

# Γενοκτονία εν Ποή – Cumulative Genocide

## *The massacres and deportations of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire (1912-1923)*

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### **I. Time frames for the decision on genocide**

AT THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the collapsing multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire was a state torn by internal and external crisis, by national independence movements as well as by the imperialist appetite of competing European powers. Ethnic homogenization, achieved by assimilation, ethnic dispersion, expulsion or even destruction was seen as a counter-measure against destabilization.

The indigenous Christians of the Ottoman Empire – more than five million within the boundaries of Asia Minor or present-day Turkey – had developed a firm ethno-religious identity already during the early Middle Ages and had ever since proven resistant to attempts of assimilation. Excluded from the military and at most times from higher and decision-making ranks in the civil service, Ottoman non-Muslims, and in particular Armenians and Greeks, had to limit themselves to trade, commerce and entrepreneurship, similar to the situation of Jews in Medieval Europe. The reforms of the *Tanzimat* era (1829-1876) helped the Ottoman Christians, and in particular the Greeks and Armenians, economically to prosper. But their visible wealth and simultaneous legal inferiority as *dhimmi* or *raya(h)*<sup>1</sup> made them vulnerable minorities. This vulnerability increased, when Muslim suspicion of Christian disloyalty added to social envy and traditional religious antipathy. Massacres of Christians more frequently occurred during the reign of the reactionary Sultan Abdülhamit II (1878-1908); directed mainly against the *ermenî millet-i* (Armenian-Apostolic Christians), who unlike the Ottoman Orthodox Greeks, or *Rum millet-i*<sup>2</sup> lacked a foreign protector or a national

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<sup>1</sup> *Raya(h)* or *reaya*, i.e. “cattle” or “flock;” in Ottoman Turkish a member of the tax-paying lower class of Ottoman society, in contrast to the elite class (*askeri*), to which the nobility, the military and the religious clergy belonged. Although the term originally included Muslim taxpayers as well, it was, in its later use, reduced to non-Muslim taxpayers.

<sup>2</sup> In this contribution, I refer to Greeks, or Ottoman Greeks as the community of Orthodox Christians of the Byzantine tradition. Most of them would be of Greek ethnicity, although by far not all were Greek-speakers; they most common self-identifier was *Romiosini*, or an identity linked to a sense of belonging to Orthodox Christianity and heir to the world of

state outside the Ottoman realm. These massacres however were never limited to Armenians. In some areas, the regional or local authorities allowed that violence was extended to other Christian denominations. Gustave Meyrier, the French Vice-consul at Diyarbakir, explained in his second report of February 9, 1895, the anti-Christian atrocities in this province by religious hatred, "The state of affairs affects all Christians regardless of race, be they Armenian, Khaldean, Syrian or Greek. It is the result of religious hatred that is all the more implacable in that it is based on the strength of some and the weakness of others."<sup>3</sup> A similar pattern appears during WORLD WAR I, when the deportations and massacres in the Diyarbakir province developed into the general destruction of Christians, affecting in particular the Aramaic-speaking population in that region.<sup>4</sup> The 'spill-over

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the Later Roman (Byzantine) Empire. The Rum [Roman] millet-i, however, included also groups of other than Greek ethnicity. To differentiate the (Ottoman) Greeks from those, who were nationals of Greece I designate the latter Hellenes.

<sup>3</sup> Sébastien de Courtois, *The Forgotten Genocide: Eastern Christians, the Last Aramaeans*. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), 101.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. – Two of three collections of accounts on the massacres during 1914-1916 in Southwest Anatolia gathered by representatives of the Syriac Orthodox and Catholic churches were published in Germany and the Netherlands, where Syriac Orthodox communities of refugees had emerged: {Tessa, please review the citations in this note}

a) The Aramaean writer and scholar Abdulmesih Na'man Karabashi was an eyewitness to the genocide. In 1918, 15 years old, he gathered survivor accounts of the atrocities committed by Ottoman regulars and Kurdish irregulars in the Tur Abdin region. German eds.: *Vergossenes Blut*, Augsburg: ADO Publikationen 1997; Glane/Losser (Netherlands): Bar Hebräus Verlag 1999; *Vergossenes Blut: Geschichten der Greuel, die an den Christen in der Türkei verübt, und der Leiden, die ihnen 1895 und 1914-1918 zugefügt wurden* [Bloodshed: Tales on the atrocities, committed against the Christians in Turkey, and on the sufferings they underwent in 1895 and during 1914-1918], von Malfono Abed Mschiho Na'man von Qarabasch, Klosterschüler des Za'afaran-Klosters, übersetzt aus dem Syrischen von George Toro und Amill Gorgis. (Glane/Losser:) Bar-Hebräus Verlag 2002.

b) A collection of accounts, gathered by the archpriest Sleman d'Beth Henno [Hannah] from Arkah from survivors in his parish, was published first in Aramaic in 1977 (*Gunhe d-suryoye d-Tur'Abdin da-šnath 1915/Reverses of fortune against the Syriac Christians of Tur Abdin in 1915*), and since 1987 in two German translations, the most recent being *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Syro-Aramäer im Tur Abdin 1915*; gesammelt vom Erzpriester Sleman Henno aus Arkah, Tur Abdin. Übers. Aus dem Syro-Aramäischen von Amill Gorgis und Georg Toro. (Glane/Losser): Bar Hebräus-Verlag Holland 2005. A Turkish edition appeared in 1993: Hori Süleyman Hinnö, *Farman. Tur'Abdinli süryanilerin 1914-1915 katliami*, Atina 1993. A U.S. ed. is in print. {what is it?}

c) A collection by the Catholic monk Ishaq/Ishoq [Isaac] (Bar) Armalto appeared in Arabic and French in 1919: Isaac Armalet (Fr.), *Les Calamités des Chrétiens/Al-Qusara fi Nakabat an-Nasara*, Beirut 1919. It focuses on events in Mardin 1895 and 1914-1918. A fourth collection of eyewitness accounts by Syriac Orthodox clerics and lay persons was published in German translation under the title *Seyfe* [(The Year of the) Sword] in the Netherlands; it mainly contains descriptions of the atrocities in poetic verse: *Seyfe: Das Christen-*

effect' showed itself also during a conservative counter-revolution in April 1909, when anti-Armenian massacres occurred in the Adana province:

The slaughter was unsparing. Greeks and Syrians were struck down with the Armenians. Entire families were burned to death in their homes. Hundreds of girls and women were maltreated and carried off to the harems, where the women were separated from the men.<sup>5</sup>

The frequent use of fire in the destruction of the Ottoman Christians is noteworthy. The term 'holocaust' as a synonym for genocidal destruction was first applied by the American missionary Corinna Shattuck, who witnessed the 'great holocaust' in Urfa, when three-thousand Armenians were burnt alive in their cathedral in late 1895.<sup>6</sup> The term was then continuously used by Europeans to describe the annihilation of Ottoman Christians: In 1898 the French-Jewish Journalist Bernard Lazare called the nation-wide slaughters of Armenians and other Christians during 1895 and 1896 a holocaust, while the Englishman Frederick Zaccheus Duckett Ferriman (1856-1934) titled his book on the Adana slaughter *The Young Turks and the Truth About the Holocaust in Asia Minor During April 1909* (London 1913). With the disappearance of the Christian population in Asia Minor, the historic context of 'holocaust' as a synonym for anti-Christian destructive events sank into oblivion. During and after World War II, it was increasingly applied to the destruction of the European Jews, although Elie Wiesel believed, that he had invented it in 1958.<sup>7</sup>

The question about the beginning of genocidal schemes among the Ottoman political elite interrelates with the question, whether the Young Turkish revolution marked a change of paradigms in the ideology and nationality policies of the ruling elite. There exist opposing views:

Now [Turkish and European scholars] tend to accept that the Muslims' original anti-imperialistic self-defensive nationalism which culminated in the Pan-Islamism of Abdülhamid II was replaced by an aggressive linguistic and eth-

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*Massaker in der Türkei, 1714-1914* [Seyfe: *The Massacre of Christians in Turkey, 1714-1914*], (Glane/Losser): Bar Hebräus-Verlag: 1981. See also Sébastien de Courtois, *The Forgotten Genocide: Eastern Christians, The Last Aramaeans*, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2004). For a contemporary publication: Joseph Naayem, *Shall this Nation Die?*, with a preface by Lord Bryce, New York 1920, on <http://www.aina.org/books/stnd.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> "Details of Slaughter received," *The New York Times*, May 5, 1909

<sup>6</sup> Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominick J Schaller, "Völkermord im historischen Raum 1895-1945" (Genocide in historical context, 1895-1945), in *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah* [The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah], ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominick J. Schaller (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2002), 41.

<sup>7</sup> Gunnar Heinsohn, *Lexikon der Völkermorde* [Encyclopedia of Genocides] (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1998), 174

nic nationalism under the CUP<sup>8</sup> and that the latter is partly responsible for the partial disintegration of the Ottoman State – though it was called to life to hinder, not to promote this process.<sup>9</sup>

Erik Jan Zürcher, on the other hand, suggests the gradual evolution of Muslim nationalism into an ‘Ottoman nationalism’, which was a) predominantly, but not exclusively Turkish and b) exclusively Muslim:

The (...) question, which often occupied the same Young Turk authors, was that of the communal basis of any future Ottoman state, whether it should be based on a single nationality, on a voluntary union of nationalities or perhaps on religion. By the early twentieth century sincere belief in a ‘Union of [ethnic] Elements’ (*İttihadi Anası*) was probably limited to some Greek, Arab and Albanian intellectuals and the ‘Liberal’ group led by Prince Sabahattin. The vast majority, certainly of the Unionists, already before the 1908 revolution subscribed to a kind of Ottoman Muslim nationalism in which the dominant position of the Turks was taken for granted. There was a growing awareness of Turkishness, but for most Young Turks this was one facet of a complex identity in which being an Ottoman and a Muslim played equally important parts. From the start the organizers of the 1908 revolution opened up their ranks to non-Turkish Muslims, but not (or at least not automatically) to non-Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

Since the military coup d’etat of 1908, the nationalist elite’s “journey to genocide” was a gradual evolution, triggered by foreign and domestic events, in particular those of the year 1913 which saw the Second Balkan War, expulsions of the Muslim population from Bosnia and Macedonia, but also the reform scheme for the “six Armenian provinces” according to the Berlin Treaty (1878). On various occasions and even in the early stages of their movement the nationalists had articulated their intention to “defend” against alleged threats of Christian separatism.

Such a feeling emerged among Turkish or Muslim Ottoman nationalists, years before they gained power. The issues of debates on political principles and orientation of the early twentieth century resemble in many aspects the recent discussion of anti- or pro-European attitudes in Turkey. Exponents of the controversial positions were exiled liberal Ahmed Rıza (1859–1930), editor of the journal *Meşveret* (*Consultation*), in which he set out ideas of reform, strongly flavoured by Auguste Comte’s philosophy of positivism, with whom he shared anti-imperialist positions. In the late nineteenth cen-

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<sup>8</sup> Committee for Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), better known in Europe as the Young Turks.

<sup>9</sup> Gábor Demeter, “The Views of the Young Turks and the Conservatives about Foreign and Domestic Politics before the Balkan Wars” in *Europe and the World in European Historiography*, ed. C. Lévai (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 197

<sup>10</sup> Erik-Jan Zürcher, *From Empire to Republic: Problems of Transition, Continuity and Change*. <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tcimo/tulp/Research/Fromtorep.htm>

ture Rıza had written that one of the main faults of the Ottoman system was its tolerance of non-Muslim minorities; enforced conversion would have pre-empted any secessionist difficulties. For him, separatism was high treason.<sup>11</sup> His advocacy of a strong central government within the Ottoman Empire and the exclusion of foreign influence led in February 1902 to a major split within the Young Turk exiles at the First Congress of Ottoman Liberals in Paris. There, Ahmed Rıza clashed with Prince Sabaheddin, who, with Armenian support, favoured administrative decentralization and European assistance to promote reform.<sup>12</sup>

Two relevant preparatory steps in the development towards genocide are socio-political exclusion and dehumanization. Exclusion was articulated already in August 1910 and September 1911, at the occasion of the Third and Fourth annual CUP meeting at Thessalonica (also known as Salonica, and Selanik in Turkish). Zia Gökalp (1876-1924), a member of the CUP Central Committee since 1910 and leading ideologist of Turkism, who became the deputy of Home Minister Talaat and responsible for minority issues in the CUP's Central Committee, exempted the non-Muslims from the ethnic definition of a Turkish nation: "Greeks, Armenians and Jews who lived in Turkey were Turks only in respect of citizenship but not of nationality... they would remain a foreign body in the national Turkish state."<sup>13</sup>

On June 25, 1909 the *Ottoman Lloyd*, No. 146 reported a visit of the Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III (the Magnificent) to the Ottoman Commander in Chief Mahmut Şevket in order to protest against "murders and violence"<sup>14</sup> against Greeks in the Ionian town of Kydonies (also Kydonia; Ayvalık in

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<sup>11</sup> Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, nationalism, and the destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 62.

<sup>12</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, quoted after:

[http://meretebe.org/English/Turkmenistan/history/ot\\_1807\\_1920.html](http://meretebe.org/English/Turkmenistan/history/ot_1807_1920.html);

Cf. also Feroz Ahmad, "Young Turk-Armenian Relations during the Second Constitutional Period, 1908-1914" (paper presented at the First International Social Studies Symposium on 'The Art of Living Together in Ottoman Society: The Case of Turkish-Armenian Relations', Erciyes University, April 20-22, 2006).

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2007/01/1349-young-turk-armenian-relations.html>

<sup>13</sup> Quoted from Robert Melson, "Provocation or Nationalism: A Critical Inquiry into the Armenian Genocide of 1915" in *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick/Oxford, 1986), 77

<sup>14</sup> According to a report dated June 24, 1909 by the German Ambassador Wangenheim to the German Chancellor von Bülow. Konstantinos Fotiadis, *Der Genozid an den Pontosgriechen*. Bd. 12: Unveröffentlichte Dokumente aus den Archiven der Außenministerien Deutschlands, Österreichs, Italiens und des Vatikans [The genocide against the Greeks of Pontos: Unpublished documents from the archives of the Foreign Offices of Germany, Austria, Italy and the Vatican]. (Thessalonica: Herodotos, 2003), p. 54

Turkish). The *generalissimo* used the opportunity to articulate his discontent with the irredentist development at Crete that he linked to the activities of Greek associations (*sylogoi*) in Asia Minor: "All agree about this. I speak about the societies and *sylogoi*. No, we cannot stand this situation any longer. We will break your heads; we shall annihilate all of you. Either we shall be lost or you!"<sup>15</sup> The Greek daily *Empros* (Athens) of June 24, 1909 concluded:

Neither the conduct of Şevket towards the Patriarch nor the murders and violence in Kydonia, nor the despotism in Xanthis is as such of significance. These are events, deriving all from the same reason. The Turks have decided to lead a war of annihilation against the Christians of the Empire, and of course they started, where they face the strongest enemy inside Turkey and the smallest resistance outside the country.<sup>16</sup>

As early as September 1910, the German Ambassador described violence as a seemingly unavoidable tool of 'Ottomanization,'<sup>17</sup> as the merger of the numerous ethno-religious groups in the Ottoman Empire was then called:

In many parts of the country the disappointment of the non-Turks has already become evident, and there is every appearance, that a peaceful solution of this task (sc. of Ottomanization; T.H.), based on joint efforts, cannot be achieved. That leaves the only question, whether the Turks will gradually carry out the merger by force, similar to the way in which Russia had russified the foreign citizens. The Sublime Porte, supported by the chauvinist Committee [sc. CUP] does not seem to recoil from the difficulties of this program, even if these appear to be insuperable. It prefers the Turks in every way when appointing staff to posts and tends to minimize the rights of the other nationalities in a reading of the treaties as restrictive as possible. (...) In

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<sup>15</sup> According to an informant of the German Ambassador Miguel, commander Şevket offended the Patriarchate in a slightly different version: "Listen, Patriarch, eventually we reach a point, where either we have to oppress you or you have to annihilate us!" – Compare PA/AA, Türkei No. 168, Vol. 6, 7, letter of June 26, 1909. Quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 56-57

<sup>16</sup> Quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 54

<sup>17</sup> A term used synonymously for Turkification, in order to mislead foreign opinion. It had been Talaat's and his followers' suggestion after the Fourth CUP meeting (September 1911) to follow, for tactical reasons the previous policy of voluntary 'osmanization' (ottomanization) and cooperation with Armenian political parties until the external circumstances would be more appropriate for the realization of the extermination program. Arsen Avakyan, *Genocid 1915 g.: mehanizmy prinyatiya i ispolneniya rešeniy* [The genocide of the year 1915: The mechanisms of decision-making and implementation of the decisions] (Erevan, 1999), 25

particular, the struggle is directed against the Ottomans of Greek origin and against the Ecumenical Patriarchate (...)."<sup>18</sup>

Italy's seizure of the Ottoman provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (Libya today) as well as the inhabited by Greeks Dodecanes archipelago that was inhabited by Greeks led and had led to the Italo-Turkish War (September 1911–October 1912) accelerated the anti-Christian and anti-minority sentiments. It is against this background of war and territorial losses, that the annual *Itihat* (CUP) party meeting at Thessalonica was held in autumn 1911. The *London Times* of October 3, 1911, summarizing the proceedings of the *Committee of Union and Progress*, reported a decision by meeting that the *Ottomanization* of all Turkish citizens must be accomplished by force of arms, since persuasion had failed. The same information can be found in Turkish sources and also was cited by the German Protestant theologian, missionary and recorder of the Armenian genocide Dr. Johannes Lepsius:

The congress confirms that sooner or later the Ottomanization of all peoples of the Empire must follow, and if this cannot be achieved by peaceful means one must not shrink from violent or even military means. (...) The non-Turkish peoples should lose the right to found organizations based on ethnicity, for decentralization threatens the unity of the Ottoman state. Ethnic minorities can be disregarded. They may preserve their religion. But instead of their native tongue they should use the official language of the Empire, Turkish.<sup>19</sup>

Assimilation was to be achieved by geographical dispersion — mainly by resettlement and deportations, which

(...) were planned, ordered, and coordinated by the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior's 'Directorate for the Settlement of Tribes and Immigrants' at Constantinople. At times, however, the directorate's officials joined those of the ministry's 'Directorate for Public Security' on the spot in the provinces when the situation demanded. Thus, a relatively small number of high-ranking ad-

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<sup>18</sup> Letter by German Ambassador Miguel to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg of September 6, 1910; Berlin, Political Archives of the German Foreign Office (PA/AA), File Türkei Nr. 175 b, Vol.8 f., Vol. 9. Translated from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 67-68

<sup>19</sup> *Itihat ve Terakki kongreleri*. "Memleket", 16/12/1947. Quoted from Avakyan, *Genocid 1915 g.* op. cit., 16. – Lepsius summarized the 1911 CUP meeting as the intended "complete Ottomanization of all Turkish subjects": "(...) however, it is clear, that this can never be achieved by persuasion, but that one has to take refuge to the use of arms. The Empire's nature has to remain Muslim, and Muslim institutions and traditions have to be respected. Other nationalities should be refused the right of organization, for decentralization and self-administration is treason against the Turkish Empire. The nationalities would be a *quantité négligeable*. They may preserve their religion, but not their language. The development of the Turkish language will be one of the main means in order to secure the Muslim predominance and to assimilate the other elements." Johannes Lepsius, *Bericht über die Lage des armenischen Volkes in der Türkei* [Report on the Situation of the Armenian People in Turkey] (Potsdam: Tempelverlag, 1916), 221-222

ministrators oversaw and engineered the deportations and extermination of virtually millions of Ottoman citizens. Most of them must be regarded as experts in crimes against humanity. In the course of their careers they repeatedly committed atrocities against the various groups targeted by the Ottoman government and after World War I, the governments of the Turkish Republic.<sup>20</sup>

Retaliation became another motif for the destruction of the indigenous Christians in the Ottoman Empire. In such schemes, the Christians were considered hostages against expected European interventions. Months before the first Balkan War started in late autumn 1912, the *Ittihat* Central Committee member Abdul Reşid threatened in his speech in the Rumeli Hisar *Ittihat* club in March of the same year:

If Europe attacks in order to wipe us out, then we will be forced to carry out such a plan of revenge against our subject Christian peoples, that the Europeans will be stupified and unable to take even a single step against us.<sup>21</sup>

The Balkan Wars of 1912–13 completed this radicalization, as the actions against the Greek population of Eastern Thrace and the littorals of Asia Minor prove. According to the Turkish writer, feminist and leading CUP member Halide Edip (Adivar; 1884-1964), who expressed the average nationalist's opinion in her memoirs (1926), it was then that the Ottoman elite was overcome by the sense that "the Turks must exterminate others" in order "to avoid being exterminated".<sup>22</sup> The two reasons, given by Edip for this conclusion, were the "massacre of three thousand Macedonian Turks and Moslems", which the nationalist author chose to characterize<sup>23</sup> as "one of the greatest massacres of the last hundred years" and Europe's alleged ethical double standard, i.e. "(...) the massacres did not arouse one quarter of the indignation which the Armenian massacres had done. These facts spoke bitterly in Turkey against Europe, and in the Islamic worlds in Asia."<sup>24</sup> The situation described by Halide Edip fully corresponds with the Thomas theo-

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<sup>20</sup> Hilmar Kaiser, "The Ottoman Government and the End of the Ottoman Social Formation, 1915-1917," <http://www.hist.net/kieser/ghet/Essays/EssayKaiser.html> (Posted August 2001)

<sup>21</sup> Grigoris Balakian, *Armenian Golgotha: A memoir of the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1918* (New York: Alfred J. Knopf, 2009), 246

<sup>22</sup> Halide Edip [Adivar], *Memoirs*. London 1926 (Reprint: Gorgias Press, Piscataway/NJ, 2005), 333

<sup>23</sup> Edip's selection ignored the earlier massacres of 1822 in Chios, when it is estimated that out of about 117,000 Greek islanders approximately 25,000-52,000 had been killed; it also ignored the massacres of Armenians in 1894-96 (estimates vary between 100,000 and 300,000 killed) and of 1909 in the Ottoman Adana province (estimated 20,000-30,000 victims).

<sup>24</sup> Edip, *ibid.*, 333

rem: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences".<sup>25</sup> Being a construct in the first place, the Turkish nationalists' perception of the Ottoman Christians as potential traitors nevertheless caused the real destruction of the Ottoman Christians.

The genocide of the Armenians, Greeks or Aramaeans/Assyrians should therefore be understood not as a direct response to alleged Christian 'provocations', but as a stage in the Turkish nationalist movement, which as a reaction to the continuing disintegration of the empire settled on a narrow nationalism and excluded the indigenous Christians of Asia Minor from the moral universe of the state. That being so, bringing up the much discredited myth of Christian disloyalty in the context of the deportations and massacres before, during and after World War I is as offensive to the victims and the historic truth as bringing up the Nazi rationalization of an alleged 'international Jewish conspiracy' would be in the context of the Nazi Holocaust. Because both the Christians under Ottoman rule and the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe perished not for something they actually did or failed to do, but for who they were and how they were perceived by the perpetrators.<sup>26</sup> It appears psychologically crucial for genocide perpetrators to convince themselves of the necessity of "self-defensive" action.

For the Young Turks political rhetoric and practice the Balkan Wars also increased the relevance of Islam and a Muslim alliance, which lasted not only throughout World War I, but right until the end of the Turkish "liberation struggle" 1919–1922:

(...) with the outbreak of the Balkan War, theoretical questions paled into insignificance. There was a national emergency and the most important issue now seemed to be the mobilization of all national resources. What was national was no longer in doubt by the end of 1912: (...) When the Young Turks organized the war effort through countless political, social, economic and cultural organizations which all carried the title *milli* ("national") it was no longer in doubt what was meant by this term. It meant by and for the Ottoman Muslims. This tendency continued throughout the years of World War I (which was also officially declared a *Jihad* and which was partly fought out as a brutal ethnic/religious conflict in Anatolia and beyond). The proclamations of the national resistance movement in Anatolia after 1918 make it abundantly clear that the movement fought for continued independence and unity of the Ottoman Muslims. The religious character of the movement was often remarked upon at the time."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> William Isaac Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Knopf, 1928), 572

<sup>26</sup> See also Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>27</sup> Zürcher, *From Empire to Republic*, *ibid.*

Main target groups of the CUP assimilation and dispersion policy were non-Muslims and Muslim refugees (*muhacilar*) from the Balkans, most of which would be Slavic in origin and language. As the Circassian refugees before them, the Muslims from the Balkans were purposely resettled in Armenian and Greek areas of Asia Minor and received the land and properties of previously deported Christians. Similar to the Circassians, who supported the Turkish nationalists hoping for their own autonomy, the Balkan *muhaciler* took an active part in the persecution and annihilation of the indigenous Christians.

Dr. Martin Niepage (1886-1963), who taught at a German secondary school in Aleppo, had become a compassionate eyewitness of the genocide against the Armenians. Together with his colleagues Dr. Graeter and Marie Spiecker and the school's director Huber he signed an appeal to the German lawmakers, asking—in vain—for German intervention. However, despite military censorship he succeeded in publishing and disseminating his petition in Christian circles during World War I. In this booklet, Niepage explained the reasons for the CUP's self-destructive genocide against Ottoman Christians as part of the party's intention to profoundly change the ethnic composition of the Ottoman Empire by creating a Turkish national state:

If anyone enquires into the motives which induced the Young Turkish Government to decree and carry out these frightful measures against the Armenians, one might give the following explanation:

The Young Turk has always floating before his eyes the European ideal of a united national state. He hopes to Turkify the non-Turkish Mohammedan races--Kurds, Persians, Arabs, and so on--by administrative methods and through Turkish education, and he reinforces these by an appeal to their common interests as Mohammedans. The Christian nations--Armenians, Syrians, Greeks—alarm him by their cultural and economic superiority, and he sees their religion as an obstacle to their turkification by peaceful means. They have, therefore, to be either exterminated or converted to Mohammedanism by force. The Turks do not suspect that, in doing this, they are sawing off the branch on which they are sitting themselves. Who is to bring progress to Turkey if not the Greeks, Armenians and Syrians, who constitute more than a quarter of the population of the Empire?<sup>28</sup>

In early June 1915 Talaat, member of the CUP triumvirate, informed the German Embassy at Pera (Constantinople) about his government's intention

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<sup>28</sup> Martin Niepage, *The Horrors of Aleppo, Seen by a German Eyewitness*. London 1917, (Reprinted 1975), p. 20. The German original was published under the title *Ein Wort an die berufenen Vertreter des deutschen Volkes: Eindrücke eines deutschen Oberlehrers aus der Türkei* [A Word to the elected representatives of the German People: Impressions of a German teacher in Turkey] (Werningerode, 1916), 11-12. The English translation omitted some of the cruellest episodes in the German original.

“to use the opportunity of the World War thoroughly to eliminate [*gründlich aufzuräumen*] their internal enemies – *the indigenous Christians of all denominations* – without being disturbed by diplomatic interventions from abroad.”<sup>29</sup>

## II. Chronology of a genocide

As in later phases of the annihilation of the Ottoman Empire’s Christian population, the persecution of the Ottoman Greeks started with the destruction of the elite and the confiscation of arms. Between 1909 and 1911 Christian leaders — Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs — in Ottoman ruled **Macedonia** “mysteriously disappeared or were found murdered.”<sup>30</sup> The U.S. consul at Thessalonica, George Horton, who was an eyewitness, noted what he called the “Turkification” of Macedonia:

From the extermination of notables, the program extended to people of less importance. Beives of despairing peasant women who had come to visit the *vali* [governor] and demand news of their husbands, sons, or brothers appeared on the streets of Salonika. The answers were usually sardonic: “He has probably run away and left you,” or, “He has probably gone to America” were favourite replies. The truth, however, could not long be hidden as shepherds and others were soon reporting corpses found in ravines and gullies in the mountains and woods... The next step was the so-called “disarming.” This meant, as always, the disarming of the Christian element and the furnishing of weapons to the Turks. That the object was not so much to collect hidden arms as to terrorize the inhabitants was soon made evident from the tortures inflicted during the search.<sup>31</sup>

Retreating from **Eastern Thrace** during the First Balkan War, the Ottoman Army plundered the Greek villages in the Didymotichon and Adrianoupolis (Edirne) districts and torched those of the districts Malgara and Kessani. Numerous killings and murders occurred during the Balkan Wars, in particular at the time, when the Ottoman army reoccupied Eastern Thrace in February 1913. However, the persecutions in Thrace exceeded the traditional slaughters of Christians. For the first time thousands of Greeks were

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<sup>29</sup> Letter of June 6, 1915, of the German Embassy, *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes* (PA/AA), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Vol. 169, A53a, 3451. Cited from Wolfgang Gust, “Verständnislose Auswüchse des Militarismus” [Incomprehensible excesses of militarism], *Historicum: Zeitschrift für Geschichte* (Vienna, Fall 2007) 19. (Italics added by the author)

<sup>30</sup> Marjorie Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair: The First Comprehensive Account of the Burning of the City and the Expulsion of the Christians from Turkey in 1922* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), 19-20

<sup>31</sup> George Horton, *The Blight of Asia: An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and of the Culpability of Certain Great Powers; with the True Story of the Burning of Smyrna* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926). <http://www.hri.org/docs/Horton/hb-3.html>

systematically driven away from their villages and purposely exposed to exhaustion and starvation during death marches, which were officially called relocations. The Greek historian who concentrated on Thrace, Konstantinos A. Vakalopoulos, summarized the situation during and after the Balkan Wars:

The conditions, under which the Greek population was expelled from their villages and towns and exiled by the Young Turks, were brutal and inhuman. They were expelled from the urban centres at the coast of the Propontis<sup>32</sup> and the Black Sea under threat and panic as well as continuous terror and murder. Not one day passed without casualties. (...) The expulsion was carried out without earlier notice or limitations. The properties of the East Thracians were rapidly assigned to the *muhacirs*, Muslim refugees from Epirus, Bosnia and most of all Macedonia. The expelled Greeks were not allowed to take anything with them, and numerous old people died from exhaustion, starvation and as a result of the atrocities, committed during these marches of misery towards the coasts.<sup>33</sup>

According to Vakalopoulos, the Greek population of East Thrace numbered more than 350,000 before the Balkan Wars. Of those, 100,000 had been deported into the interior of Asia Minor or Central Anatolia. Only 54,000 of the deportees returned after the Ottoman capitulation of October 30, 1918. Vakalopoulos concludes that the other deportees had died as result of forced labor and diseases.<sup>34</sup> According to the Central Commission of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople, which supervised the re-integration of Greek Orthodox refugees after World War I, 232,000 more Greeks from eastern Thrace had been compelled to immigrate into Greece. Most of these exiles (193,403 persons) were inhabitants of the province of Adrianoupolis; more than the half of them returned to their home province between 1918 and 1920, while only 86,910 of those who had been exiled to Greece stayed there after World War I.<sup>35</sup>

While in Thrace the 'pressure on the Greek population to emigrate' was cancelled in spring 1914, in order 'not to provoke Greece,'<sup>36</sup> the CUP policy

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<sup>32</sup> The littoral between Constantinople and Rodosto (in Greek, Rhadestro/Redestro, in Turkish Tekir Dağ).

<sup>33</sup> Konstantinos A. Vakalopoulos, "Vertreibung und Genozid an den Griechen Ost-Thrakiens" [Expulsion and Genocide against the Greeks of East Thrace], in Tessa Hofmann, editor, *ibid.*, p. 129. For further reading see the same author's monograph *Διωγμοί και γενοκτονία του Θρακικού Ελληνισμού: Ο Πρώτος Ξεριζωμός (1908-1917)* [Persecutions and Genocide of Thracian Hellenism: The first uprooting] (Thessalonica: Herodotos, 1998)

<sup>34</sup> Vakalopoulos, *ibid.*, 132

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> According to a telegram by German Ambassador Hans von Wangenheim dated May 20, 1914 (translated from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, p. 82).

of deporting Greeks continued in 1914 in Asia Minor, first in **Ionia**, then in the Pontos (Black Sea) region. Months before the Ottoman Empire entered the theatre of war, the Home Minister Talaat ordered on May, 14 1914:

It is urgent for political reasons the Greek residents of the Asia Minor Coast to be forced to vacate their villages and to be settled in the vilayets of Erzurum and Chaldea. Should they refuse to be settled in the determined places, please give oral instructions to brother Muslims, for the purpose of forcing the Greeks, by every kind of actions, is to be voluntarily expatriated. Do not forget, in this case, to take from the migrants certificates that they abandon their homes by their own initiative.<sup>37</sup>

A report of June 19, 1914 by the Danish consulate in Smyrna (see Annex II) about “disorders in the Vilayet of Aydin”<sup>38</sup> to Denmark’s Legation at Constantinople describes in detail the mechanism of terrorizing and expelling the Greek inhabitants who had been compelled to accommodate Muslim refugees from Thrace and Macedonia in their own homes, by providing one room out of every three. At a later stage, armed Muslim bands openly attacked Greek settlements and towns: “(...) women were seduced, girls were ravished, some of them dying from the ill-treatment received, children at the breast were shot or cut down with their mothers.”<sup>39</sup>

In May 1914 the Ottoman head of government (Grand Vizier) Ghalib Bey confided to the German Ambassador that he negotiated with his Greek colleague Eleftherios Venizelos about

(...) a population exchange of the Greeks from Aydin for the Turks from Macedonia. For the future he intends the cleansing of the entire Asian Minor littoral from the Greeks, in order to replace them by Tartars [sic!] . (...) Because of his approval of the Greek emigration by Venizelos the Patriarchate is angry with the latter.<sup>40</sup>

Although the population “exchange” did not materialize at that time, the *kaimakan* of Bergama (Pergamon) and Rahmi, the vali of Smyrna,<sup>41</sup> both

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<sup>37</sup> Quoted from Harry Tsirkinidis, “*At last we uprooted them...: The genocide of Greeks of Pontos, Thrace and Asia Minor, through the French archives.* (Thessalonica, 1999), p. 107

<sup>38</sup> The town of same name, Aydin, was the Greek Tralleis in ancient times.

<sup>39</sup> Rigsarkivet [the Danish National Archives], Udenrigsministeriets Arkiver [the Foreign Ministry Archives] (UM), 2-0355, “Konstantinopel/Istanbul, diplomatisk repræsentation”, “Noter og indberetninger om den politiske udvikling, 1914-1922”, “Verdenskrigen. Rapporter fra Smyrna. Nov. 1914–Marts 1916”, Alfred Van der Zee til [to] Carl Ellis Wandel, 19/6 1914.

<sup>40</sup> PA/AA, Türkei Nr. 175 b, Vol. 9, Nr. 232, A. 994a: Telegram by Ambassador Hans von Wangenheim, May 20, 1914. (translated from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, pp. 81-82).

<sup>41</sup> There exist conflicting descriptions of the role and position of Governor Rahmi during the terror and expulsion of Greek residents from Ionia (Spring–Summer 1914). Whereas the contemporary to these events, the Second *Dragoman* of the German Embassy, Dr.

refugees from Thessalonica, nevertheless increased the pressure on the Greeks of the Aydin province, in particular on those from the Kydonies (Ayvalık) region; after Smyrna, Kydonies was the largest Greek city in the region. By order of the *kaimakan*, the olive groves that formed the base of the existence of Kydonies, were expropriated and assigned to Muslim refugees from the Balkans. Although they no longer possessed them, the Greeks of Kydonies were taxed on these groves. Because of the alleged danger of espionage the Greeks were no longer allowed to work as skippers or pilots.

The massacre, looting and burning of the town of Phoea (northwest of Smyrna) in June 1914, which was committed by armed irregulars or *muhaciler*, in collaboration with the local police, was obviously part of the strategy to terrorize the Ionian Greeks.<sup>42</sup> It left 100 dead and caused the flight of thousands. Abduction of girls and women, rape, mutilation and killings were reported from other places during June 1914.<sup>43</sup> *The Manchester Guardian* of June 29, 1914 summarizes the casualties in Aydin province based on “letters received from an Englishman recently in one of the Aegean Islands:”

It will be seen that the writer, who is in a position to know the truth confirms the charges made by Greece against Turkey of ill-using and expelling the Hellenes settled on the Asiatic coast. The letter-writer says:

The state of the Christian villages on the coast is very terrible—all the horrors of war in peace, and these are inoffensive villagers not even accused of any offence against the Government. At **Mytilene** the churches are full, and there is no further accommodation, and I believe about 10,000 in all have left **Chesme**. A number of women and children embarked at Chesme on our steamer. They wished to get out at **Smyrna**, but were not allowed, and were therefore brought on here.

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Schwörbel, described Rahmi as the initiator of anti-Greek activities in 1914, Giles Milton, following the positive description by George Horton, describes Rahmi as a high ranking and influential C.U.P. member of Jewish ancestry from Thessalonica, who ruled in his realm like an autocrat, but for the benefit of the non-Muslims there, “Ever since the Young Turk revolution of 1908 and his subsequent appointment as governor of Smyrna, he had found himself increasingly disenchanted with central government in Constantinople. The triumvirate in control had once been his confidants. Now [in 1914], the relationship was severely undermined by their decision to enter the war on the German side.” Giles Milton, *Paradise Lost: Smyrna 1922* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 65. About the 1914 events in Ionia see also Annex II of this contribution.

<sup>42</sup> “Massacre of Greeks charged to the Turks: Priest, old men and children are reported slain, bodies are thrown into well,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 17, 1914, front page. <http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/17061914.html>

<sup>43</sup> “Turkish atrocities against Greeks: Massacres in Asia Minor,” *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), June 19, 1914, 7. <http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/19061914.html>

The **moharjis** (Turkish emigrants) from Europe who were brought to Chesme to expropriate the Christians were not from Macedonia, but nearly all Albanians of **Gheg tribe**, from Serbian territory. So the excuse of retaliation for such a supposed expropriation by the Greek Government from Macedonia cannot be offered. The whole thing (in which the Turkish Government, of course, professes ignorance and innocence) is undoubtedly a perfectly ruthless and carefully organized plot of the Committee for getting rid of the Christian population along the Anatolian coast. This is shown by the similarity of method throughout. The smaller outlying villages are first attacked, and the expropriation is there carried out by force. The larger communities are then threatened with the same dispossession by violence. The inhabitants do not, of course, await execution, but having seen it at their doors, anticipate it by leaving. It is then represented to the consuls that they left of their own accord, and had no cause for fear. If what has happened is condoned the larger communities, such as **Aivali** [Ayvalık, or Kydonia] and even **Smyrna** will no doubt be dealt with.

The Christian villages in the environs of Aivali having now been completely, village by village, cleared of their inhabitants, proceedings against Aivali itself (it contained about 30,000 inhabitants, nearly all Christian) have commenced, and the first fugitives arrived yesterday. The **Kaimakam** of Aivali told the inhabitants that they must go. He said, "This is no longer your country; if you don't go to-day you will be compelled to go to-morrow."

Stories of cruelty and outrage in the expulsion of the inhabitants from the villages— features which it was impossible indeed should be lacking—are simply confirmed. A good many girls are in the hospitals at Aivali in consequence of their treatment by the moharjis \* \* \*

"I live in a sort of hope that the progress southward may be arrested. It surely would not be too much of an irregularity for British ships to go to certain points on the coast for this purpose."

**Achramythium** and the villages of the district, where the Christian population was large are now completely emptied of their inhabitants. I suppose the same is now the case as regards Chesme district.<sup>44</sup>

Already before the war Said Halim, the Ottoman head of government, informed the German Ambassador about the 'total removal of the Greek population from the littoral of Asia Minor.'<sup>45</sup> On March 5, 1915, Grand Vezir Said

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<sup>44</sup> German Foreign Office, Political Archives (PA/AA), Berlin, File Türkei No. 168, Vol. 14 f. No. 552, A. 26689, quoted from *The Genocide against the Greeks of Pontos*, *ibid.*, ed. Konstantinos E. Fotiades, 90; A newspaper report of 1914 mentioned 30,000 Greek inhabitants, "Why the Greeks fled: Organized Persecution in Asia Minor." *The Manchester Guardian*, June 29, 1914.

<sup>45</sup> German Embassy of Constantinople, July 16, 1914. – PA/AA, R1913, A14975, cited from Gust, *op. cit.*, 19.

Halim proudly announced that “the littoral of Asia Minor has more or less lost its Greek population.”<sup>46</sup>

According to a report of September 4, 1915 by Dr. Schwörbel, the Second *Dragoman* (interpreter) at the German Embassy, there was a pre-war population of 36,000 residents in the almost exclusively Greek town of Kydonies. A third of the population had escaped to the near island Mytilene after the onslaught of 1914. In his report, Schwörbel mentioned a remaining population of “only about 22,000 exclusively Greek inhabitants,”<sup>47</sup> which was twice deported, in July 1915<sup>48</sup> and in April 1917.

Schwörbel, who travelled twice in official missions to Ionia during summer 1915, reported also the presence of concentration camps<sup>49</sup> along the Soma-

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<sup>46</sup> German Embassy of Constantinople, March 5, 1915, PA/AA, R1915, A8112, cited from Gust, op. cit., p. 19

<sup>47</sup> The ancient town of Kydonies/Kydonia is now a village, situated opposite of the island Lesvos, not far from Ayvalik, which was built as the chief seaport in northwest Asia Minor in the third decade of the nineteenth century.

<sup>48</sup> According to information by the Hellenic consul at Smyrna, quoted in a telegram of July 31, 1915 of the German Embassy. PA/AA, Türkei, No. 168, Vol. 14, 15, p. 88, quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 88. The German Ambassador Mirbach at Athens telegraphed on July 19, 1915 that the Hellenic Ambassador at Constantinople had been ordered officially to protest against the deportation of the Greek population of Ayvali into the interior. PA/AA, Türkei, No. 168, Vol 14, 15, quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 87. - The German Ambassador at Constantinople, Metternich mentioned in a dispatch to the German Chancellor dated January 31, 1916 that the expulsion of “thousands of Greeks” from the Aegean and Marmara littorals had ceased, although it previously had been justified as militarily necessary. “In Eregli at the Marmara Sea the population was even allowed to return to their previous residences, which, according to the view of the [Ecumenical] Patriarch must be first of all explained by my intervention.” PA/AA, Türkei, No. 168, Vol. 14, 15, quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 102

<sup>49</sup> A term originating in African history and being in common European and American usage during World War I, albeit with the connotation of destruction and not only internment. During the Second War of Independence of the *Boerevolk* (1899-1902), Britain killed 27,000 Boer women and children, of whom 24,000 in concentration camps (<http://www.boer.co.za/boerwar/hellkamp.htm>), which in the commemoration of Boers survives as a “holocaust.” All functions of modern concentration camps can be observed in the genocide of the tribes of Herero and Nama during the German Colonial genocide (1904-1908) in the former German colony “Deutsch Südwest” (today Namibia): forced labor (“Arbeitslager”), sexual abuse and torture of women of the target group, medical experiments on and genetic “research” of the many babies, born after such rapes, notably by the German physician and anthropologist Eugen Fischer (1874-1967), physical destruction by starvation, disease and exhaustion. It should be noted that Adolf Hitler was inspired by Fischer’s book *Grundriß der menschlichen Erblichkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene (Eugenik)* [Outline of Human Heredity and Race Hygiene (Eugenics)] co-authored in 1921 with Erwin Baur and Fritz Lenz. During the Nama uprising, half the tribe (over 10,000)

Pandarma railways with Greek women, children and old peoples; they were deportees from the Marmara coast, entirely left to themselves without food and accommodation:

Because the government does not care at all about feeding these masses and because under the recent conditions the possibilities for the deportees to find work or to earn any money are scarce, the daily casualties are high, as the railway physician of the Soma-Pandarma line confirmed.

Schwörbel concluded:

With the exception of Aivali and Smyrna with its environs the entire Greek civilization, which flourished until recently at the west coast of Asia Minor is destroyed. The reason lies in the Islamist movement in Asia Minor, initiated in the beginning of May last year by the recently immigrated refugees from Macedonia and Mytilene and stirred up by the general governor of Smyrna, Rahmi Bey, with the aim to expel the Christian populations from Asia Minor and to replace them with Muslims.<sup>50</sup>

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were killed, while the remaining 9,000 or so survivors were confined in concentration camps. [http://www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g\\_namibia1.html](http://www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g_namibia1.html).

The impact of these prototypes in South Africa on the Ottoman genocide during World War I and the German genocide during World War II are still under-researched, but the German experience, gained in Namibia may have influenced their Ottoman allies. In this respect, the biography of the Protestant theologian Paul Carl Albert Rohrbach (1869-1956) seems important; he was a prominent publisher and representative of a liberal imperialism, author of travelogues as well as an official of the German colonial administration in Namibia (1903 until Spring, 1907). As Commissioner for Settlement and economic expert Rohrbach criticised the annihilation policies of von Trotha, the German supreme commander in Namibia, and recommended instead to use the aboriginal population of Southwest Africa as servants, with the exception of the "Hottentots" (Nama), because they were "economically useless, and for that reason there exists no interest to maintain that 'race': In order to secure the peaceful settlement of whites against the culturally disabled, predatory indigenous tribe their actual annihilation can be mandatory" (1907). Although sympathetic with the Armenians, whose culture and abilities Rohrbach admired and had praised in his book published in 1903, *Vom Kaukasus zum Mittelmeer: Eine Hochzeits- und Studienreise durch Armenien* [From the Caucasus to the Mediterranean Sea: A honeymoon and journey of study through Armenia], the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as by Henry Morgenthau and the French author René Pinon, believed that Rohrbach was responsible for providing the Young Turks with the idea of deportation. In 1913 Rohrbach had presented the idea of relocating the Armenians to Mesopotamia in a lecture to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erdkunde [German Geographic Society]. See also Vahakn N. Dadrian, *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity* (Watertown, MA: Blue Crane Books, 1996), 114

<sup>50</sup> German Foreign Office, Political Archives (PA/AA), Berlin, File Türkei No. 168, Vol. 14 f. No. 552, A. 26689, quoted from *The Genocide against the Greeks of Pontus*, ed. K. E. Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 96-97

An earlier German eyewitness in Ionia, Dr. Harry Stürmer, worked in Constantinople as foreign correspondent for the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Cologne). In his memoirs, published in 1917 in neutral Switzerland, he recalled the situation at the beginning of World War I in 1914:

At the time of the Sarajevo murder I happened to be in the Aydin vilayet, in Smyrna and its hinterland. There I have witnessed with my own eyes vile deeds which must make everybody blush in anger against the Turkish government, which tolerates and supports these crimes, starting with old women, raped one after the other by a dozen of *muhacirs* and wayward soldiers, up to the smouldering ruins of Phokaia.<sup>51</sup>

On April 11, 1916, nearly a year after the Armenian elite in Constantinople and other Ottoman cities had been wiped out by massive arrests, imprisonment and deportation, atrocities against Greeks were reported from various parts of the Ottoman Empire, in particular from Adrianoupolis and nearby Demotica (also Dimotica), where Turks and Bulgarians joined in a massacre of the local Greeks, killing 400 and wounding 300 more after “pillaging their houses. In the Smyrna district several Greek villages were raided. 200 persons being killed and many wounded. Constantinople was likewise the scene of serious massacres, no figures pertaining to which are available.”<sup>52</sup>

Carl Werth, the Secretary of the German consulate at Sivas, reported on June 28, 1916, that Armenians of a labor battalion together with “all Greeks” had been detained at Karahisar and were kept prisoner in the local Armenian church in Sivas: “The Greeks and those Armenians who converted to Islam were set free today after a heavy bastinado, while the remaining Armenians had been advised by the authorities to convert. Otherwise they would be deported with unknown destination. The Armenians fear for a fourth slaughter.”<sup>53</sup>

In 1916, the deportation of Greeks from the Aegean and Marmara coasts ceased temporarily, and in Ereğli the population was even allowed to return. However, at the same time repression started in the **Pontos** region. As early as August 27, 1915, the German consul at Trabzon, Heinrich Bergfeld had cabled to Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg at the occasion of the arrest and massacre of the last remaining Armenians, expressing his fear that the regional CUP members might repeat the treatment they applied to the

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<sup>51</sup> Harry Stuermer, *Zwei Kriegsjahre in Konstantinopel: Skizzen deutsch-jungtürkischer Moral und Politik* [Two war years in Constantinople: Sketches of German-Young Turkish moral and policies] (Lausanne: Payot, 1917), 150-151

<sup>52</sup> “Massacres of Greeks in Turkey Reported,” *The New York Times*, April 20, 1916, 6

<sup>53</sup> Political Archives of the German Foreign office (PA/AA), Berlin, quoted from: [http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart\\_De?OpenFrameset](http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_De?OpenFrameset)

Armenians against the Greeks, if they went unpunished.<sup>54</sup> Less than a year later, in June 1916 all Greeks from the village of Taderesi in the Angora (Ankara) province and all Greeks of the littoral in the Kastamonu district were deported into the interior, followed by the Greek population of Sinope, where Greeks were given only four hours notice. Consul M. Kuckhoff telegraphed on July 16, 1916 from Samsun:

(...) In Turkish the terms deportation and destruction have the same meaning, for in most cases those who are not killed fall victim to diseases or starvation. Probably these [sc. deportations- TH] are fanatic activities of the *vali* of Castamuni [sic], who uses the flight of Greek conscripts over the sea and the prevention of espionage as a pretext to annihilate the entire people.<sup>55</sup>

In a special cable the *New York Times* of August 21, 1916 reported that Turkish authorities in the Black Sea regions

"...are rounding up civilians in a considerable number of villages and sending them off in batches to concentration camps in the interior. This means practically a sentence to death, for in large numbers they are forced to go afoot, absolutely without food. En route these pitiful caravans are attacked by Turks, who rob them of whatever they have in their possession, unhappy mothers being deprived of their children. The deportations are on a considerable scale.<sup>56</sup>

In a letter of 1918 Germanos (born Stylianos Karavangelis, 1866-1953), the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan Bishop of Amaseia (Amasya) and Samsun<sup>57</sup> described the systematic destruction of agriculture of the Greek Pontos and emphasised the calculated climate factor for killing the female population:

First, the army reduced to ashes the entire surrounding region. Nearly all the villages, rich in tobacco plantations, civilized friends of progress and possessing a lively national sentiment, were pillaged and then set on fire. A large number of women and children were killed, the young girls outraged and

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<sup>54</sup> Political Archives of the German Foreign office (PA/AA), Berlin, File Embassy Constantinople (Botschaft Konstantinople), No. 170, quoted from:

[http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart\\_De?OpenFrameset](http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_De?OpenFrameset)

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, p. 114

<sup>56</sup> "Turks deporting Greeks: Civilian concentration camps victims attacked and despoiled," *The New York Times*, August 21, 1916, 2.

<http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/21081916.html>

<sup>57</sup> Germanos of Amaseia (Pontos) had been a leading figure in the struggle to assert Greek national claims in the Ottoman province of Macedonia in the early twentieth century. At the behest of the Ottoman authorities, the Holy Synod removed him from Kastoria in 1907 and named him metropolitan of Amaseia in 1908, where he defended the rights of the local Greek and Armenian population against increasing Turkish nationalism. He fled Turkey in 1923 after having been sentenced to death. See *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Politics*, ed. Roy Palmer Domenico and Mark Y. Henly (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press/ABC-Clio, 2006), 298

immediately afterward driven into the interior. Where? Into the vilayet of Angora, to Tchouroum, to Soungourlou, and still further. The winter was of the most severe kind; these girls had to march thirty or forty days across snow-covered mountains and sleep by night in the open. For several days they were without food, for they were not even allowed to use money to buy bread; they were continually beaten by the gendarmes and stripped of any money they might have on them, and when they got to the towns they were brutally pushed into the hot public baths, on the pretext of hygiene and cleanliness, and just as quickly dragged out. Thus, an easy prey to the rigors of the cold, they were driven on further. The majority, of course, died on the road, and none of the dead being buried at all, vultures and hogs feasted on human flesh.”<sup>58</sup>

In Ionia, the intervention of the German General of Cavalry, Otto Liman von Sanders, supported by the German Foreign Office, saved the Greeks from wholesale deportation in 1916<sup>59</sup> and the Greeks of Smyrna in late 1917,<sup>60</sup> although in April 1917 Liman had ordered the “evacuation” of the Greek population of Ayvalik (Aivali) and its surroundings,<sup>61</sup> which at that time was estimated to be 12,000 to 20,000.<sup>62</sup> The reason given for Liman’s order was ‘persistent treason and espionage communication’ of the Ayvalik residents with the Entente military;<sup>63</sup> Greece’s entry into the war was obviously no decisive criterion for Liman’s decision on or against deportation. But as both the German and the Austrian ambassador mentioned, it aroused criticism by Talaat, now head of government, whose newly created cabinet found Li-

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<sup>58</sup> “Turkish Cruelty Bared by Greeks,” *The New York Times*, June 16, 1918, 42

<sup>59</sup> It had been ordered by the provincial governor (*vali*) Rahmi Bey.

<sup>60</sup> Telegram of the German Ambassador Bernstorff, December 11, 1917. PA/AA, Türkei, No. 168, Vol. 16. Quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 181

<sup>61</sup> In his memoirs Liman von Sanders did not mention the deportation of 1917, but wrote in the context of his inspection tour to Ayvalik in summer 1915 that Germans in Turkey were exposed to “truly unfounded attacks”: “During summer of the same year, at the time of the Dardanelles fights, I received a letter of the German Ambassador, by which King Constantine of Greece inquired whether I really had said to the mayor of Edremid that ‘all Greeks deserved to be thrown into the sea.’ But during my brief stay in that town I had neither met with or talked to the mayor of Edremid, nor to a similar personality, and of course I did not make any remarks about Greeks, with whom I had nothing to do there. I was able to reject with few words this shameless invention. (...) Being a Turkish general, I was a stumbling block to several fanatic Greeks.” Otto Liman von Sanders, *Fünf Jahre in der Türkei* [Five years in Turkey] (Berlin: Verlag August Scherl, 1920), 70.

<sup>62</sup> “10,000 to 15,000 persons of Greek ethnicity,” according to a telegram of April 3, 1917 by the Austrian Ambassador Count Trautmannsdorf. Vienna, HHStA, Türkei XII, Liasse 467 LIV, Griechenverfolgungen in der Türkei 1916-1918 [Persecutions of Greeks 1916-1918]. Quoted from from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 312-313

<sup>63</sup> Telegram of April 7, 1917 from the Embassy at Constantinople, forwarded by State Secretary Arthur Zimmermann, Berlin, on April 8, 1917, PA/AA, Türkei, No. 168, Vol. 15, 16. Quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 150-151

man's deportation order difficult to support, 'after they had pledged to moderation and tolerance.'<sup>64</sup> A similar deportation order was signed by another German, General Fritz Bronsart von Schellendorf, who was Chief Commander at Constantinople and detached to War Minister Enver, the second strongman in the Ottoman Army.<sup>65</sup>

Earlier in 1916, the wholesale deportation of all Greeks from the Ottoman littorals was already planned, as Home Minister Talaat confirmed in October 1916 during a talk with the German Ambassador Radowitz; but Enver himself ordered to stop the execution of such plans in order not to provoke Greece, which was then still neutral. The same policy of avoiding a provocation of Greece was followed by the political German leadership and the German diplomatic corps.

As a result of such priorities the deportation was carried out in a partial way. On October 3, 1916, Ambassador Radowitz reported to Berlin that the "cleansing" was partly accomplished, by "the expulsion of the Syriac Christians from the Eastern borderlands and of the Greeks from certain districts of Asia Minor und Rumelia."<sup>66</sup>

Obviously there were also plans to carry out a deportation of prominent Greeks from the Ottoman capital Constantinople similar to the earlier massive arrest and deportation of the Armenian elite in spring 1915. On October 5, 1916, Radowitz reported to Berlin that the Turks had already composed a deportation list of 38,000 Greeks from Constantinople. On October 13 Radowitz announced that the danger of "a massive expulsion with all the known consequences is approaching," because Talaat in person went to Smyrna supposedly in order to instruct the *vali* there.<sup>67</sup> The British Legation at Berne (Switzerland) wrote in a 'Memorandum concerning the abominable ill-treatment of the Greeks in Turkey' dated December 11, 1917:

Greeks are being daily cleared out of Constantinople and its surroundings and taken to the interior of the country. Their property is seized and their belongings sold by auction. The women and girls are distributed between the German officials and the Moslems of importance. (...) It is estimated that in Constantinople over 300 Greeks have been enslaved. But in Asiatic Turkey it is said that over 100,000 have been killed, or died of hunger, since the beginning of August last.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ambassador Trautmannsdorf in his telegram of April 3, 1917. Vienna, HHStA, Türkei XII, Liasse 467 LIV. Quoted from Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 312. Cf. footnote 47

<sup>65</sup> Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 115

<sup>66</sup> PA/AA, IA Türkei 183, Armenien Vol. 44, No. 7155 R 14093

<sup>67</sup> Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 131-132

<sup>68</sup> Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Reference FO 286/677

For allegedly “strictly military reasons,” War Minister Enver ordered in December 1916 the deportation of the Greek population from the Black Sea littoral in an area of 50 kilometres. According to official information, given to the German diplomats this regulation should have been carried out “milder” than in the Armenians’ case. However, the German diplomats soon understood that not only the winter season and the “failure to organize provisions” would lead to high casualties, but that there was also a lack of intention to keep the promises of humanitarian treatment. Despite earlier promises, the Greeks of Giresun (Kerasunta) were not allowed to stay in near-by Kulakkaya, only 50 kilometres south of Giresun. Against all previous announcements they were driven in mid-winter over the mountains towards Sivas.<sup>69</sup> Based on information from Austrian sources, the German diplomats understood in early February 1917, that the “ban of the Greek population of Samsun”, which had been conducted under the pretext of pursuing Greek bands in reality was nothing else but a “large scale” persecution of Greeks. A report from the Austrian Foreign Office gives the details of the extremely cruel expulsion from the villages Ailas-köy and Kadıköy near Samsun:

On the same day the villages, which belong to Samsun (...) were occupied by military forces and the inhabitants (3-4,000) summoned under the pretext that the *mutessarif* wished to talk to them, and then they were driven at night-time into the interior, without any clothing and provisions. Considering the present rough time of the year, the lack of accommodation and food many of these unfortunate will soon meet their death.<sup>70</sup>

In the late 1920s the Danish railway engineer and ardent admirer of Mustafa Kemal, Olaf A. Rygaard conversed with several Turks who had been engaged in the killings of Greeks and Armenians during the World War and the so-called Liberation Wars (1919-1922). Rygaard, who qualified the Ottoman Turks as “herskerfolk” (“Herrenvolk” in German, i.e. literally “ruling” or “master people”) and ascribed the massive and brutal killings of Greek and Armenian civilians to the CUP and the “lawlessness” of the “Liberation Wars,” includes in his memoirs, published in 1935, the confessions and information that he then received. About Giresun and the holocaust committed there we read:

I spend the waiting period taking rides in the surroundings and taking a closer look at the city which was greatly damaged by the bombardments of the Russian warships during the world war. The shattered Armenian stone houses have only been repaired by the Turks by putting a wooden storey on top of them. The churches are in ruins and are used as stables and prisons. Per [Rygaard’s horse] stands up against a wall that is still decorated with mu-

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<sup>69</sup> Fotiadis, *ibid.*, p. 139

<sup>70</sup> Fotiadis, *ibid.*, p. 142

rels depicting the Virgin Mary. Gruesome massacres of Greek and Armenian women and children have taken place in these churches where these unfortunates, according to what the Turks themselves told me, were burnt. These atrocities have partly taken place during the reign of the Triumvirate *Enver-*, *Cemal-*, and *Talaat Pasha*, before Kemal Pasha took control, and partly during the completely lawless times during the Wars of Liberation.

These three men have irreparably damaged Turkey. Enver threw the country into the World War, Talaat ordered the extermination of the Armenians in 1915, and Cemal ravaged wildly in Syria, raging about the Arabs' natural defection when the Holy War was declared."<sup>71</sup>

Such retrospective condemnation notwithstanding, contemporaries did want to believe that the appointment of Talaat as head of government in mid-February 1917 could be a turning point in the CUP policies towards the Christians of the Ottoman Empire. The German Ambassador (at that time Kühlmann) reported to Berlin:

(...) I believe that as a result of all this the extermination policy has profoundly harmed the Turkish Empire. For a long time the atrocities of the Armenian campaign will overshadow the Turkish reputation and provide poisonous weapons to those who deny Turkey the recognition as a civilised state and who demand the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. Seen from a domestic view, the country had been significantly weakened by the peril and the ban of a physically strong, industrious and economical population, in particular, because the shortage in people is one of the major obstacles for a more rapid development of Turkey's resources.

In confidential talks with Talaat Pasha I never concealed my opinion towards these issues from the beginning of my official mission here. That he mentions the equality of Ottoman nationalities in his first programmatic speech after he gained power has to be welcomed. As I confidentially learn one can definitely count on the end of the expulsion of Armenians and on the ceasing of the locally committed persecution of Greeks. According to this, the Armenians will be allowed to return to their old settlements (after some time), provided that these are not situated in areas of war.

Of course, the wild chauvinist orientation is not finished yet. The capable and inconsiderate minds, that had represented it, will not be pacified due to their temporary defeat. Nor can one now count with the rapid and complete end of complaints on oppressions and persecutions by individual administrators in various provinces. But experience teaches that the orders given in Constantinople are more or less conducted in the provinces — the more, if the order is not the result of foreign repression on the central government, but corresponds with the free decision of the Turkish rulers. And that is the case, this time.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Olaf A. Rygaard, *Mellem Tyrker og Kurder. En Dansk Ingeniørs Oplevelser i Lilleasien* [Between Turks and Kurds: The Experiences of a Danish Engineer in Asia Minor] (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1935), 172. (Translated from Danish by Matthias Bjørnlund).

<sup>72</sup> Report of Ambassador Kühlmann, February 16, 1917, PA/AA, quoted from:

The deportation order hit the areas of Rize and Platanu most of all. Of the 16,750 inhabitants of the Elevi and Tripoli area only 550 survived. In Trabzon, which came temporarily under Russian occupation in 1917 the Greek population was, as a result of deportations and flight, reduced from 49,520 to 20,300. On February 23, 1918, the German centrist MP Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921) forwarded an appeal to the German Foreign office, which Erzberger had received from a compatriot in Constantinople. This appeal, dated February 17, 1918, ended with observations on the Pontos Greeks:

At this occasion I would like to draw your attention to the Turkish actions against the Greeks residing at the Black Sea. The Turks proceed in the same way as against the Armenians. Killings and deportation on land over distances of hundreds of kilometres... In Eskişehir such convoys had to camp for days in the most grim coldness. It is the most genuine Christian genocide [Völkermord.]<sup>73</sup> In the case of the Greeks, every political or strategic neces-

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[http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart\\_De?OpenFramest](http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_De?OpenFramest)

<sup>73</sup> Synonyms to the term of genocide were used in European and in particular in Germanic languages already during WW1 and before Raphael Lemkin introduced a Greco-Latin neologism in 1944. For instance, and according to the Swedish genocide scholar David Gaunt, the Swedish Social Democrat leader and minister of state Hjalmar Branting (1920-25) coined the Swedish word for genocide, 'folk-mord', with regards to the Armenian genocide still in 1917. <http://www.levandehistoria.se/default.php?id=1266>. Branting said in a speech in Stockholm on March 28, 1917: "Dokumenterna säga klart ifrån, att här ej är tal om övergrepp av underordnande, utan det är frågan om ett organiserat och systematiskt folk-mord, värre än vad vi någonsin sett maken till i Europa. Det har gällt att hela stora områdes befolkning, att massakrera dem, driva de överlevande i öknen under förhoppning att de ej skola uthärda utan att deras ben skola vittra i ökensanden. Detta folk-mord står bland krigets alla ohyggligheter beträffande offrens antal och den systematiska vildheten i dess utförande utan motstycke. När vi läsa därom har det isat våra hjärtan, verkligen på allvar isat våra hjärtan." See Bertil Bengtsson, *Svärdets År: Om folk-mordet på de kristna i Tyrkiet 1894-1922* [Year of the Sword: The Genocide against the Christians in Turkey 1894-1922] (Södertälje: Syrianska Riksförbundet, 2004), 124.

According to a German TV history documentary by Guido Knopp, in the same year of 1917 the German Emperor Wilhelm II articulated the idea to isolate Russian POWs on the *Kurische Nehrung*, a waterless sand bar on the East Prussian coast. One of his advisors protested, "Your Majesty, but such a step would be genocide!" (*Majestät, das wäre Völkermord!*). The Danish scholar and chairman of the *Danish Friends of Armenians*, Aage Meyer Benedictsen, used the term "Folkemord" to describe the Armenian genocide; cf. Åge Meyer Benedictsen, *Armenien — Et Folks Liv og Kamp Gennem to Aartusinder* (Copenhagen: Danske Armeniervenner, 1925), 242. Although the terms of "folk-mord," "Völkermord," and "Folkemord" had not yet gained the precise legal definition as given by Raphael Lemkin in his early law project of 1934 or his later draft for the United Nations convention, the semantic connotation already was that of the intentional killing (murder, or "mord" in Swedish, German and Danish) of a people ("folk," "Volk"). In this definition, it comes close to the term of "democide," as introduced by the genocide scholar Rudolph Joseph Rummel in 1992, for the killing of a people or citizens by their own state or gov-

sity is invalid since the peace treaty<sup>74</sup> with the once hostile inhabitants of the Black Sea.<sup>75</sup>

Deportations of Greeks were also conducted outside the Pontos region. In 1917, the deportation in Ionia re-started. On October 17, 1917 Frank W. Jackson, the chairman of the U.S. Relief Committee for Greeks of Asia Minor announced in New York, that

(...) more than 700,000 Greeks have fallen victim to persecution in the form of death, suffering, or deportation. "The story of the Greek deportations is not yet generally known. (...) Quietly and gradually the same treatment is being meted out to the Greeks as to the Armenians and Syrians. (...) There were some two or three million Greeks in Asia Minor at the outbreak of the war in 1914 subject to Turkish rule. According to the latest reliable and authoritative accounts, some seven to eight hundred thousand have been deported, mainly from the coast regions into the interior of Asia Minor. (...) Along with the Armenians most of the Greeks of the Marmora regions and Thrace have been deported on the pretext that they gave information to the enemy. Along the Aegean coast, Aivalik stands out as the worst sufferer. According to one report, some 70,000 Greeks have been deported towards Konya and beyond. At least 7,000 have been slaughtered. The Greek Bishop of Aivalik committed suicide in despair."<sup>76</sup>

The German Military Pastor Dr. David wrote on March 17, 1918 about the intention of deputy corps commander Osmanlı Bey to deport all remaining Christians of the Ankara province, namely 2,000 Greeks, 3,000 Catholics as well as several hundreds of Protestants and Armenian-Apostolic Christians. According to David, the intention was to deport them into the interior and disperse them over Muslim villages. However, the deportation did not take

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ernment. In Rummel's definition, democide includes all "intentionally or consciously negligently committed human or, respectively governmental massive killings with the exception of war," cf. Gunnar Heinsohn, *Lexikon der Völkermorde* (Reinbek/Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1998). In this sense, the Ottoman genocide against Christian subjects was the first massive democide or 'folk-mord' of modern history.

Finally, in Greek the now official synonym for genocide, "genoktonia," has been used since medieval times to mean of "killing a nation."

<sup>74</sup> The German-Russian Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, was concluded after several rounds of negotiations following the armistice of November 22, 1917. The treaty was signed in Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, and ratified by Soviet Russia on March 15, 1918. As one result of this treaty Soviet Russia ceded the previously Russian ruled Armenian territories of Kars and Ardahan and the Georgian territories of Adjara (Batumi) for a "new regulations," de facto to the rule of Ottoman Turkey, thus exposing the Christian population of these territories to renewed atrocities.

<sup>75</sup> Translated from Mikayelyan, *ibid*, 479.

<http://www.aga-online.org/de/akten/deutscheAktenStuecke.pdf>

<sup>76</sup> "Greek persecution in Turkey," *The Scotsman*, November 6, 1917, 7

place, due to resistance of the Angora *vali*.<sup>77</sup> In April 1918, some 8,000 Greek families were deported from Asia Minor. Two months later, the German Ambassador Metternich wrote in a report of June 30, 1918 to the German Foreign Office that after the annihilation of the Armenians that of the Greeks was to be expected as soon as Greece would turn against Turkey.<sup>78</sup>

Already in July and August 1914 Greek Orthodox men in the age groups of 18 to 48 years had been drafted into the notorious *amele tabular-i* or labor battalions of the Ottoman army. Many of them did not survive the hardships of compulsory labor, malnutrition and poor accommodation or the lack of it altogether. In a German cable of May 12, 1918 to the Foreign office in Berlin, the statements of Ottoman prisoners of war were repeated, who spoke of a 'methodical annihilation of the Greeks', due to the general mobilization, the confiscation of property and the deportations. These captives mentioned a number of more than 200,000 Greek draftees until the end of 1917, of which many had been slaughtered or committed suicide in order to escape the hardships, ill-treatment, diseases, starvation and cold weather. The confiscated property of Greeks was of a value of more than 5 million Turkish gold pounds. The Turkish officers had met previous Greek millionaires from Ayvalik, deported to the provinces of Mosul or Konya, now in rags and begging or occupied with roadwork. A daily rate of 40 to 50 Greek deportees would die from diseases.<sup>79</sup> In its public announcement of June 8, 1918, based on the above mentioned reports by Ottoman POWs at Thessalonica,

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<sup>77</sup> German Foreign Office, Political Archives (PA/AA), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Armenien [Embassy Constantinople, Armenia] No. 102, Microfiche No. 7225

<sup>78</sup> Dr Johannes Lepsius quoted from this report at the occasion of the trial of Soghomon Tehlirian (Teilirian in the court proceedings) in Berlin, June 3, 1921: "Count Metternich, who was German Ambassador in Constantinople in 1918, wrote in a report of June 30: 'The Armenians are finished. The Young Turkish pack now prepares with impatience for the moment, when Greece will turn against Turkey. The Greekhood [Griechentum] forms the cultural element of Turkey. In that case, it will be annihilated, as was the Armenian [element].' That was the view of Count Metternich." Cf. *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht: Der Prozess Talaat Pascha* [The genocide against the Armenians on trial: The Talat Pasha Court Proceedings], 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, ed. Tessa Hofmann (Göttingen: Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker, 1985), 61. (This work was first published in Berlin, 1921; the 2<sup>nd</sup> expanded edition in 1980, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> revised and expanded edition in 1985; the last two editions were produced by this writer). The English online-edition of the court proceedings differs at parts from the German original. The quotation from the Metternich report is slightly shortened and not precise: "Yes, Count Metternich, who was the German Ambassador in Constantinople in 1918, wrote in a report dated July 30 as follows: The Armenian Question is finished. The gang of Young Turks is eagerly preparing itself for the moment when Greece will turn against Turkey so that the Greeks can be annihilated as well, just like the Armenians."

[http://www.armeniapedia.org/index.php?title=Trial\\_of\\_Soghomon\\_Tehlirian-First\\_Afternoon](http://www.armeniapedia.org/index.php?title=Trial_of_Soghomon_Tehlirian-First_Afternoon)

<sup>79</sup> Fotiadis, *ibid.*, 185-186

the *American Committee of Armenian and Syrian relief* added: “The streets in the larger cities are full of Greek orphans, half-naked and begging for bread because the Turkish authorities have torn them from the bosom of their parents.”<sup>80</sup> The issue of the Ottoman Christian labor conscripts was raised during a parliamentary debate by Emmanuel Emannoulidis, member of the Ottoman Parliament from Pontos, who on November 4, 1918 set before his colleagues in that body eight issues, of which the seventh had to do with the labor battalions:

On the occasion of the conscription there were created the labor battalions. They [state authorities] destroyed through starvation and through general deprivations 250,000 from the men thus... We ask: ‘What does the new government know of the perpetrators? What does it think on this matter? And, when will it initiate the measures that it is able to undertake?’<sup>81</sup>

The end of the World War stopped the persecution and destruction of the Ottoman Greeks only temporarily. As predicted by knowledgeable European authors such as René Puaux, the chances for a secure existence of the remaining Christians under Ottoman rule were doubtful, to say the least. The government at Constantinople was weak and ambivalent in its attitude towards the Christian Ottomans, and the rebel Nationalist government at Sivas (later in Ankara) contested the Sultan’s government with the reproach of treason of vital national interests. Following immediately the Armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918), there broke out spontaneous resistance against the victorious Allies. In many regions so called *Committees in Defence of the National Rights* (*Müdafaa-yi Hukuk Milliye Cemiyetler*) or *Resistance against Division* (*Reddi Ilhak*), founded by direct order of Talaat, Enver or by initiative of the *Karakol* (“High Commissioner”),<sup>82</sup> called on the Muslim population to resist the Allied occupation and any division of Ottoman territories as well as the repatriation of Christian refugees and surviving deportees. Since many Muslims had been engaged in crimes against Armenians, Greeks or Syrians, they now feared to be held legally responsible. Furthermore, numerous Muslims anticipated the same fate of expulsion and expropriation as the Armenians and Greeks had done before. Therefore armed anti-Allied

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<sup>80</sup> “Atrocities: Turks slaughter Greeks, sell women to slavery.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1918, 11

<sup>81</sup> Speros Vryonis, “Greek Labor Battalions in Asia Minor,” in *The Armenian genocide: Cultural and Ethnical Legacies*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 286

<sup>82</sup> Literally “guard.” Another task of *Karakol* was to organize the escape of all suspects who were searched for their involvement in the genocide against the Armenians. cf. Taner Akçam, “Die Türkei und der Völkermord an den Armeniern: Retter des Vaterlandes” [Turkey and the genocide against the Armenians: Saviors of the Fatherland]. *Die Tageszeitung*, July 13, 2001 (Translation into German from *Le Monde Diplomatique*).

partisan groups sprang up, joined by deserters from the Ottoman Army. From its beginning, anti-Allied and anti-Christian resistance was received as identical aspects of this movement. The resistance movement gained momentum, when the Sultan sent General Mustafa Kemal to Samsun on May 19, 1919 in order to dissolve the irregular resistance movement. Instead of accomplishing this order of the Ottoman head of state, Mustafa became the head of the movement. Refugees from the officially banned CUP and the *Special Organization* found refuge and support in his realms.

Already in late 1918 the news read that

(...) the Turkish authorities, despite Turkey's defeat, are pursuing a brutal attitude towards the Christian populations of the empire and are inciting the Ottoman people to fanatical outrages against the non-Moslems. (...) Many signs of organizing among the Turks for new massacres of Christians, and particularly Greeks, are noted.<sup>83</sup>

In March 1919 the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos communicated Turkish police instructions from the Aydin province to the *Council of the Great Powers*, according to which

(...) the police are instructed to prepare for the extermination of the Greek population. A number of known *komitadjis* [irregulars] have been concentrated in the neighbourhood of Aydin and supplied with money and arms. The police are therefore unobstructed to 'spare no efforts for the public safety' and to start a general massacre on the slightest pretext. Each member of the police force is commanded to kill four or five Greeks. These instructions have been given in writing, but they announce that oral instructions as to the exact method of conducting the massacre will follow.<sup>84</sup>

The British Admiral of the Fleet John de Robeck, then commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Fleet (1919-1922) and subsequently until his death Allied High Commissioner at Istanbul, reported on November 11, 1919:

(...) the Christians are now bewildered and terrified... Every district has its band of brigands now posing as patriots and even in the vicinity of Constantinople robbery under arms is of daily occurrence, the principal victims being naturally the unprotected Christian villagers. Behind all these elements of disorder stands Mustapha Kemal... The government cannot and will not move a finger to help the Christians.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> "Turks Organizing New Massacres," *The New York Times*, December 8, 1918, 6.

<sup>84</sup> "Extermination of Greeks: A Turkish Plot Revealed," *The Times* [London], March 21, 1919, 9.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted from "Memorandum by Mr. Rendel on Turkish Massacres and Persecutions of Minorities since the Armistice," March 20, 1922, British Foreign Office Archives, FO 371/7876, 1.

Turkish authorities even imposed taxes on the Greek population of Asia Minor to be paid to the *çeteler*, “which notwithstanding, continue to plunder the Greeks and commit numerous atrocities.”<sup>86</sup>

The Allies had promised the remaining Ottoman Christians, a) to hold legally accountable those responsible for the massacres during the World War, b) to safeguard the return of Christian women and children, which had been abducted by Muslims and were held in Muslim households after the war, and c) to protect the life and property of Ottoman Christians. However, given a background of increasing violence, the threat for new massacres and their general reluctance to become involved in new military actions, the Allies decided that Greece should send its own forces into Ionia in order to protect the Christians of that region.

A wealth of substantiated, detailed information about the third and last phase of the destruction of indigenous Christians in Asia Minor in general and the Greeks in particular comes from the minutes taken during the 87 meetings of the so called Armenian-Greek Section (A.G.S.) at the British representation at Constantinople, covering the period between March 1919 to March 1922. During these sessions, information on the situation of Ottoman Greeks was given by the two representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Dr. Théotokas and Mr. Calvocoressi. Edited and published in 2007 by the US-Armenian lawyer Vartkes Yeghiayan, these protocols, which were all sent to Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary in London among others, impressively testify to the Allied ineptitude in preventing the ongoing systematic and massive crimes against the Ottoman Christians.<sup>87</sup>

In his conclusive 1922 memorandum *On Turkish massacres and Persecution of Minorities since the Armistice* the British diplomat George William Rendel (1889-1979) mentioned that “as early as May 1919 reports of renewed persecutions of Armenians and Greeks all over Anatolia and Pontus began to come in.”<sup>88</sup> In Aydin, more than 3,000 Greek men, women and children were massacred in June 1919, when the Greek army of occupation retreated from that town,<sup>89</sup> which was nearly completely destroyed by fire

and the greater part of its inhabitants were killed, some being shot, others pierced with red hot irons, others cut to pieces and others put to death with the cruellest tortures. The inhabitants' property was plundered, virgins were carried off to the mountains, and now Aydin is a vast cemetery. After the de-

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<sup>86</sup> “Reported Turkish atrocities in Asia Minor,” *The Scotsman*, September 22, 1919, 5.

<sup>87</sup> *British Reports in Ethnic Cleansing in Anatolia, 1919-1922: The Armenian-Greek Section*, ed. Vartkes Yeghiayan (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 200X)

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Ecumenical Patriarchate, *The Black Book*, *ibid.*, p. 46

struction of Aydin 800 women and children were sent off by railway to Nazli and Denizli on June 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, 1919.<sup>90</sup>

In the Greek Orthodox diocese of Angora (Ankara) the repressions and atrocities of the Armenian genocide seemed to repeat themselves, including hostage taking and tormenting of children and the demand on the Christian victims to buy weapons, which could be used as 'proof' of an alleged Christian threat:

The Christian communities were terrorized. The male Christians of Eski Shehir were deported from the town, after being imprisoned and heavily taxed. (...) Children 10 to 12 years of age were mercilessly beaten as they were conducted to the military headquarters to be questioned if their fathers, uncles or brothers were hiding and to disclose where they could be found. (...)

The town of Kutahia was the scene of indescribable atrocities, from the day on which the fanatical Kemalists Tserkess Edhem Bey (Çerkes Ethem<sup>91</sup>) and Major Ismail Hakky Bey (Ismail Hakkı Paşa) arrived there. The latter, followed by 150 chosen Albanians found no great difficulty in obtaining the assistance of the Turks of Kutahia. After consulting with them, he planned the annihilation of the Greek and the other Christian elements, himself presiding in all acts of horror. He ordered that all Greeks be disarmed. (...) Some people in the district of Kutahia were called to enlist and the Greek community of

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 52

<sup>91</sup> Ethem's reign of terror eventually ended, after his brother Tevfik denounced him in a letter of November 27, 1920 to Mustafa Kemal and the commander of the Western Front, Ismet İnönü, for "disobedience." According to official Turkish historiography, he initiated a revolt in Kütahya on December 27, 1920 and was declared a rebel by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Ankara) on January 17, 1921. His units were completely defeated on January 22, 1921, and was sentenced to death on May 9, 1921.

<http://goturkey.turizm.gov.tr/BelgeGoster.aspx?17A16AE30572D3130239EEA0FCDF038B7865257CB2BC6B19>

<http://goturkey.turizm.gov.tr/BelgeGoster.aspx?17A16AE30572D3130239EEA0FCDF038BE02233C478ECCCA1>

In 1920, Christians fell also victim to fights between the various ethnic Muslim groups, in particular in connection with the so-called Circassian rebellion, as the A.G.S. minutes of September 1, 1920 demonstrate:

"On the 11th August [1920] a teacher from the village of Codja Dagh was killed by two Lazes from Kiossli. Two days later seven Lazes carried off two Greeks from the village of Chrissi and murdered them in the forest and a day later an Armenian was killed by soldiers at Yagli Keriz.

The town of Bolou [Bolu in Turkish; Bithynion in Greek] was occupied by the Circassians after the departure of Kemalist officials and on the 23rd August 200 Nationalist Kurds attacked the town and killed the Circassians. The Kurds then surrounded the Armenian quarter in which there were 20 Greek families. They pillaged the houses, shut up the men in the Armenian church, killed the women and then set fire to the church and the whole town. Very few escaped." Yeghiayan, *ibid.*, 167. The A.G.S. minutes of September 1, 1920 conclude: "With the exception of 13 Armenians who arrived in Constantinople via Zonguldak, the 600 Armenians and 80 Greeks of Bolu were massacred." *Ibid.*, 169

that town was asked to deliver 245 military rifles with proportionate quantities of ammunition, for their exemption from military service. But the Greeks of that town had no rifles and had to purchase them.<sup>92</sup>

Since spring 1920, reports about massacres of Greek non-combatants in all parts Asia Minor increased. In Yozgat, Circassian Kemalist troops under the command of Ethem killed on May 21, 1920 nearly all Greeks and Armenians;<sup>93</sup> the Christian remnants of that town were killed – 60 Greeks and 20 Armenians – when Kemalist troops occupied the town again on July 9, 1920 and pillaged the houses of Greeks.<sup>94</sup> The Bithynian districts of Bursa, Iznik [Nicaea in Greek] and the peninsula and town of Izmit<sup>95</sup> were terrorised by a group of Kemalist irregulars under the command of a certain officer Cemil Bey. On September 8, 1920 Cemil and his men entered the Greek village of Otsoglou in the vicinity of Yozgat and

(...) caused all the villagers, 280 in number and all Greek, to gather in the church. Then, after violating beastly all the women and girls in the presence of their fathers, husbands and brothers, he killed them. Then he killed all males, not excepting small babies. One baby was found killed, sucking his slain mother. From this terrible slaughter only 24 people could escape, having run away before the arrival of the troops. As the Kemalist army had the intention to invade and massacre all the surrounding villages, the poor inhabitants were obliged to leave their homes and to go to the mountains, where many of them perished.<sup>96</sup>

The same Cemil was also responsible for massacres of August 14-15, 1920, which took place in the town of Iznik/Nicaea, just a few kilometres from Constantinople on the Asia Minor side. A British officer, quoted in the Rendel memorandum, reported on October 7, 1920 about Iznik:

From information in the hands of the Smyrna Division, which is confirmed by previous reports, the whole Greek population of Iznik has been massacred.

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<sup>92</sup> Ecumenical Patriarchate, *The Black Book*, *ibid.*, 40

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.* p. 37

<sup>94</sup> Yeghiayan, *op. cit.*, 161

<sup>95</sup> An Inter-Allied Commission was sent in May 1921 to investigate the alleged Greek [sic!] atrocities against Turks of March and April 1921 in the Yalova–Gemlek and Izmit areas. The Yalova Commission confirmed the destruction of Greeks by Kemalists in the previous year 1920 (namely in Nikaia, Ortakeni, Elmalik, Fulajiki and in several Armenian villages of the same district); the Izmit Commission mentions that attacks on Christians “increased in numbers and ferocity—more particularly with regards to the Greeks—in March 1920, and even more so in June and July 1920 (when preparations were being made for Greek offensives). The Greek authorities have submitted a list of thirty-two villages looted or burnt, with more than 12,000 persons massacred, 2,500 missing, and the remainder of the population (more than 15,000) living as refugees in Izmit.” Quoted from Rendel, *ibid.*, 4.

<sup>96</sup> Ecumenical Patriarchate, *ibid.*, 38

Apparently the majority of the massacres took place at the end of August – the remainder of the population were killed before the Greeks took the town, i.e. at the end of September. — The number of killed is said to be about 130 families, or about 400–500 men, women and children. (...) All the bodies I saw had been mutilated, apparently they had first had their hands and feet cut off, after they were either burnt alive in the cave or had their throats cut. (...)

Djermal Bey is said to be responsible for these massacres. (...)

The ancient Greek church of Iznik, which dates from 332 A. D. has been thoroughly smashed up, only the walls remaining. (...) It is said that a number of people were massacred inside the church.

The Greek soldiers, who have every opportunity of visiting these places, are not unnaturally bitterly enraged about it.<sup>97</sup>

In Ionia, massacres, committed by Kemalist forces and local bands had begun on June 22, 1920. These were described in a telegram of August 11, 1920, sent to the French Prime Minister by a committee of residents from towns of the Aydın province, i.e. from Nazili, Sarayköy, Denizli and Khonesi:<sup>98</sup>

(...) Kemal's forces operating in the 'Nazli' region in conjunction with criminals who came from 'Sokia' [Söke<sup>99</sup>] and from Peran of 'Meandros', belonging to Sokiali Ali sub-command on the pretext of the advance of Greek army looted Christian houses at 'Nazli' carrying off spoils. They burnt the city with explosive shells excluding Muslim neighbourhood and ended their mission with massacres and tortures against Christian population. Eye witnesses tell the story with terror that under smouldering ruins were found many charred innocent beings. According to calculations the number of the savagely massacred and dead under the ruins of 'Nazli' exceeds 500 persons.

The rest, more than 3,000 of whom were women, children completely stripped were driven by force to the interior in a deplorable condition, while the Turkish population with loot were transported by train.

Weak old people unable to follow caravan were savagely killed en route. Their corpses remain unburied.

On the road between "Eazei Kouyoudjak" only, a distance of 12 kilometres, 53 corpses found. It is estimated others, who were massacred were thrown in the Meandros [Menderes in Turkish] River.

The fate of those, who survived is unknown. According to information some survivors dispersed in various inhabited areas of interior in lamentable condition.

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<sup>97</sup> Rendel, op. cit., 3

<sup>98</sup> Important towns on the road connecting Smyrna and Konya

<sup>99</sup> A quarter of Scala Nova (Kuşadası) in Southwest Turkey, which was at that time occupied by Italian forces.

Fate of residents of 'Saraköy' totally unknown. Town looted, remains uninhabited. In 'Denizli' where 20,000 Greeks were concentrated suffered the same fate.

Male population indiscriminately led to deserted island of Lake 'Egridir' [Eğridir],<sup>100</sup> Turks applied themselves to looting and orgies against women and children. Leaders of Kemal's followers fight for distribution of spoils. Scared population abandons town. Fate of "Khonesi" residents remains unknown.<sup>101</sup>

A year later, in June 1921, 'terrible massacres' were reported from the **Pontos** seaports of Samsun and Trabzon: "The streets are strewn with bodies of Greeks. Many shops have been ransacked. An American destroyer has arrived at Samsun to protect American subjects there."<sup>102</sup> Many of the new horrors in the Pontos region were caused by the irregulars under the command of Osman Ağa Feridinoğlu, alias "Topal" Osman ("the lame Osman," 1894 – April 2, 1923),<sup>103</sup> Mayor of Giresun and a commandant of the Kemalist army,<sup>104</sup> as Rendel described him.

(...) American travellers and others just arriving from Samsun, said a dispatch from Constantinople, report horrible details of the persecution of Christian populations in that region. The notorious murderous chief, Osman Agha, arrived at Samsun the second day of Bairam (...), inaugurating his entry by the murder of ten Greeks. Then, surrounding the stores of the American Tobacco Company, he arrested all Greek clerks, numbering about 800, and had them transported to an unknown destination. The Greek quarter was then surrounded and 1,500 other Greeks arrested and deported to the interior.

The population of thirty other villages of the Samsun region were massacred while they were being transported to the place of exile. (...) Other villages, having refused to comply with the deportation order, were set on fire by the Turks, and the inhabitants, regardless of age and sex, were killed.

"The American commission which went to this place reported these crimes and brought back burned bones, which were shown to the Turkish Governor."<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> The Greek place name was 'Akrotiri,' in 1980 it was renamed into Eğirdir Gölü (Lake Eğirdir)

<sup>101</sup> Quoted from Harry Tsirkinidis, "At last we uprooted them...." *The genocide of Greeks of Pontos, Thrace and Asia Minor, through the French Archives*. (Thessalonica, 1999), pp. 168-169; translation from French into English by Harry Tsirkinidis, with revision by Tessa Hofmann.

<sup>102</sup> "Reported Massacre of Greeks," *The Argus* (Melbourne), June 6, 1921

<sup>103</sup> Osman, who was of Laz or Circassian ethnicity, had his first meeting with Mustafa Kemal as early as May 29, 1919 in Havza.

<sup>104</sup> Rendel, *ibid*, 4.

<sup>105</sup> "700,000 Greeks Victims of Turks," *The New York Times*, July 10, 1921, 4.

Mustafa Kemal personally welcomed the deportation of the Greek residents of Samsun as a well-deserved reaction to atrocities committed by the Hellenic army. In his telegraph response to 70 Turkish notables from Samsun, who had intervened on behalf of their Greek compatriots, Kemal argued that

(...) he [Mustafa Kemal] had just returned from the front, where he had seen the crimes committed by the Greeks; that the exile of these people was a merciful act and he regretted that there existed wicked Turks who sided with the enemy. Nevertheless the notables obtained a "Fetva" (a religious decision) from the Moufti of Samsun that the massacre of these people could not be permitted and Osman Agha was recalled.<sup>106</sup>

After the deportation of the Samsun Greeks, atrocities and deportations continued in the 394 Greek villages of the adjacent districts during the following three months.

The presence of Topal Osman and his brigands was decisive. He killed, raped and threw many victims alive into the flames of their burning houses. He daily ordered the arrest of entire groups, accompanied by plunder, rape and murder. He ordered to hold the arrested in schools and churches, which he set ablaze. Mustafa Hakyemez, who saw Topal Osman as the liberator of Giresun, reports how he replaced the Pontian flag in Taşkışla by the Turkish one: "He saved us from the Greek partisans. The main guilty among the Greeks he ordered to put into sacks, burdened by stones, and to throw them into the sea."<sup>107</sup>

Greek refugees from Samsun, who escaped to Constantinople, reported there that the Kemalists had burnt 3,000 Greek villagers alive.<sup>108</sup> A semi-official statement, issued in Athens on September 8, 1921, reads among others:

At Bafra the male population were strangled in the church and schools. Osman Agha has burned 18 villages in the region of Zara, and ordered a general massacre in Charki Karahissa[r]. At Arbaya friends of Osman Agha strangled 44 persons in one house alone, and set fire to 42 villages. At Osman Agha's orders, ten families were strangled in Landik.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Yeghiayan, op. cit., 221

<sup>107</sup> Konstantinos Fotiadis, "Der Völkermord an den Griechen des Pontos" [The Genocide of the Greeks of Pontos], in *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Christen im Osmanischen Reich 1912-1922* [Persecution, expulsion and destruction of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire 1912-1922], ed. Tessa Hofmann, (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2004), 197; M. Hakyemez is quoted from Cemal Şener, *Topal Osman Olayı*. (Istanbul: Ant Yayınevi, 1992 [originally published in Ankara, 1968]), 119.

<sup>108</sup> "Villages fired by Kemalists – Inhabitants reported to have been burnt alive," *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), August 18, 1921, 5.

<sup>109</sup> "Alleged Turkish atrocities," *The Scotsman*, September 12, 1921, 7.

A month after the Samsun massacre and deportation had started, the Greek Legation at Washington summarized the casualties of “700,000 Greeks [who] have been massacred, deported or have died of famine since the war with Turkey began.”<sup>110</sup>

The deportation of Greeks from the Pontos region is also recalled in the memoirs of the Armenian survivor Varteres Mikael Garougian, who watched them arrive in Harput (Elazig), probably in 1921, before the few surviving Armenians were deported again, together with the Greeks:

From the shores of the Black Sea caravans of deported Greeks began to reach Kharpert [Armenian: Kharberd; Turkish: Harput]. Even though they were wretched and sick, the [p. 135:] Government was only concerned with driving them on. To furnish them food? Don't ask! Their attitude was: 'They're a part of your own race. You help them!' You'd think that the deported Armenians were the ones to have initiated the deportation of the Greeks! Yet, even from what they didn't have, the Kharpert Armenians dug in to share with these refugees. Apparently, the Government intended to push these people toward Van, but changed its mind and later settled them into Armenian villages in Kharpert. You'd think that the numbers of the two groups of emigrants totalled only a few! Behold the 'mal' of being displaced! From Konya, they were of mixed blood - Armenian and Greek. Fortunately, Near East Relief, seeing their plight, stretched out its helping hands. Among this group of emigrants was the ailing Professor Bezazian, whose condition worsened. When he died, his body was buried in Kharpert with much sorrow. However, not believing that he had died, the Turkish Government had his body exhumed after which the Government was satisfied.<sup>111</sup>

In October 1921, being marched to prison and presumably execution, Garougian and other Armenians passed through Hanköy in the Harput region, when he discovered the corpses of Greek deportees:

The Euphrates River flowed a short distance away, and south of Keumar Khan there was an inn, nestled in the bosom of two mountains, where travellers would descend to spend the night. From the owner of the inn we purchased some *lavash* bread and a bit of *khavurma* (toast), which the *gendarmes* and I ate before retiring for the night. Arising early in the morning, we continued our descent to the guardhouse named Isoli. As we walked along the *yol* (path), we encountered decaying corpses of men and women. The stench was terrible. I asked my guards who these dead bodies were and where they came from. They informed me, truthfully, that these bodies were Greek emigrants who had been deported from the edge of the Black Sea. Because they were unable to survive the travel and hunger, they became ill and died. Since the moving caravans did not have time to bury the dead bodies, they left

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<sup>110</sup> “700,000 Greeks Victims of Turks,” The New York Times, July 10, 1921, 4.

<sup>111</sup> Varteres Mikael Garougian, *Destiny of the Dzidzernag* (Princeton/London: Gomidas Institute 2005), 134-35. Garougian completed his memoirs in 1957, the year before his death.

them on the path and departed. Although I had been aware that this caravan had come to Kharpert, where the Armenians had helped the Greeks, up to that time I had been unaware that there had been victims from the journey. As we continued on our journey, we encountered more corpses, large and small, being devoured by ravenous vultures. These people who became food for the birds had descended from the ancient, mighty Greek and Roman empires which at one time reigned over an extensive area from this region up to the faraway Armenian principalities of Kars. How much can change through the ages! The descendants of yesterday's rulers have now become slaves, dying of hunger, driven along these same paths.<sup>112</sup>

Already on March 2, 1921, the National Assembly at Ankara ordered the reintroduction of labor battalions for Ottoman non-Muslims. According to Turkish scholar Leyla Neyzi of the Sabancı University, "one of the main reasons for the formation of these units was to ensure that local non-Muslims (...particularly local Greeks) would leave their regions of origin and not join the forces fighting the Turks."<sup>113</sup> Interestingly, the subscription into the labor battalions was also imposed on oppositional or otherwise 'unreliable' Muslims, according to Garougian. Being meanwhile sentenced to compulsory labor himself, he joined a labor unit that "was composed of mostly young Greek men, gathered after the massacres from the area of Samsun and now driven to this location. Another portion of the group was from Konya, composed of anti-Kemalist *sheikhs* and *mullahs* (religious leaders). It was almost evening when we reached Zara, located on the tableland of the Armenian mountains."<sup>114</sup> Like in previous years, living and working conditions were deliberately inhuman and unbearable, as Garougian remembered:

The number of men in our *tabur*, called *Emelia Tabur* [*amele taburu*; Pl. *amale taburları*], was increasing by the day. All the soldier-laborers had been specifically sent to this area [Kurucuk, near Erzurum] so that the hunger, thirst, and cold would precipitate our deaths. Why use bullets to kill? Later on the

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 142-43

<sup>113</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labor\\_battalion\\_\(Turkey\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labor_battalion_(Turkey))

<sup>114</sup> Garougian, *ibid.*, 169. According to Eric Jan Zürcher, however, the labor battalions were manned predominantly by Christians throughout World War I, "By and large the labor battalions were composed of Christian recruits. This should not come as a surprise. Ethnically homogeneous units were the rule rather than the exception in the Ottoman army and there was a distinct hierarchy among the different ethnicities, with Arab units being considered second rate and Kurdish ones utterly unreliable. Armenians and Greeks, whose loyalty was doubtful in the eyes of the Ottoman leaders, were obvious candidates for recruitment into the labor battalions which were held in low esteem. In the first instance, the units were formed from the age groups (over 45 years old), from which, in the case of Muslims, the *Mustahfiz* (territorial reserve) were recruited." Eric Jan Zürcher, *Ottoman labor battalions in World War I*: Internet essay, 4 (February 8, 2008). <http://www.arts.yorku.ca/hist/tgallant/documents/zurcherottomanlaborbattalions.pdf>

Turks would be labelled as murderers! Instead, let the soldier-workers die off because of their inability to withstand the lack of proper clothing, hunger, and never-ending lice! (...) Every day we were given shovels, taken out as a group to shovel the train tracks. In the evening we'd fill the water storage tanks. Many times we'd board the train, going to Hasan Kala or toward the area of Kars to clear off the snow. All along the entire line, there had been established stopping places where the *Emelia Tabur* laborers would meet to clear off the virtually invincible snows on the train lines in the mountains. It was in these groups of workers that I met an older Greek named Barbera who'd been working in conditions like this for two to three years. He came from a village called Horopel, which was situated between Erzerum and Kighi. The Greek told me that during the battles between Armenians and Turks most of the Armenian laborer-soldiers in the Turkish Army were slaughtered on the Plain of Pasin, near the Kurujuk village. Barely a few hundred of them survived to be exchanged as prisoners later during the Armistice.<sup>115</sup>

At the same time Mustafa Kemal established special tribunals ("courts of independence"), which issued arbitrary death sentences against Greek Orthodox Ottomans. In all areas under control of the Nationalist government hundreds of Greeks were executed by hanging – or massacred, in particular during the initial – among them many publishers, entrepreneurs, the mayors of towns and villages and previous members of the Ottoman parliament. Thus the intellectual and political elite of the Asian Minor Greeks was destroyed in the course of a few months. In Alaçam in the district of Sinope, the entire male Christian population above the age of 12 had been imprisoned in May 1921 and subsequently massacred.<sup>116</sup> In June 1921 seven Orthodox priests from Alaçam, Bafra "and outlying districts were arrested and after being publicly tortured, were crucified in the marketplace of Guioz-Keuy [Göz-Köy]."<sup>117</sup> In the Pontos region alone the daily rate of hanging was 60 during September 1921. In his telegram to the League of Nations the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople quoted the Turkish newspapers of Samsun, the *Ehale* and the *Helal* of September 18, 19 and 25, 1921, giving a list of three Armenians and 168 Greeks, including two naturalised Americans, one missionary and the other Professor at the American College at Merzivan [Armenian: Marzovan; Turkish: Merzifon; also Merzifun], who were condemned to death and executed.<sup>118</sup> In the vicinity of Kavak (Pontos), 1,300 Greeks were shot on August 15 or 16, 1921 in about two

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<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 178-79

<sup>116</sup> Yeghiayan, *op. cit.*, 236

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> "Alleged Turkish crime-appeal to the League of Nations," *The Scotsman*, October 7, 1921, 3

and a half hours.<sup>119</sup> During the meeting of the Armenian-Greek-Section of August 31, 1921, Dr Théotokas read the Ecumenical's Patriarchate's report of August 24, 1921, which also covered the "question of Ottoman Greeks who were being tried by the Turkish Courts for supposed acts of brigandage; and said that the prisoners were being ill-treated and subjected to severe humiliation, and that, through fear of worse treatment, they made no complaint to Captain Wilson, when he interrogated them on the round of inspection."<sup>120</sup> In the A.G.S. meeting of October 12, 1921

(...) Dr. Théotokas said, that a Greek lady who had escaped from Samsoun [Samsun] had furnished the Patriarchate with a reliable and vivid account of the recent executions in that town. The victims were given three days notice of their fate; they were hanged naked and in batches, all the condemned having to undergo the terrible ordeal of standing by and witnessing the executions until their turn arrived. In one case a father and son were given the option of choosing which should be hanged first.<sup>121</sup>

A fortnight later, the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate added information on massive executions by hanging in Amasya. The A.G.S. minutes of October 26, 1921 concluded:

These additional details show with what deliberation and studied cruelty, these sentences have been carried out; the victims were alleged to have been hanged in batches, the first victim being the aged Abbé Platon, Metropolitan Vicar of Samsoun [Samsun]. After these executions, the bodies of the victims were stripped of their clothes and valuables, and the gold teeth of the executed extracted by the Turks.<sup>122</sup>

Commenting on the numerous incidents of the year 1921, G. W. Rendel admitted indirectly that he had lost track:

The persecutions of 1921 were on a larger scale and more atrocious than those of 1920. The area affected is so great, and the atrocities are so varied and continuous, that it is difficult to select special cases for mention. Moreover, the mass of documentary evidence at our disposal is now so enormous that any compression of the information contained in it into suitable limits become well-nigh impossible.

However, Rendel singled out the well documented massacre at Merzivan at the end of July 1921, which had been subject of a memorandum by the Armenian-Greek-Section of the British High Commission at Constantinople, transmitted by the British High Commissioner Horace Rumbold (1920-24) on October 22, 1921, and also of a much fuller and entirely independent

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<sup>119</sup> Rendel, *op. cit.*, 5

<sup>120</sup> Yeghiayan, *op. cit.*, 220

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 228

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 230

first-hand account by the agent of the US Near East Relief at Merzivan, Donald M. Hosford. The Merzivan massacre had been conducted by Topal Osman and his brigands, who had announced their 'visit' to the town in advance and obviously in accordance with Sadik, the Kemalist Commissioner for the area, who used the opportunity to have murdered two wealthy Armenians, to whom he owed money. The Kemalist government promised an enquiry but never took any action against Osman and his gangs.<sup>123</sup> According to newspaper accounts and British diplomatic correspondence, the Christians of Merzivan were gathered in three large buildings:

Those gathered in the red house were mostly young girls, who were all violated. The houses were subsequently set on fire, but after much difficulty most of the occupants were let out. The next day, Mr. Hosford says, Miss Anthony, of the American Near East Relief, was able to watch, the hauling out of wagon-loads of dead bodies and the burying of these bodies in pits across the valley from our house. She feels very certain that some of those thus buried were not entirely dead. Mr. Hosford summarises the results of the massacres as follows: "In no way was there any distinction in the treatment as between Greeks and Armenians... From a Christian population of 2,000 to 2,500, almost all of the men were killed, many of them our employees and men formerly connected with the college. Women and children were also killed, in all upwards of 700. All Greeks were deported. About 700 Armenians were left in the city, including only 20 or 30 men at most. Every Christian house was looted and 400 houses were burnt. (...) Repeated tales of the utmost cruelty were borne to us, such as the burning of churches with Greeks inside, the use of priests, with their robes soaked in kerosene, as torches, &c. It is not difficult (...) for an eye-witness of the work of these men in Merzivan to believe such tales, and there is ample supporting evidence of the general truth of the statements."<sup>124</sup>

Torching and burning Christians in their houses or churches had become common practice since the late nineteenth century. Winston Churchill called the World War I annihilation of the Ottoman Armenians "one administrative holocaust".<sup>125</sup> Alone in the Syrian village of Shaddadeh near the Khabur river, 80,000 Armenian deportees had been burnt alive or suffocated in an oil-rich cave system in 1916.<sup>126</sup> Eytan Belkind, member of the Zionist *Nili*

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<sup>123</sup> "The Turk at Work," *The Times*, October 26, 1921, 11.

<sup>124</sup> Quoted after Rendel, op., cit., 4-5.

<sup>125</sup> Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis, 1911-1918. Vol. 5 (Aftermath)* (New York, 1927), 157; quoted by Harut Sassounian <http://www.armeniangenocide.com/section3/first.html> and by Robert Fisk, "Dead Reckoning; Holocaust vs holocausts," *Independent*, August 5, 2000.

<sup>126</sup> *A Pictorial Record on the Routes and Centers of Annihilation of Armenian Deportees in 1915 within the boundaries of Syria*, ed. Robert Jébédjian (Aleppo: Hratarakut'iw'n Violet Chepechean Gradarani, 1994), 65.

espionage group and officer in the Ottoman army, observed in Dair-ez-Zor, how 5,000 Armenians were grouped around a huge stake of thistles and thorns, which was then set ablaze: "You could hear the screams of the unfortunate victims, which were burnt to death in the huge fire, in a distance of miles."<sup>127</sup> Torching and burning alive was so common a practice that for Armenians a key episode in their genocidal trauma became *The Dance* (1909), as described in the poem of Siamanto (killed 1915): During the Adana massacre, Armenian women were compelled to dance while burning.<sup>128</sup>

In the Pontos and other northern parts of Asia Minor, the destruction of the elite and the massacres were followed since June 1921 by death marches, unsuccessfully camouflaged as deportation and reaching their climax between April 15 and May 15, 1922.

After having executed a large number of notables in the bigger towns, Samsoun, Amasia, &c., they proceeded to the deportation of practically the whole Greek population. In the early autumn [1921] the number of deportees was alleged to have reached 35,000. The accounts of these deportations received from Greek and other survivors are as ghastly as any of the accounts of the Armenian atrocities during or after the war. They are nearly all confirmed by the letters of the Near East Relief agents and of other eye-witnesses which we have received from the American Embassy and through private sources.<sup>129</sup>

At the A.G.S. meeting of November 9, 1921, the representative of the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate, Dr. Davidian<sup>130</sup> [Tavitian in Western Armenian] read from a traveller's report about the situation at Sivas; the informant mentioned among others a convoy of about 4,000 Greeks,

(...) who were being deported from Samsoun to Tokat and other smaller batches of 25 to 30 persons, who were chained to one another. These poor wretches, to avoid starving had been forced to pay 10 Piastres for a glass of

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<sup>127</sup> Quoted from a letter to the editor of correspondent Hannes Stein (Jerusalem), published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 4, 1998; compare also the memoirs of E. Belkind, *Kakh zeh haya... Sippuro shel Ish Nili* (It was this way... The Story of a Nili member—in Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1979).

<sup>128</sup> An American translation *Bloody News from My Friend: Poems* by Siamanto was edited by Peter Balakian and Nevart Yaghilian (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1996)

<sup>129</sup> Rendel, op.cit., p. 5

<sup>130</sup> Representative of the National Administration of the Armenian-Apostolic Patriarchate of Constantinople. The survivor and prelate Grigoris Palakian (Balakian in Western Armenian) called him in his memoirs (published in Armenian original 1922 and 1956) a "dictator, having held his authority for all four years of the Armenian massacres [1915-18], during which he had been a mere spectator of the annihilation – and had not dared to resign his absolutely nominal post." Balakian, op. cit., p. 431

water and 30 Piastres for a loaf of bread, the correct price of which being 8 Piastres.<sup>131</sup>

Alternatively to deportation, disarmament of residents and destruction of settlements was another method, as applied in the case of Christian villages

of Bafra, Hafsa [Havza; district of Samsun], Marsovan (Marzifoun), Ladik and Vizier Keupru [Vezir Köprü; district of Samsun] in the following manner:

(...) The Turkish Military Authorities then received orders to burn all the mountain villages, and Bakir-Tchaj Maden [Bakir-Çay Maden] (between Marsovan and Vizier Keupru) containing 120 houses, was the first to be totally destroyed, all its inhabitants perishing in the flames. The Christian inhabitants of the surrounding districts fearing that a similar fate awaited them, took refuge to the mountains and their villages were in turn destroyed. In this way about forty villages in the district of Tavshan Dagh [Tavşan Dağ] were burnt.

The villages in the plain were then attacked, but thanks to a certain Turk who warned the Christians of their coming fate, a great number succeeded in escaping to the mountains. Turkish Troops then surrounded 67 villages, and with the exception of a few old men and a number who declared that they would embrace Islam and who paid large sums of money, all the men were killed.

With the exception of girls of 14 and 15, and young married women who were sorted out for retention in harems, all the women and children were deported to the interior of Asia Minor.<sup>132</sup>

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1921-22, agents of the Near East Relief (NER) witnessed more or less helplessly how Christian deportees, predominantly Greeks, were driven in guarded convoys of thousands and under the harshest conditions into the interior.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> July, Mr. Fuller of the American Near East Relief met about 3,000 women and children being driven towards the interior by Turkish guards. On the 1<sup>st</sup> September, Mr Hopkins of the same organization met 12,000 being driven southwards between Harput and Malatia. They were being robbed and ill-treated by their guards. Mr. Hopkins saw "many corpses of Greeks lying by the roadside where they had died from exposure. Many of them were the corpses of women and girls." About the 1<sup>st</sup> October he and two other relief workers passed about 10,000 Greeks. He says: "I remember one group of about 2,000 being women alone, most of them with no shoes, many carrying babies... A driving cold rain was falling... they had no protection whatever and their only place to sleep was the wet ground." Mr. Hopkins continues: "The deportation of Greeks is not limited to the Black Sea Coast, but is being carried out throughout the whole country governed by the Nationalists. The Greek villages are deported entire, the few Turks or Armenian inhabitants are forced to leave, and the villages are burned. The purpose is unquestion-

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<sup>131</sup> Yeghiayan, op. cit., 234

<sup>132</sup> *ibid.*, 236-237

ably to destroy all Greeks in that territory and to leave Turkey for the Turks. These deportations are, of course, accompanied by cruelties of every form just as was true in the case of the Armenian deportations five and six years ago.”<sup>133</sup>

News about the death marches filtered through relatively slowly, for the Near East Relief agents “were forced by the Nationalist authorities to send false telegrams, and were not allowed to relieve the Greeks, and caravans were apparently diverted so that they might not witness what was being done.”<sup>134</sup>

Based on a lengthy interview with NER chief surgeon Dr. Mark H. Ward, who was compelled by the Turkish authorities to leave Kharput (Turkish Harput; now Elaziğ) on March 15, 1922,<sup>135</sup> the British High Commissioner Rumbold telegraphed on May 10, 1922 to his government; together with an earlier report in the *The Times* of May 5, 1922, the Rumbold telegrams of April 25 and May 10 prompted a debate in the House of Commons on May 15, 1922 during which Arthur Neville Chamberlain confirmed the assessment of the situation,<sup>136</sup> as given by High Commissioner Rumbold:

The Turks appear to be working on a deliberate plan to get rid of minorities. Their method has been to collect at Amasia, Ottoman Greeks from region between Samsoun and Trebizond. These Greeks are marched from Amasia via Tokat and Sivas as far as Caesarea, and then back again until they are eventually sent through Kharput to the east. In this manner a large number of deportees die in the road from hardship and exposure. The Turks can say that they did not actually kill these refugees, but a comparison may be instituted with the way in which the Turks formerly got rid of dogs at Constantinople by landing them on an island where they died of hunger and thirst.<sup>137</sup>

Large numbers of deportees who were being sent to Van and Bitlis passed through Kharput between June and December last year. Now that spring has

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<sup>133</sup> Rendel, op. cit., 6

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> “Kemalist War on Christians: hostility to American relief work,” *The Times*, June 8, 1922, 7. <http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/08061922.html>

<sup>136</sup> “Turkish Deportations – Confirmation of the Times telegram” *The Times*, May 16, 1922, 21

<sup>137</sup> The initiative to get rid of the street dogs came from Dr Behaeddin Şakir, then a prominent member of the Medical Faculty, who used the dogs in experiments. According to the French writer Philippe Videlier, the Institut Pasteur in Paris had been first asked to elaborate a plan for annihilating the dogs and worked out a project of killing them with gas and make industrial use of the bones and fat of the animals. Fearing that the foreigners might demand a too high share in profits, the Young Turks, however, “decided for the traditional method, which was less expensive, although more evident” (Philippe Videlier, “Türkische Nacht: Die Geschichte vom Sultan und den drei Paschas” [Turkish Night: The Tale about the Sultan and the Three Pashas]. *Lettre International*, No. 68 (April 2005), 5. <http://www.aga-online.org/de/tuerkischeNacht/tuerkischeNacht.pdf>

come, these deportations have begun again. Once these gangs have passed Diarbekir, which is the last American relief station, Americans lose all track of them, but Dr. Ward has little doubt that many deportees die in the mountains east of that place. (...) American Near East Relief was not allowed to shelter children whose parents had died on the road. These children are driven forward with other deportees. (...) Two thirds of Greek deportees are women and children. At present fresh deportations and outrages are starting in all parts of Asia Minor, from the Northern Seaports to the South Eastern district." (...).<sup>138</sup>

In his earlier telegram of April 25, 1922 Rumbold mentioned that "the whole Greek population from the age of 15 upwards, of the Trebizond area and the hinterland was being deported, apparently to labor battalions at Erzerouni [Erzurum] and other places."<sup>139</sup> On his way back to the US, Dr Ward met in London on June 7, 1922 with Foreign Office representative Oliphant, to whom he summarized the deportation that he had witnessed as an intended extermination, calculated by the Nationalist Turkish government:

From May, 1921, to March last, when I left, thirty thousand deportees, of whom six thousand were Armenians and the rest Greeks, were collected at Sivas and deported through Kharput to Bitlis and Van. Of these thirty thousand, ten thousand perished last winter and ten thousand escaped to have been protected by the Americans. The fate of the other ten thousand is not known. The deportations are continuing: every week's delay means death to hundreds of these poor people. The Turkish policy is extermination of these Christian minorities.<sup>140</sup>

Major Forrest D. Yowell, prior director of the NER Harput branch, had been arrested on March 5, 1922 for reasons "which the Turkish authorities refused to divulge, and was forcibly deported".<sup>141</sup> In spring 1922 he wrote in his report the U.S. Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes:

The attitude of the Vilayet Government toward the Greeks who were being (and who are still) deported through Sivas-Harpoot-Diarbekir from the Black Sea Coast and the Konia district, seems to be one of extermination. From statistics obtained from American sources--persons who have come into contact with the deportees in the course of their work of relief--we have accounted for at least 30,000 who reached Sivas. Of this number 8,000 died on the route to Harpoot and 2,000 remained in Malatia (March). After many obstacles thrown in our way by Turkish officials to prevent the N. E. R. from assisting

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<sup>138</sup> Telegram Nr. 201 by Sir H. Rumbold, May 10, 1922; quoted in Tsirkinidis, "At last we uprooted them...", op. cit., 241-242; cf. also "'Unspeakable Turk': Atrocities in Asia Minor, roads strewn with dead; Britain's strong action," *The Irish Times*, May 16, 1922, 5.

<sup>139</sup> "Unspeakable Turk," *ibid*.

<sup>140</sup> "Kemalist war on Christians, Says 22,000 Greeks Died on the March," *New York Times*, June 7, 1922, 3.

<sup>141</sup> "Turks' Insane Savagery." *The Times*, May 5, 1922, 10.  
<http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/05051922.html>

these refugees were overcome, we were able to save thousands of lives by giving food, clothing and medical care.

However, 2,000 refugees died in Harpoot, Mezra, and scattered in villages near by. The remaining 20,000 were sent on toward Diarbekir, and it was not merely a coincidence, in my opinion, that days when terrible snowstorms were in progress were selected to send these people, three fourths of whom were women and children, out over almost impassable mountains, without food or covering of any kind, and where no shelter can be found. In all cases these people have been robbed of everything that can be taken from them before they have progressed but few days on their journey, and the most attractive girls taken into Moslem homes.

Of the 15,000 sent toward Diarbekir 3,000 died on the route and 1,000 died in Diarbekir. About 1,000 (all men) were taken by the Government to work on the roads between Harpoot and Diarbekir. They were given no pay, and their entire food allowance consisted of 200 grs. of bread per day and a little thin soup once a day. They had no shelter and were compelled to sleep out of doors in bitterly cold weather, without bedding or covering, and when they are too ill to work their food allowance is discontinued and they are allowed to die without medical care.

Of the 9,000 Greeks known to have been sent on toward Bitlis, nothing further is known on their fate, as all efforts of the Americans to get there or send relief has met with failure. This we do know, Bitlis is almost totally destroyed and is not capable of supporting more than a few thousand of people. As it is also located in high mountains, reached by passes only through which vehicles cannot now travel, it can be safely assumed that few of the deportees sent toward Bitlis reached there.

In the Vilayet of Mamouret-Ul-Aziz the Near East Relief was not permitted to employ any Greek, for or without compensation; it was not allowed to take in any Greek children, orphans or destitute, and in many cases Greek men were forcibly taken by Moslems to work for them without compensation, and it was necessary for the Near East Relief to give them bread to prevent them from starving.

We were not allowed to take any Greek into our hospital or to give medical aid without a written permit from the Director of Sanitation, and the patient was compelled to call in person for the permit. In many cases the patient died before he succeeded in getting a permit and in the majority of cases they failed to get permits at all.

Cases are on record in Harpoot where money was paid to Turkish officials for such permits. Convalescents from our hospital were invariably taken by the Government and sent out over the mountains before they had regained near normal strength. In effect the authorities admitted to myself and other Americans that the Greeks were enemies of the Government and that they

should be killed, and that those who assisted them were enemies of the Governor.<sup>142</sup>

While in Constantinople in early May 1922, Major Yowell stated in an interview “that Christian men are thrown into gaol for no reason except to extort ransom from relatives. Women are forced into Moslem houses as slaves without the right to appeal to any tribunal. Turkish officials frankly state that the only way they can get money is by blackmailing Christians.”<sup>143</sup>

The accusation of intended extermination was repeated in numerous reports of other NER workers, published since May 1922. The NER workers who preferred to remain anonymous described various restrictions of their humanitarian work, forced labor of the deportees and extremely unhygienic circumstances as the result of restrictions that were another mean of destruction. The latter was obviously the result of orders by Dr. Cevdet Bey, the Ankara Commissioner for Deportees, and his colleague Dr. Şerifeddin Bey, who benefited personally from the complete dependence of their female victims:

An American who was in Sivas from October, 1921, to May, 1922 says that the deportees began to pass through there in the autumn, supposedly on their way to Harput, coming not only from the region of Samsun, but from all the villages and cities of northern Asia Minor. Throughout the winter they came, in an indescribable condition of dirt and distress. The Americans were refused point-blank, permission to do anything for the Greeks. Finally Vali Haidar Bey agreed to let the Americans minister to women and children and to boys under fifteen, but not to older boys and men who were sent to Erzerum to work on the roads. This was a pretext. The snow was deep. They were without shelter, and most of them perished of the cold. Outside Sivas is a *sevkiat*<sup>144</sup> — deportation camp — where sheds without roofs or windows or doors — just palisades — are the only shelter. No Near East Relief worker was allowed to approach this camp. The sick were brought in to town and thrown into the Armenian church, which one of the American workers calls “the Black Hole of Calcutta.” Only she thinks that the original Black Hole could not have been as bad. For into this church, whose windows are boarded up and where it is dark and damp, are carried and dumped pell-mell cases of all kinds of the horrible diseases. The Americans are not allowed to do anything for these people. They all perish. None can possibly be saved. Their bodies are not removed.

And yet this “Hospital” is under the charge of the Angora Commissioner of Deportees, Dr. Djevdet Bey, who with his assistant, Dr. Sherifeddin Bey, are

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<sup>142</sup> Herbert Adams Gibbons, “Near East Relief prevented from helping Greeks,” *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), July 13, 1922, 1.

<sup>143</sup> “Turks’ Insane Savagery,” *op. cit.*, 10.

<http://www.greekgenocide.org/press/05051922.html>

<sup>144</sup> *Sevkiyat* means “deportation” in Turkish.

examples of the fiends educated Orientals are capable of becoming. Dr. Djevdet was always debonair, and jested with the American women when they begged to be allowed to separate the cases and pay men to go in to remove the bodies. Dr. Djevdet refused permission to open orphanages or hotels for the girl children and their mothers. Finally, the Near East Relief did get eight houses, but all sorts of difficulties were made for the exiles who would enter them. They had to have papers, and it took two or three days of going from bureau to bureau to get these. As the women were already in an exhausted state, very many of them perished in this last effort to get to the asylum of unnecessary cruelty — the way we should never treat a suffering dog or horse. Dr. Djevdet and his assistant took forcibly from the Near East homes certain picked girls to serve suppers in their house and kept them till morning. Those, who refused to come received orders the next day to leave Sivas — an awful fate. These horrors reached their climax in May. On May 14th the Americans received the order to give up all boys over fourteen, and these were taken from the orphanages.<sup>145</sup>

Edith Wood, who had worked for the NER in Malatia since the end of November 1921 until early spring 1922 was convinced that the conditions there were even

(...) more horrible than in Harput, although she was permitted to take in and attempt to care for the Greek orphans, which had been forbidden at Harput. Housing the children only prolonged their agony, however, as only half of those under 12 were temporarily saved. From four to seven of those who passed the initial test of being able to stand food and washing passed away each day Miss Wood thought that they might be pulled through. Their constitution was too greatly undermined by the journey from the coast. "It was like an endless chain," said Miss Wood. "The children would often be gone before I had taken their names. Forty to fifty of the older women passed on each day also. You see, starvation, exposure, exhaustion did their work before these deportees arrived at Malatia. They came to me in the last stages.

Food and medicine were no good, although I tried my best. The Turks were doing nothing at all for them. In Malatia bodies lay around in the streets and fields. No attempt was made to bury them. Deportation is worse than a sentence of execution. Unless one sees these things, it is difficult to believe that such monstrous cruelty and barbarity exist in this world. Making women and children suffer that way until they drop and expire seems incredible. But that is Malatia, and they receive us coldly in Constantinople [Istanbul] when we want to tell what we know for the benefit of our Government, and let it appear very clearly that my story is unwelcome and that I am a hysterical woman exaggerating or falsifying — that is the way it is.

It took me fourteen days' constant travel to get from Malatia to Samsun on the Black Sea coast (...). All the way it was a heartrending journey, passing women and little children on their long road to Calvary. (...) I hardly pitied those who had given up en route. Bodies lay along the roadside and in the

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<sup>145</sup> Gibbons, *op. cit.*

fields everywhere. There was no hope for the Greeks from Malatia to Samsun, and the most fortunate were those who perished at the start.”<sup>146</sup>

Smyrna, the Cosmopolitan “Little Paris of the Orient” was the last stage of what is called “the Asia Minor tragedy” in the official modern history of Greece. Defeated by the Turkish nationalist forces, deserted by the Allies, the retreat of Greek forces from Asia Minor in late summer 1922 became a massive flight, joined by tens of thousands of Ottoman Christian civilians.

By the size of its population, Smyrna was the second largest city of the Ottoman Empire. It was at the same time a predominantly non-Muslim city, called “gavur [infidel] Smyrna” for that reason by Muslims. According to US-consul George Horton,

(...) it is probable that (at the time of its destruction) the inhabitants exceeded five hundred thousand in numbers. The latest official statistics give the figure as four hundred thousand, of whom one hundred and sixty-five thousand were Turks, one hundred and fifty thousand Greeks, twenty-five thousand Jews, twenty-five thousand Armenians, and twenty thousand foreigners: ten thousand Italians, three thousand French, two thousand British and three hundred Americans.<sup>147</sup>

Based on the official Ottoman *salmane* (statistical yearbook), the German consulate estimated that at the beginning of the 20th century the population was 300,000 with a relative Greek Orthodox majority of 140,000 and a minority of 90,000 Muslims.<sup>148</sup> Of course, it is highly difficult to ascertain precise demographic statistics in times of war, massive flight, multiple migration and deportation. But as the only and last remaining Christian stronghold, one may assume that Smyrna had been the refuge for many Christians from adjacent and even distant provinces. The population was ethnically fragmented, for the inhabitants of Smyrna did not form an integrated community. Each group lived on its own ethno-religious island with its own educational, cultural and other institutions.

The Hellenic forces and administration disembarked on August 26/September 8, 1922.<sup>149</sup> In the early hours of August 27 /September 9 regular and

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<sup>146</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Horton, *op. cit.*, <http://www.hri.org/docs/Horton/HortonBook.htm>

<sup>148</sup> Report of November 18, 1909 by the Imperial consul Mordtmann (Smyrna): German diplomatic documents; Annual commercial rapports of the Imperial Consulate of Smyrna. Quoted from Hervé Georgelin, “Smyrne, septembre 1922 : une cité grecque-orthodoxe et arménienne non assimilable par le nationalisme turc” *Yevrobatsi*, December 3, 2005, footnote 2, <http://www.yevrobatsi.org/st/item.php?r=0&id=1086>. It should be noted that Ottoman statistics were based on the *millet* system, giving figures for ethno-religious groups (Muslims, Christian denominations, Jews) only.

<sup>149</sup> A difference of 13 days is caused by the different calendar systems used, i.e. the Julian and Gregorian (Old and New Style).

regular and irregular Kemalist cavalry under the command of Nureddin Pasha occupied the completely undefended city, and first looted and then destroyed the Armenian quarter *Haynots* in the north of Smyrna, before setting it on fire in the night of August 31/September 13–14. The Armenian eyewitness and survivor Garabed Hatcherian noted in his diary:

Wednesday, the 13<sup>th</sup>: (...). After traversing a few districts, I enter Chalgidji Bashi where there is very little activity. I see a Turkish soldier on patrol. It is obvious that the *Haynots* and the surroundings are under siege. (...) I continue my path towards Chalgidji Bashi, but on the passage leading from Katirdji Oglou to Chalgidji Bashi, I see a Turk who approaches me saying, "We did what was due; you turn back." The Turk, who obviously had assumed an active role in the arson, takes me obviously for his compatriot and accomplice and advises me not to advance, but to turn back. I answer, "Very well," with the attitude of someone who understands the situation (...). The crackle of burning materials and the transformation of explosives into flaming clouds produce an infernal sight the likes of which I have never seen before. In Istanbul and other cities, I have seen huge fires. During the battles in the Dardanelles and in Romania, I have witnessed the burning of so many cities and villages, but none of those fires has made such a strong impression on me. The fire in Smyrna is indescribable and unimaginable.<sup>150</sup>

Lasting four days, the obviously controlled and manipulated fire of Smyrna destroyed the lower parts of the city, which were Christian (European), starting with the Armenian and the Greek quarter adjacent to *Haynots*. Many Christians died in their burning houses or were killed by collapsing walls.

The larger part of the European quarter of Smyrna is burning. According to an American eye-witness, Miss Mills, headmistress of the American College, the fire was started by a sergeant of Turkish regulars, who entered a house carrying tins of petroleum. Estimates of the damage caused by the fire up to last evening amount to £15,000,000. (...) It is reported here that up to the outbreak of the fire about one thousand persons had been massacred, but it is feared here that the number is now much greater.

(From our correspondent in the Near East, Constantinople, September 14th)  
Fire broke out in the Armenian quarter of Smyrna and spread to the European quarter, where several Consulates and other houses have been destroyed. United States and Allied contingents were landed, but have been unable to prevent the extension of the fire, which now threatens the whole European quarter.

Athens, Sept. 13. — According to a Greek journalist who escaped from Smyrna on board the Messageries steamer *Lamartine*, Mgr. Chrysostomos,

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<sup>150</sup> *An Armenian doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922*, ed. Dora Sakayan (Montreal: Arod Books, 1997), 14-15.

the Orthodox Metropolitan of Smyrna and the Gregorian Armenian Archbishop have been murdered. —Reuter.)<sup>151</sup>

One of the prominent victims of the massacres was the martyred and posthumously canonized Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Smyrna Chrysostomos [Kalafatis; 1867-1922], who had become a hate-figure for Turkish nationalists since 1914, when he invited European diplomats from Constantinople to inspect the atrocities committed in Ionia. Although Chrysostomos had been offered a passage from Smyrna by the Catholic Archbishop of the city already on August 25, 1922, he declined the safe escape with the words: "It is the tradition of the Greek Church and the obligation of a priest to stay with his parish!" The American consul Horton described his death:

The tales vary as to the manner of Chrysostom's death, but the evidence is conclusive that he met his end at the hands of the Ottoman populace. A Turkish officer and two soldiers went to the offices of the cathedral and took him to Nureddin Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, who is said to have adopted the medieval plan of turning him over to the fanatical mob to work its will upon him. There is not sufficient proof of the veracity of this statement, but it is certain that he was killed by the mob. He was spit upon, his beard torn out by the roots, beaten, stabbed to death and then dragged about the streets. His only sin was that he was a patriotic and eloquent Greek who believed in the expansion of his race and worked to that end. (...) He died a martyr and deserves the highest honours in the bestowal of the Greek Church and government. He merits the respect of all men and women to whom courage in the face of horrible death makes an appeal.<sup>152</sup>

A few days before his death, on August 31, Chrysostomos, as the Metropolitan of Smyrna sent a letter to Meletios, the Ecumenical Patriarch at Constantinople, in which he blamed the Allied High Commissionership for the destruction of the Ottoman Greeks because of its order to disarm them and in which he predicted the massacre of the undefended Christian population in Smyrna:

(...) "Everybody feels that the greatest dangers and sufferings hang upon the unfortunate Christian population of the interior and of Smyrna," wrote the Archbishop, "because it is very well known that the Turkish populations, civic and agricultural, without any exception, are armed to the teeth, (...) because of the last three years' negligence and good-will of the High Commissionership, and the other Greek military and police authorities.

A victorious entry of the Turkish Army in the cities of the interior, and most especially in the capital city of Smyrna, when to this army shall be added all the armed Turkish populations, which until now were living in full security under the cover of the Greek administration and the protection of the Greek

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<sup>151</sup> "Smyrna Burning," *The Times*, September 15, 1922, 10.

<http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/15091922.html>

<sup>152</sup> Horton, op. cit., <http://www.hri.org/docs/Horton/HortonBook.htm>

Army, will be marked by excitements of rage and hate and by terrible slaughters. Needless to insist upon this point here, because we all have a very bitter and bloody experience of the continuous and inevitable slaughters and massacres which everywhere are marking the passage of Turks, whether they are victorious or defeated.

Unfortunately, the whole Greek population, that of the cities and of the villages, is armless, thanks to the very stern measures of the High Commissioner, who has not allowed even the Committee for the Defence of Asia Minor to buy and bear arms and to give arms to civil guards, which would greatly contribute to the rising of the morale of the Greeks for the protection of the lives of the citizens from the armed bands and the Turkish masses.

Thus, Greeks will be delivered to massacre and destruction. Hundreds of thousands of Greeks will perish without the possibility of the slightest defence, not even for its preservation for a few days and hours, until a European intervention may be affected to save the situation."<sup>153</sup>

However, this intervention never happened. Numerous Christians drowned in the harbour of Smyrna, when trying to escape to the Allied navy of 27 battle ships, among them three American destroyers. It added to the horrors of the people of Smyrna that the Allies watched, more or less indifferently, how their Christian co-religionists were burnt, slaughtered, raped, shot down by machine guns or drowned:

(...) What happened on the night of 31 August, on the waterfront of Smyrna, towards which the crowds of the Smyrniots were heading, continuously trapped by the fiery torrents of the burning city and the crowds of Nureddin, is related by the French historian Driault:

"Thousands of unfortunate people crowding along the waterfront fell into the sea. A great part of the port has been filled with hundreds of corpses that one could walk on them. Those floating on water were finished off by the Turks with swords and woods [clubs]...' And the same writer adds: 'Who will describe the atrocious scenes? ... Countless lives, mostly women, children and old people have been massacred amidst ignominious savagery..."

The most terrible of all is that this orgy of blood, disaster and various other crimes took place under the eyes, frequently the spiteful smiles and even the cheers of the crews of the foreign war ships, or the official representatives of the Christian powers.[...]

The same (French) consul himself invited to dinner, (...) excused himself for his delay of a few minutes with these terrible words: '*Because, he said, the motor-launch in which I was on my way from the French war ship hit continuously upon the floating corpses of Greek women*'. And the American consul [George Horton] listening to this cynical excuse, spited himself for being a human being. [...]

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<sup>153</sup> "Slain Archbishop Foresaw Massacre: Chrysostomos Sent Letters to Foreign Officials Predicting Smyrna Disaster," *The New York Times*, September 24, 1922, 35.  
<http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/24091922.html>

In the French *Revue de Paris* these terrible things are cited among others concerning the Christian population: “The cries of the massacred reached from the beach and the corpses of the drowned floated around the ships. Amidst this savagery sounds of music have been heard from a British war ship to the satisfaction of its passengers.” And the correspondent of *The Times* in Constantinople adds himself in his 3/16 September telegram: “A British party that was guarding the gas factory witnessed atrocious crimes at the expense of Greek women in the street without intervening, as they had the command to not intervene, except in an event concerning the security of the factory.” (...) <sup>154</sup>

On September 3/16, 1922 Nureddin ordered a proclamation, according to which all Greek and Armenian men of 18 until 45 years of age would be treated as prisoners of war “until the termination of hostilities”.<sup>155</sup> All others, residents of Smyrna or refugees from out-side, were ordered to leave the country until September 30, 1922. Men and women were then separated, the men led away and shot in groups.<sup>156</sup> Dr. Esther Lovejoy of the American Red Cross was eyewitness to the fate of the approximately 200,000 remaining Christian women:

“I was the first American Red Cross woman in France,” she said, “but what I saw there during the Great War seems a love feast beside the horrors of Smyrna. When I arrived at Smyrna there was massed on the quays 250,000 people -- wretched, suffering and screaming -- with women beaten and with their clothes torn off them, families separated and everybody robbed.

Knowing their lives depended on escape before Sept. 30, the crowds remained packed along the waterfront — so massed that there was no room to lie down. The sanitary conditions were unspeakable.

Three-quarters of the crowd were women and children, and never have I seen so many women carry children. It seemed that every other woman was an expectant mother. The flight and the conditions brought on many premature births, and on the quay with scarcely room to lie down and without aid most of the children were born. In the five days I was there more than 200 such confinements occurred.

Even more heartrending were the cries of children who had lost their mothers or mothers who had lost their children. They were herded along through the great guarded enclosure, and there was no turning back for lost ones. Mothers in the strength of madness climbed the steel fences fifteen feet

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<sup>154</sup> Quoted from Christos E. Angelomatis, *Chronikon Megalis Tragodias* [Chronicle of the Great Tragedy] (Athens: Hestia, 1963), 243-244, 248-249.

[http://www2.fhw.gr/chronos/13/en/foreign\\_policy/sources/12.html](http://www2.fhw.gr/chronos/13/en/foreign_policy/sources/12.html)

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 254. Cf. an English translation of the proclamation.

[http://www2.fhw.gr/chronos/13/en/foreign\\_policy/sources/14.html](http://www2.fhw.gr/chronos/13/en/foreign_policy/sources/14.html)

For more details on the deportation order by Nureddin see also footnotes 88 and 89 in the contribution of Nikolaos Hlamides in this volume.

<sup>156</sup> Housepian, op. cit., 172-173

high and in the face of blows from the butts of guns sought the children, who ran about screaming like animals.

The condition in which these people reached the ships causes one to wonder if escape were better than Turkish deportation. Never has there been such systematic robbery. The Turkish soldiers searched and robbed every refugee. Even clothing and shoes of any value were stripped from their bodies.

To rob the men another method was used; men of military age were permitted to pass through all the barriers till the last by giving bribes. At the last barrier they were turned back to be deported. The robbery was not only committed by soldiers, but also by officers. I witnessed two flagrant cases committed by officers who would be classed as gentlemen.

On Sept. 28 the Turks drove the crowds from the quays, where the searchlights of the allied warships played on them, into the side streets. All that night the screams of women and girls were heard, and it was declared next day that many were taken for slaves.

The Smyrna horror is beyond the conception of the imagination and the power of words. It is a crime for which the whole world is responsible in not having through the civilized ages built up some means to prevent such orders as that of the evacuation of a city and the means with which it was carried out. It is a crime for the world to stand by through a sense of neutrality and permit this outrage against 200,000 women.

Under the order to remain neutral I saw the launch of an American warship pick up two male refugees who were trying to swim to a merchant ship under the Turkish rifle fire and return them to the hands of the waiting Turk soldiers on the beach for what must have been certain death. And under orders to remain neutral I saw soldiers and officers of all nationalities stand by while Turk soldiers beat with their rifles women trying to reach children who were crying just beyond the fence."<sup>157</sup>

Consul Horton wrote about the fate of the Greek Orthodox men, deported from Smyrna and its vicinities after September 30, 1922:

This last scene on the Smyrna quay reveals the whole diabolical and methodically carried-out plan of the Turks. The soldiers were allowed to glut their lust for blood and plunder and rape by falling first on the Armenians, butchering and burning them and making free with their women and girls. But the Greeks, for whom a deeper hatred existed, were reserved for a slower and more leisurely death. The few that have been coming back tell terrible tales. Some were shot down or killed off in squads. All were starved and thousands died of disease, fatigue and exposure. Authentic reports of American relief workers tell of small bands far inland that started out thousands strong.

The Turks allege that they carried off the male population of Smyrna and its hinterland to rebuild the villages destroyed by the Greek army on its retreat.

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<sup>157</sup> "Woman pictures Smyrna horrors: Dr. Esther Lovejoy, an eyewitness, tells of terrible scenes on the Quay; she assails neutrality; declares it a crime for the world to lack the means to prevent such outrages," *The New York Times*, October 9, 1922, 3.

This has a ring of justice and will appeal to any American unacquainted with the actual circumstances. The Greek peasants of Asia Minor were Ottoman subjects, in nowise responsible for the acts of the Hellenic government. Very few enlisted voluntarily in its armies and they used every influence and subterfuge imaginable to avoid fighting. Had the Greeks of Asia Minor been a stout warlike race and had they cooperated strongly with the Greeks of the mainland they could have kept the Turks at bay.

The object of Khemal, as we have seen, was one of simple extermination. The reason alleged was one of those shrewd subterfuges used by the Turks to fool Europeans. But not all the unfortunates carried away by the Turks were Greek men. Many thousands of Christian women and girls still remain in their hands to satisfy their lusts or to work as slaves. A report submitted to the League of Nations gives the number as “upward of fifty thousand,” but this seems a very conservative estimate. The United States should sign no treaty with Turkey until these people are given up.<sup>158</sup>

In 1923, the French author René Puaux pointed out to the distinct European dimension in the responsibility for the Smyrna disaster: “Perhaps the immensity of the tragedy of Smyrna could have been avoided or at least diminished, had there not existed a twofold illusion: the trust of the Great Powers in the Turks, and the trust of the Christians of Asia Minor in the Great Powers.”<sup>159</sup> Puaux estimated the number of Greeks deported into the interior of Anatolia as high as 150,000.<sup>160</sup> Most of these captives were massacred outside Smyrna or other Greek towns of Ionia/West Anatolia. The remainder was kept in a state of slavery<sup>161</sup> and treated with genocidal intent. One survivor, the writer Elias Venezis (pen-name; born Mellos; 1904-1973) wrote down his experience and memories as early as 1924, soon after the massive Greek-Turkish exchange of populations. A Greek youth of just 18 years from Ayvalık, Venezis was conscripted into a slave labor battalion and “remained a slave without any rights and even without any official recognition of existence for fourteen months.”<sup>162</sup> In his memoirs, Venezis tells how the Ayvalık conscripts were kept in the local prison several nights, during which 15 were selected to march outside the town to be bayoneted to death, while the remaining 43 were marched to the various labor camps of Western Anatolia. His group was the fourth such recruited group from Ayvalık, but in differ-

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<sup>158</sup> Horton, op. cit., <http://www.hri.org/docs/Horton/hb-19.html>

<sup>159</sup> René Puaux, *Les derniers jours de Smyrne. Paris 1923*, quoted from Sakayan (ed.), *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey*, op. cit., vi

<sup>160</sup> Puaux, *ibid.*, compte d'auteur, 30-31.

<sup>161</sup> Elias Venezis, *To Nούμερο 31328 (Number 31328)* (Athens: Hestia, 1956 [reprint 1995]), 161.

<sup>162</sup> Vryonis, op. cit., 276

ence to the first three groups, numbering in hundreds his was determined to die in a slower way.<sup>163</sup>

After various death marches since 1915, disguised as deportations and after the previous conscriptions of 1914 and 1921 Turkish militaries and paramilitaries had achieved a rich experience in ways of physical destruction by indirect ways. Despite the time of the year and the already cold nights – it was the end of October 1922 – the Ayvalık conscripts had to undress with the exception of their underwear, and were marched in this semi-denuded state and without proper footwear to the town of Manisa (Magnesia, Magnisa). En route, they were not allowed to drink anything else but infectious swamp-water, with the clear calculation that typhus and other epidemics would decimate the undernourished, exhausted men. Deliberately they were kept under catastrophic conditions of lacking hygiene. These details in the account of Venezis let one doubt in the assumption of Erik Jan Zürcher that “the mistreatment of Armenian recruits in the labor battalions [or of Ottoman Greeks, TH] (...) is but an extreme case of what was going on throughout the army.”<sup>164</sup>

One of the first tasks of E. Venezis’ *taburu* in Manisa was to clear the area of the corpses of 40,000 Christian men, women and children from Manisa and Smyrna, which had been tied to one another with wire, before they were killed and dumped in a huge ravine of Mount Sipylo (Kirtikdere). The corpses already had begun to disintegrate, and the water drove them to the ravine’s edge, “where they reached the road and railroad tracks.”<sup>165</sup> The Turkish authorities feared that the floating remnants of massive killings of Christians might be seen by the Spanish official Dallara, who was “appointed to examine the conditions of the prisoners and the ‘care’ that the Turkish government was providing them.”<sup>166</sup>

Under such fatal conditions, the mortality rate of the Greek slave laborers from Western Anatolia was extremely high. Out of the roughly 3,000 male labor conscripts from Ayvalık, only 23 survived – less than one percent!<sup>167</sup> The inhuman treatment of Ottoman nationals by their own state could already be observed during the World War. In his report of March 7, 1917, the Hellenic consul of Konya (Ikonion, Iconium) described the situation at a time, when Greece was still neutral:

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 278

<sup>164</sup> Zürcher, Ottoman labor battalions, op. cit., 4.

<sup>165</sup> Venezis, quoted from Vryonis, op. cit., 284.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 288

These unfortunate men, on being drafted into these battalions, are distributed throughout the interior of the Empire, from the coasts of Asia Minor and the Black Sea to Bagdad, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, some to construct military roads, others to make tunnels for the Bagdad Railroad, and others to cultivate the fields. Receiving absolutely no pay, badly nourished and clothed, exposed to hanges in the weather, to the blazing sun of Bagdad and the intolerable cold of the Caucasus, assailed by sickness, fever, eruptive typhoid, and cholera, they are perishing by thousands. For a while those able to pay the exemption fees were released from service; and thus those who were relatively well off were rescued from ruin and sure death, but for the last five months these, too, have been compelled to serve in these labor battalions. While visiting the hospitals of the city of Iconium, I have seen these unfortunates stretched out on their beds or on the ground like living skeletons, waiting in agony for death as their deliverer from this life of misery and privation. There is a total lack of drugs and food, and the only attention and sick receive is a visit from the doctor twice a day. Those who are able to stand go about the streets of the city begging a piece of bread. In order to give a faithful picture of this grievous situation it is enough to state that the cemetery of Iconium, as a result of the great mortality of the Greeks working in these labor battalions, has been filled to overflowing with graves in which not one corpse, as is the usual custom, is buried, but into which are cast, like dogs, as many as four, five, or even six dead.

As for the “deserters,” they were not only treated with the harshest cruelty, but their alleged existence in a given village was often the excuse for tortures of the other inhabitants to make them disclose their whereabouts, accompanied by confiscation, plundering, massacre, and other excesses.<sup>168</sup>

At the time of the second draft of Greek labor conscripts and during the final stage of genocide, a Greek physician noticed a death toll of 80 percent in Islahiye:

During my stay in Islahiye, I saw labor battalions conscripted exclusively of 5,000 Greeks from Denizli. They were decimated in a very few months. Starvation, forced labor of a daily work schedule of twelve hours uninterrupted hard labor, sunstroke, illness and deprivation of all necessities brought conditions in which barely 1,000 managed to survive. There would enter the hospital daily 100 sick persons, the majority of whom would die the following day.<sup>169</sup>

In a period of only two months after the destruction of Smyrna the Turkish National Assembly at Ankara issued on November 1, 1922 its decision to expel all the remaining Christian population from Asia Minor, estimated by the *Near East Relief* to be still about half a million of people.<sup>170</sup> In late 1922 the *League of Nations* High Commissioner on Refugees, the Norwegian

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<sup>168</sup> Cited from “Turkish Cruelty Bared by Greeks,” *The New York Times*, June 16, 1918, 42.

<sup>169</sup> Vryonis, op. cit., 288.

<sup>170</sup> “Expulsion of Christians,” *The Times*, November 3, 1922, 13.

scholar Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, came to the conclusion that the remaining Greeks of Asia Minor were doomed, if they were not evacuated. However, even among those who escaped to Greece or other countries the mortality rate was high, because the manifold hardships that the refugees or “exchanged” Ottoman Greeks had undergone were tremendous. Nansen himself had to admit that. In his statement before the Council of the League he informed that body that from September 1922 until July 1923 alone “up to 70,000 [refugees] died of disease and weakness owing to malnutrition.”<sup>171</sup> During the last months of 1923 the mortality rate among the refugee population was 45 per cent; 70 per cent of the deaths were due to malaria; 25 per cent to typhoid, paratyphoid and dysentery and 5 per cent to other various diseases.<sup>172</sup>

In fact, after the destruction of Smyrna nobody on the international arena was ready to fight for the right of Greeks to exist in Asia Minor. In their bilateral treaty of January 1923 Turkey and Greece decided the mutual compulsory expulsion and termination of citizenship of their ethno-religious minorities. This was followed by the multilateral Lausanne Treaty of July 24, 1923, which in retrospective acknowledged the

(...) expulsion and liquidation of millions of people in the name of a dubious “national rebirth,” conducted by a dominant elite at the expense of minorities. There was no longer any talk about the return of Armenian refugees and the establishment of justice. Furthermore the treaty contained a Greek-Turkish population exchange which in its large scale was the first one of that kind, thus legalising an already established “ethnic cleansing.” With regards to talks about Kurdish, Armenian and Greek minorities in his country Dr Rıza Nur, the general secretary of the Turkish delegation to the conference, noted, that “these alien elements are a bother and microbes’ and that one has to ‘cleanse the Kurds by means of an assimilation program from the alien language and race.”<sup>173</sup>

On August 13, 1923 Mustafa Kemal delivered a long speech to the Grand National Assembly in which he said with relief and joy: “At last we uprooted the Greeks from Pontos.”<sup>174</sup> However, deportations did not end with the uprooting of Christian minorities and the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

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<sup>171</sup> League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 4th Year, No. 8 (August 1923), Annex 534, “Greek Loan for Refugees,” 1014.

<sup>172</sup> League of Nations, *Greek Refugee Settlement* (Geneva: Publications of the League of Nations, 1926), 93.

<sup>173</sup> Rıza Nur: *Hayat ve Hatiratım*, vol. 2, (Istanbul, 1992), 260; quoted in Hans-Lukas Kieser, “Armeniermord und Diplomatie: Von der Lästigkeit vertuschter Geschichte,” *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte* (2002-2), 131-142.

<http://www.hist.net/kieser/mak4/TraverseDebatte.html#fn7>

<sup>174</sup> Quoted from a report by the French colonel Mougin, quoted Tsirkiridis, “At last we uprooted them...,” op.cit., 300

lic (October 1923), but remained a well-established instrument in nationality and minority politics. The “Deportation Law” of 1934 was designed as an assimilatory tool “to disseminate the Turkish culture,” in particular in areas determined by the Home Ministry for the settlement of non-Turkish or heterodox Muslim deportees, who subsequently had to be Turkified, as was the intention for “the areas in the West, in particular the Mediterranean and the Aegean Seas, the Marmara Sea and Thrace [Trakya].”<sup>175</sup> Other areas in the East and Southeast of Anatolia and/or the Armenian Highland such as “Ağrı [near Mount Ararat], Sason [Sassun in Armenian], Tunceli (previously Dersim), Van, Kars, the South of Diyarbakir, Bitlis, Bingöl and Muş” were intended to be “depopulated” for “health, economic, cultural, military and security reasons.” No further settlement would be allowed on these once Kurdish and/or Armenian/Christian areas. The result of continued massive deportation and dissemination of hundreds of thousands of people since the Balkan Wars was a truly uprooted population.

The Treaty of Lausanne permitted 90,000 Greeks of Turkish nationality to stay on in the previous Ottoman capital of Constantinople, officially renamed Istanbul after the Kemalist conquest in 1922. A further 60,000 Istanbul born Greeks of Hellenic nationality received the same right.<sup>176</sup> However, in 1946 the Social Democrat *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People’s Party, CHP), founded by Mustafa Kemal and in terms of personal and ideological continuity a direct successor of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, issued a “Minority Report” (*Azınlıklar Raporu*), in which CHP set up the following goals, as far as the remaining Greeks in Turkey were concerned:

The number of Greeks in Anatolia is insignificant. In future there will be no threat anywhere. Therefore our attention has to be focused on the Greeks [*Rumlar*] of Istanbul. Because of their closeness to Greece and because of their high percentage in the population effective precautions must be taken seriously. In this case the only thing that can be said is that Istanbul must be cleared from all Greeks until the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its conquest.<sup>177</sup>

This report was written just two years after the notorious “Capital Tax” (*Varlık Vergisi*)<sup>178</sup> that was exclusively applied on non-Muslims (Jews and

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<sup>175</sup> Quoted from Fikret Aslan, Kemal Bozay, et al., *Graue Wölfe heulen wieder: Türkische Faschisten und ihre Vernetzung in der BRD* [Grey wolves howl again: Turkish fascist and their networks in the Federal Republic of Germany] 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Münster: Unrast, 2000), 38

<sup>176</sup> Hans Lamer, *Wörterbuch der Antike* 6<sup>th</sup> edition (Stuttgart, 1963), 296-297

<sup>177</sup> Quoted from Faik Bulut, Kürt Sorununa Çözüm Arayışları / Devlet ve Parti Raporları Yerli ve Yabancı Öneriler 1920-1997 [Search for a Solution of the Kurdish Question] (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 1998), 178. Also Ridvan Akar, “Bir Resmi Metinden Planlı Türkleştirme Dönemi” [Planned phase of Turkification, as given in an official document], *Birikim Sayı* 110 (1998), 68-75.

<sup>178</sup> See Faik Ökte, *The Tragedy of the Turkish Capital Tax* (London: Croom Helm, 1987).

Christians). The Anti-Greek pogroms of September 6-7, 1955 became the next relevant step to purge Istanbul from its indigenous Greek population.

### III. Comparing genocides

Since the years of the World War, the destruction of the Ottoman Greeks was compared by contemporaries to that of the Armenians. In his memoirs (1919), the US ambassador Henry Morgenthau [Sr.] described the Armenians as main targets of the CUP policy of mono-ethnization, but by far not as its only victims:

The Armenians are not the only subject people in Turkey which have suffered from this policy of making Turkey exclusively the country of the Turks. The story which I have told about the Armenians I could also tell with certain modifications about the Greeks and the Syrians. Indeed the Greeks were the first victims of this nationalizing idea.<sup>179</sup>

In a similar spirit Pailadzo Captanian, a surviving Armenian deportee from Samsun wrote in her memoirs that were published on the occasion of the Paris Peace Conference (1919) and hence did not include the experience of the years to follow:

Before the deportations the Turks conducted a general census. From the figures, produced by the commission in charge, one can gather that the approximately four and a half million Armenians, Greeks, Syriacs and Nestorians were to be included into a scheme of annihilation that aimed at the destruction of the Christian element in the East. As the largest Christian population group of the Ottoman Empire the Armenians, however, were persecuted and exterminated in the cruellest way. The rage of the murderers was directed against them.<sup>180</sup>

A more prominent Armenian survivor, the Tokat [Evdokia in Greek] born cleric and previous prelate of Kastamoni, Grigoris Palakian (Balakian; ca. 1876-1934) commented in his memoirs, published 1922:

There were (...) two ancient nations rivaling the Germans in Asia Minor, as true heirs to these historic lands: the Armenian and the Greek, the former in the interior provinces, the latter in the coastal cities. Hence the Germans found it necessary, if not by active assistance then at least by passive and silent compliance, to allow the Turks to do away with these two races, in par-

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<sup>179</sup> Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918 [reprinted as Memorial Edition, New York: New Age Publishers, 1975]), 323

<sup>180</sup> Pailadzo Captanian, *Neunzehnhundertfünfzehn (1915). Der Völkermord an den Armeniern; eine Zeugin berichtet*, ed. Meliné Pehlivanian, (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1993), 132. Captanian's memoirs were published first in French (Paris: M. Flinikowski, 1919), followed by the edition of the Armenian original (New York, 1922).

tical with the Armenians, since the king of Greece was the son-in-law of the German emperor.<sup>181</sup>

Although deportations of Ottoman Greeks had begun in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars and months before the Ottoman Empire entered the Great War, it was the nationwide massive World War I massacres and death marches of the Ottoman Armenians that became the embodiment of atrocities and threat, which were measured after them. According to a survey-based estimate of the German Embassy on October 4, 1916, two million out Armenian pre-war population of 2.5 million in the Ottoman Empire had been deported.<sup>182</sup> Of these, 1.5 million had perished during massacres and deportations, as the German Ambassador wrote to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. There were certain specifics in the Armenian genocide that impressed and frightened the European and North American contemporaries:

a) The rapidity of destruction that began in March 1915 with the deportation of Armenians in the Adana province and largely completed in autumn 1916, after only twenty months. As W. Peter, a Swiss national serving as US consular official in Samsun put it:

Turkey may not be in the front ranks as regards organization and talent, but [...] when [...] a question of massacres, robbery etc. [...] it has shown well planned and very quick action. Only the Turk is capable of dispatching hundreds of thousands people to another world in a very short time.<sup>183</sup>

b) The sadistic modes of destruction. Henry Morgenthau wrote about this particular aspect:

One day I was discussing these proceedings with a responsible Turkish official, who was describing the tortures inflicted. He made no secret of the fact that the Government had instigated them, and, like all Turks of the official classes, he enthusiastically approved this treatment of the detested race. This official told me that all these details were matters of nightly discussion at the

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<sup>181</sup> Balakian, op. cit., 48

<sup>182</sup> Conducted by Beatrix Rohner, an Aleppo based German sister of the "German Charity Alliance for Christian Relief in the Orient" (*Deutscher Hilfsbund für Christliches Liebeswerk im Orient*). She counted all Armenian deportation convoys arriving at Aleppo, enquiring about the number of deportees at the time and when the convoys left their hometowns. In her care were 720 Armenians of an original number of 3,336 persons. The German Embassy Constantinople projected this proportion, roughly 1 in 5, to the number of deportees that survived vs. those that were lost. Online edition of the document and the English translation,

[http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart\\_De?OpenFrameset](http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_De?OpenFrameset);  
[http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart\\_De?OpenFrameset](http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_De?OpenFrameset)

<sup>183</sup> Quoted from Mark Levene, "The experience of genocide: Armenia 1915-15 and Romania 1941-42," in *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah* [The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah], ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominick J. Schaller (Zürich: Chronos Verlag 2002), 438.

headquarters of the Union and Progress Committee. Each new method of inflicting pain was hailed as a splendid discovery, and the regular attendants were constantly ransacking their brains in the effort to devise some new torment. He told me that they even delved into the records of the Spanish Inquisition and other historic institutions of torture and adopted all the suggestions found there. He did not tell me who carried off the prize in this gruesome competition, but common reputation through Armenia gave a pre-eminent infamy to Djevdet Bey,<sup>184</sup> the Vali of Van, whose activities in that section I have already described. All through this country Djevdet was generally known as the 'horseshoer of Bashkale' for this connoisseur in torture had invented what was perhaps the masterpiece of all — that of nailing horse-shoes to the feet of his Armenian victims.<sup>185</sup>

Atrocities – sexual humiliation, molestation and torture, repeated rape, mutilations and killings - against unarmed Armenian civilians and in particular children and pregnant women or newborn babies – occurred regularly during the deportations from the Eastern provinces, where the highest percentage of Armenians lived. In comparison, Greek Orthodox deportees seemed less harassed during the World War, again perhaps with the exception of East Anatolian areas such as Pontos. Nevertheless the contemporary eyewitnesses and commentators had no doubt that the deportations of Greeks in general were equally fatal. As early as February 1916 the German consul Kuckhoff of Samsun warned, that the Orthodox Greeks might meet the same fate as the Armenians, should Greece end her neutrality.<sup>186</sup> Many European and North American observers expressed similar fears. These fears materialized at the time of the Greco-Turkish War and beyond. As in the case of the Armenians, priests were frequently targets of the sadism both of their guards that led the deportation convoys, and of the Turkish/Muslim civilian population. In a highly brutalized society, even children would occasionally participate in the killing of entirely defenceless victims. Eyewitness and labor battalion conscript Elias Venezis recalled a group of thirty Greek Orthodox priests who were joined to his labor caravan; among them was an old man, who soon gave out and could no longer walk:

The soldiers dragged him to the side of the road and they released him face down and then began to beat him with their rifle butts. He did not even give a groan, only his tongue began to lick the earth to see if it were dry or bitter.

From the heights of Attalus, a few meters from where we were, the Turkish children were playing, and they ran downhill to the scene. The soldiers withdrew in order to continue our march and the children began at once to stone

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<sup>184</sup> Cevdet in modern Turkish spelling; the brother-of-law of War Minister Ismail Enver and responsible for the destruction of the Assyrian population both in Ottoman occupied Iran (1914–15) and the Ottoman province of Van.

<sup>185</sup> Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, 307

<sup>186</sup> Fotiadis, 104-105

the body which was in its death throes. For some time we could hear the dull thud of the stones as they began to accumulate atop the priest.<sup>187</sup>

Christian women and even infant girls were another victim group.<sup>188</sup> "Rape was to become a daily exercise to the point that female prisoners were turned to prostitution<sup>189</sup> to sate the appetites of the Turkish soldiers as well as local Turkish villagers. Many of them died from sexual abuse, while others became ill and shamed."<sup>190</sup> Venezis' memoirs contain the fate of two young Greek girls that the soldiers had taken

for their sexual satisfaction. Finally, the commander of the guards realized that the young fifteen-year-old girl had been so brutally and frequently raped that she could no longer walk. As she lay down on the ground from exhaustion, dying, the officer kicked her with his booted foot and she fell from a height of some 10 meters and rolled into the rapidly flowing river below. So he ordered the death caravan to march on until midnight. The young girl could no longer service his needs.<sup>191</sup>

In retrospective comparison, the genocide of Ottoman Armenians and Greeks reveals a magnitude of equal or similar patterns, which at the same time appear as general components of modern genocide: in preparatory phases, the massive arrest and destruction of the intellectual and political elite, the destruction of potential resistance by disarmament, force labor of male adults and even adolescents in special 'army' units; during the advanced phases of genocide local or regional massacre and the death marches of the remainders of the Christian population; abduction of infants

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<sup>187</sup> Quoted from Vryonis, op. cit., 282

<sup>188</sup> In his report from Aleppo, Martin Niepage quoted a German traveller, Mr Greif, who had seen the corpses of naked, raped Armenian women at the railway of Tel Abiad and Raz-ul-Ain, many of them with sticks driven into their anus. Niepage, op. cit., 7. This detail was not included in the English translation of 1917.

<sup>189</sup> On the distribution of women among officials and population see Viscount Bryce, *The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916* (Beirut: G. Donigian & Sons, 1972), 225, 238, 347–48, 475; *United States Official Documents*, 5 vols ed. Ara Sarafian (Watertown, MA: Armenian Review, 1993), vol. 1: 7, 26, 31, 36, 49; vol. 2: 27. On police violence, see Bryce, *The Treatment of the Armenians*, 426, 475. On forced prostitution, *ibid.*, 91; Tessa Hofmann and Meliné Pehlivanian, "Malatia 1915: Carrefour des convois de déportés d'après le journal du missionnaire allemand Hans Bauernfeind," in *L'extermination des déportés arméniens ottomans dans les camps de concentration de Syrie-Mésopotamie (1915–1916): La deuxième phase du génocide*, ed. Raymond H. Kévorkian (Paris: Revue d'histoire arménienne contemporaine, 1998), vol. 2: 318–19. The original German text was published online under the title "Der schlimmsten Orte einer...": Malatia 1915-1918, <http://www.aga-online.org/de/texte/malatia/index.php>; Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Children as victims of genocide: the Armenian case," *Journal of Genocide Research* 5, no. 3 (September 2003), 421-427; <http://www.crag.org.uk/articles/article11.html>

<sup>190</sup> Vryonis, op. cit., 280

<sup>191</sup> Vryonis, op. cit., 282-283

and their compulsory Islamization and Turkification. Forcibly transferring children of one group to another group (Art. II, e) “with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such” is one of five criminal acts that are defined as genocide in the UN *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (1948). An early eyewitness account, published in *The New York Times* of June 16, 1918, focuses on the state organized dimension of assimilation policies, including compulsory child transfer during the World War:

(...) The first step in the persecutions of the Greeks was the attack on the ecclesiastical, legal, and educational rights which had always been possessed within the Turkish Empire by the Greek ecclesiastical authorities and which had gone far toward mitigating the distress of the Turkish regime. The Turkish language was introduced into Greek schools; geography and history had to be taught in Turkish. Greek priests were arrested and imprisoned without warning or reason and without notification of the ecclesiastical authorities. Forcible conversions to Mohammedanism, long forbidden by law, began to appear again, particularly in the case of Greek girls carried off to Turkish harems without the usual right of intervention which the Greek Patriarch and Metropolitans had always possessed. (...)

One of the most diabolical methods was the institution of the so-called orphan asylums at Panormo.

These orphan institutions have in appearance a charitable object, but if one considers that their inmates are Greek boys who became orphans because their parents were murdered, or who were snatched away from their mothers, or left in the streets for want of nourishment, (of which they were deprived by the Turks,) and that these Greek children receive there a purely Turkish education, it will be at once seen that under the cloak of charity there lurks the ‘child collecting’ system instituted in the past by the Turkish conquerors and a new effort to revive the janissary system. The Greek boys were treated in this manner. What happens to the Greek girls? If we review the Consular reports about the persecutions from the year 1915 to 1917 we shall find hardly one of them which does not speak of forcible abductions and conversions to Mohammedanism. And it could not have been otherwise, since it is well known that this action, as has been stated above, was decided upon in June, 1915, in order to effect the Turkification of the Hellenic element. This plan was carried out methodically and in a diabolical manner, through the ‘mixed settlements’ of Greeks and Turks, always with a predominance of Mohammedan males and of Greek females in order to compel mixed marriages.<sup>192</sup>

In this article, I have quoted numerous reports on atrocities committed against the Greek Orthodox population. The difference between the genocide(s) against the two largest Christian ethnic groups of the Ottoman Em-

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<sup>192</sup> Turkish Cruelty Bared by Greeks,” *The New York Times*,” June 16, 1918, p. 42. cf. <http://www.greek-genocide.org/press/16061918.html>

pire, the Armenians and the Greeks, consists therefore less in quality, than in quantities such as the degree of applied methods and the speed, in which state crimes were carried out. In all, the difference was mainly that of a nation-wide full-scale genocide and a cumulative destruction with shifting regional focus. At the end of the day, both approaches proved to be equally fatal for Ottoman Armenians and Greeks.

The Greek genocide was conducted over a period of a decade in three phases: before, during, and after World War I, and by the two subsequent regimes of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) and the rebel Kemalist government at Samsun and Ankara. During World War I, high-ranking Germans such as Generals Otto Liman von Sanders, head of the Imperial German Mission to the Ottoman Empire, and Fritz Bronsart von Schellendorf bore some co-responsibility of the deportation orders of Christians, despite their full awareness of the fatal consequences of such orders. German diplomats tried to save the Greek Orthodox population of Asia Minor from the atrocities and hardships of the Armenian deportations at least while Greece had remained neutral in the war. They did not achieve very much and had to admit that they were deceived by their Young Turk Allies. As in the Armenian case, German and Austrian diplomatic correspondence covers the main genocidal events and many details of the consequences of deportation orders during the World War.

In general, the speed and intensity of the genocide against Greek Orthodox Ottomans and sometimes also Hellenic subjects varied, depending on the foreign and domestic politics of Greece, whose neutrality during the World War to a certain extent prevented the full range destruction of the Ottoman Greeks, although this consideration never completely stopped the ongoing genocide. The year 1915, when the Armenian, Pontos and Aramaean-Assyrian genocide started, coincided with the *Ethnikos Dichasmos*, the 'National Schism' between the Parliament and the King of Greece. Domestic affairs of Greece started to overshadow the Greek relations with the Entente states again, when Prime Minister Venizelos and his pro-Entente government lost the elections in November 1920 and the pro-German king of the Hellenes Konstantinos I von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg (1913-1917, 1920-1922) after a plebiscite returned on December 19, 1920, regaining political power. Encouraged by her Allies and the Paris Peace Conference, Greece had landed troops in Asia Minor in May 1919 in order to protect the Christian population of Ionia. But when the military occupation transformed into a war with the Kemalist irregulars – the Liberation Army according to Turkish perception, the Allies were all too ready to distance themselves from their unreliable and, more important at the time, politically less relevant Greek partners. The Ottoman Greeks immediately felt the re-

percussions in the form of increased massacres and persecution. Their fate was a cumulative genocide, which was repeated until the terrified Greeks of Asia Minor either had perished or fled or were expelled in the asymmetric Lausanne “population exchange.” By cumulative genocide I mean specifically serialised destruction, conducted in phases and with subsequently changing “crime scenes” in various areas of East Thrace and Asia Minor<sup>193</sup> (as opposed to the coherent, nationwide genocide of the Armenians, carried out in 1915-16). The genocide against the Ottoman Greeks was slowed down or accelerated by external conditions, in particular the neutrality or hostility of Greece as the protector state of the Ottoman Greeks. While “cumulative genocide” is characterized by extreme, massive violence and full genocidal intent, its scope depends on considerations of opportunity etc. “Cumulative genocide” is not to be confused with “cumulative radicalization” of genocidal intents. Destructive intent, as noted by the German diplomacy, did exist as early as 1909 and entered its phase of radicalization already in 1910 to 1913.

A comparison of victim tolls illustrates that the cumulative genocide against the Ottoman Greeks was equally fatal as that of the Armenians. The population of both ethnic groups numbered more than two millions each, with a probable estimate of a pre-war population of 2.5 million Armenians and 2.5–3 million Greeks.

According to the survey-based estimate of October 4, 1916 by the German Embassy at Constantinople cited above, three fifths, or about 1.5 million, of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire had perished. The total figure of Ottoman Greeks, deported during World War I from Thrace and Asia Minor into the Ottoman interior or to Greece varies considerably. The Ecumenical Patriarchate gives the figure of 490,063; the *Central Relief Commission for Deported Greeks* (founded in November 1918)<sup>194</sup> gives 503,229; the *American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief* estimated “more than 500,000,”<sup>195</sup> while René Puaux (1919), based on statistics of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, gives the figure of 773,915 deportees in “Thrace, Asia Minor and Pontos;”<sup>196</sup> finally, the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives an estimate of 1.5 million deported Ottoman Greeks.<sup>197</sup> According to a

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<sup>193</sup> The term Asia Minor is used in this study not only for Ionia (West Anatolia today), but for the whole peninsula, stretching from the Ionian coast to the Armenian Highland, including Pontos and Cappadocia.

<sup>194</sup> Quoted from René Puaux, *La déportation et rapatriement des Grecs en Turquie* (Paris: Éditions du Bulletin Hellenique, 1919), 18-19.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Puaux, p. 8. [http://www.anemos.com/Diaspora/chrys/chrys\\_smyrna.html](http://www.anemos.com/Diaspora/chrys/chrys_smyrna.html)

<sup>197</sup> “Turkish Cruelty Bared by Greeks,” *The New York Times*, June 16, 1918, 42

telegram from Athens to the Greek Legation at Washington, as published by the *American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief* on June 8, 1918, half of the deportees perished “from torture and illness”.<sup>198</sup> Metropolitan Germanos estimated the Pontos Greek casualties even as high as 80 or 90 percent of the deportees:

Believe me that out of 160,000 people of Pontus deported, only a tenth and in some places a twentieth have survived. In a village, for example, that counted 100 inhabitants, five only will ever return; the others are dead. Rare, indeed are those happy villages where a tenth of the deported population has been saved.<sup>199</sup>

During the debates in the Ottoman parliament, which commenced on November 4, 1918, Greek and Armenian MPs referred to 550,000 Greeks and one million Armenians murdered, while Turkish parliamentarians declared these figures to be exaggerated, admitting overall losses of 500,000 to 600,000 victims.<sup>200</sup> At the occasion of the Paris Peace Conference, the Greek head of government mentioned in February 1919 one million Armenian and 300,000 Greek victims. In his report of March 20, 1922, G.W. Rendel writes about the World War I period during which “over 500,000 Greeks were deported, of whom comparatively few survived”.<sup>201</sup>

There are at least two methodological problems when victim estimations of the period 1918-1923 are discussed:

1) At the time of the Paris Peace Conference, the representatives of Ottoman Christians had ambiguous interests. On the one hand they certainly wished to emphasize the quantitative extent of their losses. On the other hand they avoided high figures that might become an obstacle for their claims to repatriate refugees or to achieve a national homeland in parts of the Ottoman state territory; they felt obliged to prove that there were, for example, enough Armenians left to populate the territories, claimed by the Joint Armenian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

2) There was and is no generally agreed definition of victims and losses. A narrow definition counted only the victims of massacres and other atrocities, excluding the victims of “white massacres,” as Armenian and Greek contemporaries called the more indirect methods of annihilation, such as the death marches and famine, dehydration, exhaustion and epidemics, to

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<sup>198</sup> “Atrocities: Turks slaughter Greeks...,” *ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> “Turkish cruelty bared by Greeks,” *op. cit.*

<sup>200</sup> Taner Akçam, *Armenien und der Völkermord: Die Istanbul Prozesse und die türkische Nationalbewegung* [Armenia and the Genocide: The Istanbul Court Cases and the Turkish National Movement] (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996), 87.

<sup>201</sup> Rendel, *op. cit.*, 1

which the victims were purposely exposed.<sup>202</sup> Such discrepancies in definition may explain the discrepancies in victim numbers, ranging in the case of the Armenians from 600,000 (House of Commons, October 1915), 800,000 (Mustafa Kemal to General Harbord, head of the American delegation, in October 1919)<sup>203</sup> and 1.5 million (German Embassy, based on polls among deportation convoys in Aleppo, October 4, 1916); the German estimate explicitly relates to victims of massacres as well as of indirect modes of killing.

Some recent Greek historians present a total of 1.4 or 1.5 million victims of massacres, deportation, compulsory labor, or flight under extreme weather conditions for the decade 1912–1922. This assumption is based on a figure of 1,221,000 refugees and expatriates from the Ottoman Empire that arrived in Greece according to the statistics of League of Nations refugee service, and subtracted from an estimated Ottoman Greek population of 2.7 million. Tsirkinidis explains the balance of 1,479,000 persons with roughly 353,000 victims in Pontos, 230,000 in East Thrace and 900,000 in Asia Minor. “Of those, 250,000 died in a few days in the city of Smyrna<sup>204</sup> and its vicinity, and a further 300,000 men died during mass executions after September 8, 1922.”<sup>205</sup> However, given the numerous flaws of Ottoman statistics<sup>206</sup> and

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<sup>202</sup> The distinction between “white” and “red” massacres may transform into disputes on inclusiveness versus uniqueness of genocide, as Anson Rabinbach summarized: “In the American context there is a polarization between an ‘exclusive’ notion of ‘uniqueness’ represented by scholars like Steven Katz, who claims that ‘the concept of genocide applies only when there is an actualized intent to physically destroy an entire group’ (and refers only to the Holocaust) and ‘inclusivists’ like David E. Stannard and Ward Churchill, who include disease and depredation, as well as enslavement and massacre of native Americans, in the term. Churchill goes still further, charging that uniqueness is itself ‘a form of denial’. These debates, whose ferocity comes in no small degree from the competitive victimhood inherent in American multicultural politics, have generated more confusion than clarity.” Anson Rabinbach, “Raphael Lemkin’s Concept of Genocide; Comment” *Internationale Politik* Spring 2005.

<http://www.ip-global.org/archiv/2005/spring2005/raphael-lemkin---s-concept-of-genocide.html>

<sup>203</sup> Akçam, *Armenien*, op. cit., p. 124

<sup>204</sup> The *London Daily Chronicle* of September 18, 1922, gives a figure of “at least 120,000” victims in Smyrna.

<sup>205</sup> Tsirkinidis, *Der Völkermord*, ibid., 173. Cf. the critical comment by N. Hlamides in his volume, footnote 146

<sup>206</sup> The background for the divergence of estimates and the relatively low figures given by most other sources derives from the politicization of Ottoman figures as a result of Article 61 in the Berlin Treaty that stipulated administrative reforms in the six Ottoman provinces inhabited by Armenians. Besides the Ottoman interest in understating the figures of the Armenian, or any other Christian populations, there were inherent methodological flaws in the Ottoman census, such as, counting the male population only; the Christian avoidance to register the birth of male children as a result of exposure to a widespread

massive migration processes, combined with expulsion and flight during the last decade of Ottoman rule, it seems extremely difficult to establish genuinely “hard” figures both of the Greek pre-War population and its losses caused by genocide.

Much lower estimations are given by Rudolph Rummel, who calculated a mean value of “1,888,000 Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians and other Christians” as victims of the CUP and 703,000 Greeks and Armenians, murdered by the Nationalist Turks (1919-1922), among them 264,000 Greek victims.<sup>207</sup>

Taking into account the flaws of Ottoman statistics, as well as difficulties with the accuracy of demographic estimates under complex conditions of war and massive flight, it does not seem unlikely that 3.5 million of the indigenous Christian population of the Ottoman Empire perished in the period 1912–1922, among them 1.5 million Armenians, 1.5 million Greeks and half a million Aramaic speaking Christians (Aramaean, Assyrians, Khaldeans and other denominations). Rummel, who has discussed the statistics of “Turkey’s Genocidal Purges” at length on pages 78–88 of his *Statistics of Democide* (1997), wrote in conclusion:

Democide had preceded the Young Turks’ rule and with their collapse at the end of World War I, the successor Nationalist government carried out its own democide against the Greeks and remaining or returning Armenians. From 1900 to 1923, various Turkish regimes killed from 3,500,000 to over 4,300,000 Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, and other Christians.

Rummel’s total of 3.5 to 4.3 million Ottoman Christian victims coincides with Mustafa Kemal’s revelation that the CUP ordered murder of “millions of our Christian subjects” in an interview, published on August 1, 1926, in which the Turkish head of state argued for the justification of the execution of 60 leading CUP functionaries:

These leftovers from the former Young Turkey Party, who should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred, have been res-

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tax and the risk of being drafted (after 1908); the merger of predominantly Muslim areas with Christian areas into administrative units for the purpose of marginalizing Christians (akin to gerrymandering). Cf. Gerayer Koutcharian, “Der Siedlungsraum der Armenier unter dem Einfluss der historisch-politischen Ereignisse seit dem Berliner Kongress 1878: eine politisch-geographische Analyse und Dokumentation” [The Armenian area of settlement under the impact of historical-political events since the Berlin Congress 1878: a political-geographical documentation], *Abhandlungen des geographischen Instituts / Anthropogeographie* 43 (1989): 77-86

<sup>207</sup> Rummel, *Statistics of Democide*, op. cit., 83, 85

tive under the Republican rule. They have hitherto lived on plunder, robbery and bribery (...).<sup>208</sup>

#### IV. Legal assessment

In their joint declaration of May 24, 1915 Great Britain, France and Russia had designated the current massacres against the Armenians as “crimes against humanity and civilization,” for which “the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible [for] these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.”<sup>209</sup> Under the existing International Law, the massacres of Ottoman Christian subjects appeared as a “crime against humanity,” as introduced into International Law by The Hague Convention, adopted at the First and Second Peace Conference at The Hague (1899 and 1907); the relevant passages for a prevention of genocide are in articles 22–28 and 46 in the *II Convention Regarding the Laws and Customs of War by Land* of July 29, 1899.

However, the Hague Conventions were, first of all, meant to civilize warfare between states. There was no appropriate legal tool for the punishment and prevention of massive violence caused by a state and directed against its own citizens until the United Nations adopted the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* on December 9, 1948 (entry into force: January 12, 1951). For the author of the *Convention's* draft, Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959), the genocide against the Ottoman Armenians and the massacre of Assyrians in Iraq 1933 formed prototypes of genocide. In his autobiography Lemkin told how during his studies of law at the university of Lemberg<sup>210</sup> (then Poland and Lwów in Polish, now L'viv in Ukraine) his attention was caught by the Armenian genocide after World War I and at the time of the Berlin court proceedings (1921) against the Armenian assas-

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<sup>208</sup> Emile Hilderbrand, “Kemal promises more hangings of political antagonists in Turkey” [Interview with Mustapha Kemal], *Los Angeles Examiner* (Sunday edition), August 1, 1926

<sup>209</sup> See the full text in an online-edition [http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.160/current\\_category.7/affirmation\\_detail.html](http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.160/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html)

<sup>210</sup> Now the capital of West Ukraine, Lemberg/L'viv/Lwów had been inhabited predominantly by Poles in the early twentieth century, being at the same time a traditionally multi-ethnic town with a German, Jewish (one third of a total population of 361,000 in 1918) and even an Armenian community. It had been under Austrian rule until 1918, when it became part of Poland after Ukrainian-Polish clashes. Polish soldiers, irregulars and civilians killed up to 1,100 Jews in revenge for their neutrality during the fight and stopped the killing only after the Jews of Lemberg pledged their loyalty to the Polish republic.

sin of the one-time Ottoman Home Minister Talaat<sup>211</sup> as well as of Binbud Khan Jivanshir, Ex-Home Minister of Azerbaijan (Constantinople 1921):<sup>212</sup>

The truth came out only after the war. In Turkey, more than 1,200,000 Armenians were put to death for no other reason than they were Christians.... After the end of the war, some 150 Turkish war criminals were arrested and interned by the British Government on the Island of Malta. The Armenians sent a delegation to the peace conference in Versailles. They were demanding justice. Then one day, the delegation read in the newspapers that all Turkish war criminals were released. I was shocked. A nation was killed and the guilty persons were set free. Why is a man punished when he kills another man? Why is the killing of a million a lesser crime than the killing of a single individual?<sup>213</sup>

... A bold plan was formulated in my mind. This consisted [of] obtaining the ratification by Turkey [of the proposed UN Convention on Genocide. Ed.] among the first twenty founding nations. This would be an atonement for [the] genocide of the Armenians.

As early as 1933 Lemkin tried, at the League of Nations' 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference for the Standardization of Penal Law, to introduce an international convention against 'the destruction of national, religious and racial groups'. He proposed a ban on mass slaughter, but could not persuade the League to vote on it, with the Nazi delegation making a mockery of such a proposal. The presentation of his project at the League of Nations proved to be detrimental to his career as lead prosecutor, and being Jewish in Poland added to his career decline. Shortly after the Madrid meeting, he was admonished by the Polish Foreign Minister and under pressure, resigned his position in 1934, going into private practice until 1939.<sup>214</sup>

In 1946, Lemkin proposed a law against genocide to the United Nations, which was adopted on December 9, 1948, with only few changes. Each of

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<sup>211</sup> See Raphael Lemkin: "Outrage! Facing History and Ourselves,"

[http://www.facinghistory.org/campus/reslib.nsf/sub/onlinecampus/publications/readings/lemkin\\_outrage#5](http://www.facinghistory.org/campus/reslib.nsf/sub/onlinecampus/publications/readings/lemkin_outrage#5);

Harut Sassounian, "Lemkin Discusses Armenian Genocide in Newly-Found 1949 CBS Interview," *The California Courier*, December 8, 2005

<sup>212</sup> Assassinated by Misak Torlakian outside the Pera Palace Hotel on July 18, 1921. Torlakian, an Armenian Ottoman subject, was tried on the charges of murder by the British military court, on August 11, 1921; Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The trial of Misak Torlakian* (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006)

<sup>213</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Genocide*, ed. Israel W. Charny (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1999), 79

<sup>214</sup> Tanya Elder, Guide to the Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959) Collection, undated, [1763]-2002, (bulk 1941-1951). 2003, P-154.

<http://www.cjh.org/academic/findingaids/ajhs/nhprc/Lemkin02-03.html>

the five crimes,<sup>215</sup> qualified as genocide in the UN convention, are empirically based on Lemkin's knowledge about the massive state crimes and killings of millions of people during both World Wars, in particular the annihilation of the Armenians and of the European Jewry. Lemkin defined genocide as 'the systematic destruction of whole national, racial or religious groups. The sort of thing Hitler did to the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians'. Although Lemkin saw the Jews as main targets of the Nazi annihilation policy in Europe, he did not separate their fate completely from that of his homeland Poland and believed that the Nazi elite intended the destruction of the Poles as well:

Lemkin understood the 'biological' dimension of the destruction of Jews and emphasised at the same time and in a paradox way that the Jewish catastrophe had just started earlier and reached a larger extent than the intended annihilation of 'Slavic' peoples. In this aspect the National Socialist genocide corresponded with the crimes, committed previously against ethnic minorities, such as the Kazakh of Central Asia, the Armenians in Turkey or the expulsion of the Greek Orthodox population in Asia Minor by the Turks in 1922.<sup>216</sup>

Newspaper reports of the years 1946 and 1947 on the debate of international penalization of genocide indicate that Lemkin was, in a similar way, well aware of Greek co-victims in the Armenian genocide during World War I and after, giving at lectures the "Armenian and Greek massacres by Turkey" as examples of state crimes which could have been prevented with an appropriate law.<sup>217</sup>

The reasons why this knowledge about the Armenians' co-victims was forgotten in later years are manifold and worth a research on its own rights.

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. Article II: "In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

<sup>216</sup> Anson Rabinbach, Lemkins Schöpfung: Wie Völkermord zum juristischen und politischen Begriff wurde; Die Entstehung der Völkermordkonvention [Lemkin's creation: How genocide became a legal and political term; the emergence of the Genocide convention," *Internationale Politik: The Journal of the German Council on Foreign Relations-Global edition*, February 2005: 27.

<sup>217</sup> "Genocide under the Law of Nations," *The New York Times*, January 5, 1947; "Genocide," *The New York Times*, August 26, 1946

## ANNEX 1

Table: A comparison of the Christian Genocides in the Ottoman Empire

Key elements of genocide	Armenians	Syriacs	Greeks
<b>Duration:</b>	Spring 1915-autumn 1916	October 1914-March 1918	1912/13 – 1922/23 (cumulative genocide)
<b>Location</b>	Nationwide (Exceptions: Constantinople/Istanbul, Adrianople/Edirne, Smyrna/Izmir)	1) Nationwide (Ottoman provinces Diyarbakir and Van/Hakkari) 2) NW Iran (province Azerbaijan, districts Urmia, Khoi, Salmas)	1) 1912/13: East Thrace 2) 1913-15: Ionia (West Anatolia), Marmara Coast 3) 1916-17: Pontos 4) 1919-1922: Nationwide
<b>Means of annihilation</b>	Destruction of elite; compulsory labor; deportation; massacres	Destruction of elite; compulsory labor; deportation; massacres (in a particular high degree)	Destruction of elite; compulsory labor; deportation; massacres
<b>Deportation ordered by</b>	Home Minister (Talaat, May 1915)	“Spill over” effect of Armenian deportations, in particular in Diyarbakir province. Responsibilities: a) In Diyarbakir province 1915: Governor Reşid; in Van province 1915: Cevdet Bey; central government b) In Iran 1914/15, 1918: Ottoman military authorities; Cevdet Bey	Home Minister (Talaat; May 1914, Ionia) War Minister (Ismail Enver; Dec 1916); German commander Liman von Sanders (April 1917, Ayvalık/Ionia); regional Kemalist authorities (Pontos, June 1922); Kemalist authorities (Smyrna, September 1922)
<b>Key elements of genocide</b>	Gendarmes; paramilitaries; parts of Muslim population; at places regular army involved	Regular army; paramilitaries (high involvement of Kurdish irregulars); parts of Muslim population (high involvement of tribal Kurds)	Ottoman regular army and Muslim paramilitaries; 1919-1922: paramilitary ‘liberation units’; parts of Muslim population
<b>Duration:</b>	Mets yerern (‘great crime’)	Sayfo (‘sword’, relating to massacres and attempted self defence 1915’)	sphagi (‘massacre’) and xerisosmos (‘eradication’); Megali catastrophe (‘great catastrophe’)
<b>Location</b>	1.5 million (German Embassy, October 1916)	365,000 (= 90,000 Syriac Orthodox + 275,000 Assyrians and Khaldeans); every 5 <sup>th</sup> or 6 <sup>th</sup> Assyrian systematically massacred during occupation of Iran	550,000 (until 1918); in all, over one million

## ANNEX 2

Danish consul Alfred Van der Zee til [to] Carl Ellis Wandel, 19/6 1914. Rigsarkivet [the Danish National Archives], Udenrigsministeriets Arkiver [the Archives of the foreign Ministry] (UM), 2-0355, "Konstantinopel/Istanbul, diplomatisk repræsentation," "Noter og indberetninger om den politiske udvikling, 1914–1922," "Verdenskrigen. Rapporter fra Smyrna. Nov. 1914–marts 1916."

"About three months ago the Governor General of Smyrna, acting as I understand on instructions from the Ministry made an inspection in the small towns situated at the coast of this province. It would appear that in the course of this *tournée administrative* he gave semi official orders to the sub governors to force the Greek population resident therein to evacuate these towns. No order of expulsion was decreed but the Turkish officials were to make use of the tortuous and vexatious measures so well-known to them.

The like instructions were, I understand, given by the Governors of the other maritime provinces. The reason for this measure was, from what I gather, the belief that so long as the Greeks were in possession of Chios & Mitylene, the presence of a kindred population on the opposite littoral constituted a source of danger to the Empire. As a result of these instructions a severe boycott was shortly after proclaimed and measures, many and different, were adopted to compel this population out to quit their hearths and homes.

As the rayah Greeks clung however to their fields it was decided to take more active steps. The immigration of Thracian & Macedonian refugees gave the local authorities the opportunity for more harassing measures.

A proclamation was issued that in order to house the mohadjirs, one room out of every three in the dwellings belonging to the rayah Greeks was to be given to them: further the local authorities were to see to the execution of this order.

The results are easily comprehensible. Unable to live with their guests, the Greek raya [rayah] began to emigrate, selling their property for what they could get for it and seeking new lands for their exertions, but the process was naturally a slow one as in a land where the peasant has little money it was naturally difficult to realise property from one day to another.

The local authorities then determined to activate matters and more imperious orders were sent from head quarters.

As a direct consequence of these orders trouble broke out at Adramyt, on the coast just opposite the northern part of Mitylene.-

After open hints that it would be advisable for them to leave the place, menaces that they would be done to death were resorted to, and finally the threats began to take shape in the murder of villagers returning from their fields and the waylaying of townsmen. A reign of terror was instituted and the panic stricken Greeks fled as fast as they could to the neighbouring island of Mitylene.

Soon the movement spread to Kemer, Kiliseköy, Kinick, Pergamos and Soma. Armed bands of Bashibozuks attacked the people residing therein, lifted their cattle, drove them from their farms and took forcible possession thereof.

The details of what took place harrowing, women were seduced, girls were ravished, some of them dying from the ill-treatment received, children at the breast were shot or cut down with their mothers.

Not content with driving the rayahs out, these blood-thirsty emissaries of a 'so called Constitutional Government' then attacked the property of foreigners driving out their employees lifting their cattle and looting their farms. In answer to complaints made to the authorities the reply was: 'Let foreigners go and buy farms in their own lands!'

From Pergamos the bands advanced to Dikilli driving out the people and looting the town, then, dividing forces, some bands took the direction of Menemen and others went south towards Phoea.

In the Menemen district the villages of Ali-Agha and Gerenköy were partly sacked after having been looted, the affrighted inhabitants fleeing in all directions.

At Serenköy, a village in the same district, the people determined to resist and a fierce fight took place lasting from 8 ½ at night till about one o'clock in the morning, when the villagers' ammunition having failed, a hand to hand struggle was sternly fought in which most of the defenders, who were by far the minority, fell, after having heroically fought for their lives and for the honour of their women.

The few survivors who escaped sought refuge in Menemen which the bands then threatened, but as this town is one of some 20,000 inhabitants they dared not openly attack it, but satisfied themselves with shooting the inhabitants who strayed out of its near neighbourhood.

The inhabitants thereupon decided to leave it but before doing so & perhaps hoping against hope, they determined to send away their wives and daughters.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> Inst. some 700 women and about 300 to 400 children came to the railway station with the intention of taking train for Smyrna but by orders of Government no tickets would be given them & the train passed without stopping.

(...)

A few miles further down at the village of Ouloujak the bashibozouks drove away all the cattle belonging to Greeks and ordered inhabitants, on threat of death, to leave the place. The unfortunate villagers were only too ready to comply with these arbitrary orders, but once again, by order of the Vali, the stationmaster was forbidden to deliver tickets & trains passed without stopping.

Afraid to return they lay huddled for two days and nights in the neighbourhood of the station, vainly calling to the passengers in the through trains to get assistance sent them.

(...)

