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MASTER'S DEGREE IN SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

MASTER THESIS

The Impact of Dido Sotirou's *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkish Public Sphere: A
Best-seller in Translation and the Winner of the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize

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I dedicated this thesis to my mother Tulay Emiroglu.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the thesis is to analyze the impact of the book *Farewell Anatolia* written by a Greek writer Dido Sotiriou in 1962 on the Turkish public sphere. Such aim is justified by the very subject of the book, which describes the Greco- Turkish War of 1920-22 and furthermore, by the fact that it is written by a Greek writer who managed to win the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize in Turkey in 1983. Indeed, none of the Modern Greek writers reached as much audience and admirers as Dido Sotiriou in Turkey. Since the publication of *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkish language in 1970, the book has been sold out thousands of copies, admired and praised by not only journalists, writers, translators but by politicians, generals and ordinary people as well.

In order to analyze the impact of the book in Turkish public sphere, I had to use not a very common variety of sources. One of the most useful sources I attained was, Sotiriou's Archive in ELIA (Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive) where I had a direct access to journal articles and letters written on behalf of her, the rewards that Sotiriou was granted including the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize at 1983, the copies of the translations of the book in Bulgarian, Romanian, English, French, German and Turkish languages. The difficulty that I encountered in ELIA was due to the fact that I am not a speaker of Greek language. Hence, I was deprived of investigating the 'Greek drafts' of *Farewell Anatolia* and the journal articles published in the Greek media. Throughout my research I had also a difficulty in locating academic sources written about Sotiriou and *Farewell Anatolia* and collecting information about the publishing history of the Turkish translation. The interviews that I have conducted with publishers and journalists helped me to form a fairly complete picture about the reception of the book in Turkey. During my writing I tried to avoid national biases and spent much effort to get a basic knowledge for two distinct periods, firstly the WWI, the Asia Minor Catastrophe and later Turkish political history and Greek- Turkish relations in the 1970s and 1980s. Overall, besides

gaining a deeper comprehension of the subjects that I examined, I also took a great pleasure for composing my dissertation which satisfied me as a political scientist and a literature graduate.

Before proceeding with a further analysis, a brief summary of the Greco-Turkish war of 1920-1922 and its aftermath is necessary for the overall understanding of this dissertation.

Greece which ended the WWI with victory, was struggling with a political crisis before the beginning of the Greco- Turkish War of 1920-22. The political crisis was due to the clash between the supporters of the king, on one hand, and of the Prime Minister Venizelos, on the other hand. The general elections held in November 1920 resulted with the defeat of Venizelos. The royalist army officers were promoted while Venizelists were also kept what had as a consequence, the disorder within the Greek army during the Greco- Turkish War. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire which was defeated in the WWI was passing through a new period under the guidance of Mustafa Kemal. Kemal was travelling over the country and organizing a nationalist movement against partition of Anatolia. Kemal and his associates established the Grand National Assembly on 23 April 1920 which opposed the regime in Istanbul.

Against such historical background, the Greco- Turkish War started in March 1921. Soon afterwards, the Allies which provoked Greece to enter a war announced their neutrality. Sakarya Pitched Battle which started in August 1921 resulted in the retreatment of the Greek army. After one year in August 1922 the 'Great Offensive' started and led to the ultimate defeat of the Greek army.

Overall, the consequences of the war were very different for both countries. While in Greece, the defeat in Asia Minor meant the end of the idea of 'Greater Greece' and arrival of more than one million people to Greece due to the compulsory exchange of population of the Lausanne Treaty in July 1923, for Turkey it was the beginning of a modern nation with a new regime that was westernized, secular and monolithic. The first general elections held in Greece after the war in 1923 ended up with the abolishment of dynasty and with the victory of

Venizelos. However political instability continued due to the dictatorship of General Pangalos until 1926. Only after Venizelos became the president in 1928, the Turkish and Greek rapprochement started. With the emergence of the new regime, promotion of Turkism began in Turkey. While the importance of religion as a unifying bond was accepted, the new regime was aware of the danger of Islam in two ways. Firstly, Islam was perceived as a link with the Ottoman past, from which the new elites wanted to detach. Secondly, religious organizations were perceived as a threat to the legitimacy of a new regime. Therefore, reforms were made in order to restrict the realm of religion in the political and social life of Turkey.

Despite the heavy consequences of the Lausanne Treaty, the relations between Greece and Turkey during the leaderships of Venizelos and Kemal were more promising. The Ankara Agreement held in 1930, the visit of Venizelos to Turkey and also the Venizelos's attempt to nominate Kemal for a Nobel Prize indicated the warm relations between the two countries¹.

In order to analyze the impact of Sotiriou's *Farewell Anatolia*, I have organized my discussion in three chapters. The first chapter presents a biography of Dido Sotiriou including the rewards she was granted, the books she wrote and as a loyal leftist the comments she made during the discussions and interviews. Later on, I provide a brief summary of *Farewell Anatolia*. The second chapter is about the publication process of the book including a brief biography of the translator, Atilla Tokatlı. The chapter continues with an overview of Turkish political history and the relations of Greece and Turkey during the 1970s, to end up by the

1

The sources used for the Greco- Turkish War of 1920-22 are as following:

M.M. Hatipoğlu (1988) *Yunanistan'daki Gelişmelerin Işığında Türk- Yunan İlişkilerinin 101 Yılı (1821-1922)*, Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü.

L.S. Stavrianos (1958) *The Balkans since 1453*, The United Kingdom: Hurst.

M.L. Smith (2002) *Yunan Düşü*, Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi.

R. Clogg (1992) *Modern Yunanistan Tarihi*, Cambridge University Press.

S. Tansel (1977) *Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya Kadar*, Ankara.

R. Hirschon (2003) *Crossing the Aegean: an appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange*, The United States: Berghahn Books.

Dr. İhsan Şerif Kaymaz (2000) "Greek or the Western Question", Ankara Üniversitesi, *Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*.

U. Özkırımlı and S.A. Sofos (2008) *Tormented by History Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*, London: Hurst & Company.

N. Canefti (2002) "Turkish Nationalism and Ethno-Symbolic Analysis: The Rules of Exception", *European Institute London School of Economics*.

analysis of the popularity the book in Turkey during the 1970s. The third chapter starts with the Turkish political history and the relations of Greece and Turkey during the 1980s. The chapter focuses on the reception of the book during the military regime in Turkey and explains the trial against the publishing house and the translator of the book. After the trial, the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize, won by Sotiriou for her contribution to Greek and Turkish relations is discussed. In order to analyze the impact of the book, the chapter ends with the description of the reactions of the Turkish media about the narrative of the book in the 1980s.

A. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION ON SOTIRIOU AND *FAREWELL ANATOLIA*

I. The Life and the Work of Arts of Dido Sotiriou

Dido Sotiriou is one of the most well-known Greek novelists in the world. She was born on February 1909 in Aydin, in the Ottoman Empire. Her success is illustrated by the honor diplomas, the rewards and medals that she was granted from several institutions such as the president and foreign minister of Greece, the University of Metsovio, the Greek Organization for Peace, the Greek institution of England and the Athens Academy due to her contribution to the Greek literature. Beyond this successful background of the novelist, our main focus in this dissertation is to analyze the impact of *Farewell Anatolia* on the Turkish public sphere, the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize that she gained in 1983 was the most prominent one.²

She had a fascinating life, which proved to be a significant source of inspiration for her stories. She also combined her own life experiences with a large research in the field of history. Similar to Eric Hobsbawm, a 20th century historian, who commented about his book, *The Age of Extremes*, that it was not only a description of historical events but an autobiographical endeavor³ as well, Sotiriou also wrote about the period of The Age of Catastrophe through the prism of her own life experience. For instance, in order to give her

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The information about the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize is provided in Chapter III. The related rewards, medals and diplomas of honor were found out through ELIA, File # 30.

3

E. Hobsbawm (1994) *The Age of Extremes*, New York: Vintage.

readers an accurate data, she conducted a large research on the Asia Minor Catastrophe before writing *Farewell Anatolia*.

As the book was based on her life time experiences it is of utmost importance to know more about Dido Sotiriou. Since I was not able to locate any academic books written about Sotiriou, I have collected my information mainly through journals, articles and dissertations. My purpose in this section is to provide my readers with a short biography of Sotiriou so that they may have a better understanding of *Farewell Anatolia*.

Sotiriou shortly explains her childhood:⁴

“I was born in Aydin, in the Asia Minor. My father was from Volos. My mother was from the 12 Islands. And my grandfather came from Rodos. He was a teacher in Fener Rum High school. During my childhood I was in Aydin with my family. (...) In Aydin, the people were very nice and sincere towards one another. My father was a soap manufacturer and had a lot of interaction with people.”

At the end of the WWI, following the Ottoman defeat, the Greek Army landed in Asia Minor and Izmir, to take a part of the land which was assigned to it with the partition of the Ottoman Empire. Sotiriou, who was 10 years old at that time, had to move to Izmir. Her life changed again in 1922 when she and thousands of other non- Muslims had to “Farewell Anatolia” and to flee to Greece as a result of Turkish troops seizing Izmir.⁵ Sotiriou commented about her farewell to Anatolia in a following manner: ⁶

4

A. Dalakkaya, “Dido Sotiriou’nun *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu’ya* ve Ahmet Yorulmaz’ın *Savaşın Çocukları* Romanlarında Türk ve Yunan İmgelerinin Karşılaştırılması”, May 2008, A Master’s Thesis in Comparative Literature, Eskisehir University, downloaded from <http://www.belgeler.com>

5

The Times, 29 September 2004. See <<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/>

6

As cited in Z. Oral, “Dido Satatiriyu”, *Cumhuriyet*, 3 October 2004.

8

“Two times I was torn from my roots. I experienced the vicious cycle, pain and loss due to these events. The first was when we left Aydin and arrived to Izmir and the second was when we left Izmir and migrated to Greece.”

By the time they arrived to Greece, Sotiriou had experienced both inner and material losses as her father, once a successful industrialist, lost everything. Moreover, twelve members of her family died during the wars and expulsion.

Sotiriou never ceased to give peaceful messages despite these hard and painful experiences. For instance throughout her life she has supported the brotherhood of Greek and Turkish people. From time to time she had to struggle against hostilities from both countries especially during the Turkish and Greek military regimes when her books were banned, and she was put under probation. In most of her discussions and novels she blamed the imperialist powers for provoking Greece and Turkey against each other. During an interview she had with Turkish journalists, she commented that the Greco- Turkish War of 1920-22 was not an anti- imperialistic war but it was a war between the imperial powers who wanted to partition the Ottoman Empire and distribute the shares for oil in the Middle East. Sotiriou claimed that they abused the Greek’s “Megali Idea” to use Greece as a military police of themselves.⁷

Some of her novels illustrated the significant role of the “great powers” for the quarrel of the other nations. Her first novel; *The Dead Await* (1959) is an example of that. Furthermore, through *Farewell Anatolia* (1962) and in her research book *The Asia Minor Disaster and the Strategy of Imperialism in the Eastern Mediterranean*(1975) one can observe her point of view about this subject.⁸

The 1930s were significant years for Sotiriou. Firstly, she joined the Greek Communist Party, KKE, during the dictatorship of Metaxas. Later on, after marrying with a mathematics professor Plato Sotiriou, she left her family and moved to Paris. There she enrolled in Sorbonne University as a literature student and later started her career as a journalist in

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Kurdistan Press, 10 March 1987, pp. 6-7, ELIA, File # 27.

8

Z.Oral, *op.cit.*

9

newspapers and magazines like *The New World for the Women* and *Rizospastis*, where in 1944 she became the editor in chief.⁹As a communist activist she played an important role in the underground press during the German occupation in the WWII. Her struggle against fascist powers during the WWII, are reflected through her novels such as; *Elektra* (1961), *The Visitors* (1979) and *We are being Demolished* (1982).¹⁰Despite her lifetime loyalty to the left, she dared to criticize the KKE, what resulted in her expulsion from the party during the 1940s. Some of her novels such as *In the Flames* (1978) and *The Visitor* (1979) were not only criticized by the nationalists but also by the leftists. She explained her criticism against the leftist by stating that “*the real revolution lies in telling the truth.*”¹¹

At the same time, she more intimately witnessed the injustices done by the post-civil war regime. Her sister, Ellie Pappas, was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment, and her sister’s fiancée, Nikos Beloyiannis, was sentenced to death and executed in 1952 by the Greek government. After these painful events, the desire to tell the truth to the society grew deeper within her.¹²For instance, in *Commandment* (1978), Sotiriou wrote about the story of Nikos Beloyannis. The book achieved a big success in Greece and it was sold out within the few days after its publication.

9

See <http://www.protoporia.gr/author_info.php/authors_id/917390>

10

Milliyet, 10 November 1987/

11

Z.Oral, “*Benden Selam Söyle Anadoluya'nın Yunanlı yazarı özlem dolu Sotiriyu'dan Selam var*”, *Milliyet*, 17 May 1987.

12

The Times, op. cit.

A prominent literature magazine of the period commented that “*Commandment is more than a good novel intelligently crafted. It is a document, a memoir, a chronicle of perhaps the most important period in Modern Greek history.*”¹³

Her success went hand in hand with her desire of telling ‘the truth’. This can be observed in *Farewell Anatolia* which was published in Greece by Kedros Publishing in 1962. It was translated into many languages.¹⁴ One of the earliest translation was in French in 1965. The same year a French magazine gave a brief summary of the book and commented that: “*Dido Sotiriou, a well-known writer, through D’un Jardin D’Anatolie witnesses the history with a great attention and a novelistic passion.*”¹⁵ Inspired by the true stories for her novels, in order to create *Farewell Anatolia*, she also talked with many immigrants from Anatolia and used the knowledge about politics, which she obtained while she was a journalist.¹⁶

Dido Sotiriou, a holder of many rewards, such as the Abdi Ipekci Prize in 1983 and the Prize of the Athens Academy in 1990, as a dedicated but critical leftist, achieved to convey her peaceful messages to her readers both in Greece and abroad. She contributed to the Greco-Turkish rapprochement through *Farewell Anatolia* which will be analyzed in detail in the next chapters. Before analyzing the impact of the book on the Turkish public sphere it is necessary to present a summary of the book. A brief description of the book was given by the *Greek News* as following;¹⁷

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K. Myrsiades, “Dhido Sotiriou”, *World Literature Today*, Winter 1980, A Literary Quarterly of the University of Okholama Norman, USA, ELIA, File # 26

14

The publication details of the book would be given in Chapter II.

15

France Nouvella, 13 October 1965, ELIA, File # 26.

16

Y. Erkoca, “Yaşananlar Unutulmasın Diye”, *Cumhuriyet*, 13 November 1987, ELIA, File # 27.

17

O.Sagan, “Political Chess with the People as Pawns”, *Greek News*, 19 June 1992, ELIA, File # 28.

11

“Farewell Anatolia, beginning with that mournful, tender title, is a work of painful memory and devastating experience. The story of Manoli Axiotis, born in Kirkica, a village of Asia Minor where he lived “close to the God” takes us from a period of peace and abundance to one of deprivation and human suffering.”

II. Summary of Dido Sotiriou’s *Farewell Anatolia*

The Turkish translation of the book consists of four chapters under the following titles: *The Life of Heaven*, *Amele Taburu*¹⁸, *Greeks are Coming* and *The Great Catastrophe* respectively. The story is told by the main character of the book Manoli Aksiotis who is a Rum¹⁹ that lives with his family in Kırkica Village of Aydın. The story begins when he is sixteen years old and finishes during his late twenties. The first chapter of the book ‘The Life of Heaven’ describes the family members of Manoli, the Kırkica Village, the Ephesus Ruins, relationship between the Greek villagers and Turks from other villages, the friendship between Manoli and Şevket, the experiences he went through after he was sent to work in Güzelceköy and later in İzmir.

Firstly, the depiction of his family members reveals the strictness, honesty and diligence of his father whose only concern, the same as of his four brothers, is to cultivate their land. The description of his village is given as a ‘heaven on earth’ due to its natural beauty and fertility of its land. The Ephesus Plain belongs to the village and it is rich with the fig and olive groves, tobacco, cotton, corn and sesame fields. The prosperity of the villagers is portrayed by them being masters of their own lands, selling their fig to other cities in the Empire and abroad, all having at least two houses as well as by the sceneries of rivers and lakes

18

Here instead of using the English version of the word ‘Labor Camps’, I chose to use the word as it is written both in the Turkish translation and the original Greek version of the book. Moreover Turkish place and people names are also given with Turkish characters.

19

To be loyal to the Turkish translation of the book, I choose to use ‘Rum’ instead of ‘Greek’.

surrounding the village. Pitagoras, Manoli's teacher in the village, introduces the Byzantium past of the Greeks and ancient Greek Language to Manoli which makes Manoli yearn to learn more. The good relationship between the Kırkica Villagers and the Turks from other villagers such as Kireçli, Havuzlu, Balacık and Kirlice is depicted through their honest trading, common diners, sleeping in the same house and attendance of the same religious ceremonies. Şevket, a young shepherd, is portrayed as the best childhood friend of Manoli. Their friendship is empowered by Şevket's bringing his sick father to Kırkica Village in order to see a doctor there. Manoli depicts the Turkish villagers as uneducated in terms of not having a doctor or a teacher in their villages²⁰.

The story then shifts to Manoli's working experience in Güzelceköy. His father sent him there in order to work near Anesti who is the Greek servant of the Molla Efendi Farm House. The cruelty of the first Rum character is depicted through him. Due to the ignorance of the Muslim owners, Anesti abuses his power by cutting down the farmers' wages and by giving them reasonless punishments. After witnessing both the unfair attitude of Anesti and the secret love affair of the Muslim owner of the house and a Greek servant girl, Manoli decides to leave Güzelceköy.

The chapter continues when Manoli arrives to İzmir in 1910. İzmir is depicted as a colorful, cosmopolite and luxurious city where Greek is used as a main language. Manoli's first working experience in İzmir was near Hacistavri who is a deviant Greek merchant. His dishonesty against Muslim villagers leads Manoli to quit his job. Then he starts working near Yanakos Luludiyas who is an old smuggler, depicted as a fair and generous person, but also as a person who hates Turks and will not hesitate to kill them if necessary.

Afterwards, Manoli starts working near a rich merchant, Homeros Şeytanoğlu. Here he learns from the servant of the house, Yakumi, that the real danger will come from the Levantines and Europeans, who suck the blood of Ottomans. The Balkan War starts in 1912 and the Young

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The inferiority of Turkish villagers in terms of education is exemplified as they believe in the healing powers of muezzin who in order to heal them gives his patients a piece of paper to swallow.

Turks start to make provocations against the non- Muslim populations of the Ottomans. The publishing of these provocative handouts is made by Germany. In this chapter Manoli gives us a picture of an honest Turkish merchant through İsmail Ağa who is willing to pay his debt with an interest rate. Like a messenger of the upcoming war, the chapter ends up with the family argument which is soothed out by Manoli.

The Second Chapter is about the observations and experiences of Manoli when he is sent to ‘Amele Taburu’ during the WWI. The chapter begins with the announcement of the WWI in which Ottoman Empire decides to fight against England, France and Russia and ally with Germany and Austria. All the men of the empire from 20s to 40s have to fight in the war but since Turkish Government does not trust non- Muslims to supply them with weapons, they are sent to Amele Taburu instead.

The conditions in these camps are proved to be disastrous as hunger, filth and sickness goes hand in hand in these camps. The villagers who are shocked by the ill conditions believe that these decisions cannot be made only by the Turks but by the Germany as well. The reason for the Ottomans’ taking sides with Germany on the war is related with the migration of Rums who reside in the coast-side and the growing Armenian population.

The conditions in the Amele Taburu force people to run away which puts their lives at risk because as fugitives they are targeted by the Turkish soldier fugitives, muezzins, refugees coming from Greece and the military police. However, despite these negative depictions, Şevket and his father stand as a symbol of a good neighborliness as Şevket comes to warn Manoli and his family about the attack that will be conducted by his villagers soon.

The chapter continues with Manoli’s description of the Amele Taburu. He is appointed in Kilisler Village in Ankara to repair the roads. In order to block desertions ‘neck chains’ are put to the captured fugitives. The filthy conditions lead to contagious diseases such as typhus which kills more than half of the camp. Manoli experiences the death of his two good friends

from his village, Kostas and Hristos Golis, both of whom died in the camp due to the virus²¹. Manoli and some other soldiers who managed to survive are cured and sent home by a Turkish Doctor, Şükrü Efendi. After being healed, he is sent again to an amele taburu to Yavşan Village in Ankara. The conditions in this camp are described as better than in the previous one in terms health. Still, food shortage is the main problem in the camp.

Thereafter he is given for the service of the Turkish farmers and sent to Göldere Village. Before he flees from the place he witnesses the Armenian refugees who are in miserable conditions, exhausted from walking long distances, dragged from their homes, killed or tortured during their way. Here Manoli explains that the Turks are not the only ones responsible of this cruelty, but also the Germans and other Great Powers, who wiped out the minorities from this land in order to guarantee their own financial development.

Witnessing and going through the hardship, Manoli flees with his friend and makes a long travel from Sakarya to Afyonkarahisar, from Tire in İzmir to Kırkica Village. Then he is caught and sent to a prison for fugitives in Aziziye, then to a camp in Panormo and to Selimiye Barrack in Istanbul and then finally to Soğanlı. There he was informed that the war was ended in Russia, that the Turkish army withdrew from Pontus in 1916, and that the Russians handed over the administration of Trabzon to Greeks. Finally, he learned about the Russian Revolution of 1917 as well.

After learning that his division will be sent to Arabia to fight against the English, he flees again. Manoli's friend Kirkor, helps him and they both hide in Kirkor's house where his siter, Anita, looks after them for four months.

21

It is not only the virus that kills the half of the camp but also the ignorance of the Turkish commanders who desert the camp area after learning about the contagious virus and instead of appointing doctors, they send a gravedigger to the camp.

The Third Chapter, the Greeks are coming, presents how Manoli joined the war against the Turks, as well as, his experiences as a Greek soldier. This chapter also introduces his first acquaintance with the socialist ideology.

The chapter begins with, due to the Greeks in Kırkica who take up arms Turkish villagers are forced to leave behind their houses, land and finally to flee to Söke and Kuşadası so as to save their lives. With the arrival of the Greek Army to İzmir port, some Turkish villages are destroyed in one day. The Greek villagers celebrate the arrival of the Greek army. Manoli's plan for marriage with Katina is interrupted by the announcement of his conscription to the Greek Army. He and other villagers are "farewelled" at İzmir port and Manoli is sent to Dündarlı in order to fight against the Turks. Here Manoli describes how he kills the groom of the Blind Mehmet who is a famous Turkish guerilla fighter and explains other murders committed by the Greek soldiers. Later on, he is sent to a police station in Işıklı where he gets injured during the strife and is sent to a hospital in İzmir. The moment his sister implies the impossibility of his marriage with Katina from his sister, he devotes himself to fighting and voluntarily joins the Greek army.

In 1921 October, Manoli is sent to the front where he meets with a faithful socialist, Nikito Drossakis from Crete. Drossakis stresses the role of the Great Powers that are controlling the Greek leaders. He criticizes Venizelos for accepting the war in order to reach his dream of the 'Greater Greece'. While Drossakis is portrayed as a communist intellectual who tries to enlighten the minds of the others, his wealthy friend from Crete, Lefteri Kanakis, symbolizes the educated but ignorant intellectual who flees and saves himself when the new order of attack comes.

In 1922 spring, Manoli's battalion is attacked by the Turkish soldiers in Afyonkarahisar which resulted with the death and injuries of the Greek soldiers. The survivors including Manoli and Drossakis find themselves in a hospital where they learn that both the Greek government and their allies ordered the Greek army to evacuate Asia Minor region as soon as possible. The chapter ends with Drossakis' comment about the unnecessary of Asia Minor expedition and how they are dragged into the war due to ambitious leaders and the hidden agenda of the

Great Powers. He mentions the acceptance of New Turkey by the allies (England and France) in order to reach the untouched wealth of Anatolia such as oil, coal, iron and chrome.

The last chapter, *the Great Catastrophe*, describes the defeat of Greeks in Asia Minor and explains how the non-Muslim villagers and soldiers fled from the land. It depicts the pogrom inflicted upon the Turkish villages by the fleeing Greek soldiers and the cruelty of Turkish guerillas against the non-Muslims as well.

The last chapter begins with dispatching of Manoli to Afyonkarahisar front in 1922 during the Kemal's Great Offensive. There Manoli learns about the collapse of the Greek front and witnesses the atrocities against civilians made by fleeing Greek soldiers. After arriving at İzmir he learns that the Greek navy leaves the port. He observes that İzmir no longer looks like the charming place once it was. All the shops are closed and refugees from all over Anatolia fill the port. He explains that refugees are left alone and defenseless in İzmir, protected neither by the Greek army nor by their allies when the Turkish guerilla fighters arrive at İzmir. In addition to the atrocities that are done by guerillas, the city is also ruined by the fire that engulfs everything.

With the order of Nureddin Pasha, all the men between the ages eighteen to fifty are kept as war captives while the remaining women and children are allowed to go to Greece. Two thousand war captives are forced to walk to Manisa being deprived of food and water. On their way they are all subjected to the atrocities done by revengeful Turkish civilians. And the Turkish commanders ignore these crimes.

Afterwards three hundred captives including Manoli and his friend Pano Sotiroğlu are sent to Aydın for the reconstruction of the villages. During his trip Manoli witnesses destroyed villages with bloodthirsty Turkish villagers but also notices untouched villages whose dwellers are far from the hatred of the war, who pity the captives and perceive them as their brothers. Finally, Manoli and Pano decide to flee. During their journey, they face many dangers but sometimes they also receive help from the Turks. Manoli manages to escape to an isolated island, but Pano, although previously depicted as a brave man, fears the water and

does not dare to swim, so he stays behind²². Manoli receives help from the two Greek fishermen, after persuading them with the great difficulty to save his friend Pano from the shore.

The chapter continues with a scene of Greek refugees in a ship where nobody knows the correct route. While cruelties done by the Turks were the primary stories told on the ship, a Greek lieutenant also confessed the betrayal of the Greek government, which failed to send ships from Piraeus to convey help to Asia Minor survivors. The book ends in a ship where Manoli farewells Anatolia and gazes at the Asia Minor coast. He thinks about his village, friendships with people from Kirlice, Şevket, all other Turkish people who were good to him. He regrets for the people he has killed and wishes that all this agony was just a bad dream.

*“Anayurdıma selam söyle benden K r Mehmet’in damadı! Benden Selam S yle Anadolu’ya... Toprađını kanla suladık diye bize gazezlenmesin...Ve kardeři kardeře kırdıran cellatların, Allah bin belasını versin!”*²³

22

The depiction of this character who does not know how to swim might be a prior explanation of why so many Greeks drown in the port of İzmir later on.

23

D. Sotiriyu (2002) *Benden Selam S yle Anadolu’ya*, İstanbul: Can Yayınları.

B. THE IMPACT OF THE *FAREWELL ANATOLIA* IN TURKEY AT 1970s

I. Composing *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu 'ya* for the Turkish Readers

The story of the translation and the publication of the *Farewell Anatolia*²⁴ for the Turkish readers is a quite interesting one as the first publishing house of the book, Sander Yayıncılık had the biggest book store in Turkey and the translator of the book, Atilla Tokatlı, was a quite figure from 1950s until the end of 1980s. In order to comprehend the impact of the book in Turkish public sphere, analyzing the main motives behind the publication process is considerably significant. Therefore my main purpose in this section of this chapter is to introduce my readers the publishing houses and the translator of the book.

Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu 'ya was firstly published by Sander Yayıncılık in 1970. The information about Sander Publishing House and the book store is a quite impressive one as it was the biggest book store not only in Istanbul but all over Turkey. Necdet Sander, born in 1914, was the founder of the Sander Publication House and the book store. He was graduated from literature who aimed to introduce the Turkish readers with books in different languages.²⁵ He was an important editor in Turkey until his death in 1983. There are many outstanding books that were published for the first time in Turkey by Sander Yayıncılık. Among them Homeros's *Illyad* and *Odyssey*, Gabriel G. Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, Lord Kinross's *Atatürk*, Erich Sagel's *The Love Story* were the most prominent ones.²⁶ Necdet Sander was known not only as an editor but also as a translator as well. He accomplished the Turkish translations of some famous French books such as: *The American*

24

The original name of the book is *Ματωμένα Χώματα* which was published by Kedros Publishing House in 1962 in Greece.

25

Ü. Deniz, "Türkiyenin en büyük kitapevi", *Milliyet*, 08 March 1970, p. 5.

26

<http://www.coskunbuktel.com/buktelurgupsander.htm>,

*Challenge*²⁷ written by the editor in chief of the *L'Express Magazine* J.J. Servan Schreiber, which kept its place at the top of the best seller list in France for a long time during the late 1960s and *Of Human Bondage* which was the most popular novel of Somerset Maugham that was filmed three times in Hollywood.²⁸ His goal, introducing the important writers of the world to Turkish readers, was his main motive in founding the biggest book store in Turkey. Sander Kitapçılık which was situated in Osmanbey in Istanbul was also the biggest book store for the foreign books. It sold thousands of books in five foreign languages including French.²⁹ Therefore it was not a coincidence that Atilla Tokatlı, the translator of *Farewell Anatolia* and a close friend of Necdet Sander, came across with the French translation of the book in Sander Kitapçılık in 1968. After reading the French version of the book, Atilla Tokatlı wanted to translate the book into Turkish. The idea also was supported and approved by Necdet Sander and finally Turkish translation was published in 1970.³⁰

Atilla Tokatlı who was a translator, author and director was born at 1932 in a small city called Denizli in Turkey. After graduating from “Galatasaray Lisesi” which is the most influential French training school, he moved to France. He spent long years in France until the late 1950s. At first he received his education at Sorbonne University on Law Philosophy. However, later on, he left this school due to his desire to direct movies, he enrolled to a movie institution, IDHEC (Institut des Hautes Etudes Cinematographiques). After his return to Turkey, he started working as an assistant of one of the most mainstream director of the Yeşilçam Movie Industry, Atıf Yılmaz. After a while with a sudden decision, he removed himself from both Atıf Yılmaz and Yeşilçam Industry and he chose to become an innovative movie director instead. During the early 1960s he directed two movies both of which were

27

The original French name of the book was *Le Defi Americain* which was translated as *Amerika Meydan Okuyor* into Turkish.

28

The original French name of the book was *Servitude Humane* which was translated as *Şehvet Düşkünü* into Turkish by Fikret Ürgüp and Necdet Sander in 1946.

29

Ü. Deniz, op.cit.

30

M. Aşık, “Bizden de Selam Dido’ya”, *Milliyet*, 11 November 1987, p. 9.

alternatives against the populist movies of the period. His first movie, *Denize İnen Sokak* (The Street descending to Sea) won prizes from both the Locarno and Izmir Movie Festival. In 1964 he directed his second movie *Gel Barisalim* (Lets Make Peace), with the support of Maya Film. Despite being a successful director as proven from the prizes he received, his movies could not reach a mass audience in Turkey. Therefore after having difficulty to find financial support, he resigned from the sector.³¹ However, after his resignation, he directed one more film, a documentary filmed in 1972, *Istanbul Mezarlari* (The Graveyards of Istanbul), which also achieved success and was displayed in many countries through the Ministry of Culture.³²

During the late 1960s, Tokatlı continued his career as a translator and an author. Among his studies as an author, *The Encyclopedia Philosophy Dictionary* was the first one to be published in 1973. Then he prepared *The Anthology of the Soviet Poets* in 1968 which was banned a year later based on the articles 141-42 of Penalty Code.³³ In 1979 *The Secret Organizations* was published by Hürriyet Yayınları. There he described the foundation of the secret organizations through the world and the link between the political figures and the secret organizations was investigated throughout this book. His latest book was *The Death of the Revolutionist* which was also his first novel. It was published just before his death in 1987.³⁴

Despite his writing skills as an author was indisputable, Tokatlı was commemorated mostly due to his translations. He translated over one hundred books mostly from Soviet authors. For instance, due to his translation of Elsa Triolet's *The White Horse*, he was granted with a translation prize by Turkish Language Association in 1971. Sometimes his translations were

31

During the 1960s Yeşilçam dominated the movie sector in Turkey which concentrated on melodrama and comedy more than the character analysis. Please check A. Sivas (2007), "Türk Sinemasında Bağımsız Anlayışı ve Temsilcileri", Marmara Üniversitesi, Doctoral Dissertation.

32

Milliyet, 22 February 1988, p. 10.

33

Milliyet, 14 March 1969.

34

<http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n87-829305>

banned and he was exposed to investigation and arrestment. For instance at 1969, the Turkish translation of Gladkov's *Cement*³⁵ was not only banned but he received more than one year of imprisonment due to the claim that he was making a communist propaganda through this book as well. Lenin's *Selection of Texts*³⁶ and Sotiriou's *Farewell Anatolia*³⁷ were also among the books that shared the same faith.

As stated above, Tokatlı came up with the idea of translating *Farewell Anatolia* after he read the French translation of the book in the Sander Book Store in 1968. In order to prevent negative reactions and capture the attention of the Turkish readers instead of the original title of the book *The Blood Earth*, a title *The Gardens of Anatolia* was chosen which is closer to the French one. Tokatli made the new title of the Turkish translation as *Send my Greetings to Anatolia*. Before translated into Turkish the book was translated into various other languages including Bulgarian (1963), French³⁸ (1965), Romanian(1969) and Hungarian (1970). Later on it was also translated into English, German, Dutch, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, Estonian and Italian.³⁹

When we examined the early translations of the book, it would be inevitable to say that the book caught the attention of a wide audience especially in the Balkan countries which experienced the communist regime in their recent histories. That might be one of the reasons why the story was appreciated so much in Balkan countries. However another reason of this appreciation might be due to the spread of the leftist and liberty spirit that was resulted from

35

Milliyet, 08 March 1969.

36

Milliyet, 04 March 1966.

37

The trial related with the Farewell Anatolia will be explained in the next chapter.

38

The book was translated into Turkish from the French edition which was translated by Marie Dimu with the title of *D'un jardin d'Anatolie (The Gardens of Anatolia)*. Please check <http://media.ifa.gr/opacweb/>

39

http://www.kedros.gr/product_info.php?products_id=6858

the French Revolution of 1968. That might answer why there was an increase in the languages that the book was translated into after 1968. Despite the leftist's protests that occurred from time to time in many other countries, what made the French Revolution of 1968 different was that it was the first time "*a modern Western democratic nation seemed to court the possibility of a leftist revolution.*" Therefore this might support the main concerns of Sotiriou and have had opened a way for the readers to appreciate it also.⁴⁰

When the book was published, it was received well despite the uptight period of 1970s Turkey which will be presented in the next section. The second publisher of the book, Ragıp Zarakolu, who owns the Alan Yayıncılık, summarized the period and the impact of the book:⁴¹

"During 1970s, the leftists which were on a rapid rise, started the search for an alternative history against the official ones. The Turkish translation of the Farewell Anatolia resulted with the rapprochement of the Greek and Turkish people. However the main reason that the book had a tremendous impact over all sections of the society was because it was published by Sander Yayıncılık, which had the biggest book store and was open to the left ideology as well as others."

As can be observed from Zarakolu's views, the rise of the leftist ideology had a significant role in composing *Farewell Anatolia* for the Turkish readers. While the intellectuals of the period such as the publishing house editors and the translator contributed to the existence of the book in Turkish language, the enthusiasm of the readers of that period was undeniably important for the continuity of the publication of the book. In order to evaluate a book for its success, it is an utmost importance to check the continuity of the book. Therefore in the next section I provide my readers this necessary information about the continuity of the book through different publishing houses.

40

J. Bourg (2007) *From revolution to ethics: May 1968 and contemporary French thought*, Canada: McGill-Quenn's University Press.

41

The interview by Ragıp Zarakolu, 06 August 2011, Istanbul.

II. The Existence, the Fame, the Continuity of the *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkey

In order to comprehend the impact of the book in Turkey, the publication of the book should be examined from 1970 up to now, respectively. The book can be analyzed in three periods in Turkey; the existence by Sander Yayıncılık, the fame by Alan Yayıncılık and the continuity by Can Yayıncılık.

As it was mentioned in the previous section, first Turkish translation of the book was provided to the Turkish readers thanks to Sander Yayıncılık. At Sander Yayıncılık it was published three times; 1970, 1974 and 1980 respectively. However the book caught a greater fame when its publishing rights passed to Alan Yayıncılık in 1982. Being an admirer of Sotiriou, Ragıp Zarakolu published the *Farewell Anatolia* as the first book in their literature series. Unfortunately the publishing of the book was interrupted shortly after Alan Yayıncılık took it. The reason for this was the prosecution by the Istanbul Martial Court against the translator and publishing house of the book at late 1982. Fortunately the ban on the book was lifted after Sotiriou gained the Abdi İpekçi Peace Prize a short after. *Farewell Anatolia* gained more fame in Turkey after this trial and the prize. This sudden increase of demand for the book can be observed through the number of copies made in 1980s which was more than triple times as compared to the 1970s. Another reason behind the increase of sales in the Turkish translation of the book at the 1980s was the TUYAP⁴² Book Exhibition that Sotiriou was invited as a special guest with the help of Alan Yayıncılık in 1987. After her visit, through the articles in the newspapers, the book gained much popularity. This fame further increased by her second visit to TUYAP Book Exhibition in the following year. Therefore with the new popularity of the book due to the trial, prize, book exhibitions and written articles about Sotiriou in Turkish media, the book caught more attention in the 1980s. Until the closing down of Alan Yayıncılık at the late 1990s, the Turkish translation of *Farewell Anatolia* was published seventeen times in Turkey.⁴³

42 The inclination of TÜYAP refers to ‘all exhibition center’

43 The interview by Ragıp Zarakolu, 06 August 2011, Istanbul.

Farewell Anatolia has been continued to be published by Can Yayıncılık since 2002. After the closing down of Alan Yayıncılık, the publishing rights were taken by Can Yayıncılık, a publishing house that was founded in the early 1980s by Erdal Öz. Öz who completed his education in Ankara University at Faculty of Law, was imprisoned three times in 1970s because of his political views. He was a poet and an author. Among his publications, *Yorgunlar* (1960) and *Odalarda* (1960) are the most prominent ones. Until now Can Publishing has published *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu'ya* eleven times including a hard-cover special edition made in 2007. The total copy number made by Can Yayıncılık is 18.000. Can Yayıncılık, similar with Alan Yayıncılık, kept the Turkish translation of Tokatlı. As an answer to my question to the publishing house, Can Yayıncılık commented that “*we did not create this work of art for the Turkish readers but we have played an important role in the continuity of it until today.*”⁴⁴

As can be observed from the number of the publishing, copies and editions of the book, it really became “a hit” in Turkey like Kedros Publishing stated.⁴⁵The book that was prohibited in the early 1980s gained popularity gradually. The publishing process of the book which began with the opposition against the established order became commercialized afterwards. The places in the book like Sirince Village, benefited from this commercialization process. Due to the fame that came with the book tourism flourished in Sirince, websites were created for the hotels and pensions there. They promoted tourism by using phrases from the book, showing pictures of the old Rum families that lived there or with the pictures and interviews of Sotiriou or Manoli Aksiyotis that visited the place.⁴⁶ Sotiriou visited Sirince Village in 1987 where she spent her childhood years and inspired for her novel, *Farewell Anatolia*. This event caused a big stir at the Turkish Media. An article titled “*Sotiriou kissed the earth and*

44

The interview by the public relations representative of Can Yayıncılık, Cansın Kiraner, on 13 May 2011.

45

http://www.kedros.gr/product_info.php?products_id=6858

46

In order to see the commercialization of the place through using its history, please check <http://www.sirince-evleri.com/default.asp?mid=193>

stones in the village that she was born in.”, gave a small biography of Sotiriou and information regarding this trip.⁴⁷

After providing the information regarding the publishing details of the book, now it is useful to learn about the political, financial and social situation in Turkey. In order to fully comprehend the impact of the book, in the following chapter there is a short overview of the Greco- Turkish relations and situation in Turkey provided during the time the book was published in 1970s.

III. An Overview: Turkish Politics and Greco- Turkish Relations at 1970s

During the time when the Turkish translation of Dido Sotiriou’s *Farewell Anatolia* was published in Turkey at 1970, the country was going through difficult times. In the late 1960s, Turkey witnessed a rise on the political pluralism, radicalism, violence on the streets, also the deterioration in Greco- Turkish relations.

The two main political parties: the Justice Party⁴⁸on the center-right and the Republican People’s Party⁴⁹on the center-left started to share the political stage with various rivals from radical left and right. Despite the liberal spirit of the 1961 constitution, there were still restrictions on the communist parties. The political party that represented the left was the Worker’s Party which was founded in February 1961, after the new constitution took place in

47

Yeni Asır, 14 November 1987, Source founded in ELIA, File # 27.

48

The Justice Party was founded in February 1961 by a retired general. The second leader of the party was Süleyman Demirel who remained in the power until 1980. For more information please check F. Ahmad (1993) *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London: Routledge, p. 138.

49

The People’s Party was established in September 1923 by Mustafa Kemal which took the name of The Republican People’s Party in 1935. After the resignation of İsmet İnönü from the party leadership, Bülent Ecevit became the third leader of RPP during 1970s. For more information please check http://www.chp.org.tr/en/?page_id=67

the same date.⁵⁰ During the late 1960s the Workers Party reached the intellectuals through university clubs which were a stage for political debates. However radicals emerged among these groups who began to make an ‘armed propaganda’ in order to achieve their goal for a revolution.⁵¹ Turkey in the late 1960s had also the armed groups on the extreme right such as Grey Wolves which was a youth organization of a right political party, the Nationalist Action Party. The NAP stressed upon the combination of a violent nationalism and anti-communism under the leadership of Colonel Alpaslan Türkeş.⁵²

Another recently emerged party on the center-right was the National Order Party which was founded by Necmettin Erbakan in January 1970. Similar to the WP, the NOP also emerged as a result of the civil rights that were given with the 1961 constitution. It was outstanding mostly with its Islamic discourse. It was the first ‘autonomous party organization’ where the Islamists struggled for their agenda.⁵³

When *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu’ya* was published the major political party in Turkey was Demirel’s center-right the JP. However it was not powerful enough to cease the violence that

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The main reason that the Worker’s Party in Turkey founded and gained power through 1960s was the new constitution of Turkey which was drawn by law professors from the University of Ankara in 1961. According to the new constitution more civil liberties were given to the people, an independent constitutional court was brought into notice which guaranteed the full autonomy of the judiciary, the universities and the mass media. For more information please check E.J. Zürcher (2004) *Turkey: A Modern History*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, pp. 244-247.

51

The radicals who supported the necessity of a revolution through armed ways emerged from a group called National Democratic Revolution. For more information please check *ibid.* pp. 254-256

52

ibid. pp: 56-57.

53

N. Narli (1999), “The Rise of the Islamist Movement in Turkey”, *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3, downloaded from <http://www.gloria-center.org/meria/1999/09/narli.pdf>

came from the extreme rightists and leftists groups. These were the given conditions when the military intervention took place on 12 March 1971. This was the second military intervention in the history of the Turkish Republic.⁵⁴ According to the memorandum it announced “*the necessity of a strong government that can stop the anarchy and pursue the Kemalist reforms or else the army would seize the power itself.*”⁵⁵ The leftist welcomed the ultimatum believing that it was made in a similar goal with the coup on 1960. However this time main target was the leftists groups. A prominent Turkish sociologist Doğu Ergil defined the situation of Turkey during that period: ⁵⁶

“In 1971, a military coup swept away leftist groups. Under the guise of fighting communism, the coup leaders violated legal procedures and human rights. They disbanded and imprisoned the members of the Turkish Workers Party, the Confederation of the Revolutionary Workers and all youth organizations.”

The repression of the left by the military regime was the most prominent event throughout the decade. The Workers Party members and leftist school teachers became the primary targets for the ultra-nationalist groups. According to some scholars this endeavor of extermination of the left could be the result of the military to silence the trade unions and the demands of higher salaries and better working conditions.⁵⁷

In the 1970s the political instability was accompanied by the macroeconomic instability. There was a sudden rise on inflation rate and reliance on foreign borrowing and Turkey was

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The military coup of 27 May 1960 was the first successful military intervention. This intervention brought a new role for the High Command and changed the character of the Turkish armed forces. For more information please check F. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 121.

55

E.J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*, p.259.

56

D. Ergil (2000) “Identity Crisis and Political Instability in Turkey”, *Journal of International Affairs*, 54, No. 1, The Trustees of Columbia University in the city of New York, downloaded from <http://www.dayan.org/dayanim/2006/Identity-Crises-and-Political-Instability-in-Turkey.PDF>

57

F. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

on the edge of an economic crisis.⁵⁸Therefore the military regime was silencing the people through closing down of the organizations that protected their rights such as the trade unions. Soon after the coup *d'etat* was carried out, the martial law was proclaimed in most of the big cities which enabled the military to make investigations and arrests mostly of leftist people.⁵⁹The political pluralism of the 1960s, with the emergence of new voices through new parties came to its end. The first following months of the intervention, two political parties were closed down; the WP and the NOP. According to Feroz Ahmad the military intervention resulted with a 'gap' in the society.⁶⁰

“By the summer of 1973 the military-backed regime had accomplished most of its political tasks. The constitution has amended so as to strengthen the state against the civil society. (...) The universities had been harnessed so as to curb the radicalism of students and faculty alike; and the trade unions pacified and left in an ideological vacuum with the dissolution of the Workers Party by the government on 20 July 1971.”

The first free elections after the military coup made in October 1973. It was resulted with the majority of votes won by Ecevit's center-left the RPP. Despite the second major party was elected as Demirel's the JP, the coalition was made by Erbakan's party. In 1974 when the Cyprus Crisis emerged Ecevit resigned and a caretaker cabinet was formed which was the combination of the JP, the NSP, the NAP and the RPP until the 1977 elections.⁶¹

58

M. Ismihan, K.M. Ozcan and A. Tansel (2005) “The role of macroeconomic instability in public and private capital accumulation and growth: The case of Turkey 1963-1999”, *Applied Economics*, 37, 239-251, downloaded from <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~kivilcim/kmozcan-8.pdf>

59

After the Israeli consul of Istanbul was kidnapped and killed by the extreme leftist group called Turkish People's Liberation Front, approximately 5000 people were arrested who were mostly the members of the trade union groups and the WP. For more information please check E.J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*, p.259.

60

F. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.159.

61

.J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

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In order to acknowledge the great impact of Sotiriou's *Farewell Anatolia* on Turkish society since the time the book was published in Turkish language in 1970, examining the Greco-Turkish relations is also a requirement. However an overview of an analysis of Greco-Turkish relations can only be possible by taking into consideration the information above about the political and financial situation in Turkey during 1970s.

The Cyprus Issue⁶² of course marked itself as the main event that caused the deterioration of the relations between the two countries throughout 1970s. The interference of Greek junta⁶³ to Cyprus resulted with the landing of the Turkish troops on the northern part of island in July 1974. This operation did not only result with the spoiling of the Greco-Turkish relations but also brought the two countries to the edge of war. Less than a decade, the third military intervention happened in Turkey. After the mid-1970s the relations still did not show any sign of healing. Another significant event that marked the decade was the dispute about the continental shelf.⁶⁴ The reason of this dispute was the search for oil under the Aegean Sea which was found and claimed by both countries. The dispute between the two countries was carried to International Court of Justice (ICJ) but no reasonable solution was found. At last due to the bilateral negotiations, the two countries came up with a solution that each country would have the right of stopping the exploration activities of one another.⁶⁵

In the late 1970s, the dispute between the two countries continued while Turkey was shaken by financial, social and political turmoil. The economic crisis came to a point of bankruptcy

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Within the limits of time and my research, the Cyprus issue would not be extended in this paper.

63

Military officers staged a coup on 21 April 1967 in Greece. Between the dates 1967-73 the military junta stayed in power due to the support from the USA government and recovery of the economy until the start of the oil crisis. For more information please check *ibid.*, pp.198-203. The interference of the junta resulted with a mass protest by Greek citizens and led to the fall of the junta the same year. Please check R. Clogg, *op.cit.* p. 203.

64

Bölükbaşı (1992) "The Turco-Greek Dispute Issues, Policies and Prospects" in C.H. Dodd (ed.) *Turkish Foreign Policy New Prospects*, Great Britain: Eastern Press, p.33.

65

ibid., pp.33-36.

for the country due to the second oil crisis in 1979-80. Furthermore due to the deterioration of the economy in Europe, the Turkish products were diminished in the market and the number of remittances fell. The social unrest was also reaching its climax point as the targets of the killings changed from leftist or rights individuals to most prominent public figures. The deputy chairman of NAP, the former Prime Minister Nihat Erim and former president of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions were among the ones that were murdered.

On February 1979 another murder grieved the country, the assassination of the editor in chief of *Milliyet*, Abdi İpekçi. The assassination of a journalist with a liberal mind and a strong commitment to democracy was the last straw⁶⁶. It was followed by the third military coup a year later than the murder.

To conclude, early 1970s was marked by a military coup in Turkey which repressed the intellectuals, publishing houses and the people that were especially closer to the left ideology. The suppression of the military regime was observed not only through suspension of the political parties and trade unions but also arrests and harassment against many publishing houses and writers with left tendencies. Besides struggling with the inner problems, the country had also problems related with the Cyprus and Aegean Continental Shelf. Despite the oppression of the military coup or the hostilities between Greece and Turkey, no direct negative effect can be observed about the reception of *Farewell Anatolia*. Moreover the success of the book can be also investigated through the Turkish media. Regardless of the political situation between the countries, the book was received well in Turkey which can be proved from the articles that is offered in the next section.

66

F. Ahmad, *op.cit.* ,p. 171.

IV. Sotiriou's *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu'ya* in Turkish Media in the 1970s

In order to analyze the impact of the book, information about the publication details, the political scene in Turkey and Greco- Turkish relations during 1970s was provided in the previous sections. However the impact of the book cannot be wholly comprehended without the information given about the reception of the book in Turkish media during 1970s. Although the book gained much more popularity after 1980s, when it was published it was positively welcomed by the most important writers in the Turkish newspapers and journals. Despite the political conflicts of the period, the book became a bridge among the people of the two countries. Many writers stressed upon the similarities between these two countries after reading the book. The word “*the enemy*” replaced by “*the neighbor*” in most of the Turkish texts written about the book. The objectivity and the intimacy of Sotiriou through her book were praised by Turkish writers. For instance, at 1970 Tarık Dursun wrote in *Milliyet*:⁶⁷

67

T. Dursun, “Biz İki Komşu Ülkeydik”, *Milliyet*, 01 September 1970.

“We just learnt recently about the mellow literature of our neighbors. An example? Here is Greece. Due to the traditions and customs it is the closest to us. (...) The war had drawn everything to blood and fire. The humanely relations broke apart in a way that cannot be re-connected. The writer, Dido explained in a rarely precedent humanely way, the regret and the innocence of Manoli.”

Taking it into consideration of what happened in the mid-1970s between Greece and Turkey, I seek for an answer whether the political situation between the countries had a negative impact on Turkish readers about the book and the writer. In an interview I conducted with Zeynep Oral, an important journalist from *Cumhuriyet*, Oral gave her opinions about the book: ⁶⁸

“I read the book during the date it was published in 1970 in a manner regardless of whether it was objective or not. The book conveyed the suffering of the people during war times. I noticed that there was no ‘good’, ‘bad’ or ‘us’, ‘the enemy’ in the book but it talked about ‘the human’. Everybody who read the book during 1970s felt the warmth of that ‘human’ in the book. During that period I heard no negative criticism about the book at all.”

Despite the book reached wider audience after the 1980s, in 1970s it had already gained prestige among the intelligentsia of the period. Considering the deteriorated relations between the two countries due to the ‘Cyprus Issue’ and the ‘Continental Shelf Dispute’, the success and the reputation of the book was something to be praised.

In some articles published in 1970s on behalf of *Farewell Anatolia*, there was also a description about Manoli Aksiyotis who was more than a fictional character but a real person. For instance Hasan Puler, an experienced journalist who has been writing columns in various newspapers since the early 1950s gave the story of Manoli in *Milliyet*. He stated that: ⁶⁹

68

The interview by Zeynep Oral, *Cumhuriyet*, 02 September 2011.

69

H. Puler, “Manoli, Anadoluya Selam Gönderdi”, *Milliyet*, 08 August 1972, p. 5.

“Manoli who wore two different military uniforms and fought in the country that he was born in, was never able to forget the lands where he also experienced the best memories of his life.”

Another article was written in 1973 which described the content of the book stated that it was about the life experience of Manoli who was a real person that lived through similar experiences like that of mentioned in the book. Later on his visit to Sirince Village and his forced departure was explained too. Furthermore as an evidence of the success of the book, it stated that other than Turkish, the book was translated into twelve other languages within ten years after it was written.⁷⁰

Though it was difficult to observe a direct link between the political hostilities of the two countries and the reception of the book in Turkey, it is not wrong to claim that the book caused smoothing effects between the peoples. At the late 1970s some panels were organized in Ankara and Istanbul as a part of the dialog started between the Turkish and Greek journalists where Haris Buzberellis from *To Vima*, Sofiyanos Hrisostomides from *Avgi* and Maria Karavia from *Katimerini*, were the Greek representatives. In one of the panels between the Turkish president of the period, Ecevit and the Greek journalists, the Greek journalists praised the knowledge of Ecevit about the Greek culture and philosophy. Thanks to his knowledge and understanding of the Greek culture, they felt the beginning of a friendship season.

The most significant point was that the Greek journalists gave an example of Ecevit's knowledge about the Greek culture through his desire to finance a movie directed by Ellia Kazan about Dido Sotiriou's *Farewell Anatolia*.⁷¹ However the movie could not be directed due to the military coup in 1980 which will be explained in the next chapter.

When we analyze our recent history, we would comprehend that 1970s was an important period for both countries. The decade was marked by the military regime in both countries.

70

Milliyet, 13 August 1973, p. 9.

71

Milliyet, 16 March 1979, p. 12.

Later on in the mid-1970s the two countries almost came face to face with war. Taking the information into consideration nobody can expect a book to achieve so much to wipe out all the political problems of the two countries but still under the lights of such events it was an astonishing fact that some idealist intellectuals translated and published the book. It was praised and took place in most of the famous newspapers of the time. Most importantly it was read and liked by the Turkish readers. In a documentary filmed by Thomas Balkenhol and Erman Oktay, Sotiriou also stated a similar point of view that supports my point, she stated that “*a war cannot be prevented with a book but a bridge of friendship can be built by it.*”⁷²

The interest to Sotiriou can also be shown by an interview made in 1978 when a Turkish journalist travelled to Greece to meet with Sotiriou. Through their discussion she highlighted the common problems and similarities of the both cultures.⁷³

“We are two peoples that share so much similarities and problems. They did everything to separate us. (...) I believe that as long as we have the dependence on peace and freedom, we can overcome the ones who try to make us enemies. I believe that we can solve the problems such as Cyprus through our mutual power. They will not succeed in separating the people who have a common goal. We will always find the humane and mutuality.”

After giving the general information about the book and offering an overview of the Turkish political scene and its relations with Greece, now the reception of the book in 1980s would be investigated through an overview of the Greco- Turkish relations and Turkish political scene of the period.

C. THE IMPACT OF *FAREWELL ANATOLIA* IN TURKEY AT 1980s

I. The Impacts of the 1980 Military Coup on Turkish Political Life and Society

72

T. Balkenhol and E. Okay (1990) *Anıların Tadı*. A documentary movie about Dido Sotiriou.

73

B. Pirhasan, “Dido Sotiriou ile bir Konuşma”, *Sanat Emeği Aylık Sanat ve Kültür Dergisi*, 1978. From the archives of ELIA, File # 26.

In Turkey, the late 1970s ended up with political violence that dominated the streets as the main political parties could not prevent the anarchy. Also due to the global recession, there was an economical unrest in the country. When we reached the early 1980s, the mentioned turmoil was still terrorizing the country. Not only the rightist and leftists were being killed but also the liberals; public figures became targets as well.⁷⁴The day before the announcement of the Turkish coup of 1980, the streets in Ankara, the capital of Turkey, were echoing with the sounds of exploding placards which caused anarchy and terror. The day before the coup there was a gathering for the Council of Ministers to select a prime minister but this was not possible due to the anarchy and terror.⁷⁵

Due to this turmoil in the political and social environment, General Kenan Evren announced the military takeover in 12 September 1980. Evren justified the coup by emphasizing ‘the necessity of the survival of the state and people’, ‘to keep the unity of the country’, ‘to secure the rights and freedoms of the people’ and ‘to guarantee the importance of the law and order’.⁷⁶As soon as the announcement was made by Evren, the curfew began, the parliament and the government were dissolved, the immunities of the parliament members were lifted, going abroad was prohibited and martial law was announced. The National Security Council (NSC) took over the control of the country and stayed in power until the next general elections in 1983. The NSC did not only suspend the political parties but also prohibited all kinds of political debate. The trade unions were also among the institutions that were closed

74

Among them the editor of Milliyet Newspaper, Abdi İpekçi was one of the most prominent one, who was killed in his car in 1979 which will be elaborated more in the next section.

75

E. Çölaşan (1984) *12 Eylül Özal Ekonomisinin Perde Arkası*, Milliyet Yayınları A.Ş. p. 17.

76

F. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

down.⁷⁷“In 1982, an NSC decree forbade the old politicians, in almost Orwellian fashion, to discuss publically the past, the present or the future”⁷⁸

After the closure of the political parties, a new cabinet was formed where there were no active politicians. There were only bureaucrats, professors and retired officers. Turgut Özal was appointed as the deputy prime minister and became responsible for the economy.⁷⁹ Özal was prominent figure in the Turkish political arena due to his close relations with the Western institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. In the 1980s due to the developing of a new economy model there was a positive trend in macro-economic indicators, the GDP rose and inflation decreased.⁸⁰The other significant change during the military regime was the new constitution, according to it the powers of the president and the NSC rose while the civil rights were reduced.⁸¹ The referendum resulted with a majority of a ‘yes’ vote and consequently General Evren became the prime minister of Turkey for the next seven years.⁸²

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Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions (DISK) and Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions (MISK) were among the ones that were suspended. For more information please check F. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.182.

78

E.J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*, p.281.

79

ibid.

80

P. Dunne, E. Nikolaidou and D. Vougas. *op.cit.*p.7.

81

According to the new constitution, strikes were announced as illegal, freedom of speech was curbed and limitations and repression were introduced to the freedom of press. For more information please check. E.J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*

82

According to some scholars the approval of the constitution by a vast majority of people was due to the repression that was made by the military regime. The voting paper which was transparent, forced people into voting ‘yes’. Please check E. Ertem, *op.cit.* In addition to all this, criticism against the new constitution was prohibited by the generals, which might explain the huge number of voters in favor of a ‘yes’. Please check E.J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*

After the dissolution of the political parties, new political parties were established under the provision of the military regime. Among the fifteen new candidates only three of them were accepted by the regime to attend the elections. The Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP) led by generals and supported by the military regime, the Populist Party (PP) led by the former secretary to İsmet İnönü and the Motherland Party (MP) led by Özal. The military regime supported mostly the NDP and slightly the PP. However to everybody's surprise the MP won the general elections of 1983 which generated in producing a 'civil', 'liberal' and the 'anti-bureaucratic' image of Turkey. It was supported by the vast majority of people who wanted the civil regime back.⁸³

The anarchy and terror in the country stopped immediately after the announcement of the coup due to the repression that the military regime applied. For instance during their three years of governance, torture became a frequent method for silencing and scaring the masses.⁸⁴ As a result of the oppressive regime, 650 thousand people were arrested, hundreds of people died suspiciously in the prisons or outside, or were tortured to death, hundreds of journalists were prosecuted, imprisoned, assaulted or killed.⁸⁵ Among the thousands of victims of the military regime, the translator of the Farewell Anatolia, Atilla Tokatlı and the editor of the publishing house, Ayşe Zarakolu were also prosecuted.

83

F. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-190.

84

E. J. Zürcher, *op.cit.*

85

CNN Türk, 06 September 2010.

The disputes that took place in the 1970s concerning the Greco- Turkish relations⁸⁶ repeated in the 1980s over the ‘Cyprus ’ and the ‘Aegean Continental Shelf Issue’. Although these disputes soured the relations between the countries, a war was avoided due to the interference of the other countries and the negotiations that were developed in Davos in the late 1980s. One of the most significant problems is undoubtedly the ‘Cyprus Issue’. When Turkey invaded 40 percent of the northern part of the island in 1974, this deteriorated the relations between the two countries and also brought the two countries on the edge of war.⁸⁷ 1983 was a significant date when Dido Sotiriou gained the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize and the ‘Turkish and Greek Friendship Association’ gave an acceleration to their studies, the Turkish Cypriots declared the Independence of the Cyprus Turkish Republic. The recognition by Turkey resulted in further deterioration of the relations.⁸⁸ A Greek scholar stated that: ⁸⁹

“The continued occupation since 1974 of the Northern part of Cyprus by the Turkish forces, and the 1983 declaration of the occupied Cypriot territories as an independent state have, in essence, caused and imposed a de facto partition of the island. (...) Although 25 years have passed after the Turkish invasion of 1974, the Cypriot problem remains unresolved, and the occupation of about 40 percent of Cyprus still continues.”

In addition to the Cyprus Issue, the Aegean continental shelf dispute also disrupted the bilateral relations at 1987. The problem occurred due to the drilling activities at the disputed areas by both countries. The Turkish challenge resulted in the Greek government stating that

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Within the given limitations of time, the analysis of the Greco- Turkish relations during 1980s was not explained extensively but a brief description of the main events and disputes were stressed.

87

H. Athanasopoulos (2002) *Greece, Turkey and the Aegean Sea: a case study in international law*, North Carolina: MacFarland & Company Inc. pp. 8-9.

88

R. Clogg, *op.cit.*, p. 234.

89

H. Athanasopoulos, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

they were ready to fight against Turkey if they continued their illegal activities. A war was only prevented when both governments agreed on suspending any drilling activities in the disputed waters.⁹⁰

The Greco- Turkish relations entered a new phase by the Davos Meeting held in Switzerland at January 1987 between Özal and Papandreu. The Davos meeting was a “*significant détente in Turkish- Greek relations*”, it was called “*the spirit of Davos*” in the media.⁹¹The meeting resulted with the sudden recovery of the relations. Among the decisions that were taken, some prominent ones were: the lifting of the limitations of the possessions rights of the Greeks in Turkey, visa liberalization for the Greek citizens, the support of Greece in Turkey for the European Community membership.⁹² An example of improvement in relations was for the first time after decades, a Turkish prime minister visited Greece. ⁹³ The Davos Conference resulted in the sending of invitations to a number of Greek intellectuals to attend the 7th TUYAP Book Exhibition which also included Dido Sotiriou as a guest author.

To conclude, despite the political hostilities that had existed since the early 1980s, Sotiriou and her book were welcomed by the Turkish public sphere. As can be observed from the Abdi İpekci Prize that she was granted in 1983, the participation of a large number of admirers at the TUYAP Book Exhibition in 1987-88 and the relevant articles that were published on her behalf, she achieved to convey her message and had an impact over a large percentage of the Turkish society.

90

S. Bölükbaşı, *op.cit.*, p 37.

91

M. Ataman (2002) “Leadership Change; Özal Leadership and Restructuring in Turkish Foreign Policy”, *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring, p. 141.

92

R. Clogg, *op.cit.*, p. 236.

93

Özal became the first prime minister to visit Greece after 36 years. Please check *ibid.*, p. 236.

II. The Trial and the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize at 1983

It is impossible to ignore that fact that *Farewell Anatolia* achieved a great success ever since its first publication. However, in Turkey there were also times when it was misunderstood, received hostilities and was even banned. Fortunately the book re-united with its readers and this time even with more attention thanks to the Abdi Ipekci Prize it was granted in 1982. The purpose of this section is to show the reception of the book during the military regime.

When the military regime took control over Turkey in 12 September 1980, the country was struggling with anarchy and terror as stated in the previous section. Despite the random killings of the political and public figures during the coup, the harassment, torture and arrests continued. This time it was conducted under the provision of the military regime. Suppression of human liberties created limitations on freedom of expression. It was a period when books were considered weapons. During the military regime thousands of books were burned and casted away. Many publishing houses were closed down and investigated. Among the ‘black list’ of the military regime there was also Belge Yayınevi which was also owned by Ragıp Zarakolu. In order to attract less attention Belge published mostly academic studies during the 12 September period. However after publishing Mete Tuncay’s *New Information about the Old Left*, the editor of Belge, Ayşenur Zarakolu was imprisoned and the book was collected. After her release in 1982 this time she got into trouble at Alan Yayıncılık because of *Farewell Anatolia*.⁹⁴

As stated in the previous chapter, in 1982 the publishing rights of the Turkish translation of *Farewell Anatolia* was given to Alan Yayıncılık. Similar to Belge Yayıncılık, Alan Yayıncılık was also under the investigation of the regime. Some of the books that were published by Alan were considered as ‘taboo subjects’ and were regarded as ‘threats to social order’ by the

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Ş. Akkoyunlu, “12 Eylül’ün Karası, Kitapların Yangını”, *Zaman*, 12.09.2010.

military regime, one of such was the *History of the Turkish Communist Party* which was banned and destroyed.⁹⁵ Among the books that ‘threatens the social order’, according to the military regime, was also Sotiriou’s *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu’ya*, which put both the editor of Alan Publishing, Ayşe Zarakolu and the translator of the book Atilla Tokatlı on a trial in 1982.

Tokatlı and Zarkolu were prosecuted by the Istanbul Martial Law Court based on the article 159 ‘insult on Turkish army’.⁹⁶ Zeynep Oral commented on the subject: ⁹⁷

“During the period of September 12 there were so many books that were prohibited that it was not a surprise to learn that Farewell Anatolia was one of them. In my opinion there was nothing in the book which insulted ‘being Turkish’. The only subject that was insulted in the book was the notion of ‘violence’. From this point of view I believe that the book really had a positive contribution to the peoples of both countries.”

Consequently, like the hundreds of other books during the military regime, *Farewell Anatolia* was also prohibited and despite the endeavor of the publishing house to protect the books from being collected, they were all taken by the military officers in Ankara and were sent to the Istanbul Courthouse which was “*full of other prohibited books from its floor to the ceiling.*”⁹⁸ Hopefully the prosecution was acquitted. Ragıp Zarakolu explained his point of view about the acquittal decision: ⁹⁹

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BBC News, 12 April 2008.

96

Limitations on, freedom of expression, still exists in the Turkish constitution through the Article 301. For more information please check <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp2008/rp08-090.pdf>

97

The interview by Zeynep Oral, 02 September 2011.

98

The interview by Ragıp Zarakolu, 06 August 2011, Istanbul.

99

Ibid.

“Thanks to some of our brave judges, an acquittal decision was taken. Despite the pressures from the military regime and possibilities of banishment or even arrests, there were some judges that remained loyal to the democratic laws.”

Another reason for the acquittal was the Abdi İpekçi Prize that Sotiriou was granted and an appreciation to her contribution to Greek- Turkish rapprochement. This prize was organized in the honor of Abdi İpekçi who was the chief editor of *Milliyet* until his murder in 1979. Apart from being a journalist, he was also a lecturer at the University of Istanbul and was also the Vice President of the international Press Institute (IPI).¹⁰⁰ Only few days before his assassination, he was in Athens attending a discussion on how Greek and Turkish journalists can contribute to improve the relations between the two countries.¹⁰¹ Before his visit to Athens he wrote in *Milliyet* about the importance of the role of the journalists for the Greco- Turkish relations. He commented that: ¹⁰²

“The duty of the politicians is to solve the Turkish- Greek problems with peaceful solutions. However, a very important role can be played through the mass media. The Turkish and Greek mass media can simplify or encumber the politicians’ job.”

His assassination raised many questions which has been unanswered until now. For instance the escape of his assassin from a well-protected prison, his murder after his attempt to create a friendly environment within the two countries created speculations that this was much more than an ordinary murder, it was a well-designed and organized plan. In the *Duvar* documentary movie which had a section honoring Abdi İpekçi, the connection of his assassins and a paramilitary organization was investigated. Despite the many unanswered questions,

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The booklet of the program of Abdi İpekçi Peace and Friendship Prize, ELIA, File # 30.

101

A. Heil, “Fallout from ‘Earthquake Diplomacy’ Leads to Unprecedented Thaw in Greek- Turkish Relations”, *Washington Reports on Middle East Affairs*, April 2000.

102

Milliyet, 15 November 1978.

there is still one definite thing to claim ‘that his murder caused anarchy and terror in the country which eventually opened a gate for the coup of 12 September 1980.’¹⁰³

After his assassination, a Greek civil engineer named Andreas Politakis offered to conduct the ‘Greek- Turkish Peace and Friendship Prize’ in memory of İpekçi. His offer was accepted and was soon announced in the newspapers *Eleftherotypia* and *Milliyet*. Three journalists played a significant role in granting this prize; Mr. Louis Danos, political editor, at the time of, *Eleftherotypia*, Mr. Seraphim Fyndanides, editor in chief of the same newspaper and Mr. Mustafa Gursel, corresponded for *Milliyet*, who was stationed in Athens at the time. The prize was important in terms of sustaining a better relationship between the people of both countries. After the endeavor of journalists from both sides, the first ceremony took place in Athens on March 1981 while the second one took place in Istanbul on February 1983. Members of the second committee were; K. Stefanakis, St. Geranis, the wife of poet N. Vretokas and Prof. Emre Kongar.¹⁰⁴

Aziz Nesin was also invited to become a member of the committee but refused in order to not attract negative reactions against the ceremony from the government. Nesin was an important Turkish journalist and writer, known for his leftist views. He wrote more than 100 books, novels and satires that criticized politics and society.¹⁰⁵

Aziz Nesin stressed upon the significance of the Abdi İpekçi Prize in a letter that he wrote in 1983 to the Greek committee members of the prize. Nesin stated that Greece and Turkey were two brother countries which were competing in armament. However, the committee of the Abdi İpekçi Prize was an example of the developing brotherly and peaceful relations between

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A Documentary Movie *Duvar* directed by Günel Çatlak in 1992.

104

The booklet of the program of Abdi İpekçi Peace and Friendship Prize, taken from the Hellenic Literacy and Historical Archive (ELIA), File # 30.

105

E. Pace, “Aziz Nesin of Turkey dies at 80; Writer escaped Militant’s Arson”, *The New York Times*, 07.07.1995.

Greece and Turkey and the committee members played an important role in the contribution of the rapprochement of relations ¹⁰⁶

Zeynep Oral, a well-known journalist who worked in various newspapers including *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* was responsible for the discourse of the Turkish side in the second ceremony of Abdi Ipekci Prize stated that: ¹⁰⁷

“We decided by a consensus from the jury that it was but inevitable to give the ‘Abdi Ipekci Prize’ to Sotiriou. We believed that the prohibition against the book would be lifted if the book gained the prize.”

Fortunately Oral was right and the prohibition against the book was lifted and the court acquitted all charges. After the acquittal, a truly amazing thing happened, the Turkish Land Forces Commandership ordered more than one hundred of Sotiriou’s book *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu’ya*.¹⁰⁸

As can be observed from the statements, the Abdi Ipekci Prize played an important role in improving the Greco- Turkish relations. People who worked for the establishment of this organization, the journalists and the committee members contributed to this rapprochement. On the other hand, within the organization, the significant role of the prize owners cannot be ignored. Therefore Sotiriou through her *Farewell Anatolia* should be regarded as one of the most influential characters of the period. Her importance and success were certified when she was granted the peace prize during the repressive military regime.

III. *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkish Media at 1980s

106

Aziz Nesin’s letter to the committee members of the Abdi Ipekci Prize in 17.01.1983, from ELIA, File # 36.

107

The interview by Zeynep Oral, 02 September 2011.

108

The interview by Ragıp Zarakolu, 06 August 2011, Istanbul.

Taking into account the situation in Turkey during the 1980s, we cannot deny the fact that *Farewell Anatolia* achieved great success in the country. Regardless of both the military repression and the political disputes between the two countries both the writer and the book were praised by the Turkish media. The book contributed to the Greco- Turkish relations positively. The prizes that were given, the panels that were held, the documentary movies that were made, the articles that were written on behalf of Sotiriou and her book provide solid evidence of this positive impact. In this section, the impact of the book in the 1980s can be understood when analyzing related material connected with the book or the writer. Furthermore its connection with the Greek- Turkish Association was being investigated.

In addition to the prize, the trial against the publisher and the translator undoubtedly brought much fame to the book. Just a quick look at the articles and letters written about Sotiriou and her book in 1980s show sure signs of that. Among the articles that I have researched, one of the most informative one was written by Leyla Umar. Umar has been a successful journalist who had worked in various newspapers including *Sabah*, *Milliyet* and *Vatan*. She became the first journalist in Turkey who had the chance to interview Fidel Castro. Other than Castro she has also interviewed many other important political and public figures of the 20th century including Nelson Mandela, Raissa Gorbacov and Dido Sotiriou. In 1986 she took a short trip to Greece to meet Sotiriou, whom she wrote an article about in *Sabah*. In the article she wrote about Sotiriou's life story and a brief description of *Farewell Anatolia*. In her article, Umar informed the readers about the Abdi Ipekci Prize that Sotiriou was granted due to her honor and honesty. She also dedicates a section to Sotiriou's comments on her happiness for being granted the Abdi Ipekci Prize which was much more important to her than winning a Nobel Prize.¹⁰⁹

As the book gained much fame after winning the prize, an endeavor for the Turkish intellectuals rose for Sotiriou to visit Turkey. In a letter that Umar sent to Sotiriou after visiting her in Greece she mentioned Sotiriou's admirers, they were willing to pay for all her expenses. Sotiriou wanted to come to Turkey.

109

L. Umar, "Namuslu Kalmanın Mutluluğuna Kavuştu", *Sabah*, 01 November 1986, ELIA, File # 27.

According to Umar's letter, one of her admirers was Cem Boyner, "an industrialist who is known for his honesty as well as for his love for art and literature." In the same letter Umar tried to persuade Sotiriou to come for a visit stating: "I have such a great admiration for you, I have to introduce you to all the Turks who believe in love between people."¹¹⁰ As can be observed from the letter even before her visit to Turkey, Sotiriou had a great number of admirers.

Finally due to the intense efforts of the journalist and the publishing house, on November 1987, Sotiriou was invited as a guest author to the 6th Istanbul TUYAP Book Exhibition which displayed more than 20.000 books and more than 100 institutions of publishing houses and book stores attended. The third day of the exhibition was devoted to Dido Sotiriou who conducted discussion sessions about her books and gave autographs to her readers.¹¹¹ She received intense attention from a large group of Turkish readers. During her discussion, she pointed out that though she had health problems she came just to meet the children of the Turkish people who had inspired her stories. Later on, Sotiriou commented that Turkish readers did not evaluate *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu'ya* only as a literary success but more importantly they identified with the honesty and warmth of the book.

During her visit to Istanbul, a reception was held for honoring Sotiriou at Ramada Hotel. Other than intellectuals, many mainstream figures attended the reception. Semra Özal, the wife of the prime minister of the period, was also among the ones that attended. Her attendance caused a stir in the media. While Sotiriou signed *Farewell Anatolia* for Özal, photos were taken which symbolized the warmth of the Greco- Turkish relations.¹¹² The reception was also significant due to the fact that this would be the first time the translator Atilla Tokatlı would meet Sotiriou face to face. However, they had already known each other

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A letter sent by Leyla Umar to Dido Sotiriou on 05.July.1987, ELIA, File # 37.

111

Milliyet, 10 November 1987, p. 10, ELIA, File # 27.

112

M. Coşkun, "Yunanlı Dido Satirio'dan Semra Özal'a *Benden Selam Olsun Anadolu'ya*", *Sabah*, 10 November 1987, ELIA, File # 27.

when the president of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce of the period, Ertuğrul Soysal, had called Sotiriou to express his deep admiration for *Farewell Anatolia*, which was published in Turkish in 1970.

Before this phone call, Sotiriou who was under the probation of the Greek junta did not know about the Turkish translation of the book. After learning about it, she sent a letter to Tokatlı, and stated that “*You are a communist, I am a communist but we met thanks to a capitalist.*”¹¹³

Sotiriou had directly affected all sections of society, from intellectuals to industrialists, from ordinary people to even military officers. In order to keep the ‘Davos Spirit’ alive and to contribute to the Turkish- Greek rapprochement Greek intellectuals were invited to the 7th TUYAP Book Exhibition on November 1988. Other than the prestigious Greek musicians; Yannis Ritsos and Nikiforas Vrettakos and the Historian Prof. Nikos Svoronos, Dido Sotiriou was invited the second time.¹¹⁴ In a cocktail given for her honor she commented about “*the power of art builds bridges among people.*”¹¹⁵

A solid evidence of Sotiriou’s effect on the Turkish public sphere can also be observed through the letters that were sent to her especially after the TUYAP Exhibitions. Among her admirers there was also Osman Bleda, who was working on the Greek translations of Belge Yayinevi. Thanks to him, many Greek works of art were translated into Turkish including Maria Yordanidu’s *Loksandra*, Kastanakis’s *Haci Manuil: What happened in Beykoz* and Vizyinos’s *Moskof Selim*. In one of his letters to Sotiriou, he commented that while Hitler or Talat Pasha played a role in history as the murderers of people, Sotiriou wrote a peaceful and

113

M. Aşık, “Bizden de Selam Dido’ya”, *Milliyet*, 11 November 1987, p. 9.

114

Milliyet, 11 August 1988, p.10.

115

Milliyet, 09 November 1988, p. 10.

friendly/loving book. Instead of a sword she took her place in history with a pencil. Furthermore she achieved to gain love, admiration and respect in Greece and Turkey.¹¹⁶

Dido Sotiriou's contribution to Greek and Turkish friendship was not limited with her novels. She was also a founding member of the 'Turkish and Greek Friendship Association.' Many other intellectuals such as Mikis Teodarakis, Zülfü Livaneli and Aziz Nesin were also among the founding members. The association which was founded in the late 1970s, was interrupted by the September 12 Coup in Turkey and by some politicians connected with the ultra-nationalist societies.¹¹⁷

To conclude, the foundation of Abdi İpekçi Peace Prize inspired a new phase for the Greco-Turkish relations. The association became more active in both countries after the second ceremony of the prize Sotiriou was given in 1983. In Balkenhol and Okay's documentary movie about Sotiriou, Aziz Nesin, commented that "*our association struggles to eliminate hostile statements against the Greeks in history and literature books, this is essential for the continuation of brotherhood throughout societies.*"¹¹⁸ In an interview I had with Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, which is another prominent association for the Greco-Turkish rapprochement, the general secretary Sefer Güvenç stated that "*the Turkey and Greece Friendship Association was founded in a most tremulous time by intellectuals like Aziz Nesin. The association contributed to Greco-Turkish relations by breaking down the prejudices between the societies.*"¹¹⁹

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A letter sent by Osman Bleda to Dido Sotiriou on 14 December 1987, ELIA, File # 37.

117

<http://www.istanbulrumazinligi.com/index.php?m=art&c=806&n=641>

118

T. Balkenhol and E. Okay, op.cit.

119

An interview by the general secretary of the Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, Sefer Güvenç, in 16 June 2011.

CONCLUSION

The main target of this thesis was to analyze the impact of Dido Sotiriou's *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkish public sphere. Following this target, I have presented a biography of Sotirou, in the first chapter. The presenting of Sotiriou's biography brought closer to the reader her political beliefs and life time experiences which inspired her in writing the novel. Furthermore, I have added a brief summary of *Farewell Anatolia*, which I believe is very useful in terms of displaying the peaceful message that she aimed to pass over to the Turkish society.

In the second chapter, I have explained the publication history of *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkish language which was published firstly in 1970 by Sander Yayincilik. Through the presentation of the publishing house and a brief biography of the translator of the book, Atilla Tokatli, I have aimed at explaining the endeavor of the Turkish intellectuals to introduce *Farewell Anatolia* to the Turkish readers. The number of languages the book was translated into is shown as an evidence of the success of the book not only in Turkey but in the other countries

as well. In this chapter, I also aimed at highlighting the success of the book in Turkey through the number of the copies produced and the sales it accomplished through three different publishing houses. I proceeded by describing the Turkish politics and the Greco- Turkish relations during the 1970s in order to analyze the context which can affect the reception of the book. I have referred to the social turmoil in the country and the assassination of Abdi Ipekci in 1979. I have also highlighted the fact that, despite the hostile atmosphere and the deterioration in Greco- Turkish relations due to the Cyprus Issue and the Aegean Continental Shelf Dispute during the 1970s, there was no negative reaction against the writer and the book as it continued to be praised by the most prestigious writers in the Turkish media.

I have begun my last chapter by conducting an overview of the Turkish political scene and the Greco- Turkish relations during the 1980s. I have explained the military intervention of September 12, 1980 which lasted more than three years and resulted in the limitations of the political and civil liberties. I have also described the positive political developments between Greece and Turkey due to ‘Davos Meeting’ but also the continuity of the bilateral problems related with the Cyprus and the continental shelf. After giving the political background of the decade, I have explained the trial against the publishing house and the translator of *Farewell Anatolia* in the late 1982, by the Istanbul Martial Court. I have continued with the reception of the book during the military regime by presenting the Abdi Ipekci Peace Prize that Sotirou was granted in 1983. I have offered information about activities like the Abdi Ipekci Prize which contributed to the rapprochement of Greece and Turkey. I have concluded my last chapter stating that *Farewell Anatolia* and Dido Sotirou have taken much space in Turkish media and received much attention from the all sorts of people when the book gained fame after the trial and the Ipekci Prize. I have also referred to TUYAP Book Exhibition held in 1987-88 where Sotiriou was invited as a guest writer. I have commented the importance of her visit for the Greco- Turkish relations. I have also commented the significance of the Turkey and Greece Friendship Association for the good relations of the two countries and added the importance of Sotiriou to this association as a symbol of ‘peace’.

As I have provided the necessary background information, so I can repeat my research question. What is the impact of the *Farewell Anatolia* in Turkish public sphere? Throughout the thesis, I have tried to explain that both Sotiriou and *Farewell Anatolia*, contributed fairly

to the Greco- Turkish rapprochement. It created a ‘bridge of friendship’ between the two countries. Aziz Nesin, who was one of the founding members of the Turkish- Greek Friendship Association, supported my assertion. Nesin commented that:¹²⁰

“Dido endeavored much, in order to develop peaceful emotions between Turkish and Greek people. The contribution of Farewell Anatolia to this rapprochement is also undeniable. Dido is not only a very good friend of mine but she is a friend of all Turkish people.”

Sotiriou, as one of the founding members of the Greek- Turkish Friendship Association, assisted the elimination of hostile statements from the educational books of Turkey and Greece. As a sign of hope for the future relations, *Farewell Anatolia* has started to be distributed to students as ‘cultural gift’ in both countries.

Moreover through this thesis, I have also highlighted the importance of the role of journalists, publishers and translators who struggled in conditions with restricted freedom and political and civil rights, to convey the messages of Sotirou throughout *Farewell Anatolia*.

The significance of the findings presented in this thesis is contained in their focus on the interplay between the culture and politics, and furthermore, in their explanation by relying on the wider historical context of Greco-Turkish relations. The further research is needed to bring the new light on the role of the literary writers and artistic narratives about the Asia Minor Catastrophe in shaping the historical and national memory of the Greek and Turkish society. Moreover, the further research of the media coverage of the pacifist public figures from Greece in Turkey and vice versa would shed a new light on the relations between the two countries. In that sense, the findings presented in this thesis may be seen as a first step of the most demanding endeavor which would provide more complete understanding of the interplay between history, politics and culture when it comes to the public discourse about the Asia Minor Catastrophe in Greece and about the Turkish war for independence in Turkey.

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T. Balkenhol and E. Okay, op.cit.

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APPENDIX

**EVENTS FROM
THE BOOK**

GENERAL HISTORY

**TURKISH
HISTORY**

**GREEK
HISTORY**

<p>1908 Manoli and his family are in Kirkica. Depiction of a life of “heaven on earth”</p>	<p>Bulgarians claimed independence.</p>	<p>Sultan Abdulhamid was over-thrown by the Young Turks. Sultan Muhammed V came to the power.</p>	<p>The Cretans proclaimed their union with Greece.</p>
<p>1909</p>	<p>European powers withdrew their remaining troops from Crete.</p>	<p>The Young Turks revised the constitution. Sultan’s powers were restricted.</p>	<p>Military League was organized under the leadership of Colonel Zorbas. Premier Rhalles was compelled to resign.</p>

<p>1910 Manoli comes to Izmir for working.</p>	<p>The Young Turk nationalism was resulted in Albanian Revolt.</p>		<p>Venizelos accepted the invitation of military League to serve as its political adviser and arrived to Athens.</p>
<p>1912 Sofia's fiancée dies in the First Balkan War Mihal fled away to Greece, Manoli's brother Panago is taken to the army, Turkish civilians against Greeks.</p>	<p>The Balkan War started. The Balkan states of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria united and declared war against the Ottomans. The Balkan states gained more territory. Adrianople to the Bulgarians.</p>	<p>Turkey ceded all the territory from the west of Enez- Midye line.</p>	<p>Yannina fell to Greeks with the Balkan War.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">1914</p> <p>Kosma Sarapoğlu announces the Sultan's decision to fight against England, France and Russia while being in alliance with Germany and Austria.</p>	<p>With the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo and other factors on background such as imperialism, nationalism and clash of alliance systems on background, the WWI started.</p>	<p>Turkey joined the Central Powers. Two German cruisers Göben and Breslau shelled Odessa and Sebastopol and sank Allied shipping</p>	<p>The London Conference accepted the Greek position and announced that Greece should withdraw all her troops from the territory assigned to Albania.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1915</p> <p>Manoli is taken to the army and sent to a Labor Camp in Ankara. First to Kilisler Village then to Yavşan Village. Finally sent for the service of Turk farmers to Göldere. Armenian refugees are forced to leave their places.</p>	<p>British and French battleships steamed into the Straits sunk by the Turks and withdrew. Therefore one of the Greatest opportunity of taking of Istanbul passed. Four secret treaties for dismembering Turkey has signed; Treaty of Constantinople, Treaty of London, Sykes-Picos Treaty and Saint Jean de Maurinne Treaty.</p>	<p>The Ottoman military uprooted Armenians from their homes and forced them to march for Syria.</p>	

<p>1916 Seraphim gives the details of withdrawal of the Turkish army from Pontus and how they drag thousands of family while withdrawing.</p>	<p>In September, a German-Bulgarian force occupied Kavalla which convinced Venizelos to form a revolutionary movement to bring Greece into the war.</p>		<p>Venizelos accused the king of authoritarianism and he refused to participate in the election. So Royalist party that supports Constantine won a majority.</p>
<p>1917 While Manoli is in Soğanlı barrack, he is informed about the Russian Revolution. Manoli escaped from the barracks.</p>	<p>Entry of the US into the war. An ultimatum sent by Allies to Constantine to resign and Venizelos became the premier. Tsarist autocracy was destroyed in Russia which led to the creation of Soviet Union.</p>		<p>Allies presented an ultimatum, forced Constantine to abdicate. Venizelos became the premier and brought Greece into the war on the Allied side.</p>

<p>1918 Anika informed Manoli and her brother of the truce. Manoli returns to Kırkica.</p>	<p>The Armistice of Moudros ended the Hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies. Armistice was followed by partitioning of the Empire. Allied victory. The Great Britain conquered Mosol based on Moudros Treaty.</p>		
<p>1919 Kırkica villagers take up arms. Greek army enters the Kırkica village. Kırkica villagers join the Greek army.</p>		<p>Kemal traveled the country, organizing popular support for his nationalist movement. Kemal's followers won a majority in elections.</p>	<p>The Greek troops landed at Smyrna and occupied the hinterland.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">1920</p>	<p>"Treaty of Sevres" has been signed between the Ottoman Empire and the allies. The Greek premier, Venizelos, was able to overcome Italian opposition to his claims in Asia Minor. The Sevres Treaty also allocated to Greeks Eastern Thrace and many islands in the Aegean, inc. Imbros and Tenedos. The Great Britain obtained Palestine and Mesopotamia as mandates and legalized her hold over Cyprus and Egypt. It has consolidated its primacy in the Arabian Peninsula and became the mistress of Constantinople and the Black Sea.</p>	<p>The Grand National Assembly was convened in Ankara on April 23, 1920. The Constantine regime was denounced and provisional government was formed under the leadership of Kemal.</p>	<p>Elections resulted in defeat of Venizelos and King Constantine came to the power. He also pursued the same policy of a Greater Greece.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1921</p> <p>Manoli returns back to the front from a hospital in Izmir and meet with communist soldier, Drossakis from Crete. Criticism of betrayal of French and England which left the Greek army helpless.</p>	<p>Italy struck back Greece, her rival, withdrew her forces and give diplomatic support to the Turks for the Turks to regain Smyrna and Eastern Thrace. France signed a pact with the Turks defining frontier between Syria and Turkey. Negotiations between Russia and Turkey as they both had a common enemy, Great Britain. Therefore a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed between them. Operations in Asia Minor began by Greek army, communications problems occurred within the army.</p>	<p>Kemal exploited the serious differences among the Allies to conclude separate treaties with them. Kemal signed the first pact with Italians and French and finally Russia.</p>	<p>Greeks were left alone to face the Turkish nationalist upsurge in Asia Minor.</p>

<p>1922</p> <p>Manoli and his battalion are in Afyonkarahisar during Kemal's the Great Offensive. The Greek army retreat from the Asia Minor, burning the villages and slaughtering the civilians. The Greek civilians gathered in Izmir while atrocities done by the Turkish guerillas, receive no help from their allies. The Great Fire of Izmir destroyed much of the city. Manoli and other refugees flee with ships to the Aegean Islands.</p>		<p>The Battle of Dumlupinar was the last battle of the Greco-Turkish war. The end of the battle of Dumlupinar spelt the beginning of the end for the Greek presence in Anatolia. The Lausanne Conference developed as a deal between the British representative, Lord Curzon and the Turkish representative, Ismet Pasha. Lausanne Treaty represented a great victory for Turkish nationalism.</p>	
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