-2000: A Comparison with The Egyptians, Microasians, Pontians and The Corresponding Process of Their Integration) (Panteion University, 2006), focusing on the integration process of Greeks of Istanbul in Athens. Salimbene's memoir titled "My Greek Odyssey" (2012), providing insights into everyday life in Greece during the 1960s and 1970s, will complement the examination of the integration period in this context. Furthermore, the archived editions of the *O Politis* newspaper from 1967 to 1974, which were digitized by me

during my fieldwork, and the association bylaws of Rum Polites in Athens and Thessaloniki and relevant legal documents such as ID cards or laws regarding Rum exiles, provided by these associations will serve as an additional source for studying this specific timeframe.

The sources I utilized varied in terms of their content and approaches; however, the reason for bringing these sources together was their focus on life stories and personal testimonies rather than grand narratives. In conclusion, this study, based on mainly oral sources and personal testimonies, is far from a general, definitive and objective conclusion; rather, it is an elaboration of the interpretations and reflactions of the Rum Polites informants on their experiences.

2.4 In the realm of research: Challenging algorithms of pandemic, unexpected realties and unforseen insights

In 2015, I embarked on my PhD journey, and since then, I have spent nearly every summer in Athens. My reasons for doing so were multifaceted, including enhancing my language proficiency, gathering insights for my prospective field research, establishing contact with potential interviewees, and deepening my understanding of Greek culture. In the fall of 2019, I pursued an Erasmus student opportunity in Crete, all the while striving to cultivate connections in Athens while continuing to advance my language skills. By January 2020, I was relocated to Athens and commenced a preliminary phase of field research lasting one month. I initiated contact with key entities, such as the International Federation of the Constantinopolitans and the Tsoukatou Publishing House in Athens. With guidance from the International Federation of the Constantinopolitans, my initial engagements included reaching out to The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey (the Exiles Association),

an organization established in 1964 that has sustained its activities over the years, as well as Zografeion Lyceum Alumni Association. Moreover, I conducted introductory meetings with members of the Greeks of Istanbul community residing in Athens.

My social network expanded both through interviews with individuals I was already acquainted with and through participant observation, as I spent time in various cafes throughout Paleo Faliro. I also had the privilege of participating in *vasilopita*[58] ceremonies hosted by different groups, at the gracious invitations of individuals I had connected with. Consequently, I was able to conduct a spectrum of interviews, ranging from one-on-one conversations to group discussions. During a similar period, I was notified of my selection as the recipient of the W.D.E. Coulson & Toni M. Cross Aegean Exchange Program grant offered by the American Research Institute in Turkey. My intention was to prolong my stay in Athens for several additional months to further pursue my field research; however, my Erasmus visa was approaching its expiration date. Consequently, I made the decision to return to Istanbul in order to extend my visa and make the necessary preparations for the continuation of my field research. Nonetheless, just as I was in the process of making arrangements to return to Athens, an unforeseen turn of events occurred with the outbreak of the pandemic, leading to the abrupt closure of borders between the two countries on the very day I had originally planned to depart. This travel restriction persisted for a duration of 1.5 years.

The pandemic period was very challenging for me, as it was for countless individuals around the world. Just as I was on the verge of embarking on my long-cherished field research, I suddenly found myself in the midst of a global pandemic

[58] Vasilopita is a traditional bread, cake, or pie served on New Year's Day in Greece and various regions across Eastern Europe and the Balkans. It typically includes a concealed coin or trinket believed to bring good luck to the person who finds it.

of unprecedented proportions, the duration of which remained uncertain. Faced with this unforeseeable force majeure, I experienced profound disappointment during the initial days of the pandemic. Several months later, in the autumn of 2021, as it became increasingly evident that the new normal would entail social isolation, I endeavored to carry out online interviews. I reached out to my interviewees located in the United States, Turkey and Greece through various video conferencing platforms, conducting a total of 6 interviews during this challenging period. Initially, I held the belief that these interviews would provide a meaningful connection for both myself and the interviewees, particularly amid the confines of lockdowns. Indeed, for a period, these interactions served as a source of solace as we shared our experiences of isolation. However, the mounting toll of the pandemic and the prolonged period of social isolation ultimately prompted both myself and my interviewees to question the significance of these interviews. The moment one of my interviewees remarked, "The world was burning, who benefits from remembering the old Istanbul days," my own resilience was profoundly shaken. By this reason, I decided to take a break from the interviews and turn to written and visual sources. Any source where I could find daily encounters, life stories and personal testimonies of “ordinary people" was exciting for me. For this reason, I scanned the 1960-65 issues of *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers, which have online access. In newspapers, my focus was on uncovering the daily life of the 1960s rather than delving into the political events of that period. Additionally, I conducted thorough research in the Presidential Archives the Prime Ministry Fund (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, Başbakanlık Fonu) with a critical perspective. This involved re-examining the 1964 citizen letters' archives to understand the impact (even if partial) of government policies on the grassroots. I also scrutinized press reports related to expulsion and

explored the archives of Hürriyet, Ulus, Akşam, and Yeni Sabah newspapers for the entire years of 1964 and 1965. The aim was to chronologize the deportation process and trace the daily encounters of both Rum and non-Rum communities, cross-referencing this information with my field research.

In the pursuit of historical ethnography, I meticulously examined a range of research publications[59] focusing on the popular culture prevalent between 1960 and 1965. I compiled an extensive list of films that were shot in Istanbul during this specific era and conscientiously viewed all accessible local and foreign films produced during that time frame.[60] My research extended to encompass films[61] and documentaries[62] that centered on the Greek community of Istanbul and the events of

---

[59] Derya Bengi, *60lı Yıllarda Türkiye: Sazlı Cazlı Sözlük- Dünya Durmadan Dönüyor*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2022; Naim Dilmener, *Bak Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş: Hafif Türk Pop Tarihi*, İletişim Yayınları 2003; Cumhur Canbazoğlu, *Kentin Türküsü: Anadolu Pop-Rock*, Pan Yayıncılık, 2009; Cemal Ünlü, *Gel Zaman Git Zaman: Fonograf, Gramofon, Taş Plak,* Pan Yayıncılık, 2004; Murat Meriç, *Pop Dedik: Türkçe Sözlü Hafif Batı Müziği*, İletişim Yayınları, 2006; Atilla Dorsay, *Ne Şurup-Şeker Şarkılardı Onlar…: Kişisel Bir 20. Yüzyıl Pop Müzik Tarihi,* Remzi Kitabevi, 2002; Umut Tümay Arslan, *Mazi Kabrinin Hortlakları: Türklük, Melankoli ve Sinema,* Metis, 2010; Giovanni Scognamillo, *Batı Sinemasında Türkiye ve Türkler,* +1 Kitap, 2006; Ayhan Akkaya & Fehmiye Çelik, *60'lardan 70'lere 45lik Şarkılar*, BGST Yayınları, 2006; Mete Kaan Kaynar (eds), *Türkiye'nin 1960'lı Yılları*, İletişim Yayınları, 2017; Aslı Daldal, *1960 Darbesi ve Türk Sinemasında Toplumsal Gerçekçilik*, Homer Yayınları, 2005.

[60] For foreign films such as *From Russia with Love* (1963, Terence Young); *America America* (1963, Elia Kazan); *Topkapı* (1964, Jules Dassin); *The Man in Istanbul* (1965, Antonio Isasi- Isasmendi) and for local films such as *Şoför Nebahat* (1959, Metin Erksan); *Otobüs Yolcuları* (1961, Ertem Göreç & Vedat Türkali); *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964, Halit Refiğ); *Suçlular Aramızda* (1964, Metin Erksan)… A long list of period films can be found in the Appendix B.

[61] *Politiki Kouzina* (2003, Tassos Boulmetis); *Gölgeler ve Suretler* (2010, Derviş Zaim); *Sürgün* (2013, Erol Özlevi); *Istanbul Story* (2016**,** Fotini Siskopoulou); *Djam* (2017, Tony Gatlif); *Aşk Tesadüfleri Sever 2* (2020, İpek Sorak & Ömer Faruk Sorak); *Güz Sancısı* (2009, Tomris Giritlioğlu).

[62] *Hayatın Tanığı Belgeseli: Rumların Zorunlu Göçü 1964 Sürgünleri* (2014, Rıdvan Akar); *Hasretim İstanbul* (2010, Tahsin İşbilen); *Kayıp Vatan* (2016, Aydın Kapancık); *Yanyana* (2017, Enis Rıza ve Mesut Tufan); *Evvel Zaman Dışında: Büyükada Rum Yetimhanesi*, (2018, Ceren Acun & Defne Sarıöz); *Mana Mou Istanbul* (2016, Nihan Arısoy); *Adieu Istanbul* (2013, Dieter Sauter); *The Last Greeks of Princess Islands* (2008, Anastasios Papapostolou); *The Rum Community of Istanbul* (?,TRT World); *Those Who Depart This World Die Only When Forgotten* (2014, Angeliki Aristomenopoulou); *Khalkedon, İstanbul'un Anadolu Yakası'ndaki Rum Cemaati* (2014, Grigoris Oikonomidis); *Greek Architects of Istanbul* (2015, Grigoris Oikonomidis & Savvas Tsilenis); *Bizim Adalar* (2014, Nedim Hazar); *Merhaba Anadolu* (2013, Chrysovalantis Stamelos); *The Return of the Holy Relics of Saints Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom* (2014, ?); *Bells, Threads and Miracles* (2009, Marianna Economou); *Double Memory* (2004, Giorgos Moutevellis); *Sto Mega Revma tou Vosporou* (2008, Giorgos Moutevellis);

the 1964-65 deportation. I devoted considerable time to immersing myself in the musical landscape of the 1960s, diligently exploring the popular hits[63] of that period. Additionally, I delved into local novels[64] penned during this time or revolving around it, seeking narratives that could offer insights into the historical context. I actively sought memoirs[65] containing firsthand testimonies from individuals who lived through this era. My investigation encompassed the perusal of Istanbul city guides[66] from the 1960s, which illuminated the vibrant landscape of the time, featuring renowned clubs, theaters, cinemas, snack bars, chic restaurants, and the intricate network of *dolmus* and bus routes interconnecting the various districts. Throughout the two-year period of the pandemic, the world appeared to be operating at an altered pace, and I too found myself operating at a distinct rhythm. As everything around, us

---

[63] Some of the names that had hit songs in the 1960s: Juanito, Adamo, Charles Aznavour, Dalida, Sylvie Vartan, Johnny Hallyday, The Beatles, The Animals, Petula Clark, Melina Mercouri, Françoise Hardy, Bob Dylan, The Beach Boys, The Doors, The Four Tops and Aliki Vougiouklaki (especially among the Rum community in Istanbul).

[64] Ömer Madra, *Romanımla Sana Bir Ses,* Everest Yayınları, 1991; Herkül Milas, *Aile Mezarı,* Doğan Kitap, 2020; Melih Özeren, *Turuncu Geçmişin Kıyısında*, İletişim, 2011; Suat Derviş, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*, İthaki Yayınları, 2014 (serialized novel in 1962-63); Peride Celal, *Güz Şarkısı,* Can Yayınları, 1999 (serialized novel in 1965); Şule Yüksel Şenler, *Huzur Sokağı*, Timaş, 2000 (serialized novel in 1969); Talip Apaydın, *Ortakçılar,* Literatür Yayıncılık, 2022 (first publication in 1963); Kemal Tahir, *Bozkırdaki Çekirdek*, İthaki Yayınları, 2019 (serialized novel in 1965); İlhan Engin, *Üç Öfkeli Genç,* İtimat, 1963; Atilla İlhan, *Kurtlar Sofrası,* Ataç Kitabevi Yayınları, 1963; Melih Cevdet Anday, *Aylaklar,* Everest Yayınları, 2018 (first publication in 1965); Oya Baydar, *Savaş Çağı Umut Çağı,* Habora Yayınevi, 1966; Mahmut Makal, *Köpeksiz Köy*, İnkilap ve Aka Yayınevi, 1965. In addition to these novels, Fikret Otyam's interview/travel books can also be mentioned here for providing a panaroma of the period: *Topraksızlar*, Yeditepe Yayınları, 1963; *Hu Dost,* Ankara Gazeteciler Cemiyeti,1964; *Bir Karış Toprak İçin,* İmece Dergisi Yayınları,1965.

[65] Haldun Dormen, *Anılar,* Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013; Gülriz Sururi, *Kıldan İnce Kılıçtan Keskince,* Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1983; Tülay German, *Düşmemiş Bir Uçağın Kara Kutusu,* Çınar Yayınları, 2001; Vefa Zat, Barmen: *Suriçi'nden Hilton'a Yudum Yudum İstanbul,* Doğan Kitap, 2009; Talat Aydemir, *Hatıratım,* Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010; Ruhi Su, *Ezgili Yürek*, 2010; Atıf Yılmaz, *Hayallerim, Aşkım ve Ben,* Simavi Yayınları, 1991; Orhan Boran, *Leyleğin Ömrü,* Milliyet Yayınları, 1978; Alpay Nazikoğlu, *Eylül'de Gel: Anılar,* Doğan Kitap, 2004; Oktay Akbal, *Anılarda Görmek: Günlük 1 (1965-1967),* Can Yayınları, 1989; Öztürk Serengil, *Yeşilçam'ı Benden Sorun,* Milliyet Yayınları, 1985; Bercuhi Berberyan, *Burgazada Sevgilim,* Adalı Yayınları, 2010; Ahmet Tanrıverdi, *Büyükada'nın Solmayan Fotoğrafları,* Everest Yayınları, 2006; Ahmet Tanrıverdi, *Hafıza Çekmecemde Biriktirdiklerim,* Everest Yayınları, 2022; Hüseyin Irmak, *Tatavla'dan Kurtuluş'a,* Aras Yayınları, 2003; Meri Çevik Simyonidis, *İstanbulum: Tadım, Tuzum, Hayatım*, İnkılap, 2018; Sula Bozis, *İstanbullu Rumlar,* 2011 (it is a monograph that includes oral history interviews); Kornilia Çevik Bayvertyan, *21. Yüzyılın İstanbul'unda Rumlar,* Paros, 2018 (it is an interview book, therefore it contains testimonies from the period).

[66] In particular, this guidebook became a reference book for me: *Tourist's Guide to Istanbul*, Halk Basımevi, 1963.

decelerated, I remained ensconced at home, effectively transporting myself into the cultural milieu of the 1960s. This immersion, perhaps motivated by a desire to maintain a steadfast connection to my thesis or as a means of temporarily escaping the confines of the pandemic, notably contributed to the fluency and depth of my subsequent interviews.

Nearly two years later than planned, in the spring of 2022, with the widespread rollout of mass vaccinations, a relative decrease in the number of cases, and the gradual relaxation of pandemic measures such as mandatory mass quarantines and travel bans in Turkey and Greece, along with acquiring immunity after contracting COVID-19, I decided to conduct my field research. I initiated my initial interviews through the contacts I had established previously, which included The Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans, The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey, Tsoukatou Publishing House, and personal connections. The first interviews with the close relatives of deported individuals were made possible through the referrals of these organizations and individuals. Following the initial interviews, I reached out to potential interviewees through a snowball sampling method, and without exception, each interviewee facilitated contact with deported families they knew personally. Additionally, as the normalization process of the pandemic unfolded in Athens, various community events resumed, providing me with opportunities to establish initial contacts and expand my network through activities such as book launches, alumni reunions of various Greek schools in Istanbul, commemorative events organized by different associations, exhibitions, and award ceremonies. After 3 months of field research, I conducted in-depth interviews with 43 different people; I also conducted follow-up interviews with 12 of these 43 people (second interview with 7 people, third interview with 2 people and fourth

interview with 3 people). I recorded audios for all the interviews conducted, and in 25 of these interviews, I also recorded video. As a result of the field research, in addition to the audio and video recordings of the interviews, I compiled a visual and auditory archive consisting of family letters, diaries, photo albums, as well as photographs of documents such as passports, identity cards, residence permits, and work permits that were shared with me during the interviews.[67]

During my field research in Athens, I established contact with Rum Polites living in Thessaloniki. In March 2023, I traveled to Thessaloniki with the support of the Vangelis Kechriotis Memorial Travel Grant, which was awarded by the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association (OTSA). In my field research in Thessaloniki, I conducted interviews with five individuals, four of whom were women. The youngest interviewee was born in 1961, while the oldest was born in 1945. One interviewee's father, one interviewee's fiancé, and two interviewees' close family friends had been deported, while the other interviewee was a historian specializing in the migration of Rums of Turkey. During my visit to Thessaloniki, I also had the opportunity to visit Historical Archives of Refugee Hellenism of the Municipality of Kalamaria (Στορικο Αρχειο Προσφυγικου Ελληνισμου), where I requested their assistance in supporting my research. As a result, they shared with me the transcripts of three interviews mentioned earlier. Following my stay in Thessaloniki, I proceeded to Athens and conducted an interview with a period witness whom I had previously arranged to meet but had not been able to. This marked the conclusion of my field research.

[67] In this study, I resorted these sources for cross-checking of the testimonies. However, I intent to delve into this archive more extensively in my future studies.

When it comes to Rum Polites, Istanbul transcends being merely a city; being an Istanbulite constitutes the foundational element of identity for Greeks of Istanbul. Every individual requires a sense of roots, as Simone Weil eloquently expresses, "to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul" (Weil, 1955, p. 40). Establishing these roots often revolves around attributing meaning to the place where we were born and raised, which generally shapes our sense of belonging. Consequently, space is transformed into place through the establishment of relationships, familiarity, and shared experiences. This affinitive, behavioral, and cognitive connection between individuals and their socio-physical environment culminates in attachment, which plays a pivotal role in shaping and consolidating identity (Brown, Altman, & Werner, 2012). The sense of belonging cultivated through a connection to a specific place carries with it a unique framework of meaning. Expectations and delineations begin to form around the concept of being an Istanbulite, demarcating boundaries between those who are and those who are not. My own Istanbulite identity played a role in this context, affording me a sense of belonging within this narrative. This was reflected in my avoidance of nationalist reflexes (which must have shown that I am committed to a cosmopolitan identity), my accent, clothing choices (such as a jacket I occasionally wore or a flare I wore around my neck), and even the gift bag of coffee I took with me to the interviews, all of which were attributed to my identity as an Istanbulite. Moreover, my local knowledge (Geertz, 1983), knowing the streets, schools, churches, and other landmarks mentioned by the interviewees, despite all the years that have passed, strengthened our communication through my field research. Therefore, being an Istanbulite became a shared foundation for me and my interviewees. Additionally, during the initial introductory interviews, my status as a PhD candidate at a reputable

university in Istanbul contributed to careful listening and instilled confidence in my research. One of the most frequently inquired aspects of my background during the early stages of interviews was the origin of my family. While I was indeed an Istanbulite, I also hailed from a family of Balkan migrant of population exchange period. My migrant family background seemed to convey to interviewees that I would be more attentive, empathetic, and capable of comprehending their displacement narratives. This was often reflected in statements such as "just like your elders did" or "as you also know." Furthermore, considering the age range of the individuals I interviewed, being young worked to my advantage. I was of a similar age to many interviewees' children or grandchildren, and I was an eager listener to their life stories. This facilitated quicker rapport-building and allowed for more profound and meaningful interviews. In recent years, especially in Athens, the existence of researchers conducting fieldwork on Rum Polites like myself was known among my interviewees. This circumstance greatly facilitated my access to potential interviewees, and for my interviewees, it provided an opportunity to collaborate with me on my research. They expressed genuine interest in my research, asked questions about it, and willingly directed me to individuals and institutions that could provide further assistance.

During my field research, I encountered some challenges. At the time of my fieldwork, pandemic measures had somewhat eased, but the pandemic had not completely subsided. Regrettably, some of the interviewees I had contacted before the pandemic had passed away during this period, while others declined my interview request due to the ongoing pandemic. I shared my vaccination schedule with interviewees, and I conducted interviews in locations entirely determined by the interviewees (such as outdoor settings or the interviewees' own homes). I monitored

my own health by conducting antigen COVID tests every 2-3 days throughout the research. During interviews, I ensured that I wore a mask, maintained physical distancing, and diligently used hand sanitizer before and after touching any materials, such as photographs shown to me by interviewees. After each interview, I followed up with the interviewees to check on their health status. With their confirmation that they were well, I proceeded with subsequent interviews. Fortunately, during the three-month-long field research, there were no reported cases of transmission, and I am pleased to report that the fieldwork remained incident-free in this regard.

Another challenge I faced during my research was the ongoing political tension between Turkey and Greece that began in the spring of 2022 and persisted throughout my stay in Athens. Despite my assurance to include all narratives in my study without revealing the interviewees' personal information through anonymization and my sharing of an informed consent form with potential interviewees, the political atmosphere created by the strained relations between the two countries triggered various emotions, such as fear, unease, and resentment, among potential interviewees who had already experienced living as Rum (Greek) in Turkey and being deported. In some interviews, statements made by Turkey were frequently recalled, causing the narrated stories to be abruptly cut short, either out of fear or exhaustion. Furthermore, some individuals I had made arrangements with abandoned the idea of participating in interviews due to their fear that "something might happen to them".[68] As a result, I used pseudonyms in this study and did not use the real names of the interviewees. While being an Istanbulite created a sense of

[68] Other studies on Rums of Istanbul also mention this state of unease, please see: Halstead, H. (2019). *Greeks Without Greece: Homelands, Belonging, And Memory Amongst The Expatriated Greeks of Turkey.* Routledge; Vardar, N. (2020). *Carnival Celebrations In Istanbul: The Changing Perception And Experience Of Apokries And Baklahorani.* (Unpublished MA Thesis). Boğaziçi University.

closeness, being someone from Turkey also aroused apprehension during this process. Many individuals from The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey agreed to meet with me, allowed me to visit the association multiple times during my doctoral studies, and permitted me to examine their records, which included statistical data about the deported (with identity information redacted), such as the neighborhoods they lived in, their occupations in Athens, and who accompanied them during their deportation. However, this statistical data was not shared with me for approximately one year. The reason given was that the association's board had concerns, and they stated, "Perhaps our children will conduct a study on this topic, and then you can use it as well". It was at that moment that I realized that I did not belong to the category of "us," and the sole reason for this was my Turkish background. This saddened me, but I soon realized that I should not take it personally and that this apprehension stemmed from the distrust internalized within the deported individuals due to their experiences of vulnerability. Similarly, my application to access consulate reports sent from Istanbul to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the deportation period took several weeks and involved various correspondences during my visit to The Service of Diplomatic & Historical Archives (Y.D.I.A.) in Athens, but my application was not accepted.

Transitioning to another challenge I encountered, from the very beginning of my research, I made a conscious effort to prioritize listening to women's stories, but I faced difficulties in reaching female interviewees. For instance, out of the 43 individuals I interviewed in Athens, only 14 were women (in Thessaloniki, I interviewed 4 women and 1 man, but this did not significantly alter the overall ratio of female interviewees). However, the majority of my interviewees were men, and they not only shared their personal stories but also expressed a desire to speak on

behalf of their communities. In some interviews, the focus shifted to international political history (e.g., the role of the UK in Greek-Turkish relations) possibly because of my youth and being a woman. This phenomenon is not surprising but rather a topic of considerable discussion in the methodology of oral history. In field research conducted based on interpersonal relationships, encounters like this are common due to different identities and social backgrounds between researchers and interviewees. I encountered fewer female interviewees than males; in the older generations of the Greeks of Istanbul community, where patriarchal values were widely accepted, potential male interviewees were more accessible due to their social roles (e.g., as heads of associations). To reach female interviewees and establish trust with them requires additional effort. Some potential female interviewees I reached out to either declined my interview request due to various fears or, during initial meetings, shared fewer personal experiences, feeling the need to be more cautious. However, during follow-up interviews, female interviewees, with their "introspective eyes," discussed family tensions, the impact of social tensions within their homes, daily experiences, and emotions without the need to position themselves outside in a public space. In interviews, they recalled losses more than success stories, expressed missed opportunities, and remembered heartbreaks. This was something I had anticipated because oral history interviews, especially when conducted by a young female researcher with older female narrators, often evolved into a form of "sharing" and transmission of experiences. Moreover, especially when we consider that it is almost impossible to access written (official) records of deported Istanbulite Rum women (due to factors such as their informal labor, the Greek government's provision of state aid to the "head of the household," and the direct representation of men in

processes like military service, taxation, etc.), narratives from female narrators that focus on the "domestic sphere" are nearly the sole source available.

I would like to share my field research process and my writing experience at the end of this process in a dialogical flow, rather than disregarding my own vulnerability in research where I discuss precariousness, with an autoethnographic approach (Ellis & Bochner, 2006), and unlike the traditional ethnographic approach based on monologues that likened analysis.[69] Because my vulnerability was also a part of my research, within this vulnerability, I was able to make this research possible. My specific circumstances, which included (1) the necessity of traveling to Greece with a visa because I am a Turkish citizen, despite obtaining a visa almost every year and providing proof of being a researcher, I was obliged to conduct my field research with a limited visa (90-day stay) and (2) having a limited budget (my research grant was insufficient due to increasing inflation during the pandemic, and the exchange rate was constantly fluctuating against me), put me in something of a race against time throughout my field research. On the same day, I attempted to attend several events, sometimes scheduling 2, 3, or even 4 interviews.

The interviews were emotionally challenging as I listened to difficult experiences, longings, disappointments, unfulfilled mourning, which meant I had to regulate my own emotional state between interviews. This was quite demanding for me, both due to time constraints and the intensity of the experiences. A couple of weeks into my field research, I started having trouble sleeping at night because my

[69] For a discussion that encourages researchers to display their vulnerabilities, please see: Bochner, A. (2017). Heart of the Matter: A Mini-Manifesto for Autoethnography. *International Review of Qualitative Research, 10 (Special Issue: Manifesting he Future of Autoethnography)*(1), 67-80.

mind couldn't settle. Some days, I realized I didn't have the emotional capacity or physical strength to hold space for interviews. When I had to postpone interviews, I felt extremely guilty due to the limited time available.[70] On the other hand, during this process, I had no choice but to rely on my memory and brief interview notes for follow-up interviews. Because of the time constraint, I could only transcribe my interviews after returning to Istanbul. Most importantly, since building interpersonal relationships takes time, having to leave Athens after just 3 months, right when I had gained trust and started reaching out to female interviewees, made me feel like my work was left incomplete. I am aware that there are young academics who have gone through similar experiences but choose to remain silent because discussing these issues is not academically "accepted". Speaking about this vulnerability is a political choice for me because even though my field research process may seem like a personal story, it points to a historically and socially constructed political structure in which a series of inequalities are woven. The conditions in the country where I reside, the subject I chose to research, and who I am - all of these are political. In essence, *the personal is political*.

The field research, which had passed by in a whirlwind amid crowds, was followed by a solitary and stagnant writing process. I must confess that I struggled a lot with writing, but what truly challenged me was the obligation to conform to the traditional conventions of academic writing. However, I had listened to rich life experiences from various narrators and sincerely wished to write about them in a more creative manner within a multi-actor narrative using various writing techniques. Ultimately, the most exhausting and draining part of my thesis process was not the

[70] For a study discussing the physical vulnerabilities of field researchers, please see: Montessi, L., & Sheild Johansson, M. (2021). Dog Bites and Gastrointestinal Disorders: Our Everday Bodies in Teaching Anthropology and Fieldwork Preparation. *Teaching Anthropology, 10*(3), 59-69.

field research but rather attempting to find a writing style and structure that adhered to the boundaries and format defined by the thesis format.

Finally, I would like to discuss why I embarked on this study and the points at which I resonated with this research. I have grown up listening to migration narratives within my family for as long as I can remember. In particular, I vividly recall how my young heart was deeply moved by the migration story of my grandmother, whose name I bear, during the period of her struggle with dementia. I remember how profoundly I empathized with all that transpired, the beloved ones left behind, and the challenges faced while adapting to a new life. It seems that my fascination with stories began during that period, or perhaps I had an inclination for story-listening even before, considering how attentively I listened to my grandmother. I have been in pursuit of these stories for years. In fact, I had previously intended to conduct research on my family's history, but the emotional toll it took on me was immensely challenging. For instance, reading the Carnegie Report (Report of the International Commision To Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, 1914), which contained testimonies of survivors from my grandmother's village, triggered various somatic distresses to the extent that I could not continue. It appears that I was drawn specifically to the narratives of displaced and migrating individuals, a realization I came to during my doctoral thesis. Consequently, it is evident that I have academically delved into similar subjects, exemplified by my master's thesis, which explored the lives of displaced Romani individuals (Özer, 2014). It was only after several years that I could make sense of the underlying motivations behind these academic pursuits. Eventually, “Research is an extension of researchers’ lives. Although most social scientists have been trained to guard against subjectivity (self-driven perspectives) and to separate self from

research activities, it is an impossible task. Scholarship is inextricably connected to self-personal interest, experience, and familiarity" (Wambura Ngunjiri, Chang, & C. Hernandez, 2010).[71] It is likely for this reason that I resonated deeply with Uncle Manolis' story. The night I listened to his narrative, all my friends who were seated at the same table remember Manolis Uncle, but only I among them chose to pursue a doctoral thesis on this subject.

On the other hand, during my doctoral studies, many of my close acquaintances decided to emigrate from Turkey for various reasons and subsequently left the country one after the other. My home, which was conveniently located near the airport, turned into a farewell point. After lengthy table discussions, my friends and I bid farewell to them, and during these farewells, my husband and I found ourselves asking questions about emigration. After some time, we began discussing our potential emigration plans. For us as well, this was essentially an involuntary emigration; if it were not for political and economic conditions forcing us, we probably would not have considered leaving the Istanbul where we were born and raised. Therefore, as I experienced internal turmoil, I noticed that during my interviews with "individuals who had undergone a similar experience," I asked questions about emigration and rebuilding life with genuine curiosity, mixed with both melancholy and excitement. My field research became a mirror of the process I was going through; I guided the process with my own anxieties, and the answers I received influenced not only my thoughts but also my emotions and feelings. It is at this point that the "blurring of the distinction between subject and object in my

[71] For the intertwining of the academic and personal aspects, please see: Tompkins, J. (1987). Me and My Shadow. *Feminist Directions,* 19(1), 169-178.

research" became apparent (Erdmans, 2007). I realized the transformative impact of my research on myself.

CHAPTER 3

BEING A RUM IN ISTANBUL: ΤΑ ΚΑΛΎΤΕΡΑ ΜΑΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΆ*

I listened, and the Rums of Istanbul told me. During my field research, the Rums of Istanbul that I encountered shared a very colorful Istanbul with me. As I listened to their childhood and youth stories and narratives about daily life, I realized that these somehow overlapped in a reciprocal, synergic dialogue carrying specific patterns. I aim to discuss these stories by associating them with each other while preserving their particular meanings, thus making sense of the experience of being a Rum in Istanbul. I also aim to democratize and humanize the official/conventional historiography produced on Istanbul's Rum community and their 1964 Expulsion, by presenting sections from their lives. Holding space for the stories about their lives before the deportation and/or their urge to leave Istanbul, is an effort to remind that these deported people, cannot be reduced to "numbers" as we often see in the mainstream literature. They did have an established life, and to reflect on how their lives were sustained, where they faced difficulties, and what strategies they generated to overcome these challenges is as important as the number of their community. In short, this chapter is an effort to better understand the experience of being a Rum in Istanbul.

---

* Happy Old Days

3.1 Through the eyes of a child: Daily life before the exile

I asked, and my interviewees answered. At times I didn't need to ask- to tell me things it was enough that I was there listening to them . Of course, being relatives of deported persons or witnesses of this period were not the only experience of their lives; our meetings, however, were shaped around this topic. My interviewees oscillated between various emotions as they talked about their childhood and teenage years in Istanbul, and I accompanied them. Childhood memories mentioned at length scenes from everyday life where mothers set tables, shopkeepers were also neighbors, children played games on the street and cherished *akide* candy. Many interviewees remembered the affection of the elders of the family during joyful crowded days when the whole family gathered along with glimpses of social life. The flurry to move to the summer house was joyfully narrated, describing bike tours on the islands, acquaintances on the ferry, first loves, first disappointments. School remembrances included the road to school, lace ribbons and particular teachers. They referred to lieux de memoir like the shop windows in Beyoğlu or the Atlantic buffet hot dogs, but also to popular records of the time, weekend parties, dance figures from the West Side Story…

The narrators describe their childhood and youth years in a very positive tone, perhaps as the most beautiful years of their lives. I think there are several reasons for this. Firstly, childhood and youth years are remembered with nostalgia for a past that is no longer accessible. In nostalgia, everything seems brighter and more colorful than the actuality of the experience. Moreover, they talk about a time when they have not yet left Istanbul and the familiar world. That period when their extended family spent a relatively good time together is remembered as a happy period. Years spent trying to rebuild a life after leaving Istanbul were for many of my interviewees, a

period in which childhood and youth is quickly left behind, great responsibilities are taken due to the deterioration of the family circumstances and a step towards the threshold of adulthood is taken. Therefore, with this contrast, the childhood years spent in Istanbul are considered as an ideal time in which somehow everything was preserved in its optimal state. Nevertheless, I also heard stories about scattered families in the narratives of many of the people I interviewed. The years that the whole extended family spent together in Istanbul were mostly cut off as if by a knife when Greek citizens began to be deported in 1964. While some family members came directly to Greece, some immigrated – or were obliged to immigrate – to European countries or the USA. Relatives and family members living in various countries on different continents may be taken for granted today, but the memories of growing up under the care of multiple caregivers in extended families including uncles, aunts, and grandparents, with warmer family connections in a more intimate environment compared to today's distant family relations before 1964, are fondly remembered.

On the other hand, Istanbul naturally stands at the very center of the stories told. Istanbul makes it possible for those stories to take place and be reminisced. Istanbul is like a very colorful palette with which the narrators color the canvas of their stories. The longing for Istanbul adds to the longing for the years spent here. The beauty of the childhood years is accompanied and intertwined with the beauty of Istanbul- the distinction here becomes vague about whether it is Istanbul that is longed for or the childhood years.

Childhood stories were not remembered in a specific chronological order. Instead, during the interviews, individuals traversed the past through certain emotions of the present moment. For instance, as interviewees recounted their own

children, they recollected their own childhoods, or when discussing a long-lost relative, a return to childhood ensued. In this sense, childhood narratives served as the initial stops of a journey, revisited with each new tale. It became evident in the field research that these fragmented narratives were interwoven with each other. The childhood narratives unfolded in various neighborhoods of Istanbul, spanning a period from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, exhibiting diversity within the 20-year timeframe. However, underlying all these stories, there was a common, faintly articulated, and vaguely sensed emotion that connected all these narratives like a web -precarity. Whether narrating a joyous and happy day or describing an ordinary one, there was a subtle and intrinsic reference to precarity that points to a state of being open to threat and intervention at any time, a state of constant uneasiness or being targeted. To comprehend what it meant to be a Rum in Istanbul before the exile, capturing and interpreting this precarity was essential. Thus, the recounted childhood stories were, in essence, clues to a world where precariousness was taken for granted.

Childhood stories have been a profound source of inspiration for me in this study, concurrently serving as a guiding compass in delineating the theoretical framework of this research. The shared theme of fragility in childhood narratives proved instrumental in making sense of the experience of exile. However, I did not listen to these narratives in a predetermined sequence; rather, I had to selectively extract and sift through the allegorical essence of these stories from a vast array. Therefore, I consider it significant for the readers of this study to lend their ears to the faintly perceived states of fragility in testimonials. Here, I resonate with the historical writing approach of Charles King, who can be seen as aligning with those deconstructivists who perceive historical writing as a form of narration or a literary

form. This is best expressed in the introduction of his work, *Midnight in Pera Palace*:

> I have always strongly believed that we should write history as people actually lived it; in a jumbled mess, with many voices speaking at once, sometimes solemnly, sometimes a little frantically, with interruptions, disconnections, with occasional distractions, pauses, like an all-night conversation in a tavern. (King, 2015, p. 11)

In this chapter which covers the testimonies on the life in Istanbul before the expulsion, distinct from the remainder of the study, I adopt a focal approach by zooming in and out on various neighborhoods of Istanbul. In this context, I present childhood narratives in a fragmented manner, interweaving them intricately to establish connections. These interconnections that link the stories are constructed through witnessing events in various districts of the city over a span of 20 years. This encompassed recollections of *Septemvriana* the sensation of insecurity in public spaces, becoming a target upon the recognition of one's Rum identity, and consequently, cultivating an internalized unease associated with becoming invisible and inaudible. Lastly, in the stories I share here, I tried to include the narrators' own expressions as much as I could.

Üsküdar in Apostolis and his childhood friends' memory

There is a linden tree in the garden of almost every house in Fıstıkağacı in Üsküdar. In the months of Spring, especially in the crisp mornings, the linden trees smell so good that their fragrant smell pervades the neighborhood. The children of the neighborhood play together all day. They listen to the songs of the canaries, titmice, and peasweeps sometimes in the nearby woods and sometimes in cages hanging on the wisteria full porch of the coffee house where bird enthusiasts are regulars. But they mostly admire the song of the goldfinches they catch and whose golden yellow spots under the chin they count curiously. They graze sheep on empty fields, they

hunt birds in the woods and cross the Karacaahmet cemetery on their bicycles. The deaf headman's wife pours lead over children who are touched by the evil eye; the Imam of the neighborhood recites a jaundice-stopping prayer for children with jaundice. Whenever the imam or the priest pass by the children while they are playing ball, they stop playing and run to kiss their hands… After dinner, İlia, Safiye, and Hayganuş always sit outside the door and chat for hours. And the children of the street play hide and seek all night long. Thanos watches them from the window with envy because his father does not let him play in the street at nighttime.

Apostolis has a beautiful bed. “It’s so beautiful, so cool”. The bed used to belong in the palace, his grandfather bought it for his grandson in a sale. This is an interesting bed; it’s got a pivot; when you remove it, it becomes a swing, or a cot when you place it in the socket. The children like the cot. Whenever a boy is circumcised in the neighborhood, they chant, "Aunt Madam give the cot". Apostolis’ *yaya* (‘grandmother’ in Greek), the madam aunty, lends out the cot together with the 4 big flags in the house and a valuable carpet. All the children of the neighborhood are circumcised in Apostolis’ cot.

Apostolis usually goes to Fenerbahce with his mother and his yaya to swim. When someone rents a rowboat, he also jumps into the boat like other children do, and they go to swim offshore. But one day he goes to Salacak for a swim with his friends from the neighborhood. Meanwhile, on the beach, Agop of the cotton kerchiefs notices a troupe of shrimps passing by as he’s washing his kerchiefs and calls out to the children. He pulls the basket he uses to wash the kerchiefs in front of the shrimp troupe, and suddenly the basket is filled with shrimps. The children carry with difficulty the shrimp basket into the neighborhood- “people came with pots, a pot of shrimp for everyone…”.

However, in *Septemviriana*, Üsküdar Yenimahalle suffers extensive damage; the workshops of the resident Rums are set ablaze, the windows of houses are shattered, Dimitris' grocery store is razed to the ground. Fortunately, the church remains unscathed despite concerted efforts, but the community center is set ablaze and remains in a charred state to this day. Bedriye, the wife of Müfit, who plays a pivotal role in showcasing and leading the destruction of Greek homes to outsiders, expresses deep sorrow for the plight of her Greek neighbors on the first day of the pogrom. In secret from Müfit, she harbors Lakis' family—his grandparents, mother, and the baby sister. When Müfit returns the next day after the pogrom, he is made to swear an oath on his children by Bedriye, who then discloses the truth, saying, "Oh dear Müfit, Todoris brother and his family is here; please let's be cautious, my dear."[72]

Galatasaray in Niki, Zoi, and Rita's memory

We are in Yeniçarşı in Galatasaray. Niki's family have a season ticket to the Yeni Melek cinema. Films change at the beginning of the week, so they go to Yeni Melek every Monday evening as a family. Niki likes Fellini and Bergman movies the most, and she follows French cinema closely. But on Saturdays she goes to the Lüks cinema with her mother, to the afternoon *matinée* to see local films starring Zeki Müren and Belgin Doruk. After the movie, the mother and daughter enjoy either *ekmek kadayıfı* or *kazandibi* in Saray Muhallebicisi. On the way home they buy bonito and arugula from the bazaar and prepare the dinner table. When at home she

[72] The interview with the Rums of Üsküdar, 17.01.2021, Athens. My interviewees are 6 people born in 1940-1950. None of them were directly deported, but the relatives of some members of the group were deported.

listens to the radio all the time, and her favorite radio show is *Yuki*.[73] Due to the time difference she listens to broadcasts of the Sanremo festival late at night in her bed, under the covers.[74] Years later, on the balcony of her house in Athens, Niki counts her favorite singers swiftly in one breath -Rita Pavone, Gigliola Cinquetti, Adriano Celentano, Pepino Dicapri, Adamo, Sylvia Vartan, Johnny Hallyday, Charles Aznavour, Françoise Hardy, Petula Clark, Mireille Mathieu, Cliff Richard- then she remembers the names of the radio theater actors and credited technicians ("*efekt* Fahri Taç"), and a childlike joy spreads over her face.[75] There's a similarly mischievous expression on Zoi's face as she picks one of her youth photos and hands it to me. In the photo, Zoi is in Galatasaray's Görçek Studio in her trendy mini skirt and Sylvia Vartan haircut.[76] Maybe on a Saturday, she wanted to go to Galatasaray and have a photo taken before attending the weekend party at the Kurtuluş sports club where they play popular French and Italian songs of the era.[77] Rita talks about the possibility of meeting everyone she knew in Galatasaray after the church on

[73] Yuki, Orhan Boran's "imaginary friend" who accompanied him on his radio program from 1959 through the 1960s. Taking advantage of the technology of the time, Boran records his own voice on a record in accordance with the text he has prepared before the radio program; when this record is played quickly during the program, a high-pitched voice answers him by speaking fast. This high-pitched mischievous voice is Yuki. For further information please see: Bengi, D. (2017). *60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye: Sazlı Cazlı Sözlük.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

[74] The Sanremo Music Festival is the most popular Italian song contest and awards ceremony held in annually in the city of Sanremo for decades. The music competition has been broadcasting on radio during 1960s in a time when the Italian music was very popular among young listeners.

[75] The interview with Niki, 25.06.2022, Athens. Niki's family, being Turkish citizens, were immune to deportation. Nonetheless, her aunts' families and her classmates were subject to deportation in 1964. Consequently, Niki and her family departed from Istanbul in the mid-1970s, citing political motivations.

[76] Görçek Studio is a photography studio located on the top floor of Çiçek Passage. Customers take their own photographs, giving the studio its name Gör-çek, "see yourself and take your own photo". The system of the studio is a great innovation for the period: There is a mirror in the photo booth and a shutter cable extends from the hole under the mirror. Customers who stand in front of the mirror and pose as they wish can take the photograph, they want by themselves.

[77] The interview with Zoi, 09.05.2022, Athens.

Sundays. “After church, you could meet anyone you wanted, you didn't need to make an appointment”.[78]

Niki, Zoi, and Rita are not allowed to venture out independently; they are obligated to be accompanied by their mothers or individuals deemed trustworthy by their families. The apprehension of potential harassment and the inability to ensure their own safety in the event of their Greek ethnicity being exposed compels this precautionary measure. Consequently, they refrain from engaging in verbal communication in public spaces and discreetly conceal their cross necklaces.

Karaköy and Eminönü in Athanasios’ memory

Nikolaos takes his son Athanasios with him when he goes to Eminönü in the morning to buy goods for his grocery store on Necatibey Street. The wholesalers know him because they trade regularly. He calls out to them from afar “one sack of flour!”, “two sacks of sugar!”… They prepare his orders right away. The commercial relationship between them is based on trust, they know they'll be settled later. Nikolaos finds Hasan, the porter he constantly employs, amongst the porters waiting on the Eminönü seafront. He places the goods on Hasan's packsaddle. Then he takes his son to see “Yaşar” the famous seal, a resident by the sea of the Maritime Museum right across the Spice Bazaar.[79] Then they take the rowboat to cross to Karaköy. Here

[78] The interview with Rita, 21.05.2022, Athens. Rita's father, a Greek citizen, was deported by the end of 1964 and left Istanbul with his spouse. Rita, who was newly married and pregnant at the time, remained in Istanbul for almost two decades before eventually relocating to Athens in the mid-1980s for her daughter’s education.

[79] The seal Yaşar is a seal that lives in a boat called the Maritime Museum on the coast of Eminönü; The owner of the “museum” shows Yaşar and the other seals accompanying him to the visitors for a fee. In particular, many of my interviewees who went to school or returned home by taking the ferry from the Galata Bridge frequently mentioned Yaşar, the seal. Yaşar is featured in the 1960 film “Ayşecik Şeytan Çekici”, directed by Yaşar Atıf Yılmaz. In the movie, Ayşecik has to find money for her family. She tries various ways with her friends, and they visit the museum in Eminönü. Ayşecik kisses Yaşar several times in order to receive the 50 lira kissing reward promised to the visitors. Again, on the poster of this movie, the name of the famous seal of the period, Yaşar, is given to attract the attention of the movie audience.

their destination is Güllüoğlu, the Baklava Store. Years later, Athanasios remembers them with longing, sitting at small marble tables, and the two slices of hot baklava served with a glass of water.

We are in Karaköy, in proximity to the shop of Athanasios' father, in front of the Aya Ioannis Church. 5 years of Athanasios possesses a remarkably melodious voice, adeptly rendering hymns. The church services commemorating the crucifixion of Jesus are held in the churchyard. The enclosure surrounding the garden is fortified by high walls, with a closed gate to prevent external visibility. Initially, Athanasios, being a child, does not comprehend why they should not be seen from outside. However, in the aftermath of the *Septemvriana*, when the church was ransacked, he grasps the rationale behind their need for concealment upon first witnessing the lingering axe marks on the church walls that are still visible today.

Athanasios also remembers İğneci Halil Efendi, who lives on Cezayir Street, which is known as French Street today. When he had that severe bronchitis before school age, every day for a long while, Halil Efendi gave Athanasios the first penicillin injections to come to Turkey. Athanasios hides under the bed when Halil Efendi comes. They pull him out of his hiding place with a broomstick. They try to strengthen his immunity with a special diet but after a while, his doctor tells the family that their child needs fresh air to recover and recommends them to spend their summers on Heybeliada or Büyükada, which are covered with pine trees. Thus begins the family's "island days".[80]

[80] The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2022, Athens. His father Nikolaos was deported in 1964. Whole family followed him and left Istanbul during the summer of 1964.

Büyükada in Pashalis' and Dimitris' memory

We see the Büyükada pier from the window of Pashalis' house.[81] At 7 in the evening, mothers take their children with them to the square to wait for their husbands' return from work. From the mouth of the pier, the crowd, in their most elegant clothes, swarming to both sides, is chatting with a cheerful buzz. The children, on seeing their fathers, shout excitedly and run towards them. Families that meet disperse to go to the restaurants on the beach to eat or to the casinos to have a good time. Cinemas, on the other hand, fill up after dinner time. Crowded groups go to the cinema together, their conversation continues loudly before the movie. The open-air cinema is much fun at the end of a summer day. Especially in the summer of 1962, the movies of Aliki Vuyuklaki[82] are very popular. While *Alice in the Navy* plays on the screen, the Greek flag keeps appearing, some of the audience succumb to their excitement and begin to applaud. Then a fight breaks out. Fotis, who is making a commotion with friends on the upper balcony of the cinema drumming to the fight, learns when he gets home that the person who got punched is his brother.[83]

We are on Büyükada Sakarya Street, in front of Dimitris' house.[84] Dimitris' father gives a short whistle every evening as he appears at the end of the street at 9:30. Everyone understands that Çorbacı Nikolaos is about to come home. Very soon he will place his rakı, beer and water on the metal tray, and dangle it into the garden

[81] The interview with Pashalis, 10.01.2020, 28.06.2022, Athens. Pashalis' father was deported in 1964. Whole family followed him and left Istanbul during the summer of 1964.
[82] A newspaper advertisement about this movie being shown in Greek on *Milliyet*, 11.10.1962, p.2.
[83] The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens. Fotis was born in 1944. His father was a Greek citizen, and the family leaves Istanbul in May 1964 without waiting for deportation.
[84] The interview with Dimitris, 12.01.2021, Online. Dimitris was born in 1945 in Büyükada. No one from his family was deported because his parents were Turkish citizens. However, after all of his father's friends were expelled and many of their neighbors left Istanbul, Dimitris' family immigrated to Athens in 1964 fall.

well to cool. Nikolaos may soon invite his friends, perhaps he even turns on his radio. After all, he is one of the first people on the island to buy a radio. He got it from an Ashkenazi in exchange for polishing 50 boxes. Again, he is the first on the island to install water pipes to his home. When his son Dimitris is too big to go with his mother to Loksandra's hammam at the Camii Yokuşu, he builds a small hammam in his house. He puts a *kazan* (cauldron)[85] in the bathroom, complete with a basin right next to it. On the weekends Nikolaos takes his son with him to learn the job, teaches him how to polish furniture. In summer he sends his son to prominent carpenters of the island to learn a profession: to masters Ioannis and Nikos Kaimopoulos brothers, Karayannidis, Magdakis, Apostol.

Dimitris is a curious and resourceful boy. He dismantled the second-hand bike his father had bought, and after painting the handlebars green and renewing the other parts, he installed a dynamo that he made himself. When he goes to the beach, all the children's eyes are on the bike with wheels illuminated by Dimitris' dynamo. At home he tries to make inventions using the book of Basic Sciences[86] that he always has in his hands. On his way home from Zografeion High School, he stops by the electrician shops on Bankalar Caddesi to buy germanium, galina and transistors and makes walkie-talkies and radios to use amongst friends. He comes to Beyoğlu every week to learn the accordion from Pandelis Çitras[87] and he visits the Görçek studio each time to have a photo taken.[88]

---

[85] "Kazan" a large metal water tank that provides hot water for a few hours with a stove placed under the boiler.
[86] "Temel Bilimler" He still keeps this book in his library today.
[87] Pandelis Çitras is one of the famous musicians of the period. Anesti Nova pays special attention to Çitras in his memoirs (Nova*, A Man of Two Worlds*).
[88] Since Dimitris was very interested in photography, he also mentions two famous photography studios of the 1960s' Istanbul: Stüdyo Stil- Kalumenos, the photographer of the famous actors and

After school, whenever he gets a chance, Dimitris goes to the American Library. There he pursues the *Popular Electronics*[89] magazines. Since his English is not yet good enough, he particularly and curiously examines the paintings and illustrations. But what really draws his interest is the projector located in the small hall at the entrance of the library. Here a 3-meter film that depicts the tallest buildings in America is reeling. Dimitris spends minutes in front of this projector every time he goes to the library. On a day like this, while admiring the projector in the entrance hall, he gets bullied by Galatasaray High School children who are agitated by the photos of the intercommunal violence in Cyprus hanging on the opposite wall. They figure out he is Greek because he is a student of Zografeion High School.

Heybeliada in Stathis' memory

Summer of 1962, Heybeliada… Young people in a moonlit night sitting under the pines near Omicron,[90] playing guitar and singing. Suddenly, it starts raining stones in the darkness. High school senior Stathis suffers a head injury and is covered in blood. His parents will be worried when they see him in this state, so he jumps on his bike and goes to the tuberculosis hospital in Çamlimanı. The hospital is closed, but a nurse dresses Stathis' wound. Stathis plays basketball at Beyoğluspor Club, he goes to Bursa for his matches a week later. Years later, he remembers taking off the

---

actresses of the period and Stüdyo Saray – famous for its family photos. Kalumenos was among the first deported group, on March 31, 1964 (*Cumhuriyet*, 1.4.1964).

[89] *Popular Electronics* magazine published between 1954-1982.

[90] The small walking path on the island is named after it because it resembles the Greek letter *Omicron*.

dressing in the hot springs and putting his wound in hot water. He shows the 60-year-old scar on his forehead as he tells his story.[91]

Beyoğlu in Elias' memory

Whenever a pickle or yoghurt seller passes by Tarlabaşı shouting "picklesss" or "Yogurtttt!", Elias and his brother are ready to respond, yelling right from their hiding place under the window: "rat pup insideee!"[92] The day they played the same joke on the mint seller they won't be as lucky. After being chased all the way home, they will be saved by their *yaya*. They go from Sakızağacı to Beyoğlu, the cinema is free because the ticket seller is their father's friend. When they want to go to Taksim, they hang behind the tram. On Sundays they stop by the Japon Pazarı (Japanese Bazaar) after chanting at the Panayia church. They go to the Bonne Marche twice a year to buy new clothes, where they witness their grandmother's haggling.

One day, while walking and chatting with his friends on İstiklal street, Elias raises his voice a little, overcome with the excitement of the conversation: "ela re, ase!"[93] A boy older than himself grabs him by the shoulder: "Citizen, speak Turkish!".[94]

Kariye in Georgia's memory

Georgia lives close to Kariye. She's an elementary school student. She goes to the Red School in Phanar. She waits for her friends in front of her house ready to go to school. When the children gather, they take the road to school arm in arm. But

---

[91] The interview with Stathis, 08.05.2022, Athens. Stathis was born in 1944. After graduating from high school in 1962, he went to the university in Athens and dreamed of returning to Istanbul after graduating, but he did not return to Istanbul after his relatives and friends were deported in 1964.
[92] "Turşucu!", "Yoğurtçu!", "İçinde sıçan yavrusu!".
[93] "Come on, you are joking!"
[94] The interview with Elias, 23.01.2020, Athens. Elias was born in 1949. His father was deported in 1964. The family went to Athens with the expelled father.

they're always anxious while passing through Draman[95]- "What if Turkish children waylay us and throw stones?".[96]

[95] A neighborhood between Kariye and Phanar, mostly inhabited by a Muslim Turkish population.
[96] The interview with Georgia, 13.01.2020, Athens. Georgia was born in 1950. Her uncle was deported in 1964 and his family followed him to Athens.

Boyacıköy in Penelope's memory

We are in O Barbetis casino on the ridges of Boyacıköy. Just in the afternoon, *Bosphoriano* begins; the Bosphorus wind blows sweetly after a hot day. Penelope's *yaya* has again taken the children to the casino, bought them soda. She's chatting with friends. The grove that starts right behind the Casino resembles a paradise, full of plane trees. On sunday visitors come: picnickers spread blankets, men lie down in their pajamas and women cook in pots. This is the scene Penelope comes across when she goes to the grove to get ice cold spring water, and she watches the picnickers in amazement, with a smile on her face.

In the summer of 1956, they go to the open-air cinema opposite O Barbetis as a family, to watch probably a movie of Raj Kapoor. On the way back from the cinema, two people harass them: "We'll cut them like chickens". Penelope is still young, she does not understand what is happening. But her parents hold her and her sister's hand and quicken their steps. Her father, Ilya, is more concerned after this incident. Ilya had been sent to Aşkale, because he could not pay the Wealth Tax. There he was so tired one day that he could only return to the dormitory carried on his friend's back. Now he gives up. A few weeks later they go to Athens to see if they can live there as a family.[97]

Kurtuluş in Marinos' memory

As the day turns into night at the last stop of Kurtuluş, Kazancidis songs start to rise from every corner.[98] Marinos' house is right across from Ararat[99] and Triandafilos casinos, he often goes to these casinos where he drinks *uludağ gazoz* with his sister,

[97] The interview with Penelope, 15.06.2022, Athens. Penelope was born in 1946. Her family decided to settle in Athens in 1958, as they did not feel safe after 6-7 September, leaving Istanbul.
[98] Kazancidis was one of the most popular singers of the 1950s and 1960s.
[99] Then the famous *Semiramis*.

playing hide-and-seek and tipcat. There are fruit trees in the back of their two-story house on Kurtuluş Street. They have a paradise-like garden, where they look after cats and dogs and feed chickens. On a white sheet they stretched over the chicken coop and in candlelight, they play the *Karagöz* games that came out of *Doğan Kardeş* children's magazine. There's a pond right in the middle of this garden with dozens of red fish in it.[100] The pond is surrounded by willow trees and roses… Relatives, neighbors often gather here. Marinos also plays here for hours with his friends, especially with his favorite friend Süleyman, the son of the janitor of a nearby apartment. In the back corner of the garden there's a zinc hut built for the garden tools where Kemal, who is an apprentice in the butcher shop of Marinos' grandfather, stays.

On the evening of September 6, 1955, the grocer opposite their house, İsmet, calls Marinos' father and says, "Stay at home, and don't turn off the lights," Koço can't make sense of this at first. After a while they notice a crowd gathering in the street. The crowd approaches with a great clatter and when they get right in front of the house, they start throwing stones, yelling, "Beat! Break! This is the home of Koço the Infidel!" When the windows are broken and the stones begin to come into the house, they hide Marinos and his sister in the back rooms. His father runs in panic downstairs to the door of the house and finds Kemal there. Kemal is standing in front of the door, pickaxe in hand. Ignoring the stones thrown at him; he's yelling,"You can't enter this house without stepping on my corpse".

---

[100] While describing the Taksim Garden in his book *Leonidas*, Georgios (Yorgos) Theotokas mentions a similar pool here: "You would enter the garden and there was a large pool with red fish on its left side…" (Theotokas, *Leonidas,* p.65).

Süleyman does not come to the garden again, plays with Marinos no longer. A few years later, Marinos meets Süleyman on the road, he gathers his courage and asks him why their friendship ended. Süleyman answers: “You infidels tried to take our Cyprus”.[101]

Tarlabaşı in Stathis’ memory

Stathis hears voices coming from the street while he is in his father's blacksmith shop in Şişhane. When he goes outside to understand where the sound comes from, he sees that the boza seller, who has a shop at the corner of the dead-end street, is being beaten by a large group. He immediately returns to his father's shop and tells his father that Bozacı is being beaten because of Cyprus. His father sends his 12-year-old son home right away.

On his way back home, Stathis first proceeds through the empty lots in Şişhane. As he approaches Tarlabaşı, he encounters groups with sticks in their hands. On the sidewalk in front of the Police Station at the corner of Kalyoncukulluk street, he sees the policemen and the guard smoking with legs crossed, laughingly watching the attackers of Tanaş's patisserie. While passing through the attackers, he kicks the tin on the ground so that they do not understand that he is Greek. He quickly goes to the street where he lives. When he arrives in front of his house, he calls out to his mother, "Mama, mama, they're breaking in the shops upstairs!". Since Madam Lusi, an Armenian neighbor in the next building, who has not been able to get a proper night’s sleep after the incidents in 1915, frequently sits on his balcony, snaps at him, "Why are you shouting, get inside now". Stathis enters the house and sees the oil barrels of the grocer on the slope across the street being thrown downhill. Years later,

[101] Our conversations with Marinos took place over a few months of correspondence between 16.01.2021- 21.07.2021. This testimony is told in the letter dated 16.01.2021. Marinos was born in 1950. He left Istanbul 1971 due to the ongoing Cyprus dispute.

he describes the aftermath of September 6-7 with these words: “The situation was very tight, my dear. We were scared to say a word. We were always trying to be careful”.[102]

3.2 The habitus of precarity

The encounters in these stories date back to before 1964. They are small sections from the narratives of some of my interviewees who responded to the question “What kind of childhood did you have in Istanbul?” In the shared childhood memories, it is seen that there are moments of ill ease that cannot be hidden among all those bright, cheerful and happy moments. Those are spoken no matter how much they want to be glossed over, and make themselves heard even if they are told in a low voice. What is referred to as moments of ill ease are moments of interventions that make one feel precarious. Interventions could be any of various hate crimes like those mentioned in these stories: throwing stones at someone, warning them to speak Turkish, threatening to kill, attacking someone's home… The childhood and youth narratives of Rums of Istanbul, whom I interviewed in my field research, oscillates like a pendulum between happy childhood memories and moments of ill ease. These moments of uneasiness in the shared stories are interconnected like a spider web. This uneasiness felt in some moments cannot be seen as a self-appointed feeling that the Rums felt because of themselves; but rather it points out the existence of conditions that make the Rums of Istanbul feel vulnerable, insecure, and precarious. The moments of uneasiness in the narratives are clustered in encounters outside the safe areas (home or the building they live in),

[102] The interview with Stathis, 08.05.2022, Athens.

in public spaces such as school and public transportation, where the interviewees are seen as Rums rather than children. When they effortlessly fall into the position of the "other" because they are Greeks in the face of Turkish identity outside of safe areas, they become vulnerable to any intervention and threat; For this reason, they are anxious, prudent and cautious whenever this possibility seems alive.

The first precaution taken in the moments of uneasiness in the narratives is to hide Rumness as much as possible. Avoiding speaking Greek (Romeika) in public and making eye contact while walking on the road, carrying the *Apoyevmatini* newspaper -not in hand- but rather in a bag, taking off the Greek school's hat in the street, hiding the cross necklace around the neck, especially after 6-7 September, moving to the neighborhoods where the majority of Rums live in, or even if possible, moving to the upper floors in the buildings, in other words, to be inaudible and invisible, not to attract attention, not to be noticed. I acquired an awareness that enabled me to see this situation especially through the answers I received to the question of whether they encountered the Cyprus rallies that were constantly repeated in 1964. Of the 60 people I interviewed, only one was mistakenly caught in a group of protestors marching for Cyprus.[103] However, the people I asked this question lived in Kurtuluş, Tarlabaşı, Beyoğlu, and Cihangir in the center of Istanbul, on the routes where these rallies were held. This should clarify that there is a great effort to avoid unsettling encounters. The effort here indicates the mind, knowledge and skill behind the precaution to stay away from susceptible situations.

When I came across testimonies similar to this cautiousness of my interviewees in various sources, I realized that this *feeling* was inherent in the older

[103] The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens.

generation as well. I would like to share an example of these testimonies. Nikos, born in Tatavla in 1900, officially started working as a merchant after being banned from tailoring due to the law numbered 2007, which came into force in 1932. He continues tailoring secretly only on Sundays when no one is around. He is indirectly affected by the Wealth Tax in 1942; even though his goods were confiscated, he is exempted from the tax at the last moment because of his Greek nationality. However, this exemption does not prevent the closing of his shop in Ankara. On September 6-7, 1955, his shop in Hacopulo Passage is plundered. Since preparations are made for the new season in September, the shop was fully equipped. Some of the batches of fabric are stolen, the rest are cut into strips by the looters. In 1964, at the age of 64, he was deported from Turkey. Nikos experiences The Wealth Tax, 6-7 September and expulsions about ten years apart: 1942, 1955, 1964.

Herkül Millas, who tells the story of his father Nikos, says that although he tries to summarize his life story, he cannot fully explain his father's traumas. In Millas' words, Nikos, who "lived as a ‘second-class citizen’ for 64 years himself " does not know what this means; because a person gets used to the environment he lives in, adapts to it and begins to see it naturally over time. Until he finds himself in another environment. Then he realizes that the life he has lived for years is not the only option”. The problem here is that Nikos is Rum rather than a Greek citizen, he offends the eye immediately because of his name. To get some mundane bureaucratic work done, he has to give a tip/bribe that is not expected from others. If he fights with someone, he will be dragged to the police station for “insulting Turkishness”. If he speaks Greek in public, he will be taught his own place. He can only express his political assessments and feelings to his kin, as freedom of expression is denied from

birth due to his ethnicity. He is also on the "natural born suspects and potential traitors list".[104]

Children carry the stories of the families in which they were born. These stories shape the family's general attitude towards life, living conditions, and the world of meaning. Therefore, children are cultured by the transference of families into which they were born. Not to see, not to hear, not to be seen, not to be heard, to stay away from the political, to be cautious… is passed on from generation to generation. My interviewees told that their families often tried not to make their children feel anything, they did not comment on any political situation in the presence of their children, and they never talked about politics at home. Many of my interviewees mentioned that the reason for this caution was because parents protect their children and did not want to raise them in fear. Only one interviewee said that families did not tell their children anything about politics for their own safety: "If you talk to the child, s/he will go and tell someone, then they will come and catch you, 'did you say these things?".[105]

Although traumatic family experiences were not uttered so much in daily life, and most of the interviewees did not directly witness anti-minority practices implemented before the 1964 exile, they grew up experiencing the effects of these implementations. The memories of Andreas, Eleni, Agni and Alexis illustrate such experiences. For example, while sharing his testimony of his father's deportation, Andreas talks about the difficult living conditions of his family- They live in an old

[104] All quotations are taken from Millas, "Bir Muhrecin Hikayesi", p. 182.
[105] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens. Since his father was a Turkish citizen, his family was not deported. However, his two uncles were deported in 1964. Michalis left Istanbul in 1968 and moved abroad for education.

and small house with his father's siblings and family elders. Because the beautiful and spacious apartment of the family was sold in 1932 as a result of his father closing his business and becoming unemployed for a long time with the enactment of the law numbered 2007.[106] Eleni, however, remembers the impact of the Aşkale experience in the family. Her uncle who once played piano while her mother and aunt accompanied him by singing, had completely changed after the devastating compulsory labor he had gone through. Eleni regretfully remembers how her grandmother could not recognize her own son when he returned from Aşkale.[107] Similarly, years later, Agni tries to make sense of a scene she encountered on her way home. "It had to be during The Wealth Tax time", she states, because she was very young then. As she is climbing the stairs, she hears his father's voice begging the officers who were investigating at home; "if you could," he said, "do not disturb my home".[108] The memory of Alexis relates to how his family experienced the September 6-7 pogrom. When the whole family was on the island that night, his grandfather was left alone at their home in Phanar as he had to go to work. He had survived by hiding in the small warehouse in the garden of the house. All the furniture in the house was smashed, the carpets were torn, the pots were punctured and rendered unusable. The newly purchased Hoover washing machine is found on the side of the road far away from the house. Family albums, including Alexis' childhood photos, were torn apart. "These people didn't steal things," Alexis stated,

[106] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens. Andreas' father was deported in 1964 at the age of 66. A year later, Andreas had to leave Istanbul to take care of his father.
[107] The interview with Eleni, 21.01.2020, Athens. Eleni's father was deported in 1964, and the whole family left Istanbul.
[108] "Kabilse yuvamı bozmayın". The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens. Agni's father was deported in 1964, Agni and her mother leave Istanbul a few weeks after her father's deportation.

“they wanted to break them… Such hatred, such resentment”.[109] September 6-7 pogrom was also central to Evangelos’ memory, whose parents, went to visit his relatives in Tarlabaşı that night. They were caught in turmoil while trying to return to their home and reached their home by praying with an icon they found in the pile in front of The Aya Triada Church. His mother who was then pregnant with Evangelos, kept this icon as one of the most valuable items in the house to which they owe their survival. That icon would be mentioned frequently in Evangelos’ childhood memories.[110] Another memory came from Charalambos who was only 8 years old when he was sent to Athens with his relatives because he was "very scared" after he and his family were attacked on September 6-7. A few years later, his mother would be deported, and Charalambos will never see Istanbul again. One of the moments he remembers most clearly from his childhood in Istanbul is that the taxi that his family took to escape from their home in Tarlabaşı was stopped at the Galata Bridge and the people outside attacked the car.[111] Athanasios, on the other hand, remembers his mother, with her neighbors, anxiously searching for the radio of Athens through statics. The volume of the radio is always very low; because Athanasios’ father always warns them about this: "He used to say ‘turn down the radio, don't let the landlord hear it, they mustn’t throw us out of the house’”. Athanasios’ mother and neighbors put their ears to the radio to listen to the Radio of Athens in a low voice. They listened to what happened in Cyprus, what Makarios or

[109] The interview with Alexis, 11.05.2022, Athens. Alexis' family, who were Turkish citizens, never chose to depart from Istanbul. However, faced with instances of bullying and threats directed at Alexis at school, stemming from his Rum identity, his family opted to send him abroad for education in 1964.
[110] The interview with Evangelos, 13.05.2022, Athens. Evangelos’ uncles and aunts were deported in 1964.
[111] The interview with Charalambos, 18.05.2022, Athens.

Fazıl Küçük said, what responses the king of Greece would give. Athanasios could understand from their eyes how worried they were and how messy things were.[112]

I use Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" as a tool to reflect on these moments of anxiety and the need for caution, which constituted the experience of being Rum in Istanbul. The concept of habitus, as Suciyan puts it in her *Armenians in Modern Turkey,* "first and foremost in order to explain the fields and structures in which social practices and state – society interactions, in the widest sense, take place and become ordinary" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 18). Focused on her biographical and autobiographical sources, Suciyan uses the term as a knowledge based in experience and transmitted from one generation to the next; referring to the literature of families habitus to mean knowledge based on experience and transmitted from one generation to the next; with reference to the family history literature, (or *Familienforschung* as it is called in Germany) she emphasizes the importance of the family histories; stories handed down from family elders, the history of the inhabited settlements, daily practices and one's own experiences as the core of this knowledge. The transformation of this knowledge to the next generation "plays an important role in turning it into a way of life without even recognizing its merits as a tool" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 18). Deploying the concept of habitus in the field of social history with an approach not yet adopted in Turkey, she points to the existence of a post-genocidal habitus of denial in Turkey. She argues that the set of created values, daily practices and mechanisms that deny the survivors, are the core mechanism of sociation and individuation despite the survivors' entire existence including his/her experiences, language, told/untold histories, and knowledge (Suciyan, 2016, p. 18).

[112] The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.

During the 1960s Pierre Bourdieu forged a dispositional theory of action that accepts the inventive capacity of agents without neglecting the importance of the structure where sociation and individuation of these agents occurs (Wacquant, 2006, p. 317). To surpass the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism, Bourdieu designed habitus as "a mediating notion that helps us revoke the common-sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing 'the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality', that is, the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu" (Wacquant, 2006, p. 318).

As a structuring and structured structure, habitus can be understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions that engages in practices and thoughts (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 120-121; Wacquant, 2006, p. 318). This structure creates a world of regularities, in other words a repertoire of dispositions, from usual and ordinary thoughts and practices that are outcomes of historical milieu. Individuals within this structure learn the content of this repertoire, the open system of dispositions as Bourdieu puts, by internalizing the externality, reproduce it by externalizing the internality, and are positioned mutually according to existing dispositions within the boundaries of this repertoire through sociation and individuation. Suciyan reads the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality as part of both sociation and individuation. She details the reasons as follows:

> Habitus supplies at once a principle of sociation and individuation: sociation because our categories of judgment and action, coming from society, are shared by all those who were subjected to similar social conditions and conditionings (thus one can speak of a masculine habitus, a

> national habitus, a bourgeois habitus, etc.); individuation because each person, by having a unique trajectory and location in the world, internalizes a matchless combination of schemata. Because it is both structured (by past social milieus) and structuring (of present representations and actions), habitus operates as the 'unchosen principle of all choices' guiding actions that assume the systematic character of strategies even as they are not the result of strategic intention and are objectively 'orchestrated without being the product of the organizing activity of a conductor'. (Bourdieu, 1980, quoted in Wacquant, 2016, p.67)

In this sense, Suciyan suggests that the habitus can be seen as the ground that the production of autobiographical knowledge and the basis of the production of everyday life becomes possible. The individual is structured by the habitus and has an agency in it (Suciyan, 2016, p. 20). S/he has a relative autonomy in terms of reacting to the external determinations of the immediate present thanks to the analogical transfer of schemes of perception, classification, appreciation, feeling generated by history and acquired in prior practices. By engaging embodied instruments of cognitive construction, individuals recreate the social world (Wacquant, 2006, p. 319).

However, as Bourdieu & Wacquant remind us "habitus is not a fate that some people read into it", but rather as a product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that are subjected to experiences and therefore are accepted as usual and ordinary depending on variables embedded in history. It becomes durable but not eternal in terms of being constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by individuals who shared the same world of meaning (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). The durability of habitus takes root from its capacity of reproduction of historical dispositions. The relative autonomy of individuals is based on the strategies of choices which are systematically bounded within a set of regularities and norms of sociation through the social life structured in a certain historical context. So, the system of dispositions, as a past which survives in the

present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future, makes itself present in practices structured according to its principles. On the very reason of it, every social object is historical (C. Charle and D. Roche, quoted in Steinmetz, 2011; mentions Suciyan, 2017, p. 25).

From this point of view, Suciyan draws attention to the impact of crisis in triggering a change in habitus: “for a change to occur in habitus, there needs to be a situation of crisis, a historically breaking point – a radical change in power relations, a redefinition of fields and sociations” (Suciyan, 2016, p. 26). For Suciyan this situation of crisis, in Bourdieu’s terms a time of crisis, is the period between 1915-23 when the routine adjustment of subjective and objective structures- the set of rules for sociation, of official and social representation, of mechanisms of administration, political collaboration, and conceptualizations of participation in Empire etc, are brutally disrupted (Suciyan, 2016, p.26). Suciyan adopts the concept of habitus to comprehensively formulate the new sets of practices which were structured after 1915-23 and embedded in denial of Armenian language, history, annihilation and survival on various levels.

In this context, the post-genocidal habitus of denial provides a new perspective and discussion area in making sense of the life experiences of the Rums of Istanbul. In the first quarter of the 20th century, especially in the last decade of the Ottoman Empire, a series of developments in Ottoman geography and the Republic of Turkey, which was established following these developments, cannot be considered separately. The encounters, conflicts, continuities and ruptures that exist in modern Turkey today took shape during this period of crisis. For this reason, while I agree with Suciyan's periodization, I would like to advance the discussion by asking a question: Since non-Muslim groups in the Ottoman Empire did not have identical

rights, same socio-political and juridical backgrounds (Suciyan, 2016, p. 28), what is the probability of experiencing *various habitus* that intersect with each other over the areas of encounters of these groups and differ when it comes to those groups' unique conditions? In other words, is it possible to talk about various habitus that are permeable, overlapping and intersecting each other through non-Muslim and non-Turkish groups in modern Turkish society?

The new order that was established after the crisis period gains legitimacy within the framework of the Treaty of Lausanne. The existence of the group referred to as the "Rums of Istanbul" today is directly ensured by the Treaty of Lausanne. During the crisis period that started in 1915 and ended in 1923, Istanbul became the only city where the Rums could live in large numbers.[113]The displacement of Rums from Thrace, southern Marmara and the Black Sea between 1913-1915[114] was followed by (1) the Izmir disaster in 1922,[115] (2) the departure of thousands of Rums

[113] There are 400 deportees in Izmir and 1 Hatay; a group of Greek nationalities were also living in Ankara and they had to leave after their residence permit expired. I chose this expression because most of them are from Istanbul.

[114] Please see: Gingeras, R. (2009). *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire 1912-1923.* Oxford University Press; Shirinian, G. (Ed.). (2019). *The Greek Genocide, 1913–1923: New Perspectives.* The Asia Minor and Pontos Hellenic Research Center; Beşikçi, M., Somel, S. A., & Tourmakine, A. (Eds.). (2020). *Not All Quiet on the Ottoman Fronts: Neglected Perspectives on a Global War, 1914-1918.* Orient-Institut Istanbul; Klapsis, A. (2014). Violent Uprooting and Forced Migration: A Demographic Analysis of the Greek Populations of Asia Minor, Pontus and Eastern Thrace. *Middle Eastern Studies, 50*(4), pp. 622-639; Hoffman, T., Bjornlund, M., & Meichanetsidis, V. (Eds.). (2011). T*he Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks: Studies on the State-Sponsored Campaign of Extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor 1912-1922 and Its Aftermath: History, Law, Memory.* New York and Athens: Aristide D. Caratzas.

[115] Kasaba, R. (2002). İzmir 1922: A Port City Unravels. In L. (Eds.) Fawaz, C. Bayly, & R. Ilbert, *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.* Columbia University Press; Neyzi, L. (2008). The Burning of Smyrna/ Izmir (1922) Revisited: Coming to Terms with the Past in the Present. In I. (Eds.) Beller-Hann, *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World* (pp. 23-42); Lowry, H. (1989). Turkish History: On Whose Sources Will It Be Based? A Case Study On The Burning Of İzmir. *The Journal of Ottoman Studies, 9*; Eser, Ü. (2022). Homeland as Terra Pericolosa: Post-Catastrophe Homecoming Narratives of Smyrniote Greeks in Early Republican Turkey. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies, 40*(1), 169-193.

from Istanbul in the atmosphere of chaos and fear created by the Izmir disaster,[116] and (3) the displacement of Anatolian Rums in the population exchange process that started in 1923[117]. Therefore, the Rums who were able to stay in Istanbul after 1923 are those who were allowed to stay; they are the ones whose existence is tolerated as a requirement of reciprocity in return for the Turkish population living in Western Thrace. Forasmuch as the existence of the Rums living in Nevşehir, Bursa, Trabzon, or more broadly in Anatolia, comes to an end in this crisis period. The Rums of Istanbul witnessed the wars, genocides, displacements, losses and occupations during the nation-state process. Within the legal and social conditions of the nation state, they turned into a "minority" against the majority.[118]

In this context, in order to exist as *a non-Muslim minority group* in the newly established order, they became a part of the post-genocidal habitus of denial conceptualized by Suciyan. Their history, their language, their existence were denied.[119] As a result of de facto or de jure restrictions, they had been pushed to live

---

[116] Maksudyan, N. (2023). The Fall of a City: Refugees, Exodus and Exile in Ernest Hemingway's Istanbul, 1922. *Journal of European Studies, 53*(3), 234-252.

[117] Yıldırım, O. (2006). *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934.* Routledge; Hirschon, R. (Ed.). (2003). *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn; Arı, K. (2000). *Büyük Mübadele Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç 1923- 1925*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

[118] Akçam and Kurt asserted that the issues regarding the Christians and Jews remaining in Turkey cannot be considered as minority issues, because the Republic of Turkey was built on the basis of the annihilation of these groups, which are seen as minorities today (Akşam and Kurt, Kanunların Ruhu, p. 12). As discussing the term Suciyan points out that minority as a concept refers to a juridical category that renders the history of the genocide and of various exiles invisible and thus legitimizes the outcome. Furthermore, it reproduces a series of concepts in the context of the nation state by establishing a framework of normality in which the majority is "the nation " and the minority is "the other". The term minority creates two illusions: First of all, a limited area of research is indicated, as "minority" refers to a small group as opposed to the majority. However, anything related to the minority is primarily about the minority. Secondly once it is desired to create a general group category, with the minority in this case a non-Muslim category. However, there is no equivalent for such a generalization - a homogeneous non-Muslim minority group (Suciyan, *The Armenians in Modern Turkey,* p. 28).

[119] Many examples can be given in this regard. I would like to briefly touch upon an implication from 1964 to set an example of the denial of the history of the Greeks. In the days following the "Bloody

in districts or even buildings where the other non-Muslims lived,[120] they were coerced to work in certain marked professions,[121] they avoided speaking their mother tongue and their properties were confiscated.[122] It became normal for family members to leave the country; as Suciyan rightfully puts it "They tried to become invisible in society at large by developing a set of strategies to hide their own existence" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 21). However, this is not a one-way invisibility effort; it is the part of non-Muslims and non-Turks in two parallel but asymmetrical processes developing throughout the post-1923 period. On the other hand, Suciyan calls attentions to this power dynamics as follows:

> We see the creation of an international support for fields of power – such as state law enforcement, socio-economic fields and cultural–political fields – that prioritize rules of agency and representation for one group at the expense of others. In other words, certain structures and kinds of individual agency in Turkish society were prioritized and readily mobilized against others, and this kind of privileged agency was itself rooted in the practices of everyday life. On the other hand, this prioritized institutional and individual agency operated by way of the institutional and individual eradication of the other, i.e. the non-Muslim and non-Turkish population, and specifically for this study, Armenians. In Bourdieu's terms, this is a response to a relation, which is itself embedded in history. (Suciyan, 2016, p. 20)

Christmas", with a motion submitted to the Presidency Council of the Istanbul Provincial Assembly in January 1964, it is requested to change the names of districts bearing Greek names in Istanbul or districts with Greek names such as "Rumelihisarı, Rumelifeneri, Rumelikavağı" (*Yeni Sabah* , 03.01.1964; *Tercüman,* 02.01.1964). The Provincial Assembly decided to change the name of Galata to Karaköy, Samatya to Kocamustafapaşa and Ağva to Yeşilçay (Yenisabah, 02.02.1964; Demir & Akar, *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünleri*, p. 31).

[120] Four of my interviewees told that their families had moved from Samatya, Gedikpaşa and Phanar districts to Kurtuluş and Cihangir, where the majority of Greeks live, after 6-7 September.

[121] Especially the law numbered 2007, which is frequently mentioned, was a mechanism used for this purpose. All the banned professions were provided in the introduction.

[122] I would like to give an example that is directly related to 1964; Kosmetos was a businessman from Istanbul. First of all, due to the redefining of the city borders of Istanbul after the Treaty of Lausanne, Kosmetos' large lands in the Çatalca region were confiscated as a result of the prohibition of non-immigrants (mübadele dışı) from acquiring property outside the Istanbul city (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives, in other words, The Republican Archives – hereafter BCA) BCA 272-0-0-12/60-168-9). In 1942, 1% of the total tax amount collected in Wealth Tax was received from Kosmetos alone. By 1964, Kosmetos was deported with his family. Following his deportation, he managed to build a 30-room building on a piece of land in Athens for the Istanbulites who are in need, through the foundation he established and with the support of the state. In the building, which is still used for this purpose today, the Rums of Istanbul can stay without paying any fee (Uzunoglu, *Kosmeteio Foundation*).

The institutional and individual agency of the privileged group (you can read it as Turkish and Muslim) paved the way for the formation of another habitus that is similar but different from the post-genocidal habitus of denial, considering the unique conditions of the Istanbul Greeks: the habitus of precarity. In the new legal order established after Lausanne, the set of created values, daily practices and mechanisms that tend the *precarization* of the Rums of Istanbul, who were exempted from displacement, had been reproduced in the aforementioned asymmetric process. Separations, distances and hierarchical relations inherited in this habitus were internalized by sociation and individuation and transmitted from generation to generation. *Precarization* involves undermining the resilience of both the Rum community's institutions and individuals. It highlights circumstances where life experiences, community connections, and daily practices related to life and meaning are constrained, diminished, and constantly at risk due to various interventions. Both the post-genocidal habitus of denial and the habitus of precarity pushed the Rums of Istanbul away from being visible in the wider society; invisibility and unavoidability can be seen as a survival tactic in a society where the strategy was precarization. The issue where these two habitus differ is rooted in the immanent attitudes of *the privileged people*: While the existence of Armenians is denied in the post-genocidal habitus of denial, the Rums are constantly kept on the agenda and become a target in the habitus of precarity; their resistances are broken, their hopes are consumed, they are frightened, harassed, fed up, and discouraged. The experience of Nikos is a case in point. After Nikos lost his shop during the Wealth Tax, he opens a new shop in Istanbul. He starts again from scratch. When his shop was plundered and his goods were looted on September 6-7, he did not give up, he did not lose heart yet. He puts his shoulder to the wheel as he has to learn to start from scratch again 10 years later.

After being deported in 1964, he does not want to return to Istanbul again, he has surrendered. Since thousands of Rums stayed in Istanbul until their deportation in 1964, they were a part of the habitus of precarity that they were born into; the practices of precarization were customary. I do not intend to claim that living in this habitus was not difficult or that it was easy to endure. However, the point I want to emphasize is that the Rums of Istanbul continued to live in Istanbul under these conditions but left the city when they were forcibly deported and left without solutions. For this reason, the state campaign of massive expulsion in 1964 was a turning point in the destruction of the Rums of Istanbul.

The first of the unique conditions that make the existence of the Rums of Istanbul, which forms the basis of the habitus of precarity, is that the Rums are supposed kinsmen and co-religionists of an independent state that has been fought in war with for years before. As many of my interviewees have expressed, "even they do not know where Cyprus is", in the eyes of the privileged majority, irrespective of their nationality, historical backgrounds or cultural affiliations, The Rums of Istanbul, The Rums of Cyprus and the Greeks of Greece were perceived as one and the same?.[123] All are "the other". Because of this assumption, the Rums of Istanbul are called as "the enemy within us", "the fifth column", and "potential traitors". [124] The

[123] In the introduction as I clarify the terminological preferences, I will also touch upon the distinction between who is called as Rum, who is called as Greek by discussing an archival (legal) document on the Turkish IDs, which were going to be given the Rums, referring this distinction (BCA 30-10-0-0/124-885-2). According to Akgönül, a clear distinction between the Greeks (Greek nationals) and the Greeks of Turkey (Rums) is made in daily language and official records in Turkey. Nevertheless, when the feelings of nationalism rose, the public assumes that these two groups were the same people, and the Greeks of Turkey were suddenly made responsible for the implementations carried out by the Greek government (Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*).

[124] The perception of Rums as potential traitors has been discussed in the political science literature as the 'Tanzimat and Sevres Syndrome'. Please see the relevant study for more information: Yilmaz, Hakan. 2006."Two Pillars of Nationalist Euroskepticism in Turkey: The Tanzimat and Sevres

second unique condition related to the Greeks of Istanbul is that they were "the exceptions" in terms of being allowed to stay in Istanbul: they had not been deported, exiled, or exchanged *en masse* during the crisis period.[125] In post-Lausanne Turkey, when the possibility and legitimacy of displacing thousands of people by an agreement regarding the population exchange was realized and moreover, this was accepted as a legal and humanitarian solution within the international political consonance of that time.[126] "The norm" was formed on the ethnic-cleansing of the country, and the Rums of Istanbul constituted an exception.[127] Each time when the Cyprus crisis comes to the fore, it is remembered that the Greeks of Istanbul were associated with Greece and they were allowed to remain as a favor by Turkey. For this reason, it was not surprising to encounter the discussions on the newspapers in 1964 whether the Turkish Cypriots and the Rums of Istanbul could be exchanged, and the confiscated properties of the deported Greeks (in a way resembling "*emval-i metruke*" the 'abandoned properties') can be transferred to the Turks, who might be sent from Rhodes in retaliation (*Hürriyet*, 19.04.1964).[128]

Syndromes", *Turkey, Sweden and the European Union: Experiences and Expectations*, (Eds.) I. Karlsson & A. Strom Melin, Stockholm: SIEPS, pp. 29-40.

[125] The emphasis on "en mass" is important here, because The Rums of Istanbul did not experience these policies as a whole. However, some individuals or families might have been exiled or exchanged and resettled in Istanbul afterwards. For instance, it is recorded that there were those who were displaced during the population exchange, but yet came back to Izmir by changing their nationalities (BCA, 30-10-0-0/6-32-39).

[126] This is the political ground that the government, which advocated the deportation of Greek nationals in 1964, often emphasized that this practice was legal and humane.

[127] Oran discusses the various methods that the nation state uses to liquidate infra-identities; Among these, ethno-religious cleansing is applied to groups that cannot be assimilated (those of different religions/sects), such as non-Muslims (Oran, "1964 Sürgünleri: Kıbrıs Meselesi Mi, Prensip Meselesi mi?", p. 21-29).

[128] In various periods after 1923, the possibility of an exchange of Greeks in Istanbul had been brought to agenda. For example, in 1939, the Patriarchate filed a lawsuit to amend some provisions of the new law of foundations, in terms of The Treaty of Lausanne. However, the case was dismissed. Thereupon, rumors emerged that the Greeks of Istanbul would be exchanged (BCA 30-10-0-0/109-732-16).

Another unique condition of the Rums of Istanbul, which might have resulted in the habitus of precarity, is that the mixed nationalities of the community members,[129] Ottoman Rums from Istanbul - those residing in Istanbul before 1918 and Anatolian rums who settled in Istanbul without being included in the population exchange through legal or illegal means - received Turkish citizenship after the Republic. However, after the independence of Greece in 1830, Istanbul received intense immigration from Epirus and various islands (especially from the islands close to Turkey in the Aegean, such as Andros and Santorini, which I frequently encountered in my field research). In this period, Istanbul is seen as a preferred center of attraction with endless possibilities to reach welfare as opposed to the young Greek Kingdom struggling with the political turmoil and the poverty brought by the wars (Millas, 2005; Anastassiadou, 2009). Thousands of people coming from these lands that no longer belonged to the Ottoman Empire, lived in Istanbul as Greek citizens for years; After the war, these persons are allowed to stay in Istanbul in the status of "établi" according to the provisions of Article 2 of the Treaty of Lausanne, where the exchange exceptions are explained. According to this article, "Anyone who resides in Istanbul, is registered in the population records, or fulfills the conditions listed together with any letter or witness to prove that s/he has stayed here permanently" is accepted as établi (Erdal, n.d.); The definition of, Rums of Istanbul takes place with the statement "All Rums who settled within the municipal borders of 1912 Istanbul, before 30.10.1918 are Rums" irrespective of their sects and nationalities. Therefore, Greeks of all nationalities and denominations were able to

[129] The various nationalities of The Rums of Istanbul and the reasons behind choosing these nationalities were discussed in the introduction.

stay in Istanbul (Oran, 2019).[130] As the Greco-Turkish Agreements of 1930 signed between the two countries, mostly due to economic concerns during the normalization process in 1930, the residence and working conditions of the Greek nationals living in Turkey were once again guaranteed on a legal basis. On one hand this situation results in the Rums of Turkey being a mixed community in terms of nationality, on the other hand it reinforces the precariousness of the community. When the Cyprus tension rose in 1964, Greek nationals were deported and thousands of Turkish citizen Rums who followed their deported relatives (wives, children, parents) left the country as well. What happened in 1964 is that the habitus of precarity reproduced itself and put into circulation the exclusions and inequalities inherent in the society. Thus, even the process of deportation becomes a paradigm of this habitus itself, with such implications regarding customs restrictions, seizure of real estate and bank accounts, and the use of criminalization discourse.

As Suciyan eloquently summarizes, habitus "encompasses and operates through and structures all state policies and socialized subjectivities" in the field of the law, in the academic field and in the social field (Suciyan, 2016, p. 22-23). For the case in hand, in the legal field of the habitus of precarity, the precarization of the Rums of Istanbul operates through many legal regulations/implementations such as the population exchange of Anatolian Greeks; the deportation of Greek nationalities; violations of the Treaty of Lausanne – such as prohibition of various professions for non-Muslims (for instance, pharmacy, 1924; doctor, 1928; exclusion from civil service with the condition of being Turkish, 1926; the prohibition of many professions to Greek nationals by the law numbered 2007, in 1932); prohibition of

[130] The deportation of Greek nationalities is a subject of controversy on the ground that Turkey did not fulfil the requirements of the dependent provision of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Greek schools/education in 1927-1951 and 1964 through various restrictions; re-enlistment of non-Muslims by the 1941-42 Labor battalions; the property transfers during 1942 Wealth Tax; the establishment of the Minority Subcommittee, which was not visible in the state scheme, in order to coordinate discrimination against "minorities" in December 1962,[131] and it thus narrows the maneuver spaces on the legal ground.

As an example of how the habitus of precarity operates in the legal field, the renunciation of the private and family law rights that the Treaty of Lausanne granted under paragraph 1 of Article 42 can be mentioned here. In 1925, following the days-long discussions in parliament on the translation and application of Swiss Civil Law, all non-Muslim minority communities were called to renounce the private and family law rights that the Lausanne Treaty had granted them. Jewish community would be the first amongst others to be oppressed in this regard; it is expected that the Jewish community's abdication will set an example for the Armenians and the Rums (Bali, 2009, p. 84). The Jewish community makes the expected statement under the pressure of the government. This can also be read as the result of the secularization movement adopted in the Jewish community in this period (Akgönül, 2016, p. 71). The fact that renouncing the rights recognized in Lausanne resulted in restricting the powers of the Patriarchate resulted in the process not continuing for the Rum community in a similar way to the Jewish community. The government first established minority commissions and appointed members directly to these commissions. The commission's task is to prepare a declaration to waive the rights granted under Article 42 of the Lausanne Treaty. However, when the Rum

[131] Baskın Oran gives a much broader list of violations against the Treaty of Lausanne (Oran, "1964 Sürgünleri: Kıbrıs Meselesi Mi, Prensip Meselesi mi?").

commission resisted, a sub-committee was established to "make recommendations". This time, when the sub-committee did not produce the expected decision, some of its members were replaced. On the day the committee was to decide, three members who objected to the renunciation of the rights provided by Article 42 were detained. Finally, on November 27, 1925, with the votes of 55 out of 75 members, the Rums announced that they waived their rights under paragraph 1 of Article 42 (Aktar, 2000, p.113; Akgönül, 2016, p.67-74).[132] The denial of the rights recognized by the Treaty of Lausanne would be legitimized by this pressure for renunciation and would accelerate the process of the structural and social destruction of the Rums of Turkey.

In addition to these, those who are privileged in the legal and social fields enjoy the authority and exercise of power and make the minority feel precarious and breathless, especially in encounters in the public places, at school, on the street, in public transportation, through harassment, insults, threats, campaigns such as "Citizen, Use Turkish Goods" and "Citizen, Speak Turkish", which were widely practiced in the 1930s and 1960s, and mass discrimination and violence, as in September 6-7. The legal and social fields constantly overlap and resonate with each other; what one lacks, the other fills in. While the state made the Rums vulnerable with its successive laws and executive orders, citizens organized anti-Rum rallies in protest against Cyprus, boycotted Rum shops, warned those who spoke Greek on the road, and wrote letters to the Prime Minister pressuring him to take a more energetic stance. The voices outside this legitimate sphere – for example citizens who did not approve the deportation decision cannot be heard, because they either prefer to

[132] An archival document that states the Greeks of Istanbul announced that they waived their rights under paragraph 1 of Article 42: BCA 30-10-0-0/109-724-24.

silence or have to silence.[133] In the academic field, the exile of 1964 has not been the subject of research for many years in Turkey. The departure of thousands of Rums from Istanbul has been taken into consideration after there is no longer a "Greek threat" and the Greeks of Istanbul have become an element of nostalgia in Istanbul's lost cultural inventory.[134]

Considering the 1964 deportation as the last move in the precarization policies, what were the experiences of the Greeks of Istanbul before this date within the layered and multiple patterns of the habitus of precarity? I would like to answer this question with the narratives of my interviewees. When I asked Athanasios how he left Istanbul, he gave me the following answer: "I boarded [the ferry] from Karaköy [alone], 16 years old, a child, and what a child, a Rum Istanbulite child. *Reaya.* Do you know what *reaya* means? In our language it means scared. Hush! "Speak slowly so they don't hear us, they will kick us out".[135] That means *reaya".* He emphasized that he was still a child, and a Rum child at that, when he set off into the unknown. It was at this point that he remembered the word *reaya*. Reaya was a general name given to those who were not part of the ruling class in the Ottoman Empire. The use of the word here in the sense of being afraid points to an ongoing inequality; in this inequality, as Athanasios put it, Rums are "afraid". This fear is inherent to Rums who have accepted their inferior status vis-à-vis *the ruling majority,* who "know their place" by acting accordingly, who are silent even when they speak and are afraid of disturbing the ruling majority. If they do not know their

[133] Only one magazine, *Durum*, was calling on the government to exercise restraint (Demir & Akar, *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünleri*).
[134] Especially the projects developed under the 2010 Istanbul Capital of Culture.
[135] The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.

place, they can *be kicked out.* Another interviewee, Michalis, gave me the following answer when I asked him how he remembered his primary school years:

> We had Rum teachers and Turkish teachers. We didn't think about these things, we didn't talk about them, but with the Rum teachers we were united, with the Turkish teachers we were more cautious. the Turkish teachers were instilling in us Turkishness with good intentions, we felt something there. Some of those Turkish teachers were very popular, some of them were harsher. *We were more cautious.* We grew up with a great advantage. We divided our brains into two- *what was said at home* and what was said on the street. We lived in two worlds, and we knew what to say and what not to say *in a very natural way.* We didn't go through a course, but we knew that these things are not said, these things are said... *it was a mastery...* [136]

The distinction between the private and public places is very clear in this response. The private place is a space where a relationship of trust is assumed to be established, but in the public place, which feels insecure and uneasy, this relationship of trust is replaced by encounters with *the privileged.* Especially in this case, the hierarchical relationship established at school. The possibility of these encounters compels one to use a filter. Which words are objectionable, which can be said, which behaviors are acceptable, and which are not, this knowledge is not taught in a course but is learned through individuation and sociation. This learning and caution happen naturally in the society into which one is born. Bourdieu points out that habitus is much more than a habit and defines habitus as a skill that requires mastery. For him, "habitus is the generative capacity inscribed in the system of dispositions as an art, in the strongest sense of practical mastery, and in particular as an *ars inveniendi*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 122). In this context, the mastery mentioned by my interviewee corresponds precisely to the internalization of the habitus and,

[136] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens.

consequently, to the cautiousness of the individual and the ability to position oneself within it.

3.2.1 The experiences of precarity

Just as it cannot be assumed that there is a homogeneous Rum group, it is also not possible to assume that Istanbul Rums have a standardized experience of precarity. In order to elaborate on this issue, I would like to discuss the experience of precarity through the moments of uneasiness mentioned by my interviewees who told me their childhood and youth stories. First of all, I should underline that the experience of vulnerability is mostly experienced in the public sphere. Children experienced calmer and more peaceful moments within their own safe relationships, among their families, in more enclosed spaces (for example, in the streets where Rums live, or in majority such as Prince Islands) when their locality was not questioned, and within a larger network of relationships (when they were recognized as someone's son, someone's daughter). There is this atmosphere throughout the narratives. However, when they enter the public sphere, when encounters with others begin and they become *the other*, that is when a state of uneasiness begins. Being vigilant is experienced as a result of a need for defense in these predictable and random encounters. This is a need for defense that is learned through the transmission of a learned life knowledge that one can be harmed at any time. However, a spectrum of experiences should be mentioned here as this state of uneasiness was not experienced equally by all my interviewees.

3.2.2 The spectrum of experiences of precarity

The class and gender dimensions of anxiety can easily be seen in the stories I listened to. First of all, I can say that my female interviewees were more reluctant at first to describe the uneasiness they experienced in their lives in Istanbul. However, later in the interview, or in the follow-up interviews, due to the assumption of having a shared experience based on me being a woman from Istanbul, my interviewees said that they felt more stuck in Istanbul because of the continuous threat of harassment and that the impossibility of defending themselves on the occurrence of such an incident.[137] To be more specific, women talked about the uneasiness caused by their presence in the public sphere as women in addition to, or perhaps even beyond, their Rum identity. In fact, they gave priority to their uneasiness due to being women. However, they pointed out that the uneasiness they experience is more layered since they know that they cannot claim their rights in case of a possible problem because they are Rum. For example, Niki explained that when they walked home from high school, they were followed by a group of men almost every day, and one day they went to a Turkish girlfriend's house because the persistent following would not stop. This Turkish girlfriend's house was a safe space because it was a Turkish house.[138] In the aforementioned spectrum of uneasiness, it is possible to position the experiences of Greek women at one end where uneasiness is relatively intense. If Greek women (youth) and girls (children) belong to a lower class and live in a relatively low-security neighborhood, this state of uneasiness is felt more dominantly. In addition to gender, class difference also manifests itself when security measures are not taken or

[137] In Chapter 5, when I include the narratives of their first years in Athens after they left Istanbul, it will be seen that this feeling of uneasiness was replaced by a feeling of freedom in Athens. The most distinctive voice heard was that of feeling freedom in Athens, that “if someone said something, if someone disturbed us, we could now talk”.
[138] The interview with Niki, 25.06.2022, Athens.

when the possibility of harassment increases. For example, a girl who walks to school is more likely to experience random encounters that make her feel uneasy than a girl who takes the school bus. Therefore, this increases the experience of vulnerability.

On the other hand, with reference to the stories I heard from the male interviewees, it is possible to say that they experience the city in a very different way than women. Young men in the Greek community, which is embedded with patriarchal values, are not restricted as much as young women in going out of the neighborhoods they live in, and maybe even this space of freedom is supported by their families. While women were expected to socialize with acquaintances under the supervision of their families, my male interviewees mentioned that they were able to go to different socializing areas in groups at a young age, to football matches in different neighborhoods, to pinball halls in Beyoğlu, and to touristic trips. For example, one of my male interviewees said that since he was a part of the first mountaineering group in Turkey and returned to Istanbul from a climb just before September 6-7, he was not affected that much –"he was in another world then".[139] Therefore, considering the Rum women's limited mobility within the city, the relationship established with space on the basis of gender and the way they experience the city differ.

Moreover, it is also possible to mention the impact of class differences on male interviewees. The most important parameter affecting men's experience of precarity is that military service creates a unique situation for those who are Turkish

[139] The interview with Theodoros, 22.05.2022, Athens.

citizens. For example, military service can act as a shield;[140] a person who has done his military service can try to ward off the threat by stating that he has done his military service in the event of an encounter that causes anxiety. For example, Theodoros, who did his military service in Aşkale, takes the train to Yeşilköy to go swimming with his friends on his return from military service. While his friends were speaking Greek amongst themselves, a young man in the train warned them, saying "Speak Turkish". In response, Theodoros tells the young man who warned them, "Have you completed your military service? I have just returned from Aşkale, I can speak either Greek or Turkish". Theodoros derives his right and courage to object from his military service in Aşkale[141]. On the other hand, it is also a fact that men spend more time in the public sphere through their professional lives. They can stay away from threats to the extent that their profession is respected. For example, one of my interviewees who was a doctor, said that he had never been subjected to discrimination and that being Greek made him more recognizable[142], while another interviewee said that his father, who was a shopkeeper, became ill and died of grief due to the boycott campaigns.[143] The way a shopkeeper and a doctor experience vulnerability can be quite different.

Additionally, there is also the issue of age. The experience of someone who has the mechanisms to protect themselves is not the same as a child's experience of

---

[140] On the other hand, some of my interviewees mentioned that they could not come to Istanbul for years because they did not do their military service. As much as doing military service here acts as a shield, not doing military service can also be a cause of vulnerability, as I will talk about in the following sections.

[141] He said that doing military service in Aşkale was another trauma, that he saw the graves of those who had died after they had ceased to exist. In February 1961, he returned from military service, so it must have been the summer of the same year.

[142] The interview with Kyriakos, 21.05.2022, Athens. Although his father was deported in 1964 while Kyriakos was serving in the Turkish army, he decided to remain in Turkey nonetheless. However, in the early 1980s, he left Istanbul with his family due to his concerns for his daughter's future in Turkey.

[143] The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020, Athens; 20.05.2022, Athens.

precarity. An older person may have access to people they can ask for support in case of need within the network of relationships they have developed, or their acculturation process may help them develop tactics to protect themselves in a moment of uneasiness. A child, however, may find it difficult to protect themselves in an unsettling encounter, especially when alone. Finally, another variable/parameter that creates precariousness of the Greeks from Istanbul is the ability to speak Turkish. The experience of feeling uneasy differs between someone who speaks Turkish in daily life and can express themselves in Turkish during an unsettling encounter and someone who does not speak Turkish at all (the mothers of many of my interviewees either do not speak Turkish at all or speak very little Turkish). I would like to use the example of two students to illustrate how knowing Turkish can make a difference in the experience of vulnerability. Savvas, the child of a family from Karaman, speaks Turkish as his mother tongue and only Turkish is spoken in his home. Since he is the best Turkish speaker at school, he is always appreciated by his teacher and gets good grades.[144] On the other hand, a student from Imbros, whose mother tongue is Greek, is systematically bullied by her teacher at school because she cannot hide her Greek accent in his Turkish pronunciation, no matter how hard she tries.[145]. Therefore, given all this, placing an older Turkish-speaking man with a wealthy and respected profession at one end of the experience spectrum and a

[144] The interview with Savvas, 08.07.2022, Athens. Another interviewee from Karaman describes his school years as follows: “Great pressure in schools, pressure from Turkish teachers… they used to teach songs like "I am Turkish, I am right, I am Turkish, I am right, who are we, we are soldiers from Central Asia” etc. after that, I was in the primary school. At that time, because we were from Karaman, my name was "sit down, my son, your grade is five!-otur oğlum 5!" The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens. Haris' Turkish citizen parents opted to remain in Istanbul; however, they made the decision to send their children, Haris and his younger sister, to Greece at a young age—Haris was 13 at the time—in 1964 due to their conviction that there was no viable future for them in Turkey.

[145] The interview with Niki,25.06.2022, Athens.

younger, poor girl whose mother tongue is Greek at the other end will help to make sense of the experiences of precarity.

3.3 The precarization mechanisms

Most of my interviewees started their childhood memories by telling me directly about September 6-7. One reason for this may be that they were aware of the previous studies and therefore thought that I, as a researcher, would ask about September 6-7. But more importantly, it is undeniable that September 6-7 was a very important event in their childhood. Some of my interviewees hid in coal cellars,[146] hovels or deep closets as a family;[147] one of my interviewees' grandfathers survived because he was able to hide in the storage room in the garden.[148] One of my interviewees had taken a rifle with him to the terrace of the apartment building where he lived with his relatives;[149] two of them had searched for their toys in the piles of furniture in their houses that had been destroyed;[150] and two of them had relatives who had been injured and taken under treatment after the violence they had experienced.[151] It is undeniable that all of my interviewees felt uneasiness before September 6-7, but according to my interviewees, with September 6-7, they learned that there was no security of life. They see the whole family in a state of fear. Their

[146] The interview with Apostolis, 17.01.2020, Athens. As Apostolis' father was Turkish citizen, his family was not deported. However, he witnessed the deportation of his mother's Greek citizen relatives.
[147] The interview with Amalia, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki. Since Amalia's parents were Turkish citizens, her family was not deported. She witnessed the deportation of her neighbors and classmates. Following her brother who moved to Thessaloniki for education in the late 1960s, Amalia settled Thessaloniki in the early 1970s.
[148] The interview with Alexis, 11.05.2022, Athens.
[149] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens.
[150] The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens; The interview with Kalliroi, 15.06.2022, Athens.
[151] The interview with Charalambos, 18.05.2022, Athens; The interview with Stylianos, 07.10.2022, Online.

most trusted parents hide with them. Their houses are destroyed; they see the damage to their neighbors. One of my interviewees remembers her grandmother going to the cemetery on the morning of September 7th to look for the bones of her grandparents.[152] Another interviewee recalls seeing the burned church in Şişli cemetery where they went for the funeral of her uncle who died in November 1955. 58 years later, one of my interviewees says, "their faces looked huge in that torch fire, it is still in front of my eyes today".[153] The collective narrative is added to these personal experiences, thus reinforcing the trauma; unseen but later learned rapes, murders or attacks on cemeteries are also passed on as part of the personal experience. Therefore, they see that the community they were a part of as children can be killed, even their dead can be destroyed, in other words, they see the possibility of a pogrom. They live knowing this.

The fact that September 6-7 was organized is often emphasized; however, the emphasis on its organization obscures the responsibility of "ordinary people" in this pogrom. Although September 6-7 is seen as a breaking point, it also shows what an existing vein in society can do when it finds the opportunity. But what kind of encounters did Greeks have when this organized opportunity was not created, in other words, in the randomness of daily life?

3.3.1 The (im)possibility of claiming rights

The vast majority of my interviewees talked about the impossibility for a Rum to claim rights; everyone *knew* that Rums could not claim rights, that even if they

[152] The interview with Maria, 18.05.2022, Athens. Maria's grandparents left Istanbul after Septembriana; however, their brothers, sisters, along with their families were deported in 1964.
[153] The interview with Eleni, 14.01.2020, Athens.

applied to official institutions to claim rights, they would not get positive results. This was the basis of all encounters between Greeks and other privileged people. For example, Thanos' brother-in-law[154] had set up a construction company in partnership with two Turks. Since Saturday was payday for the construction workers, he returned home on Friday evening taking the entire week's wages with him. That night, however, a burglar broke into his house and stole all the money belonging to the company. The next day he went to the police station, explained the situation and asked for the thief to be found, but he was accused of stealing the money of his Turkish partners and the victim's statement was taken as that of the thief's. In the end, a Rum was a more likely suspect than a thief. In another testimony, Kalliroi[155] mentioned that their house was demolished twice, both times without them being able to claim their rights in any way. Their house in Samatya was first severely damaged on September 6-7. All the furniture of the house was destroyed and physically the doors and windows were rendered unusable. In 1963, while the family was away, their house was "accidentally" demolished as construction started next to their house. All their belongings scattered on the street among the ruins of the wall were looted. How this house was accidentally destroyed after finding a dead cat on the door repeatedly is still a question to Kalliroi today. The family then moves to a house on the 3rd floor which they deemed it would be more secure. For the first time,

[154] In 1964, at the age of 18, Thanos had to leave Istanbul because his residence permit was not renewed. His brother-in-law, whose story he shares here, is a Turkish citizen and continued to live in Istanbul for the rest of his life.

[155] After Kalliroi 's uncle was deported in 1964 and his father lost his job, the family immigrated to Athens in 1967. His husband, whom she later met and married in Greece, has another testimony about 1964. In 1964, her husband, a graduate student at Middle Eastern Technical University (Ankara) who had come to study Turkish-Greek relations, was attacked by a group of students during the height of tensions in Cyprus and was injured with a brick to the head. After his treatment, he was repatriated to Greece in a very short time with the intervention of the Embassy.

Kalliroi feels a little safe in this house. Kalliroi's father did not pursue any legal process after what happened, and even if he had, it would be of no use; that it would not help, and no one would care if a Rum's house was demolished.[156] Finally, I would like to include Savvas' testimony about how a seemingly simple civil registration procedure could be solved with great difficulty for a Rum

> You couldn't seek your rights without an officer friend or a police acquaintance of your father who loved you and tolerated you. Because I grew up in Kasımpaşa, they wrote Islam on my identity card. After two years, inspectors came and said that a Muslim child could not study here. My father tried for a year to change my identity card. The officer told him to be proud that your son came to the best religion in the world. Finally, my father's brother was an usher at the Saray Cinema. Sometimes he would give tickets to the police officers; he found one of them, a captain or something, and through him, we got Christian written on my identity card and I went to school. Adın kadar konuş! (Speak within your limits!) For example, you lend money a man. When you ask him to pay his debt, he beats you up, you go to the police station. What's your name? Savvas. What's his name? Ahmet. What happened? The man does not give me my money. They say stop, shut up, Savvas, speak within your limits. They were listening to the other one. It doesn't matter whether you go to the police station or not. These psychological anomalies last a lifetime because they get into your bones. Don't go to the police station, even here in Athens, don't go to the demonstration, be afraid of the police, be afraid of the state, I feel it in my bones, "I shouldn't be involved in this". There were also good people, thanks to them we lived as long as we did in Istanbul.[157]

3.3.2 The accusation of insulting Turkishness

The accusation of insulting Turkishness was frequently mentioned in interviews. The law on insulting Turkishness, Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code, which was enacted in 1931, criminalizes publicly insulting Turkishness, the Republic or the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Within the habitus of precarization "Accusations of insulting Turkishness" was a means of legitimate intervention that could be

[156] The interview with Kalliroi, 15.06.2022, Athens.
[157] The interview with Savvas, 08.07.2022, Athens.

resorted to, for *privilegeds* who share the same sphere of power with the state. On this ground of inability to claim rights, accusation of insulting Turkishness is a cause for great anxiety. It was one of the worst things that could happen. The majority of my interviewees said that insulting Turkishness narrowed their living space, kept them on their toes, kept them on their guard, and that it was very much a tool that left them vulnerable. When I asked them about their daily experiences, they found it challenging to express themselves. The fear of unintentionally causing offense to Turkishness was deeply ingrained in the interviewees due to the precarious situations they faced. While they were aware of this sentiment, articulating it was difficult. Perhaps, in a somewhat fortunate way, their inability to provide specific examples reflects their conscientious effort to avoid any blame. A few of my interviewees remembered being accused of insulting Turkishness for various reasons in almost every interview immediately and shared their memories and stories of fear. For example, when I asked Savvas what he could say about insulting Turkishness, he remembered and replied as follows:

> That was a slander, let's not mess with anyone, with a neighbor, with anyone. They would say these Rums insulted Turkishness. What do we do then? I'm not just talking about 64, I'm talking about before, for example, maybe the police will call you to the police station, maybe for the identity card, but you can't sleep till the morning. To insult Turkishness is the slander of your neighbor who doesn't like you. How can he insult? Who is this stupid! How can one live in Turkey with this fear and insult! They used to tell the story that a man's money flew away and he chased it and stepped on it, they beat him up for kicking Ataturk. They were looking for an opportunity. Someone who couldn't get along with you would easily throw this slander. He would say you insulted Atatürk and that would be the end of it.[158]

The first of the two important points Savvas makes here is that the accusation of insulting Turkishness could be used for personal reasons, and even with this

[158] The interview with Savvas, 08.07.2022, Athens.

knowledge it would be enough to make the Greeks precarious. Another point is that where there was so much fear about even accidentally insulting Turkishness “one would have to be a fool to do it for real”. Another testimony points to a manifestation of this fear in daily life. When Niki gets her driver's license and starts driving in Istanbul, her biggest fear is to hit a Turk; "God forbid I hit a Turk, they will say she is Greek, they will say she insulted Turkishness”.[159] When recalling the protests in Istanbul in the last months of DP rule, Andreas says that no one he knew participated in these actions, he explains his reasoning as follows: "Greeks did not participate, they would not interfere, they were afraid. The others would say to me, you are against Turkishness, you are against Atatürk".[160] Another interviewee, Konstantinos, summarizes the inability of the Greeks to claim their rights and their fear of being blamed in his testimony

> We were afraid to speak Greek in the street, we were always afraid, we didn't speak... when we got in a taxi we would either not speak at all or we would try to speak Turkish. There was such uneasiness and fear, that fear was over us like a cloud.... If you tear a 2.5 lira you will be jailed for insulting Turkishness. I was very scared of the police. If a Rum or a non-Muslim opposed a Turk, they would not be judged in fairness, there was such a feeling, such a perception.”[161]

Here I will present three stories I heard about the accusation of insulting Turkishness. These stories have significance because they give us an idea of the atmosphere, the atmosphere of fear created by this accusation and what people who have been exposed to these experiences have gone through. Also, the examples included here are from 1955, 1960, and 1949 according to the order in which the stories were

[159] The interview with Niki,25.06.2022, Athens.
[160] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.
[161] The interview with Konstantinos, 09.06.2022, Athens. Konstantinos’ family, who were Turkish citizens, never chose to depart from Istanbul. However, faced with instances of bullying and threats directed at Konstantinos at school, stemming from his Rum identity, his family opted to send him abroad for education in 1964.

given. They show how the accusation of insulting Turkishness has been used for over 20 years. In two of these stories, this legitimate means of accusation is used; the protagonists are *slandered*, while in the other story, *recklessness* comes to the fore.

Haris used to listen to the radio a lot when he was young. He finds out about the Yassıada hearings, Cemal Gürsel's months-long coma all on the radio news. He learns of the assassination of the American president also from the radio.[162] At dinner that evening, when his uncle Philip brings up the assassination of Kennedy, Haris interjects, "I heard about it too". "Shut up," his uncle snaps, "don't interfere, don't talk!". Years later, when we meet, when he responds to my question about whether he used to listen to the radio, he recalls this memory, which leads him to recall another story about his Uncle Philip: "he was scared, that's why he shut me up. Because he suffered a lot in 1955". On the night of September 6-7, Uncle Philip hides his wife and baby somewhere in the garden and goes out to stop the attackers to defend his house. He is beaten and tries to run away from the crowd seeking refuge at the police station. However, those who broke into his house and beat him accused him of insulting Turkishness by tearing the flag. Haris remembers that his uncle Philip was in prison for weeks because of this accusation, that he suffered a lot during that time, and that he lived in fear after his acquittal. "That was the climate at that time, we were afraid," he adds.[163]

Another uncle of Haris was charged with insulting Turkishness for opening his shop on a public holiday. After a period of detention and release through bribery,

[162] Assassination of John F. Kennedy, 22.10.1963.
[163] The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens.

he fled to Greece. I came across a similar narrative in a memoir.[164] In order to give space to a different narrator I bring here the testimony from his book: Koumakis starts his narrative as "Sideris Vafias was lucky enough to have escaped with his life by handing over all his savings to the "right" people, was absolutely typical of the times". Uncle Sideris has a grocery store at the upper end of the Kapalıçarşı. He keeps his shop spotlessly clean and this was the reason he was so popular and has a considerable fortune. On August 30 1960, a public holiday celebrating *the victory over the Greeks in Asia Minor campaign in 1922*, he was in his shop, cleaning and arranging goods. Suddenly, a Turk appeared in the doorway and pointing his finger at my uncle said in a challenging voice: "Hey, *gavur* (infidel)! How dare you work today? Have you no respect for Turkish public holidays?" Uncle Sideris replies "Holidays are for lazy people! There are no holidays when there's work to be done!". In less than an hour, three police officers take him to the police station and beat him badly. He is accused of insulting the Turks and the Turkish flag and taken into custody for several days. Meanwhile his family tries to find out what happened to him and after three days they resort to the police station where they learn that he is being held on charges of vilifying Turkism. It costs a small fortune for his file to be "removed" from the "current" cases and placed at the bottom of the pile so as to gain time. "Then, a huge sum was handed over as "bail," guaranteeing his release by the date set for the trial. Finally, more money was needed for his escape to Smyrna on the day he was released, so that he could cross to the island of Chios and enter free in Greece" (Koumakis, 1996, p. 20-24).

---

[164] Leonidas Koumakis declined my interview request but shared his memoirs *The Miracle* -his testimonies about leaving Istanbul after his father's deportation in 1964, with me. The memoir is a text woven with fiction. There is a strong nationalist discourse that permeates the entire book to convince the reader; the characters have two sides: the oppressor and the oppressed.

These narratives may seem like unique stories. However, I need to include one more testimony here to illustrate the accusation of insulting Turkishness and its bureaucratic corresponding. A question I asked an interviewee about her education showed how much the accusation of insulting Turkishness can change a child's life. Agni said, "I didn't know what it was, I learned when I was 51 years old how hard it was for my family at that time and that they were trying hard not to make me feel it". Chatting with the guests who came to their house one night, her father tells the guests, "Oh, how I've suffered with this girl". When the guests leave, Agni reproaches her father. "Why are you saying that, what have I put you through?", "Come sit next to me", her father says, and tells her her own story, of which Agni had not been aware.

When Agni was a student in the fifth grade at a Greek school, she made a joke during a Turkish lesson about the composer of the national anthem. She whispers to her friend next to her, "I wonder if he is a foreigner, too"[165]. Her teacher, who teaches geography and history as well as Turkish, must have heard what Agni said or realized that she had said something that would cause them to laugh, because she immediately turns to Agni and asks her to go to the principal and wait there. After a while, her father comes to the school and meets with the principal. The next day when Agni is preparing for school her father says, "Agni, your mother is very sick, you stay home". Agni does not go to school for a while but she goes out every day with her mother, she makes home visits to her aunt and other relatives, and the school year goes by. While her former classmates finish primary school, Agni is enrolled in another Rum school the following year to repeat the same fifth grade.

[165] "O da ecnebi midir acaba?"

Soon after, however, the school principal calls her father to the school, citing a problem with Agni's pass. The next day Agni is again not sent to school due to her mother's illness. This time, however, her parents turn to alternative out-of-school educational institutions for Agni's education. Agni goes to Berlis[166] on Kallavi Street to learn English, she also attends the OHEN[167] courses on Panagia Street, takes cooking and sewing classes, and takes five sports classes at the Beyoğlu Sports Club, including the five-step jump and hurdles. Her parents set up a special reading program for her, reading period classics together and discussing the texts at the dinner table. "I was never sitting at home," he says, "every day I was reading something, doing something, but I didn't have a diploma." After this long break, the family decides to send their daughter to a private Rum primary school.[168] Agni starts 5th grade again, just as her peers are about to finish middle school. This time she is able to attend private classes at this school, but she faces a different challenge in the final exams. The final exams are organized by inspectors. On the day of the exams in history, geography, civics and culture, when Agni enters the exam hall, the head of the jury, with the inspectors, the principal and the teachers present, tells Agni that she will not be asked any questions from the book and that her graduation depends on a single question, adding that "you will either pass or fail". On her way to the exam that day, Agni takes the ferry from Heybeliada with her father. A gentleman sitting across from her is reading a newspaper the whole way. Agni's eye catches this

[166] A private English language training course.
[167] Ortodoksi Hristiyaniki Enosis Neonidon (Gr.) Orthodox Christian Youth Union.
[168] Established in 1895 in Kadıköy and later relocated to Beyoğlu Ağahamam Street after 1923, 'Tarsi Varidu School' was a private institution with a dual influence of Rum and French educational traditions. Its operational continuity is documented until the early 1960s. For further information: Bozis, S. (2011). *İstanbullu Rumlar.* İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları; *Hatırla: Kadıköy Kent Rehberi.* (2019). Retrieved from https://kados.org.tr/download/kados-kent-rehberi.pdf; Çokona, A. (2016). *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri.* Literatür.

newspaper out of boredom. "Today, America got a star on its flag, Colombia!" As luck would have it, the inspector starts his only question with "Today, America got a star..." and Agni excitedly shouts "Colombia".[169] The jury is stunned. Agni answers the question correctly. "The newspaper came out that day and I read it on the ferry. If I hadn't, I would have failed," says Agni. And finally, she receives her primary school diploma.

Next year, instead of sending her to a Rum school, her parents send her to a French high school. However, due to her special situation, Agni is only allowed to attend the two-year French preparatory classes before the Middle School. She cannot attend the Turkish classes during the preparatory period; sometimes the school principal calls her for help during Turkish class hours, and sometimes she visits churches and nursing homes with the nuns of the school. When she returns home, she tells her mother about the churches she visited and the elderly people she fed at the nursing home. When she finished her French preparation, she was unable to continue school. "I learned when I was 51 years old," says Agni, "what my parents went through, what I went through. They surrounded me in such a way that I never understood in those years that I had been blacklisted because my teacher had told the principal that I insulted Turkishness. That's why I couldn't continue school. That's how they canceled my life. Not only me, but many people also suffered such injustice in these matters."[170]

---

[169] This headline could be about Colombia's participation in the Korean War on the American side, since Colombia has never been an American state. It is possible to say that the headline must have been exaggerated as referring Colombia's participation into war as addition another star on the American flag. Agni was born in 1937, she finished primary school when she was 14-15 years old. And Colombia joined the war on June 15, 1951.This connection helps us to date this story in June 1951.

[170] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens.

Agni's teacher is not pure evil, she did the "right" thing with her subjectivity socialized in the habitus of precarity. The teacher's complaint immediately found a place in the bureaucracy because institutions are instrumentalized for the preservation of the habitus of precarity. On the other hand, Agni is punished and expelled from formal education at a moment when she, as a child, lets her guard down. Her family tries to ensure that Agni is not left without education and does not feel precarious due to this punishment; they look for alternative solutions. This situation is also an example of the aforementioned effort of parents not to make their children feel what is going on. Agni does not realize that she is excluded from formal education because she is accused of insulting Turkishness, but she learns this years later.

3.3.3 Citizen Speak Turkish and the boycott

The “Citizen Speak Turkish” and the boycott campaigns against Rums were among the uneasy moments recalled during the interviews. Although it is assumed from its name that it invites people to speak Turkish, “Citizen Speak Turkish” is used as another legitimate intervention tool for the privileged group to force non-native speakers of Turkish in daily encounters. With “*Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş”,* the visibility of Istanbul Rums in the public places is prevented; their existence is rendered precarious through their language. On the other hand, speaking Greek in the public sphere is unsettling as it reveals one's identity; it makes people vulnerable to any threat.

During the interviews, "Citizen Speak Turkish" interventions were frequently mentioned as a daily element of pressure against Rums. Children were especially

strictly warned not to speak Greek on the street. For example, Konstantinos recalls the day they marched from Şişli to Beyoğlu after September 6-7 as follows

> We went out that day. My father and mother told me not to speak Greek. Those who looted the stores in Şişli had thrown all the goods outside. The windows were broken, and the goods were on the roads. Of course, I didn't speak either, there was no such thing as speaking. My grandmother was with us. I was pulling my grandmother's dress and pointing at what I was seeing.[171]

In another testimony, a child who was warned by his family but wanted to talk to his mother on the ferry, when he realized from his mother's facial expressions that he was speaking Greek, tried to continue the sentence he started in Greek in Turkish. When his mother said, "come child", he would say "mama erhi-yorum". When my interviewee recalled this moment of uneasiness, she was touched, saying "that was the kind of fear".[172]

Especially in the testimonies related to "*Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş*" (Citizen Speak Turkish), there were stories that took place in public transportation where personal distance narrows and people stay close for a relatively long time. For example, when Konstantinos was traveling on a train with a friend during his high school years, a person approached them and sternly said "Citizen Speak Turkish" because they were speaking Greek. When Konstantinos' friend confronts this person, he receives a very harsh response, the person who warned them to speak Turkish slaps Konstantinos' friend saying "know your limits".[173] In another testimony, while Evangelia was a student at Zappeion High School, she and other Rum students traveled back and forth from school to their home in Bakırköy every day by train, which took about 1.5 hours. One day, while they were on the train, they were

---

[171] The interview with Konstantinos, 09.06.2022, Athens.
[172] " I am coming mother", "erhi-yorum" is a combination of Greek verb-root and Turkish suffix. The interview with Niki,25.06.2022, Athens.
[173] The interview with Konstantinos, 09.06.2022, Athens.

physically attacked by a group of people for speaking Greek. They were saved from this attack by Turkish students from Bakırköy who stood in front of the crowd. After this, the families of the Rum students did not want them to take the train again and started to send their children to school by bus.[174] This story is important in another way, because in this story we see people whose voices were not heard much before, who support their friends from the neighborhood on the train, who do not approve of the harassment against rums and stand against bullying. There are also those who do not heed the boycott calls against the Rums. For example, customers who were hesitant to come to the store because of the banner "The germ in us is the Rums, don't shop with the Rums" hung in the window of Haris' father's shop would place their orders over the phone.[175] The vast majority of these customers were Anatolian merchants, preferring to maintain their long-standing trade relations based on trust, despite the pressure of the boycott.[176] However, things were much more difficult for Iraklis' father's shop in Karaköy square. The boycott banner hung over the shop would remain there for weeks, the business of the shop would decrease a lot, and Iraklis' father would be especially targeted by the protesting youth every day. At the end Iraklis' father would find the solution by partnering the shop with a Turk for no money at all, the name of the shop would be changed, and the family would be upset for years.[177]

Last but not the least, in December 1963, the outbreak of violence in Cyprus was widely publicized in Turkey. There are rumors that there may be a second

[174] The interview with Evangelia, 27.01.2021, Online. Her parents were Turkish citizens, so Evangelia's family was not deported. However she witnessed the deportation of her neighbors.
[175] An example of this banner can be seen in the Appendix C.
[176] The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens.
[177] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens.

pogrom in Istanbul, especially due to the attacks targeting the Turkish community in Nicosia that started on December 21.[178] Rums of Istanbul spend Christmas and the New Year in fear of an upcoming pogrom. Haris' testimony is important as it exemplifies the uneasiness experienced during these days:

> After our house in Gedikpaşa was destroyed in the events of 1955, we moved to Cihangir. My father collapsed then. He moved us to a house on the 7th floor, in an old apartment building without an elevator, thinking that if there was another pogrom, they would not come up here. It was a very nice apartment, high ceilings, a perfect view of the Bosporus. On New Year's Eve in December 1963, we had a family gathering every year, but that year 50-60 people came to us. There were rumors that the events of 1955 would be repeated. Everyone took refuge with us because we lived on a high floor.[179]

[178] In the following chapter, I will address the inter-communal conflicts in Cyprus at the end of 1963, which gave rise to concerns among the Rum community in Istanbul regarding the prospect of experiencing another pogrom.
[179] The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens.

CHAPTER 4

LEAVING ISTANBUL: ΑΝΤΙΟ ΠΑΤΡΊΔΑ ΜΟΥ*

To commence, I seek an inquiry regarding the prevailing national and international circumstances that facilitated the Turkish government's unilateral decision to terminate, the agreement governing residence, trade, and navigation between Turkey and Greece. Starting with a broad overview of the habitus of precarity, this study delves into the expulsion decision as a manifestation of a state reflex rooted in the foundational period of the republic. In this context, it will be posited that the decision to deport the Greek citizens in 1964 has antecedents predating the formalization of the deportations. Subsequently, the specific conditions of the year 1964 will be elucidated, which were societal tensions prevalent in Turkey in the early 1960s and the government's stance in relation to these tensions at the time of the decision of expulsion. Finally, within the context of the Rum community, an exploration will be undertaken regarding potential factors which contributed to the mass migration resulting from the implementation of the expulsion policy. Following the discussion on the reasons behind the expulsion, the expulsion process itself will be detailed through the eyes of witnesses. How the subjects of the expulsion learnt about their deportation, how they prepared for this one-way journey, how they left Istanbul and the struggles of those who left behind in Istanbul will be explained by focusing on the testimonies of Rum Polites.

---

* Farewell My Homeland

4.1 The 1964 Expulsion:

A political ripple or an immanent possibility of the habitus of precarity?

Starting with an answer to this question it can be said that the deportation decision must be seen as a part of the habitus of precarity. As mentioned in the previous chapter, The Rums of Istanbul were exceptions within a society in which the exchange of populations and/or the displacement of thousands of people was a "norm". The idea of expulsion also has its own history. Not so long ago, nine years before the expulsion decision, when the Cyprus tension started to take place in domestic politics as a national cause for the first time in Turkey, eyes had been turned to the Patriarchate. Ironically, the Patriarchate was pushed to be involved in the Cyprus dispute which would clearly have violation of the spiritual character of it a preservation of it was clause of the Lausanne in 1923. In September 1954, the Committee for the Defense of Turkish Rights in Cyprus submitted a letter to the Patriarch requesting him to take disciplinary measures against Greek prelates in Cyprus. This request was turned into a press campaign, on 2 July 1955, *Tercüman* addressed the Patriarch to take a political stance against the leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios. However, Patriarch Athenagoras assumed a neutral stance. Actually, Patriarch Athenagoras was unable to intervene because the Patriarch's functions and sphere of power were clearly determined as non-political according to the Lausanne. Secondly, the Greek church of Cyprus was autocephalous and independent Orthodox church, and the archbishop of Cyprus was elected by the Greek Cypriots.[180] Even though Athenagoras would have been willing to intervene,

[180] Because during the ottoman rule in Cyprus, the local population was included in the millet system that establishes a semi-autonomous unit in charge of its own institutions such as schools, churches and clerical discipline, with jurisdiction in familial cases. Under these conditions, the head of the

he would not have, because the Cyprus church had no administrative link to the Patriarchate in Phanar (Alexandris, 1992, p.253).

The neutral stance of the Patriarch provided a ground for the press to read his neutrality as unwillingness to help Turkish Cypriots and accused the Patriarch of conspiring and of acting as an agent of *megali idea*. As a part of heated debates against the Patriarch, on 24 August 1955, Cihan Baban, a famous journalist who has column in *Tercüman*, demanded the expulsion of the office of Patriarchate from Turkey. Just a week before September 6-7, on 28 August 1955, Cumhuriyet targeted the Phanar and alleged that some archbishops had secretly collected donations from the Rums of Istanbul to assist EOKA in Cyprus. On the Same day, a Rum newspaper *Elefteri Foni reacted* the ongoing "anti-Greek hysteria". Its editorial Andreas Lambikis, the most outspoken Greek journalist in Turkey and on the very reason who would be denaturalized and deported in 1965, criticized the broader press for not having of concrete evidence to support their anti-Greek allegations. A day later, on 29 August 1955, another Rum newspaper *Embros* published a long article with the title of "It is Enough!". Disregarding the seriousness of the situation for the Rum Polites, *Cumhuriyet* found the articles written by Rum journalist as divisive and unpatriotic (Alexandris, 1992, p.255). September 6-7 pogrom would occur under these conditions, despite these warnings and objections.

Following Makarios' visit to Athens in April 1957, it was the second time that the anti-Greek campaign began. As the Turkish government implied that Turkey

---

Orthodox church became the political and national representative of Greek Cypriots before the Ottoman government. According to Sir Harry Luke, the head of the Orthodox church, in other words the de facto political chief, had greater authority over the island than the Turkish pasha (governor) himself due to his ability to control of Cyprus finances (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994, p. 132). For further information on the Cyprus Church during 1950s and 1960s, please see Stavrinides. (1999). *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood.* CYREP.

could abrogate the Lausanne Treaty and remove the Patriarchate out of its borders, the Greek government informed USA that in the case of a pogrom occurs, or the Patriarchate is expelled, Greece would retaliate. (Xydis, 1967, p. 87-88; Akgönül, 2016, p. 227; Alexandris, 1992, p. 269). As on 14 April 1957, Archbishop Emilianos reiterated the loyalty of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to Turkey, *Yeni İstanbul* newspaper published a series of interviews between April 9 and 17, 1957, giving a great deal of space to the anti-patriarchate views of the interviewees (Armaoğlu, 2009, p. 344-346). A few months later, the deportations started on 9 August 1957 with the expulsion of Theodore Markouizos, a prominent journalist who was alleged of publishing articles harming Turkish-Greek friendship. The following days two more journalists, Stephen Papadopoulos and George Patriarcheas were expelled along with two Greek citizen businessmen, the Tsitouris brothers. At this point, it is necessary to give a witness about the year 1957 in terms of showing the approach of the official ideology to the Rum Polites. Years later, in a session closed to the public at the Yassıada trials, the details meetings of the Camp of Yamanlar, during which the DP leadership was accused of planning for 6-7 September, were asked to Refik Tulga, the aide of President Celal Bayar. Tulga said he was not present at the camp but had made other similar statements about the president's attitude towards the rumours; he would testify about Bayar as follows:

> The overthrown head of state considered the Cyprus events as a matter of honor, and thought it was a matter of domestic politics. He thought that the defeat in this issue was also a defeat in domestic politics. In the speeches we had made on many occasions, he strongly advocated the necessity of exerting pressure on the Rums of Istanbul, and on the Rums of Istanbul who were Greek subjects living in Istanbul, who owned property and whose number amounted to thirty thousand, and finally on the Patriarchate. In fact, before I left for Naples (in 1957), when I went to say goodbye to him, he said to the American commander: We are determined to take very severe measures. We will kick them out of this country, and we will take severe measures against them... (Yassıada Yüksek Adalet

Divanı Tutanakları : 6-7 Eylül Olayları Davası (esas no:1960/3)., 1960, p. 297).

On January 28, 1958, Dimitris Kaloumenos, the official photographer of the Patriarchate who photographed the September 6-7 pogrom, is deported for insulting Turkish-Greek friendship; He was accused of taking photographs of military zones, having anti-Turkey news published in Greek newspapers as a correspondent, and for sending the photographs of September 6-7 to the foreign press. The day before Kaloumenos' deportation, on January 27, 1958, the idea of exchange of Rum community is proposed in the parliamentary (*Cumhuriyet*, 28.01.1958). Trabzon MP Osman Turan submits a parliamentary question, saying that the Cyprus crisis is an opportunity to rethink the issue of *ekaliyet* and raises the issue of the exchange of the Turks of Northern Greece and the Rums of Istanbul.[181] On the other hand, for the first time during these negotiations, the government considered not renewing the Turkish-Greek residence, trade and navigation agreement. The wave of deportations took another dimension in April 1958. The Hellenic Union of Constantinopolitans was shut down with a court order which decided that its activities were detrimental to Turkish national interest. As the secretary of the association, Lambros Gülakis was found guilty of espionage and imprisoned for fifteen years on 6 June 1957 (*Cumhuriyet*, 06.06.1957).[182] Other members of the association were deported with

[181] It would not be correct to read this only as an anti-Rum issue, as the exchange of the Turkmens of Iraq and the Kurds of Turkish nationality living along the border was also discussed in the early 1960s, please see: Güneş. (2017). "Altmışlı Yıllarda Kürt Siyasal Aktivizmi' in Mete Kaan Kaynar (ed.). *Türkiye'nin 1960'lı Yılları*. İletişim Yayınları. From this perspective, the 1964 deportations can be seen as a reflex in the post-Lausanne (or post-population exchange) Turkish society.

[182] Since he was over 65 years old, his sentence was reduced to 12 years and 6 months. He is accused of spying for Greece, passing military information to Greece, and sending to Greece some secrets that should have remained secret during the September 6-7 pogrom.

the same allegations following a month-long custody[183] and the board members of the association were expelled during 1958.[184] According to Anna Theodorides' study of records of "The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey", 51 deportations took place between 1957 and 1963; 6 deportations in 1957, 12 in 1958, 13 from 1960 to 1962 and 20 in 1963. The partial deportations carried out for "political reasons" in 1957 and thereafter, as well as the mass deportations in 1964, differ in their legal frameworks; however, both are characterized as arbitrary administrative decisions. (Yücel & Yıldız, 2019, p. 321).

In addition to the deportation of Greek nationals before the deportation in 1964, Uzunoglu points out a series of administrative and legal regulations in the early 1960s. He interprets these regulations as preparations for the policy of exile. On November 7, 1962, The Secondary Committee for Minorities (Azınlık Tali Komisyonu) was established through resolution 28-4869 by the prime minister. Its members, appointed from national security and armed forces institutions, wielded authority over legislative, executive, and judicial bodies. For many years, this commission served as the architect and decision center for policies against minorities. However, on January 5, 2004, its civil status underwent a change. Despite the preparation of the deportation application predating 1960, it is known that the implementation plans were executed by this commission (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 353). Following the establishment of The Secondary Committee for Minorities, changes were made in the regulations towards Greek citizens. For example, in early 1963,

[183] For a testimony that the members of elliniki enosis were deprived of sleep during their detention in Harbiye, please see: Δρινη Γ. Ν. (Ed.). (2004). *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες δεν θα ξεχάσεις ποτέ....: Οι απελάσεις του 1964. Μαρτυρίες Ελλήνων Κωνσταντινουπολιτών.* Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Τσουκάτου.
[184] The interview with Panagiotis, 07.01.2020, Athens. Following the deportation of his father in 1958, Panagiotis, along with his mother and sisters, left Istanbul in 1959.

Greek citizens living in Istanbul with etablis status were prohibited from paying their taxes in installments, and even a prepayment condition was imposed for the 1964 tax. Furthermore, in 1962, instead of the residence permit based on a document, which had been valid since 1930, the system of Greek nationals obtaining a residence permit by issuing a passport like everyone else was put into effect. According to Uzunoglu, since these two changes in practice were realized at a time when there was no tension in the relations between Turkey and Greece after the Zurich and London Agreements[185], they indicate that a policy of deportation or exile was being prepared (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 352). In addition to these legal regulations, the law prohibiting 20 professions, in effect since 1932 but exempting employers, was reintroduced and implemented without exception, pursuant to the directive numbered 41127/6837-112331 issued by the Ministry of Interior (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 352-353). Uzunoglu also highlights the immediate response in Istanbul to the inter-communal violence that began on the eve of 1963 in Cyprus, and asserts that the targeting of the Istanbul Greek community and institutions (schools, the patriarchate, and foundations) in a significant portion of the press was part of a political scheme (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 352).

When considered as a result and part of this process, the 1964 deportation is not a sudden political reaction that emerged as a result of an outburst of an

[185] On February 11, 1959, an agreement was reached between Turkey and Greece in Zurich to address the ongoing crisis in Cyprus. Following this, the accord received approval from leaders of the United Kingdom and the two communities in Cyprus during a meeting in London on February 19, 1959. The resulting Zurich and London Agreements established the principles that laid the groundwork for the formation of the independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960, and emphasized key aspects such as independence, collaboration between the two communities, autonomy in the social domain, and a strong guarantee for resolution by Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom. In the aftermath of the agreements, the period extending until the outbreak of inter-communal violence in late 1963 constituted a phase characterized by relative tranquility in the relations between Turkey and Greece.

international crisis, but rather *an immanent possibility* that found an opportunity in the existing habitus of precarity.

4.1.1 1964's unique landscape: Minority government confronts the Cyprus issue amidst the gusts of militarism and anti-communism

The period following the establishment of the Independent Republic of Cyprus witnessed considerable controversy surrounding the constitutional provisions. The Zurich and London Agreements, revealed a disproportion in the power-sharing arrangement in favor of the Turkish Cypriots, generating concern within the Greek community. Despite constituting 18.4 percent of the population, Turkish Cypriots held three ministerial positions in a Council of ten and fifteen representatives in a House of fifty. Contentious issues arose during the application of the constitutional, particularly regarding civil service appointments based on a 70/30 ratio principle and the establishment of separate ethnic municipalities, both perceived as favoring the Turkish minority (Stavrinides, 1999, p. 48). By the end of 1963, tensions escalated, leading to Archbishop Makarios proposing thirteen amendments. However, Turkish Cypriots viewed these amendments as favoring the Greek majority, rejecting them, and causing a dramatic increase in tensions. The situation culminated in *The Bloody Christmas*[186] on December 23, 1963, resulting in the physical segregation of the two communities and the de facto end of the independent republic. Turkish Cypriots were displaced and confined to enclaves, owning only three percent of the land, compared to the thirty-five percent during the Republic's establishment (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994, p.140). The events led to the Cyprus issue dominating the press, with reports

[186] In Turkish Historiography the intercommunal violence at the end of 1963 is named as *Kanlı Noel* (the Bloody Christmas).

of civil war, barricades, and violence. The government of Cyprus sought UN protection against a potential unilateral military intervention by Turkey (Aksu, 2003; UN SCOR 1136th Sess. 18 June 1964, UN Doc S/5488). The Turkish press extensively covered the events of the Bloody Christmas, with the Cyprus issue dominated the newspaper headlines since the last week of December 1963.

Turkish public opinion reacted very quickly to the violence in Cyprus. A large segment of the society was already engaged on the Cyprus issue, and it had not passed more a than a decade after the pogrom. Moreover, the militaristic vein reinforced by Turkey's sending troops to Korea,[187] resonated with the legacy of the War of Independence after the May 27 coup d'état and agitated the masses against a possible war situation. In order to have an idea of the projection of the Cyprus crisis in daily life, it is important to examine the citizens' letters sent to the prime minister and the president of the period. the authors of these letters were engaged in the Cyprus crisis which demonstrated the militarist awakening and agitation in society. The majority of the letters conveyed the demands of people who wanted to go to Cyprus voluntarily. While those who were waiting for the official authorities to facilitate their transfer to Cyprus stated that they wanted to "triumph over the Greeks like their grandfathers", veterans of the War of Independence expressed their desire

[187] Tebessüm (Yılmaz) Öztan and G. Gürkan Öztan in their study "Militarizm ve Anti-komünizmin Kesşitiği Nokta: Kore Savaşı" (The intersection between militarism and anti-communism: The Korean War) focus on how civil initiatives were articulated with the state and militant discourse under the name of "support to the front" during the Korean War through the "Korean literature" produced in a wide range of fields from press to literature, radio to cinema in the 1950s. The study argues that the Korean War reproduced the cult of martyrdom, and that the pattern established by the Korean War literature created a long-lasting regime that is used in situations of armed conflict beyond its specific conditions (Öztan and Öztan, "Militarizm ve Anti-komünizmin Kesiştiği Nokta: Kore Savaşı").

to “participate in the defense of the homeland again” as their children and grandchildren accompany them.

The press of the period also played an active role in agitating the masses on the Cyprus issue. For example, after the news during the spring of 1964 claimed that arms were purchased for Cyprus[188] and the news claiming that the deported Greeks went to Cyprus voluntarily,[189] 14-year-old Ali Taşçı, 17-year-old Nesip Aydın, 18-year-old Sezai Özkül and 24-year-old Erdoğan Can, who lived in Istanbul, came to Silifke "with the intention of going to Cyprus to kill Makarios and help our compatriots there"; they sell everything they own, including their wristwatches, and set off for Cyprus by stealing a 5-ton motorcycle with a crushed rifle and a map of Cyprus given by a magazine. Ali, 14 years old, becomes the captain; however, they have no compass. When the weather turned into a gale, they had to turn back (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.05.1964).[190]

---

[188] "Greeks are preparing for general mobilization - Makarios took action to buy 5 torpedo boats", *Cumhuriyet,* 07.05.1964; "Egyptians gave artillery to Greek Cypriots", *Cumhuriyet*, 09.05.1964; "Makarios buys airplanes, torpedoes and heavy weapons - Greeks announced that they would increase the size of the army and introduce compulsory military service", *Cumhuriyet,* 20.05.1964; "Greeks signed an agreement to buy 24 fighter planes", *Cumhuriyet,* 23.05.1964.

[189] The source of the news claiming that deported Greek nationals went to Cyprus voluntarily is quite interesting: "It has been determined that some Greeks and some Rums who were deported from Turkey due to their harmful activities were voluntarily sent to Cyprus and took part in the ranks of the EOKAists after being trained in the Greek regiment. It has been learned that some of the Rums who were sent to Cyprus voluntarily through the Greek government, even though they reside in Turkey, are still being trained in the Greek regiment. *Some of them have revealed their situation to the guards at the Turkish regiment camp adjacent to the Greek regiment camp*" (Cumhuriyet, 18.04.1964).

[190] These and other similar stories/fantasies of volunteers inspired the movie *On Korkusuz Adam* (Ten Fearless Men), which was released in 1965 and ran for weeks. *On Korkusuz Adam* (Başaran, 1964) may also be discussed as an example of early solidarity movies [such as *Karanlıkta Uyananlar (Görec, 1961)* and *Otobüs Yolcuları* (Görec, 1965)] of early 1960s. However, in On Korkusuz Adam, the aim is not to fight against labor exploitation or corruption as other solidarity movies do, but to go to Cyprus and support the oppressed Turks there. The film begins with a reenactment of an event that has become the symbol of “the Bloody Christmas”; this event is the murder of Major Nihat İlhan's wife, Mürvet İlhan, and their three children (Murat, Kutsi, and Hakan) in the bathtub of their house on December 24, 1963. The photograph showing the murdered family hugging each other in the bathtub with blood significantly impacted the Turkish public during the Cyprus crisis.
The movie's opening credits start after this scene; newspaper headlines show news about Cyprus; "The mosque was bombed", "The Turks were killed", "Papandreu said Enosis is at hand", "Cengiz Topel

Radio broadcasts mobilized emotions at least as much as newspapers during this period, as it is possible to come across the statements of those who could not digest what happened in Cyprus after listening to the radio broadcast and those who wanted to go to Cyprus to fight. Similarly, those who learned about the operation in Cyprus and Topel's death from the radio news formed long queues at blood centers to support blood donation campaigns (*Cumhuriyet,* 10.08.1964). Similar to the letters of citizens, the repertoire of the liberation war is reused in rallies organized all over the country in support of Cyprus and in anti-American protests. For instance, at a rally held in Ankara on September 2, 1964, the spokesperson of the law faculty student

---

was tortured". In the first scene after the credits, a Turkish Cypriot family is harassed by armed Greeks, and a young boy who wants to protect his mother is killed. Soon after, an old farmer plowing his field is shot. After this scene, it is seen that two young girls were raped by Greek "guerillas". The Greeks say "We will not let Turks live here" in all these horrifying and graphic scenes. In the first few minutes of the movie, the message given to the audience is clear; There is no life for Turks in Cyprus. The plot of the movie goes forward as: A young Turkish Cypriot escapes from a Greek gang and jumped into the sea. A Turkish fisherman rescues him from the sea and brings him to Adana. Impressed by the story of the young Cypriot, the fisherman and eight volunteers he met in Adana, together with *ten fearless men*, go to Cyprus to fight the Greeks. Eight of them is martyred during the conflict. With the air attack (referring to the Battle of Kokikna/Erenköy Direnişi in August 1964) and the landing of Turkish soldiers on the island, the Turkish Cypriots are saved from "Greek tyranny". The headlines about Cengiz Topel were included in the opening credits, render possible to suggest that the movie could have been completed after Topel's death in August 1964, in other words in September 1964 at the earliest. Although we do not know exactly when the movie was released, it can be said that it was screened at the same time in an average of 6 movie theaters in Istanbul between 12-20 April 1965 (Cumhuriyet, 12-20.4.1965) However, it is impossible to know how many filmgoers the movie reached. By considering that the 60s were the years when cinema was in great demand, and therefore the government was constantly trying to combat the black market for movie tickets[190], it can be presumed that the film reached a large audience. However, it can be claimed that the film must have been so popular so much so that it was one of the six films planned to be sent to the 1st Balkan film festival held in Varna on 8-14 August 1965 and that the four famous actors of the film are in the national team of 6, that will participate in the festival (Cumhuriyet, 10.7.1965). Finally, it should be noted here that the sound technician of this vulgar nationalist film is a Rum of Istanbul, Yorgo İlyadis, who creatively recorded the sounds of *Susuz Yaz* and contributed the film to receive the Golden Bear in the 14th Berlin International Film Festival in 1964. The fantasy of volunteering in Cyprus turns into a kind of obsession of defeating the Greeks in Turkish cinema almost a decade. Considering the socio-political situation of Turkey overlaps with this popularity of costume history movies, Yıldırım in his dissertation refers to the aggressive impulse of the Turkish audience, who wanted to respond to the Cypriot Rums during late 1960s and early 1970s, that was satisfied in fantasy until it achieved its goal: Greeks, Byzantines, and Crusaders were defeated on the big screen with Arkin's avant-gardes. When the need was met in 1974, "the need to defeat the Greeks was realized", there was no need for fantasy, and the rush was spontaneously exhausted (Yıldırım, *Tarihi Kostüme Avantür Sineması'nda Kahraman Tiplemesinin Psikolojik Analizi*).

association criticized the Johnson letter, and declared that"we did not fight the war of liberation with American weapons, this nation knows how to create victories out of nothing if necessary, let America know this too". Likewise in reference to the failed Washington talks, he said that diplomats had brought the Cyprus issue to this point and that he expected new victories like the Treaty of Lausanne from the government instead of a soft Cyprus policy.[191]

Furthermore, during the early 1960s, a surge in anticommunist ideology manifested itself in political violence which permeated daily life. This period witnessed the raiding of theater plays in Istanbul (*Cumhuriyet*, 24.03.1964) and the targeting of leftist singers (German, 2001). Concurrently, the Cyprus crisis became a focal point for anticommunism, driven by the apprehension that *Cyprus could potentially transform into a Soviet base, posing a significant threat to the nation's future*. The repercussions of reports suggesting Soviet arms support for Cyprus are evident in citizen letters, where many express a readiness to volunteer and combat against communism in defense of their religious brethren (BCA 30-01-1-1/40-236-20; BCA 30-01-0-0/ 22-129-6). These social polarizations, characterized by fear and excitement, consequently, mobilize the masses to antagonize the Rums of Istanbul and perceived them as an extension of the Cyprus crisis.

The last of the specific conditions of 1964 was the incapacity of the minority government in power to stand against the masses engaged in Cyprus. It was the 3rd

[191] Especially during 1964, during the Cyprus tension, almost every rally and almost every letter sent to Prime Minister İnönü makes reference to the Lausanne victory as a choice victory. One of the most creative examples of reminding İnönü of Lausanne and insisting on a Cyprus landing was when NTSU president Yüksel Çengel sends a soldier's boot to İnönü "on behalf of the Turkish youth". In his press statement, Çengel shares the letter sent to İnönü along with the boots and summarizes the following statements in his letter: "We vividly remember the blow you struck 42 years ago with your dusty boots, together with Commander-in-Chief M. Kemal, against those who came to invade our beloved homeland. It is understood that you will continue wearing boots again against the mentality of 42 years ago. But again, we hope that the peaceful struggle for world peace will prevail". (Cumhuriyet, 14.09.1964).

coalition government which was formed after the coup. After the May 27 coup d'état, coalition governments were formed one after another in the parliamentary system, which was trying to create space for itself under the shadow of the military. The first coalition government was formed between CHP (Republican People's Party) and AP (Justice Party- The successor of the Democratic Party ousted from power through the coup). However, the first coalition government failed as a result of the controversy that erupted when JP wants to bring the issue of general amnesty to the parliament. The second coalition government is formed, this time consisting of CHP, YTP (New Turkey Party), CKMP (Republican Villagers Nation Party), and independents. This time, tensions over the accusation of *not protecting the legacy of May 27th* resulted in the fall of the government again. In December 1963, in the days when the Cyprus tension began to occupy the agenda of Turkey, İnönü held talks to form the 3rd coalition government. The 3rd coalition government, which took the deportation decision, was a minority government formed by the RPP with the support of the independents in the parliament. Although the deportation decision was taken primarily to force Greece into bilateral negotiations, the deportation of the Rums of Istanbul became a lifeline that the government clung to when it was in a difficult situation in domestic politics. In the existing literature "the weak coalition government" finds a place as an assumption, but the relation between "the weakness of the government" and the implementation of deportation is not discussed in detail.

The potential for opposition parties to rally behind the masses, who harbor resentment toward the RPP and İnönü in power after the coup, and those who perceived the government's Cyprus policy as ineffective or weak, kept the minority government on alert. At this juncture, the government is not only utilizing Rum Polites to put Greece, its counterpart in the Cyprus crisis, in a difficult position but it

is also strategically targeted the Rum Polites in a way to appease its disgruntled constituents. This involves decisions to deport Greek citizens, imposing sanctions on the Patriarchate, and placing minority schools under scrutiny—all instrumentalized Rum Polites within domestic politics as a means to persuade disheartened voters.

Upon close examination of the period, it becomes evident that during times when the minority government faced internal political challenges and encountered substantial criticism from the opposition, it directed its focus towards the Istanbulite Rums. For instance, during the winter of 1964, the sending of UN troops to Cyprus was on the agenda, but this was delayed. When the news continued that Turks in Cyprus were facing starvation, were being blockaded, taken hostages and killed, the national security of Turkey (including the prime minister, minister of defense, domestic affairs, and foreign affairs, and high-rank commanders of armed forces) decided to send an ultimatum to the government of Cyprus to inform that unless the attacks against Turkish Cypriots ended and the hostages were set free, Turkey would be obliged to intervene unilaterally according to the right defined in Treaty of Guarantee.[192] American ambassador Raymond Hare informed Turkish foreign Minister Erkin that the United States would work for the landing of a UN force as soon as possible and for 24 hours of delay to send it. (Cumhuriyet, 13.3.1964). On 13 March 1964, the ultimatum was sent to Cyprus. The government informed the British

[192] The explanation of the decision was given as follows: (1) Despite the declaration of the UN security council that it would take measures to maintain peace and security in Cyprus and decision on sending peacekeepers to the island, the rationale for the decision was a deterioration of peace and security on the island by the Greek Cypriot leaders by means of threatening the Turks, evacuation of their villages, murdering, and attempt of cleansing by Greek Cypriots before the peace forces reach to the island. Truce demanded the immediate stop of hostilities by EOKAist against Turks such as assaults, massacres, looting, arson, robbery, rape, and torture, disregarding principles of human rights, international law, and violating the treaties; a ceasefire all over the island and handing of mortal remains. In the opposite case, (Turkey decides to notify the UK, Greece, and the USA, among the parties of the agreement, that Turkey will intervene on the island in compliance with the 16 August 1960 Guarantee Agreement.

and American Ambassadors in Ankara, telling them that in 36 hours, Turkish troops would invade Cyprus unless Greek Cypriots stooped their attack. According to UN press release on 11 March 1964, the USA, in order to move promptly to stop the further needless loss of life and expedite the process of deployment of a UN force to Cyprus, contributed up to 2 million dollars to the 6 million fund which was needed for the quick establishment of the international force as soon as possible. (Press release CYP/813 11; Cumhuriyet, 14.3.1964).

After UN peacekeepers were sent to Cyprus, the government deterred from its decision to land troops on the island, and consequently the anger about Cyprus was directed to the government. For instance, 100,000 students and workers attended the Saraçhane rally which was organized by the National Student Federation and the National Turkish Student Union on March 15 in Istanbul. In the meeting, the crowds called on the government to resign for the first time. For many, İnönü government only recommended patience and calmness, as it was expressed at the Ankara rally, and they invited the government to be more energetic.[193] The government which was the target of social anger, to show its seriousness, asked for

[193] On 14 March morning, more than 20 thousand university students hold a public demonstration in Ankara. At noon, civil servants and high school students also attend the rally. The crowd sung the Anthem "Olur mu Böyle Olur mu" with revised words sung: "Does Cyprus be left to the Greeks/ Bloody EOKAists / Will this world be left to you". The slogans as "Army go to Cyprus" and "Jets go to Cyprus" were shouted. A puppet of Makarios was also burned. The demonstration started with the national anthem, and then the moment of silence was observed for those who died in Cyprus. Speaker students say that military intervention in Cyprus is inevitable, and they can no longer tolerate the persecution of EOKA gangs in Cyprus. They then march towards the National Assembly with banners "we believe and trust in the army", "we wait for the army"". "Cyprus is Turkish and will remain Turkish", "we are 30 million coming for you"'. They come to the back door of the parliament and sing the national anthem, shouting the slogans "the army to Cyprus" and "Cyprus is Turkish, it will remain Turkish." Then the crowd proceeded to the general staff and shouted slogans in favor of the army. The chief of general staff intelligence, who comes out to talk to the students, says, "As you know, states are run by governments, I want you to believe that our government will do the best for the Cyprus issue." Then, Cyprus soil is left to the chief of general staff. After coming to Kızılay, the crowd disperses. (Cumhuriyet, 14.3.1964)

special authorization[194] from the Turkish parliament on 16 march 1964 to land troops in Cyprus and to intervene in the case of necessity which the parliament granted. With this decision, it was announced in the Official newspapers that some of the rights of Greek nationals in Turkey have been revoked (Resmi Gazete, 17.3.1964).[195]

Faced with internal political challenges, the vulnerable coalition government strategically directed its focus towards the Rums of Istanbul as a means to navigate through the difficulties it encountered in domestic politics. On June 4, 1964, only three days before the elections for the senate, the government, unable to find what it was looking for from the UN and cornered by the last moves of the Cyprus administration, decided to land troops in Cyprus after an hours-long cabinet meeting and informed the US Ambassador Raymond Hare of the decision (Cumhuriyet, 05.06.1964). Upon these developments, the ambassador requested a 24-hour and ensured that the government would not take any steps. The next day, Hare arrives at the Prime Ministry to deliver a letter sent by US President Johnson to İnönü and

---

[194] "In accordance with Article 66 of the Constitution, it was decided to allow the sending of Turkish Armed Forces to Cyprus, when necessary, in accordance with international law agreements in force since their date of signing, signed between the Republic of Turkey, the Kingdom of Greece, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Cyprus on 16 August 1960 in Nicosia. I respectfully submit it on behalf of the Council of Ministers". (in the report, 16.03.1964). The proposal was voted on, 489 attended, 485 agreed.

[195] Upon the announcement of the news, congratulatory telegrams are sent directly to the Prime Minister. In the first of these telegrams dated 18.03.1964, the officials of the Izmir municipality say, "While we cordially congratulate your decision to unilaterally terminate the concession agreements that allowed the Greek nationals to exploit our country for years, we look forward to your efforts in this matter to turn to the patriarchate."[195] In another, Yüksel Hazar, the head of the Turkish Tourism Promotion Association from Istanbul, writes that he is very happy that the decision to make Rums leave beautiful Turkey has been taken. Kadıköy Direkli Passage shopkeepers, on the other hand, state that they wholeheartedly support the decision taken regarding the deportation of Greek nationals and that they welcome this decision (BCA 30-1-0-0/38-228-5).
The press also supports the decision to deport the Rums. Hergün newspaper (17.3.1964) argues that it was too late to take the deportation decision and asks "why has this not been done so far". It is claimed on March 18 that the decision to deport 12582 Greeks surprised the Rums. News of the Çanakkale Victory accompany the news that Greek nationals will be deported; the expulsion decision is seen as a new victory. At the end of this whole process shaped by historical background, cultural context, and revailing political forces, the deportation of Rums of Istanbul started to come true.

answered the questions of journalists by saying that “I am not here to make a deal, but to bring a message”. The content of the letter, which would be disclosed in 1966, after the AP came to power, was not fully known at the time, but it was reported in the press that this intervention prevented the government from making a landing (*Hürriyet,* 05-06.06.1964).[196] In the days following election, the equivalency of 7 Greek schools is revoked (*Cumhuriyet*, 09.06.1964)[197] and a new list of 49 Greek nationals to be deported is published (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.06.1964). While İnönü's response to Johnson has been eagerly awaited, US Deputy Secretary of State Ball and NATO Secretary General Stikker arrived in Ankara. These meetings are seen in the press as "Turkey will intervene in Cyprus if the US fails to settle the dispute" (*Cumhuriyet*, 12.06.1964). The tension of the possible war escalatesd with the positioning of the 6th Fleet off Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.06.1964) and the arrival of 3 Russian warships in the Mediterranean. İnönü accepts Johnson's invitation to the US after long negotiations with representatives of NATO and of the USA. However, İnönü, the Prime Minister of the coalition government, which had lost power after the senatorial elections, asks for a vote of confidence in the parliament regarding the government's Cyprus policy before his trip to the US (Cumhuriyet, 16.06.1964). The opposition suggested İnönü to withdraw the vote of confidence; nonetheless the Prime Minister insisted and stated that he could not stay in office if he did not receive a vote of confidence. Thereupon, one after another, the opposition parties declared that they would not give a vote of confidence (Cumhuriyet, 18.06.1964).

---

[196] After the Truman Doctrine, until Johnson's letter to İnönü, Turkey was unquestionably on the American side in foreign policy, but after this letter, it is accepted that Turkey tried to pursue a more balanced foreign policy.

[197] The schools whose recognition was revoked are as follows: Beşiktaş Rum, Beyoğlu Rumber numbered 3, Boyacıköy, Büyükdere, Tarabya, Yeniköy, Ortaköy Rum Primary Schools. It is also reported that the equivalence of Sahok Mesropyan Armenian Primary School was also revoked.

President Gürsel stepped in and sent a letter to the party leaders warning them: "Anyone who votes in a way to cause a government crisis at a time when the Cyprus conflict is about to be resolved will be held historically responsible" (Cumhuriyet, 19.06.1964). In the parliamentary debates, the opposition parties expressed their disappointment with the Western alliance and argued that Turkey should pursue an independent and solid Cyprus policy. As a result of these debates, İnönü received a vote of confidence by only 6 votes. On the same day, the largest list of Greek nationals to be deported (101 people) was announced (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.06.1964).

The 1964 deportation became possible within the specific conditions of Turkey in that year, accompanied by the ongoing the habitus of precarity. Regulations aimed at restricting the life practices of Greek citizens, who were exempt from the population exchange, were already on the agenda. However, masses mobilized by militarism and anticommunism exerted pressure on the Rums of Istanbul as well as on the minority government established after the coup, deeming it inadequate in Cyprus policy. As a result, the deportation of Greek citizens became inevitable. Within the given frame, two questions may be asked: Why did the deportation turn into mass migration? What specific conditions within the Rum community led to the departure of thousands of people from Istanbul in a short period?

4.1.2 In pursuit of future: Understanding Rum Polites migration amidst political challenges

In the early years of the Republic, a Greek individual witnessed the unemployment of his relatives due to the 1932 Law No. 2007 (profession ban law). In 1942, he was dispossessed due to the Wealth Tax. If he was a Turkish citizen, he was conscripted

into military service in 1941 under the Incidents of Reserves Non-Muslims without being handed a weapon and was employed in labor-intensive tasks behind the front lines. Any stability achieved after the Wealth Tax and the Incidents of Reserves period did not last long. In 1955, he experienced a pogrom. By the year 1964, when the Cyprus crisis began, he must have been a weary individual, having witnessed a disruption in one out of every ten years of his life. On the other hand, Istanbulite Rums in 1964 not only faced the deportation practices of their government but also became targets in their daily encounters; their living spaces were restricted. Following the increased attention to Cyprus in the Turkish public, nationalist student federations organized boycott actions against Greek stores and businesses, which gained mass participation. In the escalating boycott after the deportation decision, students harassed shop owners by placing signs on store windows and doors saying, "Citizen, do not shop from those who economically exploit you, because the money he gives is used as bullets against your brothers in Cyprus". They also attempted to obstruct customers who wanted to shop from these stores. During periods of heightened social tension from the 1930s onwards, the "Citizen Speak Turkish" campaign, which had become a tool of oppression in daily life, was recalled and used as a means of harassment against Rums in daily encounters. The institutions of the Rum community (patriarchate, schools and foundations) were systematically undermined. The Patriarchate's printing press was closed down, its metropolitans were deported, and the discussions about the demolition of the walls of the Patriarchate and its deportation occupied the agenda for a long time (Macar, 2012; Akgönül, 2007). The minority schools, on the other hand, were targeted with the enactment of Law No. 222 in 1961, a few years before the deportation decision; all minority schools were placed under the Private Schools Department of the Ministry

of National Education, rendering them ineligible for the minority conditions outlined in the Treaty of Lausanne. Following this policy against minority schools, the following practices were implemented: (1) The prohibition of Orthodox religious figures from entering Rum minority schools on March 27, 1964; (2) on September 15, 1964, the banning of morning prayers and resource materials such as Greek textbooks and encyclopedias in Greek schools through Directive No. 3885; (3) the appointment of Turkish deputy directors to limit the powers of minority principals and render them ineffective in Rum schools; (4) the unjustified dismissal of Greek teachers and directors; (5) the frequent visits of official inspectors to Greek schools, causing anxiety among school administrations and students (Alexandris, 2019); (6) the denial of necessary renovation permits for school buildings in need of repair, but in return, the removal of all symbols reminiscent of Rum culture in Rum schools (such as covering Greek writings, closing architectural elements reminiscent of the cross symbol);[198] and the removal of the children/grandchildren of Epirus-born Greek nationals registered as Albanian Orthodox or Bulgarian Orthodox from Rum schools.[199] Moreover, On May 7, 1964, based on the proposal of the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of the Interior decided to relocate associations such as Women, Charity for the Poor, Culture, and Alumni of Greek Schools, which operate within the buildings of Rum schools but are deemed problematic to be present on school premises. These associations were directed to continue their activities outside the school premises in locations approved by the governorship (*Akşam*, 7 Mayıs 1964). Last but not least, displacement plan implemented in Imbros

[198] The interview with Paraskevas, 21.06.2022, Athens. Paraskevas, a Turkish citizen, was not deported, but left Istanbul in the beginning of 1970s because of political reasons. However, he witnessed the deportation of his relatives and classmates.
[199] The interview with Evangelos, 06.05.2022, Athens.

and Tenedos (Katsanos & Macar, 2019; Korucu, 2022; Tansuğ, 2018), further intensified the political atmosphere. The press, with its content and rhetoric targeting Rum Polites, increased psychological pressure on them and served to normalize/legitimize anti-minority policies. The possibility of an impending war also caused more anxiety for Rums of Istanbul about their future; especially for those of military age, the fear of being drafted and mistreated during wartime was inevitable. Rums, as Turkish citizens, were not deported but their living spaces were restricted. Over time, the texture of the city changed, and as the remaining ones became more visible, they became more vulnerable, feeling unsafe in the neighborhoods where they were born and raised. The exile made both the departing (Greek citizens) and the remaining Rums (Turkish citizens) more fragile.

The deportations in the summer of 1964 gained mass dimensions. According to Uzunoglu, as a result of the pressure and discouraging actions applied to the Rum community since the end of 1963, the population decreased from around 90,000 to about 30,000 within 12 months. With this significant decrease in population, the "plan for Istanbul to remain without Rums during the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul in 1953", which was mentioned in the minority report prepared by the Republican People's Party in 1946, was realized to a great extent with a delay of 11 years (Uzunoglu, 2019, p. 356-357). According to Cengiz Aktar, after the departure of 12,000 Greek nationals, along with their relatives and 30,000 Turkish citizen Rums, the number of those expelled reached 45,000 within a year (Aktar, 2019, p. 374). Samim Akgönül also draws attention to the mass migration resulting from the exile; he states, "Of course, the families of the 12,000 Greek citizens deported also followed, and within a few months, more than 40,000

Istanbul Rum left cities, jobs, schools, and loved ones behind forever" (Akgönül, 2019, p. 381).

In addition to the aforementioned push factors, it is necessary to also mention the pull factors influencing mass migration. Arguing that the sole cause of the mass migration of Rums of Istanbul in 1964 was the deportation would be an incomplete argument. The climate of unrest before and after the exile contributed to the departure of thousands of Rums from the country. However, it is important to consider the potential impact of Greece's economic growth in the 1960s, known as "The Greek Economic Miracle" (Greek: Ελληνικό οικονομικό θαύμα) (Vetsopoulos, 2002), and its perception as a safer place compared to Turkey. Especially in testimonies of individuals who were not deported but decided to leave Turkey during the exile period, economic growth in Greece and its portrayal as a promising place were highlighted. The capital transfers such as war reparations and Marshall Plan support, along with the growth of the construction sector in major cities like Athens and Thessaloniki due to foreign investment and the absence of import restrictions, presented potential gains for Istanbul Rum artisans. Moreover, the import restrictions imposed by import substitution policies in post-coup Turkey had no counterpart in Greece; the devaluation of the drachma brought foreign investment into the country, paving the way for potential gains in trade. As Turkey grew increasingly tumultuous, particularly amidst ongoing tensions over Cyprus and the surge in political violence in the mid-1960s, Greece emerged as a relatively secure refuge for Istanbulite Rums, who had previously steered clear of political involvement. Simultaneously, for Rum

Polites accustomed to maintaining political neutrality, Greece, post the 1967 coup,[200] evolved into a comparatively safe haven devoid of daily conflicts. All these reasons can be seen as economic and political motivations for individuals forced to migrate.[201] On the other hand, it should be noted that during the 1940s when Greece was occupied and witnessed an internal war and the poverty-stricken 1950s, Turkey's Rum population, targeted by anti-minority policies during the same period, did not view Greece as a destination. Field research revealed numerous testimonies of individuals who went to Athens after the Septemvriana to explore the possibility of establishing a life there. Many of these testimonies comprised stories of individuals who, upon finding the conditions and opportunities in Athens unpromising, returned to Istanbul.[202] Therefore, Greece's relative stability and livability in the 1960s can be considered and pull factor influencing the mass migration of Rums.[203]

---

[200] From 1967 to 1974, Greece was under the rule of the Greek junta, also known as the Regime of the Colonels. This military dictatorship, led by Georgios Papadopoulos initially and later Dimitrios Ioannidis, emerged through the overthrow of the caretaker government just a month before scheduled elections. The junta's regime was marked by right-wing ideology, anti-communist policies, curtailment of civil liberties, and the harsh treatment of political opponents, including imprisonment, torture, and exile. Despite an attempt to gain renewed support through a 1973 referendum on the monarchy and gradual democratization, the junta faced another coup by hardliner Dimitrios Ioannidis. The regime ultimately collapsed on July 24, 1974, triggered by the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. This event led to the Metapolitefsi ("regime change"), transitioning Greece from dictatorship to democracy and the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic (Clogg & Yannopoloulos, *Greece under Military Rule*).

[201] I express my gratitude to my dear professor, Herkül Millas, who pointed out this topic during our discussions, prompting me to contemplate it further. Furthermore, I thank him for encouraging me to ask questions about this issue to my interviewees and compile their testimonies.

[202] I came across instances where only three individuals, anticipating potential needs, purchased a house or land in Athens as a precaution after Septemvriana. One of these individuals would be deported in 1964, another would settle in Athens with their family even if not deported in 1964, and the third would leave Istanbul in the late 1960s. In other testimonies, despite the pogrom, Athens was still not seen as a preferable and livable place compared to Istanbul.

[203] Uzunoglu does not incorporate the advocated push factors into this context; he states, "The low migration rate between 1955-1963 (10%) is not solely related to Greece's recent emergence from the civil war; the reason is the strong ties with the community's traditions, the efforts of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and most importantly, people's profound love for the lands of their birth" (Uzunoglu, “Geçmişin İnsan Hakları İhlalleri Telafisiz Kalırsa”, p. 358). However, testimonies from Istanbul Rums who came to Athens in the 1950s to assess the possibility of moving here in the future, saw the post-war poverty of the city, changed their minds, and returned, raised questions about this argument during field research.

After outlining a general framework and discussing the conditions under which deportation became possible, we can turn to the testimonies of those directly affected by the deportation, the subjects of this experience.

4.2 Various paths of deportation: The demise of familiar lives

In 1964, due to inter-communal conflicts in Cyprus, Turkey, one of the guarantor countries of the Republic of Cyprus established in 1960, sought to bring Greece, another guarantor country, to the negotiating table. To achieve this, on March 16, 1964, Turkey abrogated the 1930 Residence, Trade, and Navigation Agreement, which legitimized the residence of Greek nationals in Turkey. This termination led to a series of economic sanctions, including the suspension of land registry transactions involving Greek nationals, freezing of bank accounts, and asset seizures for potential tax debts. According to the agreement's terms, Greek nationals were given a six-month window to leave Turkey. However, 1078 individuals were deported during this period, accused of engaging in activities detrimental to security of Turkey.[204]

In April 1964, during the Easter period, the visa exemption agreement allowing visa-free travel between Turkey and Greece, signed in 1955, was terminated. Greek citizens of Greek nationality who were abroad (or in Greece) during this period were unable to return to Turkey (*Yeni Sabah*, 7.4.1964).

The summer of 1964 witnessed escalated conflicts in Cyprus, the looming threat of war, and heightened political tensions on the international stage, making it the peak period of mass forced migration. Between June 1964 and mid-August, a noticeable increase occurred in the number and frequency of deportations. From mid-

[204] According to the consular report dated January 8, 1966, the total number of individuals deported due to harmful activities is 1078. The consular report can be seen in the Appendix D.

September 1964, Greek citizens whose residence permits were not renewed during the six-month period following the termination of the agreement, continued to depart the country in groups. This situation persisted until early 1966 when the two-year-long residence permits expired.[205]

In light of this process, Greek citizens who left Turkey in 1964 can be categorized as follows: (1) those deported for harmful activities; (2) those unable to return due to the visa agreement's cancellation; (3) those not officially deported but compelled to leave due to unrenewed residence permits; and (4) those who left before their residence permits expired, driven by the uncertain political atmosphere or a perceived lack of future prospects in Turkey. When Greek citizens left Turkey accompanied by their family members or relatives who were Turkish citizens, the departure of Rums from İstanbul became massive. This historical period is today viewed as the beginning of the terminationof Istanbul's Greek community. [206]

4.2.1 From etabli to exile: Greek citizens deported due to harmful activities

In the spring and summer of 1964, following the termination of the agreement, those deported without waiting for the recognized six-month period were accused of engaging in harmful activities against Turkey. During the initial weeks of the deportation practice, individuals were often deported with a police escort, without the opportunity to bid farewell to their relatives, and in a very short period. However, in

[205] Ioannis Iakovidis asserts in his doctoral thesis that the implementation of deportations continued until 1968; however, he does not provide a specific reference to support this claim. Nonetheless, Examining the notification lists compiled by the Ministry of the Interior, it is noteworthy that the final notification was issued in February 1966. The notification indicated that the concerned Greek citizen was expected to depart the country on March 11, 1966. I thank Nikolaos Uzunoglu for sharing related document from his archive with me.

[206] The term "termination" here refers to the diasporization of Rum Polites, necessitating them to sustain their existence outside of Istanbul.

the subsequent weeks of the deportation process, individuals slated for deportation were given a one-week period if they could present a Turkish citizen as a guarantor. Bank accounts were frozen for the prospective tax debts of those to be deported, and official authorities seized assets in homes and workplaces to cover potential unpaid taxes.[207] The exit of these assets from the country was prohibited. With the confidential decree numbered 6/3801 dated November 2, 1964,[208] the disposal of assets of deported Greek nationals was halted.[209] Individuals deported for harmful

[207] On April 17, 1964, the Ministry of Finance requested information from all banks on the account status of Greek nationals; on May 7, all accounts of Greek nationals were blocked. After this date, Greek nationals will be able to carry out bank transactions only through intermediaries and only under the supervision of the authorities. Moreover, Greece brought the deported Greek citizens to the agenda of the United Nations in September 1964. In the talks held on September 11, 1964, Greece's permanent spokesperson Bitsios summarized Turkey's deportation process and stated that the bank accounts of Greek citizens were frozen and title deed transactions were suspended, He also mentions that taxation was also used as a weapon and Greek citizens were asked to pay enormous sums of money, not proportional to their income and several times what they would have paid in taxes in the past, but they were absolutely unable to pay because their bank accounts were frozen and the sale of their real estate was made impossible, while the Turkish administration confiscated their personal property, goods, furniture and even personal belongings (UN Security Council official records, 19th year, 1146th meeting, 11 September 1964, New York).

[208] As mentioned before, this decree, based on Law No. 1062, was put into effect as a retaliatory measure against Greek nationals, both individuals and legal entities, through the Cabinet's Decision No. 6/3801. It remained in effect for many years. In the context of the Turkish-Greek rapprochement, Prime Minister Turgut Özal decided to revoke the 1964 decree. The Cabinet officially abolished it on February 3, 1988. It was revealed that the number of confiscated properties was 2,902 (Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 273). However, I must emphasize that even after this date, inheritance lawsuits filed by heirs of Greek nationals did not result in their favor.

Following the deportation of Greek nationals, their blocked receivables were gathered in a fund held by the Central Bank. While Greek authorities estimate the confiscated real estate's value at $500 million, Turkish authorities assess it at $200 million (Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 273; Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul,* p. 285). In addition, considering the TR-CPI 2013 index and inflation data from 1964 to 1988 for the blocked deposits in the bank, a calculation reveals that the purchasing power of 100 lira in 1964 was equivalent to 34,988 lira in 1988. In other words, the buying power of the same amount in Turkish lira assets during this period decreased by almost two-thirds. Hence, there is a possibility that the blocked deposits in the bank in 1964 might return to the rightful owners in 1988 with at least a 65% loss in value.

[209] While the primary focus of this decree was directed towards individuals subjected to deportation, testimonies have indicated that the decree was implemented concerning the property and assets of Greek nationals not subjected to deportation as well. For instance, one interviewee's father, a Greek national residing in Istanbul until 2000 and exempted from deportation due to his Catholic faith (information on those who were not deported due to their religious sect will be provided in the following pages), subsequently encountered posthumous implications. Following his demise, his son, a Greek citizen, could not be acknowledged as the heir, citing the provisions of the aforementioned decree (The interview with Konstantinos, 09.06.2022, Athens).

activities were only allowed to take $20 (200 lira) in cash and personal belongings weighing 20 kilograms, including clothing, a set of utensils, and a cup, with them.

In the standard deportation procedure, individuals slated for deportation were officially notified through the delivery of formal notices by two police officers following the publication of their names in newspapers or announcements on the radio. Subsequently, they were summoned to the Foreigners' Branch of the Sirkeci Police Department. Here, individuals underwent various procedures such as fingerprinting, photographing, height measurement, and a general health examination.[210] Additionally, the designated officers typewrote statements for the individuals to sign, containing assertions that were not allowed to be read. These statements indicated that the individuals had voluntarily left the country, violated currency protection laws, were members of the Elleniki Enosis association, which was closed in the late 1950s for engaging in political activities against Turkey, and admitted to having involved in certain crimes such as sending money to EOKA in Cyprus.[211] This effort to legitimize the deportation practice on paper appears to have been intended to serve as evidence for the charge of harmful activities, to be utilized

[210] According to deported Greek citizen Angelopoulos, oral examination was conducted as part of the health check, during which the presence of gold teeth in individuals was examined (Akar, 2014, p. 17-20).

[211] A testimony regarding the procedures at the police station describes the events as follows: "…And, of course, I remember that on the same day, he went to the Police Office, and when he returned, he was in a complete state of chaos because he had experienced an incident where one police officer played the role of a villain, threatening him, while the other played the role of a good person, urging him to sign a paper he did not read. In essence, the accusation was that he was charged with conspiring to strengthen Cyprus Archbishop Makarios. This was the official pretext. He had never been involved in such matters in his life, and he was not a political person. We were not allowed to be political. We had no political opinions on these matters because we were living in a terror environment" (Δρινη, *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες*, p.128). In another testimony, they were made to sign statements that they had paid money to EOKA by writing completely fabricated figures in pre-prepared statements in dotted blank spaces, and those who tried to read these statements were subjected to violence (Δρινη, *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες*, p.121).

when necessary. The prevalence of rumors regarding ill-treatment of individuals who refused to sign the statements[212] and their alleged confinement in small and narrow cells known as "coffin cells" on the upper floor of the police station, where they were subjected to torture, was so widespread that individuals, fearing torture, reportedly signed these statements without contesting the fabricated allegations of engaging in harmful activities.[213]

Following the procedures at the police station, Greek citizens would go to the Greek Consulate to inform the consulate about the situation. In Istanbul, records were kept on frozen bank accounts, property left behind and prohibited for sale/transfer, and economic losses were registered through the consulate to officially register economic losses. Furthermore, the consulate collaborated with Olympic Airlines to facilitate the departure of individuals slated for deportation from the country. Flights were organized, and, for those in need, complimentary plane tickets were provided, with subsequent payment arrangements for those with relative financial means. However, particularly in instances where there was an increase in the frequency of deportations and lists of individuals to be deported, those expelled departed from the city via sea, road, and rail transportation.

In September 1964, Greece brought the deportation of its Greek citizens to the attention of the United Nations. The Greek ambassador Bitsios emphasized that

---

[212] While describing the process at the police station, a deported witness recounts witnessing violence against an individual who, when presented with a blank white document and refused to sign, ultimately signed the document without objection (Yücel & Yıldız, "1964 Kuşağı: Atina'da Rum Kalmak", p. 321).

[213] A testimony regarding the rumors on violence in the police station explains the fears as following: "When we came home that night, we couldn't sleep due to excitement. The next morning, on Wednesday morning, he went to the Police Department. It was a building that instilled fear in Istanbulites because there were many rumors about what was happening there, especially in terms of pressure and torture…" (Δρινη, *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες*, p. 128). Another testimony reminds his father's excitement and fear after learning about the torture in the police station (The interview with Niki, 25.06.2022, Athens).

the expulsion of Greek citizens targeted Rum community as part of sanctions against Greece, asserting that the deportation practice constituted a violation of human rights. However, in the speech delivered by the ambassador, there is an additional emphasis on a distinct aspect concerning the legitimacy of the accusations directed at Greek citizens accused of engaging in harmful activities:

> Allow me to point out now that of 900 Greek citizens deported up to and including 24 July 1964, there were 120 persons more than seventy years old and about 20 in their eighties. Among these deportees, there were eight paralytics, three blind persons, one deaf-mute, two crippled persons, four insane persons and nine patients stricken with incurable illnesses. Deportation orders were even issued against individuals who have been dead for some time, for example against Iraklis Pamfilos, who died in 1963; Dimitrios Avgoustakis and Panayotis Panayotou, who died in 1962; Georges Rossopoulos, who died in 1959; Petros Sagredos, who died in 1958; and even against Constantin Kimoliatis, who died sixteen years ago! Perhaps someone could explain to us how all these deceased persons could now be receiving payments to support EOKA. It would not seem at all easy from beyond the grave! (UN Security Council official records, 19th year, 1146th meeting, 11 September 1964, New York)

In response to accusations of "criminal subversive activities" by expelled individuals, the Turkish ambassador to the United Nations, Eralp, initially denied any vindictive intent and admitted that deceased individuals' names might have appeared on the expulsion lists due to potential reporting errors by Greek citizens. Despite acknowledging the inclusion of deceased persons, Eralp maintained that the expulsions were not punitive measures against Greek nationals in Turkey. Neutral members of the Council, including the Soviet president Marazov, condemned the mass deportation, emphasizing its humanitarian aspects. Despite widespread diplomatic criticisms, there was no Western intervention to persuade Turkey to alleviate the situation for Rums in Istanbul, resulting in over 6,000 Greek citizens being deported from Turkey by September 1965 (Alexandris, 1992, p. 283).

The Greek citizens who were deported both before 1964 and in the first weeks following the annulment of the treaty were well-known, wealthy, or affluent.

They drew attention either for criticizing government policies or for their wealth, making them subjects of state scrutiny. Therefore, in the first half of 1964, when the practice of deportation based on harmful activities commenced, humble Rums did not entertain the possibility that they could become targets; the idea did not even cross their minds. However, within a few weeks, it would be a matter of time for any Greek citizen to be deported on charges of harmful activity.

Pashalis' father, Panagiotis, was a modest shoemaker. When the deportation measures began, he was almost certain he would not be deported; after all, until the spring of 1964, only prominent community members, association members, or journalists had been deported. That was why he cried in surprise when he learned that he was being deported, he was sure it was a mistake. After receiving the notification, he left Istanbul within a few days.[214] Athanasios' father, Nikolaos, learned in June 1964 that he would be deported from two police officers visiting his grocery store in Karaköy. When he asked the police why he was being expelled, he received the response, "Go ask Makarios." In the week granted to leave Istanbul, he showed his son the workings of the store and explained financial matters. He left Istanbul in great sorrow.[215] Adonis, Andreas's father, was equally surprised to learn about his deportation since, according to Andreas, his father had no connection to the accusations leveled against him; he couldn't even point out Cyprus on a map. Adonis, an electrician working for a French company, lost his job in 1932 due to a law banning his profession. Responsible for a large family, including three children, his wife, sister, and mother, Adonis had to sell their house in Sakızağacı during that challenging period to make ends meet. Recalling his childhood years marked by

[214] The interview with Pashalis, 28.06.2022, Athens.
[215] The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.

poverty and financial struggles, Andreas expressed concern and sadness about his aging father's deportation in the 1960s, as Adonis, at the age of 66, was physically unable to work. After learning about his deportation from the newspaper, Adonis went through standard procedures, borrowed a suitcase from a relative, and left Istanbul within a week.[216]

On the other hand, for the Rums who had spent their lives in Istanbul, primarily constituting the middle-class tradesmen, being reputable and recognized as trustworthy individuals held significant importance. Consequently, being accused of engaging in harmful activities and having one's name, photographs, and address published in newspapers equated to social death for those individuals whose lives were built upon ethical values. Therefore, when Danai's father, Manolis, saw his name on the list of individuals to be deported for engaging in harmful activities, he experienced profound distress. Manol worked as a greengrocer in the fish market. Starting his day early in the morning, he would go to the wholesale market, procure the freshest fruits and vegetables, work in his shop throughout the day, and return home once evening sales concluded. The nature of his work, conducted outdoors throughout the day in the morning chill, had prematurely aged him. In the summer of 1964, both his son and Danai's fiancé were in the military.[217] The family was already on edge due to the prospect of potential war, given their sons' military service. However, the worst had not yet happened.

---

[216] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.

[217] It should not be surprising that the father, a Greek citizen, had a Turkish citizen son, as mentioned in the introduction, mixed-nationality families were quite common. If one parent was a Turkish citizen and the other a Greek citizen, children were considered dual citizens until the age of 18. Upon reaching the age of 18, male children had the right to choose one of the two citizenships. If they chose Turkish citizenship, they were obligated to fulfill their military service. The situation was different for female children; even if they chose Greek citizenship, they could opt for Turkish citizenship if they married a Turkish citizen.

Danai frequently visited her fiancé's family in Kadıköy, spending some nights there. On the morning of August 6, while having coffee with her mother-in-law, her father-in-law, who owned a grocery store on the downstairs, entered with a newspaper in hand and said “Danai, I saw your father’s name in the newspaper…” but couldn't continue. When Danai realized that her father would be deported on charges of harmful activities, she immediately gathered herself to go home. As she boarded the ferry from Kadıköy, tears streaming down her face, she thought she would never smile again and could no longer find happiness in life. Upon arriving home, she found her mother alone. Her father, upon seeing his name associated with harmful activities in the newspaper, felt ashamed and, unwilling to be seen being taken to the police station by the police in the neighborhood where he had lived and worked for years, went to the police station spontaneously before receiving any official notification. "What can a person do in a week?" Danai would later say. "They allowed him to take two suitcases. We went to Kapalıçarşı, bought the largest suitcase, what can you put in two suitcases? We put his clothes and our pictures".[218]

The publication of lists prepared both in line with both domestic and foreign policies during the deportation process, served the dual purpose of appeasing angry crowds expecting sanctions from a weak government and sending a harsh message that showcased the government's ruthless stance against Greek nationals allegedly

[218] The interview with Danai, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki. Danai’s father, a Greek citizen, faced the prospect of deportation. However, Danai's uncle, who shared a business partnership with her father, held Turkish citizenship. To circumvent potential job loss resulting from the Law of Dismissal from Profession enacted in 1932 (Law no 2007), Danai’s uncle obtained Turkish citizenship. Since holding Turkish citizenship would have hindered his brother's presence at work due to his obligation to fulfill mandatory military service for a specified duration, Danai's father chose to retain his Greek citizenship.
Following Danai’s wedding in 1966, her mother also left Istanbul to be with her deported husband. Danai and her family moved to Thessaloniki in the early 1970s, deciding they would have no future in Turkey for themselves.

supporting those mistreating Turks in Cyprus. However, the gradual release of lists of individuals to be deported served to keep the public alert, constantly unsettling Rum Polites and serving as a warning to those not yet deported. For those anxiously searching for their names or the names of their loved ones with each new list, the process became a significant psychological burden. The constant fear of potential deportation made individuals more vulnerable, weakening their connection to their homes, jobs, families, relatives, neighbors, the city they grew up in, and their daily routines. It instilled a sense of alienation and rootlessness, threatening to sever the ties they had built with their own worldviews. Every morning, Akillas would wake up, immediately searching the newspapers with great anxiety and fear for his and his loved ones' names. The weeks of uncertainty were exhausting (Δρινη, 2004, p.50). Similarly, Agni, who spent months searching for her name and her loved ones' names on the list, became so overwhelmed by the uncertainty that she started praying for any clarity. One evening, when Agni saw her father coming with a newspaper on their street, she wondered, "I wonder, maybe he was finally deported?". When her father noticed her waiting by the window, he called out from a distance, "ade Agni"[219] Agni immediately understood that her father had been deported. She crossed herself, saying, "Thank God, it's finally over. Let's go; if something is going to happen, let it happen".[220] Dionysos learned about his impending deportation from a momentary pause of his friend reading the new expulsion list in the ferry from Burgazada to Istanbul. He went directly to the Sirkeci Police Station. When he expressed reluctance to sign the statement presented to him without reading it to a familiar police officer at the Foreigners' Department, the officer responded, "If you

[219] "Come on Agni"
[220] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens.

read it, we will take you to the border immediately under police escort. If you sign without reading, we will give you a few days to prepare," prompting Dionysos to sign the statement to bid farewell to his family. He left Istanbul a few days later (Δρινη, 2004, p.81). On the other hand, the departure date of an individual listed for deportation due to alleged harmful activities could be postponed, possibly by the intervention of influential figures. For instance, Grigoris' father, Christos, was engaged in the business of machine bobbin winding; he was a well-known electrician in Istanbul, undertaking electrical works for various state institutions. As a Greek citizen, Christos freely entered and exited missile bases located in different parts of Istanbul in 1962. During this time, since his apprentice was a Bulgarian citizen, he was not allowed entry these bases, but his son Grigoris, accompanied him. Recounting his father's work years later, Grigoris expressed astonishment, questioning, "How was he expelled in 1964 when he freely accessed all airbases in 1962?". Christos had also worked on the installation of some factories along the İzmit road. In early 1964, he took charge of the electrical system for the summer house construction of Nihat Erim, the then CHP Kocaeli deputy and responsible for the Cyprus negotiations in the coalition government. During the construction, a Greek worker under Christos's supervision died due to an electrical accident. Following this workplace accident in the early months of 1964, Christos faced legal proceedings. As the trial proceeded, Erim's house construction continued. In late May, Christos's name appeared in the deportation list published in the newspapers. He went to the police, had his photo taken, underwent a health check, and completed the necessary procedures. He was supposed to leave the country in the first week of June. In his last week in Istanbul, while awaiting deportation, Christos tried to wrap up his remaining tasks, as Erim's construction was not yet complete. Two nights

before his scheduled deportation, two police officers from the Bomonti Police Station informed Christos that due to an ongoing case, the prosecutor had imposed a travel ban, preventing him from leaving the country until the case was resolved. When Christos inquired how long he could stay in Istanbul, they informed him that he could not leave the country until his case was concluded. Although Christos's deportation was temporarily delayed due to the ongoing legal proceedings, his family experienced relief and took a breath. Christos continued his work, and ten days later, on the night he completed his job at Nihat Erim's house, the police returned to inform him that he had 48 hours to leave. Despite the ongoing trial, Christos was deported. The situation became apparent: Christos had been allowed to stay in Istanbul for an additional ten days to finish his work at Erim's house.[221]

4.2.2 Left behind: Implications of visa agreement conclusion for those unable to return

Greek citizens who were unable to return to Istanbul due to the cancellation of the visa agreement were included in the expulsion. Technically not deported but unable to return from abroad, the Istanbul Rums caught in this situation were quite unprepared. Thanos' mother Maria was also in Athens when the visa agreement was canceled. Maria had married Stathis in 1927, and although she was a Turkish citizen according to the citizenship law of the time, since she had married a foreigner - a Greek national - she lost her Turkish citizenship and became a Greek citizen.[222] The

[221] The interview with Grigoris, 06.06.2022, Athens.

[222] On June 4, 1928, with the enactment of Law No. 1312 on Turkish Citizenship, women were granted the right to preserve their own nationality. Under the previous Ottoman Nationality Law, Turkish women would lose their nationality directly when marrying a foreigner. Therefore, in marriages conducted after 1928, it became possible for the deported men to have Turkish citizen wives. The Citizenship Law No. 1312 of 1928, in this sense, provided women with the opportunity to retain their citizenship under any circumstance—whether marrying a Turkish citizen or a foreigner (Yılmaz & Konya, "Cumhuriyet'in Kuruluşunda Birey ve Devlet İlişkisi").

couple had 4 children over the years, and when their youngest child Georgios was a student at Zografeion High School, the family moved to Kurtuluş in the early 60's to a new apartment they had just bought. However, Stathis was very upset when the boycott against the Rums, which started when the house was still in arrears, disrupted his business, he suffered great stress for fear of not being able to support his family and he quickly developed dementia. Stathis, a merchant who spoke seven different languages fluently, was unable to speak within a few weeks and started to give meaningless answers to the questions asked to him, and the family found the solution by bringing a physician from Germany. Shortly after examinations revealed that Stathis had developed a brain tumor due to the stress and was rapidly developing dementia, and died. A few weeks after her husband's death, in March 64, Maria went to visit her middle son, who had moved to Athens after Septemvriana, to see if she and her young son Georgios could move to Athens. However, when the visa agreement was terminated, Maria was never able to return home to Istanbul.[223]

The famous producer, foreign film importer and distributor, director, and film critic Antonis Apostolu was another example unable to return to Istanbul due to being deported while in abroad. Apostolu produced newsreels and commercials for cinemas, imported films from Cannes and Venice festivals, and various European countries.[224] Starting from the early 1920s, he published cinema news and critiques in various magazines.[225] In 1964, while returning to Istanbul after attending the

[223] The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020, Athens; 20.05.2022, Athens.
[224] In 1932, he became one of the founding members of the Turkish Cinema Importers and Producers Association.
[225] In 1926, he served as the director and chief editor of the weekly magazine "Artistic Ciné-Organe du cinéma Oriental et Balkanique," published in French and Ottoman Turkish. In 1932, he held the positions of director and chief editor for the magazine "Sinema ve Tiyatro Heveskârı Mecmuası." Additionally, he contributed film reviews to “Hollywood” and “Sinema Meslek Mecmuları”. He was also the publisher of the 1944 edition of "Sinemanın İçyüzü" (Behind the Screen), translated by O.S.

Cannes Film Festival, he stayed in Athens for a few days. While reading a newspaper in a café in Klafthmonos Square, he learned from the list of those deported published in the newspaper that he was deported from Turkey. In the following days, he became aware that all his assets were frozen, and he couldn't return to Istanbul (Bozis, 2014, p. 169-171).

Uludağ, a book by Stephen Watts that delves into the art of film, artists, makeup, fashion, and set design in Hollywood. For further information, please see: Bozis. (2014). *Paris'ten Pera'ya Sinema ve Rum Sinemacılar*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

4.2.3 The end of permanence: Greek citizens deported due to expired residence permits

As of September 16, 1964, the implementation of deportation based on harmful activities comes to an end, as the 6-month termination period of the 1930 Residence, Commerce, and Navigation Agreement has expired. As previously mentioned, the deportation of Greek citizens on the grounds of engaging in harmful activities was legitimized by the relevant article (Article 36) allowing the "immediate deportation of individuals endangering the security of the country," which did not require waiting for the 6-month termination period of the annulled agreement. However, without the need for an additional reason, Greek citizens were deported from September 16, 1964, onwards due to the expiration of their residence permits.

Within the 1964 exile, the most significant group consisted of those compelled to leave the country due to the expiration of residence permits. According to the aforementioned consulate report dated January 11, 1966, there were 2,476 individuals who had to leave the country because their residence permits had expired; additionally, 232 individuals who had to leave the country due to reasons such as the cancellation of work permits could be categorized under the same heading.[226] However, during field research, I noticed that there was no standard duration for residence permits. For some families, residence permits consisted of one-year periods, while for others, a two-year residence permit was granted. The reason for the exile lasting more than two years was precisely tied to the expiration of these documents.

[226] The consulate report can be seen in the Appendix D.

Those whose residence permits had expired or were about to expire were relatively fortunate compared to those sent away on charges of harmful activities; as the date of their departure was more or less known, they had the opportunity to make preparations. For example, the expiration date of Michalis' father's residence permit was known, and eventually, he, along with his wife, had to leave their sons behind and go to Athens. As the departure date approached, they inquired about their son's intention to get married. Following Michalis' positive response, they had prepared for their son's engagement ceremony, creating an opportunity to meet their future daughter-in-law and her family face to face. Furthermore, Michalis' father, foreseeing his son's needs as a student, had been able to make a forward-looking plan. Since it was forbidden to transfer his shop, he had left all the goods in his shop to an acquaintance in exchange for ensuring that his son, still a university student, would receive regular allowance for a year.[227]

Vasilios' father, similarly, had to leave Istanbul with his wife because his residence permit had expired. This was not the first hardship experienced by this family, as shortly after their marriage, they lost all their belongings due to the implemented wealth tax; hence, Vasilios would remember the house where he spent his childhood as sparsely furnished and melancholic. When Vasilios turned 18, he chose Turkish citizenship. In 1962, while he was a university student, he took a break from school and went to a village in Gümüşhane to work as a teacher as a reserve officer. He followed the events in Cyprus on the radio during Christmas of 1963. When he visited his family in early 1964, he learned that Greek citizens would be

[227] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens.

deported, witnessing the fear of imminent deportation that his parents were living with.

After completing his military service and returning to Istanbul shortly thereafter, and with his father's residence permit about to expire, they went to the Foreigners' Department without waiting for any notification. His father was told that he had to leave Istanbul within a week. Vasilios' father and mother left Istanbul shortly afterward. Since those who completed their military service were allowed to leave the country after a certain period following the receipt of their discharge papers - which could be seen as a security measure against possible espionage when it came to Rums - Vasilios was able to join his family in Athens nine months after receiving his discharge papers. Years later, he would recount the events, saying, "The Turkish state made me a Turkish officer, and on the other hand, deported my father. These things are not normal, but it happened".[228]

Nevertheless, it is essential to consider that the duration of the process and the impact of deportation on thousands of people may not normalize the act of leaving one's family, home, neighborhood, job, and familiar life practices. Even though deportation was known in advance, it was a challenging experience. For example, Dafni's father, in 1965, suffered a heart attack when he learned a year after the start of the deportation process, close to the expiration of his permit, that he would leave the country through a notification that arrived at his home. He could not get out of bed during the last week in his home.[229] It was also extremely difficult for

[228] The interview with Vasilios, 07.06.2022, Athens.
[229] The interview with Dafni, 26.06.2022, Athens. Dafni started academic education in 1964, in the year her father was deported. She did not wish to leave Istanbul by quitting school, and her Turkish-citizen-mother supported Dafni's decision, and after her husband's departure from Istanbul, sustained their livelihood by giving private lessons. The mother and daughter lived in Istanbul until Dafni graduates. Dafni had to leave behind the scholarship that allowed her to and pursue postgraduate studies in Europe and teach at a university in Istanbul in return, in order to go to Athens to be with her father.

Rita's father to be deported. Despite a delay in the deportation date due to the intervention of the wealthy family he worked for, shortly after leaving Istanbul for good in 1965, he developed cancer and passed away shortly afterward. Rita held those responsible for her father's death accountable and has not forgiven those who caused the exile, even to this day.[230]

4.2.4 Deciding to leave: The stories of voluntarily departing Rums

During the deportation process, it was unclear who would be sent and for what reason; being accused of harmful activities was a matter of moments. If a Greek citizen was not accused of engaging in harmful activities, they would still have to leave when their permit expired. This uncertainty was particularly exhausting for some families. Since leaving Istanbul was inevitable, taking a step to facilitate the process of establishing a new order could make the transition easier. Therefore, some families left Istanbul before waiting for their Greek citizen family members to be deported. For example, Elias' family's residence permits would expire in September 1964, and they knew that the permits would not be renewed. At least their children could start school in Athens for the new academic year and find a place to stay before schools opened, so the family left Istanbul in the summer of 1964.[231] This must have been a widespread situation, as the voluntary departure of Istanbul Rums from the country made headlines in the newspapers in the fall of 1964.

In another family, the cause of concern was the deportation of a family member due to harmful activities. The four sons of a priest accused of engaging in harmful activities decided to leave the country without waiting for their residence

[230] The interview with Rita, 21.05.2022, Athens.
[231] The interview with Elias, 23.01.2020, Athens.

permits to expire, despite having valid permits. This situation created such anxiety within the family that the daughter-in-law, who came to see off the deported priest at the airport, was afraid to wait at the airport until the departure of her father-in-law, even though she was a Turkish citizen. Furthermore, fearing that she might be deported if her husband was deported and that she might not be allowed to leave the country, she had gone to Athens long before her husband's departure (Δρινη, 2004, p.101).

On the other hand, the uncertain political climate, the targeting of Rums, daily encounters with boycotts, and harassment through speaking Turkish, coupled with the frequent reminders from the authorities of the possibility of intervention in Cyprus and going to war with Greece, led Turkish citizen Rums to leave the country, despite not being deported. For instance, Stathis was supposed to enlist in September 1964; however, the conflicts in Cyprus in early August and the news of the death of Cengiz Topel, Turkey's first air martyr, who was shot down during a bombing in Cyprus, captured, and later killed after torture, created a commotion.[232]The upheaval intensified Stathis' concerns about going to the military. Enlisting in September meant, in the best-case scenario, going to war, which, for Rums listening to stories of military service the Incidents of Reserves Non-Muslims, meant being entirely unprotected under the command of the army during wartime. Therefore, in the summer of 1964, Stathis left Istanbul with a student visa. Since he was considered a draft dodger, he couldn't return to Istanbul for over 20 years, until he acquired Greek citizenship.[233]

[232] Please see The Appendix A for information on Topel's death and its impact on the Turkish society, spesicifically under the titles "The Battle of Kokkina", "The Topels' Funeral" and "Anti-Greek Anti-American Demonstrations".
[233] The interview with Stathis, 14.05.2022, Athens.

Tassos, upon encountering consecutive news articles in newspapers about imminent mobilization, became uneasy and decided to leave Istanbul. What troubled Tassos was not the prospect of being enlisted but rather the possibility of being re-enlisted. Having returned from military service in 1963, Tassos' army experience had been extremely challenging. Particularly during nights, he endured prolonged abuse from lower-ranking soldiers due to his Rum identity. He faced psychological and physical violence, but out of fear from threats, he couldn't disclose what he went through. Later, a senior officer noticed the situation, punished the soldiers who had subjected Tassos to violence, and transferred him to another military headquarters. His military service had already left him deeply affected. Witnessing the deportation of many friends from his crowded social circle in Istanbul after returning from the military made everything seem even more unpleasant. Istanbul was no longer the Istanbul he had grown up in; it had lost its charm. Moreover, upon seeing news of mobilization in the newspaper, the fear of being re-enlisted prompted him to take action, leading to his decision to leave Istanbul. Tassos worked in a large repair shop in Istanbul, where he repaired vehicles for law enforcement personnel. With the help of an acquaintance who was a police commissioner, Tassos quickly obtained a passport and departed from Istanbul in September 1964.[234]

In the year 1965, Dimitris' family made the decision to leave Istanbul, influenced by both the approaching military service age of their son and the unsettling changes in their neighborhood following the deportation of their neighbors. Dimitris had been born and raised in their house on Sakarya Street in Büyükada. They had a familial relationship with all their neighbors. The successive

[234] The interview with Tassos, 21.01.2020, Athens.

deportations of neighbors in 1964 left the street deserted. Dimitris' father, fearing that something might happen to them as well, especially with his son nearing the age for military service and the tension continuing in Cyprus, decided that their safety could no longer be ensured in the changing neighborhood. Moreover, Dimitris' sister was a young girl, and ensuring her safety became even more challenging in the increasingly alienated environment. In 1965, the family sold their house to Turkish acquaintances and departed from Istanbul.[235]

In 1964, Soula and Stratos, Chiristos' aunt and uncle, decided to leave Istanbul. Although they were Turkish citizens and not subjected to deportation, Stratos' master, from whom he learned the jewelry trade, and the colleagues he had worked with for years, were deported. Their shop in the Syria Passage on Pera had been destroyed during the Septemvriana. By 1964, they had managed to stabilize their business. However, the deportation of Stratos' master served as the final straw for him. Apart from coming to watch an AEK match in the late 80s, Stratos never set foot in Istanbul again.[236]

In 1964, Alexis was a student at the Austrian high school, merely 13 years old when the deportation of Greek citizens commenced. During the days dominated by the Cyprus crisis, he experienced bullying from some classmates at school, having become a target due to his Greek identity. Upon entering the classroom, he encountered a threatening message on the board. When his parents learned about the incident, they became concerned. His father had served four years in the military during the 20-draw conscription period, his grandfather had been sent to Aşkale, and

[235] The interview with Dimitris, 19.01.2021, Online.
[236] The interview with Christos, 07.01.2020, Athens. Christos' parents were Turkish citizens, so they were not deported. However his two aunts left Istanbul in 1964; one of them was deported with her Greek citizen husband, while the other followed her husband's deported master. Christos also departed from Istanbul in the early 1970s after completing his university education.

the family home in Fener had been demolished during the Septemvriana. In response to the threat against their children, the family promptly communicated with the school administration. They swiftly arranged for Alexis to be sent to Austria, enrolling him in another school, ensuring their son's distance from Istanbul.[237]

The narrative of Haris and his younger sister leaving Istanbul shared similarities with Alexis' story. The family home in Gedikpaşa had been burnt and destroyed during the Septemvriana. Subsequently, Haris' father had rented the top floor of a seven-story building in Cihangir to ensure the safety of his family. When the conflicts in Cyprus shook Turkey's agenda in December 1963, all relatives sought refuge in this house, fearing a potential pogrom. One of Haris' uncles was accused of insulting Turkishness, endured prolonged torture, and, after being released for a bribe, clandestinely escaped to Chios. Another uncle, upon hearing about the Cyprus events, decided to leave the country and settled in France.

In June 1964, Haris' parents took him and his sister to Athens, disguising the journey as a family trip. A house close to relatives was rented, and a sum of money was deposited in the bank, with instructions for periodic payments to be made to Haris. Leaving their children in Athens, the parents returned to Istanbul because there was no foreseeable future for them in the city. This unexpected separation was a life-altering shock for the 13-year-old.[238]

[237] The interview with Alexis, 11.05.2022, Athens.
[238] The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens.

4.3 Navigating precarity:

Coping strategies of Istanbul's Rum community facing irreversible departure

Following the revelation that one will depart permanently from their place of residence, what actions does an individual take? How do they prepare for this unidirectional journey? Which places do they visit, whom do they meet, and with whom do they bid farewell? In my field research, I have received diverse responses to these questions. Some, after leaving Istanbul, sought someone to visit their family graves, while others delayed their departure to spend one more summer on the island. Some engaged in settling debts and accounts, while others opted for a clandestine departure from the city. However, in each of these stories, a common experience emerged—the amplification of vulnerability. The state of being deported intensified the fragility of individuals who were the subjects of this experience in all testimonies I encountered. To overcome this fragility, Istanbul's Rum community employed various coping strategies to ease their challenging circumstances and carve out space for themselves.

The economic constraints imposed on individuals expelled from the country, such as the freezing of property transactions, confiscation of belongings in homes and businesses, freezing of bank accounts, and the application of a $20 foreign exchange restriction at customs exits, further exacerbated the situation for those subjected to deportation. Therefore, a *tactic*[239] developed to facilitate the removal of valuable possessions that were not allowed to leave the country was to utilize consulate facilities. In the subsequent weeks of the implementation, relatively

[239] With reference to De Certau's distinction between the concepts of strategy and tactics. While strategies are actions, which thanks to the establishment of a place of power, tactics are the means to unsettle from such prescribed environments. See, De Certau. 1988. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press.

fortunate individuals, granted a one-week grace period before departure, would visit the Greek Consulate after completing security procedures to inform the authorities about their situations. They would request the diplomatic delivery of valuable items that were not permitted to accompany them, entrusting these items to the consulate for delivery at their destination. Witnesses of individuals receiving their valuables through this method were encountered. However, not every owner of entrusted possessions received their items back. For instance, Athanasios recounted that his father Nikolaos, after depositing an extensive and cherished stamp collection at the consulate, was unable to retrieve it, a loss that profoundly affected his father throughout his life.[240] Furthermore, another interviewee, a retired diplomat, narrated discovering a storage facility in Istanbul years later, filled with the personal belongings left behind by the exiled individuals. The boxes in the depot contained personal items reminiscent of "personal belongings left behind after the Holocaust".[241] Among these items were eyeglasses, watches, wedding rings, fountain pens, Ottoman Empire-era stocks, and various jewelry.

The narratives regarding the preparations made before leaving the country have been transformed into stories depicting the pursuit of finding solutions within the compounded precariousness and the efforts of the privileged to exploit this precarity. For instance, Thanos, a lonely young man in Istanbul, whose mother couldn't return from Athens after the termination of the visa agreement, was a 17-year-old high school student. In his final year of high school, three weeks away from graduation, he turned 18 and was summoned to the police station, where he learned that he had to leave the country. When he inquired about the possibility of staying in

[240] The interview with Athanasios, 05.07.2022, Athens.
[241] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens.

Istanbul at least until he received his diploma, the officials informed him that he could stay until he finished school, but he had to leave the country immediately upon graduation. Although there was a warning not to delay his departure during this meeting at the police station, no stamp was placed on his passport, and no official notification was given. Despite his fear, Thanos, not officially expelled, extended his stay in Istanbul for one more summer. After graduating, he spent a few weeks in the family home on Burgazada, bidding farewell to his first love. Then, with the increasing possibility of war between Greece and Turkey due to conflicts in Cyprus in early August, he decided to leave Istanbul as soon as possible.

During this period, Thanos also took charge of his father's shop. This shop, situated on İstiklal Avenue at the corner of a Kallavi street, was a well-known merchant-tailor establishment of the time. Originally prohibited by the anti-tailoring law from practicing tailoring, Thanos' father transformed the shop into a merchant-tailor establishment specializing in wholesale fabric sales; alongside wholesale fabrics, ready-made clothing obtained through consignment was also retailed. The income from this shop, where Menderes also used to shop, was thriving until the boycott initiated against the Rum merchants. Following the boycott, which caused Thanos' father's illness, there would be a rapid decline in the family's income from the shop due to other reasons.

During the period when his father's illness began, Thanos started visiting the shop after school hours. The shop was entrusted to Mehmet, the apprentice trained by his father. However, during the hours Thanos visited the shop, sales were reported, contrasting with Mehmet's claim that not a single sale was made throughout the day. After Thanos' father's demise, the operation of the shop became even more irrational; Thanos noticed a depletion of inventory, yet sales were still nonexistent. An advisor

and friend of Thanos' father suggested transferring the shop to Mehmet, at least to secure some amount of money. Negotiations were initiated with Mehmet, and an agreement was reached at a significantly lower value than the actual worth of the shop's goods—20,000 Turkish liras, payable by Mehmet in 20 equal installments. However, with the realization that Georgios's mother could not return to Istanbul and, furthermore, that Thanos himself would be deported, Mehmet, who had paid only 2-3 installments until that day, ceased making payments. When questioned about the unpaid installments, he nonchalantly replied, "They were going to leave anyway, who would they claim their rights from?" Mehmet was justified. Thanos couldn't file a complaint, as economic sanctions prevented the transfer of the shop. Despite the agreement with Mehmet being made before the deportation implementation, there was no law in place to protect Thanos in the current situation. Furthermore, Thanos' presence in Istanbul constituted a criminal offense, and if he went to the police to complain about Mehmet, the officers might overlook Mehmet but could immediately deport Thanos. Thus, Mehmet effectively took possession of the shop.

Prepared to embark on his journey, Thanos took along a suitcase. In it, he carefully packed his everyday clothing and his beloved mathematics magazines. As all possessions in their recently acquired home were subject to confiscation by tax officials, taking even a needle from the house was prohibited. Upon his mother's request, Thanos arranged his grandmother's 12-person dinner plates as keepsakes, wrapping them in newspaper inside a basket. Holding a basket and a suitcase, he boarded a train from Sirkeci, setting off towards his new life.[242]

[242] The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020; 20.05.2022, Athens.

Rum polites were living in a habitus of precariousness. However, the prospect of deportation further deprived them of mechanisms for self-protection, leading to an additional layer of precarity. This circumstance was exploited to their disadvantage by privileged individuals. Those expelled from the community were unable to sell their homes and businesses due to the economic constraints imposed. Consequently, shops changed ownership at no cost, and over the years, abandoned residences, vacated without even the retrieval of a single item, became occupied. Deported individuals were unable to sell their properties due to the economic restrictions imposed. If there were Turkish citizen relatives among the deported, economic constraints could be somewhat circumvented through these individuals. For instance, a woman whose spouse was deported could sell her own property if she was a Turkish citizen, dispatch her household items if she found the opportunity, and, being a Turkish citizen, could take two suitcases instead of one. If she chose not to sell her house before leaving Istanbul, she could return years later and rent out her property. However, for families like Georgios's, who were Greek citizens, the properties left behind were either abandoned with a curse or became subject to legal disputes, especially after the Davos meetings between Özal and Papandreou. Despite the passage of 60 years, ongoing property disputes to this day highlight another dimension of vulnerability and are therefore worthy of separate consideration.[243]

On the other hand, a recurrent shared experience encountered frequently in the interviews is the clandestine departure from Istanbul. The reluctance to share their departure plans with close ones often signifies a fear of potential last-minute obstacles or the possibility of hindrance to their departure. In Agni's testimony, this

[243]I will address this issue in the last two chapters.

phenomenon is associated with the unease created by creditors emerging after the expulsion of an individual. After Agni's father was deported, she and her mother remained in Istanbul. However, upon learning of her father's deportation, creditors, who had not been mentioned by her father, started visiting his shop and attempting to inquire about the location of their residence from neighboring shopkeepers. One evening, a friend of her father came to their home and said, "Madam, leave, don't stay here any longer; they are looking for you". Upon this, Agni's mother left Istanbul, while Agni wished to stay for one more week in Istanbul, at their home in Burgazada, wanting to bid farewell to her life in the city. On her last day, she told one of her close friends, "I'm going down to the city; see you in the evening." As she was leaving the door, she turned back and said to her friend, "Come, let me give you a kiss." Her friend was surprised, asking, "Why are you kissing me, as if saying goodbye?" Agni responded to her friend, saying, "Because I love you very much." She left the island without telling anyone that she was going to Athens. She went to her house on Kumbaracı Yokuşu, looked at the Bosphorus from the window in her room one last time. She noticed the family heirloom cross standing by the head of the bed in her parents' room at the last moment, took it off the wall, and put it in her bag. She called a junk dealer, sold the porcelain in the house for the price of a pair of nylon stockings. She placed the wall clock in a basket. Holding a small suitcase and a basket, she headed to the airport to leave Istanbul.[244]

The prevalence of news reports on the apprehension of currency smugglers and human traffickers in the periodical press, coupled with the frequent inclusion of

[244] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens.

accusations of currency smuggling as a criminalization element in reports targeting deported individuals and their families, was notably widespread.[245] Emphasizing, at least implicitly, this accusation through such implications was a common practice. The probable objective behind this was to intensify the allegation that Rums engaged in harmful activities against Turkey by criminalizing them, aiming to gain the consent of readers who might harbor suspicions in this regard. On the other hand, these news reports served as a warning for individuals who might resort to similar illicit means; ultimately, these individuals were portrayed in the news as being apprehended and exposed by the police in a similar manner. Now, what was the relationship between these news reports in newspapers and everyday life? I aim to discuss the issue of smuggling through the lens of two testimonies.

Panoyotis had just sold his small garden in Büyükada, which he had long planned to sell, at the beginning of 1964, right after the outbreak of the Cyprus events, when the deportation practices commenced. Soon after, the property transactions of Greek citizens were halted. The police on the island were aware that Panoyotis had recently sold a garden; they began to threaten him to deposit the money he earned from the sale into the bank. Panayotis, fearing that he would be next after his brother-in-law was deported in those days, decided to leave Istanbul without waiting to be deported and without further exposure to violence. With the help of a smuggler, he reached the Meriç River. With the money from the garden he had sold, Panoyotis swam across the Meriç River to reach Greek territory. When it became apparent that Panoyotis had fled the island, his wife, Kati, was interrogated

[245] "Lübnanlı Kaçakçı ile Kaybolan Er Bulundu", *Milliyet,*7.11.1964; "Seyyar Döviz Kaçakçısı Yakalandı", *Milliyet,* 30.1.1965; "Bir Döviz Kaçakçısı Suçüstü Yakalandı", Milliyet, 15.3.1964; "Rum Asıllı, Belçikalı Bir Döviz Kaçakçısı Yakalandı", *Milliyet,* 16.6.1964, "İzmir'de İki Büyük Döviz Kaçakçılığına El Kondu", *Cumhuriyet,* 29.01.1965*;* "Büyük Bir Kaçakçı Şebekesinin Ajanı Şehrimizde Yakalandı", *Cumhuriyet*, 23.07.1964.

repeatedly, but she, too, no longer knew where her husband was. Shortly before her permit expired, Kati left Istanbul. Panoyotis's clandestine escape to Greece astonished those who knew him; Panayotis was a reserved and timid person, and no one could comprehend how he mustered the courage for such an act. After reaching Athens, Panoyotis bought a small house near Fokianos Negri with the money he could take with him. He and his wife lived in this house until the end of their lives. However, Panoyotis's fear of the police never ceased; throughout his years in Athens, whenever he saw a police officer on the street, he always changed his path.[246]

Fotis's family, being Greek nationals, knew that they would eventually have to leave Istanbul, and they could not endure the uncertainty of waiting any longer. Facing the economic sanctions imposed by the Turkish government, the family decided to leave Istanbul in May 1964 and sought a way to overcome their difficult situation. Petros, the father of Fotis, who owned one of the largest stores in Istanbul, sold all his goods to a neighbor at a significantly low price and secretly. Another neighbor, who became aware of this situation, reported Petros to the police. Fearful that their plans to leave the country as a family would be exposed, Petros, upon the arrival of police for an investigation, bribed them to request a two-day delay. He had not yet completed his preparations; he planned to store household items under someone else's name and, once things settled, send these items to Athens. However, things did not go as planned. On the night the police arrived, Petros left Istanbul with his eldest son, crossing into Syria with the help of a smuggler and then continuing to Lebanon. Finally, after weeks, they reached Athens. Petros' wife and their younger son Fotis sought refuge with relatives who had been relocated to a village near

[246] The interview with Pashalis, 28.06.2022, Athens

Athens. They waited anxiously for news for days. All these efforts were aimed at being able to bring the money earned from the store's goods to Athens. Eventually, with this money, Petros purchased a second-hand old car and started a new business selling fabrics in the villages around Athens.[247]

Panoyotis and Petros, being Greek citizens, were individuals who had agency and tried to find solutions for themselves and their families in the difficult situation they were in. They found themselves in a guilty position for selling their own garden or shop items and had to resort to illegal means to take the proceeds of these sales out of the country, as legal avenues were closed. After the 1960 coup, foreign exchange restrictions became a serious problem, and as a result of the implemented import-substitution economic policies, taking foreign currency out of the country had become a *national crime.* Hence, providing "financial aid to EOKA" as mentioned in the statements signed at the police station was one of the most detrimental activities one could engage in against Turkey. It wasn't just about supporting the enemy but *supporting the enemy by providing foreign currency* was the real harm. The restriction on the amount of foreign currency that could be taken abroad for those leaving the country was a product of this policy. While Greek citizens could withdraw 20 dollars, the limit for Turkish citizens was 200 dollars. The amount of foreign currency a person carried and where it was obtained from should have been important; it could be considered a kind of foreign exchange control. Notes were made in the passports of deported individuals about when and where they obtained the foreign currency from which bank on which day and time.[248] However, for Greek

[247] The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens.
[248] The interview with Charalambos, 18.05.2022, Athens. Chralambos was sent to Athens with his relatives, when he was 8 years old, because he was "very scared" after he and his family were attacked

citizens leaving their homes and jobs, this amount provided purchasing power that could only last a few days in Athens. Especially for those without a place to go, without acquaintances or relatives, this restriction meant complete destitution. Therefore, intermediaries facilitating the exit of money abroad were sought as a way to bypass this restriction. Obtaining foreign currency through intermediaries or usurers was necessary because official channels did not facilitate its acquisition.[249] One interviewee recalled a Rum living in Kurtuluş when talking about currency smugglers during the interview. This individual used to go to the consulate early in the morning to deliver foreign currency for those about to be deported. However, due to frequent visits to the consulate, he attracted police attention. Despite having for the expiration of his residence permit, his consulate visits were deemed suspicious, leading to his arrest.[250] Furthermore, this trade, being unofficial, left room for various forms of manipulation and potential fraud due to the trust relationship involved. While some managed to successfully transfer money using this method, others who handed over their money to intermediaries in Istanbul found themselves unable to receive it in Greece, falling victim to scams. The news reports portraying individuals as members of a currency smuggling network often concealed the desperation of those trying to overcome economic restrictions and those benefiting from this situation.

---

on September 6-7. His mother was deported in 1964. Concurrently with his wife's deportation, Makis' father was also compelled to depart from Istanbul in 1964, having been required to pay a substantial amount of tax within a very short period. The amount of foreign currency withdrawn from the bank was noted in Chralambos' father's passport.

[249] Although there was an official fixed exchange rate in 1964, with 1 dollar officially equivalent to 9.08 TL (Şanlı, 1998), individuals who had to obtain foreign currency from intermediaries or usurers could find themselves paying amounts reaching up to 15 TL.

[250] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens.

When considering news about human traffickers, it becomes apparent that in the initial months of the deportation application, illegal crossings were made through the Meriç River and nearby islands (e.g., Chios).[251] Law enforcement authorities, aware of this smuggling flow, apprehended a network in flagrante delicto, and this situation was reflected in the news (Cumhuriyet, 23.05.1964). Perhaps for this reason, following the commencement of the deportation application, probably in April 1964, Panoyotis chose to escape to Greece via the Meriç River, while Petros had to chart a more challenging route through Anatolia, Syria, and Lebanon. Both Panoyotis and Petros were transported to the border in a private vehicle. Panoyotis swam across the Meriç River, while Petros, armed with a Syrian visa acquired while in Istanbul, crossed the border. After crossing the Syrian border, Petros was subjected to a roadside check, detained for a while, contacted the consulate in Istanbul, confirmed his Greek citizenship, and was allowed to continue his journey. While Panoyotis opted for a riskier and more direct route, Petros' chosen path was relatively safer and longer. The reason individuals about to be deported endured such hardships was not an intrinsic inclination toward immorality or fraud due to their Rum identity, as suggested by the criminalization discourse in newspapers. Instead, it was a desire to mitigate the vulnerabilities imposed upon them and, to some extent, utilize a portion of their accumulated economic assets in the new lives they were about to embark upon.

[251]For the testimony of a Rum who fled to Greece via Chios, please see: Koumakis. (1996). *Miracle: A True Story*.

4.4 Striving to stay: Narratives of those resisting deportation

Informed of their impending deportation, some individuals among those who learned about it were not willing to leave their city, familiar life, and established order. Consequently, certain Rum Polites devised various strategies to avoid leaving Istanbul once they discovered they would be deported. Among these strategies were applying for Turkish citizenship to maintain their residences, changing nationality through marriage, changing religions, organizing signature campaigns, or attempting to cancel the deportation decision by seeking help from influential "acquaintances". I aim to briefly share the individual narratives of Rums who sought exemption from deportation and subsequently engage in a discussion on this matter under the heading of religious sects.

Ivi Stangali was one of the well-known painters of the time, a student, and assistant of Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu. She had served as an assistant in Eyüboğlu's large-scale works exhibited both domestically and internationally, representing Turkey in international exhibitions as a Greek citizen. Having spent her entire life in Istanbul, she was a beloved figure in artistic circles. In late 1963, she became a mother and was raising her child alone. As her permit would expire in October 1964, in September of the same year, she penned a petition addressed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, General Directorate of Security, including the petition initiated by intellectuals of that period for Ivie. In the petition dated September 16, 1964, Ivie expressed her desire to remain as a Turkish citizen with her daughter in her homeland where she was born and raised, detailing her commitment to the country, and requesting not to be deported:

> I was born in Istanbul in 1922, I am a Greek citizen. Both my parents were born and passed away in Istanbul. I have an eleven-month-old daughter named Zeynep Maya, and I am without a husband. Throughout my life, I have resided in an environment that is entirely Turkish. From

1942 to 1949, I attended the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, Department of Painting, and continued my studies at Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu's workshop. Since that time, I have worked as an assistant in the large-scale paintings and mosaic works created by my mentor Eyüboğlu, both nationally and internationally. I firmly believe that I have demonstrated my loyalty to this country by making the necessary official application approximately ten years ago to become a Turkish citizen. Until now, I have not experienced even the slightest foreign treatment from either official authorities or the art community. I take pride in participating as a Turkish artist in state exhibitions, state-organized domestic art tours, and a Turkish women painters exhibition held in Germany. In the meantime, I have illustrated the *Iliad* and several books by Turkish authors for İş Bankası Cultural Publications.

My only wish is to remain in this homeland where I was born and raised with my daughter as a Turkish citizen. This desire has no connection to any material possessions or wealth aspirations. However, acceptance of my application to become a Turkish citizen is contingent upon the extension of my residence permit to the period determined by the relevant authorities. The names of the esteemed individuals who have endorsed this statement are provided below. Trusting in the favor of these distinguished personalities towards me, I respectfully request and implore the acceptance of my wish. In the event that my request is not granted, I will content myself with remaining in Turkey as you may deem fit.

Respectfully,
Ivi Stangali
Address: Rıza Paşa Sokak, No. 28, Mühürdar, Kadıköy
(Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 90)

İvi's petition was accompanied by a letter from prominent figures in the art world who requested the exemption of Ivi from the deportation procedure and her taking up Turkish citizenship. The letter served as an endorsement, with these individuals vouching for Ivi and including their signatures:

April 16, 1965

To the Istanbul Governorate

We, the undersigned, have had the pleasure of witnessing the sincere attachment of the esteemed artist Ms. Ivi Stangali to our homeland on various occasions. She further demonstrated this commitment by submitting an application to become a Turkish citizen a decade ago. We believe that having this valued artist among us as a Turkish citizen would be a gain. We respectfully request that her petition be examined with special attention.

> Owners of Yelken Magazine R. Resuloğlu, Sculptor Şadi Çalık, Academy Instructor Emin Barın, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, Painter Arif Keskiner, Writer Azra Erhat, Senior Architect Mualla Anheger, Architect Ferzan Baydar, Painter Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Painter Turan Erol, Painter Devrim Erbil, Prof. Bahri Savcı, Assistant Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Writer Yaşar Kemal, Teacher Vedat Günyol, Painter Nurullah Berk, Senior Architect Utarit İzgi, Assistant Nuşin Asgari, Painter Cevat Dereli, Decorator Painter Namık Bayık, Painter Nedim Günsür, Teacher Emine Günsür. (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 91)

In the context of efforts to prevent Ivi from being deported, the singular action taken was not only the petition presented here, accompanied by the appeals of intellectuals of the time vouching for Ivi; various other petitions were also composed on behalf of Ivi. A letter was written to the Prime Minister of the period. When it was announced in October 1964 that some individuals would be exempt from the deportation measures,[252] there might have been increased hope for Ivi to remain in Istanbul. However, the initiatives undertaken on behalf of Ivi did not alter the outcome. Ivi, who fervently believed in her ability to stay in Istanbul until the last moment, was greatly surprised when she received the deportation notice just a few days before the expected date of departure from the country, and she was entirely unprepared to leave Turkey. In a state of shock and sorrow, she could not decide what to take with her. Arriving at the Athens airport with her infant daughter in her arms and three bags in her hands, she became the focus of media attention. Journalists, especially, pointed to Ivi's baby Maya, commenting, "A harmful person for Turkey," while laughing (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 94). In the initial years after her arrival in

[252] At the beginning of October, it is announced that these groups will be exempted from deportation: according to the latest decision, persons over the age of 65 and their accompanying spouses (even if they were younger than 63), close relatives who took care of those without spouses, those married to Turkish nationals, consulate and embassy employees, students and teachers will not be deported (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.10.1964). Shortly afterwards, Turks, Jews, Armenians (Jews and Armenians who are not ethnically Greek but are Greek nationals), the sick and disabled who are unable to travel, and Greek nationals married to foreigners are added to this group (*Apoyevmatini*, 31.10.1964, Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 281). For further information please see the chronology of the expulsion in the Appendix A.

Athens, Ivi retained hope that she might return to Istanbul. Twenty days after arriving in Athens, in her first letter dated November 10, 1964, to her mentor Bedri Rahmi, Ivi discussed the possibility of marrying a Turk and returning. She pondered whether anyone would agree to marry her, and if so, where and how such a marriage could be solemnized. She worried about whether it would be possible for a Turk to come to Greece for marriage under these circumstances and asked her mentor to inquire about this from the Greek Consulate. However, this idea did not materialize, and Ivi never returned to Istanbul (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 95).

Emilia, like Ivi, sought a way to stay in the country, but unfortunately, she could not find one. After completing Zappeion High School, Emilia pursued psychology education at Istanbul University and later completed her doctoral studies in France. Upon her return to Istanbul, she began working at Bakırköy Mental and Nervous Diseases Hospital. Her passion for her job and her interest in delivering psychological health services to the public were recognized, and she was assigned to establish health facilities in various neighborhoods of Istanbul. After some time, she met another doctor, the love of her life, and got married. While Emilia was a Turkish citizen, her husband, unfortunately, was a Greek citizen. Consequently, they would have to leave the country together. Emilia approached the hospital administrators, explaining her situation. She was deeply committed to her job, highly esteemed, and did not want to leave the country. The hospital administrators also did not want Emilia to go, as she was a highly educated, devoted young physician who provided excellent care to her patients and was an asset to her country. The hospital representative contacted the Ministry of Health, explaining Emilia's situation and highlighting the rarity of finding a second physician with such expertise and dedication to working with children with special needs in Turkey. Despite these

pleas, the official on the other end of the phone responded with a firm "no," stating that Emilia would have to leave, and “eventually, another qualified professional would replace her”.[253]

The stories of Rums (and of course non-Muslims) seeking solutions in the fearful environment created by the deportation were also reflected in the newspapers. Greek national ballerina Fotula, for instance, who works in the ballet group performing in a pavilion in Ankara, who is decided to be deported, marries the American sergeant Chavin on a sudden in order to stay in Turkey. (Cumhuriyet, 16.04.1964). In another news, article it is announced that the official authorities have taken precautions against those who try to acquire Turkish citizenship by marrying Rums of Turkish nationality and thus avoid being deportation, that this right will not be granted to Rums with the new Citizenship Law, which will be in effect as of 22 May (*Akşam,* 12.04.1964). On the same days, 86 Rums of Turkish nationality demand that the Greek-Orthodox expression on their identity cards be changed to Turkish-Orthodox (*Dünya,* 15.04.1964). Greek soldier Haralambos Puklivas, a Turkish national who does his military service in Izmir, submits a petition to his commander and declared that he wanted to become a Muslim (*Cumhuriyet,* 13.05.1964).[254] On the other hand, the Armenians of Istanbul stated that they would stage the play Leblebici Horhor on May 29 (in *the liberation day of Istanbul*) and with the revenues to support Turkish cause in Cyprus. Even if the tickets for the game are not sold, they announce that they will donate 50 thousand liras to be sent to

[253] The interview with Polyxeni, 16.06.2022, Athens.Polyxeni's family, being Turkish citizens, remained unaffected by the deportation in 1964. Nonetheless, she bore witness to her neighbors' deportation. As a researcher focusing on the Rums of Istanbul, she meticulously documented the experiences of two deported Rum women, offering detailed accounts of their lives.
[254] The news of the Greek soldier's conversion to Islam comes just 2 days after the murder of two Greek officers in Magosa.

the Turkish Cypriots (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.04.1964). In Batman, on the other hand, an Armenian village collectively converted to Islam (*Son Havadis,* 07.04.1964). Especially in the spring and summer of 1964, when larger groups were deported more frequently, similar reports of conversions and name changes are more common; "Marika Karacapoulos changed her religion and name to Mine. Mine said that she did not approve of the behavior of the Greeks" (*Akşam,* 23.05.1964). "A Greek woman named Andreas Zorlu converted to Islam. This woman married to a Turk took the name Neriman for herself" (Hürriyet, 30.07.1964). "A Greek who supported the Galatasaray football team was circumcised and took the name Metin" (*Tercüman*, 23.08.1964, mentions Akgönül, 2016, p. 270). Furthermore, In April 1964, amidst the investigation into the Patriarchate, its printing houses being shut down, and allegations of harmful activities by Patriarchate members, the vulnerable position of Albanians, deemed "haymatlos" due to the ongoing uncertainties, compelled them to articulate their stance out of fear of deportation. Consequently, they released a statement targeting the Patriarchate, accusing it of consistently pressuring Orthodox Albanians to adopt Greek nationality (Cumhuriyet, 20.04.1964). The declaration highlighted that Orthodox Albanians, having sought refuge in Turkey during the Second World War and unable to obtain Turkish nationality due to their non-recognition of the Communist Enver Hoxha regime,[255] adamantly refuted the pressure of the Patriarchate, in collaboration with the Greek Consulate, upon Albanians to embrace Greek nationality. [256]

[255] Considering the anti-Communism of the period, Orthodox Albanians, who could not "convert" to Turkish nationality due to the Enver Hoxha regime, appear "closer" to Turkish citizenship than the Rums of Istanbul, who, despite living in Turkey, did not "consider" converting to Turkish nationality.
[256] The full text of the notice is as follows:

It is essential to note that sect plays a determining role in exemption from deportation, as witnessed in the testimonies gathered during field research, where it was frequently emphasized that Catholic Rums were not subjected to deportation due to Vatican intervention. However, it is crucial to underline that no concrete evidence validating a direct intervention by the Vatican was encountered. The absence of evidence confirming such intervention does not negate its occurrence, nor does it imply that the sole explanation for the exemption of Catholics from deportation lies in potential Vatican involvement.

Viewed from a broader perspective, it is plausible to assert that Turkey refrained from deporting Catholics post the autumn of 1964, following its loss of international support, in an effort to avoid drawing further attention. Catholics, being not solely Greek citizens but also potentially holding Italian, French, or Spanish citizenships, could have complicated Turkey's position, especially during a period when its claims, leading to the deportation of thousands based on allegations of harmful activities during UN discussions, were losing credibility. Moreover, at a time when Turkey sought support from allies in favor of its stance on the Cyprus issue, requiring allies who would endorse the division of the island, politically

---

İstanbulda bulunan arnavutluğun ergeri ve görüce mıntıkaları ortodoks Arnavutları namına tabiyetimiz ve milli hukukumuz etrafında ilhak maksadıyle çevrilmekte olan entrika ve yapılan propagandaları göz önünde bulundurarak aramızda tam mutabakatla bu beyannametyi yazıyoruz:
Biz arnavutuz ve vatanımızda hür Arnavut olarak kalacağız.
Yunan tabiyetne geçmemiz için endirekt yapılan teklif ve tavsiyeleri reddederiz.
- Tabiyet değiştirmemiz gerekirse yıllardan beri ikamet ettiğimiz ve serbestçe çalışmakta olduğumuz, ve haklarımızı teminat ve masuniyet içine bulunduran mert, alicenap, tarihi dost türk milleti ve hükümeti lehine kullanmayı tercih ederiz.
- Muhtelif suretlerde telkin ve propaganda tesirine kapılarak ve aldanarak yunan tabiiyetini kabul ve masuniyet milliyesini zarara sokan her arnavudu takbih eder gayri mesul her unsurun ve şahsın milli hukukumuza müdahalelerini şiddetle reddederiz.
Bildirinin yayımladığı haberde ayrıca Yunanistan Konsolosluğu'nun Ortodoks Arnavutlarına kolayca pasaport verdiği; bu kişileri Yunanistan'a göndermek istediği; bu Arnavutlar sayesinde balkan savaşlarından beri göz diktiği topraklarda ileride yapılacak bir plebisitte oyları arttırarak hak iddiasında bulunmayı ve topraklarını genişletmeyi amaçlandığından bahsedilir (Cumhuriyet, 20.04.1964).

benefiting from the deportation of citizens of potential allies was strategically unfavorable.

On the other hand, during the period of uncertainty until the fall of 1964, there were also cases of Catholic Greek citizens were deported. I came across one of these individuals in the records of The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey. This person had arrived in Athens in the spring of 1964, and in the association's, membership records, the workplace address was listed as the Italian Cultural Center. Another individual, a Catholic who was deported, happened to be the uncle of one of my interviewees. In the summer of 1964, upon realizing that they could not renew their residence permits, my interviewee's father and uncle, disheartened by the prevailing uncertainty, went to the police station to inform them that they would leave the country and canceled their residence permits themselves. Shortly after this incident, my interviewee's uncle departed from Istanbul with his wife and two young children. However, when my interviewee's father returned home, the idea of leaving before being expelled did not receive support within the family, and my interviewee's aunt's influential lawyer husband within the CHP (Republican People's Party) intervened. Meetings were held in Ankara, and despite the canceled residence permit, arrangements were made to ensure that my interviewee's father could stay in Istanbul. The fate of these two Catholic brothers had changed in a matter of days based on the networks they were connected to.[257]

In October 1964, Vasilios went to the police station with his father and his testimony revealed that by the fall of 1964, Catholics were not being deported, and that information spread quickly among Catholics that they would not be deported,

[257] The interview with Konstantinos, 09.06.2022, Athens.

but that the police had not yet established a standard procedure for this practice. Vasilios had accompanied his father, whose residence permit was about to expire, to the police station. After handing over his father's passport and documents to the officer at the foreigners' section desk, they sat in a nearby bench to wait for the completion of the procedures. Meanwhile, a middle-aged Greek couple entered the office. They handed over their passports and permits to another officer at the same counter, and when they heard the phrase "you also have a one-week period to leave" from the officer, they objected. The woman turned to the officer and said, "we are not leaving; we are Catholics," stating that "Father Monsignor said Catholics don't have to leave." Suspicious, the officer went to the office behind the wooden door with documents to consult with his superior. When he returned after a while, he handed back their passports, saying, "you are right; you can stay".[258]

After it became certain that Catholics would not be deported, there were also Greek citizens who attempted to avoid deportation by changing their sect through official records. For instance, Dimitris, who worked as a microbiologist at the Italian hospital, managed to extend his permit by being registered as Catholic through some connections.[259] On the other hand, Efi, a Greek citizen, who would later tell Stavros in Athens how she avoided deportation, found a way to be recorded as a Protestant in the records through acquaintances and managed to escape deportation at the last moment.[260]

[258] The interview with Vasilios, 07.06.2022, Athens.
[259] The interview with Polyxeni, 16.06.2022, Athens.
[260] The interview with Stavros, 03.06.2022, Athens.

4.5 Customs as the final frontier:

Precariousness and flexibilities in the departure narratives from Istanbul

In narratives of departure from Istanbul, the customs emerged as a distinct area of vulnerability. Each experience had transformed into a unique fragility. For those deported under the accusation of harmful activities, the customs procedures marked the final encounter with the state. The instructions regarding customs restrictions were explicit: nothing of potential value, excluding personal belongings, should be taken out of the country. Consequently, thorough searches were conducted at customs. Suitcases were meticulously inspected, and the contents were examined one by one. Items not allowed to exit the country were either left at the customs office or entrusted to a companion if the deported person had one nearby. Witness accounts described customs officers who strictly adhered to the regulations, as well as officers who displayed flexibility towards the distressed deportees. Dionysos' testimony at the airport customs, recounting stringent searches and an understanding officer, serves as an example. Dionysos, deported for harmful activities, observed a family of three in front of him having their six suitcases thoroughly inspected while waiting in the customs queue at the airport. Cream containers were checked through by the officers using their fingers. When it was Dionysos' turn, the officer noticed a rug in his suitcase and stated, "You can't take this rug." Dionysos replied, "Okay, but I don't know where I'm going; maybe I'll lay the rug on the ground and rest." Upon hearing this, the officer seemed to change his mind, placing the rug back in the suitcase and bidding Dionysos farewell (Akar, 2014).

During the same days as Dionysos, Agni's father Makis was deported from Istanbul one day before his daughter's birthday. As previously instructed, they were ready at Yeşilköy Airport at 9 a.m. on the morning of July 20. Makis, adhering

closely to the list of items he could take with him, smoothly passed through customs. After completing the procedures in the morning, deportees waved to their relatives from a distance, passing through customs and entering the open area. However, in the summer heat, they were kept for hours in the open area, in front of the runway, standing, accompanied by gendarmes with rifles guarding around them. Their relatives at the airport watched them for hours through the window. The deportees from the list of 120 people couldn't drink water or use the restroom for hours, only able to wave to their remaining relatives. Agni's father tried to stay strong, concealing his fatigue and hunger, but Agni, unable to bear her father standing in the heat for hours on the other side of the glass, cried, got angry, unfortunately, and could do nothing.[261]

Agni's personal customs experience proved to be quite challenging. Following her father's deportation, Agni, a young woman in her mid-twenties at the time, encountered an experience I did not come across in any testimony from male interviewees: she underwent a strip search at the airport. During the exit procedures, she was taken to the restroom, her hair, styled in a bun similar to Grace Kelly's, was undone, all her clothes were removed, even the bloody cotton due to her menstrual period was taken out, and she was searched thoroughly, then set aside. She felt so embarrassed and anxious that during the strip search, she continuously prayed for this ordeal to end quickly and to board the plane to leave Istanbul as soon as possible.[262]

The customs-related narrative of Thanos, deported immediately after turning 18, illustrates the vulnerability experienced by a young Rum at the state's borders.

---

[261] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens.
[262] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens.

Due to the cancellation of the visa agreement, he wrote a letter to his mother, who couldn't return to Istanbul, informing her that all household items were confiscated, and he would not be able to take anything when leaving Istanbul. He inquired if there was something special she wanted him to take with him. At his mother's request, he took the heirloom dinner set from his grandmother as a memento when leaving Istanbul, placing the plates in a basket. When he went to Sirkeci Station to board the train, his sister, her husband, nieces, and an uncle who was not deported due to being a Turkish citizen (his sister wasn't deported either because her citizenship changed after her marriage with a Turkish citizen) came to see him off. His uncle, a barber in Galata, gave him 200 liras to manage in Athens for a few days. The train was filled with deportees and Rum passengers compelled to leave for various reasons. However, when Thanos boarded the train, he shared the compartment with a Turkish Cypriot family migrating to England.

Before the train even departed, a customs officer came, inspecting Thanos' suitcases and the basket in front of him. Without commenting on the clothes and math magazines in the suitcases, the officer, upon seeing the 12 plates in the basket, remarked, "These are antique. You cannot take these plates across the border like this. Either leave them here or pay 100 liras to take them with you." Despite Thanos' insistence that the plates were not antique but used daily at home, he couldn't change the officer's mind. Not wanting to disappoint his mother, and knowing the plates were the only item he could take from home, he paid the officer 100 liras, although he knew their actual value was no more than 20 liras. He didn't receive any receipt in return, as the officer swiftly pocketed the money and departed.

Finally, the train set off, and the journey began. Thanos and the Cypriot family accompanying him were both sad as they left their place of residence. A

camaraderie developed among them as they conversed throughout the journey. Near Edirne, two more customs officers entered Thanos' compartment. This time, a more detailed search was conducted on Georgios's belongings. His suitcases were cut open with a knife, and the space between the outer covering and inner lining was inspected for money or valuable items. The suitcase was completely emptied. Meanwhile, the Cypriot family was taken outside, and they were asked, "Did this guy give you something to hide?" Despite the family's negative response, the officers remained unconvinced. Now, with Thanos' alone in the compartment, they searched him again. The suitcases were rendered unusable. Thanos attempted to repack his scattered belongings and the mathematics magazines scrutinized page by page, but this time, the 12 plates in the basket caught their attention. The officers claimed, "These plates have significant value, a national treasure; you cannot take them like this." Bewildered, Thanos said, "But..." before being cut off. "Give us 100 liras, or leave the plates here," they demanded. Helpless, Thanos handed over his last money, 100 liras, to the customs officers. Following the officers, the train reached its final stop in Edirne. However, a problem arose with the documents of one of the passengers, causing all passengers to wait in the closed train for several hours. The accumulated tension from months of uncertainty, the sorrow of parting, and the exhaustion from the journey took a toll on the weary passengers, exacerbated by the hours-long wait in the summer heat. Thanos pondered why he was experiencing all of this, why they were expelled, why they were mistreated, and, if they had to be expelled, why his last money was taken. Later, the train departed and arrived at Pythion station. This was the last stop for trains coming from Turkey; here, passengers disembarked, crossed the Greek border, and continued their journey on Greek trains. The jubilant displays of joy by passengers as they set foot on Greek soil at Pythion station both surprised

Thanos and made it clear to him why they behaved this way. Some passengers kissed the ground, some loudly prayed in relief, and others expressed gratitude. At that moment, Thanos felt as if he had been liberated from hell; he rejoiced in being free from years of oppression, injustice, fear, and anxiety. To ensure he could take the 12 plates his mother desired, Thanos had to bribe customs officers, losing all of the 200 liras he was allowed to take before crossing the border. Upon arriving in Athens, he found himself in Kanningos Square with empty pockets and the plates in hand.

After September 1964, those who were required to leave due to the expiration of their residence permits were subjected to a relatively lenient customs procedure. Some of these individuals were allowed to take some household items out of the country.[263] The transportation of goods could be carried out by road or sea, but generally, it was facilitated through cargo trains departing from Sirkeci. The customs at Sirkeci scrutinized the belongings, and the passage of items presumed to be valuable was not permitted. It can be said that the customs inspection varied based on the discretion of customs officials; some officials acted more "leniently," while others adopted an "unyielding" attitude, making the situation more challenging. After the examination, the belongings were placed in crates, and these crates were sealed. Protocol numbers were assigned to the crates, and this protocol number, along with the date of cargo receipt, was recorded in the passport.

[263] Just before the Conference of Neutrals held in Cairo between October 6-11 1964 with the participation of 57 countries, the government was forced to reconsider its Cyprus policy and it decided to postpone the deportations of some groups in early October; among the 1018 Greek nationals who were expected to leave the country on October 16, the deportations of those over the age of 65, those whose nationality had changed due to marriage to a Turk or a foreigner, those who were teachers and students, and those who were Bulgarian, Italian, British or other nationals by paternal blood are postponed (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.10.1964). At the same time, the governor of Istanbul announced that the personal belongings of deportees will be allowed "within reasonable limits" (*Apoyevmatini*, 05.10.1964, as cited in Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 281).

Leonidas' customs testimony can be seen as a comprehensive narrative at this point. Two months after his father was deported on charges of harmful activities, in September 1964, Leonidas went to the customs office at Sirkeci with his mother and sister to submit their belongings before leaving Istanbul. They entered a long hall in the customs building, where the belongings of people waiting in rows on tables were being inspected by customs officials. After about an hour of waiting, it was Leonidas's family's turn. The official asked, "What's in the crate?" and Leonidas's mother replied, "Clothes and a few pieces of household items." When the official asked, "What kind of household items?" the mother responded, "Things we will immediately need when we arrive, a few sheets, and two blankets." The official said, "We'll see," and instructed them to empty the crate, then walked away from the table for a while. When he returned, the first thing that caught the official's attention was the pillows that came out of the crate. The official asked Leonidas's mother, "Why do you want to take these pillows?" Without waiting for an answer, he cut open each pillow and emptied its contents of feathers, covering the entire area. according to Leonidas, unable to find what he was looking for inside the pillow, the official became angry. He pulled out a pair of pants from the pile of belongings, separated it, and set it aside, claiming it was too big for the child. He examined each item, putting some into the "items that can be taken" in the crate and others on the edge of the table as "items that cannot be taken out of the country." He noticed a small bundle fastened with safety pins. Inside the bundle were icons inherited from Leonidas's grandmother. The official set the icons aside, saying, "These are not going anywhere." Then, turning to a younger official, he said he wanted to take a break and asked him to take over, leading to a dispute between the two officials. To resolve the disagreement, they went together to the customs office. In the meantime, he entrusted

the belongings on the table to the soldier - each customs official had a soldier behind them holding a rifle - and added, “careful, don't let them touch anything”. Leonidas's sister went and took the icons from the separated belongings and put them in the crate, covering them. The soldier saw this but ignored it. When the official returned, he said no one had touched anything. At the end of the inspection, the nearly halved crate was sealed, and the registration process was completed. When Leonidas's mother exited customs, she said with joy over getting the icons and said today was a miracle (Koumakis, 1996).

Cargo owners who were fortunate could retrieve their belongings in Athens a few months later. For instance, Grigoris had submitted his cargo to customs in Sirkeci on 28.8.1964. Months later, on the day he received his belongings in Athens, a note was made in his passport. Grigoris’ belongings were delivered on 2.4.1965, approximately 8 months later.[264] However, Ivi Stangali, unfortunately, was not as fortunate as Grigoris. Ivi had submitted his entire portfolio (around 40-50 paintings) to the customs office at Sirkeci train station before being deported. Unfortunately, Stangali could not retrieve her paintings in Athens; the entire portfolio was lost. Despite writing complaint letters to various authorities, she received no response. When she left Istanbul, she was a recognized painter, but upon arriving in Athens, she had only one painting to showcase himself as an artist—a few cover illustrations aside. Furthermore, since she couldn't take her dyes when leaving Istanbul and didn't have the budget to buy new ones in Athens, Ivi would try to paint in her dream for years (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019).

[264] The interview with Grigoris, 06.06.2022, Athens.
The relevant page of the passport can be seen in the Appendix E.

Finally, another challenging situation at customs was the possibility of encountering a visa penalty. Pipina was stopped at the airport due to a visa violation penalty as she was about to board the plane at the airport. On September 7, 1964, Pipina, who managed to find a plane ticket, had come to the airport with her daughter. They coincidentally ran into acquaintances from Burgazada, and they encountered Kadri Aytaç, a footballer from Galatasaray and the friend of Pipina's grandson. Kadri assisted Pipina in boarding the plane, drawing the attention of the journalists. While reporting on the deportation of Rums, the newspaper dedicated a separate section to footballer Kadri helping an elderly Rum woman (*Akşam*, 8.9.1964). However, Pipina was taken off the plane because she had delayed her visa date by 3 days, resulting a visa overstay fine of 10 liras. After paying the penalty, she was allowed to leave the country on September 10, 1964.[265] Stylianos, similarly, was detained at customs when he was about to leave the country because his residence permit had expired. He learned that he had to pay a substantial tax debt due to not declaring taxes for years. However, Stylianos should not have had a tax debt; he had been very careful about this matter for years, always going to the same tax office and paying the required amount. The problem was later understood; the name and address of the tax office where Stylianos had to make the payment had changed, resulting in a substantial tax debt in his name. An influential relative of his wife intervened, and a land titled on Stylianos was presented in place of tax debt. While these procedures were being carried out, Stylianos waited in Istanbul. Later, when the tax debt was considered in return of the land, he was allowed to leave the country.[266]

[265] The interview with Grigoris, 06.06.2022, Athens.
[266] The interview with Stylianos, 07.10.2022, Online.

4.6 Echoes of absence: The struggle of those left behind in the wake of Rum migration from Istanbul

Following the departure of Greek citizens and their accompanying relatives from Istanbul, the city underwent irreversible transformations for those left behind. Schools experienced a decline in student enrollment, leading to the closure of several Greek schools over time due to the absence of students. The businesses owned by Greek citizens underwent changes in ownership. Neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by Rums initially became desolate, and subsequently, the familiar fabric of the city altered with the arrival of new neighbors or occupants to the abandoned homes. The remaining Greek population became more readily distinguishable, thus becoming an easier target during periods of intermittent political tension from 1964 until the Cyprus intervention in 1974. One interviewee framed this situation by asserting, "We became a minority after 1964",[267] while another interpreted the disappearance of the Greek population in Istanbul dramatically, remarking, "Istanbul was conquered not in 1453 but in 1964," drawing a historical reference.[268] In a similar vein, when commenting on 1964, the *Elefteros* newspaper, in reference to the mass migration of Rum Polites, asserted, "The landing was not on Cyprus but in Greece" (02.08.1964, *Elefteros*, cited in Ιακωβιδησ, 2007, p. 51).

The void left by those who departed was not filled for those left behind; it was not an easy task to remain behind after the departure of thousands. In 1964, some of my interviewees, who were still in primary, middle, and high school, remembered classmates being deported before their relatives. For instance, Christos,

[267] The interview with Amalia, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki.
[268] The interview with Stathis, 08.05.2022, Athens.

while studying at Zografeion Middle School, recalled that in the 1963-64 academic year, they had three classes, but by September 1964, when they returned to school, they had been reduced to two classes.[269] Paraskevas remembered certain modifications made at Zografeion High School; the names of benefactors who donated to the school were covered on both sides of the school's entrance, a Greek inscription meaning 'Learn not to offend God' above the entrance of the primary school section was covered, and a wooden partition covered the bas-relief of Virgin Mary at the entrance and the bas-relief with the school's name written in Greek. The Rums, developing tactics based on not being seen, heard, or noticed in the habitus of precariousness, found themselves even more invisible after the exile.[270]

The experiences of individuals deported varied depending on the nationality of their residing family members. When considering a nuclear family of four, the most precarious situation arose when both parents were Greek citizens, as this necessitated the entire family leaving the country together, intensifying the vulnerability. Particularly challenging was the absence of a destination for the family, making the situation even more difficult if they had no relatives to stay with or receive support from at their destination. On the other hand, when one of the spouses was a Turkish citizen—often observed in my field research, especially among women—the deported spouse initially left the country alone. After resolving accommodation issues, they would later arrange for their family to join them. If there were children attending school during this process, they would complete their education. If the Turkish citizen spouse owned real estate, it could be sold. Over time, with flexible customs practices and the emergence of specialized transportation

[269] The interview with Christos, 18.06.2022, Athens.
[270] The interview with Pareskevas, 21.06.2022, Athens.

companies, household items could be sent to new addresses in pieces through individuals who moved between Turkey and Greece or those who had left the country. The Turkish citizenship of one spouse somewhat alleviated the vulnerability, providing time to find alternative solutions. When conditions permitted, families would reunite in Athens or Thessaloniki.

In the course of my field research, I did not come across a single narrative of a family that disintegrated during the 1964 deportation. In all the narratives I gathered, there was a consistent portrayal of families maintaining strong bonds, with the deported individuals, even if not immediately, eventually leaving Turkey after the conditions matured, ensuring that they did not abandon their families during the exile. However, I was searching in the wrong place for the remnants of fragmented families, in other words, the traces of the families those unable to accompany the deportees. Because in one of the interviews with non-Muslims living in Turkey in Koçoğlu's work, "*Hatırlıyorum: Türkiye'de Gayrimüslim Hayatlar*" (I Remember: Non-Muslim Lives in Turkey), derived from interviews with non-Muslims living in Turkey, I encountered the story of a mother and son who, following the deportation of the husband, were unable to travel to Athens.

Eli was born in Konya, grew up in Istanbul and was a Greek citizen of Turkish nationality. In 1938, she married her husband Koço Raftopoulos. In 1955, a son was born to the couple. Eli and Koço were both laborers; Eli, proficient in sewing, worked in the textile industry for a period and later became a cashier at a kiosk in the 1960s. Koço, along with his partners, established an eyeglass manufacturing workshop. Upon the commencement of deportation practices, Koço did not believe he would be deported. However, years later, their son would recall Koço's profound sorrow upon learning through a delivered notice that he would be

deported. Koço had only 3 days to leave Istanbul. In those three days, Koço "hugged and kissed everything he owned, even his bed". He told Eli not to worry, expressing his intention to bring his family once he sorted things out. After Koço's departure, Eli and Koço maintained frequent correspondence. Eli sent money and leather jackets to Koço whenever she had funds, attempting to support him. Eventually, one of Koço's partners, Stamati, was also deported. Kenan, the last remaining partner, took over the whole business when both partners were deported and their financial assets were frozen.

Later, Eli and Kenan began a relationship. Although the specifics of their relationship's development remain undisclosed, Eli mentions secretly sending money to Koço during the time she was with Kenan, aiming to help him establish a business and bring his wife and son to him. After Koço moved to Athens and opened a dry-cleaning shop, it seemed that he struggled to succeed and could not reunite with his wife and son. After a while, Kenan requested Eli to divorce Koço, and a trustee of the Rum properties left in Istanbul acted as an intermediary and the divorce request was delivered to Koço. Koço agreed to the divorce on the condition that he would get custody of his son, but the couple could not come to an agreement and the divorce did not take place. Some time after Koço left Istanbul, Kenan moved Eli and his son from Tarlabaşı to a new house in Zincirlikuyu. Coinciding with the relocation, Eli's son, who had attended the primary section of the Central Greek Girls' High School for two years, subsequently transferred to a Turkish school. Koço remained untraceable for many years. Eli learned of Koço's death in 1977 while her son was in the military, but, fearing Kenan, she could not bring herself to inform her son of his father's demise. Neither Eli nor her son could attend Koço's funeral (Koçoğlu, 2003).

Foteini's testimony sheds light on the experiences of her family following the deportation of two siblings. Foteini resided in Arnavutköy and held Turkish citizenship. She was engaged to Alexis, and as they were preparing for marriage, the deportation policy came into effect. Initially, in 1964, Alexis's brother Grigoris was among the first group to be deported. Grigoris was accused of engaging in harmful activities due to his membership in the Elliniki Enosis society, leading to his sudden deportation within a day. Grigoris's wife was pregnant at the time, and the shock and sorrow of Grigoris's immediate deportation resulted in her losing the baby. Unable to cope with Grigoris's departure and her son's inability to return, Grigoris's mother fell ill within a few months and passed away due to grief. In early 1965, Alexis, whose residence permit had expired, was compelled to leave Istanbul. Witnessing both of her sons leaving the country within a year, their father, mourning the loss of his wife, also passed away. The sisters of Grigoris and Alexis, who had acquired Turkish citizenship by marrying Turkish citizens, eventually decided to leave Istanbul as well, no longer wishing to reside in the city. Foteini awaited her fiancé, who had settled in Thessaloniki, to establish a stable life. Finally, in 1966, she also moved to Thessaloniki following Alexis and, through marriage, settled there. Despite holding Turkish citizenship, Foteini's family, in the mid-1970s, chose not to remain in Istanbul and instead relocated to Thessaloniki, following their daughters.[271]

The deportation of 1964 marked a pivotal juncture within the Turkification tradition; however, interpreting this decision solely as an extension of the state's enduring tradition would be an incomplete analysis. The specific conditions of 1964 must also be considered. The Turkish society, where militarism and anti-communism

[271] The interview with Foteini, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki.

found resonance, swiftly engaged with the Cyprus crisis through the media. The minority government had to take a step not only to pressure Greece into an agreement on Cyprus but also to assuage mass anger ahead of elections. Consequently, the deportation of Greek passport holders was brought up for consideration, and the deportation decision was implemented in parallel with the tensions in both domestic and foreign policies. On the other hand, Turkish citizens of Rums who were not deported either accompanied their relatives or decided to leave the country because they saw no future for themselves. The economic growth observed in Greece during the same years and the relatively stable political atmosphere during the coup period can also be considered as factors leading many Rums to settle in Greece.

During the initial months of the deportation decision, Greek passport holders were mostly deported on charges of harmful activities, while those not deported with this accusation had to leave the country due to the expiration of their residence permits. Following the cancellation of the residence agreement, the visa agreement allowing visa-free travel between Turkey and Greece was also annulled. Meanwhile, Greek citizens abroad were also effectively "deported" as they could not return to the country due to the cancellation. Although some individuals attempted various tactics to overturn the deportation decision and seek ways to continue living in Istanbul, these efforts did not yield positive results. It should be noted that Catholic Rums and a small number of those in contact with decision-makers were exceptions to the deportation implementation. Notifications of deportation decisions, security procedures, seizure of immovable property and bank savings, customs searches, in other words, the entire deportation process corresponded to an intertwined

experiences of precarity. The deportation process has been a challenging experience for both those expelled and those left behind.

CHAPTER 5

RESETTLING IN GREECE: ΟΙ ΔΎΣΚΟΛΕΣ ΣΤΙΓΜΈΣ*

5.1 Residential dynamics of Rum Polites: A journey from Istanbul to Athens

The individuals deported and their accompanying family members predominantly migrated to Greece. However, there were also those who left Turkey and migrated to various countries (e.g. the USA, Canada, Germany,[272] Australia, etc.) that received immigrants in the 1960s.[273] Those who emigrated to Greece mostly preferred Athens as their primary destination, while Thessaloniki ranked second. The rationale behind favoring these two cities stems from their status as major hubs for job opportunities during the post-war economic growth years. Furthermore, the impact of anti-minority policies, particularly the profession ban law of 1932 and Septemvriana, played a crucial role in attracting a considerable number of Rums to settle in Athens and Thessaloniki. This influx was notably observed among those who were deported in 1964, with many of them maintaining connections with previously migrated relatives and acquaintances. For instance, Michalis's grandfather, who lost his job due to the profession ban law in Istanbul, resettled in Athens. When Michalis's parents, residing in Istanbul, were compelled to leave the city in 1964 due to the expiration of their

---

[272] For the testimony of a (Turkish citizen) Rum who left Istanbul in 1964 due to various pressures and settled in Germany, please see: Alexandridis. (2016). *Konstantin'in Halefleri İstanbul Rumları*. Chiviyazıları.
For the testimony of a family that was deported and settled in Germany in the same year, please see: Asderis, (2023). *Dersaadet*. Aras Yayıncılık.

[273] Alexandris states that "today around 90,000 inhabitants of Polites, Imbri and Tenedoi have sought refuge in Greece, while another 30,000 expatriate refugees have sought refuge in America, Canada, Australia and Western Europe" (Ιακωβιδησ, *Η Ενταξη Στην Ελλαδική Κοινωνια*).

* The Hard Times

residence permits, they sought refuge with Michalis's grandfather in Athens.[274] Another example is Maria, whose husband was deported, and went to live with relatives who had to emigrate during the population exchange. Subsequently, following the closure of schools, Maria relocated to Athens with her son to be with her relatives.[275] Some of the deportees opted for smaller towns and villages where their relatives resided and maintained enduring connections. In these locales, they established a temporary residence until they could secure an independent livelihood. For instance, Danai's father originated from the impoverished village of Vlasti in Kozani. Due to the dire economic conditions of the village, Danai's grandfather migrated to Istanbul in the early 20th century, where he established a tavern and later brought his son Dimitris, to join him. When Dimitris was deported, he returned to his birthplace and sought refuge in the home of his sister, who still resided in the village. Danai's father, during the two years following his deportation, and until his wife could join him after marrying their two children in Istanbul, was an obligatory guest at his sister's residence in Vlasti.[276] Fotis, on the other hand, was destined to go to his mother's relatives, who were residents of Istanbul. However, they were included in the population exchange because they were teachers in Anatolia for some years during the population exchange. After 42 years of their departure, when Fotis and his family were compelled to leave Turkey, they were hosted in their home in Elefsina. Fotis, having to leave Istanbul just two months before his graduation, completed his high school education in this village. When the family gathered the strength to

[274] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens.
[275] The interview with "K47", 2008, Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria, Thessaloniki.
[276] The interview with Danai, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki.

embark on a new life, Fotis and his family left Elefsina with the support of their relatives once again, intending to settle in Athens.[277]

In 1922, the majority of Rums departing from Istanbul settled in Kalithea and Nea Smyrna in Athens, while those expelled in 1964-65 also established residences in Patissia, Zografou, and Pagrati alongside Kalithea and Nea Smyrna. Particularly during this period, Patissia emerged as a predominantly inhabited region by the Istanbul Rums. Several factors contributed to the prominence of Patissia: firstly, the passage of the train line connecting the production workshops in the northern suburbs of the city to the hinterland of the Piraeus port through Patissia, facilitating relatively easy access to an extensive job network; secondly, its proximity (especially to universities) within walking distance of central points in the city; thirdly, the presence of relatively aged building stock, considered as such given the construction activities of the time, providing the opportunity for affordable living arrangements; fourthly, the area's semblance to Istanbul with its cafes, shops, and social activity spaces, contributing to a city experience reminiscent of Istanbul. Over time, for Rums settling in Athens, the district became additionally favored due to its status as a Rum settlement. Notably, Fokianos Negri[278] and Agios Loukas Church evolved into meeting points within the neighborhood (Δρινη, 2004, p. 34). However, by the end of the 1970s, the Rums of Istanbul began to predominantly settle in the Paleo Faliro region. The fact that the neighborhood is situated along the coastline and, consequently, evokes a sense reminiscent of Istanbul, can be considered a significant factor influencing this choice. The surrounding mountains near Athens, in contrast, contributed to an increased sense of alienation in the city. As an example, Despina,

[277] The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens.
[278] The interview with Pashalis, 28.06.2022, Athens

apprehensive about her husband's impending deportation following her father-in-law's expulsion, also harbored concerns about the potential closure of borders since she was a Turkish citizen. Fearing the restriction of her ability to leave Turkey, she arrived in Athens with her infant a few months after her father-in-law's deportation. What initially disturbed and engendered a sense of foreignness for Despina was the encircling mountains around Athens, and the feeling of being besieged induced by these mountains. In a letter she wrote to her husband Pantelis, who remained in Istanbul until his documentation was processed, Despina expressed, "If you were not a Greek citizen and were not subject to deportation, I could not endure a minute longer here; I would immediately return to Istanbul.". (Δρινη, 2004, p. 35). One additional reason for the predominant migration of Istanbul Rums to Paleo Faliro is the real estate investments made by Turkish citizen Rums who migrated to Athens in the 1970s. Consequently, what was a summer retreat in the 1960s, transformed into a district characterized by the successive rise of high-rise buildings in the 1970s. Presently, it continues to be a neighborhood where Istanbul Rums predominantly reside.[279]

[279] Not all Rums reside in Paleo Faliro. It is important to note that there are Rums who choose not to live in Paleo Faliro, as it evokes the semblance of a Rum ghetto for some interviewees.

5.2 Navigating new beginnings: Adapting to challenges and freedom

In the early years in Greece, the deportees and their families found themselves grappling with significant livelihood challenges. The expropriation of properties in Turkey and stringent restrictions at customs compelled the majority of those deported to leave Istanbul with only a suitcase in hand. Particularly in the initial years, they had to rebuild their lives from scratch, engaging in everyday labor such as street vending, selling lottery tickets,[280] and construction work,[281] to sustain themselves. Simultaneously, many had to navigate bureaucratic processes, particularly dealing with Greek state institutions, to address necessities like retirement benefits and access to healthcare. On the other hand, for individuals cultured in cities like Istanbul, one of the world's most populous and ancient cities, attempting to establish a life in relatively smaller and demographically more homogeneous cities such as Athens and Thessaloniki posed a unique set of challenges.

The Rum Polites community, enriched by the urban culture of the city, was characterized by its cosmopolitan structure, interactions with individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds, education in pioneering schools of the era, a robust literary, artistic, and sporting tradition, and the communal phenomenon supported through clubs. However, they found themselves compelled to adapt to a social environment dominated by the fragmented traditional communities following the aftermath of the civil war and the influx of population from rural Greece through migration in the 1960s (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007). The source of tension between the newly arrived Rums in Athens and Thessaloniki and the locals lies in this mismatch, articulating itself as an

[280] A photograph published in a newspaper in 1965 shows a deported Rum who sells lottery tickets in Athens, holding a card and explaining to customers (Δρινη, *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες*, p. 99).
[281] I will detail the construction work in the following lines.

assertion of the urban culture and educational advantages of Istanbul Rums. For instance, Panagiotis recalls his mother felt embarrassed when throwing garbage onto the street from the apartment they initially rented in Agaia Meletiou in Athens. He compares the apartments in Athens to those in Istanbul, recalling how, in the 1950s, in the Cihangir apartment they lived in, a waste pipe extending from the back yard of the apartment, through which all the kitchen waste circulated, allowed them to dispose of garbage into a container without displaying it to anyone or wandering the streets with it. For Panagiotis, this aspect of urban life symbolizes his experience in the city; however, this urban culture has never reached Athens for him.[282] A similar comparison is conveyed regarding Eleni's father, who resides in Pangrati. For him the ceilings of their apartment are lower, distinctly differing from the spacious high-ceilinged homes in Tarlabaşı.[283]

Despite all the urban Istanbulite/rural local conflicts, it can be asserted that Rums who settled in Thessaloniki faced relatively fewer challenges of incongruity. Thessaloniki, being a city where the majority of refugees (of population exchange) predominantly settled, is relatively more cosmopolitan than Athens. Those deported and settling in Thessaloniki expressed that the city was more welcoming to them due to the refugees' shared experiences. They reported receiving greater support in finding housing and employment compared to those in Athens. Athens, on the other hand, especially in the early 1960s, is a city considerably more chaotic than Thessaloniki. The migration of populations from towns and villages after the civil war, as well as the influx of Egyptian Greeks (Greek: Οι Έλληνες της Αιγύπτου

[282] The interview with Panagiotis, 07.01.2020, Athens.
[283] The interview with Eleni, 14.01.2020, Athens.

or Αιγυπτιώτες)[284] to the city around the same time as the Rums of Istanbul, reshaped the city's demographic structure. Nevertheless, the accents of Istanbul Rums and Anatolian Rums who settled in Northern Greece, including Thessaloniki, are similar. Both groups incorporate Turkish words into their speech, facilitating mutual understanding for the deportees in Thessaloniki and mitigating the potential for marginalization based on accent. However, the accent difference of Istanbul Rums settling in Athens is easily discernible, and the incorporation of Turkish words into Greek grammar increases the language barrier. This occasionally leads to their alienation, exacerbating the deportees' sense of estrangement. The lack of local knowledge about Istanbulites is another challenging element in the narratives. Questions regarding whether children are baptized, the existence of churches in Istanbul, proficiency in Greek, and whether spouses have church weddings are raised. For the deportees who have heard derogatory nicknames such as "turkosporoi" (Greek: τουρκόσποροι (pl.) , born of a Turkish/Muslim father and a Christian mother, or vice versa) and and "yogurtivaftizmeni" (Greek: γιαουρτοβαφτισμένοι (pl.) , baptized with yoghurt) and faced questioning of their ethnic and religious identities in Istanbul, encounters of this nature in Greece, questioning religious and ethnic identities due to ignorance and suspicion, are

[284] Mohammad Ali (1805-1849)'s policy of modernization led to the emergence of the Greek community in Egypt, especially in Alexandria has become a significant center for Egyptian Hellenism due to European trade with Egypt. The surge of Egyptian nationalism during the inter-war years and the emergence of Arab socialism in the late 1950s to early 1960s had a profound and destructive effect on the Greek community in Egypt, as well as other foreign minorities. The majority of these individuals were compelled to depart from Egypt and establish new lives in Greece and other locations (Sakkas, “Greece and the Mass Exodus of the Egyptian Greeks, 1956-66”). Although the revisionist studies accepts that Nasser's nationalism and the Egyptianization Laws of 1957 played a pivotal role in prompting the Greek exodus from Egypt, they also recognized that internal factors within the Greek community were substantial contributors to its breakdown (Kazamias, “The ‘Purge of the Greeks’ from Nasserite Egypt: Myths and Realities”).

deemed more preferable compared to the more uncomfortable and dangerous encounters experienced in Istanbul (Δρινη, 2004, p.135).

On the contrary, Athens and Thessaloniki were perceived as brighter, more spacious, and safer in comparison to Istanbul. The streets are broader, the climate is warmer, and the summers are longer. Athens, being less crowded than Istanbul and experiencing fewer security issues, surprises Rums of Istanbul who, accustomed to feel uneasy in public spaces, had developed a habit of retreating to their homes when it gets dark, and had witnessed pogroms even within their homes in Istanbul, witnessing neighbors sleeping in gardens in Athens. For Rums, sleeping without locking the door, walking safely on the streets after dark, and freely speaking their mother tongue in public are all novel experiences. For instance, when Despina disembarked at the Piraeus port with her baby, her brothers-in-law, who had been deported before her, greeted her. In her usual habit, she began to speak in hushed tones. Immediately, they reassured Despina, saying, "Don't be afraid, this is Greece, speak freely, don't be afraid" (Δρινη, 2004, p.115).

Particularly for young women, being able to spend time on the streets without a male family member or an approved companion, participating in an activity on their own, and returning alone from places such as cinema or cafes, work, or school becomes a liberating experience. The increased sense of safety of Greek women in public spaces in Athens compared to Istanbul is not solely attributed to the comfort provided by the city and its residents' lifestyle. Women are now aware that they can assert their rights. In Athens, they experience the state of being "equal citizens" that they couldn't experience when they were Rums in Istanbul. They feel the confidence to exist in public spaces with the belief that, in the event of possible harassment, they can defend themselves, raise their voices, and be supported instead of being targeted.

Narratives of the early years of deportation focus on the newly initiated struggles of life along with the changing urban experience. Let's now delve into these stories more closely and discuss how the exile has impacted the lives of Rum Polites.

5.3 Diverse precariousness: Navigating exile's varied challenges

Deportation was a difficult experience for those who lived through this period, without exception. It entailed departing from the city of their birth and upbringing, parting ways with family, friends, and neighbors, abandoning their homes and workplaces, relinquishing established routines, and leaving behind the familiar faces and streets they once knew. Furthermore, this upheaval necessitated relinquishing their existing lives along with the potentialities inherent in those lives. Consequently, the exiles found themselves abruptly thrust into an entirely novel struggle within an unfamiliar environment, marked by the jarring shock of displacement. They had to contend with poverty, deprivation, loneliness, lack of support, homesickness, uncertainty, and despair. Embarking on this journey with only a limited amount of money to sustain them for a few days, they not only experienced economic decline but also found themselves distanced from the social networks and support mechanisms they had accumulated throughout their lives. In this period when their vulnerability was exacerbated, they had to rebuild their lives from scratch at a point of psychological collapse. However, in the endeavor to make sense of the experiences of the exiles, it is essential to articulate not only the collective challenges but also the unique facets of each individual's journey. Each distinct account serves as a testament to the myriad vulnerabilities experienced after deportation, accompanied by the development of diverse resilience strategies in response to these vulnerabilities. In order to make sense of these narratives and relate them to each

other, it is necessary to revisit the spectrum of experiences of precarity mentioned in Chapter 3 and to look at the adaptive skills, in other words resilience, built on this precariousness. This is because precariousness varies according to the individual and societal conditions in which people find themselves.

(1) Those who had to leave the country shortly after the initiation of deportation practices, without the opportunity to prepare for separation (experiencing the deepest shock), (2) individuals deported due to harmful activities and unable to return to the country with the termination of the visa agreement, (3) those of advanced age who had to leave behind their entire lives and struggled to adapt to new conditions, (4) individuals who had to leave their families behind, thus experiencing loneliness, (5) those who, after leaving the country, had nowhere to go and consequently found themselves on the streets, (6) property owners in Istanbul whose entire assets were seized, and who found themselves in a sudden impoverishment, (7) business owners sustaining their trade with the labor of employees (not skilled craftsmen but employers), (8) individuals who faced limited job opportunities after deportation, (9) those who built their entire lives on local relationships and lost all solidarity and social networks after leaving their homeland (often women), and (10) families with Greek passports where both parents were deported together, represent the most significantly compounded vulnerabilities in the spectrum of experiences of precarity of those who are deported.

Testimonies about these individuals emphasize that the experience of deportation was endured in a particularly severe manner. One of the groups whose vulnerability significantly increased after deportation, as discussed here, is families where both spouses are Greek citizens. In these families, unlike the majority of families where one spouse is a Turkish citizen and typically, the Turkish citizen

spouse stays behind—especially until the completion of the children's education—this situation does not apply. For instance, Dafni started academic education in the year her father was deported and did not wish to leave Istanbul by quitting school with him. Dafni's Turkish-citizen-mother supports her daughter's decision, and after her husband's departure from Istanbul, she sustains their livelihood by giving private lessons. The mother and daughter lived in Istanbul until Dafni graduates.[285] On the other hand, if the spouses who are Turkish citizens own property, they can sell it (even if sold well below its market value, it provides a temporary economic relief) and leave Istanbul by taking some household items with them. For instance, Athanasios' mother stayed in Istanbul for about a year to sell the property registered in her name after Athanasios and his father were deported. She sold the house well below its market value, sent the money to Greece through intermediaries at a high commission. During this period, with the easing of customs restrictions, she could also send some household items to Athens. However, valuable handmade carpets were "lost" during this transport.[286] Furthermore, if one of the spouses (or their children) is a Turkish citizen, it allows them to spend the necessary time in Istanbul to find a job and a place for the deported person's family. When Dimitra's father was deported, he left Istanbul alone, while Dimitra's Turkish-citizen-mother stayed with her daughter, waiting for news from her husband. After spending a few weeks in Athens, the father rent a small house and informed his family that they can join him. Upon receiving this message, Dimitra and her mother also traveled to Athens.[287] However, if both spouses are Greek citizens, both of them (and their children, if any) must leave the country within a short period. If they own property, both parties lose

[285] The interview with Dafni, 26.06.2022, Athens.
[286] The interview with Athanasios, 05.07.2022, Athens.
[287] The interview with Dimitra, 13.01.2020, Athens.

all their savings due to the application of a freezing order. This situation distributes precarity from the individual to the entire family, compounding the challenges they face.

Georgios's parents were Greek citizens; when his father was deported for harmful activities, the entire family left Istanbul. In the early days of their arrival in Athens, they had no place to stay, so they spent their first nights on chairs in Vathis Square, where they got off the bus. A few days later, they encountered some acquaintances, and together with them, they rent a small one-room apartment. In this single-room apartment, where standing inside was nearly impossible due to the heat from the bakery on the lower floor, three deported families spent their summers together. For Georgios, this small and stifling apartment, heated by the Athens sun and the warmth from the bakery, was the opposite of their airy home in Cihangir with a view of the Bosphorus. This small and suffocating apartment was remembered as a symbol of the initial days spent in Athens.[288]

On the other hand, the fact that both spouses are Greek citizens, as well as being deported at an advanced age, exacerbates vulnerability. For example, Kallirroi's parents were also Greek citizens and the entire family had to leave Istanbul together. With no destination in mind, they spent the first few days in one of the cheap and unsafe hotels in Omonia. However, the 40 dollars they brought with them quickly ran out and Kallirroi's father had to take the first job he could find; otherwise, his family would be left on the street. Neoklis, 60, who owned a mechanic shop in Istanbul, started working as a car washer in Skaramaga, a distant port town from Athens. The journey was too long, the work was exhausting, the income was

[288] The interview with Georgios, 26.05.2022, Athens.

minimal. The deportation was devastating for Neoklis, a well-known mechanic in Istanbul who had operated his own repair shop for years. Leaving Istanbul and his life there aside, the post-deportation challenges, the precarious situation his family was in, the feeling of helplessness Neoklis felt in his job, the loss of dignity and the lack of hope for the future must have worn him down so much that one day, on his way back from work, Neoklis attempted suicide in the port of Piraeus. He was rescued by the police officers at the port. To this day, Kallirroi remembers with great sadness the moment when she and her mother went to the police station to pick up her father and learnt how the police saved him.[289]

Especially during the initial stages of the deportation process, testimonies regarding individuals, particularly those in middle and older age, often recount suicide attempts, sudden deaths due to heart attacks and gastric bleeding, and premature deaths resulting from diseases such as cancer.[290] For instance, Manolis, a well-known industrialist in Istanbul, started working in a shoemaking workshop in Maroussi after being deported. In 1965, Dimitris, who visited his relatives in Athens, stopped by this workshop. During a conversation with the Rum workers there, Dimitris shared his plans to leave Istanbul with his family, despite being a Turkish citizen. While Manolis was stretching leather over a shoe last, he opposed Dimitris, saying, "What's here? Just poverty. Don't ever think of leaving Istanbul." The image of Manolis, once a wealthy figure in Istanbul, struggling to sew shoes with inexperience after deportation, his body appearing even older and more tired,

[289] The interview with Kallirroi, for the documentary "Lost Homeland" no date, Athens.
[290] Uzunoglu states that 20 people committed suicide after the deportation (Uzunoglu, "Geçmişin İnsan Hakları İhlalleri Telafisiz Kalırsa", p. 360), while Iakovidis mentions that 60 people committed suicide (Ιακωβιδης, *Η Ενταξη Στην Ελλαδική Κοινωνια*, p. 53).

accompanied by a sorrowful gaze, stuck in Dimitris' mind. After returning to Istanbul, Dimitris learned that Manolis had taken his own life.[291] Angelliki faced a very difficult situation; after her husband was deported, she went to Athens, where she, as a housewife, had to distance herself from the life she knew. Unable to cope with loneliness, she couldn't overcome the feeling of destruction she experienced in Athens and, leaving her family behind, she took her own life.[292] Apostolis' story is one of those narratives about individuals who, unable to overcome the devastation after deportation, succumbed to illness at a young age. Apostolis experienced a significant shock when he learned about his deportation, just as he was excited about moving into the three-story house, he had been building in Kurtuluş with all the effort and savings he had accumulated over the years. Within 48 hours, he had to leave Istanbul with his wife and three children. The house that had brought him great excitement and pride was confiscated, and in one day, he was stripped of all his achievements, becoming displaced. In Athens, he went through a severe psychological breakdown. Shortly after being diagnosed with tuberculosis, despite undergoing treatment, he couldn't recover. He passed away at a young age, a short time after being deported.[293]

Ivi Stangali struggled significantly after her deportation. It is possible to trace what Ivi experienced after deportation through the letters she wrote herself and her daughter's testimony. In a letter to her mentor Eyüboğlu, Ivi describes what she went through in the early days of exile. After leaving Istanbul, she felt something "like death," cried throughout the journey, and, along with her daughter, became the center of attention for journalists and Red Cross nurses who greeted the deportees at the

[291] The interview with Stavros, 03.06.2022, Athens.
[292] The interview with Anastasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.
[293] The interview with Anastasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.

airport. She narrates the difficult days of compulsory hospitality at an acquaintance's place

Dear Professor,

It has been 20 days since I arrived here. I couldn't write a single line to you. I wonder what you thought. Honestly, writing is difficult now too. There is a terrible void inside me. I can't focus on anything. I am in Istanbul all the time. Athens is a beautiful city. But not under these conditions. No home, no sea. I miss both terribly. I could have painted, but my dyes are in Istanbul, and here the dyes are very expensive. I have no place. Is there any activity at the workshop?...

I don't want to get to know people here. I'm dealing with those in Istanbul all the time. Workshop, home, Mühürdar, the seaside, the sound of seagulls... The doves on Saynur's roof... 20 days without the sea, without doves, without the sound of seagulls, without cats...

Maya is doing well. Oblivious to everything. She slept deeply on the plane... Many people were crying on the plane. Mostly me, but when we started landing at Athens airport, everyone started laughing and joking. But me... I can't describe it: helplessness... I felt something like death. Journalists surrounded us with flashes and cameras. They took pictures all the time. I managed to escape them by turning my back, but Maya couldn't. They bothered her the most, pointing at each other and saying, "This is a dangerous person for Turkey," laughing.

Then we were attacked by some charitable ladies and gentle Red Cross nurses. They are well-organized to help, but it's not for me, this closeness. They look at me with a sweet, overly sweet face, talking as if I were a fragile object. They ask about my husband. I tell them because they will understand in a while anyway. They ask questions, lots of questions... "Isn't the child baptized? Oh, we'll baptize her." They tell each other about the child not being baptized. And they pity me, pity me tremendously. I'm a poor woman without a husband, with a child, according to them, young! Oh dear... If the child isn't baptized, we won't get money, I won't be able to send her to any nursing home, and if necessary, she won't be able to go to school... But I saw it wouldn't work. They won't leave me alone. Once we had a girl staying with us; I called her. She is married to a journalist here, and she was waiting anyway. You will stay, we will find a job, and we will look for a house according to your earnings, she said. She was right. Roads are exhausting, distances are long. Searching for a house with Maya in my arms, looking for a job is impossible... She's a very good girl. She loves Maya a lot, prepares baby food, creams, milky fruits for her. She does her best to fatten me up. I eat what she gives me, but my morale is terrible... I have many friends, but I don't want to meet anyone... I'm a very bad shape, I can't explain.

> Please don't be angry with me for not writing until now. I'm very, very bad; I can't explain.
>
> With lots and lots of love. (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 239-240).

Being a single mother, Ivi found it extremely challenging to both take care of her baby and stand on her own feet through work. About 40-50 of her paintings, removed from their frames, never reached her, which was a significant blow. She sought ways to work as a painter in the first few years, applying to publishing houses for cover design and textile factories for fabric design, but couldn't find a job as she desired. She arranged an interview with a local newspaper in Athens, where she would be introduced as an Istanbul-based artist. However, the week the interview was supposed to be published coincided with the military coup d'état on April 21, 1967, the newspaper was shut down, and the interview was never published. She gave private French lessons, worked in jobs far below her skill and expertise, with a daily wage. Due to her low income, she lived with her daughter Maya in an 8m² room without a kitchen for the first 12 years. To ensure her daughter's proper nutrition, she often only ate bread herself. For a long time, she couldn't sleep at night due to the fear of death, experiencing nights filled with fear and insomnia due to the lack of someone to talk to. In the evenings, she would sit at the table with her head in her hands, mentally painting. The few paintings she created in Athens over the 35 years of her life there, unlike her paintings in Istanbul, are characterized by a dominant sense of confinement, darkness, and lack of color. (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019) According to her daughter Maya, Ivi's life in Athens was "a study on black, she painted it, and she got lost in it" (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 99).

Yet, what truly wore Ivi down was the separation from her close circle of friends, consisting of painters, poets, and writers, in Istanbul, who fueled her productivity and creativity. She had no intention of establishing a new social circle in

Athens, did not make a single new friend after the exile, and her thoughts were always with her friends in Istanbul. She continued to correspond with her Istanbul friends for a few years, but as Ivi lost hope of returning, struggled to get by in the challenges of Athens, couldn't create, remained unrecognized and unsatisfied, and couldn't fulfill herself, she sank into a profound depression. Ivi, for whose light was the subject for a poem,[294] gradually transformed into someone who "withdrawn into herself, confined to the outer limits of life, someone unable to breathe." Over time, her connection with her friends in Istanbul, with whom she had a deep association through art, faltered. Istanbul gradually forgot Ivi, to the extent that, on the 5th anniversary of her deportation in 1969, in an article titled "The Last Fifteen Years of Our Painting," written by her closest friends from the academy, organized by the Society of Art Critics, nearly all influential artists from the 1950s were mentioned, but the name Ivi Stangali was never uttered. In 1999, in a critical article about an exhibition organized for Turan Erol's 50th year in art, it was mentioned that "the drawing work named Ivi Stangali remains a mystery"; "Ivi is now just a face whose identity is no longer remembered in the art world" (Bozis & Sinanlar Uslu, 2019, p. 42).[295]

The lives of Manol and Angelliki mentioned above became unbearable, and for Apostol and İvi, there was no compensation for the losses left behind; their

---

[294] A poem written by İlhan Berk for Ivi in 1958:
Morning of Ivie
Ivi awoke / The window woke up with her / The first sky passed in front of her, and Ivie laughed / Gypsy girls brought the sea from all four corners / Wrapped it up and left it / Yellow plums came, painted the room yellow / Ivi took the sky and descended to Istanbul / A joy in Istanbul seeing Ivie / Everything she looks at says, "Draw me" to Ivie / Draw a face says her / A wind hits the Galata Tower and passes by / Ivi is shining (Berk, 2003). (Translation belongs to the author).

[295] Bozis and Sinanlar Uslu's work, *İvi Stangali – Ressamı Hatırlamak,* for this very reason, characterizes Ivi not as someone overshadowed but, in the light that Ilhan Berk saw in her, as a painter who lived and created in Istanbul, marking her as a unique and special artist, remembering her with respect. The subtitle of the book is "Remembering the Painter".

experiences led to their gradual disappearance over time. Each subject of exile underwent a unique experience. Returning to the spectrum of experiences of precarity, it can be argued that, compared to the first group, the following groups—those (1) with acquaintances and a place to stay in Athens, (2) families where one spouse is a Turkish citizen, (3) non-working women in Istanbul, and (4) school-aged children—experienced compounded precariousness from different perspectives. Those with relatives in the places they went to and those with compulsory visits tried to keep their stays as short as possible by taking up various jobs. The elderly, on the other hand, faced considerable challenges in finding employment. Life was not easier for those whose compulsory visits extended without finding a job during this period. For instance, when Andreas's 66-year-old father was deported, leaving behind his Turkish citizen wife and children, he came to Athens. He became a compulsory guest for over a year in the house of a distant relative who lived in a very poor neighborhood in Piraeus. This relative had migrated to Athens in 1922 during the population exchange and lived in small refugee houses[296] consisting of a room and a kitchen provided by the state. Due to the lack of accommodation, he had to sleep on a mattress spread in the kitchen at night. Being of advanced age, he struggled to find employment. As a result of the difficulties, he faced during this compulsory visit, health problems gradually emerged. Andreas eventually had to leave school, come to Athens to work, and take care of his father.[297] Nikolaos left his Turkish citizen wife and children behind in Istanbul and came to Athens. Operating a large grocery store in Karaköy, Nikolaos rent a small house and shop in the impoverished neighborhood of Neapolis in Piraeus. With borrowed money, he transformed this shop into a small

[296] The old refugee houses, known as "Prosfygika" (προσφυγικά), can still be seen in some neighborhoods of Athens, particularly on Alexandras Avenue and Fix Avenue today.
[297] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.

grocery store and the adjacent small warehouse into a kind of kitchen where daily meals are prepared. For Athanasios, who knew that his father used to order sacks of goods every morning in Eminönü, and the orders were barely carried to the shop by porters, one of the first memories he would recall about their new life was his father taking the bus to Piraeus in the morning, buying supplies for the shop, and carrying a few kilos of sugar and a few liters of oil on his back to the shop. However, neither did Athanasios's father have more capital to buy more goods, nor did their new neighbors in this neighborhood shop their needs by weight. Athanasios's mother, on the other hand, could not find affection for the neighborhood they live in, make friends with the neighbors, or find happiness in this shop-house.[298]

On the other hand, in families that found themselves in economic difficulties shortly after their arrival, housewives/mothers who had not previously worked, and even considered it shameful to work, started working after the exile. Rather than being a story of these women joining the workforce and achieving economic freedom, it became an experience where their vulnerabilities increased due to informality, physical exhaustion, and job instability. Because the labor of these women, which was not officially recognized, mainly involved domestic work such as housekeeping, caregiving, and tailoring, as well as low-skilled factory labor. Working in physically demanding jobs after not working in Istanbul and having to work after exile was seen as a source of embarrassment, and narratives about working women are rarely present in testimonials even today. This silence was only broken in very rare moments, and it became relatively more feasible to share the story of a female relative rather than directly addressing the "mother." For example, Evangelos' aunt

[298] The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.

Marika's story is recounted as follows: Marika went to Athens with her children after her husband was exiled and struggled with great poverty for a long period. Later, she entered the car washing business in a garage, and an acquaintance she met there invited her to work at a factory on the outskirts of the city that produced explosives and ammunition for the defense industry. Marika, whose husband had died at an early age due to cancer, had to work and accepted this invitation. However, due to the chemicals she was exposed to, Marika's health deteriorated, and she passed away at a young age.[299]

However, it is important to note that the vulnerabilities of school-age children were compounded after the exile. Since there was no preparatory class for the children of the exiles who came from a different curriculum, their integration with other students was left to time. Consequently, Istanbulite Rum children and teenagers faced inevitable challenges. Those in primary school age were subjected to peer bullying due to their different accents. Georgios was ridiculed and called "Türkaki" (little Turk) by both his teacher and classmates. Whenever there was a play at school, they assigned him the role of an Ottoman Pasha. As a result, Georgios never liked school. Furthermore, his teacher tried to convince his mother that he could not continue his education because his inability to improve his Greek. Georgios still gets angry and upset today when he remembers the bullying he endured during his childhood.[300]

High school-age exiles faced difficulties in adapting to classes for a long time or had to repeat a grade due to the differences in curricula from their previous schools. For example, Athanasios, who was an excellent student in Zografeion High

[299] The interview with Evangelos, 13.05.2022, Athens.
[300] The interview with Georgios, 26.05.2022, Athens.

School, struggled to adapt to classes at the high school in Athens because he had learned the basic sciences in Turkish, and he constantly tried to answer questions by translating from Turkish and became the subject of mockery due to his lack of command of the Greek terminology.[301] Grigoris, a graduate of Robert College, had to retake two years of high school in Athens because his graduation was not recognized (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007).

University-aged individuals had to balance school with work. For instance, Vasilios, while studying pharmacy, spent every spare moment working at a kiosk in Kalithea.[302] Andreas struggled greatly while working and studying, drinking a lot of coffee to stay awake for night study sessions and managing only 3 hours of sleep per day. As a result, his stomach developed a perforation, and he ended up in the hospital.[303] Exiled university students, due to sustaining their lives with very low incomes and trying to support their families, exerted more effort than their peers to finish their education early and establish a profession. They experienced their youth with different concerns than their classmates. For example, Thanos couldn't participate in various university boycotts for mandatory laboratory classes to avoid failing a year. This made him a traitor in the eyes of students participating in the boycott, leading to his exclusion from school groups.[304] Fotis had a different experience; he wanted to study medicine but couldn't afford the 5-year education, knowing that his family wouldn't be able to support him for so many years. Therefore, he bid farewell to his dreams and chose a maritime school where he could finish his education sooner and start working earlier. He completed his classes faster

[301] The interview with Athanasios, 27.03.2023, Athens.
[302] The interview with Vasilios, 07.06.2022, Athens.
[303] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.
[304] The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020; 20.05.2022, Athens.

than his classmates and completed his mandatory internship without taking a break. He became one of Greece's youngest captains, receiving the achievement plaque from the king. However, at the same ceremony, he received a provisional graduation certificate because he couldn't afford the diploma fee.[305] Thanos and Fotis graduated from university, but it is important to note that a significant majority faced challenging conditions within their families, preventing them from attending university, struggling while working and studying, leading to academic failures, or leaving school altogether because they had to work directly. For example, is, who owned a large lingerie workshop in Istanbul and supported their livelihood through outsourcing production, suddenly fell into poverty in Athens when he couldn't continue the same business. His three children, who were studying at prestigious schools in Istanbul, couldn't continue their education when they moved to Athens after the exile (Δρινη, 2004, p. 57-75). Drawing on this testimony, it should be emphasized that the experience of exile not only compounded precariousness but also, concurrently, transmitted this precariousness to the subsequent generations, thereby hindering their social mobilization.

Lastly, when we look to the other end of the spectrum of experiences of precarity, here we see (1) those who are skilled craftsmen, (2) familiar with Athens and Thessaloniki, (3) those who have networks and support in these places. Having support, finding accommodation and employment, has made this process relatively less challenging for some exiles. For example, when Stylianos was deported, he stayed with friends from Kınalıada who had moved to Athens a few years earlier. With the support of his friends, he found a job on the very first day. They said,

[305] The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens.

"Come immediately, start today," but he declined the offer for work on the first day of his arrival, saying, "I just arrived today; let me start tomorrow at least." He was a 36-year-old skilled shoemaker, moving around various workshops during the day, cutting leather according to shoe patterns. Due to starting to work at a very young age, he was already known in the Istanbul market. Even before Stylianos went to Athens, his reputation had preceded him. He had no difficulty finding work, both in Istanbul and in Athens, as he visited several workshops during the day, earning money. Moreover, since he had previously visited Athens as a tourist, knew the city, and could spend time with his old friends here, he felt no sense of strangeness in Athens.[306]

Adonis, similarly, would later say that he faced very few problems after exile. What he could not comprehend was the unpreparedness of Greek citizens of Rum origin for the exile decision; how could so many property owners not have bought a house in Athens until then, not strive to have at least 100 drachmas just in case? He believed they should have thought about it, especially after 1955. Indeed, Adonis had done so; his eyes were opened by a Turkish lawyer friend after 1955: "I'm telling you as a friend," he began, "in a place where they dig up the dead, you won't be wanted either," he said. "There is no one telling you to leave for now, but at least, just in case, have a roof to put over your head [somewhere else]." Adonis took this warning seriously, bought a house in Athens in 1957, and through this house, he married an Athenian woman in 1959. In the early 1960s, he frequently traveled between Istanbul and Athens. When he was deported in April 1965, he had a ready house in Athens, a

[306] The interview with Stylianos, 07.10.2022, Online.

network established through his wife, and a ready job. Therefore, he would claim that he faced no problems after exile. (Δρινη, 2004, p. 92-93).

Here, the examples illustrate how the experience of exile resulted in different vulnerabilities for individuals. However, the diverse experiences of exiles, with some having their ties to life shaken so profoundly while others adapt more quickly to the process, are not solely determined by varying vulnerabilities. How individuals cope with these vulnerabilities after exile is at least as crucial as the vulnerabilities themselves. Furthermore, as much as the focus is on the difficult experiences of exile, it is also important to look at how these difficult experiences are overcome. Ultimately, the resilience developed is part of the story of exile.

5.4 The resilience of expelled Rum Polites

The concept of resilience has transformed over time, progressing from a focus on the persistence of ecological systems to addressing the interconnectedness of social-ecological systems and human adaptation, and most recently, shifting towards the critical examination of social transformation amidst global change (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013). This particular genealogy reflects the fundamental principles that constitute the concept of resilience, persistability, adaptability, and transformability. The evolution of the resilience concept can be succinctly traced as progressing from an initial focus on the persistence of ecological systems, through an emphasis on the adaptability of interconnected social-ecological systems, to its recent shift towards addressing societal transformability in the context of global change. These three genealogical steps underscore the core principles of resilience, defining it broadly as a system's ability to persist in its current state amidst disturbance and

change, adapt to upcoming challenges, and transform in ways that improve its functioning (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013).

In this context, resilience is the ability of a person to successfully adopt to or recover from stressful and traumatic experiences (Siriwardhana, 2014). Previously there was a consensus to define resilience as a capacity to "bounce back" from an adversity; however, recent researchers critically re-examined the concept of bouncing back (to a previous state) (Qamar, 2023). They have highlighted the inadequacy of the "bouncing back" concept in recognizing resilience as a process involving continuity and progress for adopting a dynamic and ever-changing environment. In other words, resilience is not a capacity for bouncing back but rather a capacity for "bouncing ahead" (Holtorf, 2018; Norris et al., 2008; Pendall et al., 2010; Qamar, 2023).

Moreover, until the late 20th century, resilience was seen as an individual's capacity and psychological fitness to cope with any adversity during the life course (Garmezy, Masten, & Tellegen, 1984). However, this approach has been criticized in recent years as well, for (1) understanding resilience as a purely individual trait; (2) for assuming that people are resilient because of the internal resources they possess (such as temperament or cognitive abilities); and (3) for creating a self-defined category of "non- resilient" people as a result of this assumption (Qamar, 2023), because Resilience is a dynamic developmental process shaped by experiential learning across the lifespan. Contrary to being construed as an immutable facet of personality or an innate endowment, resilience emerges as a learned response to life's challenges. Consequently, individuals may demonstrate varying levels of resilience during different life phases when confronted with challenges, underscoring the nuanced nature of resilience dynamics. Moreover, labeling an individual as lacking in

resilience or implicitly endorsing a category of non-resilience is, at a minimum, an unjust proposition. Such categorization oversimplifies the intricate nature of resilience and its contextual expression, introducing imprecision and unwarranted judgment. Emphasizing this perspective, it is crucial to acknowledge the limitations and potential biases inherent in evaluating life experiences without considering individuals' responses to preceding and subsequent challenging situations. Presuming that certain individuals are inherently unable to develop resilience in comparison to those with analogous experiences not only introduces inaccuracies but also reflects a form of unwarranted superiority. These criticisms also point out that “the heroic resilience” approach ignores social resilience (Capucha, Calado , & Estêvão, 2017). However, human beings are a sophisticated set of relationships and are in contact with themselves and their environment. Through these contacts, precarity increases, and through these contacts, resilience develops (Scherler, 2023). In this context, it is noteworthy that personal resilience and social resilience are interconnected and mutually reinforcing elements. They reciprocally contribute to and are shaped by one another, with the absence of either component resulting in a compromised functionality of the other.

5.4.1 In the face of challenges: Cultivating personal resilience

Gestalt psychology particularly emphasizes the holistic nature of human experiences. All experiences encountered throughout life are valuable, especially challenging experiences that serve as instruments inviting individuals to develop and transform. Through these challenging experiences, individuals find the opportunity to enhance their resilience. *Change*, in this context, is not a process that occurs by pushing oneself to become what they aspire to be; rather, it necessitates direct *contact* with

the challenging experiences that come one's way. For instance, for someone afraid of the dark, change is not merely turning on the light; the sole path that will lead someone afraid of the dark to change is the individual's intention to remain in the darkness, contact with this fear (Scherler, 2023). From this perspective, facing the difficulty involves not avoiding or temporarily resolving the challenge (*deflection*) but, instead, experiencing the difficulty and staying within its confines (*continuum of awareness*). From a *holistic perspective*, another crucial aspect, as important as engaging with difficulty, is being aware that a positive experience will not last indefinitely. Ignoring or denying a challenging experience, as well as getting fixated on a gratifying experience and clinging to its continuity, weakens the connection with life. The key insight that an individual needs to be aware of is the fundamental truth that everything is transient, and everything will change. So, the concept of resilience is intrinsically dynamic, and it encompasses uncertainty, change and crises as normal rather than exceptional conditions. The analysis of social resilience is therefore oriented towards understanding the mechanisms by which a system can adapt not only to challenges that are directly at hand, but also to unexpected and unknown challenges (Kates and Clark 1996; Streets and Glantz 2000, as cited in Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013).

For an individual to establish contact with themselves, in other words, to recognize and perceive their experiences and to be aware of how they perceive these experiences, it is essential for them to maintain objectivity. However, through this objective perspective, an individual can delineate their own boundaries, position themselves against the tensions encountered throughout their life; what to *integrate with* and what to *differentiate from* is determined by the individual's contact with themselves. Tensions encountered throughout life result in a perpetual process of

integration and differentiation; these processes shape the individual's contacts. If the individual is aware of the transience of everything, in other words, if they can *receive* what life brings and withstand the uncertainty and difficulty experienced, it indicates a rich contact. Here, rich contact does not imply the individual's satisfaction with this contact; rather, it signifies the ability to feel the difficulty, expand one's own *ground* in the face of this difficulty—*stretching boundaries* instead of resisting challenges. Through such rich contact, an individual can strengthen their resilience. If, in the face of a tension encountered—using our example, being expelled—an individual cannot experience a rich contact, cannot accept the difficulty, and does not adapt to new conditions with a desire to "bounce back", they cannot undergo the process of differentiation. Unable to leave behind and separate from what they cannot overcome, they cannot integrate with the new aspects of life, unable to experience rich contact. Thus, the inability to establish contact accumulates, continuing into their life as a creditor from the past.

From a Gestalt perspective, resilience is the state of experiencing the new achieved through saturated contacts. How one will experience the new is a matter of individual choice; intending to change leads to novel experiences. However, when there is an intention for change, an individual's experiences become enriched in terms of physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual dimensions. The individual adapts their existing skills to align with new conditions and acquires new skills suitable for their evolving circumstances. Throughout this process, the individual learns to tolerate

their own shortcomings and limitations, approaches themselves with compassion, and, most importantly, learns to accept what life presents.[307]

In narratives concerning elder family members who have successfully adapted to life after exile, one prominent theme is their harboring of hope for the future and their determination. Anticipating a positive future and demonstrating perseverance in rebuilding from scratch necessitate the acceptance of encountered difficulties and a commitment to laboring for the future within the constraints imposed by prevailing challenges. For instance, Agni's father was one of the three well-known funeral arrangers of the period in Beyoğlu. Following the enactment of the law prohibiting certain professions, he was denied the right to operate his shop under his own name. Finding a Turkish partner, he transferred the shop to the partner's name and worked like a trustee in his own shop for years. In Semptemvriana, he and his family were in Burgazada. On the morning of September 7th, when he arrived at Galata Bridge, he was astonished to find amidst the scattered and looted piles of belongings, flyers he had recently printed for detailing the services the funeral ceremonies of his own shop. He couldn't comprehend how these flyers reached from Bekar Street, where his shop was located, to Karaköy. Upon emerging from Tünel to Beyoğlu, he encountered the pogrom. Upon reaching the street where his shop was, he found all the coffins scattered on the road, even the water pipes in his shop were burst. When he returned home that evening, he recounted what he had seen to his family. The next day, he resumed his work, cleaning his shop and starting a new day. When he was deported in 1964 at the age of

[307] The discussion in this section is largely summarized from our discussions with Prof. Scherler, drawing on three key sources she suggested (Daş, *Bütünleşmek ve Büyümek: Gestalt Terapi Yaklaşımı*; Perls, *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim*; Perls, Hefferline and Goodman, *Gestalt Therapy: Excitement and Growth in the Human Personality*). The interview with Scherler, 19.09.2023, Istanbul.

63, he initially struggled to find work in Athens, walking the streets in search of employment, visiting carpentry workshops, and inquiring, "Is there any work for me?" He walked to the farthest corners of the city. Despite his advanced age, he carried wood on his back in the daily jobs he found. In the evenings, when he returned home exhausted, he shared the day's experiences with his family. He did not deny the difficulties but could not refrain from narrating his experiences with a touch of humor, encouraging his family with the belief that everything would improve. With Agni finding employment, he accumulated some capital. Already proficient in his trade, he adapted his business to Athens, where a significant number of tourists were drawn; he established a service preparing the bodies of deceased tourists in Athens for repatriation. He continued working until the end of his life. According to Agni, despite facing hardships, her father persevered, established a routine in Athens, and adapted to his new life.[308]

Due to the pressures experienced in the early 1940s, Michalis' father found it necessary to close his tailor shop in Ankara and relocate to Istanbul. His store in Hacopolos Passage in Semptemvria suffered significant damage; fabric rolls were torn apart, and the entire shop was vandalized. On the morning of September 7th, he left his home to inspect his shop. While passing through Taksim Square, he noticed the labels of the coats he had sewn lying in the piles on the ground, realizing that his shop had also been damaged in the pogrom. That evening, upon returning home, he bought some appetizers, set up a table for his family, and, wanting to appear strong to his wife and son, declared, "I will rebuild my business." When Michalis recalls the evening of September 7th, he describes how his father's hair turned white within a

[308] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens.

week, revealing the immense struggle he faced during those days. Despite the difficulties, his father persisted with hope and determination, attempting to rebuild his business. When he was deported in 1964, he contemplated what he could do in Athens for a while. After exploring the market, he realized that trench coats were not being produced in Athens. Adapting to the circumstances, he devised a new solution and started producing trench coats, selling them to stores and making money from this venture. He established a new order. According to Michalis, his father, whose life in Istanbul was marked by traumas, adapted to his life in Athens.[309]

Both Agni's father and Michalis' father encountered economic difficulties before the 1964 exile and managed to overcome these challenges in some way. The ability to re-establish businesses after the 1964 exile could be attributed to the intention to adapt to new conditions, but it could also be effectively correlated with the resilience they developed over time. Leonidas, for instance, testified that after his father was deported, they came to Athens, and during this period, his sister left school to work as a salesclerk in a shop, he himself worked in an office after school and attended language school in the evenings, and his father, who owned a shop in Cihangir, started working as a laborer for a contractor. Leonidas related that the resilience developed by Istanbulites in the post-exile years was tied to the resilience gained during the challenging period they faced in Istanbul:

> Life began entirely from scratch. Of course, this might have been influenced by education, culture, or even power, for you see, when you live in a challenging environment, that environment enhances and augments your reflexes, willpower, determination, patience, the valuable elements necessary for creating something. In the past few years, it is not coincidental that the majority of Constantinopolitans who came to Greece have achieved a remarkably high level, and the reason for this lies in the elements they carried with them... Simply because we became accustomed to certain unique conditions... due to living in a region where everything

[309] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens.

> is hostile, we needed to possess much more alertness, effort, patience, determination, and all these mentioned elements to survive (Δρινη, 2004, p.135).

Leaving their lives behind was challenging for older exiles. However, for those who accepted the exile and all its difficulties, experienced the *differentiate from* life in Istanbul during this *contact* process, and made efforts to *integrate with* their new lives while harboring hope for the future, the adaptation process was relatively less painful. For younger exiles, the situation was different. Rather than an experience of developing resilience, one of the factors that made the youth resilient was their ability to relatively easily leave behind their lives in Istanbul, given that they were still at the beginning of their lives. Exile had become a threshold for growth for young exiles. When leaving Istanbul, their predominant emotion was not sorrow but excitement for the new and unknown aspects of life.

On August 15, 1964, Athanasios arrived at the Karaköy pier in Istanbul to depart on the ship Akdeniz. Boarding the ship, he felt a sense of maturity, having perceived himself as a man. At just 16 years old, he could control his own life and travel on his own, leading to a sudden sense of growth. He comforted his tearful mother, who had to stay behind, waiting for things to fall into place and sending her son off after her husband. Quickly ascending the stairs, he looked at the crowd on the dock, waving their handkerchiefs, bidding farewell to their loved ones. He felt liberated because, up until that hour, he had been a Rum child, an Istanbulite Rum child:

> I boarded the Akdeniz ship from the Karaköy pier, at 16 years old, still a child, and what a child I was! An Istanbul Rum child, a Reaya! Do you know what Reaya means? It means coward. “Hush! Speak quietly, don't let them hear us, or they'll kick us out”.” Don't turn on the radio, don't play the record”, “oh, don't be visible...”. [while passing through customs] My mother knew they wouldn't give me my belongings. Let's say, your frame is lost, whom will you call? "Oh, you insulted Atatürk", "No way", "Well, you did, right? Ahmet, you witnessed it, didn't you?" Oh, you're

> gone, it's over. That's how it was back then, "Did you insult the Turkish flag?" "No, no", "Mehmet, come here, did you hear it too?" ,"Yes, he did", "Police, come!" You're finished right there. You're a Reaya. A Reaya.[310]

On the deck of the Akdeniz ship, the sense of freedom Athanasios felt was now combined with the excitement of embarking on a life that would no longer be confined to being a Reaya. As the Mediterranean ship, the following morning, made a sharp turn towards Piraeus after passing by the Temple of Poseidon at Cape Sounion, Athanasios, standing on the deck and eagerly observing his surroundings, began tuning in to a local radio channel with the transistor radio in his hand. The first song he heard was Hadjidakis's "O Kyrios Antonis." A joy filled Athanasios' being. Years later, he would fondly remember the morning of the first day of his new life as a beautiful morning. This journey had become a journey of maturation, a kind of *rite of passage* for Athanasios.

For Pashalis, being deported meant more than leaving the island where he was born and raised; it signified a journey to Athens, a city he had been curious to see for many years. Four months after his father was deported, he wrote a letter to his mother, stating that he had found a job and wanted to bring the family to join him. In response, Pashalis and his mother left Istanbul on August 14, 1964. Like Athanasios, Pashalis was 16 years old, and, boarding the Akdeniz from the Karaköy pier, he felt the same joy. He was thrilled to be going to a new city. However, his parents were devastated. His father, as he did after the Semptemvriana, suffered from a bleeding stomach again after being deported, teetering on the brink of death. His mother cried helplessly for days, pondering how they would leave their homes, where they would

[310] The interview with Athanasios, 07.05.2022, Athens.

go, and how they would rebuild their lives. Nevertheless, Pashalis was excited for his new life.[311]

One factor influencing the resilience of young individuals is the relatively facile experience of departure compared to that of older individuals, as the faces of the young are more directed towards the future, they will live rather than the lives they leave behind. However, the artistic and athletic skills of the young replace the craft skills of the older individuals. Those skilled in a craft find the opportunity to realize themselves by establishing businesses, while the young seize the opportunity to realize themselves and gain acceptance from their peers in the fields where they are talented. For example, Fotis, a student at Zografeion High School, one of Istanbul's oldest schools, experienced an odd reception from other students from the predominantly Anatolian migrant village of Elefsina when he started high school there wearing a tie, as he did in Istanbul. Fotis, who played basketball at Beyoğlu Sports Club in Istanbul and was the captain of the youth team, won first place in the 100-meter race held in Elefsina after the exile, earning a trophy. This race was highly effective in gaining recognition and acceptance from his schoolmates during his short stay in Elefsina. After graduating from high school, while practicing basketball alone at a sports club near his home in Nea Smyrna, where his family had settled, Fotis caught the attention of young Armenian boys living in the same neighborhood. They offered Fotis to play on their team, and Fotis accepted the offer. They became friends over time. Fotis new teammates also found his first job in Athens where he was still a stranger, with the support of his teammate who was a bus driver, and Fotis became a

[311] The interview with Pashalis, 28.06.2022, Athens.

bus ticket seller. In both cases, Fotis' recognition and acceptance by others were the result of his skill in sports.[312]

For Athanasios, gaining acceptance from classmates took time. Athanasios struggled, especially because of the curriculum difference between Zografeion High School in Istanbul, where he was a student, and the new school in Athens. As he took basic science courses in Turkish and encountered differences in the official historical narratives of the two nation-states, he often made translation errors or delayed in finding correct answers to questions in history classes for example. This situation led to him being teased by his classmates. Athanasios, whose beautiful voice was noticed in Istanbul when he was only 5 years old, and who learned to sing hymns regularly by attending church, was noticed by his classmates again during a class when their collective singing of hymns revealed his talent. When his classmates, who used to mock and sometimes bully him, realized that Athanasios sang hymns beautifully, they were impressed by his talent and invited him to their church. Thus, Athanasios gained acceptance and eventually became friends with them.[313]

Lastly, under the heading of personal resilience, it can be noted that fostering hope for the future, persevering, being noticed with a talent, gaining acceptance through this means, and, in addition, receiving recognition and feeling useful also contribute to the resilience of expelled Rums. Especially for expelled Rums who had to leave behind their economic, social, and cultural capital, in other words, their identities within the community, when they arrived in Greece, they struggled with basic issues in the first years while finding it challenging to maintain a series of identities they had in their lives in Istanbul. In a foreign place, they become invisible,

[312] The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens.
[313] The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2022, Athens.

unrecognized, and unknown. Having a job becomes a tool that can solve many problems, both in dealing with economic issues and in having a name within the community. Therefore, having a job that individuals can fulfill themselves and being visible in society through this job strengthens the resilience of individuals whose vulnerabilities are compounded after exile. Especially when it comes to the experience of women, being educated opens up access to jobs where they can fulfill themselves.

Emilia, after completing her higher education in France, became a highly esteemed young doctor in Istanbul, serving at Bakırköy Mental and Neurological Diseases Hospital and establishing health dormitories in various neighborhoods of Istanbul. Following her husband's deportation, she too had to leave Istanbul. Upon arriving in Athens, she felt like a fish out of water for a while, unsure of what to do. Emilia, who dedicated herself to public health, especially working with special needs children, realized that in terms of her expertise, Athens was not much different from Istanbul. She applied to the only children's hospital in Athens, explained her desired projects, and was hired as a psychologist. She worked at the same hospital for 35 years, retiring from the institution where she spent half of her life. At the time of her retirement, she was a well-known and highly regarded doctor in Athens, particularly for her work with special needs children. Moreover, she published a book sharing the fun and touching moments she experienced in her work with children. Today, Emilia is remembered by her loved ones as someone who made innovative contributions to public health, especially in the field of special needs children, and as a cheerful and vibrant individual.[314]

[314] The interview with Polyxeni, 16.06.2022, Athens.

Prior to departing from Istanbul, Agni was employed at the Turkish-German Bookstore in Beyoğlu. She held great affection for her work in this setting, as it afforded her continuous interaction with people, fostering a sense of personal development. Following her deportation, Agni found herself uncertain about her next steps and where to commence anew. Leveraging her proficiency in multiple foreign languages, she secured employment at one of the most luxurious stores in Kolonaki, Athens. Setting herself apart through her work ethic, Agni adhered to working hours, made diligent efforts to fulfill her responsibilities, and maintained a sense of seriousness in her duties. While her colleagues collectively approached their employer to demand higher wages and additional benefits, Agni refrained from confronting her employer and instead worked within the established rules. One evening, when other employees took advantage of the absence of their employer to leave the store early, Agni was caught by her employer, who had secretly come to inspect the shop, while she was picking up discarded needle from the floor for reuse. Agni's commitment to not exploiting her employer's trust and ensuring the store's profitability was appreciated. Subsequently, she received a salary increase and witnessed a rise in her seniority within the store. As she retired, transitioning from entering the boutique as a young girl to departing as a white-haired lady, Agni reflected on her work experience, associating it with the work ethic of Istanbul's Rums: "We Rums adhered to the rules; we did not want to hear an ill word from anyone. We used everything judiciously and avoided wastefulness. We knew that anything could happen at any moment; we might need a needle at any time."[315] Upon

[315]The work ethic of Istanbul Rums has been frequently emphasized in many interviews during the fieldworks, particularly in comparisons made with Greek colleagues in the work life of Athens. When juxtaposed with their Greek counterparts, Rum Polites are portrayed as individuals who diligently earn

retiring from the boutique where she had worked for forty years, Agni had become acquainted with renowned fashion designers, earned respect in her community, and emerged as a self-assured individual content with her life.[316]

Personal resilience cannot be reduced to innate characteristics; at its core, the ability of an individual to self-actualize nurtures personal resilience. Being able to engage in work that one knows and loves, persevering in this pursuit, having one's skills recognized, and gaining acceptance through this contribute significantly to personal resilience. Hoping for the future plays a crucial role, especially in situations where these conditions have not matured yet. The hope that one can self-actualize, even if not today but someday, assists in developing resilience and helps find solutions for the fragile situation one is in.

Personal resilience is sustained as it correlates with social resilience. Being noticed, accepted, appreciated, and being able to self-actualize gain meaning when one is part of a community. As mentioned earlier, personal and social resilience reciprocally contribute to and are shaped by one another, with the absence of either component resulting in a compromised functionality of the other.

---

their money, avoid causing problems, and show respect to their work and employers. In contrast, Greeks are depicted as individuals who demand more rights without working enough, exploit their employers with the support of unions and similar organizations, and are considered meddlesome. I believe that two fundamental differences may underlie this comparison: Firstly, the work ethic of Istanbul Rums may be inseparable from the habitus of precarity, interpreted as tactics developed within the habitus of precarity to avoid standing out, conform to hierarchy, fulfill expectations, and pay attention to thrift by saying "anything can happen at any time." On the other hand, the Greeks' tendency to demand their rights, unionize, and exploit gaps in the legal system may indicate the existence of a different worldview shaped by the strong leftist tradition in Greece, where workers can question hierarchy, assert their rights, and organize for collective action, as opposed to Turkey.

[316] The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens; 29.03.2023, Athens.

5.4.2 Adapting together: The dynamics of social resilience

Social resilience concern social entities -be they individuals, organizations or communities- and their capacities or abilities to bounce ahead, tolerate, absorb, cope with and adjust in the face of social challenges, disruptions, or changes via social relations and network structures; institutions and power relations; and knowledge and discourses (Obrist, Pfeiffer, & Henley, 2010). In the existing literature, the empirical case studies on social resilience address a wide range of social threats/stressors such as natural hazards and disasters, natural resource management and resource scarcity, social change and development. In this case, the mass deportation became the social threat that effect the whole community of the Rum Polites and their social resilience was developed via their social relations and network structures; institutions and power relations; and knowledge and discourses.

Lorenz posited that the capacity of individuals to cope with threats, learn from them, and adapt to future crises is not solely determined by personal attributes or intentions related to adaptation and transformation. Rather, it is contingent upon societal factors such as individuals' access to resources, acquisition of learning skills, and participation in decision-making processes (Lorenz, 2010). In essence, social resilience is fundamentally rooted in the interaction between social structures and the agency of social actors (Bohle, Etzold, & Keck , 2009). The ongoing discussion on the definition of social resilience has advanced to a stage where multiple authors, including Voss (2008), Lorenz (2010), Obrist et al. (2010), Béné et al. (2012), and Keck (2012), advocate for the recognition of three distinct capacities essential for a comprehensive understanding of social resilience. These capacities are identified as *coping capacities*, *adaptive capacities*, and *transformative capacities*.

Firstly, coping capacities deal with "re-active" (ex-post) responses (Obrist et al. 2010, p.289) and "absorptive" measures (Béné et al. 2012, p.21) regarding how individuals manage and overcome immediate threats using the resources readily at their disposal. The underlying purpose of coping is to swiftly restore the current level of well-being immediately after a critical event. Secondly, adaptive capacities pertain to "pro-active" (Obrist et al. 2010, p.289) or "preventive" measures (Béné et al. 2012, p.31) that individuals employ to draw lessons from past experiences, anticipate future risks, and adjust their lifestyles accordingly. Adaptation focuses on gradual change and aims to safeguard the current well-being of individuals in the face of upcoming risks. The key distinction between coping and adaptation lies in the temporal scope of the activities. Coping deals with tactical actions and short-term reasoning, whereas adaptation involves strategic actions and more long-term planning. And lastly, transformative capacities, alternatively termed "participative capacities" by Voss (2008) and Lorenz (2010), encompass individuals' ability to access resources and support from the broader socio-political sphere (such as governmental organizations and civil society), engage in decision-making processes, and establish institutions that enhance both their personal well-being and contribute to societal resilience against future crises. The key distinction between transformation and adaptation lies in the extent of change and the resulting outcomes. Transformation aims for a radical shift, not merely securing but enhancing people's well-being in the face of current and/or future risks. It explicitly incorporates elements of progressive change and development (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013).

When viewed within this overarching framework, the social resilience of the Istanbulite Rums appears to be constructed through their own social networks, institutions, and organizations, as well as the discourse and accumulation they have

developed over time. Furthermore, it is observed that the Istanbulite Rums have built their social resilience in the short, medium, and long term parallel to the three capacities mentioned above in the post-exile period.

During the initial phase of exile, individuals adopt a coping stance, leveraging the immediate resources at their disposal to navigate the challenges they confront. These resources predominantly involve seeking support from familial, kinship, and close social networks. As the shock of exile is gradually overcome and its enduring nature is acknowledged, individuals transition into an adaptive phase. In the medium term, they strategically organize to address prospective challenges, encompassing issues such as retirement, military service, and tax obligations. This organizational endeavor involves the establishment of newspapers and associations, fostering a sense of solidarity and collaborative problem-solving. However, the protracted nature of the challenges faced by exiles, with some evolving into chronic issues, prompts a transformative motivation. This motivation drives the establishment of novel institutions and the cultivation of fresh social connections. These institutions, shaped by the knowledge accrued in the post-exile years and informed by contemporary political stances, formulate distinct discourses, fortify the solidarity, and disseminate it across a broader constituency. Following this preliminary exploration of social resilience, a more nuanced analysis of its capacities and limitations can be undertaken.

5.4.3 Social networks and unexpected assistance in the initial challenges

Exiles departing from Istanbul with limited resources promptly sought assistance from their relatives and close associates in Athens and Thessaloniki. In comparison to those without a predetermined destination, those who could at least find shelter

under a roof experienced the initial shock in relatively humane conditions due to the support they received. As attested by the narratives encountered in field research, the relatives and acquaintances in Greece mentioned, with one exception,[317] were individuals who themselves had departed from Istanbul during the population exchanges and the subsequent minority-hostile policies. Despite their constrained resources, they could host the exiles. For instance, when Athanasios and his father Nikolaos arrived in Athens, Nikolaos stayed with his brother, while Athanasios lodged in the house of Nikolaos' cousin, as his uncle's house had only room for one person.[318] Andreas's father Adonis, on the other hand, stayed with a relative of his son-in-law. This relative, residing in a small single-room refugee house, accommodated his obligatory guest in the kitchen for a year. Alongside lodging support, the financial assistance played a significant role.[319] Amalia's family, for instance, gradually sent the belongings of their deported neighbors from Istanbul to Athens whenever they had the opportunity, providing some financial support as well.[320] Elias's uncle in the United States sent money to Elias's mother every month until the family could stand on its own feet.[321]

When Stella's family settled in Thessaloniki, they received unexpected support from an unlikely source: a lottery ticket. Stella's father owned a grocery store in Kuruçeşme and was deported in July 1964 on allegations of engaging in harmful activities. He came to Thessaloniki because his wife had relatives there. Stella joined him in September 1964, and her mother and grandmother arrived in December 1964.

---

[317] The only example was Danai’s father who was born in Vlasti and stayed for a while in his sister house in the same village after the expulsion.
[318] The interview with Athanasios, 07.05.2022, Athens.
[319] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.
[320] The interview with Amalia, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki.
[321] The interview with Elias, 23.01.2020, Athens.

Once the family reunited, they rented a small apartment in Kamari. In 1965, the lottery ticket Stella's mother had purchased yielded a prize of 50,000 drachmas. Adding this to the jewelry Stella's mother had entrusted to the consulate before leaving Istanbul, the family quickly purchased a house. With the help of Stella's mother's siblings, they opened a small pastry shop. Thus, during the initial period of exile, both the support of family and the stroke of luck alleviated their vulnerabilities.[322]

Lastly, Grigoris' family received support not from a relative or acquaintance but from two industrialists who were Istanbul Rums. When Grigoris father, Christos, was deported, he left his family in Istanbul and came to Athens alone. He was an electrician and construction master, and fortunately, he started working on a construction site the first week he arrived. When he went to buy the necessary materials from the hardware stores on Athinas Avenue, he encountered the owners of two large factories in Izmit where he had worked before, he was deported. These old acquaintances were Istanbul Rums who had migrated to Greece in the early 1960s. They convinced Christos to leave his current job, took him to the construction of their new cement factory in Halki, and put him in charge of the project. Christos was very happy to find employment, and as soon as his papers were in order, he called his wife, mother-in-law, and three children, who had stayed in Istanbul, to join him in Halki. Once the family reunited, they rented a house and bought furniture on credit, assuming that Christos now had a stable job.

However, not long after being deported, on November 12, 1964, Christos, who was supervising the construction at the factory, tragically lost his life when a

[322] The interview with "K47", 2008, Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria, Thessaloniki.

piece of debris fell on him. His death, at the age of 51, was a profound shock for the family, which had not yet fully overcome the weight of leaving Istanbul, and it marked a significant turning point that altered the family's destiny. In the lawsuit that followed, the Rum owners of the cement factory, who had complained about those responsible for the construction, pledged to support the family. The factory covered all the educational expenses of Grigoris and his siblings. After graduating from university, Grigoris worked at the same cement factory for 26 years. Simultaneously, the factory supported the family's livelihood and covered the 70,000-drachma promissory note debt incurred for the newly established house. Years later, when speaking about the support from the owners of the cement factory after his father's death, Grigoris would say, "Whether we call it luck or fate, my father's death opened doors for us".[323]

Christos' encounter with his former employers was a coincidence, but in 1964, meeting acquaintances in Athens for Istanbul Rums was not an uncommon occurrence; especially, exiled Rums frequently visited Vathis Square (Pletea Vathis) to meet with familiar faces.[324] Vathis Square served as the final stop for buses arriving from Istanbul to Athens, with the ticket offices of the two bus companies that operated on specific days of the week located very close to the square.[325] Known for their scheduled service days, exiles not only awaited the arrival of their relatives from Istanbul but also, perhaps in the hope of encountering a familiar face, awaited the arrivals to greet them at Vathis Square. In a short time, the square transformed

[323] The interview with Grigoris, 06.06.2022, Athens.
[324] A detailed map of Vathis Square can be seen in the Appendix F.
[325] Most interviewees mentioned that bus trips were conducted three times a week. There were two bus companies, one of them being "Ismail," with an office on Marni Street. Subsequently, the "Malitas" agency was established, opening an office on the upper side of Kaningos Square. The buses would stop in front of the agency, and the entire crowd gathered in Vathis Square.

from being the first point of arrival in Athens for Istanbulites to a gathering place where settled Istanbulites welcomed their relatives. Near the square, a *periptero* (kiosk) sold newspapers from Turkey. Turkish citizens arriving in Greece with their expelled relatives needed to visit the foreigner's bureau (Γραφείο Αλλοδαπών) to obtain residence and work permits. This bureau, conveniently close to Vathis Square, was situated on Chalkokondili street. In 1964, the exiles established the Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey and opened their first office, located near Vathis Square at Aristotelous street, 10. Additionally, the social welfare office (Κεντρο κοινωνικης προνοιας), where Istanbul exiles received their daily cash assistance, was situated on Varenzerou street, in close proximity to Vathis Square (Δρινη, 2004, p. 51).

Vathis Square had a significant feature, which was a tavern situated at the corner of Kamaterou, Sokratous, Chalkokondili, and Aristotelous streets, owned by Haris Surmelis, himself an exile. This tavern swiftly emerged as a focal point and a gathering place for Istanbulites in Athens. Surmelis, situating tables in the adjacent area, transformed the corner into a communal meeting ground. The tavern offered customers uncomplicated mezes such as cheese, tomatoes, cucumbers, pickles, and beverages, complemented by a modest jukebox. Rapidly assuming a magnetic allure, the tavern became a gathering spot for Istanbul exiles to convene, share news, and gather insights on both urban life and bureaucratic proceedings. Notably, the surrounding hotels, infamous for their bad reputation due to their associations with prostitution at the time, served as a provisional lodging option for exiles without a definitive destination. Those in search of temporary housing or employment, frequently accompanied by their children, found solace in this tavern. Additionally, the tavern had its regular patrons—primarily elderly exiles grappling with

unemployment and familial separation.[326] They spent much of their time in this tavern, sharing moments of melancholy, listening to the songs of Stelios Kazancidis, who became popular with his expatriate songs for the workers going to Germany from Greece, and Manolis Aggelopoulos, known for his Greek-Gypsy and Arabian influences in his sad compositions of love and separation, and sharing their longing for Istanbul.[327] Surmelis's tavern was remembered by the young people of that era for its rather melancholic atmosphere. Consequently, these young individuals were not particularly fond of going to the tavern. The recollections of the youth from that era resonate with a perception of Surmelis's tavern characterized by its distinctly melancholic ambiance. Consequently, the younger generation harbored a reluctance to frequent Platea Vathis—the tavern in question. For example, Vasilios recounted his father's visits to the tavern, juxtaposed with his personal preference for job-seeking over going to the tavern. Conversely, Dimitris voiced discontent regarding the melancholic disposition of the tavern's regular clientele, citing their continuous displays of sorrow, excessive drinking, and lamentations about their fate, solely revolving around Istanbul in their conversations. Despite such reservations, Dimitris, driven by the prospect of encountering a familiar face, found himself unable to abstain from visits to the tavern. Consequently, he might have been the youngest customer of this tavern. Occasionally, he encountered acquaintances from the island, who promised to help him find work, only to continue their melancholy conversations with other customers in the tavern. One noteworthy episode unfolded

[326] The young exiles of the time spent their time in later years at a cafe in the basement of Fexis Stoa, near the beginning of Patission Street, close to Vathis Square. They would also gather in foosball and pinball parlors located near this café (*O Politis,* August 2021).
[327]For 50 drachmes a song was played (The interview with Dimitris, 19.01.2021, Online).

when Dimitris observed the renewed photographer Ara Güler outside the tavern. Possessing an interest in photography, Dimitris recognized Güler from their shared Istanbul background.[328] Güler gathered all the tavern's customers and said, "Let me take a beautiful photo of you." A week later, when this photo was published in Hürriyet newspaper under the title "Poor Rums", the exiles felt embarrassed as their conditions were broadcast to those remaining in Istanbul (*O Politis*, August 2021).[329]

Over time, the function of the square underwent a transformation; the tavern where Istanbul Rums used to gather and share their melancholy moments, along with the space in front of the tavern, evolved into a labor market. Starting from the mid-1960s, the construction sector in Athens experienced rapid growth due to the efforts of occupation and post-war reconstruction, presenting a new opportunity for Rums of Istanbul in urgent need of employment. In the midst of the 1960s, a period marked by the renewal of Athens with concrete apartment buildings and the rapid ascent of the construction industry, Rum Polites began engaging in construction work. Those who had previously owned shops specializing in fields like electrical work and carpentry in Istanbul found employment opportunities in the construction sector in Athens (*O Politis*, August, 2021; Δρινη, 2004). Moreover, those unable to continue their professions from Istanbul in Athens found opportunities for daily wage work in

[328] Dimitris had received training from photographers of the era, endowing him with technical expertise that enabled him, despite his youth, to capture aesthetically pleasing photographs and develop them. In the early 1960s, he developed a particular fascination with Istanbul photography. In 1965, upon departing from Istanbul, apprehensive about potential scrutiny at customs, he regrettably disposed of numerous film rolls and hundreds of developed photographs by discarding them into the dumpster on his home street (The interview with Dimitris, 12.01.2021, Online).

[329] The interview with Dimitris, 19.01.2021, Online. I must acknowledge that I have contacted the Ara Güler Museum and received a response indicating that they do not possess any photographs related to the mentioned news in their archives. However, during my archival research, I came across a news article titled "Exiled Greeks in a pitiful state" in the *Hürriyet* newspaper dated August 5, 1964. The accompanying photograph shows individuals who were deported attending the second meeting of the association they established in Athens (I will give information about the association in the following lines). The news article mentiones that Rums who lost their jobs due to the Cyprus issue criticizes the Greek government, stating that they "became unable to make ends meet in Greece while living in prosperity in Turkey" (*Hürriyet*, 5.8.1964).

relatively less specialized tasks such as tile laying and sand carrying, to meet their daily needs. The involvement of exiles in the construction sector was made possible through their collaboration with two Rum contractors; the contractor from Büyükada known as Arap Jordan, Jordan Pacoulidis, and Istanbulite contractor Menos Zattas would visit Surmelis's tavern in the evenings to arrange labor for the next day and make daily wage payments on weekends, all within the same tavern setting (O *Politis*, August 2021).

In the aftermath of exile, Plateia Vathis emerged as a solidarity space, initially serving as the destination point for buses due to being the last stop of bus companies in Athens. Over time, it transformed into a welcoming area for newcomers, eventually evolving into a meeting point and, ultimately, a hub for solidarity. Particularly for those without accommodation, job seekers, and those unfamiliar with Greek bureaucracy, Vathis Square provided a space where they could seek advice, find companionship, and share grief for those in mourning. The spontaneously formed solidarity space within the uncertainties and unknowns would eventually lose its function and be abandoned; as the initial chaos settled, the struggle for survival shifted from day-to-day survival to contemplating the future and taking steps to address potential challenges ahead.

5.4.4 Social organizations as support mechanisms during the adaptation period

Those who were deported, and their accompanying relatives initially wished to believe that exile was a temporary sanction. They believed that if the ongoing tension between the two countries were resolved, they could return to their homes in

Istanbul.[330] However, within a short period, around a few months, the departure of thousands of Rum Polites, coupled with the increasing likelihood of a possible war between the two countries in the summer of 1964, and particularly the non-renewal of the residence agreement during the six-month period following the termination of it, shattered all the return dreams of the expelled. In the September 20, 1964, edition of *Elefteros* newspaper, it was expressed that, with the expiration of the six-month period after the termination of the residence agreement, the agreement would not be renewed. Moreover, concerns were raised, including the possibility of mass deportation of Greek nationals who were not deported during this six-month period, the complete seizure of Greek-owned property and money, and the potential for another pogrom against Rums in Istanbul. The exiles in Athens were reported to be in great fear and anxiety about their future due to all these reasons (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007, p. 52). Therefore, overcoming the initial shock of exile and with no hope of return, the exiles began to organize and take steps to secure their future to the best of their abilities.

Hence, the first of these steps was the effort to establish an association, which formed the basis of the communal practices in Istanbul. Upon their arrival in Athens, the exiles from Istanbul found an association previously established by those who had left Istanbul in 1922: Σύλλογος Κωσταντινουπολιτών (Association of Constantinopolitans). The Istanbulites Association was founded in 1928 in Kallithea, where the majority of Istanbul immigrants resided. In 1930, with the donations from its members and the support of the mayor of Kallithea at the time, a plot of land was

[330] For example, *Cumhuriyet* states that Eleftriyadis Visilarios arrived at the airport looking very sad; that he was checked at customs for half an hour; that he bought a "round trip" plane ticket to Greece; that before boarding the plane he told reporters "I was born in Turkey, I grew up here, I am not rich. I want to return. If things improve and things calm down, I will come back" (*Cumhuriyet,* 01.04.1964).

purchased at Demosthenous 117, and in 1931, the association began its activities in a two-story building. The following year, with the support of Venizelos, a public health center, a sports hall, a student cafeteria, an office for the Women's Aid Association, a library, and an evening school affiliated with the University of Athens were opened in the association's building. However, during the German occupation (1941-1945) and the years of the civil war (1946-1949), the association's activities were suspended, and the association building served as a hospital and soup kitchen for war victims battling illness and poverty (Σύντομο Ιστορικό, 2023). By the mid-1960s, the association was no longer active; the generation of 1922, which had founded the association, was not actively involved, and as a result, the association could not take any steps to help or support those who were expelled.

Therefore, in 1964, the exiles who settled in Athens, near Vathis Square at Aristotelous 10, founded the Association of Greek Nationals Deported from Turkey (Σωματείο Ελλήνων Υπηκόων Απελαθέντων εκ Τουρκίας) with the leadership of members of the Hellenic Union Association, which was expelled in 1958. The purpose of this association was to support Greek citizens deported from Turkey.[331]

[331] In Athens alone, more than 20 associations were established after the exile. These associations include various neighborhood associations, school associations founded by graduates, and sports associations. You can visit the website of The Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans for associations that are still active today: http://www.conpolis.eu/Somateia/Somateia.aspx. Similarly, in Thessaloniki, Greeks established associations after the exile. Greek citizens who were deported from Istanbul, formed the “Deported Istanbulites Association" on December 1, 1964, in Thessaloniki. The objectives of the association are as follows: (1) Defending the interests of the members by representing them before the competent authorities to expedite the resolution of claims and obtain state assistance.(2) Raising funds for material and moral support for members in need, particularly focusing on housing, professional rehabilitation, and compensation for abandoned property in Turkey.(3) Promoting the spiritual, charitable, and moral conscience of the members.(4) Organizing recreational events. Following the Deported Istanbulites Association, The Association of Greeks of Constantinople of Northern Greece was established in 1970, and it currently serves the Rum Polites living in Thessaloniki.

Membership registration forms from the initial years of the association, which is still active, provide information about the exiles. The forms include details such as full name, occupation in Istanbul, current occupation in Athens, new residence and workplace addresses in Athens, the circumstances of deportation,[332] inclusion in any insurance fund if applicable, consulate registration number of properties in Istanbul, and. On the back of the registration forms, there were notes on accompanying individuals for whom the member is responsible. Additionally, some registration forms included notes about the difficult situations faced by association members; it is possible to find appeals from members who had to take care of disabled siblings or were in distress due to the death of their spouses. When examining these membership records, it can be inferred that many members, by not providing workplace addresses, indicating that they worked in mobile occupations, and being unable to report employment in a specific insurance fund, were engaged in unskilled, temporary, and physically demanding jobs in Athens at the time of their registration with the association.

According to the association's bylaws, the Association of Greek Nationals Deported from Turkey Article 1) it was the continuation of the activities of the "Istanbul Greek Community Hellenic Union," which was banned in 1956 following the continuation of unrest in Istanbul (1955). According to Article 2, the activities of the association included (a) vocational rehabilitation of members, (b) housing, (c) providing material and spiritual support to those in need, (d) support for finding employment, (e) finding solutions for the medical care of patients, (f-g) claiming and compensating abandoned properties in Turkey, (h) recognition of members'

[332] Whether they were deported, left due to expired residence permit, or stayed in Athens due to the termination of the visa agreement, etc.

professional experiences and retirement rights, (i) fundraising, collecting money through lotteries, etc., and providing resources, (j) promoting members' spiritual and moral consciousness and solidarity, (k) organizing entertainment activities, trips, conferences, publications, etc., (l) supporting deported victims. On the other hand, Turkish citizens of Rum descent, especially those who did not receive equal treatment with the exiles,[333] also organized themselves and established the association New Circle of Constantinopolitans (Νέος Κύκλος Κωσταντινουπολιτών) in 1964. In the early periods, there was a Greek citizen exile at the helm of the association. Due to the Greek citizenship of the association president, Turkish citizen Rums faced their problems with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Foreigners' Department much more persistently and were able to open a negotiation path with the government (Δρινη, 2004, p. 93-97).

Thus, in 1964, the Rum Polites initiated negotiations with the Greek government through their associations, resulting in significant gains for the exiles. Before the deportation of Istanbul Rums, Greek citizens living in Egypt had started leaving the country due to the nationalization policies initiated during the Nasser era. Some of these individuals had settled in Greece and began negotiations with the government regarding their settlement in Greece. In 1964, while discussions were underway for a series of legal measures to facilitate the integration process of Egyptian Rums settling in Greece, Rum Polites, through their associations, also shared their problems and proposed solutions with the authorities. The government ultimately expanded the scope of the facilitating measures prepared for Egyptian

[333] Turkish citizens of Rum descent, who accompanied their deported relatives or decided to leave from Turkey during the deportations, could not benefit from the support provided from Greek governments to the deported Greek citizens, and faced difficulties in legalizing their assess in Greece and obtaining work and residence permits. I will discuss this issue in the following lines.

Rums and included deported Rums within the framework of a series of legal facilitations (Δρινη, 2004, p. 97-98).

After persistent efforts and discussions led by the deportees' committee with Prime Minister George Papandreou and Deputy Minister of Finance Mr. Maris, the Greek government established a relief committee with the responsibility of providing financial support. (1) The designated amount was a one-time payment of 3,000 drachmas for each family, (2) followed by a daily allowance of 40 drachmas for the head of the family and 4 drachmas for each additional member. This assistance continued for the initial nine months, unless someone in the family found employment during this period. In particular, testimonies regarding these daily aids highlight the exhausting nature of the long queues forming in front of the social aid office on Varenzerou Street, accompanied by disputes that occasionally arise within these queues. The accounts emphasize the considerable delays in payments, extending sometimes for days or even weeks, and underscore the profound impact of having to wait for an extended duration, especially for a modest support amount such as 4 drachmas, on the erosion of human dignity (Δρινη, 2004, p. 53). Additionally, under the decision of the Minister of Health, Mr. Kokkevis, (3) free medical and hospital care for the deportees was approved for the first six months from their arrival date.[334] (4) Some privileges were extended to the deportees' children, who could gain admission to the country's higher educational institutions without exams until 1970. Additionally, (5) male individuals born up to the year 1951 were afforded

[334] While the duration of free healthcare services is extended, its scope is gradually narrowed over time. On January 1, 1971, the provision of free healthcare services in hospitals is abolished (*O Politis*, July 1971). Through persistent negotiations with the state by the Rums, a regulation enacted in 1972 includes only impoverished exiles within the coverage of this service (*O Politis*, June 1972).

the privilege of purchasing their military service rights. The required fee for military service exemption was 2400 drachmas, a sum that proved financially burdensome for many exiles attempting to sustain their livelihoods on a daily income.[335] Additionally, according to Law No. 4377-8-1964, those engaged in commerce and Rums whose earnings did not exceed 60,000 drachmas were exempted from taxation. However, this tax exemption lasted for only two years and was lifted in 1967 (*O Politis*, July 1970). Nevertheless, due to the persistent efforts of the exiles' association, during Ioannidis's presidency (1967-1970), individuals expelled, gained the right to retirement through the main and ancillary pension funds which were in total 28 different institutions.[336] The associations also endeavored to establish a cooperative for exiles to own housing and engaged in efforts for collective housing construction, but were unsuccessful in achieving success in this regard[337] (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007, p. 63-64).

In the ensuing months of exile, the Rums of Istanbul, organized as a community, sought solutions collectively rather than through individual initiatives and, to some extent, achieved success in doing so. For instance, in 1972, when the government terminated hospital support for impoverished exiles, the Exiles Association called upon Istanbulite doctors to provide free healthcare support to their fellow exiles. While negotiations with the government were ongoing, doctors organized by the association would offer healthcare services to impoverished exiles

[335] An example of the paid military service receipt can be seen in the Appendix G.
[336] In Greece, the first social security institution, the Social Insurance Organization -IKA (*Greek*: Ίδρυμα Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων), the general Greek scheme for the insurance of salaried workers and the largest social security institution in Greece, was established in 1922.Over time, social security policies have been characterized as an accumulation of political favors in favor of specific socio-professional groups, leading to the proliferation of almost four hundred social insurance funds by the 1990s (Venieris, 1994). During the 1960s and 1970s, Istanbulites with different professions had to negotiate with the government to be insured through the funds of their respective professional groups.
[337] It is worth noting that Egyptian immigrants established a similar cooperative and largely resolved their housing issues through this cooperative.

(*O Politis*, June 1972). However, despite the concerted efforts of the association, accessing state support required a distinct survival skill; frequently changing governments and their migrant policies often proposed short-term solutions that were not uniformly implemented to encompass all exiles. Furthermore, providing the necessary documentation for the exiles, who were unfamiliar in the Greek bureaucracy,[338] adhering to application requirements, and applying within the specified deadlines were extremely challenging. Consequently, forming definitive conclusions about the extent to which exiles could benefit from state support is nearly impossible. However, it is noteworthy, based on testimonies encountered during field research, that many interviewees claimed to have received no government support, attributing this situation directly to the governments' reluctance in this regard. Additionally, it should be emphasized that a small minority able to access state support developed various tactics to navigate this process.

For instance, Melina's father was able to retire when he came to Athens, as the ease provided to Rums in retirement applications required only the testimony of a witness to count the days worked in Istanbul towards retirement. Melina, bearing a different last name due to her marriage, stated at the retirement institution she visited with her father that he had been her chauffeur in Istanbul, allowing him to become insured.[339] It should be additionally noted that in similar practices, a portion of the retiree's pension was deducted for the unpaid insurance premium. Nevertheless, despite the retirement benefits being a minimal amount, it is undeniable that this

[338] A testimony mentions that associations assisted in obtaining documentary evidence (Δρινη, *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες*, p. 53); however, during my field research, I did not come across a similar statement supporting this testimony.
[339] The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens.

support holds significant importance for elderly exiles who lead their lives amidst considerable challenges.

On the other hand, two distinct testimonies narrate the considerable efforts exerted to secure insurance coverage for their fathers despite having the right to do so. For example, Iraklis faced a significant struggle for his deported father's retirement. Since his father was unwell, Iraklis' mother initially attempted to proceed with the retirement procedures. At IKA, she learned from the authorities that she needed to prove her husband's 9,500 days of work in Istanbul before the exile. She requested her son, a Turkish citizen living in Istanbul, to obtain this document from the consulate and send it to them. Iraklis, having acquired his father's service certificate from the consulate, sent the document to his mother. However, upon revisiting IKA, his mother discovered that, in fact, a certificate documenting 10,500 days of work was required. She informed Iraklis of the situation. Attempting to renew his father's service certificate at the consulate, Iraklis was told this time that a new certificate could not be prepared without returning the previous one. Enraged, Iraklis immediately flew to Athens and went directly to IKA. He asked the IKA official he met to write down the necessary documents on a stamped IKA paper, engaging in a debate to retrieve his 9,500-day service certificate taken from the consulate before returning to Istanbul. When he returned to the consulate, he faced another difficulty – his meeting with the official was obstructed. Frustrated, he exclaimed, 'We are dealing with Turkish police, and now we have to deal with you. Who are you here for?' In an act of rebellion, he applied for the new certificate demanded by IKA. After an intervening official holiday, he finally completed the necessary paperwork and returned to Athens, submitting the required documents for

his father's retirement application by hand. Finally, he succeeded in securing a retirement pension for his father (Δρινη, 2004, p. 124-125).

In another testimony, Andreas came to Athens to take care of his father, who was living with distant relatives in Athens after his deportation, both studied and worked. However, Andreas' income was very low, and they needed his father's retirement pension to improve their living conditions. Andreas repeatedly applied to the insurance institution for his father's retirement, and each time, his applications were deemed invalid due to various bureaucratic obstacles. Andreas eventually decided to take a different path; despite being a student during the junta period – as Andreas noted, for a university student and making a political demand during the junta era could imply a communist affiliation, and especially for an Rum student, which could be considered highly unsettling – he wrote a three-page letter to Stylianos Pattakos, one of the three generals planning the 1967 coup. In the letter, he detailed the difficulties his father had faced for three years and stated, 'If your government came to save Greece, as you claim, it is your duty to help us, the expelled Rums. The relevant insurance institution has been mocking us for years. My father was expelled from his country because he is Greek. He cannot live in Greece either. He has no income, and due to the decision of the state, the insurance institution acts unlawfully by not providing the pension he is entitled to.' Expressing his demand in an angry tone. In less than a week, Andreas received a response from the dictator, who had also warned the officials at the insurance institution. With the response to Andreas's letter after four years of struggle, his father's insurance was quickly established.[340]

[340] The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens.

Undoubtedly, within the context of all three instances, the heightened resilience of elderly expatriates is notably attributed to the existence of young adult offspring capable of streamlining bureaucratic procedures on their behalf. While Melina's testimony points to a relatively easier resolution, the situation is not as straightforward for Iraklis and Andreas. Iraklis' Turkish citizenship allows him to travel between the two countries, enabling him to overcome bureaucratic obstacles by accessing necessary documents that many other expatriates may not reach. On the other hand, Andreas, through an alternative solution, bypasses bureaucratic barriers by reaching the highest authority during the coup period. It raises curiosity whether these bureaucratic hurdles serve as a pretext employed by the state ostensibly supporting the exiles to lighten the burden on the state.

For a more comprehensive understanding of state policies concerning the exiles, beyond the scope of associations, it is essential to examine *O Politis* newspaper, another support mechanism within social resilience. Founded under the leadership of Athinagoras Tsoukatus,[341] himself an exile, O Politis initially began its publication by disseminating information in the form of small brochures, addressing legal issues such as state assistance and military applications, along with job announcements. Especially considering that the deportation would continue until 1966, when the residence permits of Greek citizens from Istanbul would expire, these brochures guided newcomers to the city and provided information on how and where to apply for the necessary state support. They also conveyed information about the paid military service option for exiles of military age, announced university quotas and application deadlines for young Rums with the opportunity for university entry

[341] I should mention that along with Atinodoros Tsoukatus, Markos Kaloumenos and Themist. Chaztidimitirou are also mentioned in the newspaper as the copyright owners of *O Politis*.

without exams. These brochures evolved over time to cater to the community's needs; with the advent of 1967, O Politis transformed into a 4-page newspaper format.[342] While the front page featured political developments directly relevant to the exiles (news on the association's negotiations with the government or tensions between Turkey and Greece), the content of the other pages varied, covering news from Istanbul (such as announcements of deaths, engagements, weddings, and baptisms), guest columns for exiles to express themselves, and information on tourist destinations in Greece. In the newspaper format, O Politis continued to keep exiles informed about bureaucratic procedures; for instance, the June 1967 issue announced the deadline for the exiles' retirement applications as June 30 (page 2). Additionally, exiles who resettled in Athens used O Politis to advertise their new businesses to former customers, leading to the creation of an advertisement section. For example, in the November 1967 issue, the renowned restaurant Keffaloniti in Galata announced its opening under the name Politis at Artemidos 39 in Athens, expressing the anticipation of bringing Istanbulites together with familiar flavors. In the same section, an announcement revealed that Georgos Kalarakis, a well-known pharmacist from Pera, had started working at Dambergi Pharmacy in Patissia. Another advertisement featured a Robert College graduate offering English lessons with a provided phone number (*O Politis,* November 1967). As more people from Istanbul joined the community in Athens, both the news and advertisement sections expanded to meet the needs of the Rums.

O Politis newspaper is a significant source for following and comprehending the experiences of Rum Polites after the exile, particularly through its articles

[342] Unfortunately, the early issues of the newspaper are not available in the newspaper's own archive. However, I have digitally archived all issues of *O Politis* published between 1967 and 1972.

critiquing the government, detailing association activities, and addressing the needs of the exiles. The opinion columns in the newspaper over the years have pointed out various issues, expressing the extent of government support, the hardships faced by the exiles due to policy changes, the challenges of the integration process due to misguided practices, and offering solutions. For instance, in the July 1970 edition, O Politis focused on the inadequacy of the financial assistance provided to the exiles and the humiliating practices in its implementation. The article highlighted that each family received a one-time payment of three thousand drachmas, and for a period of nine months, a daily allowance of 40 drachmas was given to the head of the household, along with an additional 4 drachmas in kind for household members. However, it underscored the arbitrary nature of the implementation, pointing out that the receipt of this assistance by Greek citizens of rum community depended on the understanding of "Cerberus"[343] Finance Minister Mr. Papaspyros and his employees' assessment, highlighting the discretionary nature and rigidity in the distribution. The article particularly emphasized that the monitoring of those receiving aid, suspicion of additional income leading to the termination of assistance, resulting in many individuals experiencing distress.[344] Additionally, it noted frequent conflicts at the social support office in Varenzerou, where exiles went to receive aid, and highlighted incidents that were demeaning to the exiles' dignity (*O Politis*, July 1970). In the same issue, O Politis reported on the plight of thousands of young exiles who were

[343] In the original text, the finance minister is described as Cerberus, I note this to highlight the straightforward and stern tone employed by *O Politis*. In Greek mythology, Cerberus (Greek Κέρβερος) is the hound of Hades, a three-headed dog that serves as the guardian of the gates to the underworld, ensuring that departed souls cannot escape.
[344] One of the conditions for receiving the cash assistance paid for a period of 9 months is that family members should not be employed.

adversely affected by the sudden elimination of the entrance quota to universities without a preparatory process. Due to the government's decision at the end of the term, the children of exiles had to take the entrance exams but lacking both the time and the budget for preparation courses, the newspaper called for the implementation of this decision to be postponed to at least the following academic year.[345]

In the February 1971 issue, O Politis listed the problems faced by Rums in the seventh year of exile and proposed solutions. Firstly, the retirement-related issues of Rum Polites were addressed; most of the elderly exiles were unable to keep track of application deadlines and struggled to provide the necessary documents. Furthermore, due to retrospective deductions in contributions, they received very little pension, and this amount was insufficient to sustain their lives since they could not work. As of 1971, the suspension of retirement applications was highlighted in the same article, causing distress among Istanbul Rums. Similarly, another facilitation previously provided to exiles, tax exemption, was suspended, mirroring the fate of retirement rights. The law (4377-8-1964) exempting the income of exiles engaged in trade up to 60,000 drachmas from taxation was actually abolished in 1967; the newspaper stated that despite the retroactive taxation of Rum Polites following the repeal of this law, they still complied with the laws but reiterated that

[345] In February 1971, *O Politis* reported that despite the criticisms raised against the Greek government's decision to revoke the exemption of Rums from entrance exams to universities at the end of the academic year, the practice was not rescinded. However, some interviewees mentioned that living in Istanbul had become increasingly untenable, and due to the facilities provided in university education (such as entrance without exams, scholarship support, and minimal expenses for meals and accommodation), they relocated to Greece in the 1970s. For instance, one interviewee shared that in 1974, they settled in Athens and enrolled in the pharmacy faculty without taking an entrance exam (The interview with Evangelos, 13.05.2022, Athens; The interview with Elli, 22.06.2022, Athens).These interviewees were Turkish citizens, and as a result, being a *homogenis* (Greek: ομοιογενής, of the same descent) and residing abroad might have granted them the right to enter university without an exam. In this case, it can be said that the policy of entrance without exams to universities varied over time according to different groups of Istanbul Rums. This situation was interpreted by the interviewees as an example of the Greek government's unstable policies.

reinstating this law would be a significant support. On the other hand, according to O Politis, the paid military service applied to exiles born before 1951 required reconsideration in 1971, as it compelled exiles who turned 20 to join the military. The newspaper argued that young Rums were contributing to their families' livelihoods by working and sending them to the military would not only affect them but also cause hardship for their families. The enumerated problems and proposed solutions concluded with a hopeful wish: "It is possible to rescue Rums from the mentioned concerns with the government's compassion; this can only be achieved through the collaboration of the exiles' association with the government" (*O Politis*, February 1971).

Finally, two of the most frequently addressed issues by O Politis should be discussed; the first being the lack of concrete steps taken regarding the future of the blocked properties in Turkey, and the second being the differential treatment of groups deported by the Greek government and Turkish citizen Rums accompanying them (the disregard for Turkish citizen Rums accompanying their deported relatives). O Politis often brought up the issue of properties blocked in Istanbul, sought assistance from government officials for a resolution, and informed its readers of the steps taken by the exile association engaged in negotiations with the government. For instance, in the June 1972 issue, O Politis reported that during numerous visits to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the need to monitor the blocked properties of those deported from Istanbul was repeatedly emphasized, and during the association's latest visit, a memorandum on the subject was submitted to the Directorate of Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*O Politis,* June 1972). In the February 1974 edition, while once again bringing up the properties blocked in Istanbul on the 10th anniversary of the exile, O Politis conveyed the events of the past decade with a

tone of reproach. According to O Politis, "this issue remains unresolved because such a solution was never sought. However, the matter of blocked properties is not a Gordian knot; the solution is simple, but the most crucial element required for this solution is lacking: Good faith" (*O Politis,* February 1974). Providing a brief summary of the issue, O Politis noted that while the exiles spent the last 10 years waiting with justified concern and patience, Turkey continued to remain indifferent to this matter. The text highlighted how the statements unlawfully imposed on the exiles in Sirkeci Police Station before their deportation, obstructed the Greek government from taking initiative in addressing the blocking of properties. After recalling the injustice of the entire exile process, the text pointed to potential solutions, questioning whether an appeal to the UN or another international organization is necessary and reiterated the same demand after 10 years: The Greek government must take a step on this matter (*O Politis,* February 1974).

Another issue frequently raised by O Politis is the differential treatment of groups deported by the Greek government and Turkish citizen Rums accompanying them. For example, in the July 1971 issue, O Politis reported that the Greek government made a distinction between the deported Greek citizens accused of harmful activities, whose passports indicated -expelled- (Greek: απελαύνεται), and those whose residence permits were expired and/or unable to return to Istanbul at the time of the termination of the visa agreement. After highlighting this differentiation, the text argued that these individuals, categorized under these three groups, are essentially no different, and all should be considered as exiles. Ultimately, these individuals cannot return to their homes in Istanbul and face similar challenges in Greece (*O Politis*, July 1971). Similarly, the situation of Turkish citizen Rums is frequently brought up by O Politis, as these individuals cannot benefit from the

support provided to Greek citizen Rums, and they encounter difficulties in legalizing their assets in Greece and obtaining residence and work permits. In the April 1976 issue, the newspaper emphasized the potential contributions of Turkish citizen Rums to the economic and scientific development of Greece if allowed to live and work in the country. O Politis called for the government to facilitate residence and work permits, grant Greek citizenship to these individuals, include them in the social insurance fund, and ease the settlement of Rums from Imbros and Tenedos, whose properties were confiscated by Turkey, in Greece (*O Politis,* April 1976).

As discussed, during the initial period of exile, the social resilience of Istanbulite Rums was predominantly shaped through personal networks, and the expansion of these networks was facilitated by a city space that became a meeting point for various reasons. When the hope of returning within a few months was lost, the Istanbul community practices, known for their communal practices, utilized organizational structures through associations and the ability to convey the needs and demands of the community through the press. In doing so, a more comprehensive (both tangible and non-tangible) social resilience space was constructed. However, the vulnerabilities of Rum Polites were not entirely mitigated within this resilience, and the experiences of Greek citizens and Turkish citizen Rums differed in the process of building social resilience. Now, I will briefly address the experiences of Turkish citizen Rums after exile and discuss the final phase of social resilience construction, exploring its long-term transformative capacity through this issue.

5.4.5 Borders within: Turkish citizen Rum Polites in bureaucratic liminality and transformative efforts of social organizations

Turkish citizen Rum Polites were not subjected to deportation practices like Greek citizens. However, those who resettled in Greece after exile either accompanied their deported relatives or decided to leave the country due to losing faith in a future in Istanbul and exhausting from political pressures. Examples of Turkish citizens who followed their deported relatives can include those who left Istanbul with spouses deported or children or sons-in-law following their deportation. For instance, Euthemia planned to go to Thessaloniki with her daughter and grandchildren, who left Istanbul when her son-in-law was deported because she had no one else to take care of her left behind. Additionally, some decided to leave Istanbul after their siblings were deported; for instance, Angelliki left Istanbul with her deported husband, and her sister Aphrodite, who corresponded with her sister for a while, eventually decided to settle in Athens a few years later following her sister.[346] Foteini settled in Thessaloniki after her fiancé was deported, married there, and later her Turkish citizen parents moved to Thessaloniki seeking support in their old age. Tassos, left Istanbul after following his deported friends, feeling that living there lost its meaning without any remaining family.[347] Stratos, both he and his wife being Turkish citizens, left Istanbul after his beloved master was deported, settling in Athens in 1964 with his family.[348] Stathis, unable to gain admission to the university of his choice in Istanbul, took advantage of the opportunity for entrance to a university abroad without exams in Greece, granted to homogenies living abroad. He began studying pharmacy in Athens in 1962, with the aspiration of completing his

[346] The interview with Stamatis, 10.01.2021, Online. Stamatis, a Turkish citizen, witnessed the deportation of his relatives. He continues to reside in Istanbul as the sole family member who remained in the city.
[347] The interview with Foteini, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki.
[348] The interview with Christos, 07.01.2020, Athens.

studies and returning to Istanbul. However, in 1964, when all of his relatives on his mother's side, excluding his parents (his mother had acquired Turkish citizenship due to his father being a Turkish citizen, but her siblings were Greek citizens), were deported, he also decided not to return to Istanbul.[349] On the other hand, Iraklis, despite his entire family being Turkish citizens, decided to leave Istanbul while still in high school due to the oppressive and fearful climate he witnessed. Iraklis' father, a merchant in Karaköy, was frequently harassed due to boycotts. Young people often visited his father's shop, demanding donations for their Cypriot brothers, criticizing the amount given, and accusing him of donating to EOKA more. Iraklis, witnessing this situation, expressed, "I cannot live in this environment; I will run away." He planned to go to the UK for higher education in 1965 and settle in Athens after graduation.[350]

Particularly after 1964, the fabric of Istanbul underwent a transformation, and the sense of safety among the Rums in the neighborhoods where they were born and raised began to diminish. Numerous testimonies highlighted that with the departure of the Rums residing in Tarlabaşı and Cihangir, those who remained became more closed-off, relocating to areas within the city where relatively more Rums lived. The decrease in the Rum population coincided with a period of intense migration to Istanbul, making the remaining Rums more visible. Especially for the new residents of the city who had not experienced a culture of cohabitation, these Rums became easier targets. Those with young daughters were particularly apprehensive due to the increasing incidents of harassment; they feared leaving their daughters alone in

[349] The interview with Stathis, 08.05.2022, Athens.
[350] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens.

public spaces.[351] Those with sons were anxious about their sons going to the military, given the ongoing tensions related to Cyprus between 1964 and 1974, feeling that a potential war could erupt at any moment. With the exile decision, Greek schools were subjected to increased political pressures; Turkish vice-principals were appointed to these schools, Greek principals faced mobbing, residence permits of Greek teachers were revoked, and access to textbooks was blocked. Families who believed that the education in Greek schools was insufficient began to leave the country for their children's education.[352] Another political pressure applied during the exile period was the forced migration of Imbros and Bozcada Rums living outside Istanbul. The opening of an open prison on the island led to the residents being exposed to the psychological, physical, and sexual violence of the prisoners. Additionally, the confiscation of the island's most fertile lands deprived them of their income, an increase in the number of soldiers on the island left them uneasy, and the closure of schools caused concern about their children's future. Consequently, Turkish citizens from Imbros and Tenedos were also forced to migrate. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, exile was not limited to Greek citizens who were deported. After 1964, more Turkish citizens left the country than Greek citizens, with a significant number settling in Greece. In 1974, another date coinciding with the escalation of tension in Cyprus, the Greek population in Istanbul was 8,000, and by 1988, this number had decreased to 4,000 (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007, p. 53).

[351] Not only harassment but also the possibility of Rum young girls getting close to a Turkish youth became frightening for families after the community dissolved and the number of Rums decreased. For instance, Vasiliki was in a relationship with an Arab Christian young man, and upon assuming that the youth was Turkish based on his name, her family abruptly sent Vasiliki to Greece one night. Thus, Vasiliki's life in Istanbul came to an abrupt end (The interview with Vasiliki, 24.06.2022, Athens).
[352] The interview with Kyriakos, 21.05.2022, Athens

The primary challenge faced by Turkish citizens upon their arrival in Greece was the issue of being unregistered. As a state policy established in the Treaty of Lausanne to prevent a decrease in the mutually agreed-upon number of populations and to maintain balance in the principle of reciprocity, Greek governments tended to somewhat overlook the Turkish citizen Rums who immigrated from Turkey and settled in Greece. Citizenship was not granted to these individuals until 1983.[353] Moreover, deliberate delays were introduced in the applications of thousands of people who, being foreigners, needed to obtain residence and work permits; either various issues were raised in the applications,[354] or an individual applying for a residence or work permit received the outcome of their application at the end of the period for which they applied.[355] Consequently, in practice, these individuals resided or worked without permission, but on paper, they did not pose a problem for the state.

---

[353] Halstead also discusses Greece's reluctance to extend Greek citizenship to the Rum Polites and gives an example of how personal connections manipulate and go beyond the complexities of the state policies to acquire Greek citizenship. As in the case of Ilias, who was born in Imbros (1923) and migrated to Greece (1965), he obtained citizenship under somewhat ambiguous circumstances during the Greek dictatorship (1967–1974). In this period, an unnamed minister in the regime, for whom Ilias had tailored suits, extended a personal favor by offering him a plot of land. Given the state's reluctance to grant Greek citizenship to expatriated Rums from Turkey during that time, Ilias approached the minister with a request for intervention to secure Greek citizenship instead, a request that was promptly fulfilled. Ilias' prioritization of citizenship over land distinctly reflects his belief in the former's significant role in facilitating his adaptation to his new life in Greece (Halstead, *'Two Homelands and None'*: p. 433).

[354] The names of Istanbul Rums were transcribed according to Turkish phonetics, and there were instances where the same name was written in multiple versions (e.g., Teodoris, Todoris, Todori, etc.). This situation could be perceived as a problem during applications. For instance, while the Greek [v] sound is represented by "β", it is written with the Turkish letter "v", creating a discrepancy between the Turkish passport presented by the individual during the application and the records of Greek authorities. Due to this inconsistency, the application was deemed suspicious and rejected.

[355] In the initial years, residence permits were granted for three months, and this duration would later be extended to six months, and subsequently to one year (Uzunoglu, "Geçmişin İnsan Hakları İhlalleri Telafisiz Kalırsa", p. 340). Following Turkey's intervention in Cyprus in 1974, residence permits began to be issued for more extended periods.

Furthermore, some testimonies mentioned the encouragement provided at the Aliens' Bureau to Turkish citizens either to maintain their Turkish citizenship (Δρινη, 2004, p. 58) or to return to Turkey (Halstead, 2022, p. 443). However, the policy aimed at coercing Turkish citizen Rums to return to Turkey did not yield the desired results. Istanbul was not a viable option for those Turkish citizens who had already migrated to Greece. Besides the vulnerability associated with being Greek in Istanbul, the political violence that became an integral part of daily life, particularly in the 1970s, rendered Istanbul even more precarious. Despite the challenges in Greece, the idea of returning to Istanbul became an impractical alternative due to the prevailing political violence. [356]

During the field research, many testimonies pointed to the Patriarchate as the instigator of the policy pushing Turkish citizens into informality. It was indicated that the Patriarchate, in an effort to prevent the permanent settlement of Turkish citizens in Greece and ensure the continuity of the community in Istanbul, intervened by withholding work and residence permits for Turkish citizens. One interviewee mentioned that in 1964, his father, a Turkish citizen deeply saddened by the departure of his siblings and friends from Istanbul, became a priest in the same year. He attributed his father's decision to become a priest to the Patriarch's initiative to prevent the mass migration of the community, as a priest cannot leave his duties and settle in Greece. However, a retired diplomat from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied claims of Patriarchate’s intervention in preventing the residence of Turkish

[356] For instance, Niki's family contemplated migrating to Greece after the expulsion of their relatives, but they hesitated to take this step for a while. However, witnessing a fatal conflict between two student groups with opposing views near their home one night in 1976 compelled the family to decide that they could no longer continue living in Istanbul, prompting them to relocate to Athens (The interview with Niki,25.06.2022, Athens).

citizens in Greece. He mentioned coming across a letter written by Patriarch Dimitrios to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the death of Patriarch Athinagoras in 1972. In this letter, the new Patriarch requested Greek authorities not to mistreat Rum Polites and, particularly, to facilitate bureaucratic matters for them.[357] Considering all these testimonies, it is evident that the Patriarchate had concerns about the decline of the Greek community. On the other hand, attributing the policies towards Turkish citizen Rums solely to this concern overlooks the fundamental state reflex. During the same period, a similar state reflex offered the option for Muslims living in Rhodes to either sell their properties and migrate to Turkey or choose Greek citizenship and remain on the island to maintain reciprocity balance (Tsitselikis, 2008).[358] From this perspective, the confinement of Turkish citizen Rums to informality appears to be a result not merely of the Patriarchate's concern for the Istanbul community but rather a reflection of the longstanding state reflex to maintain demographic balance in line with the reciprocity principle since the Treaty of Lausanne.

The bureaucratic barriers faced by Turkish citizen Rums in obtaining citizenship, resulting in challenges with residence and work permits, manifested in the precariousness of these individuals in official procedures, leading to practical consequences of being trapped in informality. Firstly, they had to periodically renew their work and residence permits, incurring both labor and financial costs. Moreover,

[357] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens.
[358] An issue raised both in the field research and in *O Politis* is the lack of reciprocity from the Greek government in response to the 1964 expulsions. However, the possibility of establishing a connection between the deportations of Turkish citizens from Rhodes in the late 1960s, and the expropriation policies implemented in Western Thrace during the same years and the 1964 expulsion could be considered in future research. Unfortunately, this topic has not received much attention in the existing literature, and regrettably, it is excluded from the scope of this study, as it would warrant a separate investigation.

the inability to obtain regular work permits forced them to grapple with various issues. For instance, a Turkish citizen working on a construction site without a work permit would obtain daily stamps from the employer to later document his employment under the subsequently relaxed insurance coverage. These daily stamps were placed in the insurance registration ledger, and the person's insurance premium was calculated based on the stamps in the ledger. Without a work permit, the stamps obtained by the individual depended on the employer's discretion, leaving them unable to prove their daily work and, consequently, ineligible for social security benefits at the end of the day.[359] Secondly, another commonly encountered issue was the obstacles Turkish citizens faced in property ownership. For instance, Agni, who became eligible to own a house in two social housing projects completed in Thessaloniki in the 1970s,[360] could not take ownership due to being a Turkish citizen.[361] Another persistent issue until today was the nationality of children born in Greece. At the core of this problem was the removal of Turkish citizen Rums from citizenship after settling in Greece. Women were relatively less likely to be caught on the state's radar regarding this issue; unlike men who left Turkey without completing military service and, upon setting foot in Turkey, avoided being drafted, women could come to Istanbul for family visits, cemetery visits, or transactions related to

[359] The interview with Pashalis, 05.05.2022, Athens.
[360] In Thessaloniki, Kalamaria, there are two social housing complexes built by the Workers' Housing Organization (Αυτόνομος Οργανισμός Εργατικής Κατοικίας /AOEK) in the 1960s: the Phoenix (Foinikas) housing and the Agios Ioannis housing. All operations, construction, and distribution were completed no later than the early 1970s. A standard procedure was followed by AOEK for the distribution of houses; A list of potential beneficiaries was created, and those meeting the socio-economic criteria were eventually selected to be given a house. The distribution of apartments in the housing blocks was completed in the early 1970s. Greek citizenship was among the eligibility criteria. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Vilma Hastaouglou-Martinidis for providing me essential information on this issue.
[361] The interview with "K15", 2008, Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria, Thessaloniki.

remaining properties. As long as they documented their entries and exits, they could maintain their citizenship.[362] However, the same did not apply to Turkish citizen Rum men; the suspicion of not returning to the country was sufficient, according to Article 25, paragraph c of the Citizenship Law, to remove them from citizenship.[363] According to the relevant article, Turkish citizens abroad who did not comply with the military call-up without a valid excuse could be deprived of citizenship by a decision of the Council of Ministers. In this case, those who lost Turkish citizenship for the mentioned reasons (and could not obtain Greek citizenship) and the children born to Turkish citizens or those who lost Turkish citizenship, despite having a Greek mother, were unable to obtain Greek citizenship due to the current practice foreseeing the transmission of nationality from the father. Therefore, they were pushed into informality, making them precarious.

Families who lost their citizenship or refrained from visiting the consulate due to various reasons would register their children with the foreigner's department using the birth certificate, obtaining a special identification card, Alien identity card (Greek: Ταυτοτητα Αλλοδαπου.), in return. The legal validity of this special identification card was debatable since, without any notification or approval from Turkish authorities, these cards would list Turkey under the citizenship section and Greece under the nationality section. This practice, which kept the children of Turkish citizens and those who lost Turkish citizenship undocumented for many years in the post-exile period, recently changed with the implementation of Schengen

[362] A female interviewee mentioned that after acquiring Greek citizenship, she was deprived of Turkish citizenship. Years later, she applied again and managed to regain dual citizenship (The interview with Despoina, 18.06.2022, Athens).
[363] A notice of citizenship revocation can be seen in the Appendix H.

laws as part of Greece's entry into the European Union. For instance, Thanos, born in 1969, continued to use this identification until 2013.[364]

Due to not being granted Greek citizenship, precarious Turkish citizens and stateless individuals who lost Turkish citizenship were unable to vote and had no say in the countries they lived in. They used laissez-passer passports when traveling abroad, faced suspicion in their destination countries, and had to explain themselves and persuade the authorities they encountered. Their difficulties in leaving the country led to problems in their workplaces, creating an additional layer of restriction for them.

Moreover, in two studies addressing the challenges faced by Turkish citizens who could not obtain Greek citizenship in Greece, Kazantzidou & Ioannidiou and Halstead mention that these individuals, not being Greek citizens, were unable to work in public service (Kazantzidou & Ioannidiou, 2019; Halstead, 2022). However, the testimonies encountered during the field research indicated the contrary. Through the 1958 Civil Service Law,[365] which could be viewed as a facilitation for homogeneis (those of Greek descent/national consciousness), Rums who emigrated from Istanbul after the 1955 pogrom, as well as those who left Egypt due to Nasser's nationalization policy, could be employed in public service despite not being Greek citizens. For instance, when Christos began working in a state institution in 1982, he

[364] You can find a sample of this special foreigner identification card in the Appendix I. However, it is possible to say that the implementation of registering babies was flexibly applied in various ways. For instance, a family who could convey their situation to higher authorities through another Rum, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs employee reached via the Rum Polites network, had Greek citizenship granted to their child (The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens). Nevertheless, this family, able to obtain Greek citizenship for their children, can be considered fortunate. This is because, during field research, I came across various testimonies of numerous stateless/undocumented individuals.
[365] The relevant law can be seen in the Appendix J.

was still a Turkish citizen.[366] However, a few months into his employment, during the Papandreou government that won the election in 1983, at the age of 36, he transitioned to Greek citizenship by paying a fee of 6000 drachmas, as he would be exempt from military service. Stavros, while working in a state institution, also obtained Greek citizenship without facing any difficulties upon entering the job, maintaining his Turkish citizenship.[367] Despoina, upon completing university, registered with the teacher's professional association in 1976 and started working as a teacher in Athens. By the time she became a Greek citizen, she had already been teaching for 7 years.[368] Similarly, Iraklis commenced working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1982 and acquired Greek citizenship in March 1983.[369]

Obtaining Greek citizenship was not only significant for practical reasons encountered in everyday interactions with the state; it also held symbolic meaning psychologically. For individuals who felt uneasy due to being Turkish citizens or appearing stateless after losing Turkish citizenship, this symbolic significance could correspond to a sense of security. Lefteris, for example, who had to renew his passport because he was a student in Athens and went to the consulate in 1982 after the coup in Turkey, learned that he appeared as a draft dodger. Struggling to conceal his immense fear, his identity was confiscated, and he was allowed to leave in a way he did not understand. Consequently, he lived stateless for two years until he obtained Greek citizenship in 1984. During this period, he felt extremely insecure.[370]

---

[366] The interview with Christos, 07.01.2020, Athens.
[367] The interview with Stavros, 03.06.2022, Athens.
[368] The interview with Despoina, 18.06.2022, Athens. Despoina's family was not deported, as they were Turkish citizens. However she witnessed the deportation of her relatives and classmates.
[369] The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens.
[370] The interview with Lefteris, 11.07.2022, Athens. Lefteris' parents were Turkish citizens, so his family was not deported. However, his godmother, godfather, and relatives were deported. Following his graduation from high school, Lefteris along with his family, left Istanbul in the late 1970s due to a lack of faith in having a future in Turkey.

On the other hand, another symbolic meaning of acquiring Greek citizenship was to break free from Turkish citizenship, in other words, to sever ties with the Turkish state. Stavros, who had served in the Turkish military during the Cyprus tension period between 1972-1974, likely struggled significantly. After completing his military service and settling in Athens, he went to the Turkish consulate, threw his passport at the consulate's door, and declared, "I have no more connection with you." In this context, becoming a Greek citizen meant tearing the connection with Turkey and being seen, acknowledged, and accepted in Greece; as Halstead puts “receiving Greek citizenship would, for many expatriates, have been a cathartic acknowledgement of the ethnic identity for which they were persecuted whilst living in Turkey, representing not simply a narrow sense of belonging in the Greek state but rather ‘symbolic recognition’ of a more transcendent Greek ethnicity” (Halstead, 2022, p. 444).

Over the course of more than a decade following the exile, by the late 1970s, acute issues faced by the Istanbul Greek community in Greece, such as housing and employment, had been relatively resolved. However, the persistent, long-term challenge remained centered around the issue of citizenship. The right-wing governments that came to power after 1935, fearing that the Rum Polites resettled in Greece would support the left-wing opposition, did not grant Greek citizenship to the Rums (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007, p. 45). The Constantinopolitan Society took a concrete step to address the citizenship issue by establishing a special commission (Ιακωβιδησ, 2007, p. 56). The president of the association, Giorgos Isaakidis, successfully persuaded the New Democracy government of Georgios Rallis to grant citizenship to Rum Polites through networks of compatriotism. According to the agreement reached, it was envisaged that 500 Rums of Istanbul origin would be granted Greek

citizenship annually. However, in October 1981, during the general elections, New Democracy lost, and Andreas Papandreou's PASOK came to power. Istanbulite Rums, through their associations, met with the new prime minister, referring to the previous agreement with the previous government, with the exception that they did not mention the annual quota of 500 individuals to the new prime minister. The new government accepted the granting of citizenship to Istanbul Rums (including those from Imbros and Tenedos), thus overcoming years of obstacles. Istanbulite Rums earned the right to obtain Greek citizenship (Halstead, 2022).

In the 1980s, the Özal government, which came to power in Turkey after the coup, aimed for economic liberalization and opening up to foreign markets. To achieve this, Özal deemed it necessary to establish more peaceful relations with Greece. At this juncture, Özal proposed focusing on commercial and touristic relations with Greece, suggesting that through this approach, the two countries could come closer to psychological conditions that might facilitate the resolution of the seemingly intractable Cyprus and Aegean issues (Özal, 1984, p. 135). Shortly after coming to power, Özal, in April 1984, took a step as a goodwill gesture to pave the way for inter-societal interaction, announcing that Turkey would unilaterally lift the visa requirement for Greek citizens (*Cumhuriyet,* 01.04.1984). However, recurring crises on the Aegean islands, hindered the development of relations between the two countries for two years, and finally, the leaders of the two countries, Özal and Papandreou, first met and shook hands in Davos in February 1986. Despite this meeting, no resolution was achieved in the face of the repeated crises in the Aegean islands. Nevertheless, in early 1987, Özal took another step, promising during the negotiations for the Turkey-Greece adaptation agreement in the European Economic Community to lift the 1964 confidential decree imposing restrictions on assets owned

by Greek citizens in Turkey (*Cumhuriyet*, 24.01.1987). The decree was lifted in early 1988.[371]

From the early 2000s onwards, with the changing political atmosphere in Turkey and the policies developed by the new government towards the European Union accession process, the possibility of a solution to the chronic problems of Rum Polites emerged. Particularly in 2004, the dissolution of The Secondary Committee for Minorities brought attention to the issue of the blocked properties of Greek citizens. The Secondary Committee for Minorities had been established by a confidential decree in 1962, consisting of representatives from the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, police, National Intelligence Organization (MİT), General Staff, and National Security Council. It was understood that the commission was tasked with monitoring all actions of minorities deemed "contrary to national security." Many practices, such as the prevention of inheritance of blocked properties by Greek citizens and the denial of permission for activities minorities wanted to undertake, were attributed to the decisions of The Secondary Committee for Minorities. In 2004, this commission was dissolved, and a new commission, the Minority Issues Assessment Board, was established, composed of representatives from the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Education, and General Directorate of Foundations (Tutanak, 2005).[372] This new commission was intended to operate in line with EU norms and Copenhagen Criteria, aiming to generate solutions to minority issues, and notably, did not include

[371] The council of ministers' decision on the abolition of the secret decree can be seen in the Appendix K.
[372] An internal correspondence on the Minority Issues Assessment Board can be seen in the Appendix L.

representatives from MİT, National Security Council, and General Staff (*Bianet,* 31.10.2013).

During the same years, Istanbulite Rums took transformative steps by organizing the First World Constantinopolitans Congress on June 27-29, 2005 (A' Παγκόσμιου Συνέδριου Κωνσταντινουπολιτών) and initiated efforts to establish the Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans (Οικουμενικής Ομοσπονδίας Κωνσταντινουπολιτών - OIOMKΩ) following this congress. A three-member committee consisting of Lawyer Eleni Moissaki, Professor Nikolaos Uzunoglu, and Professor Neoklis Sarris prepared the draft constitution of OIOMKO. They gathered criticisms and suggestions on the constitution from all Istanbul Greek Associations in Greece and abroad and laid the foundation of the federation in 2006. At the culmination of the consultation process, associations formed by Istanbulite Rums within, and outside Greece (in Europe, America, and Australia) united under one umbrella. This unity, operating with a collective intellect, paved the way for the development of new policies to address the community's longstanding unresolved issues. With the establishment of the federation, the cases which were blocked in Turkey, and which could not be resolved through individual applications for about 40 years due to the decisions of the minority commission, started to be followed under one roof. Over time, progress has been made in this regard through the accumulated experience and knowledge. It is possible to assert that certain property disputes have been successfully concluded.

Within the federation, two actively engaged associations, The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Turkey and New Circle of Constantinopolitans, concurrently strive to address the needs and resolve the issues of Istanbul Rums residing in Greece. These associations work towards providing solutions to the needs

of individuals who had to leave Turkey either due to exile or due to increased political pressures in subsequent periods related to exile. They particularly focus on those who experienced a decline in socio-economic status and, as a result, face difficulties in sustaining their lives. These organizations generate solutions for their housing requirements, endeavor to provide health support, and seek financial resources to offer material assistance within the available means. They attend to the requirements and healthcare status of individuals without housing or income residing in "The House of Constantinopolitans", a property comprising 33 apartments generously donated by Kimon Kosmetos, who is also an exile, specifically for financially disadvantaged Istanbulites. This facility has been providing accommodation to needy Istanbulites since 1970. Furthermore, they engage in the restoration of the building's infrastructure, which has undergone wear and tear over the years, and diligently maintain the sustained continuity of this collaborative effort. In 2016, due to the lack of space in Kosmetio (The House of Constantinopolitans) and the presence of numerous needy Istanbulites, a separate facility for the underprivileged, consisting of two distinct blocks, was established. However, encountering bureaucratic obstacles stemming from the use of the term "solidarity" instead of "assistance" in the association's bylaws, and facing economic inadequacies as they were unable to receive social electricity support from the state, they were compelled to vacate these buildings in 2022. They diligently relocated all individuals in need to various care facilities, striving not to cause any distress despite the challenging circumstances. On a monthly basis, they provide financial assistance for food support to 400 individuals.[373] In 2018, through their association with the

[373] The interview with Stavros, 03.06.2022, Athens.

Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), established during an exhibition held in Ankara, they initiated a collaboration to create resource support for Rums who have left Istanbul and are in need. Moreover, for a group of Rums who, over the years, had not had the opportunity to revisit Istanbul and harbored a deep longing for their city of origin, they facilitated a sponsored visit to Istanbul under the sponsorship of TİKA.[374] Simultaneously, they offer bureaucratic support in administrative processes to Rums and their families who were previously unable to acquire Greek citizenship for various reasons and have become precarious in the Greek bureaucracy. They also provide legal assistance to ensure the legal visibility of these individuals.

Beyond addressing the chronic and contemporary issues of the Rum population in Greece, the federation is currently formulating policies not only for the resolution of persisting problems but also to facilitate the resurgence of the Istanbul's Rum community and prevent its complete disappearance. This involves developing relations with the authorities in Turkey and revising association bylaws to extend membership eligibility to individuals passionate about Istanbul, not exclusively tied to Rum Polites, thereby broadening its base. Recognizing concerns related to the advanced age of existing members, the federation is actively working to alleviate continuity anxieties by initiating projects targeted at younger members. It goes without saying that, generously sharing their available resources, all associations of Rum Polites under the umbrella of OIMKO actively contribute to supporting researchers engaged in studies focused on Rum Polites.

[374] The interview with Xionia, 28.06.2022, Athens.

CHAPTER 6

RE-MEMBERING ISTANBUL: ΤΙ ΈΧΟΥΜΕ ΠΕΡΆΣΕΙ*

6.1 Apelasis: Fragmented meanings of the exile experience

In the field research, the final question posed to the interviewees pertained to the meaning of Apelasis; its significance in their lives, how the experience of exile or forced migration from Istanbul affected their lives, and how they retrospectively assessed their experiences. Responses to this question illuminated the extent to which the exile experience tested individuals, the resilience developed through such an experience, and the meaning attributed to life in Istanbul and the satisfaction derived from past experiences when viewed in hindsight. Given the unique experiences of each subject, the answers regarding the definition of 'Apelsis' were as diverse and distinctive as fingerprints. For Elpida, who had a wonderful childhood in Istanbul, leaving the city felt like a small death, and life never returned to its former state. Clearly, the challenges faced during adulthood in Athens for Elpida meant breaking away from the protected world of her childhood.[375] On the other hand, for Zoi, the separation was viewed as a positive development. She questioned whether staying in Istanbul would have condemned them to a lifetime akin to being *reaya*.[376] The predominant emotions about life in Istanbul were fear and apprehension, and if integration into a new life was successful post-exile, leaving Istanbul behind and finding satisfaction in the new life was not impossible. Self-awareness shaped the meaning of Apelasis; Vasilios, who developed openness and resilience, smiled and

[375] The interview with Elpida, 28.03.2023, Athens.
[376] The interview with Zoi, 09.05.2022, Athens.
* What We've Been Through

responded to my question about how leaving Istanbul after his father's exile changed his life with a single sentence: 'Τα Πάντα ῥεῖ!' (Everything flows!) referencing the saying attributed to the Presocratic Ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus, signifying the transience of everything in life.[377] For Ioannis, however, the situation was the opposite. After exile, his family established a successful business in Athens, but when he took over after his father's death, the company went bankrupt. Two marriages ended in divorce, and he lost his home due to gambling debts. In our conversation, he attributed all the misfortunes in his life to exile; he was convinced that without exile, he would have had a wonderful life.[378] Exile, in this context, took on a symbolic meaning beyond a period of difficulty; it became the sole responsible factor for Yanni's dissatisfaction with life. Ultimately, the meanings attributed to Apelasis are diverse and varied; however, for most interviewees, it represents a turning point. Leaving Istanbul creates a significant rupture in time, dividing life into two dimensions: before and after Apelasis. This rupture can be experienced as uprooting or as a process of re-rooting, depending on the individual's capacity to develop resilience.

6.2 Diverse connections with Istanbul: Remembering and memorialization practices

The connection that exiles establish with Istanbul today, and the meanings they attribute to Apelasis in this context, are as diverse as they are distinctive. The recollections of Istanbul, memories associated with the city, and the challenging days during and after exile evoke different responses. Some choose not to remember or

[377] The interview with Vasilios, 07.06.2022, Athens.
[378] The interview with Ioannis, 24.06.2022, Athens.

discuss the past, while others express a longing for Istanbul, frequent the city, and draw inspiration from it in their professional endeavors.

For instance, Kalliroi and Georgios mentioned their reluctance to discuss Istanbul in the past, despite documentary filmmakers, journalists, and researchers expressing interest. Both individuals, after leaving Istanbul with their families, never set foot in the city again and never entertained the idea of returning. On the contrary, Athanasios and Niki cherished every opportunity to visit Istanbul. They annually revisited the city, explored old neighborhoods and cemeteries, and spent time with old friends. Athanasios even maintained a blog where he shared his childhood and youth experiences in Istanbul, along with contemporary thoughts on the city. He successfully carried out the challenging task of transferring his parents' remains from Athens to Istanbul's Balıklı Cemetery during the pandemic. In our latest interview (March 2023), he had applied for Turkish citizenship and was preparing to initiate a legal battle regarding his father's unjust deportation years ago.[379]

The bond individuals establish with Istanbul is as diverse as their professional engagements, networks, and opportunities, mirroring their connections with the past. Eleni, for instance, learned the traditional art of puppetry in Cihangir, Istanbul, during a vocational/skill course. After working various jobs following her father's exile, she turned to making puppets to sustain herself. Today, she is a renowned global doll repair expert and puppet master. Her extensive collection features dolls adorned with ethnographic elements from various regions of Greece, as well as details inspired by Istanbul's daily life. Eleni's notable work involves a complex representation of a crowd expelled at the Turkey-Greece border, featuring a young

[379] The interview with Athanasios, 27.03.2023, Athens.

Eleni holding her father's hand with a toy doll, amidst scattered luggage, depicting elderly individuals, pregnant women, and children wearing expressions of sorrow and concern.

Sofoklis , compelled by his father in the mid-1960s to leave the city for education in America, spent most of his life there and is now a famous accordion virtuoso. In our recent meeting (2023), he expressed his final desire to perform a concert in Istanbul, playing compositions he had specifically composed for the city. Christos, a historian of architecture, focuses on Istanbul's Rum architects. His academic efforts aim to preserve the legacy of Rum architects and structures/traces of Rum heritage in Istanbul. Panagiotis, combining years of reading passion with book collecting, authored a comprehensive dictionary of Romeika to leave a note on the rapidly fading Rum language that very few can speak fluently today. Additionally, he regularly shares posts on his Facebook page about significant figures in Istanbul, striving to increase access to the history of Rum Polites on a contemporary platform.

Fotis, addressing the neglected state of Şişli Cemetery in Septemvriana, generates resources for its comprehensive repair and restoration. Initiating collaborations with professionals in the field,[380] he successfully completed the restoration of Şişli Cemetery. Emphasizing that Greek schools or hospitals could survive by being Turkified in some way, Fotis highlights the vulnerability of cemeteries to oblivion without guardianship. Thanks to his project, Şişli Cemetery is now included as one of the significant European Cemeteries (Şişli Greek Orthodox Cemetery, n.d.). Numerous examples of commemoration and remembrance abound,

[380] For example, he forms a group of people from the team working on the restoration of the Acropolis and academics working in related fields.

from hanging pictures of previous homes in Istanbul or a passing ferry in Bosphorus a prominent corner of one's home, to searching for accommodation for a needy Istanbulite Rum, writing, drawing, and speaking about Istanbul—all are products of the same connection. In this sense, the bond formed with Istanbul is both a life purpose and a life tool.

6.3 Struggle for properties: Confronting the habitus of precarity once again

The chronic issues faced by Rum Polites have yet to find resolution today. Particularly, the precariousness of Greek citizens of Rum community in relation to lawsuits involving blocked assets are becoming more intricate in their interactions with the Turkish state. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to assert that a sector has emerged around the blocked assets of deported Greek citizens. Various groups, including professionals such as officials working in land registry archives, lawyers, academics, and intermediaries with or without proficiency in Greek, have profited significantly over the past two decades through these blocked properties. Illustrating how this mechanism operates through an example can elucidate its workings; Archive supervisors notify intermediaries of properties expropriated or nationalized without being confiscated. Intermediaries approach the owners or heirs of these properties, informing them that they can handle legal proceedings on their behalf in exchange for a commission. An agreement is reached by offering a small percentage to the rightful owner who may have long lost hope in their property in Istanbul. After winning lawsuits against the Treasury through legal consultants and experts, only a small portion of the compensation is transferred to the rightful owners, with the remaining substantial amounts being shared among stakeholders. It is crucial to note, however, that while this system may be seen as a relatively positive example, as it

involves compensation for the rightful owners, my field research has revealed numerous stories of defrauded and victimized Rums whose title deeds were seized, and they were left uninformed and deceived.[381]

The 2000s proved to be an opportune period for the exploitation of Greek properties through intermediaries in many aspects. The removal of The Secondary Committee for Minorities increased the likelihood of cases reaching resolutions. Furthermore, neoliberal government policies legitimized through concerns arising from the expected Istanbul earthquake, post the 1999 Izmit earthquake, culminated in urban renewal projects primarily targeting impoverished neighborhoods within the city. One such neighborhood was Tarlabaşı, an old Rum district. After winning inheritance lawsuits, children of exiled Greek citizens recounted being approached by various intermediaries who left them with no alternative but to sell their homes to these individuals for a fraction of their worth. The subsequent urban renewal project resulted in gentrification today.

On the other hand, precariousness of deported Greek citizens persisted across generations due to property lawsuits unresolved for many years, resulting from various reasons. The Minority Commission established in 1962 and the confidential decree of 1964 left inheritance lawsuits filed by Greek citizens unresolved over the years. For example, a plot of land owned by Grigoris' aunt was transferred to the Treasury after the exile. However, when the family learned about the situation upon obtaining a visa and coming to Istanbul in 1984, they filed a lawsuit against the

[381] The interview with Athina, 10.01.2020, Athens. Athina's grandmother's brother, who served in the Patriarchate, experienced deportation alongside his family in the first phase of deportations in 1964. Subsequently, the family of this relative fell victim to fraud orchestrated by an intermediary who arrived in Athens from Turkey, took the title deed to the house in Istanbul and did not inform the family about it. Moreover, Athina was married to a Greek citizen, an Istanbulite Rum whose family was deported in 1964. Through her in-law family, she had a network among the Rum community over time and witnessed similar fraud incidents that Rum families faced.

Treasury in the same year. However, Grigoris and his siblings had to initiate new lawsuits against the Treasury and the General Directorate of Foundations as heirs after their mother's death in 1991. Over time, houses were built around the plot, taking advantage of this unclaimed land, and individuals occupied the disputed land by expanding their gardens. As of the spring of 2022, our interview with Grigoris revealed that the 38-year-long lawsuit had not concluded, and Grigoris expressed concern that the ongoing tension between Turkey and Greece regarding refugee's crisis might influence the judge's opinion in the upcoming hearing.[382]

I have encountered very few instances where property lawsuits have been successfully resolved.[383] One of these instances holds particular significance in demonstrating the profound impact of these encounters on individuals forced to confront blocked properties in Turkey with the state after many years. Pashalis was 16 years old when he left Büyükada after his father's deportation. In the late '1980s, when he and his family visited Istanbul, including Büyükada, they wished to see the family house and take a photo in front of it years after their departure. While posing, a woman from the house's window harshly shouted at them, prompting a confrontation when Pashalis' cousin replied. Subsequently, they initiated an inheritance lawsuit through a lawyer they consulted about the house's situation. After a 15-year legal battle, in 2004, the year the Minority Commission was abolished, Pashalis managed to obtain the title deed for half of the house.

A closer examination of the process reveals the layered nature of vulnerability. Initially, the family's expulsion left the house, owned by Pashalis' aunt, abandoned. Shortly thereafter, a Turkish family migrated to the island and settled in

[382] The interview with Grigoris, 06.06.2022, Athens.
[383] The interview with Elias, 23.01.2020, Athens; The interview with Danai, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki.

the vacant property. Despite neighbors informing Athens, the legal owners of the house – the expelled Greek citizens – couldn't enter Turkey, seeking support from acquaintances and lawyers reached through intermediaries. Unfortunately, they couldn't evict the occupiers. The occupying family not only neglected rent payments for years but also asserted ownership rights over the property. When Pashalis went to discuss the house's situation, he faced threats, and his former friends, who wanted to act as intermediaries, withdrew due to intimidation by these individuals. The judgment in the unfair occupation lawsuit was concluded earlier than the title deed lawsuit. The court ruled that the occupiers should pay rent, excluding the retrospective occupation period, to the legal owners—Pashalis and his cousin, who had inheritance rights after the deaths of his aunt and two siblings. The determined rent was minimal, but following his lawyer's advice, Pashalis started paying off part of the past tax debt with the rental income.[384]

Since the likelihood of the title deed lawsuit concluding was low, Pashalis' lawyer suggested he sell his rights in the house to the occupiers. When Pashalis went to discuss the offer, he was threatened with death. Later, one of the occupier's children died in a conflict in Eastern Anatolia as he was under military service in the Turkish army, further complicated the situation. During an event in Athens where municipal authorities from Turkey and Greece gathered, Pashalis discussed the issue with a relevant official. However, the official responded dismissively, warning Pashalis not to mention the house of a martyr's family. The martyr's name was given to the street and the school on the island, serving as a shield for the family. Yet, the

[384] The Civil Code Article 713/1 is perceived as a law that protects the occupier. The payment of past tax debts by the occupier facilitates their potential ownership of the property after a specific period (Serengil, "Olağanüstü Zamanaşımı Yoluyla Taşınmaz Mülkiyetinin Kazanılması"). Therefore, Pashalis' initiative in this regard facilitates the acquisition of the title deed for the house.

process became even more challenging for Pashalis. He learned that the occupier family, had submitted a petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, falsely claiming that Pashalis and his cousin had died in a traffic accident and requesting recognition as the legal owners.[385] Pashalis rushed to Istanbul and discovered that the Ministry had appointed a custodian following this application. He went to the custodian and declared that he and his cousin were alive. However, this statement was insufficient, initiating a new legal battle lasting five years to prove that Pashalis and his cousin were alive and that the occupier family had lied. After this prolonged and exhausting process, proof of Pashalis' and his cousin's survival was established, and the inheritance lawsuit resumed.

However, the occupier family, for the second time after the lawsuit, submitted a petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs falsely claiming that Pashalis and his cousin had died in a traffic accident. This time, Pashalis was fortunate. A consul, familiar with the situation, informed him and sent a photograph taken together to the Ministry, stating that Pashalis was alive and the occupier family had lied once again. A year after this incident, Pashalis finally obtained the title deed for half of the house. Ten years after acquiring the title deed, an estate agent contacted Pashalis, expressing interest in purchasing his house. Pashalis considered selling it because, during the past ten years, the occupier family continued to live in the house, intimidating Pashalis' relatives who went to collect rent. The prospective buyer had connections with the ruling party, making the bureaucratic procedures surprisingly

[385] Furthermore, in accordance with Civil Code Article 713/2, if properties without registered owners in the land registry are continuously used with the status of a possessor for 20 years, and the rightful owner does not assert their claim during this period, the possessor is acknowledged as the legal owner (Arıkboğa Usta, *Tapuya Kayıtlı Taşınmazların Olağanüstü Kazandırıcı Zamanaşımı ile Kazanılması*). It appears that the occupier family sought to take advantage of this provision, exploiting the ambiguity in this context.

easy and swift, much to Pashalis' astonishment. However, the fate of the other half of the house remained uncertain. The portion belonging to Pashalis' cousin, Stavros, who had completed his military service in the '70s and subsequently moved to Athens, was transferred to the treasury when he renounced his Turkish citizenship. Due to a lack of resources and the strength to continue the legal battle after 15 years, Stavros did not pursue the legal fight.[386]

[386] The interview with Pashalis, 10.01.2020. Athens.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The Apelasis profoundly impacted the Istanbulite Rum community; it stands as a primary catalyst and pivotal moment contributing to the contemporary extinction (diasporazation) of the Rum Polites. However, despite its significance, Apelasis has hitherto not garnered substantial academic attention it deserved. This study, therefore, aimed to humanize the history of Apelasis, documenting and engaging in discourse regarding the experiences of the displaced individuals and witnesses of the era.

In aiming to contribute to existing scholarship, this research posited that beyond the Cyprus crisis, which was ostensibly the primary impetus for the treaty's abrogation in 1964, there existed a protracted state reflex (Turkification) directed at the Rums of Istanbul, a community exempt from the population exchange of 1923. Simply attributing the deportation solely to the Cyprus crisis would overlook this reflex that underpinned anti-minority policies throughout republican history; therefore, the Cyprus crisis should be seen as a crack that brought this underlying reflex to the surface.

Moreover, this study maintains that the specific conditions of 1964 must also be taken into consideration. It contends that the societal tensions prevalent in the 1960s, along with the involvement of ordinary individuals, played a pivotal role in influencing governmental decisions. Turkish society, where militarism and anti-communism resonated in the early 1960s, swiftly responded to the Cyprus crisis through media channels. The minority government felt compelled not only to pressure Greece into reaching an agreement on Cyprus but also to appease

widespread public anger in anticipation of elections. Consequently, the issue of deporting Greek passport holders was brought up for consideration, and the decision to deport was executed concurrently with escalating tensions in both domestic and foreign policies. Conversely, Rums who were Turkish citizens either accompanied their family members or opted to emigrate because they saw no future for themselves in Turkey. Additionally, the economic progress witnessed in Greece during the same period and the relatively stable political environment following the coup could also be viewed as factors influencing many Rums to relocate to Greece.

Utilizing an oral history approach and methodological framework, this research diverged from conventional historical narratives and prevalent myths surrounding the expulsion. It engaged with novel sources and, by centering on the firsthand accounts of individuals who experienced the events, deconstructed the 1964 expulsion beyond the confines of a strictly international legal matter. Within this framework, the context of the Apelasis narrative is determined by the narratives of the exiles themselves and the witnesses of the period, encompassing both pre-exile life in Istanbul and the events that followed the exile. Emphasizing a departure from normative perspectives, the study prioritized the human experience, employing the concepts of habitus of precarity and resilience. Notably, it acknowledged the agency of the subjects of exile and accords significance to their testimonies as equitable contributors to the historical narrative.

I discussed the pre-exile existence of Rums in Istanbul through the concept of the habitus of precarity. I also approached the exile as a product of this habitus and argued that exile exacerbated the precarity of Rums of Istanbul. Furthermore, the narratives of Rums shed light on their post-exile lives, where experiences were intertwined with adversity and resilience. I interpreted post-exile experiences through

the concept of resilience, examining resilience through both personal and social dimensions. This allowed me to move away from viewing starting afresh in life as a personal success story and instead consider it within the broader context of resilience.

Finally, I emphasized the distinctiveness of each individual's experience, and the diversity of experiences, akin to fingerprints, aided in questioning these myths. The experience of being exiled was already difficult, and efforts to portray it as worse than it was, often to gain sympathy from the audience, contributed to the formation of these myths while disregarding the agency of the exiles. Contrary to the established belief that all exiles left with a $20 bill and a 20-kilo suitcase, those forced to leave the country sought various solutions, including leaving through illegal means or having belongings left behind brought over time by acquaintances. The connection with Istanbul remained, but the narrative of autochthony was not deeply rooted; the majority of interviewees were children of families who migrated from the Aegean islands to Istanbul. Being an Istanbulite did not necessarily require generations of being a local. Moreover, the exile did not happen overnight; initially, some were swiftly deported due to harmful activities. Over time, the exile policy was prolonged due to political tensions, even postponed for a period such as in September 1964. It softened towards the end of the year due to lack of international support for the exile policy and was further mitigated by exempting groups such as the elderly and students from exile.

As I conclude, I would like to briefly mention some lingering thoughts and unanswered questions within me. The pandemic significantly affected this research; some individuals I had met and scheduled meetings with before the pandemic lost their lives during the pandemic. Some hesitated to accept my invitation for

interviews due to the ongoing pandemic. Additionally, my visa and research budget were limited, and I would have liked to stay longer in Athens and Thessaloniki. It took time to reach out to and gain the trust of female interviewees, and just as I was starting to connect with more women for interviews, I had to return, leaving me with a sense of unfinished business in terms of being able to interview more women.

I limited the scope of this research to the stories of exiles and witnesses living in Athens and Thessaloniki, but there were also Rums who went to various European countries, as well as to America and Australia; some of those aware of my research reached out to me during this process. However, due to the need for this study to stay within a certain framework, I hope to address the stories of exiles who settled outside Greece in future studies.

Similarly, I would have liked to compile the exile narrative from the perspective of those who remained in Istanbul, as well as from the perspective of exiles' relatives and friends. During my research, I came across the interview videos of Fehmi Yıldıran, who was one of the last practitioners of traditional pastry making in Istanbul, having acquired his craft from Rum pastry chefs. However, what elevated Yıldıran's recognition in recent years was his narrative of friendship with his close friend and master, Georgios. In 1965, due to the non-renewal of his resident permit, Gerogios was compelled to depart from Istanbul, subsequently transferring his pastry workshop to Fehmi. Although Georgios was not allowed to come to Turkey for almost two decades (until the friendship initiatives of Özal government in 1980s) Fehmi and Georgios maintained their friendship over the years (*Fehmi ve Yorgo*, 2024) . This made me wonder, what do those who witnessed this period after their Rum friends, neighbors, and relatives left have to say? How are the Rums who

were exiled/migrated remembered here, in Istanbul? What is remembered, by whom, to whom, and why? The answer to this question awaits further studies.

The dispossession of Rums is another research topic that I could not comprehensively discussed (but briefly touched upon in the sixth chapter) of in this research. Precarity persists over time; heirs follow lengthy legal battles to reclaim confiscated properties. Some cannot bear this prolonged tension and give up, while others win these cases only to be defrauded when trying to sell the properties they regained. Who benefits from these processes? Whose hands are the properties confiscated during the exile now in? Within the framework provided by the secret decree that was part of the exile policy, whose economic accumulations are now in the hands of whom and which groups? Who benefited from the dispossession of Rums?

Moreover, I could not include the similarities and differences between Rums of Istanbul and other diasporic minority groups, such as Armenians in this dissertation. During the period when I commenced working on this thesis, I would like to recall the discussions regarding the inclusion of genocide denial within the scope of criminality in France in 2015, and concurrently, the possibility of deporting Armenian nationals residing in Turkey was brought to attention. This example alone is worth reflecting on. What kind of relationship can be established in terms of memory, remembrance, and identity practices among precarious groups (of Turkey) forced into migration and exile? What does such an analysis tell us about Turkish society? Unfortunately, these questions remain unanswered in this study.

Last but not least, another issue that I could not include in the scope of this thesis is whether Greece retaliated or not: Turkish newspapers of the period frequently mentioned that Greece was preparing to retaliate and that the Turks living

in Rhodes would be deported. On the other hand, the witnesses I listened to during the field research argued that Greece was unable to retaliate and that this was the reason why Turkey did not step back from its deportation policy. Are Greece's policies against the Turkish Muslim Minority in Western Thrace in the 1970s and afterwards related to the 1964 expulsion? What do such comparisons tell us, especially in light of the denaturalization of the Turkish minority during these years?

As I conclude, a final question should be asked; what happened to the Rums of Istanbul and why is it important? It is crucial for understanding the erosion caused by the nation-state. Today, the Rums of Istanbul are part of a nostalgia for the "old beautiful Istanbul." They left traces, but they are no longer present. The traces of Rums can be observed in moments of unexpected absence, found in dilapidated abandoned stone buildings in the old neighborhoods of Istanbul, sparsely congregated high-walled church courtyards, and in cemeteries confined within the increasingly crowded city. To comprehend why this absence exists and why the Rums of Istanbul are no longer in Istanbul, one must understand the events of the 1964 exile.

On the other hand, understanding what happened to the Rums of Istanbul is important for grasping what might have happened or what might happen in the future to other minority groups in Turkey. The story of the 1964 exile is also a narrative of a society that remained silent and even encouraged the decision-makers to uproot thousands of people. The issue of what happened to the Rums of Istanbul remains relevant today, as it is not widely discussed or studied so far, highlighting its significance. Knowing what happened to the Rums of Istanbul, reflecting on this issue, and ensuring that it is discussed and known are essential to prevent such repetitions.

Furthermore, it is important to understand what happened to the Rums Polites so that the subjects of exile can become visible, their voices heard, and they can tell their own stories. This is particularly crucial because this study was completed on the 60th anniversary of the exile, and the last generation of witnesses from that period is still alive today. The narrative of Apelasis encapsulates not only the account of the demise of the Rum Polites' but concurrently serves as a narrative of the expelled Rums' endeavors to reconstruct their lives, adapt to new conditions, and preserve their cultural identities. These individuals endured and surmounted challenges, established roots anew, continued with their lives, formed families, thus enriching their experiences with resilience, existence, and witnessing. The stories of the deported Rums deserve recognition and remembrance, as they persistently shape both their own life narratives and contribute to the broader societal narrative in which we are immersed.

APPENDIX A

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EXPULSION

1 1964, March

Following the decision of abrogation of Greco-Turkish Agreements of 1930, on 16 March 1964, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs justifies the decision for abrogation as it has been a long time since signing of the agreement, that cannot meet today's needs, adding that they are ready to negotiate with Greek government for a new residence, trade and navigation agreement. While it is stated in the press that there are 12.502 Greek citizens with residence permits, most of whom are in İstanbul, but also in İzmir, Ankara and Hatay, the rights of Greek citizens lost with the cancelation of the agreement are also given wide coverage (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.03.1964).

On the anniversary of "Çanakkale Victory", 18 March 1964, government begins a new military exercise in the Mediterranean with an effort to show its determination in its decision to deport the Greek citizens (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.03.1964).[387] Additionally, the government invokes a number of official mechanisms on *the legal field*, restricting the Rums of Turkey, especially Rums of Greek nationality, deepening their precariousness through various laws and practices. The first of these is the implementation of Article 35 of the title deed law, which will prevent Greek nationalities from owning real estate within the borders of Turkey, following the days when the abrogation decision was announced. The enactment of the relevant article of the title deed law is given legitimacy by emphasizing the reciprocity as follows "after the Turkish-Greek residence, trade and navigation

[387] Throughout 1964, during the days of heightened tensions, there were many reports of Turkish exercises in the Mediterranean. However, in the detail of the news of this exercise, "taking precautions against a possible offensive" and the concern that the war could continue outside the territory of Cyprus are pointed out. This concern has been in Turkish public opinion throughout the Cyprus tensions.

agreement, although Turkey recognized all the rights of Turkish citizens with Greek nationality, the Greek government distinguished Western Thrace and the Dodecanese islands as borderland and passed a law[388] preventing the Turks residing in these regions from owning real estate"(*Cumhuiyet*, 19.03.1964).

In the same days it appears in a newspaper that "the deportation decision shocked the Rums of İstanbul, whereby the Greek nationalities blamed the Greek government and the priest Makarios for all of the events in Cyprus", as one of the rare news about the feelings of the Rums of Istanbul during the Cyprus tension. In the continuation of the news, it is reminded again that there are more than 10 thousand Greek nationalities in Turkey and that these people will be treated according to the orders from the government (18.03.1964, *Cumhuriyet*). Another point worth mentioning is, how the decision was perceived in the international arena; forasmuch as the addressees of the decision are primarily Greece and then the parties to the Cyprus tension, although the Rums of İstanbul are on the target. A spokesperson for the Greek government states that Greece will request negotiations for a new trade and maritime agreement, before the expiry of the 6-month period required under the terms of the agreement (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.03.1964). On the other hand, assessment of Turkey's move by the foreign press takes place in the domestic press as well. For example, the *Daily Telegraph* reportedly interpreted the abrogation of the agreement as a blow taken by Greece (*Cumhuriyet,* 19.03.1964). Nonetheless,

[388] The law preventing Turks living in Greece from acquiring real estate should be the Law No. 1366/1938 "on the prohibition of the right to buy and sell in border and coastal areas", which is referred to in the application of Article 19 of the Land Registry Law. According to the law, the right to buy and sell in border and coastal areas was restricted. This law covers 55% of Greece, including Western Thrace, where Turks are concentrated. For further information:
Tsitselikis, K. (2012). *Old and New Islam in Greece: From Historical Minorities to Immigrant Newcomers.* Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

the impact of the annulment decision in the international arena must be important for the government, as it is understood from the Minister of Interior Göğüş's press conference where he answers the questions from foreign press members. A journalist's question, "Do you agree with the Turkish press interpreting the cancellation of the 1930 agreement as a warning to Greece because of its support for Makarios", in compliance with the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "The renewal of the 1930 agreement was a need for a long time, it is a normal practice to address this need now" he replies. To the question "Is it true that 12,592 Greeks in Turkey will be deported if the canceled agreement is not renegotiated?", he replies "This matter will need to be discussed" reluctant to give a clear answer. In response to "According to the Turkish media, Turkey is considering taking new measures against Greece, including strict control of the Patriarch, a possible revision of the Lausanne agreement, a demand for wider rights for Turks living in Greece, is this news true?" Göğüş says, "The Turkish government has not thought of any measures against our citizens in Istanbul" and adds: "We do not see any relations between the atrocities committed in Cyprus and our citizens in Istanbul" (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.03.1964).

In the days following the annulment of the agreement, the news about violence in Cyprus continues to be in the headlines. Along with the news reporting Turkish casualties or forced migration from the island,[389] "Greece sending weapons and ammunition to Cyprus", "Greek volunteers heading to Limassol without customs and passport control with Piraeus-Cyprus-Haifa expeditions and joining EOKA" appeared in the press. As the conflicts re-escalate in Cyprus, Iskenderun once

[389] "Greeks shelled two Turkish villages" *Cumhuriyet*, 20.03.1964; "Greeks killed 7 Turks, set fire to two Turkish villages" *Cumhuriyet*, 21.03.1964.

becomes alarmed; entrances of the city are controlled, measures are taken to protect fuel tanks and positions are overwatched to protect them from possible aerial attacks. Navy resumes exercises off Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet,* 21.03.1964). In the days when the army is again on alert, another front is added to the tension; according to a local publication in Cyprus, it is reported that Russia promised to take military action against Turkey in case of a possible intervention (*Cumhuriyet,* 25.03.1964). The next day, the Greek foreign minister announces that Turkey's intervention would be a cause of war between the two countries (*Cumhuriyet,* 26.03.1964). During the last week of March, discussions were held about the possibility of establishing an army of 42.000 under Makarios' command in Cyprus and joining the peacekeeping forces. Whereas in domestic politics, the 3rd coalition government gradually loses power; subsequent to İnönü's announcement that his party would withdraw from the government if the bill of tax law is not passed *in such a sensitive period,* the main opposition party Adalet Partisi (Justice Party,JP hereafter) begins to discuss with party members the steps that can be taken to overthrow the government (*Cumhuriyet*, 22.03.1964), whereupon president Gürsel invites JP leader Gümüşpala to Çankaya (*Cumhuriyet*, 24.03.1964). This closed-door meeting is one of the first interventions that will form the basis of the discourse "The army is backing the İnönü government" that will rise from time to time until the 1965 elections. In this tense environment, the first group of Greek nationalities is deported.

1.1 The First Group of Deportees

Exactly one week after the announcement of abrogation, news that 7 Greek nationalities will be deported appears on the front page of newspapers, without having their identities been disclosed, yet. They have reportedly involved in

numerous crimes on various dates and have been active against Turkey extensively. In addition to these 7 people, it is announced that 9 Greek nationalities are found to have a job in defiance of the law no. 2007 through various ways, and that they are engaged in extensive activities against Turkey, and that a notification will be sent to these people to terminate their employment (*Cumhuriyet,* 24.03.1964). Similarly in the following days, it is reported that 200 Greek subjects were identified who were engaged in professions prohibited by law; measures were taken to prevent them from handing over their work to others, and it was expected that they will be notified and banned from these works belonging to Turkish citizens as per law no. 2007. The news also includes one of the first examples of the discourse on the criminalization of the Greeks, many examples of which can be found in the local press of 1964; it is stated that the activities of Greek nationals in Turkey will be examined, and measures will be taken to prevent them from transferring their jobs to their close relatives and Greek nationalities through some *intricate* ways (*Cumhuriyet,* 29.03.1964). In addition to the abrogation and the enactment of article 35 of the title deed law, the law no. 2007 (dismissal from the profession) entered into force in 1932 is also recalled. Whilst the number of deportees soared, especially between March and August of 1964, news about Greek citizens indicted on violation of 2007 and given notice to leave their occupations were frequently covered in the press. Within this context, 2007 is also used as a subsidiary precarization instrument, increasing the level of oppression on the non-deported. This law poses a threat to those who cannot be deported, by a steady risk of unemployment, unsettling, and concern for the future. Moreover, frequent use of statements such as *investigations are being conducted on Greeks*, *authorities are examining files to identify culprits*, *new lists are being prepared for those to be deported*, or *those who are operating against*

Turkey will be found in the news announcing the list of deportees should be read as part of this process. These vague and abstract statements reminding that at any moment some Greeks may be deported, or some Greeks may lose their jobs, have a very concrete reflection: It is possible to say that the Greek nationalities are not the only witnesses of this process, but also the Rums with Turkish citizenship, who were constantly anxious and alerted in the created atmosphere.

According to the Article 36 of the Turkish-Greek residence, trade and navigation agreement, Turkey must inform the Greek government six months before deporting Greek nationalities. However, playing the trump card of expulsion of the Greek nationalities to coerce Athens to negotiate the Cyprus issue, Ankara does not have time to wait. Based on Article 16 of the same agreement, which stipulates that the granted privilege can be abolished in cases concerning the defense and general security of the country, the İnönü government acts immediately (Akgönül, 2016, p. 267). On March 28, the names, and photos of the first group of 7 people, two of whom were already abroad and the remaining five were notified, to be deported are on the first page of the newspaper. Names included in the newspaper with their photographs are Lefteri Vilissarios, Odiseus Karvanitos, Dimitri Madianos, Niko Orlando, Matheos Kaloumenos, and Dimitri Manikas. Dionis Vanortas is abroad on this date.[390] In the details of the news, it is stated that these individuals were being watched from time to time by the Bureau of Political Police, some among them were accused of espionage, they had relations with 82 other Greek communities, and that

[390] The names in question are written differently on the first page of the newspaper and in the news detail on page 7. A similar situation arising from the different/incorrect spelling of Greek names is also found in various lists of deportees published later. For this reason, since I use Turkish sources in this section, I include here the more common Turkish phonetically correct versions of the names.

they were engaged in secret activities outside of their business premises. This first group of deportees are indicted of being affiliated in the Eleniki Enosis society, which was shut down in 1956;[391] apart from their political activities, they are accused of having intentions to dominate the Istanbul market, committing fraud, and causing bankruptcy of some big-time operators that leads to fiscal crisis, buying goods in exchange for bonds and not paying for them, escaping the earnings from the sales of these goods to Greece. It is also stated that the Ministry of Finance has started to investigate these individuals' tax debts (*Cumhuriyet,* 28.03.1964).[392] While the newspaper discloses the persons to be deported with their names and appearances on the first page, their occupations and workplace addresses are also explicitly given in the details of the news, additionally reminding that they have formerly deported relatives.[393] For example, it is emphasized that Matheos Kalumenos is uncle of previously deported Dimitri Kalumenos; another name Niko Orlando is also a relative of previously deported Konstantin Zafranos.

When we look closely at the discourse and content of this news, in which the first 7 deportees were announced, the message to be given to the reader is quite clear:

---

[391] Although the article states that the Eleniki Enosis Society was closed in 1956, this is incorrect; it was closed in 1958.

[392] It should be noted that with the publication of the first deportation list, Imbros and Tenedos, which are unfortunately outside the scope of this study, also came to the fore. With the news "After Cyprus, the Greeks now set their sights on Imbros and Tenedos", the first page covers the disturbances in these islands and the measures to be taken:"In recent days, the Greek minority in these islands have been buying real estate and priests have been organizing ceremonies on religious days as if they were in Greece. The measures to be taken by the government are as follows: The Turkish population in the islands will be increased and Turks will become the majority. Religious activities of priests will be restricted". (Cumhuriyet, 28.03.1964).

[393] For example, Cumhuriyet newspaper gives the following information about the first deportees:
Odiseus Karvatinos: A haberdasher on İstiklal Street. Former member of the Eleniki Enosis society
Lefteri Vilisarios: Owner of Simtel trading company on İstiklal street. He was involved in various activities against Turkey.
Matheos Kalumenos: Owner of Lümiyer Photography Company on the Tünel Square. In 1934 he was arrested for espionage, and he is uncle of Dimitri Kalomenos, who was also a spy and an active member of the Eleniki Enosis society (Dimitri was deported) (*Cumhuriyet*, 28.03.1964).

"These people are criminals who do things against Turkey". The clarity of this message is based on the established criminalization discourse; forasmuch as the baggage of this discourse originates from the existing habitus of precarity. Greeks who are members of the association called Enosis are *potential traitors*, they both *manipulate the country's markets* and *smuggle money into Greece*.[394] Moreover, they either have kinship or friendship relations with the traitors who were deported before. The following day, a new *misdemeanor* of those who will be deported is revealed with another title in the newspaper. In the news titled "They did not want to accept Turkish nationality", Odiseus Karvatinos answers the questions of journalists as his homeland was Turkey, he was born in Turkey but have not intended to acquire Turkish nationality, his father and grandfather were Greek and that makes him a successor of theirs; whereas statement of Lefterios Vilisarios is reported as he did not think of naturalization for Turkish nationality (*Cumhuriyet*, 29.03.1964). Referring to these statements, it is implied that the deportation of these people, *deportation of those who live in Turkey and do not intend to acquire Turkish nationality serves them right*.

When the reasons for the deportation of the first group and the way this decision was reported in the newspapers are scrutinized, it is inevitable to ask some questions. First of all, being a member of the Eleniki Enosis association is allegedly shown as evidence of harmful activity. However, Eleniki Enosis, The Hellenic Union of Constantinopolitans, established in 1933 for the solidarity of Greek citizens living

[394] The columnists who wrote anti-Greek articles based on similar discourse in the newspapers of the period have been discussed by other studies. Since I do not want to include these columns here and repeat them, please see for detailed information: Yaşar, K. (2019). Ulus ve Tercüman Gazetelerinde Kıbrıs Krizi ve Rumlar. In Romain Örs, (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homoşenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 268-300). İstanbul: İletişim.

in Istanbul following the Turkish-Greek residence, trade and navigation agreement, organized cultural events and social activities such as dinners, dance nights or conferences, operated until 1958 when it was closed, is a legal society as mentioned before (Alexandris, 1992, p.272). It is stated that the society sent food and clothing to Greece in danger of famine, especially during the war, and helped victims of the earthquakes occurred in Greece in the 1940's and 1950's.[395] As a result of strained relations after 6-7 September, the general secretary of the association, Gulakis, was arrested on charges of espionage, while the association was closed in 1958 and its members were expelled (*The Times*, 07.06.1957; Akgönül, 2016, p. 229; Alexandris, 1992). After attempts were made for establishment of an independent Cyprus state at the beginning of 1959, during the rapprochement of Turkey and Greece, bilateral diplomatic relations were established between May and August 1959 to solve the problems of minorities in the two countries. Akgönül includes the bilateral report, which was written as a result of these meetings, in his work (Akgönül, 2016, p. 240-245). According to the report, the solution proposed by the Turkish side, in response to the closure of the Eleniki Enosis Association and the return of the confiscated properties of Greece, is "establishing a new society under a different name and with the abolished aims". Akgönül interprets the Turkish authorities' recommendation to open the same institution under a different name for the same purposes, as they accept that the association was dissolved unnecessarily (Akgönül, 2016, p. 241). In the meantime, no investigation is conducted against the members of the association within the 6 years from the closure of the association until 1964. The members of the

[395] The interview with the son of a member of Eleniki Enosis, 07.01.2020, Athens. Although some sources claim that Eleniki Enosis was founded in the early 1950s to help earthquake victims in Greece, this claim does not reflect the truth.

association continue to live in Istanbul during this period. Moreover, during this period, at least one residence permit application had to be made and at least once it had to be accepted.[396] The question that arises at this point is why being a member of an association that was closed 6 years ago gained currency as an element of crime after the abrogation of the Turkish-Greek residence, trade and navigation agreement. The fact that being affiliated to the Eleniki Enosis association or continuing to reside in Istanbul as a former member after its dissolution in 1958, was not seen as a problem until the abrogation, can be seen as bureaucratic negligence at best. Another possibility is that this is the invention of a new crime in accordance with the changing conjuncture.

Secondly, what is the reference to the accusation of *engaging in various activities against Turkey*, which is a nullity that was included in the announcements of the lists of deportees, not only for this first group, but also for all those published throughout 1964? This incriminating vague wording does not specify exactly what crimes individuals have committed. Nevertheless, readers are expected to accept the message within a closed system of interpretation without questioning it. The economic emphasis of the accusations, which are relatively detailed for the first deported group when compared to the later groups,[397] cannot be ignored. The fact that these suspects, who tried to monopolize the market, bankrupt their competitors, and defraud the market, which can be directly related to the image of black marketeer traitors created before the Wealth Tax, were smuggling money - not abroad but directly to Greece - paves the way for the accusation of the Greeks of Istanbul of

[396] In the field research, it was stated that residence permits should be renewed in periods of 1 to 2 years. In this case, Greek nationals must apply for a residence permit at least three times in 6 years.
[397] Throughout 1964, the lists to be published were usually announced only with the statement "Persons found to be involved in harmful activities against Turkey will be deported".

sending money to Cyprus in these days when there were news about the armament of the Cyprus administration. In addition, tax evasion is mentioned as another harm to the country; for example, Niko Orlando, who was among the first group to be deported and who owed taxes to the state, was also defined as a guide to other tradesmen with other clandestine activities. It is therefore alleged that they are engaged in harmful activities, not only by smuggling money, but also by obstructing the state's revenue at home. Another question that can be asked in this regard is: if these accusations are proven by police surveillance, why are these people deported directly within a short period of time instead of being put on trial? If being a Greek citizen was an obstacle to their prosecution, what distinguishes the "criminals" of Greek nationality from the Kurdish students of Iraqi nationality[398] who were on trial (on death row) for making separatism propaganda, which started simultaneously with the deportation? It is also possible to ask this question as follows: Why were these people, who were proven to be carrying out harmful activities, deported hastily in a few days and without a trial, while the Greek national Gülakis was tried for espionage in 1957?

Thirdly, why were the names, photographs and workplace address of these people published with all these accusations? First of all, this news may have been intended to intimidate other Greek nationals. On the other hand, the targeting tone of the news article may have also isolated those mentioned here and their families within the community, as even being mentioned together with the deported names may result in being under suspicion. One of the best examples of this is that after it was reported that the deported Visilarios was a shareholder in the Burla company,

[398] "The Kurdish trial" begins on April 17, 1964. This trial proceeds simultaneously with the deportations. At the end of the trial, all of the defendants on death row were acquitted (*Cumhuriyet*, 21.04.1964; *Cumhuriyet,* 29.03.1964).

Burla Biraderler felt the need to issue a retraction stating that their company has no relation to the deported person (*Cumhuriyet*, 02.04.1964).

On the morning of March 31, the first person to be deported on the 7:20 a.m. flight was Vilisarios, who was seen in the photo on the front page of the newspaper being searched at customs with an open suitcase in front of him (*Cumhuriyet*, 01.04.1964). The news report states that Eleftriyadis Visilarios arrived at the airport looking very sad; that he was checked at customs for half an hour; that he bought a "round trip" plane ticket to Greece; that before boarding the plane he told reporters "I was born in Turkey, I grew up here, I am not rich. I want to return. If things improve and things calm down, I will come back." It is also stated that he had previously handed over his business to his wife, a Turkish national Rum. It is also indicated that Odesia Karistinos, Matheos Kalumenos and Dmitri Nadianos, who were expected to be deported by the same plane, were sent to Athens by the 20:00 flight in the evening; and that information was given to the border gates and other relevant places in order to prevent the re-entry of Greek nationals whose secret activities against Turkey had been detected. The process works differently for Niko Orlando, the fifth name to be deported; Orlando, “who was engaged in a number of obscure businesses and smuggled foreign currency abroad, who was also engaged in tax evasion, who worked as a financial advisor to some of the Greek national and Turkish national Rum tradesmen, who owed 31.523 liras to the finance, who was engaged in harmful activities and was one of the secret agents of the Eleniki Enosis society", had all his properties confiscated in return for his tax debt to the finance. Thereupon, the measure to prevent him from being deported due to his debt was lifted by a ministry decision. After Orlando was notified, he was taken to Yeşilköy, put on a plane after strict control and deported on the morning of April 1 (*Cumhuriyet*, 02.04.1964).

2 1964, April

After the first group was expelled, the Greek government protests the dismissals of Greek nationals from their jobs and the deportations. Newspaper reports indicate that the government announced that Greece has applied for a renegotiation of the abrogated agreement and that the parties will hold talks in Ankara in mid-April (*Cumhuriyet*, 03.04.1964). In the following days, when the same news reappeared in the press, it was reported that the talks would take place in mid-May (*Cumhuriyet,* 09.04.1964). However, it will soon become clear that this expected bilateral meeting will not take place and that Turkey's trump card will not yield the desired result.

Although the inauguration of Tuomioja, the UN-appointed mediator for the Cyprus problem, gave a glimpse of hope that tensions could be resolved through diplomacy, (*Cumhuriyet*, 03.04.1964) tensions escalate again as the Turkish government refuses to allow Turkish troops to return to their garrisons, which they left at the end of December 1963, and the Cypriot administration unilaterally announces the annulment of the guarantor agreement between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.04.1964). The Council of Ministers decided not to recognize the annulment decision since Makarios "had no such authority" under the terms of the agreement. In line with the government's decision, the Cypriot ambassador did not receive the note containing the annulment decision as it was against international law and protest against the Cypriot administration.

It should be recalled that this is not the first attempt by the Cypriot government for annulment. In 1963, the Cyprus administration announced that it was terminating the guarantor agreement but had to backtrack upon Britain's warning. In

April 1964, the Cypriot government announced that it had decided to terminate the guarantor agreement on the grounds that the leader of the Turkish community, Fazil Kucuk, had lost his position of vice-presidency due to his absence from his duties for 3 months and his support for movements against the Cyprus administration (*Cumhuriyet*, 05-06.04.1964). As reflected in the newspapers that Greece had approved Makarios' decision of annulment of guarantor agreement, Turkey decided to review all agreements with Greece. The first step taken in this regard was the unilateral annulment of the 1955 visa agreement signed, according to which visas were obligatory for those coming from Greece (*Cumhuriyet,* 07.04.1964). Greek nationals who were living in Turkey prior to the termination of the visa agreement and who temporarily traveled abroad cannot return to Turkey after the implementation of this decision because they do not have a visa and/or have not been granted a visa. In the same days, 2 more Greek nationals were deported upon the restraint of the Cypriot administration. The first was Stanis Trsivulos, who was sent to Athens by plane on April 6 and was found by the political police to be singing hymns in Greek churches and engaging in harmful activities under the guise of being a sexton. The other is priest Thomas Tolyeris, who was deported from Pytyon station on April 7 (*Cumhuriyet,* 07-08, 04.1964).

The second crisis of April erupts as it becomes clear that the presence of UN troops on the island is insufficient to end the violence in Cyprus. News of deportations was accompanied by reports of Turks being shot dead in Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet,* 08.04.1964) and UN troops being unable to protect Turks on the island (for example, a report on a UN soldier captured by the Greeks, *Cumhuriyet*, 16.04.1964). Since British soldiers were being targeted by the Greeks and this reduced the deterrence of the UN force of which they made up half, U Thant, the 3rd

Secretary General of the UN, asked Finland, Sweden and Ireland to increase military support to the UN force. In the same days, the visit of Makarios to Greece to discuss the withdrawal of Turkish soldiers stationed between Kyrenia and Nicosia to their garrisons was monitored closely (*Cumhuriyet,* 13.04.1964). The enosis demonstrations in Athens and the possibility that Grivas might go to Cyprus moved to the front page of the newspapers. Upon this, Turkey raises its hand once again and decides to extend its territorial waters to 6 miles and 12 miles for fishing (TBMM Tutanak B:88 10.4.1964). Greece's note on deported citizens is not accepted by Turkey. The announcement that Greece would address the issue of the deported Greek citizens to UN was also headlined in the press as a "threat". At the same time, Papendreou's statement that he supported Cyprus falls like a bomb on the agenda.

Papandreou announced a 10-point Cyprus policy, summarizing that the Greek government supported the just struggle of Hellenism in Cyprus; that Makarios' annulment of the agreement was only a confirmation of the status-quo; that the Greek troops on the island would be attached to an international military command; that the refusal of the 18% minority to accept the will of the majority was contrary to the understanding of the era and democracy; and that Greece supported the full independence of Cyprus and its right to self-determination. This is not the step back Ankara was expecting (*Cumhuriyet,* 15.04.1964). Thereupon, the İnönü government began to openly express its reproaches for not receiving the support it expected from the international community and began to look for ways to intervene in the island by involving NATO in the tension instead of the UN, which failed to show the expected success in preventing violence. İnönü expressed his regret for believing in American leadership, while expressing his disapproval of Britain's passivity (*Cumhuriyet*, 16.04.1964). In an exclusive interview with Time Magazine, he said that the Western

alliance would collapse unless the allies changed their attitudes, "A new world will be established, and Turkey will take its place in this world," and made a serious challenge to the NATO alliance (*The Times*, 16.04.1964). In the meantime, the opposition criticizes the prime minister for not raising such an important issue in the parliament first (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.04.1964). Moreover, President Gürsel in a statement: "Turkish-Greek friendship is dead" and, like Prime Minister İnönü, reproached NATO, saying that "if [NATO] fails us in our national cause, he will consider it an unfriendly act" (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.4.1964). Sunay, the Chief of General Staff, supported the prime minister and the president by saying in a press conference on the way to the CENTO meeting that "we have worked very hard so far to prevent NATO from being undermined, but the whole free world should know that our patience is coming to an end" (Cumhuriyet, 20.4.1964).[399] Finally, NATO Secretary General Stikker announces NATO's direct involvement in the Cyprus conflict (*Cumhuriyet,* 29.04.1964).

Simultaneously with these tensions, the practice of deporting Greek nationals accelerated. The second group to be expelled consists of 32 people; they are given one week to leave the country.[400] 16 people on April 10th are invited to the police headquarters; their fingerprints are taken, their receipts are filled out and their

[399] After a while, the National Turkish Student Union joined this wave of reproaches by sending a telegram to President Johnson. The telegram sent to Johnson was published in the local press (*Cumhuriyet*, 12.05.1964):
"Son Kıbrıs olaylarından bu yana türk gençliği olarak hür dünyanın lideri abdnin tutumunu üzüntü ile izledik.Yarım asırlık dostane münasebetlerimizin ana ilkesi olan kişi özgürlüğünü yitiren, genç bir ulusun hain lideri ve şeriklerine karşı tutumunuz yeni dünyaya yakışmayan ve ulusumuzun hala çözemediği bir problemdir. Birleşik Amerika bu tutumu ile türk gençliği arasındaki itibarını zor tamir edilecek şekilde sarsmıştır. Türk milletinin gençleri olarak haklı davamız olan Kıbrıs meselesinde nato içinde müttefikimiz, körede silah arkadaşmız Amerika milletinden ve onun sayın idarecilerinden davamız gerçeklerine ugun bir anlayış daha yakın bir ilgi ve daha kuvvetli bir destek beklemekteyiz. Kıbrıs davasında türk haklarının başarısı, adaletin ve batı dünyasının savunduğu ideallerin başarısı olacaktır".

[400] For the first group, this period is much shorter. It can be assumed that by April there is more or less a standardized procedure for implementation.

procedures are completed (*Cumhuriyet,* 11.04.1964). People who are taken from their homes or workplaces and brought to the "Foreign Desk" at the police station are given a notice of deportation and made to sign a document declaring that they have broken the law; that they are members of Elleniki Enosis, which is accused of engaging in political activities against Turkey; that they have sent money to Greek terrorists in Cyprus; and that they have left Turkey of their own free will. It is told that signing this document is mandatory and those who refuse are held in the department until they sign (Alexandris, 1992, p. 285; Demir & Akar, 1994, p. 77; Akgönül, 2016, p. 268). It is possible to encounter testimonies in the newspapers about the sadness and confusion experienced by the second group of Greek nationals to be deported. For example, Cumhuriyet newspaper quoted one of the deportees as saying "I will end my life, I will not leave Turkey, where I was born and raised, which I know as my homeland" while being brought to the security directorate (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.04.1964). Hürriyet newspaper shares a brief observation on the situation at the police station: "300 Greek nationals and 30 Greeks to be deported have been notified. For this reason, yesterday the 4th Section, the Fingerprint Office and the Photographic Center were overflowing with Greek nationals. The Greek nationals, who were in a state of great confusion and distress, applied to Branch 4 and signed a declaration that they would comply with the notification. ” (*Hürriyet,* 12.04.1964). In the second list published, a mistake was made; it was announced in the following days that Nesim Ejivrel, who was listed among those to be brought to the police headquarters, had been added to the list by mistake and would not be deported. (*Cumhuriyet,* 12.04.1964). This was not the first and will not be the last name "accidentally" added to the deportation list. In fact, at the UN Security Council in September 1964, Greece's complaint that Turkey's deportations were arbitrary

would be challenged in Turkey's defense by "some names that were mistakenly included in the lists".

On April 14, 10 Greek nationals are deported. It is reported in the news that those who left by plane in the morning arrived at customs with 15-20 suitcases,[401] that the inspection process took too long, that some of them did not want to be photographed by journalists and that they had hopes of returning. In addition to the 6 people deported by plane, 4 others were deported by evening train, as noted. The two teachers accompanying this caravan, although having not been deported yet, attracted media attention for stating that their leaving was of their own accord (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.04.1964). A few days later, it was reported that the remaining 12 people from the same group were deported by plane and bus. It was also announced that 4 people from Izmir would also be deported (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.04.1964).

Apart from those to be deported, 375 Greek nationals are allowed for 15-days to stop performing the professions prohibited to foreigners by Law 2007 (*Son Havadis,* 10.04.1964; *Cumhuriyet*, 11.04.1964). 367 of these people live in Istanbul, 6 in Izmir, 1 in Adana and 1 in Hatay; their occupations are as follows: 108 carpenters, 65 shoemakers, 1 traveling blacksmith, 8 contractors, 1 stockbroker, 2 construction foremen, 91 tailors, 21 hatmakers, 8 barbers, 18 musicians, 1 winemaker, 3 drivers, 9 waiters, 6 photographers, 6 opticians, 6 pharmacists, 10 nuns, 4 engineers, 2 insurance agents, 5 dentists (*Ulus,* 10.04.1964). Furthermore, Law No. 5683 regulating the residence of foreigners is also brought to the agenda. While the prospective number of deportees according to Article 19 of the

[401] Considering the news reports mentioning that customs procedures took a long time due to the large number of suitcases of deportees, this may be seen as exaggerated language of the press; on the other hand, it can be assumed that the suitcase restriction mentioned in the testimonies of those deported in the summer was not yet put into practice during the deportation of the second group in April 14, 1964.

aforementioned law is expressed to be quite high, foreigners who are deemed to be noncompliant to public security, to political and administrative necessities are reminded that they may be expelled from Turkey as well (*Cumhuriyet,* 11.04.1964). On April 17, 1964, the Ministry of Finance requested information from all banks on the account status of Greek nationals; on May 7, all accounts of Greek nationals were blocked (Akgönül, 2007, p. 271). After this date, Greek nationals will be able to carry out bank transactions only through intermediaries and only under the supervision of the authorities. The blocking of real estate and bank accounts of Greek nationals is officialized with a confidential decree on November 2, 1964. Pursuant to this decree, all disposals of Greek nationals' real estate in Turkey are suspended and all income from such real estate is blocked without exception. After the deportation of Greek nationals, their blocked receivables are collected in a fund belonging to the Central Bank. While the Greek authorities estimate the value of the confiscated real estate at $500 million, the Turkish authorities assess this number at $200 million (Akgönül, 2016, p. 273; Alexandris, 1992, p. 285). In 1988, within the framework of the Turkish-Greek rapprochement, when then Prime Minister Turgut Özal decided to cancel the aforementioned 1964 decree, it would be revealed that the number of confiscated properties was 2,902 (Akgönül, 2016, p. 273). 20 of these buildings and houses were demolished in 1988 during the construction of Tepebaşı Boulevard, but no one has ever received the damage compensation from the municipality for the occupation of these buildings (Akgönül, 2016, p. 273).

The climate of fear grows as the lists of deportees are published, their work areas are restricted by Law No. 2007, and economic sanctions are in question. Therefore, it is inevitable that there will be panic among the Greeks first and the non-Muslims in general. News about those who go to change their nationality by getting

married are published. Greek national ballerina Fotula, who works in the ballet group performing in a pavilion in Ankara, who is decided to be deported, marries the American sergeant Chavin on a sudden in order to stay in Turkey. (*Cumhuriyet*, 16.04.1964). In another news, article it is announced that the official authorities have taken precautions against those who try to acquire Turkish citizenship by marrying Greeks of Turkish nationality and thus avoid being deportation, that this right will not be granted to Greeks with the new Citizenship Law, which will be in effect as of 22 May (*Akşam,* 12.04.1964). On the same days, 86 Greeks of Turkish nationality demand that the Greek-Orthodox expression on their identity cards be changed to Turkish-Orthodox (*Dünya,* 15.04.1964). Greek soldier Haralambos Puklivas, a Turkish national who does his military service in Izmir, submits a petition to the commander and declared that he wanted to become a Muslim (*Cumhuriyet,* 13.05.1964). On the other hand, the Armenians of Istanbul state that they will stage the play Leblebici Horhor on May 29 (in *the liberation day of Istanbul*) to support Cyprus; Even if the tickets for the game are not sold, they announce that they will donate 50 thousand liras to be sent to the Turkish Cypriots (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.04.1964). In Batman, on the other hand, an Armenian village collectively converted to Islam (*Son Havadis,* 07.04.1964). Especially in the spring and summer of 1964, when larger groups were deported more frequently, similar reports of conversions and name changes are more common; "Marika Karacapoulos changed her religion and name to Mine. Mine said that she did not approve of the behavior of the Greeks" (*Akşam,* 23.05.1964). "A Greek woman named Andreas Zorlu converted to Islam. This woman married to a Turk took the name Neriman for herself" (*Hürriyet*, 30.07.1964). "A Greek who supported the Galatasaray football team was circumcised and took the name Metin" (*Tercüman*, 23.08.1964, mentions Akgönül, 2016, p. 270).

2.1 All Eyes on The Patriarchate

In this process, the patriarchate becomes a target in a short time. Following a debate on the inadequacy of the UN forces in Cyprus in protecting the Turks, Osman Sabri Adal, a member of parliament from Izmir, submits an oral parliamentary question to the chairmanship of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, reminding that "the Greek Orthodox Church has played a major role in the murders committed in Cyprus for years" and asking "what actual and effective initiatives have been taken by Patriarch Athenagoras, as a Turkish citizen, in the face of these deplorable and grave events".He also wants to know if the government has information about the Patriarchate's foreign travels and contacts. In the following days, Patriarch Athenagoras is brought up to the agenda again by deputy Kemal Ataman in National Assembly; he especially states that the press should pay more attention to Patriarch Athenagoras' activities against Turkey. (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.04.1964).

There must have been an investigation into the Patriarch's foreign travels because in the second week of April, it was announced to the press that the original copy of the film of Athenagoras' participation in the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Agio Oros and the ceremony for the anniversary had been seized. In the film, Athenagoras attends the ceremony for the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Agio Oros wearing the dress and crown of the Byzantine Empire, the German dubbing of the film includes statements that "the old Byzantine Empire still exists" in Agio Oros and that the investigation into the film's being smuggled into Turkey in violation of the Lausanne Treaty and its being played in Greek schools is still ongoing (*Cumhuriyet,* 11.04.1964). It is revealed in some of the news in the press regarding the film were that Athenagoras attended the ceremony held for the 1000th

anniversary of Agio Oros wearing a dress and a crown from the Byzantine empire period, and that the German dubbing of the movie includes the expression “in Agio Oros, the old Byzantine Empire still continues". Moreover, it is also reported that the investigation about the film being brought to Turkey and shown in Greek schools against the Treaty of Lausanne is continuing. (*Cumhuriyet,* 11.04.1964). In the following days, it is announced that there are criminal elements in the films Athenagoras and the Pope's meetings in Jerusalem, along with the film Agia Oros, and that action would be taken against those who shot the films and brought them into the country (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.05.1964).

As part of the investigation, some brochures printed by the patriarchate's printing house, which was recalled to have been established during the Democrat Party period, were "found to be used for harmful activities" by the Ministry of Interior and the printing house belonging to the patriarchate was closed down. In addition, the printing and distribution of two publications named *Apostolos Andreas* and *Orthodoxia,* which were printed in this printing house and distributed to the institutions affiliated to the Patriarchate, are also banned as deemed “harmful" (*Cumhuriyet,* 12.04.1964). Turgut Erenerol, the son of Papa Eftim and the archbishop of the Independent Turkish Orthodox Patriarchate, who took the wind of courage created by targeting of the Patriarchate by the government, holds a press conference and states that it was even late for the Greeks to be deported; he also says that the Phanar Greek Patriarchate should also be deported for creating conflict between the Turks and the Greeks. Erenol, who called the Greek orthodox, whom he deemed innocent, to join the Turkish orthodox church for their accession, he advises the Turkish citizen Greeks to distance themselves from the self-interested and opportunistic patriarchate. (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.04.1964). In the same days, this time the

Patriarchate is accused of constantly pressuring Orthodox Albanians to adopt Greek nationality (*Cumhuriyet,* 20.04.1964). In the news, the Orthodox Albanians, who had taken refuge in Turkey during the Second World War and could not take Turkish nationality because they did not recognize the Communist Enver Hoxha regime, and were therefore stated to be *haymatlos* for this reason, issue a declaration stating that the patriarchate and the Greek Consulate, which is in cooperation with the Patriarchate, are putting pressure on the Albanians to adopt Greek nationality , but that they do not recognize this pressure.

The decree prepared by the Ministry of Interior for the deputy patriarch and member of the Sen Synod Emilyanos Zogropoulos Hristafalos and a member of the Patriarchate Yorgo Yakovas Canavaris,[402] who are accused of having direct relations with Eleniki Enosis; managing the relationship between the Patriarchate and the Greek government; conveying the instructions he received from the Greek government to Greek schools and Greek teachers; bringing the patriarch's films shot in Jerusalem into the country and distributing them to schools, is accepted by the Council of Ministers (*Cumhuriyet,* 13.04.1964); Deputy Patriarch Emilyanos Zogropoulos Hristafalos and Yorgo Yakovas Canavaris are given one week to leave Turkey. Both metropolitans cannot obtain visas from the consulates they apply to during this process. Greek Foreign Minister Kotsopoulos explains that the Greek authorities do not issue visas to deported metropolitans because they do not intend to legitimize the arbitrary behavior of the Turkish government; and he argues that the Inönü government's removal of the sen synod members from Turkish citizenship and their deportation was in violation of the Treaty of Lausanne; in fact, it is aimed to

[402] These two metropolitans adopted Turkish nationality in the beginning of 1950s. An archival document on Canavaris: BCA 30-18-1-2/127-86-11.

completely dissolve the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Istanbul and that the patriarch might face the same fate. Unable to obtain visas from Greece, the metropolitans applied for visas in England and France. The metropolitans, who have been stripped of their Turkish citizenship due to their harmful activities, were told that they cannot be granted visas because they do not have a national passport. Finally, they are deported on April 21 with a stateless passport and a 2-month visa from the United States. Canavaris turns around on the steps of the plane and looks back with a smile, then turns to the press members and says, "We are leaving with good intentions, and we will come back with good intentions." The deputy patriarch Emilyanos, who is sent off in tears by the members of the patriarchate, boarded the plane saying "my heart is here, in my beloved homeland, I am leaving Turkey with sadness," (*Cumhuriyet,* 21-22.04.1964).

The denaturalization and deportation of the two metropolitans drew criticism from both Greece and the World Council of Churches: Greek Foreign Minister Kostopoulos took the controversy to the international arena, arguing that the denaturalization of Emilyanos and Canavaris from Turkish citizenship was not only a matter of concern for Greece, but for the whole Christianity and the civilized world. At the same time, the World Council of Churches asks the Turkish government to restore the freedom of the Orthodox Church. In response to these criticisms, the Ambassador of Athens brings up the Cyprus tensions; "the Turkish authorities did not resort to massacres and killings as Makarios did; the measures taken were in accordance with the treaties, international law, and Turkish legislation and consisted of ensuring the free return of Greek nationals to their homeland; unlike what happened in Cyprus, the expulsion of Greek nationals with a legal and humane treatment was quite civil and legal" (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.04.1964).

The fact that the lawfulness of the deportation practice is emphasized so much in the response to the criticism of the deportation practice, gives an idea as to why the Greek nationals to be deported were "forced" to sign declarations in which they "confessed" that they were engaged in harmful activities during the procedures at the police station. Criticism on this issue must have been anticipated and precautions were taken in advance. The critics on this issue must have guessed so that precautions were taken before. In addition to this, the same statement also expresses the discontent with the fact that the bilateral negotiations with Greece, which the government expected, have not started even though a month has passed since the annulment of the agreement; "It should be added that the Turkish public opinion is in a state of outrage due to the uncompromising attitude of the Greek government on Cyprus and the brutal actions of Makarios" (*Cumhuriyet,* 19.04.1964). At a press conference a few days later, Minister of Interior Öztrak responded to journalists' questions on what harmful activities the deported metropolitans were engaged in by saying "the evidence is available; I do not see any benefit in explaining". He announces that 384 Greek nationals have been notified to change their jobs in accordance with Law No. 2007. Öztrak is also asked about the possibility of expulsion of the patriarchate due to Greece's protest against Turkey before the signatories of the Treaty of Lausanne on the grounds that Turkey violated the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne regarding the Patriarchate (*Cumhuriyet,* 21.04.1964); the minister responds that no decision has been taken in this regard, that the decisions taken are not against the patriarchate and the clergy, but against "those who engage in activities that violate Turkish security" (*Cumhuriyet,* 22.04.1964). Also on the same days, the expropriation of the Patriarchate comes to the fore (*Cumhuriyet*, 15.04.1964); Thessaloniki city council president Angelos Kavanos

release in a statement, “I would like to remind the Turks that Atatürk's house is in Thessaloniki; If the patriarchate is destroyed, Atatürk's house will also be destroyed" and continues that pressure is applied to the patriarchate because of Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet*; 29.04.1964). After Emilyanos and Canavaris, the Greek pastor Anastas Ksanos, who was found guilty of carrying out harmful activities by entering and leaving various churches and preaching without a license, was detained for 15 days and then deported. When he arrived at the airport with his son, Ksanos told reporters "we are now ruined" and cursed those responsible before leaving (*Cumhuriyet,* 02.05.1964). On the same day, it was reported that 12 more Greek nationals were notified that they would be deported.

3 1964, May

The tensions between the governments continued with mutual confrontation, and mass protests began in May 1964 with the involvement of NATO. In Greece, NATO's intervention was seen as a denial of Cyprus' right to self-determination, making America the target of mass anger. It was announced that NATO ministers will meet on May 12 to discuss the Cyprus issue. The protests that started in Greece prior to the meeting in order not to discuss the Cyprus issue at the NATO ministerial meeting to be held in La Hey (*Cumhuriyet*, 09.05.1964) intensified after the announcement that NATO would take an active role in Cyprus issue and spread to Cyprus as well. Especially Fulbright's travels to Ankara and Athens received a lot of reaction (*Cumhuriyet*, 08-09.05.1964). The Labor Day march turns into an anti-Nato protest; demonstrators chanting slogans such as self-determination in Cyprus and 6th Fleet leave Greek territorial waters target the American and British warships anchored at the Pasalimani (*Cumhuriyet*, 12-13.04.1964). In Turkey, NATO's intervention in the

tension with the appointment of NATO Secretary General Stikker as a mediator on May 15th is interpreted as a success by the İnönü government, which had previously reproached the US for its lack of support (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.05.1964).

On the other hand, the target of mass anger in Turkey is primarily the Rums of Turkey. On April 15, three youth organizations hold a press conference and call for a boycott, announcing that they had launched the campaign "Do not shop with Rums" (*Ulus,* 14.04.1964; *Cumhuriyet,* 14.04.1964). They justify the call for a boycott by stating that "the agreements made between the aforementioned countries on the basis of Turkish-Greek friendship were later realized by Greek nationals who exploited the Turkish commercial life and used the money they earned on the backs of the Turkish nation for their own nefarious ambitions and to the detriment of the country they lived in".[403] Stating that they support every effort of the Turkish government, the representatives of the youth organization make three demands from the government; the expulsion of all Greek nationals from the country as soon as possible, the abolition of the teaching privileges of minority schools that are against the linguistic and intellectual integrity of the country, and the rehabilitation of religious institutions that harbor clergymen who are engaged in political affairs under the guise of religion. The boycott call begins to take effect in a short time. Not only Greek businesses but also those of other non-Muslims were affected by this campaign; the boycott progressed to such an extent that the interior minister had to intervene and call for an end (*Yeni Sabah*, 22.04.1964; Akgönül, 2016, p. 269).

[403] The accusation that "Greek nationals use the money they earn from the back of the Turkish nation for their own nefarious purposes and against the country they live on" is frequently repeated in 1964; it is one of the most frequently used patterns of the aforementioned criminalization discourse. A very similar statement can be found in the speech of Sükan, who explained that the JP supported the government in the deportation: "Let them both live in our country and work against the state, this will not happen!" (*Cumhuriyet,* 30.03.1964).

However, the impact of this boycott wave continues to be seen from time to time until 1974, when the Cyprus tension continues.

A protest that started as an isolated incident again becomes mass with the support of youth associations. This time, the UN was targeted, which was deemed incapable of solving the violence in Cyprus. Ali Osman Küçükmolla, who served as an gunnery sergeant in the Korean War, returns his medal, which he said he had worn with honor for 12 years and which was awarded to him by the UN for his service in Korea, due to the attitude shown in the Cyprus tension; in a letter to UN Secretary General U-Thant, he wrote: "I return this medal, which in my opinion no longer has any value, to your excellency". Hasan Yağcılar, who served as a corporal in Korea, also declares that he would no longer wear the UN medal, which remained a spectator to what was happening in Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet,* 30.04.1964). New Turkey Party (hereafter NTP) Muş deputy Sami Öztürk also announces that he returned the UN medal given to him for "fighting in Korea for the sake of the UN ideal and shedding his blood" to protest the UN's spectatorship to the Cyprus events. (*Cumhuriyet*, 01.04.1964). Within a few days, it comes to the fore that the medals of the Turkish Brigade members, who are affiliated to the UN forces in Korea, "which have now fallen far from giving honor due to the UN's connivance to what is happening in Cyprus," should be returned to the UN Secretariat General. Within a few days, it was brought to the agenda that the medals of the members of the Turkish Brigade who took part in Korea as part of the UN forces should be returned to the UN Secretariat General, "which had fallen far from being honorable due to the UN's turning a blind eye to what was happening in Cyprus". The National Turkish Students Union makes an appeal to give gold medals to Korean veterans instead of the returned medals (*Cumhuriyet,* 04.05.1964). Zeki Müren is the first person to join

this "gift of national service" campaign initiated by MTTB; Müren, who presents 1000 signed albums of six records each to the TNTS, also presented signed albums to government representatives and called on them to support the campaign (*Cumhuriyet*, 08.05.1964). In the following days, 3 deputies Nazmi Özoğlu, Sami Öztürk and İsmail Sarıgöz, who participated in the Korean War, felt the need to explain again that "they did not shed blood in Korea in vain, but the medals were returned to protest the passive attitude of the UN in Cyprus" in order to prevent misunderstanding (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.05.1964).

On the other hand, the news in the press during the spring of 1964 claiming that arms were purchased for Cyprus[404] and the news claiming that the deported Greeks went to Cyprus voluntarily[405] fueled mass anger (*Cumhuriyet,* 18.04.1964) In the same days, letters sent to the prime minister also expressed the desire to go to Cyprus voluntarily. An incident that shows that this desire does not remain only in letters is reported in the press. 14-year-old Ali Taşçı, 17-year-old Nesip Aydın, 18-year-old Sezai Özkül and 24-year-old Erdoğan Can, who live in Istanbul, come to Silifke "with the intention of going to Cyprus to kill Makarios and help our compatriots there"; they sell everything they own, including their wristwatches, and set off for Cyprus by stealing a 5-ton motorcycle with a crushed rifle and a map of Cyprus given by a magazine. Ali, 14 years old, becomes the captain; however, they

---

[404] "Greeks are preparing for general mobilization - Makarios took action to buy 5 torpedo boats", *Cumhuriyet*, 07.05.1964; "Egyptians gave artillery to Greek Cypriots", *Cumhuriyet*, 09.05.1964; "Makarios buys airplanes, torpedoes and heavy weapons - Greeks announced that they would increase the size of the army and introduce compulsory military service", *Cumhuriyet*, 20.05.1964; "Greeks signed an agreement to buy 24 fighter planes", *Cumhuriyet*, 23.05.1965.

[405] The source of the news claiming that deported Greek nationals went to Cyprus voluntarily is quite interesting: "It has been determined that some Greeks and some Rums who were deported from Turkey due to their harmful activities were voluntarily sent to Cyprus and took part in the ranks of the EOKAists after being trained in the Greek regiment. It has been learned that some of the Rums who were sent to Cyprus voluntarily through the Greek government, even though they reside in Turkey, are still being trained in the Greek regiment. *Some of them have revealed their situation to the guards at the Turkish regiment camp adjacent to the Greek regiment camp*" (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.04.1964).

have no compass. When the weather turned into a gale, they had to turn back (*Cumhuriyet,* 11.05.1964).

Another development that escalated the tension in Cyprus in May was the killing of 2 Greek officers in the Turkish part of Magosa and the son of the Greek police chief of Nicosia (*Cumhuriyet*, 12.05.1964). In the following days, the Turkish part of Magosa was blockaded. In retaliation, 8 Turkish workers working at the British base and 2 Turkish youth were kidnapped (*Cumhuriyet,* 13.05.1964). Demonstrations were organized in Athens to protest the killing of 2 officers in Cyprus. During one of these demonstrations, a crowd gathered in front of the Turkish embassy and shouted slogans for enosis. During the speeches, the killing of the officers was described as the murder of Asian barbarians. On the same day, the funeral of the son of the Greek Police Chief in Nicosia was also eventful. Those attending the funeral swear that they will continue the war (*Cumhuriyet,* 14.05.1964).

Reprisals continue on the island; the number of Turks kidnapped increases to 30 the next day (*Cumhuriyet,* 15.05.1964). Fazıl Küçük, in a letter sent to UN Secretary General U-Thant, states that more than 400 Turks were killed and 200 were wounded; with a declaration he states that 258 Turkish Cypriots were abducted between December 23rd and May 21st; reminding the possibility of the murder of the missing hostages, he argues that it has been proven once again that Turkish Cypriots will not live with the Greeks (*Cumhuriyet,* 22.05.1964). As a result of the investigation conducted by UN representatives on the missing Turks on the island, the UN demands the return of 90 Turkish hostages from the Cyprus administration. The Cyprus administration responded that the whereabouts of 17 of the 90 hostages were known; 9 of them were arrested on May 14, while the status of the remaining hostages was unknown (*Cumhuriyet,* 21.05.1964). The 9 detainees made a statement

on Cyprus radio on May 29, 1964 and said that they were brought from England to Turkey, received military training in Turkey and were sent to Cyprus to fight.[406]The secretary general of the Youth Organization of Turkish Cypriots in London expressed that he found the allegations meaningless (*Cumhuriyet*, 31.05.1964). In these days of heightened tension, Turkey starts to carry out exercises in İskenderun (*Cumhuriyet,* 08.05.1964) and Greece starts to carry out exercises in Thrace in preparation for a possible war (*Cumhuriyet,* 18.05.1964).

3.1 Meanwhile The Rums of Istanbul

Group deportations of Greek nationals continue in May. On May 2, the list of the first group to be deported is published. While 8 people in the first group were deported on May 7, it was announced that Mavris Nikolas would stay in Turkey until the end of the trial as the case against him for smuggling foreign currency was still ongoing (*Cumhuriyet*, 08.05.1964). On May 13, a new list of 14 people to be deported is published. On the same day, it is announced that 7 people on this list are taken to the police station, the decision is notified and they are given a one-week deadline to leave the country (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.05.1964). During the days when the hostage crisis continues and Greece protests against Turkey before the Lausanne parties, two new deportation lists are announced one after the other: On May 23, it was announced that 21 Greek nationals would be deported (*Cumhuriyet,* 23.05.1964).[407] On May 26, it was reported that a new list of 25 people was prepared and the number of Greek nationals deported reached 88 with the last list (*Cumhuriyet,* 26.05.1964). During the days when the purchase of heavy weapons by

[406] Report prepared for the Prime Minister on the Cyprus radio broadcast, BCA 30-1-0-0/72-454-3.
[407] Apoyevmatini publishes a list of 23 people on May 24, 1964 (Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p.263).

Cyprus was discussed and it was announced that Greece, after Turkey and the UK, also protested against the Cyprus administration, 20 more Greek nationals were deported (*Cumhuriyet,* 30-31.05.1964). It is also repeated in the news that "the reason for the deportation of Greek nationals is that they were secret but active members of the Eleniki Enosis society and that they smuggled the money they earned in Turkey to Greece". On the other hand, it was also mentioned in the press that Greek nationals started *to leave the country of their own accord*, without being deported because they could no longer see a future in Turkey (*Cumhuriyet,* 10.05.1964; *Apoyevmatini,* 10.05.1964).

Undoubtedly, the climate of repression, which is a part of the habitus of precarity, has a great impact on the decision of those who left Turkey without waiting for deportation. As mentioned before, during the spring of 1964, especially the Greeks from Istanbul have been criminalized; they are accused of smuggling money to Cyprus. Some news reports in the press reinforced this discourse. For example, in a news article dated April 12, Erofili A., a Turkish national, was caught with 2500 liras in a Turkish delight box as she was carrying across the border; she was accused of smuggling money to Greece and detained. However, I learned from a family relative I met by chance during my field research that Erofili was not smuggling money to Greece; she was on her way to bring money to her son who was studying in Athens. Erofili had to hide the money she was going to bring because she was allowed to take 200 liras due to the customs restrictions of the period. At the end of the story, she was detained for two weeks after she was caught at the border and was released after various bribes with the help of an intermediary.[408]

[408] The interview with Pashalis, 12.12.2022, Online.

In the spring of 1964, not only Rums of Greek nationality but also all the Rums of Istanbul were targeted in the news reports on the Turks of Western Thrace. It is alleged that Western Thrace Turks were living in poverty, whereas Istanbul Rums were prosperous; various accusatory insinuations (tax evasion, speculation in the local market, etc.) about the means by which Istanbul Rums achieved this prosperity were included in the newspapers.[409] The atmosphere of oppression created by the criminalization of the Rums of Istanbul and the legal restrictions imposed by the government forced them to leave Turkey in various ways. A smuggling story in the press can help us think about this forced escape. In an operation organized by the financial police, a smuggling network led by two Greek nationals is uncovered. According to the details of the news report, Kozma Rotas and Anastas Vermisoğlu were accused of smuggling Greek nationals who were banned from leaving the country by court order due to tax debts to Samothrace via Imbros with fake documents (*Cumhuriyet*, 23.05.1964). Although this news article was published to emphasize that Greek nationals were engaged in human trafficking, it is also important because it expresses a testimony that the tax debts imposed after the termination of the treaty left the Greeks of Istanbul in a difficult situation. In another news report, a Rum of Turkish nationality applies for asylum when the ship he was

[409] The comparison between the Greeks of Istanbul and Western Thrace Turks in terms of education, social structure and population was first voiced in the parliament by CHP (Republican People's Party) Niğde MP Ruhi Soyer; Soyer asked the prime minister what differences had emerged between the two groups since the Treaty of Lausanne (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.04.1964). For example, the series of articles titled "Turks Living in Caves" published in *Hürriyet* (*Hürriyet*, 06.05.1964) and "Western Thrace Turks and Istanbul Greeks" published in *Son Havadis* (*Son Havadis*, 17-18.05.1964). In the aforementioned series of articles, instead of providing a detailed historical analysis of the Western Thrace Turks, the newspapers emphasize that the Greeks of Istanbul lived in prosperity by trying to show the Western Thrace Turks as quite primitive with a few photographs. However, as Samim Akgönül notes, such comparisons resulted in reprisals; as the Greeks of Istanbul were targeted, the Muslim minority in Greece was subjected to attacks such as the bombing of mosques and cemeteries, and restrictions on education and culture (*Cumhuriyet,* 23-25.08.1964; Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları,* p.279).

working on arrived at the port of Thessaloniki. The Rum steward's escape from Turkey and asylum in Greece seems to have caused surprise, in line with the news about those who fled from *the Eastern bloc* and sought refuge in Turkey, which was common during the period (*Cumhuriyet,* 02.05.1964).

3.2 Towards the Senatorial Elections

In May 1964, while the İnönü government believed that with NATO's involvement in the Cyprus tension, it would be able to convince Greece to engage in bilateral talks and use the trump card of deporting Greek nationals to get Greece to back down on Cyprus, Greek Prime Minister Papandereu's open declaration of support for Enosis further strains relations between the two countries. This tension escalated further with the hostage crisis. In domestic politics, assassination attempts against İnönü attracts attention. İnönü, who had been protected by tight security measures after the assassination attempt in February, was again the target of threats in May; a possible assassin was captured in the garden of his house (*Cumhuriyet,* 03.05.1964) and a retired soldier who had threatened İnönü by phone was arrested (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.05.1964). By the end of May, the government's attention shifted more towards the upcoming senatorial elections. The opposition party JP reiterates its demand for amnesty before the elections, criticizes the martial law that was reintroduced on April 16th in order to prevent the people from being provoked by the Cyprus tension,[410] and announces that they will demand early elections if they win the senatorial elections. Especially on May 27, the confrontation between the opposition and the

[410] The reason for the request to extend martial law for two more months upon the recommendation of the National Security Council is explained as "the events in Cyprus provoke the country every day via radio, this situation is a permanent source of sadness and provocateurs may create disturbances by falling prey to these provocations". After discussions in the parliament, the extension of martial law is approved. (TBMM Tutanak B:6 19.02.1964 O:1)

government continues through symbols; İnönü arrives at the ceremony for the Freedom and Constitution Day celebrated on the anniversary of the May 27 coup d'état wearing the Independence Medal (İstiklal madalyası), while the Silifke JP district organization places a black ribbon on the wreath they leave at the ceremony site as a sign of mourning (*Cumhuriyet,* 30.05.1964). In this process, the rivalry between the ruling party and the opposition is also reflected in the society; for example, in a news report about the RPP's election campaigns on a ferry, it is reported that the passengers, as RPP supporters and opponents, were sitting in different sections while the RPP members were distributing leaflets, and that the two groups were intolerant of each other (*Cumhuriyet,* 02.06.1964).

Senate elections are crucial for the coalition government, which has favored diplomacy during the Cyprus tensions and whose foreign policy has been widely criticized by both the opposition and the electorate. That the opposition party, heir to the Democratic Party, has made it clear that it will demand early elections if it gets the results it expects from the Senate elections makes the possibility of losing the elections a greater threat to the government. At a very sensitive time for the government, as the June 7 Senatorial Elections in Turkey were approaching, the acceptance of conscription in Cyprus by Greek Cypriot members of the Cypriot House of Representatives dropped like a bomb on the agenda. Turkey responds with a note to the Cypriot administration, protesting against the conscription law and reminding that the step taken was contrary to the Cypriot Constitution and the Security Council resolutions of March 4. A meeting is held with President Gürsel, Prime Minister İnönü, Foreign Minister Erkin, Chief of General Staff Sunay, force commanders and bureaucrats including the deputy NATO affairs officer. One of the important issues of the meeting is the Security Council meeting to be held in mid-

June; it is stated that the UN peacekeeping forces, whose mission on the island will be completed on June 27, have not been able to fulfill their duties in the last period and that the Turkish government will demand for them to be more effective with new powers in the new period will be conveyed (*Cumhuriyet,* 02.06.1964). Following the announcement of the acceptance of compulsory military service in Cyprus, the press reported that Cyprus had reached an agreement with the Soviets for arms aid, was about to reach an agreement with East Germany and that the heavy weapons it had purchased had arrived in Nicosia (*Cumhuriyet*, 03.06.1964). On the same day, the Council of Ministers called for an emergency meeting. UN mediator Tumioja arrives in Ankara, but when it becomes clear that the mediator cannot offer a concrete solution, the government gears up ahead of the upcoming elections.

First, the largest deportation list of 51 deportees is announced (*Cumhuriyet*, 03.06.1964).[411] The next day, the municipal council decides to reduce the wall of the Patriarchate on İncebel Street from 5 meters to 50 cm in response to complaints. According to Article 115 of the Zoning Law, if the Patriarchate does not demolish the wall within 15 days, it will be demolished by the municipality (*Cumhuriyet*, 04.06.1964). On June 4, at a rally organized in Saraçhane for the senatorial elections, Deputy Prime Minister Kemal Satır defends the government's Cyprus policy and announces that *15 thousand Greek nationals will be deported* (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.06.1964).[412] With this statement, it was the first time that it was officially announced that all Greek nationals would be deported. The Cypriot administration rejects Fazıl Küçük's request for talks and also rejects Turkey's note on the grounds

[411] The last group of five deported from this group is sent from Yeşilköy Airport on 8 June. (*Cumhuriyet*, 09.06.1964).
[412] This statement will be raised in the UN Security Council discussions in September and will put Turkey in a difficult position, which claims that it only deported Greek citizens involved in harmful activities.

that the Cypriot government has the right to take measures for defense and to protect independence and territorial integrity of the island (*Cumhuriyet*, 04-05.06.1964). On June 4, 1964, only three days before the senate elections, the government, unable to find what it was looking for from the UN and cornered by the last moves of the Cyprus administration, decides to land troops in Cyprus after an hours-long cabinet meeting and informs US Ambassador Raymond Hare of the decision to land troops (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.06.1964). Upon these developments, the ambassador requested a 24-hour and ensured that the government do not take any steps. The next day, Hare arrives at the Prime Ministry to deliver a letter sent by US President Johnson to İnönü and answers the questions of journalists by saying that "I am not here to make a deal, but to bring a message". The content of the letter, which would be disclosed in 1966, after the AP came to power, was not fully known at the time it was sent to İnönü, but it was reported in the press that this intervention prevented the government from making a landing (*Hürriyet,* 05-06.06.1964).[413] NATO Commander-in-Chief General Lemnitzer's sudden visit to Ankara, first to the Chief of General Staff and then to the Prime Ministry, was deemed important enough to be announced on the front page of the newspapers (*Cumhuriyet*, 06.06.1964). In the same days, while the government's determination for a possible Cyprus landing is making headlines (Prime Minister İnönü: "Our Decision for Cyprus is Definite", President Gürsel: "We Are Ready For All Kinds of Sacrifice", Foreign Minister Erkin: "Our Landing to Cyprus Is Destined", *Hürriyet*, 05.06.1964), the comments in the foreign press claiming that America had subjugated the Turks contrasted with these messages of determination. The newspapers, which had difficulty in

[413] After the Truman Doctrine, until Johnson's letter to İnönü, Turkey was unquestionably on the American side in foreign policy, but after this letter, it is accepted that Turkey tried to pursue a more balanced foreign policy.

interpreting and explaining this situation to their readers, concluded that the news in the foreign press was Greek propaganda, and included news that the Greeks were *actually* in fear (*Hürriyet,* 07.06.1964). The government goes to the first partial senatorial elections, which replaces one-third of the senators every two years according to the new constitution, without being able to land in Cyprus due to American intervention; after the election, the main opposition party had 31 senators while the ruling party had 19 senators (*Cumhuriyet,* 09.06.1964) The NTP chairman reacts the election results by saying that the government has proven to be a minority government (*Cumhuriyet,* 09.06.1964).

4 1964, June

In the days following election, the equivalency of 7 Greek schools is revoked (*Cumhuriyet*, 09.06.1964)[414] and a new list of 49 Greek nationals to be deported is published (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.06.1964). While İnönü's response to Johnson has been eagerly awaited, US Deputy Secretary of State Ball and NATO Secretary General Stikker arrive in Ankara. These meetings are seen in the press as "Turkey will intervene in Cyprus if the US fails to settle the dispute" (*Cumhuriyet*, 12.06.1964). The tension of the possible war escalates with the positioning of the 6th Fleet off Cyprus (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.06.1964) and the arrival of 3 Russian warships in the Mediterranean. İnönü accepts Johnson's invitation to the US after long negotiations with representatives of NATO and of the USA. However, İnönü, the Prime Minister of the coalition government, which had lost power with the senatorial elections, asks for a vote of confidence in the parliament regarding the government's Cyprus policy

[414] The schools whose recognition was revoked are as follows: Beşiktaş Greek, Beyoğlu 3 Greek, Boyacıköy, Büyükdere, Tarabya, Yeniköy, Ortaköy Greek Primary Schools. It is also reported that the equivalence of Sahok Mesropyan Armenian Primary School was also revoked.

before his trip to the US (*Cumhuriyet,* 16.06.1964). The opposition suggests İnönü to withdraw the vote of confidence; nonetheless the Prime Minister insists and states that he cannot stay in office if he does not receive a vote of confidence. Thereupon, one after another, the opposition parties declare that they will not give a vote of confidence (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.06.1964). President Gürsel steps in again and sends a letter to the party leaders warning them: "Anyone who votes in a way to cause a government crisis at a time when the Cyprus conflict is about to be resolved will be held historically responsible" (*Cumhuriyet,* 19.06.1964). In the parliamentary debates, the opposition parties express their disappointment with the Western alliance and argued that Turkey should pursue an independent and solid Cyprus policy. As a result of these debates, İnönü receives a vote of confidence by only 6 votes. On the same day, the largest list of Greek nationals to be deported (101 people) is announced (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.06.1964). The opposition shows that it does not support the government by not sending İnönü off to America. İnönü, on the other hand, sets off for America in the private plane appropriated to him by Johnson days before (*Cumhuriyet*, 21.06.1964).

According to the news in *Hürriyet*, the government's Cyprus policy, which insisted on partition, might change after the Johnson letter; the Prime Minister would first ask for the partition of the island, but if the US rejected the partition and Enosis theses and proposed the federative state thesis, he was ready to accept this as a last resort. On the other hand, Arcayürek, writing in *Hürriyet*, is relatively hopeful about this visit; “İnönü went to America to explain the Cyprus issue to Johnson in its real dimensions” (*Hürriyet*, 21.06.1964). İnönü’s son-in-law, journalist Metin Toker, who accompanied him on this trip, evaluates this trip from a similar perspective; he portrays İnönü as a dynamic prime minister who conducts successful diplomacy in

America. The elegance of Mevhibe İnönü, the detailed description of every moment of the trip, from the invitations given in honor of the Turkish protocol to the marches, made the visit to America a vivid and tangible event for Hürriyet readers (Feridunoğlu, 2017). During the American visit, Johnson's prevention of the Cyprus landing is covered as a success in the foreign press; on the other hand, in the joint statement, which was accompanied by a photograph of İnönü and Johnson holding hands, the 1959 Zurich and London Agreements, which determined the independence of Cyprus and the powers of the guarantor countries, are recognized as agreements "in force" (*Cumhuriyet*, 24.06.1964). Simultaneously with İnönü, Papandreou is invited to the US. However, since no consensus is reached between Turkey and Greece in the bilateral talks conducted by Johnson, Tuomioja's mediation is again requested to negotiate on Cyprus and it is announced that a conference will be organized in Geneva later (*Cumhuriyet,* 27.06.1964). After the expectation of start of bilateral talks with Greece fall through, a list of 200 Greek nationals to be deported is prepared (*Cumhuriyet,* 28.06.1964). Considering the fact that the total number of Greek nationals deported between March 31st and June 27th was 415, the last list prepared can be interpreted as acceleration of government's policy of the deportation of Greek citizens in order to convince Greece for negotiations. After this date, the frequency of deportations and the number of people to be deported will increase rapidly.

The fact that the Washington talks did not result in a concrete solution in Cyprus is interpreted in the American press as a failed attempt by President Johnson. However, the criticisms in the local press regarding İnönü's visit to England and France after the American visit point to the incompetence of the diplomats accompanying the prime minister. Especially in Toker's review following the trip,

the diplomats are criticized for not knowing the language, not being able to establish contact with their counterparts, going hungry because they were trying to save the allowances given to them, not attending invitations and not being aware of the contemporary world. Diplomats are so incompetent that Papandreou's speech in Washington was translated 24 hours later (*Hürriyet*, 05.07.1964). Another person who followed İnönü during his trip was Faruk Fenik. According to Fenik, İnönü, who had barely passed the threshold for a vote of confidence, does not attract much attention in America due to his loss of voters' trust (*Hürriyet*, 23.06.1964). Fenik shares his impressions that the trip was not a successful one with details such as İnönü's pauses when reading a text in English, his sweating during the speech, and the fact that a stool was placed under his feet because the microphone was not adjusted (*Hürriyet*, 24.06.1964).

5 1964, July

İnönü's departure from the US with another conference offer (Geneva Conference) is announced in Cumhuriyet with the headline "We have given a last opportunity for a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus dispute: If Tuomioja fails to get results, we will land on the island" (*Cumhuriyet,* 01.07.1964). After the US, İnönü goes to the UK, where, after his meeting with the British Prime Minister, he states that he wants to find a solution to the Cyprus issue through negotiations, that he will support the UN to ensure security on the island until then, but that Turkey will intervene militarily if necessary. During the talks in the UK, it is announced that Turkey had attempted to land on the island 4 times before, the last of which was on June 5th. After England, İnönü continues his trip and goes to France. At the press conference held in Paris, İnönü answers the question whether Turkey would accept exchanging Cyprus for

another island by saying that he is looking for a solution within the island. Stating that he does not accept the idea of population exchange, İnönü states that the only solution is a federative system; however, the prime minister also states that he is not against annexation provided that it is bilateral (*Cumhuriyet*, 02.07.1964). On the same day, a second list of 200 Greek nationals to be deported is published (*Cumhuriyet*, 02.07.1964). In the following days, the occupations of the 615 deported people are listed as follows: 131 merchants, 26 company partners, 20 haberdashers, 2 grocers, 20 fabricators, 15 butchers, 15 shoemakers, 15 importers and exporters, 15 real estate owners, 14 tailors, 13 restaurant owners, 12 jewelers, 12 ferry agency owners, 10 electricians, 10 contractors, 10 printers, 9 patisserie owners, 8 shopkeepers, 9 commission agents, 8 clerks, 8 drapers, 7 carpenters, 7 furniture makers, 6 manufacturers, 6 furriers, 5 coffee makers, 5 marble makers, 5 kiosks, 5 casino owners, 4 spice sellers, 4 upholsterers, 4 waiters, 4 shirt makers, 4 stationery makers, 4 shop assistants, 4 accountants, 4 auto parts dealers, 4 auto mechanics, 4 pastry makers, 4 turners, 4 hat makers, 3 confectioners, 3 watchmakers, 3 greengrocers, 3 mechanics, 3 hardware stores, 3 painters, 3 leatherworkers, 3 dressmakers, 3 cleaners, 3 opticians, 2 suitcase makers, 2 foundrymen, 7 bakers, 2 journalists, 2 priests, 2 paper makers, 2 canners, 2 middlemen, 2 leatherworkers, 2 cologne makers, 2 metropolitans, 2 furnishers, 2 engineers, 2 hotel owners, 2 car painters, 2 priests, 2 radioman, 2 stove makers, 2 stonemasons, 2 technicians, 2 oilmen, 1 glassware seller, 1 cereal seller, 1 cereal legume seller, 1 flour seller, 1 student, 1 manager, 1 self-employed, 1 plumber, 1 advertiser, 1 priest, 1 appointment maker, 1 arcade owner, 1 toy maker, 1 shipper, 1 machine seller, 1 musician, [...] 1 cellophane maker, 1 tire merchant, 1 restaurant manager, 1 *kavaf*, 1 *muganni*, 1 cow farmer, 1 herbalist, 1 silk seller, 1 hospital administrator (*Cumhuriyet*, 04.07.1964).

İnönü returns to Turkey hopeful about the continuation of the negotiations; in his press statement, he says that success will be achieved in the end by waiting patiently and with cold blood (*Cumhuriyet*, 07.06.1964). After the Washington talks, the government searches for a new alliance that could constitute an alternative to CENTO and NATO; as a result of the efforts for rapprochement with Iran and Pakistan, the foreign ministers of the three countries come together (*Cumhuriyet*, 03-04-05.07.1964). On the other hand, Papanderu's government is in a difficult situation in domestic politics after the return from Washington talks, which did not end with the results expected by the Cyprus administration. Before the local elections in Greece that is to be on July 5, the supporters of the opposition right-wing ERE party raid the parliament while the Cyprus talks were going on, chanting "Papandreou resign" slogans, and 1 minister and 6 deputies were injured in the brawl that broke out (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.06.1964). Following rumors of a right-wing conspiracy and preparations to assassinate the prime minister, the government closes all right-wing associations and arrests the leaders of these associations (*Cumhuriyet*, 16.07.1964). In this intense domestic political agenda, when the Greek government announces that it does not want to participate in the Geneva talks despite Johnson's insistence (*Cumhuriyet*, 03-05.07.1964), a new list of 203 Greek nationals to be deported is announced; this time the news does not include the statement that the deportees were deported due to their harmful activities, probably because it was no longer deemed necessary (*Cumhuriyet*, 09.07.1964). On July 12, a news report, about a new list of 116 people to be deported is prepared, announces that a total of 816 Greek nationals were deported. On the same day, it is reported that the deported Greek nationals organized a march in Athens with a group of 200 people and protested against the

Papandreou government, which they held responsible for their deportation.[415] Erim, who attended the Geneva talks on behalf of Turkey, returns to Turkey empty-handed without being able to hold bilateral talks since Greece had not sent a negotiator to Geneva. NATO then sends a warning to Turkey and Greece that it will stop arms aid if bilateral negotiations do not start. In these days when Greece refused to participate in the negotiations, two lists of 700 people to be deported are published one after the other; on July 17, it is announced that 149 people were deported in one day, a new list of 199 people is announced, and another list of 500 people is published on July 18 (*Cumhuriyet*, 17-18.07.1964). As the anti-government protests organized by labor unions continue in Greece,[416] İnönü's government prepares a new list of 500 people probably to convince the Greek government, which is in a difficult situation, to negotiate (*Cumhuriyet*, 27.07.1964). In the news announcing this list, it was reminded that a total of 1,071 people had been deported up to that day, besides, it would be possible to deport Greek nationals en masse after the 1930 agreement was completely abrogated on September 16.

The deported Greek citizen Rums hold a meeting at the Greek-American Institute in Athens and elect a committee of 7 people to establish an association in order to solve the problems they are facing and to be in solidarity with each other. According to *To Vima* newspaper, the demands of the deportees from the Greek government are as follows: (1) a long-term loan with a low interest rate not

---

[415] On July 12, 1964, *Apoyevmatini* newspaper reported that, contrary to Cumhuriyet's news on the demonstrations, a delegation of prominent Greeks who had been deported were received by Papandreou and the problems of the deported Greeks were discussed (as cited in Akgönül, *Türkiye Rumları*, p. 280). In a news article published in *Cumhuriyet* dated July 30, 1964, it is mentioned that the deportees elected a committee of 5 people to contact the Greek Government.

[416] The protests organized by labor unions in Athens and Thessaloniki, the strike in Lavrio and the seizure of secret arms depots in Serres, suspected to be used for a possible coup attempt, were followed with interest by the Turkish press (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.07.1064; and *Cumhuriyet,* 27-28.07.1964).

exceeding 2% to continue their professions in Greece; (2) a non-refundable allowance of 30.000-50. 000 drachmas; (3) exemption from taxation for a period of 5 years; (4) providing facilities for military service; (5) free import of their goods; (6) provision of a plot of land free of charge for the deportees to establish a neighborhood; (7) taking into account the duration of their work in Turkey and enrolling them in insurance and pension funds; (8) pension for those over 65 years of age and, in some cases, providing the same right to those over 60 years of age. Just two weeks after the deportees had submitted their problems and demands to the Greek government, Deputy Prime Minister Stefanopoulos makes a statement announcing the measures the government have taken for the cognates who had been deported or forced to leave Turkey: "(1) a special committee will be set up in the Ministry of Social Welfare, with one representative each from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Health and Social Affairs and Finance. This committee will deal with the reception, care and emergency financial aid to those who are subjected to the oppression of the Turks. (2) With the decree prepared, they will be allowed to practice their professions in Greece. With the same decree, all documents, licenses and diplomas of our cognates will be considered valid. Their military service and social insurance issues will also be taken care of. Tax exemption will also be granted with the same decree. Long-term loans will also be provided for the victims in order to restore their professional status. The Greek Government will also continue the necessary initiatives and protests for the Greeks in Istanbul" (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.07.1964). In response to these developments, it was reminded that after September 16, Greek nationals would be treated as tourists, that the government could block their wealth of up to 2 billion liras, and that some articles of the

Lausanne Treaty would be revised and the status of approximately 80,000 Greeks who had been accepted to Turkish nationality would be reconsidered.

6 1964, August

Contrary to Turkey's expectations, the Greek government does not sit down for bilateral talks to stop the deportation decision, but instead produces a policy of supporting the deportees, which shows the invalidity of the deportation trump card used by the government. On the other hand, the plan by Ancheson, who was sent to Geneva by Johnson as a representative, which proposes that the island of Meis be given to Turkey, a Turkish base be established in Cyprus and the Turks on the island be governed by a cantonal system, is not accepted by the Greek government (*Cumhuriyet*, 31.07.1964). Makarios, who is in Athens at the end of July, announces in his press statement on his return to Nicosia that Cyprus administration does not accept Ancheson's proposal because it is against the principle of absolute independence and that they will apply to the UN General Assembly with a referendum proposal so that Cyprus can decide its own future (*Cumhuriyet*, 01.08.1964). Upon the rising tension, the Turkish navy starts a new exercise off the coast of Cyprus, while the press reports that Makarios has plan a general offensive to destroy the Turkish forces on the island and that he has make attempts to prevent the extension of the UN troops' mandate on the island (*Cumhuriyet*, 04.08.1964).

6.1 The Battle of Kokkina

On August 4, following the meeting of the Council of Ministers on the Greek government's military buildups along the borders, Makarios-Greece talks and Cyprus' application to the UN; the list of 58 Greek nationals to be deported is announced and

it is stated that a separate list of 500 people was being prepared (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.08.1964). As the Cypriot Greeks were preparing for defense against a possible landing of Turkish troops west of Kyrenia and the clashes around Kokkina, which was under the control of the Turks on the north-west coast of the island, intensifies, the Council of Ministers convenes on the night of August 7 and decides to carry out an air operation with 4 jets of the Turkish Air Force; this decision is also notified to the American and British governments. Greek Cypriot positions in Kokkina and Mansoura are bombed; The Phaethon gunboat is sunk and another gunboat is shot. In addition to the air attack, 30 warships from Gölcük set sail for the Mediterranean along with the navy from Mersin harbor. It is announced that an airplane was shot down in the air attack and its pilot Cengiz Topel was martyred (*Cumhuriyet*, 09.08.1964). In the second week of August, when the operation is launched, only the news about Cyprus is covered in all newspapers in the national press. In fact, the layout of the sports pages is changed, and less space is given to sports news; photographs of the operation are published on these pages instead. On August 10, *Cumhuriyet*'s headline reads "Landing in Cyprus Begins!"; the UN peacekeeping spokesperson says that it is not yet possible to make a clear statement on whether Turkey's intervention is a landing or an operation to help the Turks trapped between the Cypriot Greeks and the sea, while BBC radio announces that 5,000 troops and heavy weapons have landed in the Gulf of Mansoura by five Turkish destroyers. As a result of the intervention of the US and the UK and the calls from UN members, including Denmark and Russia, the Cyprus administration and the Turkish government mutually declare ceasefire (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.08.1964). With the proposal of the UN Security Council President, a buffer zone is established between the Turks and the Rums in the Kokkina region. However, both sides of the potential war

continue their war preparations; while more Rum troops are dispatched to Kokkina, army commanders in Adana and Mersin conduct inspections for a possible landing. Between Cyprus and Iskenderun, destroyer ships along with submarines and minesweepers try to control the sea. The pilots who had flown with Topel say "we were already waiting patiently for this day" and that they are eager to go to Cyprus again to avenge Topel's death (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.08.1964). Admiral Necdet Uran states that the navy had been waiting for eight months, that the attack of the air force is only a warning, and that the wrath of the armed forces will be more terrible (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.08.1964). With the news that the landing, which had been expected for months, would take place, the government receives support from various domestic organizations such as professional chambers, trade unions and student unions; for example, Türkiş decides to suspend all strikes, while the Federation of National Students of Turkey states in a text of support that they are eagerly awaiting the day when they would be called to holy duty.

6.2 The Topel's Funeral

On the day when the body of Cengiz Topel, whose plane was shot down on the first day of the airstrikes and who was later found to have been tortured to death, was brought to Turkey through the UN after days of diplomacy traffic, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes a statement reminding that 1000 Greek nationals had been deported until August 13 and that the reason for this decision is the Cyprus problem. It is announced that if Greece continued to support Makarios and a solution is not reached through negotiations (on the same day Papendreou announced that he does not accept the call for negotiations (*Cumhuriyet*, 12.08.1964), which was made by

İnönü while Turkish jets were still flying reconnaissance over Cyprus), all Greek nationals in Turkey would be deported after September 15 (*Cumhuriyet,* 14.08.1964).

The death of Cengiz Topel is widely publicized in Turkey; Topel's name is soon given to various schools, mosques, and streets; those who learn about the operation in Cyprus and Topel's death from radio news go to blood centers to support blood donation campaigns (Cumhuriyet, 10.08.1964)[417]. In particular, Topel's funeral turns into a mass performance of the anger and mourning that had accumulated over the last eight months of Cyprus tensions. The ceremony, which is described in the press of the period with highly emotional expressions, is estimated to have been attended by "a crowd that had never been seen in any national holiday until that day" - more than a hundred thousand people. After the funeral prayers at the Blue Mosque, Topel's body is placed on a cannon carriage and the cortege slowly moves forward with the funeral march played by the First Army Band. Topel's siblings, his family, the President of the Senate of the Republic, the President of the GNAT (Grand National Assembly of Turkey) and generals follow the carriage. Topel's funeral procession moves along a route that encompasses the entire city; the cortege flows from Divanyolu to Beyazıt; thousands of people accompany the ceremony, weeping as the cortege passes by. When the cortege reaches Hürriyet Square, it is seen that an enormous crowd is waiting for the cortege. Aksaray, Vatan Street and Edirnekapı roads lead to the Sakızağacı Cemetery. Cypriot soil is poured on Topel's grave, and the ceremony ends with 3 shots of respect (Cumhuriyet, 15.08.1964).

The day after Topel's funeral, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a statement reiterating that the Turkish-Greek treaty will expire in one month. The

[417] In the week following the announcement of Cengiz Topel's death, his name was given to a primary school in Adana, a student dormitory in Kırşehir, a new school in Kayseri and another school in Bakırköy (*Cumhuriyet*, 12-13.08.1964).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs deems it necessary to make a statement regarding the news in the foreign press about Greeks and Turkish citizens with Greek background living in Turkey, stating that those who had been deported up to this date were people whose activities were detrimental to Turkey and that the tolerance of these people to live in Turkey despite their situation was due to the value given to the continuation of the Turkish-Greek friendship policy; that with the abrogation of the Turkish-Greek residence, trade and navigation agreement on September 16, 1964, the remaining Greek nationals will no longer have a privileged situation in Turkey compared to other foreigners; and that the Greek citizens of Turkey, who live under the protection of the law, as explained repeatedly, are not subjected to any different treatment compared to Turks (*Cumhuriyet*, 16. 08.1964). As a result of the government officials' statements throughout August that Greek nationals would be deported en masse after September 16 and, of course, the high probability of a possible war throughout the summer of 1964, 6000 Greek nationals leave Turkey by August 25, either deported or not waiting to be deported (*Cumhuriyet*, 25.08.1964; *Apoyevmatini*, 25.08.1964). It is reported in the press that the deportation of Greek nationals was suspended for a while after the Ancheson Plan was revised and renegotiated. However, despite this, it is understood that Greek nationals cannot see a future for themselves in Turkey. The summer of 1964 is the most intense period for the Greeks of Istanbul to leave Turkey, especially due to the panic and fear caused by the deportation lists published one after another at the end of July and the Battle of Kokkina at the beginning of August.

6.3 Anti-Greek Anti-American Demonstrations

Especially in August 1964, almost every day in the local press, there are reports that the Cypriot administration continue to arm itself and receive military aid from the Soviets;[418] and that Greece violated Turkish territorial waters in the Aegean (*Cumhuriyet*, 16.08.1964). In addition to these news that created uneasiness about the imminence of a possible war, the government's[419] efforts to comply with the terms of the ceasefire in the face of "Greece's uncompromising attitude",[420]which was expecting a positive outcome from the ongoing Geneva negotiations, are highly criticized by the opposition; especially the main opposition party JP stated that the government's energetic behavior on Cyprus did not last long after the ceasefire decision (*Cumhuriyet*, 16.08.1964), and argued that the Cyprus policy damaged Turkey's reputation during the Geneva negotiations (*Cumhuriyet*, 27.08.1964). After the UN Cyprus mediator Tuomioja suffered a heart attack and fell into a coma, the possibility that the Geneva talks might be interrupted comes to the agenda (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.08.1964), while the annexation of Cyprus to Greece is expected to be announced at any moment (*Cumhuriyet*, 27.08.1964). In this tense atmosphere, with the announcement of the breakdown of the Geneva talks (*Cumhuriyet,*

---

[418] "Greeks sent a delegation to Moscow" *Cumhuriyet*, 17.08.1964; "Makarios' political activity has now turned towards Russia, Egypt and Syria" *Cumhuriyet*, 18.08.1964; "Greeks accelerated their armament efforts again yesterday" *Cumhuriyet*, 23.08.1964.

[419] Especially after the Battle of Kokkina, due to the possibility of war that emerged beyond any doubt, the readdressing of the Cyprus issue in the UN and NATO circles will have made the Turkish government hopeful for a solution, and it was expected that the Cyprus problem would be solved within a week with the revised Ancheson plan (*Cumhuriyet,* 25.08.1964). Moreover, it was reported in the press that the government made more concessions than Greece during these negotiations (*Cumhuriyet*, 26.08.1964).

[420] Greece withdraws its NATO troops in Turkey on 18.08.1964. During the negotiations, it was reflected in the press that Greece offered one-eightieth of the island against Turkey's demand for one-third of the island (*Cumhuriyet,* 19.08.1964). However, during this whole process, Greece maintained its insistent attitude of not sitting in direct bilateral negotiations with Turkey ("We informed Greece that its attitude was not constructive" *Cumhuriyet*, 17.08.1964).

28.08.1964), a series of anti-Greek and anti-American demonstrations are organized in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.

The first of these demonstrations takes place in Ankara, where university students holding banners reading "America cannot be the representative of free belief", "America, you can't buy us with your dollars", "yankee go home", "USA don't play with our pride", march towards the ministries with Atatürk's portrait in front of them. The crowd grows larger and larger with the participation of Ankara residents. The security forces try to block the road with a police barricade, but after a scuffle with the youth, the police cordon is broken. Despite the warning of Orhan Zaim, the police chief, "this is not the way to settle cases, do not disturb the order in the present difficult situation of the country, disperse in a manner befitting the dignity of Turkish youth, you are already acting against the law", the demonstrators clash with the police and break through the police barricade; they march to Kızılay, chanting "NATO, where are you?", "youth here, nation here, army to Cyprus", and arrive at the victory monument. The demonstrators singing the national anthem at the victory monument leave saying that they will be here tomorrow (*Cumhuriyet*, 28.08.1964).

The next day, demonstrators gather again "despite the lack of permission from the authorities". The demonstrations start with the national anthem in front of the victory monument and continue with speeches against America; the crowd starts marching with Turkish flags and banners reading "30 million want Taksim", "nato fiasco", "is America a friend or foe?", "army to Cyprus", "fake friend Johnson" and chant "army to Cyprus" and goes first to the General Staff, then to the National Assembly and from there to the American Embassy. Although "the police takes precautions in all necessary places" and Sabri Koçak, the central commander, stands

on the shoulder of a military policeman and says "the Turkish youth is noble, the purpose has been achieved, let's return calmly", the demonstrators rush to the Greek Embassy building. The entire building is stoned and two cars belonging to the embassy are vandalized. The last stop of the crowd is İnönü's residence, where İnönü and Minister of Interior Öztrak were having a meeting. Öztrak makes a statement on the same day and states that these demonstrations are sudden, unauthorized, and illegal, that there are *some mischievous people* who want to influence the masses in addition to those who participate in these demonstrations to express their excitement about Cyprus, that national interests can be harmed by these demonstrations, and that the state will resist such illegal demonstrations (*Cumhuriyet*, 29.08.1964). Both the minister and the press define the demonstrators more abstractly as "Turkish youth". With this expression, the protests of young people who support the Cyprus cause are accepted as legitimate, while there is also an effort to control the events. At this point, the calls made by the police and soldiers to the crowds, who warn that the demonstrations are held for justifiable reasons but to *not leave the country in a difficult situation during this sensitive period*, are very important. The press's insistence that the police took *the necessary precautions* and the minister's reference to *the lawlessness of the demonstrations* overlap considerably. It is possible to read this emphasis on the prevention of these demonstrations as an expression of an existing concern about a second pogrom - a new September 6-7 - in which uncontrolled crowds can put the government in a difficult situation. As a matter of fact, within a few days it will become clear that this concern is not unfounded.

Contrary to the minister's call for restraint, the next day demonstrations took place in Istanbul and Izmir as well as Ankara. However, during the demonstrations in Ankara, the Greek embassy and the American residences are attacked again. When

clashes between demonstrators and the police trying to prevent this escalated, the protesters began to sing the national anthem in order to neutralize the police. In the following hours, when they were confronted with the soldiers who started a harsher intervention to disperse the crowd, they started singing the anthem "Would it be so, would it be so" in unison.[421] As a result, 27 people were detained (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.08.1964). The next day, the march that was to be organized again in Ankara was not allowed due to military intervention (*Cumhuriyet*, 31.08.1964). The demonstrations in Istanbul were organized with the permission of the governor's office and extensive security measures were taken. The protest march starts in the yard of Istanbul University; after the speeches of the student leaders targeting America and Russia, the students march out of the campus and are accompanied by a large crowd in Hürriyet Square. With various anthems and chants of "the army to Cyprus", the crowd marches through Divanyolu and Hagia Sophia to Dolmabahçe, following the Galata Bridge. After a moment of silence for Atatürk, police measures prevented the group from heading towards Beyoğlu, where all the shops were closed as a precaution against a possible attack. The crowd then moves to Harbiye, where they continue their protest in front of the Hilton and disperse after a while (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.08.1964).

In Izmir, the protests get out of control; the events start with the distribution of leaflets calling for a boycott of the American pavilion with the inscription "citizen, you cannot be friends with those who want to prove you wrong in the just cause of

[421] These tactics in the demonstrations - the singing of the national anthem or the anthem of the "would it be so" during the intervention - are solutions that were frequently used in the demonstrations against the DP government before May 27th. It should not be surprising to see that this resistance baggage, in other words the protest tactic, was still being used in 1964, especially since the first experience of mass and direct confrontation between the youth, who were seen as the "heirs of the republic", and the security forces was in the second half of the 1959-60s, mostly in the fall of 1959 and the spring of 1960, when the DP government was protested.

Cyprus, so do not visit the American pavilion". Banners in English and Turkish are hung on trees and poles in front of the American pavilion with the words "Johnson is a false friend", "Is Johnson a peacemaker or a vote hunter?", "NATO, fiasco"; these banners are then taken down by the intervention of the security forces. Demonstrators then begin to vandalize the American, Russian, and Egyptian pavilions at the Izmir fair, which were recently reported to be providing volunteers and arms to Cyprus. New groups with pockets full of stones turn to the pavilions of other countries; the pavilions of the United Arab Emirates, Bulgaria and the United Kingdom are also vandalized in a succession of attacks. A group leaving the fair goes straight to the Greek consulate and target the consulate building. The crowd is stopped with difficulty at the entrance of the fair and 101 demonstrators are detained, while 12 people are injured in clashes with the police. Governor Niyazi Dolakay, who is in constant contact with the interior minister, says that the fair would be closed for a day so that the damage could be assessed. Osman Kibar, the mayor of the city, who has appealed to the military and civil authorities to take precautions before the events began, says, "Now it will be up to me as mayor to visit the pavilions one by one and offer condolences. Material damage is not important, but moral damage is difficult to repair" (*Cumhuriyet*, 30-31.08.1964). In the statements made the next day, a distinction is made between the demonstrators; it is explained that while the university youth were protesting in a calm and dignified manner, *the marauders* who mingled among the youth were committing acts of violence. In more detailed information about what happened in İzmir on the night of August 30th, it is stated that after the students called for a boycott, marauders with flags come to the fair and vandalize the aforementioned pavilions; that the police are unable to prevent the events because the fair is crowded; that those who took courage from this attack

the casinos and clubs in the fair; that they vandalize the PTA (Post and Telegraph Agency) building in Kültür Park; that the attackers move out of the fair and stone the Greek consulate, breaking its windows and injuring the consul's driver; that they then move to the Saint Jean Evangelist Church in Alsancak, breaking the door and four large windows of the church and attempting to burn it down, but are stopped by the fire brigade, and that the events can only be intervened after the fair was evacuated after midnight with continuous announcements over loudspeakers. The detainees are charged with violating the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations, incitement, hostile acts against foreign states and attempted looting. In the trial, 19 people are given a verdict of non-prosecution, while 63 defendants are sentenced to imprisonment from 6 months to 1 year and fines from 500 liras to 1000 liras. In the news and columns in the press, the similarities between the events in Izmir and September 6-7 are emphasized (*Cumhuriyet*, 31.08.1964).

7 1964, September

In his radio speech on the grounds of August 30, İnönü explains that it is not possible to inform the public at every stage while the negotiations are ongoing and that no decision has been made yet; he asks that the excitement about Cyprus be shown within the framework of the law as befits a civilized country (Cumhuriyet, 31.08.1964). However, anti-American and anti-Greek rallies continued. The banners, slogans and speeches made at these rallies refer to the crises of the entire Cyprus tension process; for example, the NTSU spokesperson, who takes the floor at a rally held in Ankara on September 2, targets the United States for offering Turkey a base in Cyprus in return for the Ancheson Plan, saying "I ask Johnson whose property are you giving to whom, you blunderer". Speaking at the same rally, the spokesperson of

the law faculty student association criticizes the Johnson letter, saying "we did not fight the war of liberation with American weapons, this nation knows how to create victories out of nothing if necessary, let America know this too"; referring to the failed Washington talks, he says that foreign affairs bureaucrats had brought the Cyprus issue to this point and that he expects new victories like the Treaty of Lausanne from the government instead of a soft Cyprus policy.[422] On September 6, the demonstrations to be held at Istanbul University are postponed by the joint intervention of the governor, the police chief, the central commander, the deputy mayor and the rector in order to prevent violent incidents while the events in Izmir are still a few days away and it is also the anniversary of September 6-7. The decision to postpone the rally is based on the leaflets calling for the rally, which "called on the army to stage a coup d'état and provoked the emotions of the demonstrators". According to the governor, these leaflets were distributed to put the government in a difficult situation. While the students disperse after this decision, a small group continue the demonstration and some people *aims to provoke* the crowd by writing "Today is September 6" in chalk on some streets (*Cumhuriyet*, 07.08.1964).

While it was only a matter of time before the anti-Greek sentiment turned into a repeat of September 6-7, which was still fresh in the memories, the parliament convenes on September 2, 1964 to discuss the Cyprus issue with the call of the JP;

---

[422] Especially during 1964, during the Cyprus tension, almost every rally and almost every letter sent to Prime Minister İnönü makes reference to the Lausanne victory as a choice victory. One of the most creative examples of reminding İnönü of Lausanne and insisting on a Cyprus landing was when National Turkish Student Union president Yüksel Çengel sends a soldier's boot to İnönü "on behalf of the Turkish youth". In his press statement, Çengel shares the letter sent to İnönü along with the boots and summarizes the following statements in his letter: "We vividly remember the blow you struck 42 years ago with your dusty boots, together with Commander-in-Chief M. Kemal, against those who came to invade our beloved homeland. It is understood that you will continue wearing boots again against the mentality of 42 years ago. But again, we hope that the peaceful struggle for world peace will prevail". (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.09.1964).

the expectation that the government would adopt a more energetic attitude in foreign policy is reiterated (*Cumhuriyet,* 03.09.1964). The government is seen as a failure by the opposition due to its Cyprus policy. In the days when a possible war with Greece is on the agenda, the opposition raises the tone of criticism and states that "the weak, timid and confused RPP government could not even prepare for a war, let alone manage a war; a government that is weak at home is seen as weak in the eyes of foreigners" (*Cumhuriyet*, 07.08.1964). During the Cyprus negotiations in the parliament, the JP blames the RPP for causing the deaths of Turkish Cypriots by not sending forces to the island despite its guarantor authority, while the RVNP (Republican Villagers Nation Party) argued that the ruling party harm the national existence through its relations with the US. The NTP supports the RPP's peaceful policy and proposes an JP-RPP coalition to pursue a more honorable foreign policy. RPP responds to all accusations by saying that it is trying to solve the problem without involving 39 million citizens in a war. In the following days, when it becomes clear that the government will not resign or ask for a vote of no confidence contrary to its attitude after the senatorial elections, RVNP files a motion of no confidence against the government; with the support of NTP and independents against 169 votes of JP, NP(Nation Party) and RVNP, the government manages to pass the motion of no confidence with 198 votes (*Cumhuriyet*, 10.09.1964).

İnönü makes harsher statements in the face of these pressures; he almost challenges the declaration of Enosis by saying that it would mean war and that the battlefield would not be Cyprus. He announces that supplies would be sent to Erenköy in order to help the Turks in Cyprus who were suffering from epidemic diseases due to lack of food and force would be used in case of resistance (*Cumhuriyet*, 09-10.08.1964). In addition to these challenges, the government again

brings the deportation of Greek nationals to the agenda. After September 16, it is announced in the press that those whose residence permits expired would be deported immediately without any extension; that more than 1000 Greeks of Turkish nationality had left Turkey by obtaining Turkish passports, especially in August; and that 2500 of the Greeks of Greek nationality who remained in Turkey were Western Thrace Turks (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.09.1964). A few days later, Minister of Interior Öztrak announces that 1810 Greek nationals whose residency period had expired as of September 16 would be given a 10-day deadline to leave the country; however, it is determined that some of these people had left Turkey without waiting for their residency period to expire. In addition, the minister states that the remaining Greek nationals, who numbered an estimated 3000, would be deported as they would be required to leave the country as their residency period expired (Cumhuriyet, 15.09.1964).[423] In another press statement made a few days later, the minister remindes that those who had been deported before were deported without taking into account their residence periods because they violated national security and explains that the deportation of all Greek nationals would be possible at the end of 1965 since there were very few among those to be deported whose residence periods continued until the end of 1965 (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.09.1964).

At the Security Council on the same days, Turkey is heavily criticized for deporting Greek nationals. Following the criticism at the UN, the government will be forced to follow a more humane procedure, giving those to be deported a longer deadline to leave the country (10 days - this was much shorter and arbitrary at the beginning of the implementation), allowing deportees to take more personal

[423] On the same days, Greek Consul General Hrisantopoulos announced that the number of Greek nationals in Turkey was 7000, 6000 of whom were Christians and 1000 Muslims (Cumhuriyet, 23.09.1964)

belongings with them (until October, deportees are allowed to take 200 liras - about 20 dollars and one suitcase - about 20 kilos) and deciding to exempt various groups from the implementation. These criticisms must have prevented a mass deportation attempt, as Öztrak states in both press statements that the remaining Greek nationals would be allowed to leave the country under humane conditions. Considering that throughout the summer of 1964, mass deportation lists were published one after the other and no effort was made to ensure that the deportees leave the country under humane conditions, it is possible to say that the criticism in the Security Council slowed down the government. However, the decision to postpone the deportation of Greek nationals in order not to overshadow the king's wedding festivities in Greece, (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.09.1964) can be considered as an indication of the government's goodwill in the negotiations around the possibility of lifting the Cyprus administration's economic blockade against the Turks.[424]

8 1964, Fall

In the atmosphere of uncertainty and fear, the news in the press that the Greeks, who could no longer see a future for themselves in Turkey, continue to leave Turkey without waiting for their residency period to expire, became a declaration of the obvious (*Cumhuriyet*, 03.10.1964). After the postponement of deportations, the İnönü government decides to postpone the deportations of some groups in early October; among the 1018 Greek nationals who were expected to leave the country on October 16, the deportations of those over the age of 65, those whose nationality had

[424]This possibility is posed as a question to Öztrak during a press briefing; to a question such as "there are rumors that the postponement of landings abroad is a concession given as a result of foreign pressures and in order to lift the economic blockade in Cyprus, what do you say?", the minister responds by saying "Turkey determines its own destiny within its own independent administration" (Cumhuriyet, 18.09.1964).

changed due to marriage to a Turk or a foreigner, those who were teachers and students, and those who were Bulgarian, Italian, British or other nationals by paternal blood are postponed (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.10.1964). At the same time, the governor of Istanbul announced that the personal belongings of deportees will be allowed "within reasonable limits" (*Hürriyet*, 4.10.1964; *Apoyevmatini*, 05.10.1964, as cited in Akgönül, 2016, p. 281).

As a result of the Conference of Neutrals held in Cairo between October 6-11 with the participation of 57 countries, 10 of which were observers, the government was forced to reconsider its Cyprus policy after Cyprus' demand for self-determination was justified and the removal of foreign forces[425] from the island was recommended. The solution found by the committees established upon the revision of the Turkish thesis iss to adopt the idea of the independence of Cyprus in order to prevent Enosis, but to recognize the right to self-determination separately for the two communities. Thus, the idea of federation, which the Turkish thesis had advocated from the very beginning, can be achieved within the framework of the resolution of the Conference of Neutrals (*Cumhuriyet*, 25.10.1964).[426] As the tensions of the war

---

[425] The conference declaration summarizes: The independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected by all countries. The right of the people of Cyprus to determine their political future must be recognized. Foreign countries have no right to intervene in the internal affairs of Cyprus or to use force in Cyprus.

[426] The new thesis based on the independence of Cyprus and Fahir Armaoğlu's post-Cairo Summit recommendations on the new foreign policy Turkey should adopt are quite parallel: On October 17th, Fahir Armaoglu published an article about this conference (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.10.1964). He sees the conference declaration as a failure for Turkey. He gives one of the reasons for this failure as the lack of propaganda. He says that "Makarios made good propaganda, achieved diplomatic success, we [Turkey] lagged behind. We lacked the necessary flexibility and dynamism. Secondly, the second mistake in our Cyprus policy was not mobilizing the goodwill envoys as soon as possible. If these delegations had completed their trips in August, other countries would have seen our rightness in Cyprus. Our third mistake is that we started diplomatic activities related to the Conference of Neutrals too late. There is a new need to establish relations with Asian and African countries and the foreign ministry has recognized this, but the government has delayed in taking steps. The way forward is that the declaration of this conference underlines the idea of independence, and the priest will take refuge in the UN, in such a case one can talk about the fact that independence was achieved through the 1959

gives way to diplomacy with the effect of the Security Council talks and the Conference of Neutrals, the government once again softens the deportation of Greek nationals. At the beginning of October, the scope of the groups whose deportation had been postponed is expanded and it is announced that these groups will be exempted from deportation: according to the latest decision, persons over the age of 65 and their accompanying spouses (even if they were younger than 63), close relatives who took care of those without spouses, those married to Turkish nationals, consulate and embassy employees, students and teachers will not be deported (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.10.1964). Shortly afterwards, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Jews and Armenians who are not ethnically Greek but are Greek nationals, the sick and disabled who are unable to travel, and Greek nationals married to foreigners are added to this group (*Apoyevmatini*, 31.10.1964, Akgönül, 2016, p. 281).

In the fall of 1964, as the UN-backed ceasefire in Cyprus continues, domestic politics in Turkey flares up again. During the days of Celal Bayar's release, the tensions between the government and the opposition are again strained. With the rivalry between Bilgiç and Demirel in the JP leadership race, the tone and intensity of their criticism of the ruling party increase. Sunay, the Chief of General Staff, expresses the military's discomfort in this process by sending a warning letter to all political parties (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.10.1964). With this intervention, the parliament is pointed to as the source of the polarization among the public and the immunity of some deputies who made statements against the army is requested to be lifted. While JP claims that the ruling party encouraged the army's intervention, İnönü declars that

---

agreements and that this independence turned into the chaos it is today because of the priest's Enosis ambition". He should also talk about the fact that coexistence is virtually impossible as they have torpedoed the foundations of coexistence as they have been committing genocide against the second largest community in the island for 10 months. Turkey should not take an anti-independence stance at the UN".

the situation is serious and that he might withdraw from the government (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.10.1964). Under the presidency of President Gürsel, all party leaders come together and issue a joint “declaration of peace” in which they state that they are against any kind of provocation against the army, that they consider the May 27th revolution as the legitimate basis of the constitution and that their common goal is to maintain democracy with the constitution (*Cumhuriyet*, 23.10.1964). In the following days, JP deputies are called to testify on the grounds of committing political crimes (*Cumhuriyet*, 02.12.1964) and the immunity of some deputies is lifted (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.12.1964). While the opposition parties insisted on the formation of a national coalition government with an impartial prime minister, the government, thinking that it would have difficulty in obtaining a vote of confidence, resorts to a cabinet reshuffle (*Cumhuriyet*, 10-14.12.1964). During the days when domestic politics is shaken by the military intervention, the news that the Greek government would retaliate against the Rhodes Turks or that the Greek government would demand compensation for the properties left behind by the deported Greek nationals that they could not liquidate or transfer does not occupy the agenda (*Cumhuriyet*, 19-20.11.1964). On the anniversary of the Cyprus incidents, the agenda turns completely to domestic politics; the fire at the Ali Sami Yen stadium, the one penny hike in the price of beets and İnönü's declaration not to resign from the government made the headlines. As Akgönül says, "the problem of the Greeks in Turkey was solved within nine months" (Akgönül, 2016, p. 282) through various precarization mechanisms; their resistances are broken, their hopes are consumed, they are frightened, harassed, fed up, and discouraged.

APPENDIX A REFERENCES

Primary Sources

The Republican Archives

BCA 30-18-1-2/127-86-11

BCA 30-1-0-0/72-454-3

The Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Archive

TBMM Tutanak B:88 10.4.1964

TBMM Tutanak B:6 19.02.1964 O:1

Secondary Sources

Akar, R., & Demir, H. (1994). *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünleri: 1964'te Rumların Sınır Dışı Edilmesi.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Akgönül, S. (2016). *Türkiye Rumları: Ulus- Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Feridunoğlu, İ. C. (2017). "Hürriyet Gazetesi'nce 1964 Johnson Mektubu Süreci'nde Kullanılan Dilin Milliyetçi Söylem Bağlamında Söylem Analizi Yöntemiyle İncelenmesi. *Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 9*(2), 371-394.

Tsitselikis, K. (2012). *Old and New Islam in Greece: From Historical Minorities to Immigrant Newcomers.* Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Yaşar, K. (2019). Ulus ve Tercüman Gazetelerinde Kıbrıs Krizi ve Rumlar. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.). *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homoşenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 268-300). İstanbul: İletişim.

Newspapers

Akşam, 12.04.1964

Akşam, 23.05.1964

*Apoyevmatini,*10.05.1964

Apoyevmatini,25.08.1964

Cumhuriyet, 17.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 19.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 20.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 21.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 22.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 24.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 25.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 26.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 28.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 29.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 30.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 01.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 02.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 03.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 05.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 06.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 07.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 08.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 11.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 12.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 13.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 14.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 15.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 17.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 19.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 20.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 21.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 22.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 29.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 30.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 03.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 04.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 07.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 08.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 10.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 11.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 12.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 13.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 14.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 15.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 20.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 21.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 22.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 23.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 26.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 30.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 31.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 31.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 02.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 03.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 04.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 05.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 06.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 07.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 11.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 12.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 13.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 19.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 21.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 24.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 27.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 28.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 01.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 02.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 03.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 04.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 05.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 17.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 19.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 27.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 28.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 30.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 31.07.1964

Cumhuriyet, 01.08.1964

Cumhuriyet, 04.08.1964

Cumhuriyet, 05.08.1964

Cumhuriyet, 07.08.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.08.1964

Cumhuriyet, 10.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 11.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 12.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 14.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 15.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 16.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 17.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 17.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 18.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 23.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 24.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 25.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 26.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 27.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 28.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 29.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 30.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 31.08.1964
Cumhuriyet, 03.09.1964
Cumhuriyet, 10.09.1964
Cumhuriyet, 11.09.1964
Cumhuriyet, 14.09.1964
Cumhuriyet, 18.09.1964
Cumhuriyet, 03.10.1964
Cumhuriyet, 05.10.1964
Cumhuriyet, 17.10.1964
Cumhuriyet, 18.10.1964
Cumhuriyet, 23.10.1964
Cumhuriyet, 25.10.1964
Cumhuriyet, 02.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 05.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 10.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 11.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 12.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 13.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 14.12.1964
Cumhuriyet, 19.11.1964
Cumhuriyet, 20.11.1964
Dünya, 15.04.1964
Hürriyet, 12.04.1964
Hürriyet, 06.05.1964
Hürriyet, 05.06.1964
Hürriyet, 06.06.1964
Hürriyet, 07.06.1964
Hürriyet, 21.06.1964
Hürriyet, 23.06.1964
Hürriyet, 24.06.1964
Hürriyet, 05.07.1964
Hürriyet, 30.07.1964
Hürriyet,4.10.1964
SonHavadis, 10.04.1964
SonHavadis, 17.05.1964
SonHavadis, 18.05.1964
The Times, 07.06.1957
The Times, 16.04.1964
Ulus, 10.04.1964.
Ulus, 14.04.1964
Yeni Sabah, 22.04.1964

APPENDIX B

THE LISTS OF PERIOD FILMS

Domestic Films Set in Istanbul in 1960s

1. Şoför Nebahat (1959, Metin Erksan)
2. Namus Uğruna (1960, Osman F. Seden)
3. Gecelerin Ötesi (1960, Metin Erksan)
4. Mahalle Arkadaşları (1961, Metin Erksan)
5. Otobüs Yolcuları (1961, Ertem Göreç & Vedat Türkali)
6. Sokak Kızı (1962, Osman F. Seden)
7. Gönül Avcısı (1962, Nejat Saydam)
8. Acı Hayat (1962, Metin Erksan)
9. Sıralardaki Heyecan (1963, Alekos Sakellarios)
10. Bahçevan (1963, Nejat Saydam)
11. Bahriyeli Ahmet (1963,Türker İnanoğlu)
12. Barut Fıçısı (1963, Zafer Davutoğlu)
13. Badem Şekeri (1963, Osman Seden)
14. Şafak Bekçileri (1963, Halit Refiğ)
15. Gençlik Rüzgarı (1964, Nejat Saydam)
16. Acemi Çapkın (1964, Nejat Saydam)
17. Son Tren (1964, Nejat Saydam)
18. Şoförler Kralı (1964, Nejat Saydam)
19. Fıstık Gibi Maşallah (1964, Hulki Saner)
20. Gurbet Kuşları (1964, Halit Refiğ)
21. İstanbul'un Kızları (1964, Halit Refiğ)
22. İstanbul Kaldırımları (1964, Metin Erksan)
23. Suçlular Aramızda (1964, Metin Erksan)
24. Koçum Benim (1964, Osman F. Seden)
25. Anasının Kuzusu (1964, Ülkü Erakalın)
26. Şoför Nebahat ve Kızı (1964, Süreyya Duru)
27. Turist Ömer (1964, Hulki Saner)
28. Karanlıkta Uyananlar (1964, Ertem Göreç)
29. Şıpsevdi (1964, Orhan Aksoy)
30. Keşanlı Ali Destanı (1965, Atıf Yılmaz)
31. Bitmeyen Yol (1965, Duygu Sağıroğlu)
32. Şoför Nebahat Bizde Kabahat (1965, Süreyya Duru)
33. Son Kuşlar (1965, Erdoğan Tokatlı)
34. Uzakta Kal Sevgilim (1965, Ülkü Erakalın)
35. Sevmek Zamanı (1965, Metin Erksan)
36. Sana Layık Değilim (1965, Osman F. Seden)
37. Kadın İsterse (1965, Nejat Saydam)
38. Üç Kardeşe Bir Gelin (1965, Mehmet Dinler)
39. Ayrılık Şarkısı (1966, Ülkü Erakalın)
40. Dişi Düşman (1966, Nejat Saydam)
41. Ah Güzel İstanbul (1966, Atıf Yılmaz)
42. Biraz Kül Biraz Duman (1966, Ertem Göreç)
43. Kenarın Dilberi (1966, Osman F. Seden)
44. Geceler Yarim Oldu (1966, Ülkü Erakalın)
45. Kolejli Kızın Aşkı (1966, Türker İnanoğlu)
46. Düğün Gecesi (1966, Osman F. Seden)
47. Vesikalı Yarim (1968, Lütfi Akad)
48. Kederli Günlerim (1968, Orhan Aksoy)

Foreign Films Set in Istanbul in Early 1960s

1. L'immortelle (1963, Alain Robbe-Grillet)
2. Tintin Et Le Mystére De La Toison D'or (Tenten in Istanbul) (1961, Jean-Jacques Vierne)
3. From Russia with Love (James Bond) (1963, Terence Young)
4. America America (1963, Elia Kazan)
5. Topkapı (1964, Jules Dassin)
6. The Man in Istanbul (1965, Antonio Isasi-Isasmendi)

Films Addressing the Topic of Apelasis

1. Politiki Kouzina (2003, Tassos Boulmetis)
2. Sürgün (2013, Erol Özlevi)
3. Aşk Tesadüfleri Sever 2 (2020, İpek Sorak & Ömer Faruk Sorak)

Films Adressing the Cyprus Crisis in 1964

1. On Korkusuz Adam (1964, Tunç Başaran)

APPENDIX C

THE BANNER EXAMPLE OF THE BOYCOTT

"DO NOT SHOP WITH RUMS"

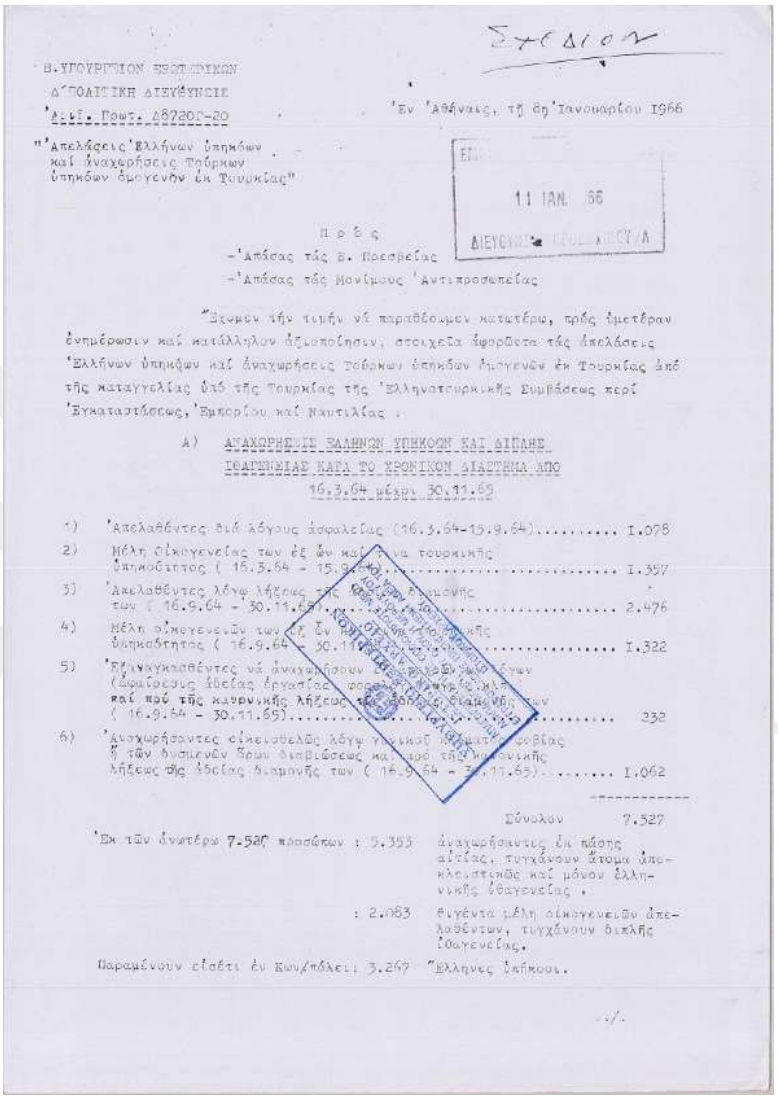


From an interviewee's personal archive.

APPENDIX D

THE CONSULAR REPORT INDICATING DEPORTEEES NUMBERS

BETWEEN 16.03.1965-30.11.1965



Σχέδιον

Β. ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟΝ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ
Δ΄ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ
Δ.Υ.Γ. Πρωτ. Δ8720Γ-20

Ἐν Ἀθήναις, τῇ 6ῃ Ἰανουαρίου 1966

"Ἀπελάσεις Ἑλλήνων ὑπηκόων καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις Τούρκων ὑπηκόων ὁμογενῶν ἐκ Τουρκίας"

ΕΙΣ
11 ΙΑΝ. 66
ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ Α

Π ρ ὸ ς
-Ἀπάσας τὰς Β. Πρεσβείας
-Ἀπάσας τὰς Μονίμους Ἀντιπροσωπείας

Ἔχομεν τὴν τιμὴν νὰ παραθέσωμεν κατωτέρω, πρὸς ὑμετέραν ἐνημέρωσιν καὶ κατάλληλον ἀξιοποίησιν, στοιχεῖα ἀφορῶντα τὰς ἀπελάσεις Ἑλλήνων ὑπηκόων καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις Τούρκων ὑπηκόων ὁμογενῶν ἐκ Τουρκίας ἀπὸ τῆς καταγγελίας ὑπὸ τῆς Τουρκίας τῆς Ἑλληνοτουρκικῆς Συμβάσεως περὶ Ἐγκαταστάσεως, Ἐμπορίου καὶ Ναυτιλίας :

Α) ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΞΕΝΩΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΩΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΙΤΙΑΝ ΙΘΑΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΑΣΤΗΜΑ ΑΠΟ 16.3.64 μέχρι 30.11.65

1) Ἀπελαθέντες διὰ λόγους ἀσφαλείας (16.3.64-15.9.64)..... I.078
2) Μέλη οἰκογενείας των ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἕνα τουρκικῆς ὑπηκοότητος (16.3.64 - 15.9.64)..... I.357
3) Ἀπελαθέντες λόγῳ λήξεως τῆς [illegible] διαμονῆς των (16.9.64 - 30.11.65)..... 2.476
4) Μέλη οἰκογενειῶν των ἐξ ὧν [illegible] τουρκικῆς ὑπηκοότητος (16.9.64 - 30.11.65)..... I.322
5) Ἐξαναγκασθέντες νὰ ἀναχωρήσουν [illegible] (ἰδιαιτέρους λόγους ἀσφαλείας ἐργασίας φορολογικῆς φύσεως κλπ) καὶ πρὸ τῆς κανονικῆς λήξεως τῆς [illegible] των (16.9.64 - 30.11.65)..... 232
6) Ἀναχωρήσαντες οἰκειοθελῶς λόγῳ γενικοῦ κλίματος φόβου ἢ τῶν δυσμενῶν ὅρων διαβιώσεως καὶ πρὸ τῆς κανονικῆς λήξεως τῆς ἰσχύος διαμονῆς των (16.9.64 - 30.11.65)..... I.062

Σύνολον 7.527

Ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω 7.527 προσώπων : 5.353 ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐκ πάσης αἰτίας, τυγχάνουν ἄτομα ἀποκλειστικῶς καὶ μόνον ἑλληνικῆς ὁμογενείας.

: 2.083 θιγέντα μέλη οἰκογενειῶν ἀπελαθέντων, τυγχάνουν διπλῆς ὁμογενείας.

Παραμένουν εἰσέτι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: 3.267 Ἕλληνες ὑπήκοοι.

../.

From an interviewee's personal archive.
In the foremost position are 1078 individuals deported due to harmful activities. In the second position are the family members of those deported due to harmful activities, some of whom are Turkish citizens (1.357 individuals). The third position is occupied by individuals deported because their residence permits have expired (2.476 individuals). In the fourth position are the family members of those deported due to the expiration of their residence permits, with some being Turkish citizens (1.322 individuals). The fifth position comprises individuals whose residence permits were prematurely terminated for various reasons (232 individuals). Finally, in the sixth position are those who, due to various pressures and fears, departed before the expiration of their residence permits (1.062 individuals).

APPENDIX E

THE PASSPORT PAGE

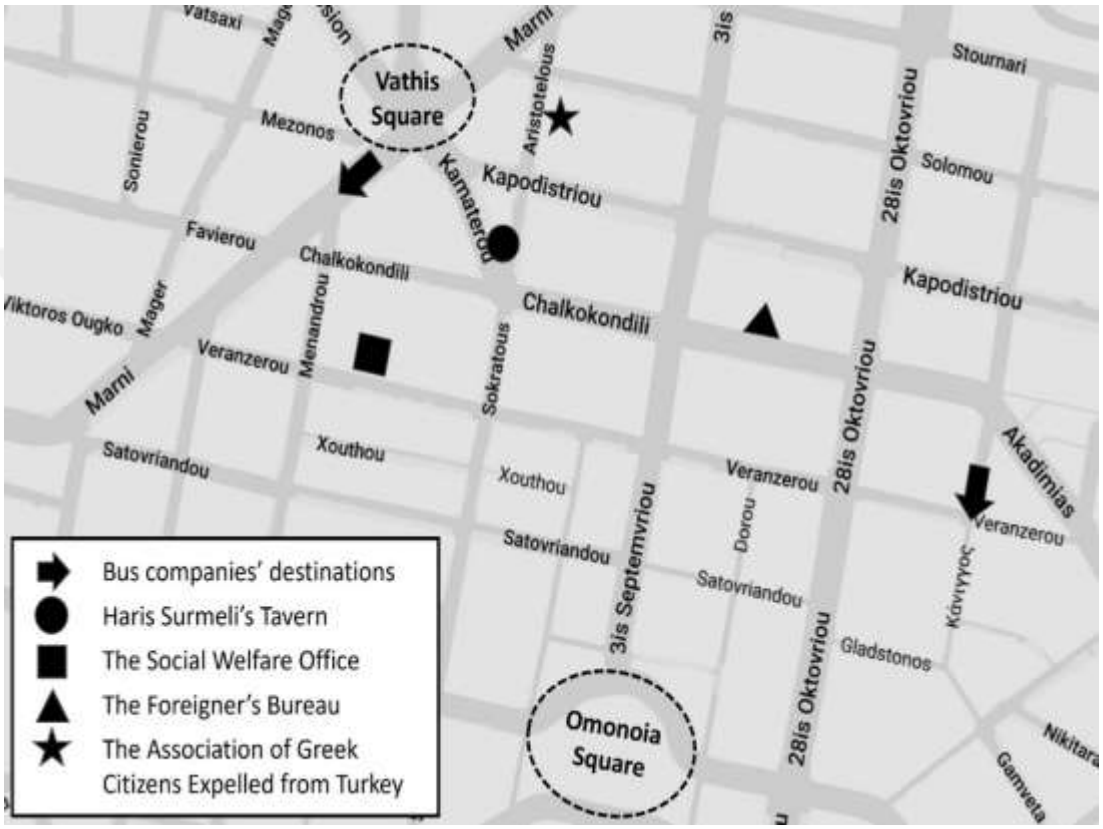
WITH THE CUSTOMS NOTE



From the passport of an interviewee.
“Tamamıyle kendisine ait zati eşyaların çıkışı bagaj olarak yapıldı” (His personal belongings were checked out as baggage). 28.8.1964.

APPENDIX F

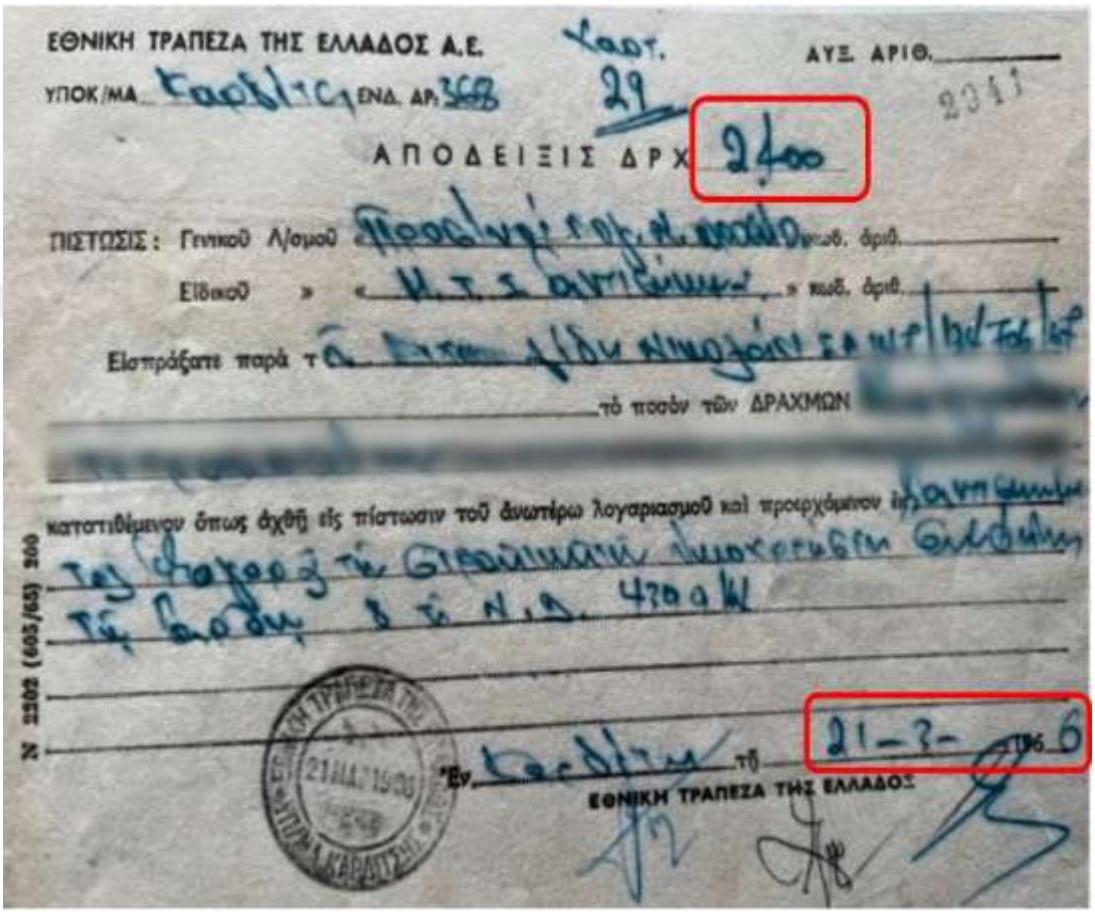
DETAILED MAP OF PLATEIA VATHIS



An empty map was generated in Snazzy Map and marked based on testimonies.

APPENDIX G

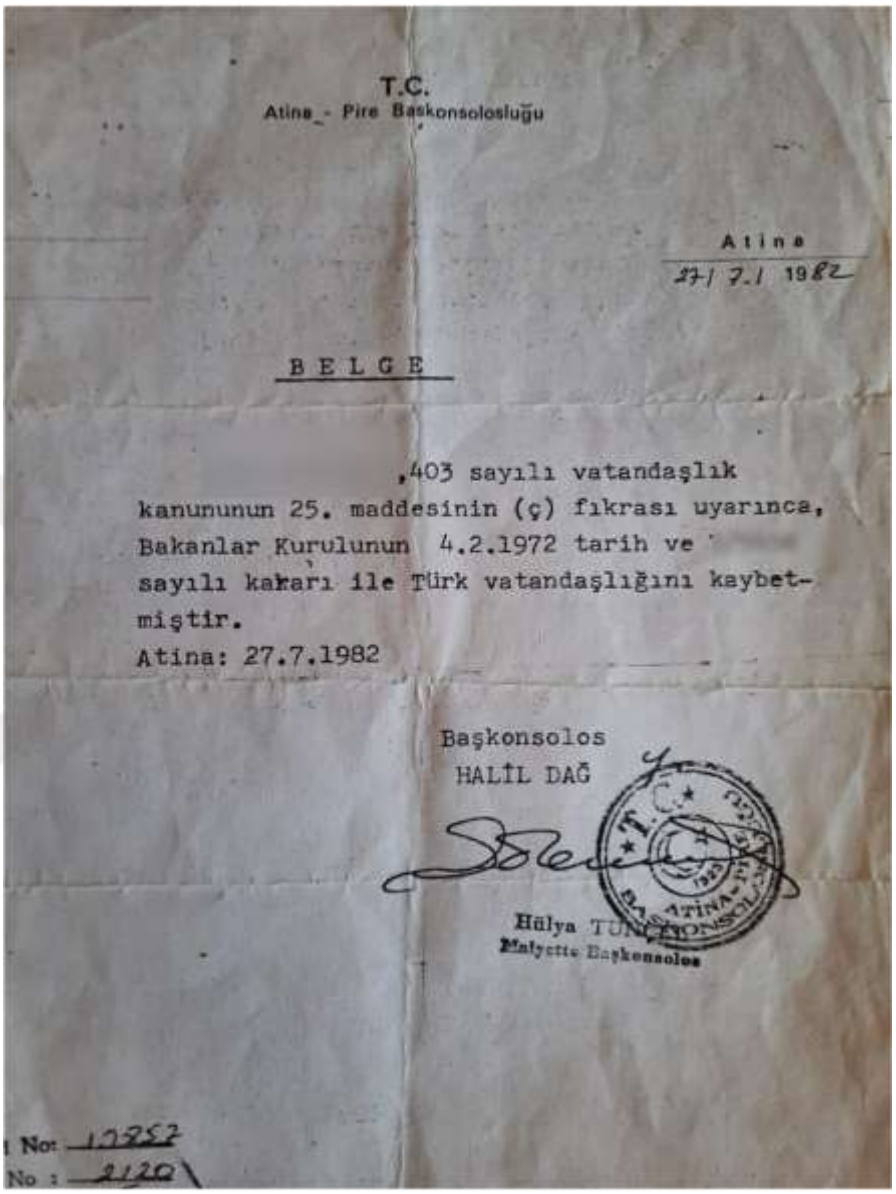
AN EXAMPLE OF THE PAID MILITARY SERVICE RECEIPT



From an interviewee's personal archive.
Within red frame can be seen that 2400 drh. was paid for military service on 21.3.1966

APPENDIX H

AN EXAMPLE OF THE NOTICE OF CITIZENSHIP REVOCATION



T.C.
Atina - Pire Başkonsolosluğu

Atina
27/7.1 1982

B E L G E

,403 sayılı vatandaşlık kanununun 25. maddesinin (ç) fıkrası uyarınca, Bakanlar Kurulunun 4.2.1972 tarih ve sayılı kararı ile Türk vatandaşlığını kaybetmiştir.
Atina: 27.7.1982

Başkonsolos
HALİL DAĞ

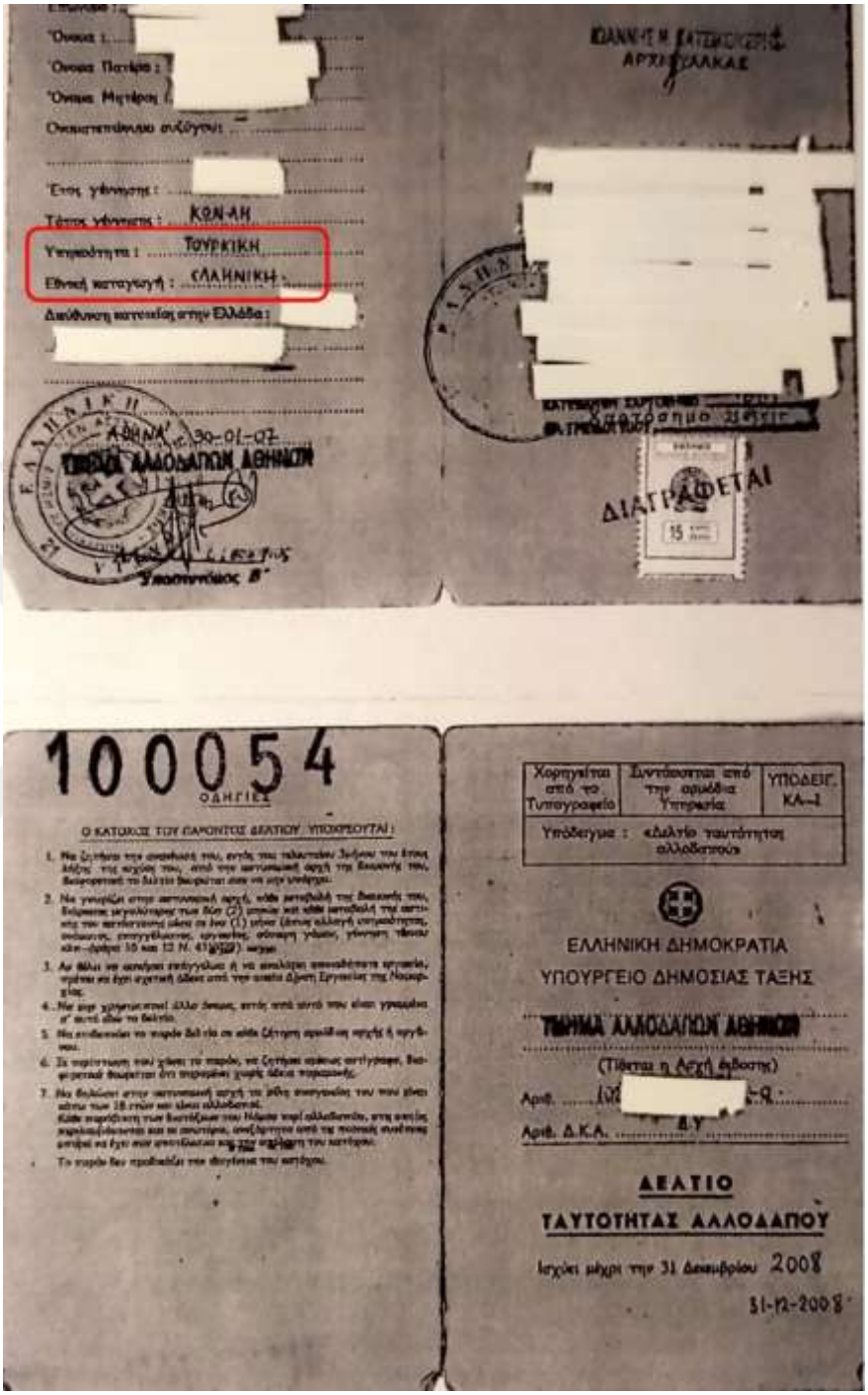
Hülya TUNÇ
Maiyette Başkonsolos

No: 12252
No : 2120

From an interviewee's personal archive.
"According to the decision of the Council of Ministers dated February 4, 1972, and numbered …, in accordance with Article 25, paragraph (ç) of Citizenship Law No. 403, … has been deprived of citizenship"

APPENDIX I

AN EXAMPLE OF FOREIGN IDENTITY CARD



From an interviewee's personal archive.
Within red frame, it is written that citizenship is Turkish, whereas nationality is Greek.

APPENDIX J

THE 1958 CIVIL SERVICE LAW



ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ

ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 23 Αὐγούστου | ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ | Ἀριθμὸς φύλλου

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΙΚΑ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ

ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ

ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΕΙΣ ΣΦΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ

ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΙΚΑ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ

ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑ

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ

Ἄρθρον 1.

ΤΟ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ

Ἄρθρον 2.

From an interviewee's personal archive.
Within red frames, it is stated that in accordance with Decision No. 3832, the regulatory framework pertaining to the engagement of non-Greek citizen homogenis in public service, which was previously applicable to individuals from Northern Epirus and Cyprus, has been expanded to include those from Istanbul, as well as those from Imbros and Tenedos. The date of the official newspaper (of Greece - Efimerida Tis Kivernisis) is 23.08.1958.

APPENDIX K

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' DECISION ON THE ABOLITION OF

THE CONFIDENTIAL DECREE



Sayfa : 24 RESMİ GAZETE 6 Şubat 1988 — Sayı : 19717

Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı

Karar Sayısı : 88/12592

2/11/1964 tarih ve 6/3801 sayılı Kararnamenin yürürlükten kaldırılması; Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın 3/2/1988 tarihli ve EUDE.V/760.419/88 sayılı yazısı üzerine, Bakanlar kurulu'nca 3/2/1988 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

Kenan EVREN
Cumhurbaşkanı

T. ÖZAL
Başbakan

İ. K. ERDEM
Devlet Bak.-Başbakan Yrd.

K. OKSAY
Devlet Bakanı

A. TENEKECİ
Devlet Bakanı

V. ATASOY
Devlet Bakanı

A. BOZER
Devlet Bakanı

Y. B. ÖZAL
Devlet Bakanı

M. T. TİTİZ
Devlet Bakanı V.

M. YAZAR
Devlet Bakanı

C. ÇİÇEK
Devlet Bakanı

N. KİTAPÇI
Devlet Bakanı

M. O. SUNGURLU
Adalet Bakanı

E. YURALHAN
Milli Savunma Bakanı

M. KALEMLİ
İçişleri Bakanı

A. M. YILMAZ
Dışişleri Bakanı

A. K. ALPTEMOÇİN
Maliye ve Gümrük Bakanı

H. C. GÜZEL
Milli Eğt. Gençlik ve Spor Bak.

İ. S. GİNAY
Bayındırlık ve İskan Bak.

B. AKARCALI
Sağ. ve Sos. Yard. Bak.

A. K. ALPTEMOÇİN
Ulaştırma Bakanı V.

H. H. DOĞAN
Tarım Orman ve Köyişleri Bak.

İ. AYKUT
Çalışma ve Sos. Güvenlik Bak.

Ş. YÜRÜR
Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanı

F. KURT
Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bak.

M. T. TİTİZ
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı

From an interviewee's personal archive.
The Official Newspaper (of Turkey- Resmi Gazete), 6.2.1988

APPENDIX L

AN INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCE ON

THE MINORITY ISSUES ASSESSMENT BOARD

T.C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
Güvenlik İşleri Başkanlığı

SAYI :B.02.0.GİB/465 01/03530 05/01/2004
KONU :Azınlık Sorunlarına
Değerlendirme Kurulu

İLGİ:a) Başbakanlık Özlük ve Yazı İşleri'nin 07.11.1902 tarih ve 28-4869 sayılı talimatı.
b) İçişleri Bakanlığı'nın 10.12.2003 tarih ve B.05 1.EGM.0.12.05.05/10762-214302 sayılı yazısı.
c) Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği'nin 19.12.2003 tarihli yazısı.

Ülkemizdeki azınlıkların yurt güvenliği bakımından kontrolü amacıyla ilgi (a) talimatla kurulan "Azınlık Tali Komisyonu"nun, Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği'nin ilgi (c) yazısında belirtilen Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatı uyum çalışmalarına ilişkin görüşleri doğrultusunda, İçişleri Bakanlığı'nın koordinatörlüğünde, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü'nün bağlı bulunduğu Devlet Bakanlığı, Dışişleri Bakanlığı ve Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı temsilcilerinden oluşması, adının "**Azınlık Sorunlarını Değerlendirme Kurulu**" olarak değiştirilmesi, kurulda görüşülecek sorun ve taleplere bağlı olarak ilgili kurum ve kuruluşların temsilcilerinin toplantılara davet edilmesi uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerini ve gereğini rica ederim.

Ömer DİNÇER
Başbakan a.
Müsteşar

From an interviewee's personal archive.

REFERENCES

Unpublished Primary Sources

The Republican Archives

BCA 272-0-0-12/60-168-9

BCA 30-10-0-0/124-885-2

BCA, 30-10-0-0/6-32-39

BCA 30-10-0-0/109-732-16

BCA 30-10-0-0/109-724-24

BCA 30-01-1-1/40-236-20

BCA 30-01-0-0/ 22-129-6

BCA 30-1-0-0/38-228-5

The Grand National Assembly of Türkiye Archive

Yassıada Yüksek Adalet Divanı Tutanakları : 6-7 Eylül Olayları Davası (esas no:1960/3). (1960, Kasım 3). Retrieved October 2023, from TBMM Kütüphanesi Açık Erişim Koleksiyonu: https://acikerisim.tbmm.gov.tr/bitstreams/5619d87c-b8fa-45f5-837b-51e828c4acea/download

Tutanak, T. (2005, 3 1). İstanbul Milletvekili Emin Şirin'in, azınlıklarla ilgili bir düzenlemeye ilişkin sorusu ve İçişleri Bakanı Abdülkadir Aksu'nun cevabı. TBMMTutanak:https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c076/b064/tbmm220760640271.pdf

The United Nations Archives

UN SCOR 1136th Sess. 18 June 1964, UN Doc S/5488

UN SCOR, 19th year, 1146th Sess. 11 September 1964, New York

The Oral History Interviews

The interview with Agni, 29.05.2022, Athens; 29.03.2023, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Alexis, 11.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Amalia, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki, in Turkish.

The interview with Anastasios, 14.06.2022, Athens, in English.

The interview with Andreas, 05.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Apostolis, 17.01.2020, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Athanasios, 14.06.2002; 05.07.2022; 27.03.2023, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Athina, 10.01.2020, Athens, in Greek.

The interview with Charalambos, 18.05.2022, Athens, in Greek.

The interview with Christos, 07.01.2020, Athens; 18.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Dafni, 26.06.2022, Athens., in Turkish

The interview with Danai, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki, in Turkish.

The interview with Despoina, 18.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Dimitra, 13.01.2020, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Dimitris, 12.01.2021, Online; 19.01.2021, Online, in Turkish.

The interview with Eleni, 14.01.2020, Athens; 21.01.2020, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Elias, 23.01.2020, Athens, in Greek.

The interview with Elli, 22.06.2022, Athens, in English.

The interview with Elpida, 28.03.2023, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Evangelia, 27.01.2021, Online, in Turkish.

The interview with Evangelos, 06.05.2022, Athens; 13.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Foteini, 18.03.2023, Thessaloniki, in Turkish.

The interview with Fotis, 02.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Georgia, 13.01.2020, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Georgios, 26.05.2022, Athens in English.

The interview with Grigoris, 06.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Haris, 11.07.2022, Athens., in Turkish

The interview with Ioannis, 24.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Iraklis, 03.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Kalliroi, 15.06.2022, Athens, in Greek, in Turkish.

The interview with Konstantinos, 09.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Kyriakos, 21.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Lefteris, 11.07.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Maria, 18.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Michalis, 10.06.2022, Athens., in Turkish

The interview with Niki, 25.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Panagiotis, 07.01.2020, Athens, in English.

The interview with Paraskevas, 21.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Pashalis, 05.05.2022; 28.06.2022, Athens; 12.12.2022, Online, in Turkish.

The interview with Penelope, 15.06.2022, Athens., in Greek

The interview with Polyxeni, 16.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Rita, 21.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Savvas, 08.07.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Stamatis, 10.01.2021, Online, in Turkish.

The interview with Stathis, 05.05.2022; 08.05.2022; 14.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Stavros, 03.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish

The interview with Stylianos, 07.10.2022, Online, in Turkish.

The interview with Tassos, 21.01.2020, Athens., in Turkish

The interview with Thanos, 20.01.2020, Athens; 20.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Theodoros, 22.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Vasiliki, 24.06.2022, Athens, in Greek.

The interview with Vasilios, 07.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Xionia, 28.06.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview with Zoi, 09.05.2022, Athens, in Turkish.

The interview on Resilience theory with H.N. Scherler, 09.19.2023, İstanbul.

Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria (Στορικο Αρχειο Προσφυγικου Ελληνισμου)

The interview with "K47", 2008, Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria, Thessaloniki.

The interview with "K15", 2008, Historical Archives of Greek Refugees of the Municipality of Kalamaria, Thessaloniki.

Kapancık's (the Director of *Kayıp Vatan*) Personal Interview Archive

The interview with Kallirroi, for the documentary *Kayıp Vatan*, no date, Athens.

Letters

Personal correspondence with Marinos, 16.01.2021.

Electronic Sources

Akar, R.(Producer). [Açık Toplum Vakfı]. (2014, May 5). Hayatın Tanığı: Rumların Zorunlu Göçü 1964 Sürgünleri [Documentary]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aKzIyUspyOI&t=1s

Alpan, A. S. [Tarih Vakfı].(2022, February 11). Mübadeleden Sonra Türkçe-Dilli Anadolulu Rumlar. [Video] Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJYcnRzouYc.

Bali, R. (2000). *İnsan Hakları Derneği'nin Devlet-Azınlık İlişkilerine Bakışı.* Retrieved September 2023, from http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/insan_haklari_dernegi.pdf

Ecumenical Federation of Constantinopolitans. (2014). 16 March 1964, The Banishment of the Greek Community of Istanbul through Deportations and Expatriation. Retrieved from: http://www.conpolis.eu/uploadedNews/16%20Mart%201964-Eng.pdf

Erdal, İ. (n.d.). *Etabli Meselesi.* Retrieved from *Atatürk Ansiklopedisi*: https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/etabli-meselesi-2/

Fehmi ve Yorgo - Bir Pastane Hikâyesi [Üstün Palmie]. (2024, March 12). Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_eVLCSmKVs&t=4632s

Hasretim Istanbul [Lozam Mübadilleri Vakfı]. (2013, July 4). [Documentary]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vTrwFOKbvvY&t=491s

Hatırla: Kadıköy Kent Rehberi. (2019). Retrieved from: https://kados.org.tr/download/kados-kent-rehberi.pdf.

Member Associations. (n.d.). From Η ΟΙΟΜΚΩ: http://www.conpolis.eu/Somateia/Somateia.aspx

Scherler, H. N. [Butik Global]. (2023, April 18). *Prof. Dr. Hanna Nita Scherler ile Dayanıklılık* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVSXtTiiUHU

Şişli Greek Orthodox Cemetery. (n.d.). Retrieved from Significant Cemeteries: https://www.significantcemeteries.org/2019/04/sisli-greek-orthodox-cemetery-istanbul.html

Uzunoğlu, N. (2004). *Kosmeteio Foundation, "House of Constantinopolitans"*.National Defence Fund. https://www.ndf.gr/en/portfolio/kosmeteio-foundation.html

Σύντομο Ιστορικό. (2023). From Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών: https://www.cpolitan.gr/σύλλογος/

Published Primary Sources

Sources in Greek

Βαφειάδης, Σ. (1998). Ένας Πολίτης Θυμάται. Εκδόσεις Τσουκάτου.

Δρίνη Γ. Ν. (Ed.). (2004). *Τον τόπο που γεννήθηκες δεν θα ξεχάσεις ποτέ...: Οι απελάσεις του 1964. Μαρτυρίες Ελλήνων Κωνσταντινουπολιτών.* Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Τσουκάτου.

Ιακωβιδησ, Ι. Χ. (2007). *Η Ενταξη Στην Ελλαδική Κοινωνια Των Ελληνων Τησ Κωνσταντινουπολησ 1955-2000 Συγκριση Τουσ Με' Τουσ Αιγυπτιωτεσ, Μικρασιατεσ, Ποντιουσ Και Την Αντιστοιχη Διαδικασια Ενσωματωσησ Τουσ.* Αθήνα: Νεοσ Κυκλοσ Κωνσταντινουπολιτων.

Ιωαννίδου, Ε. & Καζαντζίδου, Μ. (Eds.) (2021). *Ο Ελληνισμός της Κωνσταντινούπολης μετά την Συνθήκη Ανταλλαγής Πληθυσμών (1923-2016).* Σταμούλης.

Κωνσταντινίδου – Κλουκίνα, Α.. (2011). *Άιντε πάλι... Ξεριζώνεται ο Ελληνισμός από την Πόλη.* Εκδόσεις Ίκαρος

Κουντουράκη, Δ. (2001). *Μη Κλαίς Γιαβρί Μου, Κωνσταντινούπολη 1890.* Αθήνα.

30 χρόνια από τις απελάσεις. 1964-1994. (Αθήνα χ.χ.).Πνευματικό Κέντρο Κωνσταντινουπολιτών.

Μιχαηλίδης, Ν. (2022). Τα ελληνοτουρκικά και οι Κωνσταντινουπολίτες εθελοντές στον Β΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, 1939-1944. Έστία

Παπαδόπουλος, Σ. (1978). Αναμνήσεις από την Πόλη. Ιδιωτική Έκδοση.

Memoirs

Akbal, O. (1989). *Anılarda Görmek: Günlük 1 (1965-1967).* Can Yayınları.

Alexandridis, E. (2016). *Konstantin'in Halefleri İstanbul Rumları: İmparatorluğun Kayıp Evlatlarının Göçü.* Chiviyazıları.

Asderis, M. (2023). *Dersaadet.* İstanbul: Aras.

Aydemir, T. (2010). *Hatıratım.,* Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Berberyan, B. (2010). *Burgazada Sevgilim*. Adalı Yayınları.

Biberyan, Z. (2019). *Karıncaların Günbatımı*. İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

Çevik Bayvertyan, K. (2018). *21. Yüzyılın İstanbul'unda Rumlar.* Paros.

Çevik Simyonidis, M. (2018). *İstanbulum: Tadım, Tuzum, Hayatım*, İnkılap.

Dormen, H. (2013). *Anılar,* Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

German, T. (2001). *Düşmemiş Bir Uçağın Kara Kutusu.* Çınar Yayınları.

Irmak, H. (2003). *Tatavla'dan Kurtuluş'a.* Aras Yayınları.

Nazikoğlu, A. (2004). *Eylül'de Gel: Anılar.* Doğan Kitap.

Nova, A. (2010). *A Man of Two Worlds: From Istanbul to America.*Booklocker.com.

Orhan Boran O. (1978). *Leyleğin Ömrü.* Milliyet Yayınları.

Serengil, Ö. (1985). *Yeşilçam'ı Benden Sorun.* Milliyet Yayınları.

Su,R. (2010). *Ezgili Yürek*. Everest Yayınları.

Sururi, G. (1983). *Kıldan İnce Kılıçtan Keskince.* Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi.

Tanrıverdi, A. (2006). *Büyükada'nın Solmayan Fotoğrafları.* Everest Yayınları.

_____ (2022). *Hafıza Çekmecemde Biriktirdiklerim,* Everest Yayınları.

Theotokas, Y. (2022). Leonis: Bir Dünyanın Merkezindeki Şehir İstanbul 1914-1922. İstos.

Yılmaz, A. (1991). *Hayallerim, Aşkım ve Ben.* Simavi Yayınları.

Zat, V. (2009). Barmen: *Suriçi'nden Hilton'a Yudum Yudum İstanbul.* Doğan Kitap.

Fictions / Travaloques / City Guides

Anday, M. C. (2018). *Aylaklar.* Everest Yayınları.

Apaydın, Talip. (2022). *Ortakçılar.* Literatür Yayıncılık.

Baydar, O. (1966). *Savaş Çağı Umut Çağı.* Habora Yayınevi.

Celal, P. (1999). *Güz Şarkısı.* Can Yayınları.

Derviş, S. (2014). *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*. İthaki Yayınları.

Engin, İlhan. (1963). *Üç Öfkeli Genç.* İtimat.

İlhan, A. (1963). *Kurtlar Sofrası.* Ataç Kitabevi.

Lokmanoğlu, Ziyaoğlu & Erer. (1963). *Tourist's Guide to Istanbul*. Halk Basımevi.

Madra, Ö. (1991). *Romanımla Sana Bir Ses.* Everest Yayınları.

Makal, M. (1965). *Köpeksiz Köy*. İnkilap ve Aka Yayınevi.

Millas, H. (2020). *Aile Mezarı.* Doğan Kitap.

Otyam, F. (1963). Topraksızlar. Yeditepe Yayınları.

_____ (1964). *Hu Dost.* Ankara Gazeteciler Cemiyeti.

_____ (1965). *Bir Karış Toprak İçin.* İmece Dergisi Yayınları.

Özeren, M. (2011). *Turuncu Geçmişin Kıyısında*. İletişim Yayınları.

Şenler, Ş.Y. (2000). *Huzur Sokağı*. Timaş.

Tahir, Kemal. (2019). *Bozkırdaki Çekirdek*. İthaki Yayınları.

Newspapers

Akis, April 24, 1964

Akşam, *07.05.1964*

Akşam, 12.04.1964

Akşam, 23.05.1964

Akşam, 8.9.1964

Apoyevmatini, 05.10.1964

Apoyevmatini, 31.10.1964

Bianet, 31.10.2013

Cumhuriyet, 01.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 01.04.1984

Cumhuriyet, 05.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 06.06.1957

Cumhuriyet, 07.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 09.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 10.7.1965

Cumhuriyet, 11.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 11.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 12-20.4.1965

Cumhuriyet, 12.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 13.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 13.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 13.3.1964

Cumhuriyet, 14.09.1964

Cumhuriyet, 14.3.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 16.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 18.10.1964

Cumhuriyet, 19.06.1964

Cumhuriyet, 20.04.1964

Cumhuriyet, 20.05.1964

Cumhuriyet, 23.05.1964.

Cumhuriyet, 24.01.1987

Cumhuriyet, 24.03.1964

Cumhuriyet, 28.01.1958

Dünya, 15.04.1964

Hergün 17.3.1964

Hürriyet, 18.03.1964

Hürriyet, 05-06.06.1964

Hürriyet, 30.07.1964

Hürriyet,5.8.1964

Milliyet, 11.10.1962,

Milliyet, 15.3.1964

Milliyet, 16.6.1964

Milliyet, 30.1.1965

Milliyet, 03.17.1964

Milliyet, 28.08.1964

Milliyet, 10.07.1964

Milliyet,7.11.1964

O Politis, April 1976

O Politis, August 2021

O Politis, February 1971

O Politis, February 1974

O Politis, July 1970

O Politis, July 1971

O Politis, July 1971

O Politis, June 1972

O Politis, November 1967

O Politis, August 2021

Resmi Gazete 15.03.1931

Resmi Gazete, 16.06.1932

Resmi Gazete, 17.03.1964

Resmi Gazete, 17.3.1964

Son Havadis, 07.04.1964

Tercüman, 23.08.1964

Ulus,18.03.1964

Yeni Sabah, 7.4.1964

Secondary Sources

Akar, R., & Demir, H. (1994). *İstanbul'un Son Sürgünleri: 1964'te Rumların Sınır Dışı Edilmesi.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Akçam, T. & Kurt, Ü. (2012). *Kanunların Ruhu: Emval-i Metruke Kanunlarında Soykırımın İzini Sürmek*. İletişim.

Akkaya, A. & Çelik, F. (2006). *60'lardan 70'lere 45lik Şarkılar*. BGST Yayınları.

Akgönül, S. (2007). *Türkiye Rumları: Ulus- Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci.* İstanbul: İletişim.

_____ (2013). The Ankara Agreement of 1930 and The Minorities: Reconciliation, Normalization or Instrumentalization? In *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830–1945.*

_____. (2014). Kovmakla Biter mi? *Altüst,* 12, p.25.

_____ (2019). "Biz"e ne Rumlardan ?. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 377-383). İletişim.

Aksu, E. (2003). The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change. *The UN in the Cyprus conflict: UNFICYP*. (p. 130-154). Manchester University Press.

Aktar, A. (2009). "Turkification" Policies in the Early Republican Era. In C. Duft (Ed.), *Turkish Literature and Cultural Memory: Multiculturalism as a Literary Theme after 1980.* Harrassowitz.

_____ (2022). *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları.* Aras Yayıncılık.

Aktar, C. (2014). Bir Zamanlar Rumlar Vardı. *Altüst*, 12, p.23.

Alexandridis, E. 2016. *Konstantin'in Halefleri Istanbul Rumları: İmparatorluğun Kayıp Evlatlarının Göçü*. Chiviyazıları Yayınevi.

Alexandris, A. (1992). *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974.* Athens: Centre For Asia Minor Studies.

_____ (2004). Religion or ethnicity: the identity issue of the minorities in Greece and Turkey. In R. Hirschon (Ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of The 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey. New York* (pp. 117–132). Berghahn Books.

_____ (2019). İstanbul'un Rum Azınlığının Son Göçü (1964-1974): İstanbul'daki Yunan Uyrukluların Sınırdışı Edilmeleri. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 141-166). İletişim.

Anastassiadou, M. (2009). Greek Orthodox Immigrants and Modes of Integration within the Urban Society of Istanbul (1850–1923). *Mediterranean Historical Review, 24*(2), pp. 151-167.

Anestidis, S. (2019). Yunanca ve Türkçe Literatürde 1964 Sürgünü: Bir Değerlendirme. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* . İstanbul: İletişim.

Arı, K. (2000). *Kemal Arı, Büyük Mübadele Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç 1923- 1925, İ.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Arıkboğa Usta, S. (2009). *Tapuya Kayıtlı Taşınmazların Olağanüstü Kazandırıcı Zamanaşımı ile Kazanılması.* (Unpublished MA Thesis) Istanbul University.

Armaoğlu, F. (2009). *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi 1914-1995*. Alkım Yayınları.

Arslan, U. T. (2010). *Mazi Kabrinin Hortlakları: Türklük, Melankoli ve Sinema.* Metis.

Aslan, S. (2007). "Citizen, Speak Turkish!": A Nation in the Making. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 13*(2), pp. 245-272.

Bali, R. (2008). Yirmi Kur'a Nafıa Askerleri: II. Dünya Savaşında Gayrimüslimlerin Askerlik Serüveni. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları

Béné, C., Godfrey Wood, R., & Newsham, A. (2012). *Resilience: New Utopia or New Tyranny? Reflection About the Potentials and Limits of the Concept of Resilience in Relation to Vulnerability Reduction Programmes*. IDS Working Papers.

Bengi, D. (2017). *60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye: Sazlı Cazlı Sözlük.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Benlisoy, Arslanoğlu & Rigas (Eds.) 2012. *İstanbul Rumları: Bugün ve Yarın.* İstanbul: İstos.

Berk, İ. (2003). *Toplu Şiirler*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Bertaux, D. (1981) From the Life-History Approach to the Transformation of Sociological Practice. In: Bertaux, D., Ed., *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*, Sage, London, 29-45

Bertaux, D., & Kohli, M. (1984). The Life Story Approach: A Continental View. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *10*, 215–237.

Beşikçi, M., Somel, S. A., & Tourmakine, A. (Eds.). (2020). *Not All Quiet on the Ottoman Fronts: Neglected Perspectives on a Global War, 1914-1918.* Orient-Institut Istanbul.

Beylunioğlu, A. M., & Kaymak, Ö. (2017). An Analysis of National and Minority Identity Relationality: The Case of Antiochian Eastern Orthodox Community in Istanbul. *Poligrafi, 22*(85-86), 65-86.

_____ (2021). *Kısmet Tabii..."İstanbul'un Rum, Yahudi ve Ermeni Toplumlarında Karma Evlilikler.* İstanbul: İstos.

Bochner, A. (2017). Heart of the Matter: A Mini-Manifesto for Autoethnography. *International Review of Qualitative Research, 10 (Special Issue: Manifesting he Future of Autoethnography)*(1), 67-80.

Bohle, H.-G., Etzold, B., & Keck , M. (2009). Resilience as Agency. *IHDP Update*, 2: 8-13.

Bornat, J. (1989). Oral History as a Social Movement: Reminiscence and Older People. *Oral History,* 17(2), 16–24.

Bourdieu, P. ([1980]1990). *The Logic of Practice.* Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* University of Chicago Press.

Bozis, S. (2011). *İstanbullu Rumlar.* İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

_____ (2014). *Paris'ten Pera'ya Sinema ve Rum Sinemacılar.* Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Bozis, S., & Sinanlar Uslu, S. (2019). *İvi Stangali – Ressamı Hatırlamak.* Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Brown, Altman, & Werner. (2012). Place Attachment. In J. Smith (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia Of Housing And Home*. Elsevier.

Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence.* Verso.

_____ (2009). *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?.* Verso.

_____ (2012). Precarious Life, Vulnerability, and the Ethics of Cohabitation. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, 26*(2).

Canbazoğlu, C. (2009). *Kentin Türküsü: Anadolu Pop-Rock*. Pan Yayıncılık.

Cankut, A. (2013). *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümetlerinin Kıbrıs Politikaları ve Kamuoyuna Yansımaları (1955-1964).* Fırat Üniversitesi (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis).

Capucha, L., Calado , A., & Estêvão, P. (2017). Resilience: Moving From a "Heroic" Notion to a Sociological Concept. *Sociologia, 85*, pp. 9-25.

Clogg, R. & Yannopoulos, G. (Eds.). (1972). *Greece under Military Rule.* Secker & Warbourg.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1992). *Ethnography And The Historical Imagination* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Çağaptay, S. (2004). Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s. *Middle Eastern Studies, 40*(3), pp. 86-101.

Çetinoğlu, S. (2012). "The Mechanisms for Terrorizing Minorities: The Capital Tax and Work Battalions in Turkey during the Second World War". *Mediterranean Quarterly.* Vol. 23. Duke University Press.

Çokona, A. (2016). *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerlşimleri.* Literatür.

Daş, C. (2006). *Bütünleşmek ve Büyümek: Gestalt Terapi Yaklaşımı.* Ankara: HYB Yayıncılık

Daldal, A. (2005). *1960 Darbesi ve Türk Sinemasında Toplumsal Gerçekçilik*. Homer Yayınları.

De Certau, M. (1988). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press.

Deringil, S. (1989). *Turkish Foreign Policy during the Second World War: An "Active Neutrality".* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Demirözü, D. (2007). *Savaştan Barışa Giden Yol: Atatürk- Venizelos Dönemi Türkiye-Yunanistan İlişkileri.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Dikici, A. (2014). 27 Mayıs 1960 Askerî Darbesi Ve Türk Polisi . *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*. 30 (89), pp 11-60.

Dilmener, N. (2003). *Bak Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş: Hafif Türk Pop Tarihi*, İletişim Yayınları.

Dobkin, M. H. (1988). *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City.* Kent State University Press.

Dorsay, A. 2002. *Ne Şurup-Şeker Şarkılardı Onlar…: Kişisel Bir 20. Yüzyıl Pop Müzik Tarihi,* Remzi Kitabevi.

Erdmans, M. P. (2007). The Personal Is Political, but Is It Academic? *Journal of American Ethnic History*, *26*(4), 7–23.

Ertosun, E. (2016). Turgut Özal'ın Ekonomi Odaklı Dış Politikası: Yunanistan'a Yönelik "Zeytin Dalı" Diplomasisi Örneği. *Bilge Strateji*, 8(15).

Eser, Ü. (2022). Homeland as Terra Pericolosa: Post-Catastrophe Homecoming Narratives of Smyrniote Greeks in Early Republican Turkey. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies, 40*(1), 169-193.

Fırat, M. (2001). 1923-1939 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler. In (eds.) B. Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (Vol.1).* İstanbul: İletişim.

_____(2001). 1945-1960 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler. In (eds.) B. Oran , *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (Vol. 1).* İstanbul: İletişim.

_____(2001). 1960-1980 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler. In (eds.) B. Oran , *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (Vol. 1).* İstanbul: İletişim.

Frisch, M. (1990). *A Shared Authority, Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Garmezy, N., Masten, A., & Tellegen, A. (1984). The Study of Stress and Competence in Children: a Building Block for Developmental Psychopathology. *Child. Dev., 55*(1), pp. 97-111.

Geertz, C. (1983). Local Knowledge. New York: Basic Books

German, T. (2001). *Düşmemiş Bir Uçağın Karakutusu.* İstanbul: Çınar.

Gingeras, R. (2009). *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire 1912-1923.* Oxford University Press.

Güneş, C. (2017). "Altmışlı Yıllarda Kürt Siyasal Aktivizmi' in Mete Kaan Kaynar (ed.). *Türkiye'nin 1960'lı Yılları*. İletişim Yayınları.

Güven, D. (2005). *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları ve Stratejileri Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül 1955 Olayları.* İletişim.

Güvenç, S., Pekin, M., & Turan, Ç. (2010). *Hasretim İstanbul: İstanbul Rumlarının Göç Öyküleri ve Özlemleri.* İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı.

Halstead, H. (2019). *Greeks Without Greece: Homelands, Belonging, And Memory Amongst The Expatriated Greeks of Turkey.* Routledge.

_____ (2022). 'Two Homelands and None': Belonging, Alienation, and Everyday Citizenship with the Expatriated Greeks of Turkey. *Journal of Migration History, 2*, 432-456.

Hirschon, R. (1998). *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus.* Berghahn Books.

_____ (Ed.). (2003). *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Hoffman, T., Bjornlund, M., & Meichanetsidis, V. (Eds.). (2011). *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks: Studies on the State-Sponsored Campaign of Extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor 1912-1922 and Its Aftermath: History, Law, Memory.* New York and Athens: Aristide D. Caratzas.

Holtorf, C. (2018) Embracing Change: How Cultural Resilience is Increased Through Cultural Heritage, *World Archaeology*, 50:4, 639-650.

Kaliber, A. (2019). 1964 Rum Sürgünü. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.). *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 31-70). İstanbul: İletişim .

Kallimci, A. R. (2015). *Yunan Uyrukluların Türkiye'den Sınır Dışı Edilmeleri (1964-1965).* Marmara Universitesi (Master Thesis).

Kamouzis, D. (2013). A Minority in A State of Flux: Greek Self-administrartion and Education in Post-Laussanne Istanbul (ca. 1923-30). In B. C. (Eds) Fortna, S. Katsikas, D. Kamouzis, & P. Konortas, *State Nationalisms in The Ottoman empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945.* Routledge.

_____ (2021). *Greeks in Turkey Elite Nationalism and Minority Politics in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Istanbul.* Routledge.

Kasaba, R. (2002). İzmir 1922: A Port City Unravels. In L. (Eds.) Fawaz, C. Bayly, & R. Ilbert, *Modernity and Culture From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.* Columbia University Press.

_____ (2008). *The Cambridge History of Turkey (vol 4).* The Cambridge University.

Kates RW and Clark WC. 1996. Expecting the Unexpected. *Environment.* March 1996: 6-11, 28-34.

Katsanos, Y. (2019). Yunan Uyrukluların İş Yaşamından Dışlanması: Sınırdışı Edilmeler ve İş Hakları. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.). *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri :Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 83-104). İletişim.

Katsanos, Y., & Macar, E. (2019). İmroz'dan Gökçeada'ya Giderken: 1964'te Ne Oldu? In Romain Örs, (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası.* İletişim.

Karakaya, G. (2018). *1964 Kıbrıs Krizi ve Türkiye Kamuoyunun Tepkisi.* Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi (Unpublished Master Thesis).

Kaynar, M.K. (Ed.), (2017). *Türkiye'nin 1960'lı Yılları*. İletişim Yayınları.

Kazamias, A. (2009). The 'Purge of the Greeks' from Nasserite Egypt: Myths and Realities'. *Jounal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 35(2), 13-34.

Kazantzidou, M., & Ioannidiou, E. (2019). İstanbullu Rumların Selanik'e Yerleşmeleri. In Romain Örs (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası* (pp. 335-346). İletişim.

Keck, M. (2012). *Market Governance and Social Resilience. The Organization of Food Wholesaling in Dhaka*, Bangladesh. . Bonn: (Unpubl. PhD Thesis).

Keck, M., & Sakdapolrak, P. (2013). What is Social Resilience? Lessons Learned and Ways Forward. *Erdkunde, 67*(1), pp. 5-19.

Keyder, Ç. (2004). The Consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey. In R. Hirschon (Ed.), *Crossing The Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey.* Berghahn Books.

King, C. (2015). *Pera Palas'ta Gece Yarısı: Modern İstanbul'un Doğuşu.* İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Klapsis, A. (2014). Violent Uprooting and ForcedMigration: A Demographic Analysis of the Greek Populations of AsiaMinor,Pontus and Eastern Thrace. *Middle Eastern Studies, 50*(4), pp. 622-639.

Kristeva, J. (1991). *Strangers to Ourselves.* Hemel Hempstead.

Koçoğlu, Y. (2003). *Hatırlıyorum: Türkiye'de Gayrimüslim Hayatlar.* Metis.

Korucu, S. (2022). *Şimdi Kim Kaldı İmroz'da?* İstanbul: İstos.

Koumakis, L. (1996). *Miracle: A True Story.* Athens.

Lorenz, D. (2010). The Diversity of Resilience: Contributions from a Social Science Perspective. *Natural Hazards, 67*(1), pp. 1-18.

Lowry, H. (1989). Turkish History : On Whose Sources Will It Be Based? A Case Study On The Burning Of İzmir. *The Journal of Ottoman Studies, 9*.

Macar, E. (2012). *Cumhuriyet Döneminde İstanbul Rum Patrikhanesi.* İletişim.

_____ (2014). İstisna mı Süreklilik mi? *Altüst*, 12, p.24.

Maksudyan, N. (2023). The Fall of a City: Refugees, Exodus and Exile in Ernest Hemingway's Istanbul, 1922. *Journal of European Studies, 53*(3), 234-252.

Meriç, M. (2006). *Pop Dedik: Türkçe Sözlü Hafif Batı Müziği*. İletişim Yayınları.

Millas, H. (2005). *Türk ve Yunan Romanlarında Öteki ve Kimlik* . İletişim.

_____ (2019). Bir Muhrecin Hikayesi ve Mitoslar. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.). *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası.* İstanbul: İletişim .

Montessi, L., & Sheild Johansson, M. (2021). Dog Bites and Gastrointestinal Disorders: Our Everday Bodies in Teaching Anthropology and Fieldwork Preparation. *Teaching Anthropology, 10*(3), 59-69.

Neyzi, L. (2008). The Burning of Smyrna/ Izmir (1922) Revisited: Coming to Terms with the Past in the Present. In I. Beller-Hann (Ed.), *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World* (pp. 23-42).

_____ (2010). Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey. In C. Kerslake, K. Öktem, & P. Robins (Eds.), *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 443-459). Palgrave Macmillan.

Norris, F.H. et al. (2008). Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness. *Am J Community Psychol* 41, 127–150.

Nova, A. 2010. *A Man of Two Worlds: From Istanbul to America*.Booklocker.com

Obrist, B., Pfeiffer, C., & Henley, B. (2010). Multi-Layered Social Resilience: A New Approach in Mitigation Research. *Progress in Develeopment Studies, 10*(4), pp. 283-293.

Oral, M. (2012). 20 Dolar 20 Kilo: Belleksizliğe Karşı Direnmek. *Altüst*, 12, p. 30.

Oran, B. (2003). 'The Story of Those Who Stayed: Lessons From Articles 1 and 2 of the 1923 Convention. In (. R. Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of The 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey.* Berghahn Books.

_____ (2019). 1964 Sürgünleri: Kıbrıs Meselesi Mi, Prensip Meselesi mi?. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.). *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Ozil, A (2014). Introduction. In Ozil, A. (Eds), *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (pp. 10-14). Routledge.

Özel, A. A. (2019). *Türk Yunan İlişkilerinde 1964 Krizi ve Yunan Vatandaşlarının Sınır dışı Edilmeleri.* Yıldız Teknik University (Unpublished Master Thesis).

Özer, E. K. (2014). *Mapping A Neoliberal Transition: The Case of Sulukule*. İstanbul Şehir University (Unpublished Master Thesis).

Öztan, G. G., & Öztan, T. (2012). Militarizm ve Anti-komünizmin Kesiştiği Nokta: Kore Savaşı. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 123, 56-75.

Öztürkmen, A., & Bornat, J. (2009). "Oral History". In P. T. L. Locke, *Encyclopedia of Women's Folklore and Folklife* (pp. 433-435). Abingdon, OX: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Öztürkmen, A. (2012). Turkish Research on Armenian Culture and History. In *Positive Examples of Coexistence of Armenian and Turkish People from the History.* Yerevan: ACGRC Publications.

Passerini, L. (1998). Work Ideology and Consensus Under Italian Fascism. In R. Perks, Thomson, A. (Eds.) *The Oral History Reader*. New York, London: Routledge.

Pendall, R., K. A. Foster, and M. Cowell. 2010. Resilience and Regions: Building Understanding of the Metaphor. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 3(1):71-84

Perks, R., & Thomson, A. (2016). *The Oral History Reader.* Routledge.

Perls, F. (1969). *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim*. NY: Bantam Books.

Perls, F., Hefferline, R., & Goodman, P. (1977). *Gestalt Therapy: Excitement and Growth in the Human Personality.* NY: Bantam Books.

Philliou, C. (2009). Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance. *Comparative Studies in Society and History.,* 51(1), 151-181;

Portelli, A. (1981, Autumn). The Peculiarities of Oral History. *History Workshop Journal , 12*(1), 96–107.

Portelli, A. (1991). *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories, Form and Meaning in Oral History* . Albany: State University of New York Press.

Portelli, A. (2016). What Makes Oral History Different. In R. Perks, & A. Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (pp. 48-58). Routledge.

Qamar, A. H. (2023, February). Conceptualizing Social Resilience in the Context of Migrants' Lived Experiences. *Geoforum, 139*(2023).

Romain Örs, İ. (2006). Beyond the Greek and Turkish Dichotomy: The Rum Polites of Istanbul and Athens. *South European Society & Politics, 11*(1), 79-94.

_____ (2014). Göç Eden Kent Kimliği. *Altüst*, 12, p.26-27.

_____ (2018a). Cosmopolitanist Nostalgia: Geographies, Histories and Memories of the Rum Polites. In Fisher-Onar, Pearce & Keyman (Eds). *Istanbul: Living with Difference in a Global City*, Rutgers University Press.

_____ (2018b). *Diaspora of the City: Stories of Cosmopolitanism from Istanbul and Athens.* Palgrave.

Rosenthal, G. (1993). Reconstruction of life stories: Principles of Selection in Generating Stories for Narrative Biographical Interviews. In R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *The Narrative Study of Lives,* Vol. 1, pp. 59–91). Sage Publications, Inc

Sakkas, J. (2009). Greece and the Mass Exodus of the Egyptian Greeks, 1956-66. *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora,* 35(2), 101-117.

Salimbene, G. (2012). *My Greek Odyssey: A Memoir of the Sixties and Seventies in Greece.*CreateSpace.

Schouler-Ocak, M. (Ed.). (2015). *Trauma and Migration, Cultural Factors in the Diagnosis and Treatment of Traumatised Immigrants.* Springer.

Scognamillo, G. (2006). *Batı Sinemasında Türkiye ve Türkler.,* +1 Kitap.

Serengil, Ş. K. (2010). Olağanüstü Zamanaşımı Yoluyla Taşınmaz Mülkiyetinin Kazanılması. *Journal of Istanbul University Law Faculty LXVIII*(1-2), 219-244.

Shirinian, G. (Ed.). (2019). *The Greek Genocide, 1913–1923: New Perspectives.* The Asia Minor and Pontos Hellenic Research Center.

Siriwardhana, C. A. (2014). A Systematic Review of Resilience and Mental Health Outcomes of Conflict-Driven Adult Forced Migrants. *Conflict and Health, 8*(13).

Slim, H., Thompson, P., Bennett, O., & Cross, N. (2003). Ways of listening. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.), *The Oral History Reader.* London; New York: Routledge.

Soysal, İ. (1983). *Tarihçeleri ve Açıklamaları ile Birlikte Türkiye'nin Siyasal Antlaşmaları I. Cilt (1920- 1945),*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Spataris, H. (2004). *Biz İstanbullular Böyleyiz: Fener'den Anılar.* İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Stathis, P. (Ed.). (2003). *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Gayrimüslimler.* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Stavrinides, Z. (1999). *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood.*CYREP.

Steinmetz, G. (2011). Bourdieu, History and Historical Sociology, Cultural Sociology v/1, pp. 45–66

Streets D.G. & Glantz M.H. 2000. Exploring the Concept of Climate Surprise. *Global Environmental Change*. 10,97-107.

Suciyan, T. (2016). *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-Genocide Society, Politics, and History.* Tauris.

Sümertaş, F. M., & Erkal, N. (2022). "Of a Piece with Their Habitations": Phanariots and Their Houses on the Phanar Waterfront. *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 4, 7-44.

Şanlı, F. B. (1998). Türkiye'de Uygulanan Kur Politikaları. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası.* vol.49, pp.183-200,

Şimşek, H. (2007). İkamet, Ticaret ve Seyrisefain Mukavelesi'nin Feshi ve Yunan Uyruklu Rumların Sınır Dışı Edilmeleri(1964). *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi*, 5(1), 209-228.

Tansuğ, F. (2018). Greek Islanders Leaving Turkish Soil: What Oral History Conveys about Incentives behind Migration from Imvros Island? *Journal of Mediterranean Studies, 27*(1), 19-34.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (1914). *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*. Washington D.C.

Tunçay, M. (1983). Azınlıklar Nüfusu. In *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 6, pp. 1563-1564). İletişim Yayınları.

Türker, N. (2015). *Vatanım yok Memleketim Var: İstanbul Rumları: Mekan-Bellek-Ritüel*. İletişim.

Türker, O. (1999). 35 Yıl Önce Yunanlıların Türkiye'den Sınırdışı Edilmeleri. *Tarih ve Toplum,* 32(190), 9-14.

Theodorides, A. (2014). İlk Sürgünler: Geri Dönüşsüz Bir Yolculuğun Hikayeleri. *20 Dolar 20 Kilo: Cumhuriyet Tarihinin En Büyük Sürgün Hikayelerinden Biri.*Açık Toplum Vakfı.

Thompson, P., & Bornat, J. (2017). *The Voice of The Past.* Oxford University Press.

Tompkins, J. (1987). Me and My Shadow. *Feminist Directions,* 19(1), 169-178.

Tsitselikis, K. (2008) Reciprocity as a Regulatory Pattern for the Treatment of Greece's Turkish/Muslim Minority. In Akgönül (Ed.), Reciprocity, Greek and Turkish Minorities Law, Religion, and Politics. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press.

_____ (2012). Old and New Islam in Greece: From Historical Minorities to Immigrant Newcomers. Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Uzunoğlu, N. (2019). Geçmişin İnsan Hakları İhlalleri Telafisiz Kalırsa Hiçbir Adım Atılmamıştır. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.), *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası*. İletişim.

Ünlü, C. (2004). *Gel Zaman Git Zaman: Fonograf, Gramofon, Taş Plak.* Pan Yayıncılık.

Üstündağ, N. (2005). *Belonging to the Modern: Women's suffering and Subjectivities in Urban Turkey.* (Unpublished Thesis).Indiana University

Vardar, N. (2020). *Carnival Celebrations In Istanbul: The Changing Perception And Experience Of Apokries And Baklahorani.* (Unpublished MA Thesis). Boğaziçi University.

Venieris, D. N. (1994). *The Development of Social Security in Greece, 1920-1990: Postponed Decisions.* (Unpublished Dissertation) The London School of Economics and Political Science.

Vetsopoulos, A. (2002). The Economic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan in Greece, 1947-1952: The Origins of the Greek Miracle (Unpublished Dissertation). University College London.

Vingas, L. (2014). 20 Dolar 20 Kilo. *Altüst,* 12, p.28-29.

Volkan; D. V. & Itzkowitz, N. (1994). *Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict.* Eothen Press.

Voss, M. (2008). The Vulnerable can't Speak. An Integrative Vulnerability Approach to Disaster and Climate Change Research. *Behemonth,* 1(3).

Wacquant, L. (2006). Habitus. In Beckert and Zafirovski (Eds), *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology.* Routledge.

_____ (2016). A Concise Genealogy and Anatomy of Habitus. *The Sociological Review*, 64(1), 64-72.

Wambura Ngunjiri, F., Chang, H., & C. Hernandez, K.-A. (2010). Living Autoethnography: Connecting Life and Research. *Journal of Research Practice*, 6(1).

Watson, J. (2012). Butler's Biopolitics: Precarious Community. *Theory and Event*, 15(2).

Weil, S. (1955). *The Need for Roots*. Beacon Press.

Xydis, S. G. (1967). *Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1968.* The Ohio State University Press.

Yaşar, K. (2018). *Türk Yunan İlişkileri Ekseninde Türkiyeli Rumlar ve 1964 Kıbrıs Krizi Bağlamında Türk Basınının Rumlara Bakışı.* Akdeniz Üniversitesi (Unpublished Master Thesis).

Yıldırım, T. E. (2007). *Tarihi Kostüme Avantür Sineması'nda Kahraman Tiplemesinin Psikolojik Analizi* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Marmara University.

Yıldırım, O. (2006). *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934.* Routledge.

Yılmaz, A. (2018). *Tarih Çalışmalarında Kaynak Olarak Yeni Sabah Gazetesinde Kıbrıs Sorunu (1954-1964).* Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi (Unpublished Master Thesis).

Yılmaz, D. & Konya, D. (2022), Cumhuriyet'in Kuruluşunda Birey ve Devlet İlişkisi: 1312 Sayılı Türk Vatandaşlığı Kanunu ve Uygulamaları. *Belgi Dergisi*, vol.24, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, Summer 2022/II, pp. 17-41.

Yılmaz, H. 2006."Two Pillars of Nationalist Euroskepticism in Turkey: The Tanzimat and Sevres Syndromes", *Turkey, Sweden and the European Union: Experiences and Expectations*, (Eds.) I. Karlsson & A. Strom Melin, Stockholm: SIEPS, pp. 29-40.

Yücel, H. (2017). *Rum Olmak Rum Kalmak.* İstos.

Yücel, H., & Yıldız, S. (2019). 1964 Kuşağı: Atina'da Rum Kalmak. In Romain Örs, İ. (Ed.). *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri: Türk Toplumunun Homojenleşmesinde Bir Dönüm Noktası.* İletişim.

Zat, V. (2009). *Barmen: Suriçi'nden Hilton'a Yudum Yudum İstanbul.* İstanbul: Doğan Kitap.

Zembrzycki, S., & Sheftel , A. (2013). *Oral History off the Record: Toward an Ethnography of Practice.* Palgrave.