

# ANALYSIS OF THE FENER GREEK PATRIARCHATE AND THE WESTERN THRACE TURKISH MINORITY

#### Ayhan CANKUT\*

ABSTRACT: The Republic of Turkey about the closure of all private schools that give higher education and do not pass to the state (To the Ministry of National Education) has accepted law in 1971. Although to be clearly stated in the Lausanne Treaty and it allowed staying in Turkey in return for the Patriarchate's non-political activities that was wanted to use the Patriarchate as a tool in foreign policy by the United States of America (USA) against the Russian Orthodox Church begun to follow different political system after World War II. The aim of these works in Istanbul, the first step was to constitute a similar independent Vatican model in İstanbul by taking Patriarchate outside the Turkish legal legislation. On the other hand, Greece sees the Turkish Minority in Western Thrace as a threat to the future of the country, and the Turkish population is tried to be eliminated through forced migration and assimilation. In this study, the Greek Government, on the one hand, wants to bring "ecumenical" to the Patriarchate with privileges and a fait accompli for the Patriarchate, other hands against the Western Thrace Turks, who could not even elect their religious representatives, refrained from giving the gains that Turks gained by the Treaty of Lausanne is subject of this study.

**Keywords:** Patriarchate, Ecumenical, Western Thrace, Lausanne Agreement, Minorities.

**JEL Codes:** Y70, Y80, Y20. **DOI:** 10.29131/uiibd.1028969

Received: 26.11.2021 / Accepted: 13.12.2021 / Published: 20.12.2021

# FENER RUM PATRİKHANESİ İLE BATI TRAKYA TÜRK AZINLIĞININ ANALİZİ

Öz: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, yükseköğrenim veren ve devlete (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı'na) geçmeyen tüm özel okulların kapatılmasıyla ilgili olarak 1971 yılında bir yasayı kabul etmiştir. Lozan Antlaşması'nda açıkça Patrikhanenin siyasi olmayan faaliyetleri karşılığında Türkiye'de kalmasına izin verilmesi ifade edilmesine rağmen, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin (ABD) Ruslara karşı Patrikhaneyi dış politikada bir araç olarak kullanmak isteği, Ortodoks Kilisesinin II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra farklı bir siyasi sistem takip etmeye başlamasının yolunu açtı. İstanbul'daki bu siyasetin amacı, ilk adım olarak Patrikhaneyi Türk hukuk sisteminin dışına çıkararak bağımsız, Vatikan'a benzer bir modeli İstanbul'da oluşturmaktı. Öte yandan Yunanistan, Batı Trakya'daki Türk Azınlığı ülkenin geleceğini tehdit olarak görmekte ve Türk nüfusu zorunlu göç ve asimilasyon yoluyla ortadan kaldırılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Yunan Hükümeti'nin bir taraftan Patriklik için imtiyazlar ve bir oldubitti ile Patrikhaneye "ekümeniklik" kazandırmak istemesi, diğer taraftan kendi din temsilcilerini bile seçemeyen Batı Trakya Türklerine karşı Lozan Antlaşması'nın Türklere kazandırdığı kazanımları bile vermekten kaçınması, bu çalışmanın konusudur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Patrikhane, Ekümeniklik, Batı Trakya, Lozan Anlaşması, Azınlıklar.

Jel Kodları: Y70, Y80, Y20.

Geliş tarihi: 26.11.2021 / Kabul Tarihi: 13.12.2021 / Yayın Tarihi: 20.12.2021

\* Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Çağ Üniversitesi, Mersin, a.cankut@hotmail.com, ORCID 0000-0001-8890-2727.

#### Kaynak gösterimi için:

CANKUT, A. (2021). ANALYSIS OF THE FENER GREEK PATRIARCHATE AND THE WESTERN THRACE TURKISH MINORITY, Uluslararası İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi, 7 (2), 63-77. DOI: 10.29131/uiibd.1028969

## 1. Introduction

The Fener Greek Patriarchate, which entered Turkish sovereignty with the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, continued to keep the Byzantine spirit alive even though the Eastern Roman Empire disappeared from the historical scene with the conquest. While The Patriarchate, which continued its life with the concession it received during the Ottoman Empire and became stronger, it had shown its true face when the Empire was weakened with the power it received from other states with had worked against the state. The Patriarchate which itself benefited best from the nationalist movements fueled by the 1789 French Revolution, had organized the Greek people with its churches, riots had planned with the propaganda it had done in the international arena, it had made Greece the first state to found which depart from the Empire. During the period of the national struggle, the Patriarchate which maximized its activities, organization, and international propaganda had worked for Megali Idea (Sahin, 1996: 126). These rapid activities of the Patriarchate had ended with the Treaty of Lausanne and the status of the patriarchate had determined as a minority church.

Together with Patriarch Athenagoras selection in 1945 Patriarchate had now started to become an issue between the United States and Turkey. Wanting to use the power which took from history against Soviet Russia, America had taken over the protection of the patriarchate and had shown it a special interest. Expansion of Athenagoras's jurisdiction, having international relations, increase in the visitor traffic to the patriarchate by the top officials from foreign countries is an indication of this. Turkey which was under threat from the USSR was due to wanting to develop good relations with NATO ally the United States, despite being contrary to the Treaty of Lausanne had ignored these concessions given to the Patriarchate.

The Patriarchate began to see these privileges had given to it as vested rights, relying on powerful states that stand behind has started to act independently of the Republic. Although there was a slowdown in the activities after the death of Athenagoras, the Patriarchate continued its international contacts, in particular. During the Dimitrios period, the Patriarchate building had repaired. When we look at the attendees of the opening ceremony of the building, it is seen how much importance is given to the patriarchate in the world public opinion. Besides, the lobbying activities of the American Archbishop Yakovas in getting the necessary permission to repair the building and the success in guiding the American Government to the event are good examples of how effective the patriarchate was in the US Senate.

Bartholomeos who was elected after the death of Dimitrios is more like a diplomat than a priest by his upbringing. He had started to show this feature from the first days of its selection. Bartholomeos has used environmental meetings both to remind his ecumenical\* and to keep the patriarchate on the agenda. The meetings were usually held at the Heybeliada Clergy School and four times on ships. Major foundations in the EU and USA were being sponsored by the meetings. In the European Parliament, for a long time, the

64

<sup>\*</sup> The general meaning of the term "ecumenical" used by the Christian world today is "Universal". Universality refers to the convergence of churches that have developed since the second half of the 20th century, ignoring the differences between sects, and the "Inter-Churches Union" established by the Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Churches to spread Christianity. This word, which is also used as covering the universe, expresses the religious leadership of all Orthodox in the World (Yalçın, 2012: 479-514).

recognition of the ecumenical status of the patriarchate, the reopening of the Heybeliada Clergy School, the ruined or museumized churches in different parts of Anatolia and the property and rights of the patriarchate was being brought to the agenda. All these demands were part of the European Union's Balkan policy from past to present. Because the majority of the people living in the Balkans are Orthodox and there is a conflict of interest between Russia and the EU in the region. The EU wants to use Orthodoxy as well as its financial power to dominate the region. For this, it tries to give the Fener Patriarchate ecumenical status and to ensure the recognition of her authority over all Orthodox. The number of Orthodox in the EU is low, except for Greece. However, if the patriarchate gains an ecumenical status and the Heybeliada Clergy School is opened, the power of the EU in the Balkans will increase even more with the priests trained in the school.

On the other hand, Greece saw the Western Thrace Turkish Minority as a threat to itself, for this reason, policies aimed at preventing the full use of the rights of the Western Thrace Turks, which they acquired with the Lausanne Peace Treaty, were implemented at every opportunity. This situation ignores the legal rights of Western Thrace Turks and forced them to assimilate.

# 2. Establishment and Activities of the Turkish Orthodox (Fener) Patriarchate

When Istanbul was conquered on May 29, 1453, the Byzantine Church was about to disappear. Patriarch Athanasios resigned because he opposed the unification of the Western and Eastern Churches, and no other had elected or had appointed to replace him (Alkan, 1997: 29). Fatih Sultan Mehmet had ordered the election of a patriarch to the vacant position of patriarch. Upon this order, the church had elected Georgios Skolarios as the new patriarch under the name of Gennadios (Sahin, 1996: 61). Gennnadios II. had chosen not only because he was against Latins, but also because he was a popular clergyman. Gennadios II with a ceremony held on January 6, 1454, became patriarch. The patriarch had been deemed the head of the Orthodox people. Also, Fatih Sultan Mehmet had given the Patriarch the title of the head of the nation and a three-tailed pasha degree (Yildirim, 2005: 30). It was stated in the edict given to the Patriarch from Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Sahin, 1996: 59):

"No one should push the Patriarch to dominate, no one should be touching him, no matter who he is, and his priests should be exempt from all kinds of public services. Churches, mosques will not be converted, wedding and burial works and burial works, other customs works will be done as before according to the Greek Church and customs."

The privileges the Patriarch received with this edict were as follows: Nobody would disturb the Patriarch and nobody would oppose the Patriarch, the Patriarch would not pay taxes, their churches would not be turned into mosques, their religious rites would be freed, and they would deal with the marriage and funeral affairs of the Orthodox. At the same time, the Patriarch had the same status as the Vizier. He was guarded by a guardsman of janissaries (Sahin, 1996: 60).

With the powers were given by Fatih Sultan Mehmet to the Patriarchate, the power of the patriarch had exceeded the Byzantine period. The purposes of Fatih's strengthening the Patriarchate in this way can be explained as follows (Alkan, 1997: 29):

1. Fatih Sultan Mehmet had seen himself as the "New Roman Emperor" with the conquest of Byzantium. With the conquest of Istanbul, it had become the head of not only

the Islamic world but also the Orthodox. He had wanted to use the historical institution, the patriarchate, to govern these Orthodox people.

2. Keeping an institution alive in a constant struggle for power against the Pope, the religious authority of the European lands, would continue the division of Christianity and prevent the unification of Europe. Otherwise, the abolition of the Patriarchate could lead to a Crusade led by the Pope shortly after the churches decided to unite.

Russia, on the other hand, wanted to use Orthodoxy to oppose the power of the Pope in Europe, which it sees as a spreading area. It also had supported the Balkans, which are mostly Slavic and Orthodox, with the ideas of Panslavism and Panortodox. Later, with the increase of nationalism movements, the Orthodox religion and ethnic approaches have been used for the collapse and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (Uysal, 1996: 8).

Western historians said that "Ottoman dominance in Byzantium looks like whitewash on the walls of Hagia Sophia." Indeed, the Patriarchate gradually had tried to resurrect Byzantium by taking advantage of the prerogative given to it and the support of the West and Russia. This is what the idea of resurrecting the Byzantine Empire with its widest borders, with Istanbul being the capital, is called the "Megali Idea". The map of the Megali Idea had first printed by the poet Rigas Velestinlis Ferreos in Vienna between 1791 and 1796. According to the map, most of Anatolia and the Balkans, Thrace and Istanbul, and almost all the islands where Cyprus and Greek are spoken had shown within the Great Greek State.

With the incitement of the Greek intellectuals working on the way to Megali Idea and the Greek Gentlemen sent as voivodes against Turkishness in the Balkan countries, the preparation of the idea of Megali Idea had been completed. After this infrastructure was prepared, the society called Ethnic Etheria had established in the Odessa district in 1814 to carry out the Greek rebellion. The purpose of the society was founded under the leadership of three merchants; to revive Greece and re-established the Byzantine Empire, with Istanbul being the capital (Sofuoglu, 1996: 8).

The Fener Patriarchate could not be considered separate from Ethnic Etheria, whose aim was to realize the Megali Idea. Since its establishment, the Patriarchate had helped the Ethnic Etheria Society, using its religious concessions, and had opened its embrace this community with all its units. The Patriarchate has operated as the secret center of the society since its foundation (Sofuoglu, 1996: 38). All employees of the Patriarchate are also members of Etheria. After a long preparation period, the necessary conditions for the rebellion had created. The only obstacle in front of the society was Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. Ali Pasha followed all the activities of the Greeks and reported them to the Babiâli (Government of Istanbul). However, the translator who translated the reported documents by Ali Pasha was a member of Ethnic Etheria. In his translations, he naturally had reported that "Greek people in Peloponnese are calm and loyal to the state, to be sure in every way".

The Greeks, who no longer had any obstacles, rebelled on February 12, 1821. Ethnic Etheria agents had cooperated closely with the patriarchate and the Patriarchate had planned the Peloponnese revolt. Pol Germanos, Bishop of Petros was the head of the Peloponnese organization of Etheria. With the encouragement of Pol Germanos, the uprising had spread from Ioannina to the whole Peloponnese on April 6, 1821. Patriarch Grigoryus V was found guilty after the revolt was suppressed (Sahin, 1996: 192).

The Patriarch did not deny any of the evidence found and admitted his guilt. Thereupon, Patriarch Grigoryus was hanged in front of the patriarchate's central gate in Fener square on 22 April 1821 with his accomplices, the metropolitans of Ephesus, Ahyolu, and Izmit (Yıldırım, 2005: 42). That door, called "the hatred door" by the Patriarchate, is still locked and closed even today.

The Greek Prime Minister Venizelos, who knew the great services of the Patriarchate, had included the unification with the Patriarchate as the first item of his political program. Venizelos states the following on this issue: "The Patriarchate should be under the command of Greece; thus, the future role of a united Patriarchate will be enormous". Before being elected as prime minister, Venizelos came to the Patriarchate in secret dressed as a priest and had instructed the Patriarchate within his Schedule (Yildirim, 2005: 45). He had changed the patriarchate organization, which was insufficient to carry out this program.

With the signing of the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, Deputy Patriarch Doroteos had demanded that all of Anatolia be occupied. An article published in the Patriarchate's weekly official newspaper Eklisiyastiki Alitya on November 2, 1918, reflects the thoughts of the Patriarchate (Guler, 1995: 7):

"The days passed when the Greek nation had comforted with their equality promises. Now there is no one left to deal with the promises of the continuation of patriarchate prerogatives. This period of theory had over. Drugs that are effective against major diseases are needed. This state (Ottoman Empire) is collapsing, it will no longer keep its promises. Even if our nation is a minority in many places, it cannot lose its social and historical rights on its paternal inheritance. We remain and will remain as hosts in the land of our grandfathers."

#### 2.1. Patriarchate Issue in Lausanne Conference

After the War of Independence, with the start of peace talks in Lausanne on November 20, 1922, positive changes began to be noticed in the patriarchate and its surroundings, especially in the patriarch Meletios. This change became more evident when the talks focused on minorities and Patriarchate. Meletios, in his meeting with Turkish journalists on December 1, 1922; stated that they made many mistakes in the past, that what was done by the Greeks was a state of insanity, the Turks have proved to the whole world that they have a right to live with the struggle they have given and therefore their respect towards the Turks has increased even more. Then he said that "... I am Turkey's estate!" he was trying to forget his past and what they do Patriarchate (Atalay, 2001: 196).

Turkish delegation in negotiations during the Lausanne Conference Patriarchate asked to be removed from Turkey. For this purpose, Rıza Nur Bey, one of the Turkish delegations, made a written statement on December 16, 1922 (Lozan, 1969: 327-328).

According to the Parliament, the Government of Turkey's rights had granted to non-Muslim minorities are expanded as a result of World War II or the newly established had recognized the same rights afforded to minorities in the state, therefore, had not been given privileges given to Muslim minorities like that of the Ottoman State. In his new regime, "ipso facto" has replaced these privileges. In the Ottoman period, the Spiritual leader, who ruled the internal orders of various communities, was a representative and intermediary on the side of the state, but from now on, he will be directly related to the education and aid

institutions of the government. Clergymen and their leaders should only deal with religious issues. The new regime will allow the religious demands of members of various religions to develop freely, as in countries such as Britain, France, and the USA, and by being forced to remain in the field of religion alone, the title of the clergy will give religion a breakthrough. Now it is up to the political bodies of the Patriarchate must be removed from Turkey. Because, the Patriarchate cannot adapt to the new situation that will arise when the political privileges are terminated, given the Patriarchate's previous behavior. As a result, the clergy, the clergy of the world to work for the elimination of privileges and the Patriarchate is an inevitable necessity for Turkey expelled out of Turkey, it is said to be a way of salvation for the communities concerned.

The hostile attitude of the Patriarchate during the War of Independence Turkish public also wanted the Patriarchate to be taken abroad and at this point agreed that the Turkish delegation would not make concessions in Lausanne (Atalay, 2001: 198). This was reflected in this point of view in Ataturk's statement to Le Journal reporter Paul Ario on December 25, 1922. Ataturk's statements are as follows (Ataturk, 197-199):

".... However, we can no longer leave the Greek Patriarchate, which has a hearth of mischief and treason, spreads the seeds of discord and opposition in the country, and is a cause of bad luck and disaster for the peace and welfare of our Christian fellow-citizens occasion and reasons can be shown. What obligation does he have to show a sanctuary on the land for Turkey's for The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate? Isn't he the real place of this conspiracy in Greece?"

Therefore, Turkey requested the removal of the Patriarchate outside Turkey in Lausanne negotiations and has insisted on this issue (Lozan, 1969: 337).

Head of the American Delegation, the Patriarch to stay in Istanbul He persistently asked and stated how much importance the USA attaches to this problem despite its remoteness (Lausanne, 1969: 324, 338, 341). The Greek Representative Delegation stated that it could not be a party to an agreement stipulating the expulsion of the Patriarchate from Istanbul because this institution was Turkish, not Greek; Therefore, he stated that it is not worth nothing for Greece to sign this treaty (Lozan, 1969: 338).

The Greek Representative Venizelos stated that the Patriarchate had coexisted with the Ottoman Empire for five centuries, for the first time that Turkish domination since the Mondros Armistice, where he complained about his behavior, what is happening that the Patriarch does not feel loyal to the Government, and as Lord Curzon offered, he wanted the Patriarchate to be left where it was about to use only spiritual affairs and church affairs (Lozan, 1969: 327-328).

The Patriarchate issue had been recognized as an important issue to be resolved for Turkey. In his statements before the signing of the treaty, Ismet Pasha had emphasized that The Patriarchate could not remain as it was, that there were no longer Anatolian and Rumelia metropolitans and the Patriarch Efendi no longer had a job in Istanbul (Alkan, 2003: 55-56).

The rights and prerogatives of the Fener Patriarchate had incomparably limited to those of the Ottoman State. The Turkish Representative Delegation has taken care not to mention the Patriarchate's name directly in the Lausanne Treaty. Part I of the Treaty, which mentions charitable institutions and religious institutions and schools, III. 37-45 under the

heading "Patronage of Minorities" general provisions concerning minorities are included in the treaty. It is possible to evaluate the new status of the Patriarchate as follows (Atalay, 2001: 220-221):

Patriarchate, such as churches and synagogues belonging to minorities in Turkey, in Articles 40 and 42 of the Lausanne Treaty "Non-Muslim Turkish citizens have the same rights and responsibilities as Muslim Turkish citizens in terms of law", had to act by this principle. The Turkish government, on the other hand, is committed to providing all kinds of facilities to resolve issues that might arise regarding the family or personal status of non-Muslim minorities and to show the necessary protection to minority churches, synagogues, cemeteries, and other religious institutions. Article 38 of the same treaty as individuals belonging to the Greek minority in the patriarch and other officials: "The Turkish Government undertakes to protect the lives and freedoms of all Turkish people, regardless of birth, nationality, language, lineage or religion ..." and 39th item too; "Non-Muslim Turkish citizens will benefit from the same civil political rights as Muslim Turkish citizens ...".

#### 2.2. Ecumenical Activities of the Patriarchate

It is accepted and declared that the invitation prepared due to the 25th anniversary of the appointment of Pope John Paul II, celebrated on June 17, 2003, bears the title of "ecumenical" of Bartholomeos in both Turkish and French text. In this case, the Patriarch of the Vatican declared Ecumenical in May, in response to Patriarch Alexey II banning the Pope from entering Russia, and would like to use it against the Russian Orthodox Church (Bayer, 2003).

Greece sent Patriarch Bartholomeos to Cuba for the international recognition of the Ecumenical title of the Fener Greek Patriarchate. Flying to Cuba with Greece's national airline, Olympic Airways, Bartholomeos is welcomed by Cuban President Fidel Castro with a military ceremony at Havana Jose Marti Airport. Following the high-level protocol for the Patriarch, Castro sat side by side with Bartholomeos at the church's opening ceremony on Sunday. The Patriarch presented the blessed cross of St. Andrew as a gift to Castro, as he knew the Orthodox in Cuba (Hurriyet, 2004).

In the Human Rights Report of the USA for the year 2004, the request of the Greek Patriarchate of Fener, which does not recognize the ecumenical status of the patriarch and is called the "Ecumenical Patriarchate", takes place in the Human Rights Report of the United States (Hurriyet, 2005).

In August 2004, the center of the Catholic world, the Vatican, makes a historic gesture to the Istanbul Fener Patriarchate. Pope II. John Paul sends a letter to Patriarch Bartholomeos, informing him that they will return the bones of the two patriarchs (Grigorios Theologos and Yiannis Hrisostomos) whom the Crusaders stole from the Patriarchate and took to the Vatican during the occupation of Istanbul between 1204 and 1261. The Pope invites Bartholomew, whom he addresses as "Archbishop of Constantinople-Ecumenical Patriarch", to receive the bonus of the two patriarchs preserved in the St. Petersburg church (Milliyet, 2004).

Bartholomeos complains to Greek Tourism Minister Dimitrios Avramopoulos, who visited him. According to the Greek "ET 3" television, Bartholomeos, when evaluating the "Ecumenical" debate, says: "Ecumenical is a historical title belonging to us, we cannot give up on it. We do not deny our identity. They are not going to tell us who we are. We know

who we are for centuries." The US House of Representatives International Relations Committee, which recognizes the "ecumenical" status of the Fener Greek Patriarchate and allows him to raise clergy who are not Turkish nationals accepted a draft resolution to want to transmit to Turkey (Milliyet, 2005).

The patriarch attends the unloading from the sled ceremony of the chemical cargo ship built for Greece in Hyundai Mipo shipyards, one of the important industrial enterprises of South Korea. The patriarch holds a ritual in the ship's bridge, recites prayers from the Bible. Later, he had participated in the 50th-anniversary ceremonies of the establishment of the Korean Orthodox Church as the "Ecumenical Patriarch" (Yeniçag, 2005).

In December 2004, the dinner given by US Archbishop Dimitrios in honor of Bartholomeos and invited as "Ecumenical" is held at the Ritz Carlton Hotel. The expression "Ecumenical", which is used for "Bartholomeos", appeared in the same way in the dinner invitation that Dimitrios will give in Ankara in honor of US Ambassador Eric Edelman. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan also had reacted to the US Orthodox dinner invitation given in honor of Edelman, writing "under the auspices of the ecumenical patriarch". Erdogan said that "Although someone who is our city does not have such an attribute, we find it wrong to issue invitations by giving this title from one outside. We notified our representatives in the public through a circular. Every country has sensitivity, we have to protect it. The status in Lausanne requires this. Those who want to bring such a thing to the discussion in my country are malicious. Let them fix the mistake they fell" (Milliyet, 2004).

The demands of the EU to change the status of the Patriarchate and the Clergy School have been reflected in the Progress Reports since 2000 as follows:

"Which recognizes the legal personality and property rights of non-Muslim communities by the Lausanne Treaty are facing problems related to the education rights in Turkey. Restrictions on education for religious minorities remain. Religious communities are allowed to have their schools, but oblige the school vice-principal (Muslim) principal to be appointed by the Ministry of Education." "Under the heading of the 2003 Progress Report "Foundations, Freedom of Religion, Protection of Minorities: It should put an end to discriminatory policies on property rights against religious minorities, real estate acquisition, maintenance of religious buildings, and the jurisdiction of school administrations."

# 3. The Status of Western Thrace Turkish Minority

Today, when the name Western Thrace is mentioned, is understanding places which under the control of Greece. However, when we look at history, it is possible to see that Western Thrace is not only composed of the parts under the control of Greece. The region located in the south of the Balkan Peninsula, the land between the Balkan Mountains Karasu (Mesta) River, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea is called Thrace. The parts to the west of the Meric River of Thrace are called Western Thrace, and the lands located in the north of the Marmara and the south of the Black Sea are called Eastern Thrace (Ana Biritanika Ansiklobedisi, 1993: 83).

The first Turkish settlement in the region in the 2nd century BC started with the arrival of the Scythian Turks who migrated from Central Asia to the Balkans. This settlement had followed respectively by the settlement of the Huns in the 4th century A.D. the Avars in the 5th century, the Pechenegs in the 9th century, and the Cuman Turks in the 11th century

(INAF, 1992: 10-11). Edirne had conquered by Lala Sahin Pasha in 1363 and Ottoman Turks started to settle in Western Thrace.

The Balkan War fought with the Ottoman Empire between 1912 and 1913 to expand the territories of Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro. At the end of the war, with the surrender of the Kırcaali Battalion to the Bulgarians on November 27, 1912, the Turkish domination in Western Thrace ended. The Treaty of London was signed on May 30, 1913, and the Ottoman Empire was given the western part of the Midye (Kıyıkoy)-Enez line to the Balkan states, and the provinces of Edirne and Kırklareli to Bulgaria.

The Second Balkan War started on June 29, 1913, when the Bulgarians attacked the Serbs and Greeks and then Romania attacked Bulgaria because of them not sharing the Ottoman heritage With this war, in September 1913, all Western Thrace from Greeks (except Dedeagaç) were saved in a short time. On September 25, 1913, the Ottoman State ordered the governors of Western Thrace to return, and the governors here declared their independence, and the name "Western Thrace Provisional Government" was transformed into "Independent Government of Western Thrace ". Thus, a new Turkish State had appeared on the stage of history. On October 25, 1913, the Independent Government of Western Thrace had dissolved itself and the Bulgarian era had begun in the region. On October 30, 1913, the Bulgarian occupation was completed (www.westtrakien.com, 2018). The region was occupied first by Bulgaria and then by Greece with the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, our cognates who remained on the lost lands became a "minority".

The need to guarantee the rights of our cognates who remain as minorities in Western Thrace has emerged. Especially with the Treaty of Lausanne signed on July 24, 1923, the conditions of the Western Thrace Turks have gained an important status, albeit partially.

## 3.1. The Status of Minorities of Western Thrace in the 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty

Between 37-45 articles as "fundamental law" were defined for minorities in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. Articles state the obligations of the Greek and Turkish Governments regarding the protection of Turkish and Greek minorities in their countries. These obligations are (Oran, 1991: 79):

"Article 37: It undertakes that the provisions in the section on the protection of minorities will be recognized by Greece as fundamental law and that no laws, regulations and official acts will be superior to the aforementioned provisions."

"Article 38: Without any discrimination, the life and freedom of everyone will be protected, everyone will be able to freely practice their religion, and have the freedom of movement and immigration.

Article 39: "Muslims will benefit all civil and political rights, will be equal in front of the law, and religious differences will not prevent them from benefit these rights, especially in entering public service and promoting."

Baskın Oran, Western Thrace Problem in Turkish-Greek Relations, Bilgi Publishing House, Ankara 1991, p. 79.

Article 40: Minorities shall have equal rights with the fundamental element to establish, manage and supervise all kinds of charity, religious, social, and educational institutions, to freely use their language, and to conduct religious ceremonies freely.

Article 41: Appropriate facilities will be provided for minority children to take education in their language in primary schools.

Article 42: Places of worship, cemeteries, and religious institutions belonging to minorities will be protected by the state. All kinds of facilities will be provided for minority foundations, religious and charitable institutions to work or to establish new ones.

Article 43: Minorities shall not be compelled to act in violation of their religious beliefs or in any way that violates their religious ceremonies.

Article 44: The articles listed above are deemed international and are under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

According to Article 45, Greece undertakes to apply the provisions of Articles 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44 to the Muslim minority in its territory (Parla, 1985: 10-13).

# 3.2. Problems Exposed to by the Western Thrace Turkish Minority

As a result of the positive course of Turkish-Greek relations, a Turkish high school (Celal Bayar High School) was opened for the first time in Gümülcine in 1952. As a result of the law numbered 3065/1954, signs written "Turk", not "Muslim" were hung in the school. With the 1951 Treaty of Culture, quotas for teachers were sent from Turkey. So much so that even the events of September 6-7, 1955 (Radikal, 2005), which are the sad page of Turkish and Greek recent history, had not caused the order of the minority to deteriorate (Oran, 1991: 280).

But at the end of 1963, beginning in Cyprus and ongoing events till intervene of Turkey in 1974 had changed situations. In this case, the Western Thrace Turks have influenced negatively, Turkey, date of 1930 "Residential, Commercial and free movement agreement" was named terminate the contract. With the Junta of the Colonels in 1967, the most troublesome period in the history of the Western Thrace Turkish minority has begun in Greece. As a result, Greece had become freer to persecute the Western Thrace Turks as it was wished (Akıman, 1997: 582).

With the Cyprus Peace Operation, the pressure on the Western Thrace Muslim Turkish minority reached its peak, and the policy of "cleansing" the minority through attacks on mosques and cemeteries began to be implemented. The cases of the unions claiming that the minority in Greece means denying the "Turkish" identity continued throughout the 1980s, and in November 1987, the Supreme Court decided to close them down. The Turkish minority responded with a signature campaign it carried out in 1987, 1988, and 1989. The Greek authorities then had given the campaigners to court.

**3.2.1. Revoking Citizenship.** Despite the Lausanne Peace Treaty, many other international documents signed by Greece, and the Greek constitution, the Western Thrace Turkish minority is subjected to pressure and discrimination in various fields. One of them has been the applications related to the 19th Article of the Greek Citizenship Law (Cin, 2019); although this article of the law was abolished in 1998, as a result of the practices up to that year, approximately 60,000 members of the Western Thrace Turkish minority were revoked from Greek citizenship. In the B VI or 19th article of this law numbered 3370, which entered into force in 1955;

"...non-Greek of origin could be judged for revoke citizenship... If both of the parents or the alive have lost their citizenship, their underage children who live abroad may also be declared to have lost their citizenship..." That is, the Greek authorities, according to their conclusion about a minority member who went abroad, were able to revoke his citizenship ex officio; The aim here has been to reduce the number of Western Thrace Turks as much as possible."

This article contradicts Articles 4, 5, and 14 of the Greek Constitution, which states that all Greek citizens are equal before the law, regardless of their ethnic origin, religion and language, and have the freedom to travel. Greek citizens of "Greek origin" do not lose their citizenship even if they stay outside for years. The practices and denunciations of the Greek state until 1998 are described as "exile punishment" in the US annual human rights reports (1990. 1994, 1996, and 1997); the view that this is applied only to Western Thrace Turks is shared by almost all circles interested in the subject (Hatipoğlu, 1999: 35). As a matter of fact, according to the 1991 Human Rights Report of the US Department of State, at least 122 Turks in 1988 and 66 Western Thrace Turks as of June 1990 had been revoked from citizenship. Despite the repeal of this law on June 11, 1998, members of the "stateless" minority had not been allowed entry to Greece. Greece acts in violation both of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ECHR "no one can be deprived of the right to enter the country of the state of as a citizen" and its own constitution's article 4/1, stating that "all Greeks are equal before the law" (Sarinay, 1990: 297).

**3.2.2. Problems Encountered in the Field of Education.** Our cognates in Western Thrace face problems in the field of education, as in many other fields. While the Turkish Government provided opportunities for the minorities in this regard in mutual goodwill, the Greek Government had failed to show goodwill in return.

Despite the 41st article of the Lausanne Treaty; (Regarding general education and training, Greece will make it possible to make it possible for children of Turkish origin in cities and towns where minorities are found to be educated in their language in primary schools); the education of the Western Thrace Turkish society is systematically undermined by Greece. For this purpose, Greece applies the following policies (Batı Trakya Dernegi, 1987: 45-46):

First of all, he divided the Turkish society into written language two pieces. Despite the use of the Latin alphabet in Turkey since 1928, this region also supports the Arabic script and madrasa education. It is ensured that the books that are required to be taught by the bilateral agreements are not read, and the new Turkish alphabet using Latin letters, which should be taught despite the agreements, is tried not to be introduced into schools.

Education in the minority language has been paralyzed in education and training in Western Thrace, which is in real chaos and disorder. There is a huge difference between the curricula of minority schools and regular schools.

Turkish books date from the 1960s, and it is desired to prevent the development of Turkish children. In the transition from primary school to secondary school, Turkish children are tested. However, this test is not available for Greek children.

Another problem of the Western Thrace Turkish minority in the field of education is the school problem. There are only 241 primary schools, 2 secondary schools, and 2 high schools here. However, "Celâl Bayar High School", which was opened in 1952 from these two

high schools, was closed in 1988. Besides, the Turkish minority is either difficult or not allowed to be educated at universities.

About a hundred teachers of Turkish origin who have been trained in vocational training have not been assigned since the 1960s. Minority teachers on duty are pressured by official authorities. These teachers are dismissed for various reasons.

Children who have not reached school age, claiming to be indifferent to the children of the Turkish minority, force them to continue the specially opened kindergartens and children's stations, and Greek language and culture are instilled in these children.

The use of Turkish names and Turkish words in association and school names had been prohibited after 1970.

#### Conclusion

With the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, the Fener Greek Patriarchate, which entered Turkish history, had continued to keep the Byzantine spirit alive, although it disappeared from the historical scene of the Eastern Roman Empire with the conquest. The past of the patriarchate, which has been involved in political games since its establishment, has not been forgotten by the states that have interests over the Empire, and the patriarchate has not been forgotten. The patriarchate, which continued its life with the privileges it received during the Ottoman Empire and became stronger, worked against the state, which showed its true face, together with the power it received from other states during the period when the Empire was weakened.

It was the patriarchate itself that benefited best from the nationalist movements sparked by the French Revolution of 1789, organized the Greek people with its churches, planned riots, and made Greece the first state to break away from the Empire with its propaganda in the international arena. During the period of national struggle, the patriarchate had worked for Megalo Idea, which maximized its activities against the state, its organization, and its international propaganda.

These rapid activities of the Patriarchate came to an end with the Treaty of Lausanne, and the status of the patriarchate was determined as a minority church. The patriarchate had preserved this status until 1945, and the problems between the government and the government mostly strained the Turkish-Greek relations. Together with Patriarch Athenagoras selection in 1945 patriarchate had now started to become an issue between the United States and Turkey. Wanting to use its historical power against Soviet Russia, America took over the protection of the patriarchate and showed special interest. The fact that Athenagoras expanded its jurisdiction and had international relations increased the visitor traffic to the patriarchate by the top officials of foreign countries is an indication of this. The great fear of the Soviet forces and rescuers located near Turkey's vision of America as a result of the patriarchate almost new "privileges" was removed and given voice to act contrary to the patriarch made Lausanne.

These "concessions given to the Patriarchate" began to see it as vested rights, relying on the states to stand strong behind began to act independently of the Republic of Turkey. Although there was a slowdown in its activities after the death of Athenagoras, the patriarchate had continued its international contacts, especially. During the Dimitrios period, the patriarchate building was repaired. When we look at the people who attended the

opening ceremony of the building, it can be seen how much importance is given to the patriarchate in the world public opinion. Besides, the lobbying activities of the American Archbishop Yakovas in getting the necessary permission to repair the building and the success in guiding the American Government to the event are good examples of how effective the patriarchate was in the US senate. Bartholomeos, who was elected after the death of Dimitrios, is more like a diplomat than a priest by his upbringing. It has started to show this feature from the first days of its selection.

Bartholomeos, was using environmental meetings both to "remind" of his ecumenical and to keep the patriarchate on the agenda. Meetings were usually held at the Heybeliada Clergy School, four times on the ships. The meetings were sponsored by major foundations, the EU and the USA. In the European Parliament, the recognition of the ecumenical status of the patriarchate, the reopening of the Heybeliada Seminary, the ruined or museumized churches in different parts of Anatolia and the property and rights of the patriarchate in these areas have been discussed for a long time. The majority of the people living in the Balkans are Orthodox and the clue is the conflict of interest between Russia and the EU. The EU wants to use Orthodoxy as well as its financial power to provide the government. For this reason, he tries to give the Fener Patriarchate an ecumenical status and to ensure the recognition of his authority over all Orthodox. The number of Orthodox in the EU is low, except for Greece. However, if the patriarchate gains an ecumenical status and the Heybeliada Clergy School is opened, the power of the EU in the Balkans will increase with the priests trained in the school. This is helping the enlargement of the EU.

To realize the "Great Middle East Project", which is known as the strategy of consolidating the global leadership of the USA and keeping the energy resources and regional power centers under control, the patriarchate takes the attention of the USA in the same way and needs the universal help of the patriarchate in achieving the USA's goals. Likewise, the interests of the Great Middle East Project, which the USA wants to put forward conflict with Russia in the geography it wants to implement. Bartholomeos's activities, overseas pressure elements, and how to use them against Turkey's sensitive spot show that very well-identified. Today, the EU and the USA are implementing the requirements of their state policies. Turkey, indexed to its geography which is important from each other, each one is obliged to observe its red lines. However, Turkey has begun to compromise their red lines under the name of EU reforms. One of these concessions is the patriarchate issue. Today concessions to the Patriarchate are given to the Republic of Turkey and not reacting to their actions against Lausanne Treaty. It is seen as an acquired right by the Patriarchate and the international public. Like that the National Oath is held in the War of Independence Turkey, which is exposed to pressure on the EU path should be wrapped in Lausanne Treaty today. The Lausanne Treaty is the biggest obstacle against the EU and the USA which do not want a strong Turkey in the Middle East and the Balkans.

The Patriarchate is very difficult to expel out of Turkey's territory for the moment or even impossible. During the time of the Lausanne Congress, the patriarchate debates lasted for one and a half months and the Turkish Representative Delegation failed to achieve expelled the patriarchate out of Turkey. The expelling of the Patriarchate from Istanbul is not seen as a matter of only one or two states, but of the whole Christendom. We must know, The Patriarchate will be using this advantage of every opportunity in front of the world public opinion against Turkey. Therefore, if Turkey does not take the necessary measures, no international agreement will not be enough obstacle to reach the goals of their history.

Although international agreements are clear in Turkey will be forced to deal with the same issues again and again.

Greece did not show the same sensitivity to the Western Thrace Turkish minority. They refrain from giving not only the rights they gain from international agreements but also the rights that are in line with human rights, creating difficulties. This double standard has not been seen till today and will continue to be unseen in the World's public opinion. Greece, which has signed many agreements as a member of the European Union, does not accept the "Turkish" minority in their own countries as Turkish and defines them as "Muslim Minority" or "Islamized Greeks". It is thought to be a distraction.

Article 18 of the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights will undermine the freedom of everyone to have these rights under the heading of freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, that they have the freedom to manifest their religion, belief in the form of worship, practice and teaching, and the freedom of anyone to accept a religion or have a belief that parents may not be subjected to coercion, but to restrictions prescribed by law and necessary in a democratic society to protect public safety, public order, health or morals and the rights and freedoms of others, it stipulated that the freedom to ask their children to be given religious and moral education should be respected.

According to this agreement, the understanding that Greece manifests itself as the protector of the Greek minority in our country and that the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus is a guarantor country also affects the balance of mutual friendship negatively and can be interpreted as the desire of Greece to use the rights it sees in itself. Besides, it is seen that the efforts of our country regarding our cognates living in Western Thrace were prevented by Greece in various ways, postponed, or fewer situations were realized compared to what was desired.

As a result, Turkey has remained loyal to all agreements signed mutually from 1923 and has complied with the conditions. However, Greece's efforts in the international arena, especially regarding the Fener Greek Patriarchate, to change the conditions in line with its interests are increasing day by day. Today, while the Western Thrace Turkish community cannot even elect its religious leader, it is seen that the Fener Greek Patriarchate, who has used the freedoms given since Fatih Sultan Mehmet, in the name of carving undermine of state, does not hesitate to ask for more even though they have used all kinds of religious privileges. Mr. President Erdogan, as we pointed out in Turkey from Greece to respect our rights under international law, we attach great importance in terms of mutual goodwill and neighborly relations. As two ancient nations living on both shores of the same geography, looking to the future with confidence and knowing that our cognates and coreligionists living in our land will be in peace and security will enable both communities to live in peace.

# **Bibliography**

Akıman, N. (1997). Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi, 200 yıllık Süreç. TTK. Ankara.

Alkan, H., (2003). Türkiye Patrikhaneleri, Kutup Yıldızı Yayınları, İstanbul.

Ana Brittanica Ansiklopedisi, (1993): Ana Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Armaoğlu, F. (1997). 20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi; Alkım Yayınevi, Ankara.

Atalay, B., (2001). Fener Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi'nin Siyasi Faaliyetleri, Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul.

Batı Trakyalılar Derneği. (1987). Batı Trakya Azınlığı İnsan Hakları Belgeler, Ankara.

Batı Trakya'nın Sesi Dergisi. (1994). Yıl: 7. Sayı: 50. Mart, İstanbul.

Bayer, Y. (2003). Hürriyet, 6 Haziran

Emin, H. (1999). "Anlaşmalarla Batı Trakya Türkleri", Çukurova Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, (Hazırlayan; Hülya Emin, Gündem Gazetesi Sahibi) adres. http://strateji.cu.edu.tr/BALKANLAR/06.asp (Erişim: 15.07.2018))

Güler, A., (2005). Sevr'den Kopenhag'a Parçalan Türkiye, Türkar Yayınları, Ankara.

Güler, A., (1995). Yakın Tarihimizde Pontus Meselesi ve Rum-Yunan Terör Örgütleri, Ankara.

Gürel, Ş. S., (1993). Tarihsel Boyut İçinde Türk-Yunan İlişkileri (1821-1993), Ümit Yayıncılık, Ankara.

Hatipoğlu, M. M., (1999). Yunanistan'da Etnik Gruplar ve Azınlıklar, Araştırma Projeleri Dizisi.

İNAF, (1992). Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinde Batı Trakya Türkleri Sorunu, Uluslararası İlişkiler Dosyası, İnaf Yayını, İstanbul.

Lozan Barış Konferansı. (1969). "Tutanaklar Belgeler" Takım I. Cilt, I. Kitap (Çeviren Seha L. Meray) Ankara Ünv. Basımevi. Ankara.

Meray, S. L., (1969). *Lozan Barış Konferansı Tutanaklar-Belgeler*, Ankara Ü.SBF. Yayınları, Takım 1, Cilt 1, Ankara.

Milliyet Gazetesi, Çeşitili Tarihler.

Oran, B., (1991). Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinde Batı Trakya Sorunu, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara.

Parla, R., (1985). Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Uluslararası Temelleri, Lozan Montrö, Lefkoşa.

Radikal Gazetesi, Çeşitli Tarihler.

Sami, A., (1995). Fener Rum Patrikhanesinin Dünü Bugünü Yarını, Harp Akademileri Basımevi, İstanbul.

Sarınay, Y., (1990). "Batı Trakya Türkleri", Kök Araştırmalar Dergisi, Cilt II, Sayı:1, İstanbul.

Sofuoğlu, A., (1996). Fener Rum Patrikhanesi ve Siyasi Faaliyetleri, Turan Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Şahin, S., (1996). Fener Patrikhanesi ve Türkiye, Ötüken Yayınları, İstanbul.

Uysal, M., (1996). *Aldatma ile Örtülen Yunan Yayılması*, Harp Akademileri Basımevi, İstanbul. Yeniçağ Gazetesi, Çeşitli Tarihler.

Yıldırım, U., (2005). Keşiş Güç, Otopsi Yayınları, İstanbul.

http://www.westtrakien.com/batitrakya/kronoloji/index.html, (Erişim: 15.07.2018).

http://www.ait.hacettepe.edu.tr/egitim/ait203204/II7.pdf, (Erişim: 15.07.2018).

http://www.bttdd.org.tr/dosya/SAYI-99.pdf Erişim: 02.12.2018).