



HELLENIC LINK–MIDWEST Newsletter

A CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC LINK WITH GREECE

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Upcoming Events

The Dynamics of Imposing the Congressional Arms Embargo on Turkey (February 1975) and its Repealing by the Carter Administration (August 1978)

On Sunday, April 19, 2015, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents Professor Christos P. Ioannides, Director of the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at Queens College, City University of New York, in a lecture titled: “*The Dynamics of imposing the Congressional Arms Embargo on Turkey (February 1975) and its repealing by the Carter Administration (August 1978)*”. The event will take place at 3 pm at the Four Points by Sheraton Hotel, 10249 West Irving Park Road at Schiller Park (southeast corner of Irving Park Road and Mannheim Road). Admission is free for current HLM members and students with ID, and \$5 for non-members.

The Turkish invasion of Cyprus that took place in two phases, on July 20 and August 14, 1974, resulted in the occupation of 38% of Cypriot territory (that is still ongoing) and in 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees. In the immediate aftermath of the invasion, there was an unprecedented Greek American mobilization that led Congress to impose an embargo of arms on Turkey, a close American ally. The main argument for imposing the embargo was the “Rule of Law,” meaning that Turkey violated American law by using US supplied arms for aggressive purposes, the invasion of Cyprus. Through grass roots mobilization, that included protest rallies—several took place in Chicago—Greek Americans succeeded in influencing Congress to cut off military aid to Turkey despite the strong opposition from President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger. The arms embargo lasted from February 1975 to August 1978, when the Carter Administration succeeded in overturning it. During his campaign as the Democratic presidential candidate, Carter made explicit promises to Greek Americans to uphold the “Rule of Law” and seek the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation army from Cyprus. The question is why President Carter, a champion of human rights, reneged on his electoral promises and lifted the embargo. A combination of reasons account for Carter’s reversal. But in the final analysis, when it came to the Eastern Mediterranean and the triangle, Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, the Carter State Department did not really depart from the *realpolitik* of Kissinger’s State Department.

Professor Ioannides received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He has written extensively on Greek American Affairs; Cyprus and Greek-Turkish relations; The European Union and its relations with Greece, Cyprus and Turkey; and Middle Eastern Affairs. He currently teaches courses on Ethnic Politics and the Greek American community and also on Major Immigrant Groups in New York since the 1900s with emphasis on Greek Americans. Professor Ioannides has given many lectures around the US, Canada and Australia; has written extensively in the Greek American and Greek press and has given interviews to Greek, Greek-American, British and Australian radio & TV.

The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks, 1914-1923: American Accounts Documenting the Deportations and Massacres against the Greeks of Asia Minor in 1921

On Sunday May 17, 2015, Hellenic Link Midwest presents Savvas Koktzoglou in a lecture titled: “*The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks, 1914-1923: American Accounts Documenting the Deportations and Massacres of the Greeks in the Black Sea Region of Asia Minor in 1921*”. The event will take place at 3 pm at the Cultural Center of the Hellenic-American Community of Greater Chicago, 5941 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60646. Admission is free for HLM current members and students with ID, and \$5 for non-members.

In their war diaries the Commanders of American Navy ships in the Black Sea documented with astonishing detail the deportations and massacres against the Greeks in the Pontus region of Asia Minor. Mr. Koktzoglou will present documents from the war diaries, dating back to 1921 that he has photographed at the U.S. National Archives. These documents have not been published before and will be presented for the first time. They provide us with additional evidence that the campaign against the Greek communities in Asia Minor was Genocide.

The tragic experience of the Asia Minor Greeks in the hands of Nationalist/Kemalist Turks, as well as his own family’s experience, led Mr. Koktzoglou to search for evidence that the crimes committed in 1914-1923 against the Greek minority in Asia Minor was Genocide. His interest to learn more about these events became greater when he read in a book that the commander of an American destroyer at a Turkish port in the Black Sea

went on a fact-finding mission to verify Turkish atrocities at a Greek village.

In 2012 and 2013 Mr. Koktzoglou went to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. to search for the American ship commander's diary. He not only found the commander's diary that he was looking for, but also the diaries of seven other American destroyers that were calling on Black Sea ports to protect American interests and businesses in the area. These ships were also there to protect American missionaries and relief workers who were providing humanitarian aid to Greek and Armenian orphans and deportees, and to Russian refugees who were fleeing the Communist regime.

Mr. Koktzoglou has a M.S. degree in Mechanical Engineering (University of Pennsylvania) and has worked in senior level engineering positions in both the private and government sector. He is the current Vice President of the Hellenic Link-Midwest, and the President of the Pontian Greek Society of Chicago. He has been active in calling for the recognition of the Ottoman Greek Genocide and has contributed in reprinting two historical books, a teaching guide on Genocide, and three conferences in Chicago (2008, 2009, and 2010) on the same subject.

From Our History

The Fate of the Vanquished

Excerpt from S. Runciman's book "The Fall of Constantinople, 1453" continued from the previous issue

First among these duties was to see to the welfare of the Orthodox Church. Mehmet was well aware of its difficulties during recent years, and he could now fully inform himself about its details. He learnt that the Unionist Patriarch, Gregory Mammas, had fled from the city in 1451 and that in the general opinion of the Greeks he had thus forfeited his throne. A new Patriarch must be elected; and it was obvious that there was one man fitted for the post, the revered leader of the opposition to Union, the scholar George Scholarius Gennadius.

When the city fell George Scholarius was in his cell at the monastery of the Pantocrator. Its great triple church had at once attracted the invading hordes. While some of them sacked the buildings others rounded up the monks to sell them into slavery. When the Sultan sent to summon George to his presence he could not be found. Eventually it was discovered that he had been bought by a rich Turk of Adrianople, who was impressed and somewhat embarrassed by his acquisition of so venerable and learned a slave and who was treating him with the utmost courtesy. His capture was reported to the Sultan; and a few days later envoys arrived at his house to escort George back to Constantinople.

Mehmet had already decided on the general lines of his policy towards his Greek subjects. They were to form a

millet, a self-governing community within his empire, under the authority of their religious head, the Patriarch, who would be responsible for their good behavior before the Sultan. After some discussion George Scholarius was persuaded to accept the Patriarchate. Such bishops as could be found nearby were assembled to form the Holy Synod; and, at the Sultan's request, they formally elected George, under his monastic name of Gennadius, to the Patriarchal throne. This was probably done before the Sultan left Constantinople at the end of June; but the dating is a little uncertain. Some months seem to have elapsed before Gennadius was officially enthroned. The ceremony probably took place on 6 January 1454. The procedure was copied from that of Byzantine times. In his role of Emperor the Sultan received the new Patriarch in audience and handed to him the insignia of office, the robes, the staff and the pectoral cross. The old cross had disappeared; either it had been lost in the sack of the city or the previous Patriarch, Gregory Mammas, had absconded with it to Rome; so the Sultan himself provided a new and splendid cross. A formula for the Sultan to utter was evolved. It ran: '*Be Patriarch, with good fortune, and be assured of our friendship, keeping all the privileges that the Patriarchs before you enjoyed.*' The new Patriarch then mounted on a fine horse, the gift of the Sultan, and rode to the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was to be the Patriarchal Church, now that the Church of the Holy Wisdom was a mosque. There, according to the ancient custom, he was enthroned by the Metropolitan of Heraclea. He then moved in procession round the city, returning to take up his residence in the precincts of the Holy Apostles.

Meanwhile the Sultan and Patriarch worked out together the new constitution for the Greek *millet*. According to Phrantzes, who probably obtained his information while he was still in captivity, Mehmet gave Gennadius a written document promising him personal inviolability, exemption from paying taxes, complete security from deposition, complete freedom of movement, and the right to transmit these privileges to his successors for evermore; and similar privileges were to be enjoyed by the senior metropolitans and Church officials who formed the Holy Synod. There is no reason for doubting this evidence; though the freedom from deposition naturally did not cancel the right of the Holy Synod to depose a Patriarch by declaring his election to have been uncanonical, as had often happened in Byzantine times. The Patriarchal chroniclers of the next century claimed that in another written document the Sultan promised Gennadius that the customs of the Church with regard to marriage and burial should be legally sanctioned, that the Orthodox should celebrate Easter as a feast and be allowed freedom of movement during the three days of the feast, and that no more churches were to be converted into mosques. The right of the Church to administer the Christian community seems to have been taken for granted, to judge from later *berats* issued by the Turkish authorities to confirm the election of bishops

and to state their duties. Ecclesiastical courts were empowered to hear all cases between the Orthodox that had a religious significance, including those that concerned marriage and divorce, testaments and the guardianship of minors. Lay courts set up by the Patriarch dealt with all other civil cases between Orthodox litigants. Only criminal cases and cases in which a Moslem was involved went to the Turkish courts. The Church itself did not collect the taxes due from the Greek communities to the State. That was the duty of the local headman. But the Church might be required to threaten excommunication and other religious penalties against Christians who did not pay their taxes or who in other ways failed to obey the commands of the State. The clergy were free from the obligation to pay taxes, though they could make contributions that were nominally voluntary. They alone among the Christians were allowed to wear beards; and every Christian had to wear a distinctive dress; and none could bear arms. The taking of male children to form the corps of Janissaries was to continue.

In general these were the terms that Christian communities traditionally could expect from Moslem conquerors. But the Greeks of Constantinople were granted one special concession. The pathetic little embassies that had hastened to the Sultan's presence with the keys of their districts as he waited to enter the conquered city were rewarded for their enterprise. Officially the Conqueror seems only to have demanded that the great Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom should be converted into a mosque. Elsewhere, except in the protected districts of Petrion and Phanar, Studium and Psamathia, the Christians did in fact lose their churches. Nearly all of them had been thoroughly sacked and desecrated and the quarters in which they stood had been devastated. It would have been pointless to have tried to restore and reconsecrate them even if permission had been granted. It was enough, and more, indeed, than the optimists could have expected, that so many churches were left to them, to puzzle Turkish lawyers of a later date who could not understand why in a city that had been stormed the vanquished should have retained any of their shrines.

The arrangement suited the conquering Sultan; for he decided that these were the quarters in which his Greek subjects in Constantinople should dwell; and they would have to have buildings in which to carry on their worship. But as time went on his settlement was forgotten. One by one the old Christian churches were taken from them to be converted into mosques, till by the eighteenth century only three Byzantine shrines remained in Christian hands, the church known as Saint Mary of the Mongols, preserved by a special decree of the Conqueror granted to his favorite architect. Christodulus the Greek, and two chapels so tiny as to be overlooked, Saint Demetrius Kanavou and Saint George of the Cypresses. Elsewhere the Christians worshipped in newer buildings, of unobtrusive design, so as not to

offend the eyes of the victorious Moslems.

The Patriarch Gennadius himself had begun the process. The Church of the Holy Apostles, assigned to him by Mehmet, was in a state of disrepair; and it would have been costly to put it in order, if, indeed, the Christians would have been allowed to redecorate so grand an edifice. The district in which it stood was settled by Turks who resented its presence. Then one day, probably in the summer of 1454, the corpse of a Turk was found in its courtyard. It had doubtless been planted there; but its presence justified the Turks in making hostile demonstrations. Gennadius prudently asked permission to move his seat. Collecting all the treasures and relics that were preserved in the church he took them to the Phanar quarter, to the convent church of the Pammaacaristos. The nuns were moved to buildings attached to the nearby church of Saint John in Trullo; and Gennadius and his staff moved into the nunnery. The Pammaacaristos remained the Patriarchal church for more than a century. There the Conquering Sultan would come to visit his friend Gennadius, for whom he developed a high regard. He would not enter the church itself for fear that zealous followers would later use that as an excuse for taking over the building; but he and Gennadius would converse in the side chapel, whose exquisite mosaics are now once more being revealed to the world. They discussed politics and religion; and at the Sultan's request Gennadius wrote for him a short and eirenical treatise, explaining and justifying the points on which Christian doctrine differed from that of Islam. The Sultan's tact was wasted. In 1586 his descendant Murad III annexed the church and converted it into a mosque.

In the meantime Sultan Mehmet had set about the rebuilding of Constantinople. At first its desolation had appalled him. His architects continued with the great palace that he had planned at Adrianople, on an island in the river Maritsa, as though he intended to make that his chief residence. But soon he changed his mind. He was the heir now of the Caesars; he must live in the Imperial city. He made himself a small palace on the central ridge of the city, near where the University now stands, and he began to draw plans for a greater palace on the site of the ancient acropolis. Turks from all over his dominions were encouraged to settle in the city. The government provided help for the building of houses and shops for them. The Greeks who had lived there and the captives that they had redeemed were promised security; and they too seem to have received governmental aid. A number of noble Byzantine families who had fled in recent years to the provinces were persuaded to return by hints that they would enjoy the privileges due to their rank; though the only privileges that their rank secured for many of them were imprisonment and even death, lest their eminence might make them leaders of subversion. When the last pockets of Greek freedom were extinguished most of their inhabitants were forcibly moved to Constantinople. Five thousand families were brought there from Trebizond and its neighboring cities. These

included not only the noble families but shop-keepers and artisans, and, in particular, masons to help in the construction of new houses, new bazaars, new palaces and new fortifications. Then, as tranquility resumed and with it prosperity, more and more Greeks came of their own free will to take advantage of the openings for merchants and for craftsmen that the splendid reborn city provided. On the heels of the Greeks and specially encouraged by the Sultan came Armenians, rivaling the Greeks in their desire to dominate the commercial and financial life of the city, and with them, equally hopefully, numbers of Jews. Turks too kept pouring in,

to enjoy the amenities of the capital that they had conquered. Long before his death in 1481 Sultan Mehmet could look with pride on the new Constantinople, a city where new buildings were daily rising and where workshops and bazaars hummed with activity. Since the conquest its population had increased fourfold; within a century it would number more than half a million. He had destroyed the old crumbling metropolis of the Byzantine Emperors, and in its place he had created a new and splendid metropolis in which he intended his subjects of all creeds and all races to live together in order, prosperity and peace.

From the Riches of Our Cultural Heritage

Poetry by Kostis Palamas

ΡΟΔΟΥ ΜΟΣΚΟΒΟΛΗΜΑ

Εφέτος άγρια μ' έδειρεν η βαρυχειμωνιά
που μ' έπιασε χωρίς φωτιά και μ' ήυρε χωρίς νιάτα,
κι ώρα την ώρα πρόσμενα να σωριαστώ βαριά
στη χιονισμένη στράτα.

Μα χτες καθώς με θάρρεψε το γέλιο του Μαρτιού
και τράβηξα να ξαναβρώ τ' αρχαία τα μονοπάτια,
στο πρώτο μοσκοβόλημα ενός ρόδου μακρινού
μου δάκρυσαν τα μάτια.

ΤΑ ΦΤΕΡΑ

Ολόλευκα, ολόχρυσά,
τα φτερά των αγγέλων μου φαντάζουν.
Όμως ο Έρωτας έχει φτερά που αλλάζουν.
Τα μαλακά φτερά του αράδα-αράδα
τριανταφυλλένια, βυσσινιά,
κοκκινισμένα σαν τη θάλασσα, την ώρα
που τη λιγώνουν του ήλιου τα φιλιά.

Τα ωραία φτερούγια των αγγέλων μου
σαλεύουν πάντα αργά,
και ανοίγουν, και είν' ακόμα σαν κλειστά.
Αλλά τα λιγερά φτερούγια του Έρωτα
ποτέ δεν ησυχάζουν...δεν αναπαύονται...
...καρδούλες μοιάζουν.

SCENT OF A ROSE

What a harsh winter this year
that caught me fireless and youthless—what a beat,
incessantly being afraid of tumbling heavily
on the snow covered street.

But yesterday, as the beam of March heartened me
and I headed for finding again the ancient ways,
in the first sensing of the scent of a rose from afar
tears filled my eyes.

THE WINGS

Snow-white, all of gold,
appear to be the wings of my angels.
Yet Eros has wings that constantly change.
His tender wings sequentially
rosy and purple become,
reddened like the sea, while she
is intoxicated by the kisses of the sun.

The lovely pinions of my angels
are always moving slowly,
and though spreading yet seem to be furled.
But the slender pinions of Eros
never settle down...never relax...
...they resemble little hearts

CORRECTION

Last issue's mailing incorrectly stated C. Kavafy as the poet of *Μοιραίοι* due to a cut and paste oversight. The correct poet's name is of course **Kostas Varnalis**. We apologize for that mistake. You can find the correct version posted online at <http://www.helleniclinkmidwest.org>