# CHAMS' FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS (1930-1939)

# **Blerina Sadiku**European University of Tirana, **ALBANIA**

#### **ABSTRACT**

Chams are the inhabitants of the region of Chameria. This toponym was used under the Ottoman Empire jurisdiction up to the 1937, during the Metaxa's Regime in Greece. This paper aims to show how chams' rights were almost always disrespected since the beginning of the annexation. The methodology will focus on the qualitative analysis of historical data through a deductive approach. In the 1930s, three main issues characterized the background of this minority's rights: the property disputes, the difficult implementation of the right for an education in their mother-tongue and the propaganda aiming at forcing them to emigrate. During the 1930s, Chams tried to appeal also at the League of Nations for their conflicts with the Greek authorities. Anyway, these conflicts in most of the cases were closed as soon as the observations of the Greek Government were made present to this international organization. In the 1930s, their fundamental rights were still suppressed in the greater part of the cases, while they neither had the international support.

**Keywords:** Cham, Chameria, Fundamental Rights, 1930s, League of Nations.

#### INTRODUCTION

Chameria is a region in north-western Greece. Nowadays it is known as Thesprotia. The toponym of this region was changed during the regime of Ioannis Metaxas. Chameria was annexed by Greece after the Conference of London in 1913. Since the beginning, the population faced several problems from the central and especially local governmental authorities. These problems were due to the juridical transfer territory from the Ottoman Empire, which meant a new legislative approach, especially in regard to property issues (Tsitselikis, 2012: 303; Manda, 2015: 44), and a new societal approach. The latter concerned the cultural differences between this minority and the society that Greek authorities sought to construct according to the old ideas of Hellenization of the territory, alias the "Megali Idea", which can be found also with the term of "*integration*" in Greek resources. (Manda, 2015: 43, 54) However, integration should not have included the suppression of minorities' national [ethnic] consciousness, as Greece was aiming to achieve. (Manda, 2015: 54)

Before the 1930s, Chams had gone through various difficulties after the annexation by Greece. The first decade was characterized mainly by the turmoil of the Great War, and an overall instability not only for Greece. The second decade was characterized by the uncertainties brought up by the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, where Chams were involved as Turks due to their Muslim religion, while being Albanians. This phase created the major chaos for the Chams living in their own land. In order to fulfill the exchange process, their properties were expropriated and confiscated. In the first stage, despite the political declarations for their exclusion from this process, because they were Albanians, Chams were considered as Muslims, and consequently their properties were confiscated up the finalization of their transfer to Turkey, or the clarification of their status of non-exchangeability, which almost always delayed for years. On the same time, many of their properties were expropriated with the aim of accommodating the Greek refuges from Minor Asia. As a result, for the remaining population, it was difficult to co-exist peacefully while

sharing their private property with other individuals/families for a public aim, without a proper compensation.

In the 1930s, Chams' fundamental rights were still facing several issues. The main disputes concerned property rights. The mixed commission closed its workings in 1934, while a new entity, the Council of Citizenship, took the final issues in examination. Some Chams were still facing the problems regarding the status of exchangeability. However, the Greek government pledged to take into consideration the solution of this issue and certificates of non-exchangeability were distributed to the involved parties.

Delay in the procedures of property issues had a frequent occurrence. Not only in this situation, but also in the right to education it was a regular phenomenon. The right of Chams to be educated in their own language was the next most notable problem during the 1930s. Albania applied the principle of reciprocity in closing Greek minority's schools in 1934, while opening them in 1935 after the League of Nations' intervention, while in Greece Albanians schools were penalized in several ways. Albanians very often did not receive instruction from teachers who spoke, read, and wrote Albanian. Many times, the appointed teachers used a harsh behavior towards children. The proposed list of teachers from the Albanians' political representatives in Greece was not taken into consideration very often.

Another problem, which was noticed especially after 1938, was the propaganda for immigration to Turkey. Nonetheless, Albania was the other destination as well. Many Chams chose to flee from their land, because of the pressure they were suffering especially from the local authorities. However, in 1935, the authoritarian regime in Greece, exercised an overall pressure on the entire population, and "the alien entity" the Cham population was seen more strictly by the authorities. Moreover, Chameria and its towns and villages were attributed new toponyms during this period.

Finding themselves under pressure from the Greek authorities time after time, the Chams considered appealing to the League of Nation for the protection of their minority rights. Several petitions were send to this international organization, but almost in every letter the Chams claims were closed and not considered for further examination after the Greek government observations.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This article will be elaborated through primary and secondary resources. The primary resources consist in the Albanian Central Archives (AQSH), the League of Nations Archives, and the Greek Official Gazette. In addition, the secondary resources concern the works of Greek authors like Kostantinos Tsitselikis, Lambros Baltsiotis, Eleftheria Mantha. Their works include a larger period of time starting from the annexation of Chameria up to nowadays, however these authors point out some interesting arguments about the 1930s. Tsitselikis and Baltsiotis depict in their works reports on the fundamental rights of Chams during the 1930. They both refer to the reports of Stilianopoulos, the Inspector of Minorities who conveyed the situation of Chams as it had been transformed from wealth landowners to poor individuals left with almost no property, a background which can hardly be found in Greek historiography. Manda shows another perspective of the mistreatment of this minority

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Considering their overall isolation from the rest of the Greece, since they were neither integrated, nor helped in the enjoyment of their fundamental rights

rights focusing on two periods: before 1935 where the relatively liberal relations between Greece and Albania had brought to periods of agreement between the two governments and consequently more facilities for the Chams wellbeing; and after 1935, were the repressive measures applied upon this minority characterized also the entire Greek nation, but in particular these "irredentists". The limitations of this topic's literature regard the archival Greek resources of the time, most of which will be evaluated from the secondary resources.

### **METHODOLOGY**

This research will held a deductive approach through analyzing the historical data based on primary and secondary resouces. Considering the historical timeframe, qualitative methods will be applied like the comparative method and case study method. Due to the sensitivity of this case, several authors tend to have a biased attitude towards the problem. For this reason, it is important to compare and contrast the Albanian and Greek attitude (authors) through primary and secondary resources. The case study method will be applied through focusing on the treatment that League of Nations, and also Greek authorities made to this issue, while neglecting several times the importance of respecting minority's rights in the national and international level.

### PROPERTY RIGHTS 1930-1938

On February 1930, representatives of the Cham population in Paramithia sent a letter to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, stating the obstacles they were facing in regard to the enjoyment of their property rights. (Societe des Nations, Doc. C.359.1930.I) Despite the Agrarian Law and article 119 of the Greek Constitution, they were expropriated from their lands under 30 hectares, and sometimes even half of hectare. They considered the measures of the Greek government as arbitrary due to the fact that Paramithia was a city, and not a farm, and furthermore, the property taken from a large number of owners was distributed to a smaller number of peasants thus leaving the expropriated landowners without any property<sup>3</sup>. On the response that the Greek Government sent to the League of Nations, it stated that a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture was sent on the ground to evaluate the situation. The latter returned from his trip from these lands with several suggestions in their favor, which the Greek Government pledged to take into consideration.<sup>4</sup>

Another petition was sent from inhabitants of Paramythia on April 1930, and the consequent observations of the Greek government were sent to the General Secretary of the League of Nations on October 3, of the same year, stating that they had already taken several measures for ameliorating the conditions of this minority, which was treated, according to them in "a superior level considering the majority of the population". (Societe des Nations, Doc. C.614.1930.I) These measures concerned a doubled compensation for territories smaller than 30 hectares.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, with the Law no. 5136 passed on 1931, amending the Agrarian Law no. 4816 of 1930, Chams were granted the right to send their claims to the Court of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Greeks point of view, they were irredentist, while in the Albanian perspective and considering the historical events since the annexation of the region by Greece, their fundamental rights were often mistreated therefore increasing the discontent among the Cham population; Manda, Camët Myslimanë, 108

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Societe des Nations, Doc. C.359.1930.I; Stilianopoulos [Inspector of Minorities Office] Report to the Greek Prime minister states the outlawed expropriations made in Paramithia. To be found in Tsitselikis, Old and New Islam in Greece, 308

<sup>4</sup> ibic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1930, file 50, page 144

Appeal, and re-examine those issues that the Ministry of Agriculture would have deemed as previously judged against the law.<sup>6</sup>

In August 1930, Musa Demi, one of the main representatives of Chams, made several requirements to the Inspector of the Minorities Office, Mr. Stilianopoulos, but there was a harsh debate between them.<sup>7</sup> From the former's request, it can be understood that the situation in Chameria was far from the optimal background, when minorities should have been entitled to enjoy at least the basic rights. The inspector of minorities stated in his report that Chams weren't left with any property, i.e. they were expropriated even for a small surface of land. (Tsitselikis, 2012; 304-305, 308; Baltsiotis, 2011: 8-9) Property confiscations and expropriations were largely applied during this time in Chameria, also based on the scheme for the settlement of the Greek refugees from the population exchange.<sup>8</sup>

Inhabitants of another town of Chameria, Dragoumi, sent a petition to the League of Nations, claiming the return of their properties which were used from the Greek refugees. On the other side, the Greek Government declared that just a small number of Greek refugees' families, appointed for settlement in this town, were transferring to Macedonia, therefore, according to them, Chams' claims were unfounded. (Societe des Nations, Doc. C.525.1930.I) However, the conflicts that arouse during this time due to refugees presence was noticeable. (Tsitselikis, 2012: 304-305) Previously, on January 1923, Near and Middle East Association's representatives denounced at "The Times", the miserable conditions of the Greek refugees, nonetheless, they asked also for the attention of the Greek government in order that these sufferings could not extend to other innocent people (Destani&Tomes, 2012: 406-407; Tsitselikis, 2012: 305), as Chams were in this case. Therefore, the above mentioned statement of the Dragoumi's population was somehow based on their previous experience.

On December 1931, the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs suggested to the Albanian ambassador in Greece to pay attention to some measures regarding the Albanian minority's property rights. According to him, Albanians had difficulties in the compensation process because "even if an Albanian went through all the stages of this process, at the end, he would have had the obligation to verify his Albanian nationality". It is important to notice that the Greek government required from the Albanian owners the 20% of the value of the previously expropriated lands that were turned back to them [to the owner]. The Albanian Minister noted to the Greek representative that this measure was not applied to other communities, when they received back their land. A day later, the Albanian representative in Greece, informed the Minister for its conversations with Greek representatives. He pointed out that the latter stated the neutrality of their attitude towards the compensation and prices. For what regarded the amount of 20% of the property's value, the Greek representative referred to this as a law inherited from the Ottoman Empire, therefore it could not be changed. In 1932, the issue of nationality was further alleviated, which consisted in shortening the procedures of the receipt of the certificate for the status of non-exchangeability of Chams. (Manda, 2015: 77)

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> ibid; Tsitselikis, Old and New Islam in Greece, 307; εφημερις της κυβερνησεως [Official Gazzette], αριθμού φύλλου 207, (Athens: July 1931), νομός [Law] 5136

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1930, file 192, pages 48-51

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Tsitselikis, 304-305, 308; Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1930, file 192, page 52-53

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1931, file 24, page 218

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> ibid, 217

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1931, file 34, page 215

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> ibid

Nevertheless, the procedures were not following as predicted, and up to the first half of 1933, only a few property issues were solved. (Manda, 2015: 78) After this period, a new negotiation between Greece and Albania brought a better result regarding the compensations, and in 1935 a larger number of property issues are reported to have been solved. (Manda, 2015: 78)

On June 1933, the member of the Albanian delegation in Athens, informed the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, inter alia, about the attitude of the Greek Minister of Agriculture, stating that the latter had promised to alleviate the situation of the Albanian landowners.<sup>13</sup> In these meetings, the former discussed also about the overall situation of the Albanians in Greece, as it was for the policies regarding their exchangeability which implied underlying measures connected to their property rights.<sup>14</sup> As the Albanian delegate explains, further difficulties were posed to Albanians, because they were imprisoned in case of impossibility to pay all their land's products [of the last 10 years] to the Governmental authorities.<sup>15</sup>

Even though, obstacles that Chams faced remained quite unchanged also due to the change of the governments. (Manda, 2015: 77-78) They were asked to show their certificates of non-exchangeability at least up to 1937, as reported on E. Manda. (Manda, 2015: 79) After 1935, repression was re-established in Epirus, therefore also in Chameria, and this was justified, as well, under the law no. 376 of 1936 "On the security measures of the fortified zones". (Tsitselikis, 2012: 310; Manda, 2015: 86-87)The usage of their own language was prohibited after the change of political regime in Greece, and those who disobeyed to this rule were condemned. (Manda, 2015: 87)

According to Manda, Chams received a relatively softer treatment by the authorities. (Manda, 2015: 91) This fact was due to the principle of reciprocity, i.e. treating "well" chams would have meant a better treatment for the Greek minority in Albania as well. (Manda, 2015: 91) However, the only most notable problem that Albania caused to this minority was the closure of schools for a certain period until to their openings, while the contrary was happening to the Albanians of Chameria where Greece was trying to apply several measures of ethnic cleansing, which were not always directly exercised to the Cham population, i.e. the support that Greece gave to Greeks for buying Chams' properties was a clear policy of ethnic cleansing.

In a petition of May 1937 that Chams sent to Prime Minister Metaxas, they noticed, inter alia, several points concerning their property rights which were not respected, and the compensation even though very small was not given to them. <sup>16</sup> In this report, the only issue to have been solved in favor of Chams was the arbitrary declaration of the exchangeability status of many of them, while for the other requests, the government's representatives promised to take them into consideration for examination. <sup>17</sup>

Later in 1937, the Greek government implemented a new law for the properties of Albanians, aiming at alleviating their condition.<sup>18</sup> The Council of Citizenship, which was present in the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, substituted the role of the Mixed Commission, whose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1933, file 55, pages 65-70

<sup>14</sup> ibid

<sup>15</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1937, file 108, pages 357-358

<sup>17</sup> ibid, 358

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1937, pages 83-84

mandate had ended in 1934, i.e. the Council would have had thereon decided about the nationality of those individuals who were applying for regaining their property previously confiscated by the State or National Bank of Greece. 19 This law grated a further alleviation in the procedures. Albanians had to prove they were the owners of the territories even with testimonies.<sup>20</sup> However, the compensations promised by the legal acts, generally, were not applied<sup>21</sup>, therefore making these laws to exist only in written form. Nonetheless, in 1935, the Greek government declared that the general government of Epirus had an agreement with the Ministry of Agriculture for speeding up the procedures of payments of those issues which had not yet been resolved. (Societe des Nations. Doc. C.349.1935.I, 32) They considered this issue closed [after responding to the petition of Chams sent to the League of Nations] (Societe des Nations. Doc. C.349.1935.I, 32), despite the fact that delays were a stable pattern of these procedures even in the following years. Furthermore, referring to the above mentioned data, many of the property issues were yet not resolved. Despite these legal provisions, on the ground Chams were facing several problem, and many of them chose to emigrate.

In the late years of 1930s, especially during 1938-39, Chams were posed to propaganda in favor to their emigration. However, this was never admitted by the Greek Government. Nonetheless, the Albanian representatives made all the possible moves in order to stop this propaganda.<sup>22</sup> In April 1938, the political director at the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked the prefect of Gumenica to inform him about the propaganda that was made to Chams, which was making them leave their country. Previously, the Albanian consul of Janina denounced the prefect of Gumenica, as a participator in these measures of ethnic cleansing in the region.<sup>23</sup> This accuse was rejected by him in a correspondence with the political director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece.<sup>24</sup> The prefect said that this propaganda was not initiated by the local authorities, while it was made by other Chams.<sup>25</sup> In the meantime, he also declared that the latter [Chams] did not take it into consideration<sup>26</sup>, while on March 1938 Hulusi, the Albanian consul, stated that several Chams' properties were bought by Greeks' representatives, while those [Chams] were trying to leave the region towards Turkey or Albania.<sup>27</sup> The Greek representative assured the Albanian Charge d'Affairs in Athens that his government had sent directives to the local authorities to exclude Chams from these situations [propaganda for immigration].<sup>28</sup>

Later on, the Albanian Minister of Domestic Affairs informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the fact that Chams properties were bought by Greeks, based on the loans granted to them from the Bank of Agriculture, while on the other side, Chams emigration to Turkev was achieved by "several means". 29 The Albanian Charge d'Affairs in Athens, declared that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> ibid, 83

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1937, file 108, page 357; Tsitelikis, Old and New Islam in Greece,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1938, file 106, page 30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ibid, 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> ibid, 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> ibid

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> ibid, 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> ibid. 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> ibid, 43

Chams felt constraint to take these measures because of the restrictions that they were suffering in Greece, especially from the local authorities.<sup>30</sup>

In November 1938, the Greek representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assured the Albanian Charge d'Affairs in Athens, that they objected Chams emigration.<sup>31</sup> He declared that the Agriculture Bank had ordered the annulment of contracts that 19 Chams had made with other parties for the sale of their properties.<sup>32</sup> In this occasion, the Albanian representative availed himself of the opportunity to denounce some facts which put obstacles to the peaceful living of Chams in their own lands. He denounced the local authorities like the prefect of Gumenica and the Judge of Parga who were just interested in showing a good performance to the government.<sup>33</sup> However, the meeting concluded with the reassurance of the Greek government representative that they would have taken the appropriate measures in order to ameliorate the living of Chams.

In 1936, the Albanian consul in Janina declared that all the directives that the central government sent to the local authorities were not respected.<sup>34</sup> Considering that directives were still sent after the above mentioned period [1936], this means that the central government sought only to maintain a superficial attitude as a protector of minority rights, while Chams in their own land were mistreated even in regard to their very basic rights like the use of mother-tongue in public spaces.

### THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION 1935-1939

Albanians of Chameria faced several obstacles concerning their right for an education in their mother-tongue. Schools did not receive a proper attention by the Greek authorities, which had a major role to play in the appointment of professors. The fact that many times, it appointed professors who were not representatives of this minority neither were they of Albanian ethnicity [Albanian national consciousness], shows that Greece aimed to impede for Chams the enjoyment of their right for an education in their mother-tongue.

In Margëlliç, in February 1939, two teachers who could not write and read Albanian were appointed to educate the pupils of the schools there. These two names were not included in the proposals of the Albanian Legation. In this way they could prevent the expansion of the Albanian schools in the region. The opening of schools in small villages was somehow supported, while larger towns like Margëlliç, Picar, Arvenica, were neglected. Freviously, the political director of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gafos, had promised to appoint teachers according to the proposed list from the Albanians' representatives.

The right to use the Albanian language in public was also claimed, not only in the everyday life, but also in the education of the population.<sup>37</sup> The Albanian consul in Janina reported on May 1936 to the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs the fact that some Chams were beaten

<sup>31</sup> ibid, 68

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> ibid, 66

<sup>32</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1936, file 164, pages 84-85

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 151, year 1939, file 125, page 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1938, file 106, page 76

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Point 11, of Musa Demi's requests. To be found in Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1930, file 192, page 48-51

with fury from the local authorities because they spoke Albanian.<sup>38</sup> On September 10, 1936, various Muslim houses were raided in Paramithia, on the pretext of searching for weapons, but they found some Albanian elementary textbooks. The Cham owners were then told by the gendarmerie's authorities: "if you want to learn Albanian, go elsewhere, for you don't belong here!"<sup>39</sup>. One year later, the prefect of Gumenica had banned the usage of Albanian language in every public space.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the imams of Filat and Margëlliç were ordered to instruct the religious lessons in Greek language. (Naska, 1999: 686)

In April 1936, Abedin Bako, a citizen from Paramithia, informed the Albanian consul in Janina, about the raid of his house by the gendarmerie. They found there various published materials in Albanian, while said to Mr. Bako that they were a risk for Greece. The latter's answer was that as Albanian they could not get rid of the books and other materials in Albanian. After this, the officials of the Gendarmerie invited Mr. Bako to leave for Turkey.<sup>41</sup>

In 1935, the Greek government declared to the League of Nations that it permitted the Albanian books and journals except of those who had a nationalistic propaganda like the Journal "Besa". (Societe des Nations. Doc. C.349.1935.I, 28) Nonetheless, the case of Mr. Bako a year later, clearly shows the attitude of Greek authorities in regard to protection of this minority's fundamental rights.

# **CONCLUSIONS**

In 1930s, Chams found themselves in the last indirect<sup>42</sup> steps of the ethnic cleansing that would have taken place with its final stage after 1944. During this time, they were denied mainly the property rights, and the right for an education in their own language. They did not have a strong support from the central government of Albania, despite the many efforts, neither from the international arena which was represented by the League of Nations.

The Albanian government tried for the first time during this period [since the annexation of Chameria by Greece] to apply the principle of reciprocity in the bilateral relations with Greece, when it decided to close Greece minority's schools in Albania. Nevertheless, this measure was unfair towards this minority; reciprocity is a necessary mean in international relations for one part to achieve the similar or same results as the counterpart. However, Chams were mistreated much more than the Greek minority might have been in Albania. This declaration stands because Chams suffered a final genocide in 1944, while the Greek minority in Albania did not suffer such a measure, neither did they receive ethnic cleansing policies.

Despite the denial of the very basic rights, when Chams were included in the process of exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, the 1930s found Chameria with a reduced population, while still carrying property disputes which in most of the cases took a long time to be solved or remained unsolved. In addition to this fact, the right for education in their own language was disrespected by the Greek authorities, especially after the change of the regime in 1935, where strong pressures were put to the minorities, and Chams especially.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1936, file 164, page 82

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1936, file 164, pages 309-316

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 252, year 1937, file 84, pages 5-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Albanian Central Archives, fund 251, year 1936, file 164, page 174

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Indirect, because the central government pledged to respect their basic human rights, but the results showed quite the contrary, especially due to the role of the local authorities.

Nevertheless, Greek government, after the efforts of Albanian representatives, always promised to take the necessary measures to avoid disputes among the Cham population. However, the positive measures of the latter were very pale or quite inexistent. The local authorities never respected the measures in favor to the Cham population, however they were always prompt to respect the directives for repressive measures, as the prohibition of the use of their mother-tongue.

A sentence which summarizes the efforts of Greek government towards the Chams' issue is taken from the former's observations sent to the League of Nations in 1935. Greek observations were: "The populations of the Northern Epirus are known for their refined and ancient culture, while the Muslims of Chameria are peasants connected to the glebe". (Societe des nations, Doc.349.1935.I, 22.) Nevertheless, it declared to engage in the protection of this minority's traditions and cultures, archival data shows that especially the local authorities exercised a notable suppression to this minority.

Chams during this time, appealed with several cases to the League of Nations. It is noticeable that cases were closed after the confrontation of the petitions with the Greek Government observations. Greece was faithful only to its declarations after the petitions from Paramithia when it engaged to take into consideration the issue of property rights through making some legislative changes. On other issues, it clearly discriminated Chams.

## REFERENCES

Albanian Central Archives:

Fund 251, years 1930-31-33-36-37-38-39

Fund 252, year 1937

League of Nations Archives:

Protection des minorites en Grece. Petition de quelques inhabitants de Dragoumi (Epire) concernant certaines mesures d'expropriation prises par le gouvernement hellenique a l'egard de leurs proprietes. [Protection of Minorities in Grece. Petition of certain inhabitants of Dragoumi (Epirus), concerning measures of exproriation alleged to have been taken by the Greek Government in connection with their properties]. Societe des Nations, Doc. C.525.1930.I

- Protection des minorites en Grece. Petition d'un certain nombre d'habitants de Paramythia (Epire) [Protection of Minorities in Greece. Petition from certain inhabitants of Paramythia (Epirus)]. Societe des Nations, Doc. C.614.1930.I
- Protection des minorites en Grece. Petition d'un certain nombre de membres de la minorite albanaise en Grece et observations du Guvernement hellenique. [Protection of Minorities in Greece. Petition of a certain number of members of the Albanian Minority in Greece and the Greek government observations]. Societe des Nations. Doc. C.349.1935.I, 32
- Protection des minorites en Grece. Petition d'un certain nombre d'habitants de la ville de Paramythia. [Protection of Minorities in Greece. Petition from certain inhabitants of the town of Paramythia]. Societe des Nations, Doc. C.359.1930.I

Greek Official Gazzette:

εφημερις της κυβερνησεως [Official Gazzette], αριθμού φύλλου 207, (Athens: July 1931), νομός [Law] 5136.

Destani, B., Tomes, J. (Ed.). (2012). *Miku i Madh i Shqiptarëve, Aubrey Herbert dhe Krijimi i Shqipërisë së sotme. Ditare dhe Letra 1904-1923* [The Greatest Friend of Albanians, Aubrey Herbert and the Creation of today's Albania] (Kastriot Myftiu, Trans.). Tiranë:

Via Egnatia.

- Lambros Baltsiotis, The Muslim Chams of Northwestern Greece, *European Journal of Turkish Studies* [Online],12 | 2011, Online since 13 December 2011, Retrieved 05 May 2016. URL: http://ejts.revues.org/4444
- Manda, E. (2015). *Çamët myslimanë të Epirit (1923-2000)* [Muslim Chams of Epirus (1923-2000)], (Instituti i Studimeve Ballkanike Selanik, Trans.), Tiranë: Botimet Toena.
- Naska, K. (1999). *Dokumente për Çamërinë* [Documents for Chameria], Tiranë: Dituria Tstitselikis, K. (2012). *Old and New Islam in Greece. From Historical Minorities to Immigrant Newcomers*. Leiden.Boston: Martinuss Nijhoff Publishers.