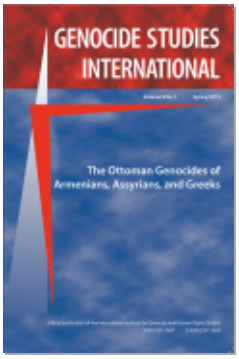
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Vasileios Th. Meichanetsidis

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# The Genocide of the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, 1913–1923: A Comprehensive Overview[1]

**Vasileios Th. Meichanetsidis**
*Athens, Greece*

> "'Jeveslik cries out to Heaven against us, we shall be doomed among the nations' one of these declared, while another pleaded with the Vali that the Turkish national honour should be no longer stained with such crimes against humanity."
>
> Prominent local Turks protesting the extermination of the Pontic Greeks at Jevislik Concentration and Extermination Camp[2]

*This article refers to the 1913–1923 genocide of the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire and aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the overall genocidal process. On the one hand, it offers an ideological, social, and political background and framework for understanding that process; on the other hand, it documents and analyzes the various empirical aspects and data, providing ample examples of genocidal acts. The paper aims at providing an understanding of the genocide and a sense of the Ottoman projects of destruction that included Armenians, Assyrians/Arameans and Greeks —and other, less-known ethnic groups—in an attempt at a total restructuring of Ottoman society and the creation of a Turkish Muslim national state.*

*Key words: Greek Genocide, Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, genocidal intent, chronology, places, methods*

## Introduction

The years spanning from the Young Turkish Revolution (1908) to the de facto collapse of the Ottoman Empire (1918) and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (1923) were characterized by a number of processes whose primary and final aim was the creation of a modern Turkish Muslim national state that would succeed the multiethnic and multireligious Ottoman Empire. These years were marked, on the one hand, by the rise and formation of a Turkish national consciousness and, on the other hand, by the massive destruction of the empire's autochthonous Christian peoples—Armenians, Assyrians/Arameans, and Greeks.

The crimes committed by the Ottoman state during this process of massive destruction "constitute the first massive destruction of citizens by their own government in the modern period."[3] Together with the subsequent destruction of European Jewry (the Shoah) during WWII, these crimes shaped the internationally recognized perceptions, understandings, and legal definitions of crimes against humanity and the crime of genocide, as well the concept of ethnic cleansing.[4] In this context, it is worthwhile to mention that a *New York Times* article, dated 5 January 1947, contains the following significant note: "If the members of the United Nations pass appropriate legislation

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such incidents as the pogroms of Czarish Russia and the massacres of Armenians and Greeks by Turkey would be punishable as genocide."[5] The "appropriate legislation" mentioned was the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), which was adopted in 1948. Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959)—the Polish Jewish lawyer who coined the legal term *genocide* and who is recognized as the "father" of the UNCG—in his lengthy, detailed, unpublished writings on the Greek Genocide, provides "an historical excursus as well as an evaluative judgment of those responsible for the genocide."[6] Moreover, in the *History of the United Nations War Crimes Commission*, we discover that the genocide of the Ottoman Christian minorities was very much present in the minds of the drafters of the 1945 London Charter:

> The provisions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with the Allied note of 1915 . . . offences which had been committed on Turkish territory against persons of Turkish citizenship . . . This article constitutes, therefore, a precedent for Articles 6 (c) and 5 (c) of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Charters, and offers an example of one of the categories of "crimes against humanity" as understood by these enactments.[7]

Furthermore, the term *holocaust*, nowadays widely used to describe the Jewish experience of the Shoah, was initially used to describe the plight and massive collective and extremely violent destruction of the Ottoman Christians.[8]

The above-mentioned examples clearly illustrate the significant historical and conceptional impact the genocide of the Ottoman Christian peoples had upon the formation of international penal law concerning war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. But, although the Armenian Genocide is now well known and well recorded as part of international historiography and, more specifically, of "genocidology,"[9] the Greek Genocide[10]—like the Assyrian/Aramean Genocide[11]—has fallen victim to historical peculiarities, mistaken modes of perception, hermeneutical misinterpretations, domestic-policy and foreign-relations calculations,[12] and even selectivity in genocide awareness campaigns. By consequence, it has fallen into a certain degree of oblivion.[13]

It is only recently that the Greek Genocide has attracted wider, international attention and has become the object of international study.[14] It is recently, too, that the common fate of Ottoman Christian peoples has started being considered through an interlinked framework that aims at determining the full picture of Ottoman and Kemalist genocidal policies, for "without consideration and analysis of the destruction of the Greeks [as well as the Assyrians/Arameans], the full dimension of the Ottoman[-perpetrated] genocide cannot be determined. Any case study must remain incomplete or even misleading, if it does not take into consideration the empirical data from the Greek experience."[15]

## The Historical Context

### *The Multiethnic and Multireligious Nature of the Ottoman Empire*

The Ottoman Empire, as a dynastic state, actually had no official name. The Ottomans used a variety of names to refer to their empire: the House of Osman (Al-i-Osman), the State of the House of Osman (Devlet-i Al-i-Osman), the High Country (Devlet-i-Aliye), and the Eternal State (Devlet-i Ebed-Müddet).[16]

The Ottoman Empire was created through "holy war" (jihad) and a continuous thirst for expansion and conquest.[17] The jihad, or *ghazā*, was undertaken by *ghazi*s, a species of "holy warrior."[18]

The empire lasted for some 600 years, from 1299 to 1923; it formally ended with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. It comprised nearly 4 million km$^2$ and included parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa. It consisted of a huge, multiethnic, and multireligious population. In the European provinces, Christians (Greeks, Slavs, and others) held the majority, while scattered Muslim communities (Turks, Bosnians, Albanians, Pomaks, Gypsies, and others) were in the minority. In the Asian provinces, the majority of the population was Muslim (Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, and other), but there were also significant Jewish and autochthonous Christian (Greek, Armenian, Assyrian/Aramean, and other) communities.[19]

Religious assumptions of Islamic superiority evolved into legal and cultural attitudes that openly discriminated against the non-Muslims (Christians, Jews, Yezidi Kurds, and others). "In addition to the general subjugation of all its subjects, the Ottoman state specifically oppressed and discriminated against non-Muslims. Indeed, in the course of Ottoman rule, long-standing assumptions of Muslim superiority evolved into the legal and cultural attitudes that created the background for genocide."[20] The empire's Muslim Turks saw themselves as the "ruling nation" (*millet-i hakime*), superior to the other nations—Muslim and non-Muslim alike—and having the inherent right to rule over them.[21] The coexistence and cohabitation of the various ethnic and ethnoreligious groups was therefore based on "humiliation and tolerance," as Taner Akçam puts it, while in times of crisis, war, and transition, this "tolerance" virtually vanished and large-scale massacres and persecutions occurred.[22]

### *The* Millet *System and the Status and Treatment of Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire*

Christians and Jews were considered Ahl al-Kitab, or People of the Book. As a result, they were given imperial, or state, protection and a series of so-called privileges (rights and competencies). The social and political organization used to govern the subjects of the empire (Muslim citizens and non-Muslim *raya*s) was known as the *millet* system.[23] In this system, the various communities were distinguished by their religious affiliation, and each religious community was allowed to manage its own affairs with substantial independence from the central government.[24] That is not to say, however, that Christians and Jews enjoyed equality and freedom under Islamic rule. As Bernard Lewis describes it,

> the laws and traditions of Islam, the policy and practice of the Ottoman Empire, agreed in prescribing tolerance and protection for the non-Muslim subjects of the state, and in granting them a large measure of autonomy in their internal communal affairs. This toleration, however, was predicated on the assumption that the tolerated communities were separate and inferior, and were moreover clearly marked as such.[25]

As Ambassador Morgenthau rightly points out,

> It is true that the early sultans gave the subject peoples and the Europeans in the empire certain rights, but these in themselves really reflected the contempt in which all non-Moslems were held. . . . Yet the early sultans gave these privileges

> not from a spirit of tolerance, but merely because they looked upon the Christian nations as unclean and therefore unfit to have any contact with the Ottoman administrative and judicial system. The sultans similarly erected the several peoples, such as the Greeks and the Armenians, into separate "millets," or nations, not because they desired to promote their independence and welfare, but because they regarded them, as vermin, and therefore disqualified for membership in the Ottoman state.[26]

Under Ottoman rule, the non-Muslims received the inferior status of *dhimmi*s, or wards, whose religion was generally tolerated, albeit never on equal terms, as compared with the ruling religion, Islam.[27]

Bat Ye'or discusses the notion of tolerance in Islam in general, and in the Ottoman Empire in particular. She underlines the existence and functions of certain "fundamental institutions" (e.g., slavery,[28] the *ghulam* system [*ghulaman-i khwandiga*],[29] and the *devşirme* system[30]) and other "practices and policies" (e.g., compulsory and voluntary Islamization[31]—the latter resulting from social, religious, and economic pressure—the sexual slavery of women and young boys,[32] deportation, and massacre).[33] Christians and Jews were also forced to pay taxes disproportionately higher than those of Muslims: *cizye* (tribute, poll tax, head tax) and *haraç* (land tax). Many other dues levied on peasants and traders were heavier for *dhimmi*s than for Muslims.[34] Failure to pay the *cizye* could result in forceful conversion, enslavement, or death.[35]

In sum, the empire, as Efraim Karsh writes, "tolerated the existence of vast non-Muslim subject populations in its midst . . . provided they acknowledged their legal and institutional inferiority in the Islamic order of things. When these groups dared to question their subordinate status—let alone attempt to break the Ottoman yoke—they were brutally suppressed."[36] The Massacres of the Peloponnese during the Orlov Revolt[37] and the Massacre at Chios during the Greek National Revolution[38] were but "painful reminders of the cost of breaking free from an imperial master."[39]

Lemkin, also a very knowledgeable historian of mass violence,[40] considered the Armenian Genocide a "religious Genocide."[41] In a similar line, Ye'or concludes that

> the genocide of the Armenians was the natural outcome of a policy inherent in the politico-religious structure of dhimmitude. This process of physically eliminating a rebel nation had already been used against the rebel Slav and Greek Christians [during the Hellenic Revolution of 1821], rescued from collective extermination by European intervention, although sometimes reluctantly.
>
> The genocide of the Armenians was a *jihad*. No *rayas* took part in it. Despite the disapproval of many Muslim Turks and Arabs, and their refusal to collaborate in crime, these massacres were perpetrated solely by Muslims and they alone profited from the booty: the victims' property, houses, and lands granted to the *muhajirun*, and the allocation to them of women and child slaves. The elimination of male children over the age of twelve was in accordance with the commandments of the *jihad* and conformed to the age fixed for the payment of *jizya*. The four stages of the liquidation—deportation, enslavement, forced conversion, and massacre—reproduced the historic conditions of the *jihad* carried out in the *dar al-harb* from the seventh century on. Chronicles from a variety of sources, by Muslim authors in particular, give detailed descriptions of the organized massacres or deportation of captives,

> whose sufferings in forced marches behind the armies paralleled the Armenian experience in the twentieth century.[42]

The same observations and, hence, the same conclusions can be easily inferred by observing the genocidal process used against the Ottoman Greeks.

While Christians could sometimes save their own lives by converting to Islam, non-Turkish Muslims persecuted later in history (e.g., Kurds) would not have this option. It is obvious that religion and nationality were not—yet—contrasts in the Ottoman/Turkish context and that Christians, once Islamized, lost their previous ethnic identies and became Turks.[43]

## Conditions for the Emergence of Genocidal Intent against Ottoman Greeks

### *The Greek* Millet *in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace on the Eve of Their Destruction*

The Ottoman Greeks were of the Roman *millet* (Rum-i Millet).[44] They were structured into communities (*Κοινότηται*[45]) placed under the supreme religious and political authority of the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople (Istanbul[46]), who was acknowledged by the Ottoman authorities as the head of the *millet* (Rum milletbaşi, or Rumbaşi[47]) and was granted certain "privileges."[48] This *millet*, which also included Serbians, Bulgarians, Orthodox Albanians, and others, was most likely the most populous non-Muslim *millet* in the empire.

While demographic data covering most of Ottoman history are not precise, some estimates can be made. On the eve of WWI, the Ottoman Greek population in Asia Minor (i.e., Anatolia) and Eastern Thrace (Trakya) numbered around 2 million—approximately1.7 million in Asia Minor and 270,000 in Eastern Thrace.[49] But as Jovan Cvijić points out, in Ottoman censuses

> the female inhabitants are considered to be of little importance, and their number is not given exactly, being doubtless much greater in reality. The number given of the male inhabitants is also much less than is actually the case. Municipalities pay a military tax according to the number of the male inhabitants, therefore every Christian prefect does his best to withhold the real number from Turkish statistics. As to the Nufuz Memuri who controlled the matter, they were lazy and unconscientious and often let themselves be bribed to consent to mark a minimum number of male inhabitants. Hence the nufus defteri and salnames always state a smaller number (especially of Christians) in the towns than is actually existent.[50]

Even Justin McCarthy acknowledges that "the Ottomans also overcounted the Muslims in official statistics and undercounted the Christians."[51]

### *The Educational, Cultural, and Economic Dominance of the Ottoman Greeks*

Together with the Ottoman Armenians, Greeks were far more educated than other communities and by far more educated than their Ottoman Turkish masters.[52] Namely, at 4,390, the Ottoman Greeks maintained by far the largest number of schools among the non-Muslims.[53] This fact, in conjunction with the international prominence of the Greek language, which became the lingua franca of much of the Balkan mercantile bourgeoisie, led to an increasing dominance for the Greeks in the empire's economy.[54] They were also well represented in all the professions. In 1912, Greeks accounted for 52% of physicians (Armenians 17%, Turks 10%), 52% of architects (Armenians 34%,

Turks 5%), 49% of pharmacists (Armenians 25%, Turks 11%), 37% of engineers (Armenians 11%, Turks 2%), and 29% of lawyers (Armenians 21%, Turks 38%).[55]

The economic decline of the dominant Muslim populations of the empire was obvious to contemporary eye-witnesses and travelers.[56] W. M. Ramsey, author of several texts based on his travels across Asia Minor during the late nineteenth century, underlines the Greek economic power together with the decline of the "Oriental element":

> The Oriental element does not retreat or emigrate; it is not driven out by force; it dies out in these parts by a slow but sure decay; you can only say that here the people was, and here it has almost ceased to be. As the railway goes inland, the Greek element goes with it and even in front of it. Trade is from the first almost entirely in their hands. Even where the capital is foreign, the practical working is to a great extent directed by Greeks.[57]

In one of his earlier works, Ramsey states that the Greek element was "supplanting the Oriental on the Aegean coast" and the latter was "dying out on the coast by a slow yet sure decay."[58] In an article titled "The Turkish Situation by One Born in Turkey" in the *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, it is stated,

> Turkish treasury accounts have always been kept by Greeks and Armenians. If a Turk owns land, some Christian keeps its rent-roll. If he has a business, Christian clerks manage it. If he owns mines or works the richer placer [*sic*] of official extortion, some Christian engineer or scribe manages and manipulates his accounts. Such prosperity as there was through the twenty years of Abdul Hamid's reign, which seemed prosperous, went to Christians.[59]

The economic development and power of the Greeks went hand-in-hand with the development of political and economic nationalism among the dominant, Muslim-Turkish masters of the empire.[60] As M. Şükrü Hanioğlu points out, after the 1902 Young Turk congress, "a stronger focus on nationalism developed."[61] In a 1927 report, Mehmet Turgut, secretary general of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce (İzmir Ticaret Odası), stresses the conditions that had brought about the elimination of the Greek and Armenian peoples:

> We all know that curtailing the population of a country is not an action corresponding to the principles of living practices and economy. Yet, the expulsion of the Greeks and the Armenians was a necessity. They betrayed to the country of which they took the benefit and in which they lived in an absolute affluence and happiness. They were far away from being effective and hardworking elements of Turkey. These two nations remained as fistula in the very existence of the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Nation. We have cleaned and got rid of this malefic part of our body by a successful operation. This operation has not created even [the] least trauma in the Turkish body.[62]

Moreover, the Greeks and other indigenous Christians, having developed firm ethno-religious identities in antiquity, had proven resistant to assimilation. Mehmed Talât Pasha (1874–1921), the genocide's mastermind, admitted this: "The sentiments of the Ghiaurs [i.e., infidels, non-Muslims] themselves, who stubbornly resist every attempt to ottomanize them, present an impenetrable barrier . . . We have made unsuccessful

attempts to convert the Ghiaur into a loyal Osmanli and all such efforts must inevitably fail."[63]

### *Turkish Conceptions of the Greeks, Traditional Hatred, Religious Antipathy, and Social and Cultural Envy*

As a result of the existence of a Hellenic national state, the Kingdom of the Hellenes, the Ottoman citizens of Greek Orthodox religion were generally seen as protégés and agents of that state.[64] Turkish nationalists perceived Ottoman Greeks more as agents of Greece working ceaselessly for that country's expansion than as Ottoman citizens.[65]

According to Halil Menteşe (d. 1935), chairman of the Ottoman parliament, Talât told him during a meeting that "he was preparing for cleaning the country of treacherous elements."[66] The policy slogan of the Young Turks was "Turkey for the Turks."[67] Henry Morgenthau made similar observations:

> The Greeks, just like the Armenians, were accused of disloyalty to the Ottoman Government; the Turks accused them of furnishing supplies to the English submarines in the Marmora and also of acting as spies. The Turks also declared that the Greeks were not loyal to the Ottoman Government, and that they looked forward to the day when the Greeks inside Turkey would become part of Greece. . . . The Turks, as in the case of the Armenians, seized upon this as an excuse for a violent onslaught on the whole race.[68]

One of the leaders of the notorious Special Organization (Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa), Eşref Kuşçubaşı, who was also the leader of the Anatolia Ottoman Revolution Committee (Anadolu Osmanlı İhtilâl Komitesi), wrote about Smyrna, "Talk of the 'infidel [gavur] Izmir' was not just a metaphor: We were there not really Lord and Master, not even guards. . . . As it was all about to rid the country of the internal tumors, the national attention turned to Izmir."[69] This popular perception of Ottoman Greeks as "internal tumors"—as other Young Turk hardliners, too, put it[70]—is likely to have provided the ideological background to and justification for their genocidal fate.

To the above perceptions one should add traditional Turkish ethnic hatred against non-Turkish communities.[71] As Carl Ellis Wandel (1871–1940), Danish minister in Constantinople (1914–1925), put it, "the inborn hatred that the Turks since old times have nurtured against the Greeks, something which they in times of peace only hide to some extent for political reasons, will surely also break out the day that a state of war is declared between the two countries."[72] During WWI and the 1919–1922 Greco-Turkish War that followed, this hatred did break out, and with deadly consequences. Annie C. Marshall, a contemporary observer of the Ottoman Empire, reported, "Rahmy Bey is said to hate the Greeks. He is a native of Salonica [Thessalonica], and his dislike dates from the time when the city was handed over to Greece. The Greeks in the Province of Aidin were bitterly persecuted, and over half a million were killed, and their property confiscated."[73] George Horton (1859–1942), the US consul in Smyrna, made similar observations about the role of such hatred in the unfolding of the genocidal process:

> the Greeks, for whom a deeper hatred existed [than for the Armenians], 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 thwarted out thousands strong.[74]

Hand in hand with this inborn hatred went the traditional religious antipathy and fanaticism of Muslims against Christian infidels. Harry Stuermer (Stürmer), late correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in Constantinople (1915–1916), provides a description of their religious fanaticism and the *muhacirs*' antipathy toward Christians in general and Greeks in particular:

> The great drawback of the Mohadjirs, however, is their instability, their idleness and love of wandering, their frivolity, and their extraordinary fanaticism. As faithful Mohammedans following the standard of their Padishah [i.e., the sultan] and leaving the parts of the country that had fallen under Christian rule, they seemed to think they were justified in behaving like spoilt children towards the native population. They treated them with ruthless disregard, they were bumptious, and, if their new neighbours were Greek or Armenian, they inclined to use force, a proceeding which was always possible because the Government did not take away *their* firearms and were even known to have doled them out to stir up unrest. It has occurred more than once that Mohadjirs have crossed swords even with Turkish Anatolians living peacefully in their own villages. One can then easily imagine how much more the heretic *giaurs* ("Christian dogs," "unclean men") had to suffer at their hands.[75]

To all the above must be added social, economic, and cultural envy for the Christian and culturally European Greeks.[76] According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the Turks felt that they needed to exterminate their Christian minorities due to Christian superiority in terms of industriousness and the consequent Turkish feelings of jealously and inferiority. The paper wrote,

> The result has been to breed feelings of alarm and jealously in the minds of the Turks which in later years have driven them to desperation. They believe they cannot compete with their Christian subjects in the arts of peace and that the Christians and Greeks especially are too industrious and too well educated as rivals. Therefore from time to time they have striven to try and redress the balance by expulsion and massacre. That has been the position generations past in Turkey and will be the position again if the Great powers are callous and unwise enough to attempt to perpetuate Turkish misrule over Christians.[77]

Falih Rıfkı Atay (1894–1971), an Ittihadist and later Kemalist author, journalist, and politician,[78] describing the holocaust of Smyrna, gives a picture of this envy, intermingled with a deep sense of cultural inferiority:

> Why were we burning down Izmir? Were we afraid that if waterfront konaks, hotels and taverns stayed in place, we would never be able to get rid of the minorities? When the Armenians were being deported in the First World War, we had burned down all the habitable districts and neighbourhoods in Anatolian towns and cities with this very same fear. This does not solely derive from an urge for destruction. There is also some feeling of inferiority in it. It was as if anywhere that resembled Europe was destined to remain Christian and foreign and to be denied to us.[79]

Greed also played a significant role in the process of radicalization. Stuermer relays a revealing anecdote of the "ruling spirit of greed" among Turkish elites from a discussion he had had with a Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) member in Constantinople:

> I should just like to give one small example of the fanatical hatred that exists even in high official circles against the non-Turkish element in this country of mixed race. The following anecdote will give a clear enough idea of the ruling spirit of fanaticism and greed. I was house-hunting in Pera once and could not find anything suitable. I approached a member of the Committee [i.e., the CUP] and he said in solemn earnest: "Oh, just wait a few weeks. We are all hoping that Greece will declare war on us before long, and then *all* the Greeks will be treated as the Armenians have been. I can let you have the nicest villa on the Bosporus. But then," he added with gleaming eyes, "we won't be so stupid as merely to turn them out. These Greek dogs (*köpek rum*) will have the pleasure of seeing us take everything away from them—everything—and compelling them to give up their own property by formal contract."[80]

### *The Tanzimat Reforms and the Collapse of the Empire*

The reforms of the Tanzimat period (1829–1876) helped the Ottoman Greeks prosper economically, improve their political status, and gain some rights, albeit not on equal terms with the ruling Ottoman Muslims in general and the emerging Turks in particular.[81] This fact of economic prosperity and improvement of political status, in conjunction with the collapse of the empire—which was due to a series of internal and external crises, aspirations by subject peoples for freedom, independence, and territorial fulfillment,[82] continuous territorial losses, and the importation of ideas about nationalism and national states—contributed to the emergence of a desire for "ethnic homogenization, achieved by assimilation, ethnic dispersion, expulsion or even destruction . . . as a counter-measure against destabilization."[83]

The Tanzimat reforms and their implications for the Ottoman state and society were never actually accepted by the nationalist CUP, as Talât demonstrated in a secret speech given in Thessalonica in 1910:

> You are aware that by the terms of the Constitution equality of Mussulman and Ghiaur was affirmed but you one and all know and feel that this is an unrealizable idea. The Sheriat [i.e., sharia law], our whole past history and the sentiments of hundreds of thousands of Mussulmans . . . present an impenetrable barrier to the establishment of real equality . . . There can therefore be no question of equality, until we have succeeded in our task of ottomanizing the Empire.[84]

The Turkish nationalism of the Tanzimat era, the continuous territorial gains of the Balkan and Arab nations at the expense of the empire, and the ambitions of the Great Powers for its further partition all created among the Young Turks the conviction that the state was at the brink of the abyss, as Emmanouêl Emmanouêlidês (1867–1943), a Greek member of the Ottoman Parliament, noted.[85] They believed themselves to be caught in a life-or-death stuggle, in which the conclusion could be nothing other than "*mors tua, vita mea*." Specifically, it was the Christian minorities, the CUP leadership believed, that were pursuing the destruction of the empire.[86]

## The Genocidal Intent: Ideology and Framework

Intent to implement a policy of state-sponsored and -planned mass killings is considered one of the most essential components of genocide.[87] Thus, if the existence of a concrete program is proved, it will testify to genocide having been perpetrated. Since it is a state crime, the program, in order to fit within the framework of the UNCG, has to be sponsored by the state itself—namely, the government and the authorities of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, from a strictly legal perspective, genocidal intent can be inferred from a pattern of systematic and repeated attacks against or targetings of a group, atrocities on a large scale, or repetitive destructive and discriminatory acts. This was the conclusion of a ruling of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.[88]

### *The Genocidal Intent of the Young Turks: "A 'Greater Turkey' and a 'Purely Turkish Turkey' "*

It may be very hard to identify a clear moment representing the genesis of the genocidal intent against Ottoman Christians in general and Ottoman Greeks in particular and the subsequent process of application *in praxis*,[89] but it is worth noting that Lemkin appears to have suggested that the reign of the Young Turks[90] prior to the Balkan Wars would be an obvious beginning:

> That the Young Turcs [*sic*] movement tried to strike a mortal blow against everything Christian and especially against everything Greek during the four years prior to the Balkan War can be proven by a look at the various laws which were passed and which were pictured in a memorial [i.e., memorandum] presented to the Turkish government by the Greek deputies to the Turkish parliament in 1910.[91]

The laws Lemkin was referring to were related to the abolition of the so-called community privileges that had been introduced within the framework of the Tanzimat reforms and that had foreshadowed a series of privileges for the other Ottoman Christian communities.[92]

Although some other examples of plans for "exterminating the raiahs" are mentioned by Lemkin,[93] most studies point to the rise of the regime of the Young Turks as the crucial point when a plan to create a Turkish Muslim national state emerged in a clear and programmatic way.[94] The *Times* of London of 3 October 1911, summarizing the proceedings of the annual CUP congress (İttihat ve Terakki Kongresi) held in Thessalonica in early autumn, reported that the meeting had decided that the "Ottomanization" of all Turkish citizens must be accomplished by the force of arms since persuasion had failed. The article reads, "Soon or later the complete Ottomanization of all Turkish subjects must be effected [*sic*], but it was becoming clear that this could never be achieved by persuasion and resource must be had to force of arms."[95] Or, as Emmanouêlidês put it,

> When one takes into consideration that Hellenism, popular in western Asia Minor and in the Pontus, had spread deep into the interior and that it had already acquired a dominance over the Turk from the point of view of education and economic development, one can easily explain the fears of the Young Turks, especially since another people, equally numerous and developed, the Armenians, was considered to be threatening Turkish sovereignty in the east. The Young Turks imagined the state to be at the brink of an abyss. They studied the situation and found no

> fault in themselves but their magnanimity. They had been defeated by peoples that existed, the [Young Turks] said, because the Turkish government had not exterminated them when it had had the power to. These Christians, the Germans whispered, absorbing all the economic strength of the country, rendering Turkey a financial stooge, had prepared for their political dominance quietly. The issue was discussed when [Mehmet] Kâmil [Pasha][96] was in power and the issue was resolved after the Second Balkan War. According to the new decisions, all the property of the Christians ought to pass into Turkish hands by any means. The Christian elements ought to be exterminated [eliminated, wiped out]. This thing could not be achieved at once and the circumstances would not always permit it. Great strikes would be blown from time to time, but the action—systematic, unceasing, looser or more animated according to the circumstances—would continue. The work would reach its end, they said, in 10 years at most.[97]

In his recollections from the Ottoman Empire during WWI, Stuermer wrote that

> the programme of the Young Turks was not only a "Greater Turkey," but above all a purely Turkish Turkey; and if the former showed signs of failing because they had over-estimated their powers and their chances in the war or had employed wrong methods, there was nothing at all to hinder a sovereign Government from striving all the more ruthlessly to gain their second point.[98]

The overall aim of the Young Turks was to achieve the complete Turkification of the country, and for that, all non-Muslim and non-Turkish elements were to be destroyed.[99] Dr. Martin Niepage (1886–1963), an eyewitness of the horrors against Armenians at Aleppo, described and explained in lucid terms the policies of the CUP:

> 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 [i.e., Syriacs, Assyrians, and Arameans], 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.[100]

Of course, the Balkan Wars, the territorial losses that ensued, and the massive displacement of Muslims from the former European provinces also contributed to the overall process of the Young Turks' radicalization.[101]

### *The Kemalists as Ittihadists (Unionists)*

While genocidal acts were carried out during the world war and, as a result, a large number of Ottoman Greeks perished at the hands of the CUP, a new and more ferocious wave of such acts was carried out during the 1919–1923 period. It was led by the Nationalist movement headed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later called "Atatürk"), an extreme Turkish nationalist with a Nazi-like ideology.[102]

While, as a result of the Ottoman defeat in the war, the CUP dissolved itself in 1918, it actually continued functioning under other names and finally succeeded in launching Kemal to organize the Turkish Anatolian resistance against the Allies, and especially against the Greeks and returning Armenian survivors.[103] After a transition process, many CUP members and "social engineers" ended up in the Kemalist movement, working for Kemal.[104] Even Kemal admitted that he was once a member of the CUP.[105] As Hamit Bozarslan correctly says it, "For many reasons, the War of Independence should be viewed not as a rupture, but as continuity of the decade of Union and Progress."[106] Although the Kemalist leadership had dismissed Pan-Turanism, especially after its failure to deliver results, their nationalism did not actually diminish.[107] Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924),[108] the notorious Young Turk ideologue and theoretician of Turkish nationalism, after returning from Malta, joined the Kemalists[109] and continued to be the fashionable ideologue.[110] In virtual replication of the genocidal intent and designs set forth by the Ittihadists, the Kemalists completed the genocidal process of the annihilation and expulsion of Ottoman Christians, especially of Ottoman Greeks, since the vast number of Ottoman Armenians had perished during the war.[111]

A 26 June 1922 *Adelaide Chronicle* article is revealing of the genocidal intent of the Kemalists both in its title and contents:

> There can be no question to-day that the persecution of the Christian minorities on Turkish soil is being carried out in a thoroughly Turkish manner, and that unless the Turks are speedily compelled to desist, the day is not far distant when the Christians will be as extinct as the dodo in Asia Minor. The persecution is of course an old story. Again and again it has been told, and it has on several occasions in the past led to European protest and action, which have secured temporary respite for the unfortunate victims of Turkish hate. But the Turk always, sooner or later, returned to his evil ways. When the Turkish military power was crushed in 1918, the hope arose that now at last the nightmare of the oppression of Christian races would be brought to an end, and it was a definite aim of Allied policy to make permanent the liberation of those races from Turkish tyranny. That purpose was defeated by a combination of events which need not be recalled. Peace has not been concluded with Turkey yet; but in working for it concessions have been offered which in effect involve a considerable departure from the policy of taking predominantly Christian areas out of Turkish hands. The reply of the Turks to this mitigation of the terms originally proposed by the Treaty of Sevres has been a slaughter of Christians in Asia Minor much greater in extent than even the massacres of Gladstone's day, these of the nineties, those of 1912, and those of 1915. Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons last Monday makes this fact clear, and it is also abundantly clear that not only is the slaughter on an unprecedented scale, but that the Kemalists are carrying out a resolute organized policy of extermination directed, in particular, against the Greeks.
>
> Mr. Chamberlain's statement confirmed in every way the blood-curdling account of the Turkish atrocities which our newspapers have recently published, and in which stress has been laid upon the systematic character of these unspeakable atrocities. The case of Trebizond and the surrounding region may be described by way of example. First, the whole of the able-bodied males of the Greek population were seized, formed into so-called labor battalions, and sent off to remote places like Kars and Sarakamyseh. The fate awaiting them may be judged from what betel the

> old men, women and children left behind, whose organized destruction has been witnessed by civilised observers. These miserable victims were herded together and marched back and forth over long stretches of the country in droves, during the most inclement months of the year. The result may be imagined. On one short section of road 1,500 corpses were counted, on another 2,000.
>
> During the recent weeks these "deportations" have been intensified, and there can be little doubt that the Kemalists have made up their minds that the problem of "safeguarding Christian minorities" on Turkish soil, which has been kept in the forefront of recent peace negotiations, is best solved by extirpating those minorities ere [i.e., before] peace comes. The policy of the Kemalists is the same as that pursued by Abdul Hamid and by the Young Turks after him. It is their intention that the work suspended in 1915 shall be carried out to its designed end, and Christianity rooted out of Turkish soil. The evidence in the possession of our own Government may be accepted as entirely trustworthy. It is principally derived from American workers in the cause of humanity who told us the truth about the "deportations" of 1915 and who continue their efforts to succor the sick, orphaned, and the destitute, in spite of the persistent obstruction and oppression of the Kemalist authorities. They tell tales of ghastly barbarities perpetrated under their eyes—tales which make the blood boil and run ice-cold in turn, and it is clear from their narratives that the Kemalists aim at nothing less than the extirpation of all Christians to be found within the range of their power.[112]

A number of contemporary, firsthand observers of the genocidal events unfolding from 1908 on shared the view that the main goals of the CUP and the Kemalists, as well as the final results of their respective policies, were largely similar: the disappearance, in one way or another, of the minorities and the creation of a Muslim Turkish national state. For example, Dr. Ward and Mjr. Forrest D. Yowell of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East (ACRNE) (later, Near East Relief, NER),[113] who witnessed firsthand the genocidal process against the Ottoman Greeks, affirmed that "the Turkish authorities frankly state it is their deliberate intention to let all the Greeks die, and their actions support their statements."[114] Similarly, the US consul general in Smyrna, George Horton, wrote to Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes that "the policy of the Turkish nationalists [is] to exterminate and eliminate the native Christian element in Turkey,"[115] while the US high commissioner at Constantinople, Mark Lambert Bristol (1868–1939; in office 1919–1927), described the removal of all "refugees" as the Nationalists' "final . . . solution of the race problem."[116] Referring to the destruction of Smyrna by the Kemalist troops under the supervision of Kemal himself, Horton noted that "the torch was applied to that ill-fated city and it was all systematically burned by the soldiers of Mustapha Khemal in order to exterminate Christianity in Asia Minor and to render it impossible for the Christians to return."[117] In 1925, H. F. Ulrichsen, a Danish lawyer, conservative member of parliament, and leading member of the organization Danish Friends of Armenians, who had observed first-hand the CUP and Kemalist policies during 1914–1924, contended that under these two regimes, "the 'cleansing policy' [*Udrensningspolitik*] . . . had as its aim the removal of all the foreign bodies—Christians and Jews—which were influencing Turkey to such a large degree."[118]

Against this all-destructive and genocidal background and ideology of two chauvinist regimes, organically interrelated ideologically, chronologically, and in their elites and

memberships, we may observe the unfolding of the genocidal process against Ottoman Christians in general, and, in this paper, against the Ottoman Greeks in particular.

## The Genocide: Chronology, Places, Acts, Methods, Mechanisms, and Instruments

Roughly speaking, the Greek Genocide may be said to have evolved in three major phases—before, during, and after World War I—and to have been carried out by both the chauvinist-nationalist regime of the CUP and the successor nationalist movement led by Kemal.[119]

### *Pre-Genocidal Massacres (Nineteenth Century)*

Persecution and massacres against Christian communities have a long history in the Ottoman Empire.[120] For centuries, the Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire were subjected to all sorts of harassment and violent persecution that occasionally led to large-scale massacres and even outright extermination.[121]

In the late nineteen century, such massacres occurred during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (31 August 1876–27 April 1909), known as the Bloody Sultan, the Red Sultan, and the Great Assassin because of his sanguinary treatment of the Ottoman Armenians and in connection with the union of the island of Crete with Greece.[122] According to Hannibal Travis, 450,000 Ottoman Christians perished during the nineteen century through military "punitive actions" for alleged "rebellion" against the Ottoman Empire.[123]

In Asia Minor, anti-Christian massacres were mainly directed against the Ottoman Armenians, who, unlike the Ottoman Greeks, lacked a foreign protector or national state outside the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, these massacres were never limited to Armenians; in some areas, regional and local governors allowed these massacres to be extended to other Christian communities, namely Assyrians/Arameans and Greeks. In a 4 November 1895 letter from Paul Gambon to his mother we read,

> At Diarbekir they have been killing and looting since Friday. Our Consul is locked in his house with 500 refugees and from his window, he watches policemen take up arms with groups of savage Kurds from outside the city and Muslims from within. They are massacring all Christians without distinction.[124]

Gustave Meyrier, the French vice consul at Diyarbakir, was even more precise and incisive.[125] In his second report, he explained the nature of these massacres, saying that they were driven by religious hatred: "The state of affairs affects all Christians regardless of race, be they Armenian, Chaldean, Syrian or Greek. It is the result of religious hatred that is all more implacable in that it is based on the strength of some and the weakness of others."[126] Similar patterns appeared in 1909 in the province of Adana as well as during WWI and afterwards, when massacres hit all Ottoman Christians, regardless of their race or creed.[127]

### *Pre-World War I Period: The First Phase: "A Reign of Terror Instituted"*

Following the 1908 revolution, a "programme of Ottomanization" began to be applied in Thessalonica.[128] Initially, this program aimed at the elimination of the Christian notables in Macedonia.[129] Later, after the Balkan Wars, it was extended to Eastern Thrace and western Asia Minor (Ionia).[130]

Between 1909 and 1911, Christian notables—Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs—"mysteriously disappeared or were found murdered."[131] From that point onward, the "programme of extermination" was extended to average people and their disarming. Horton noted this:

> From the extermination of notables, the program extended to people of less importance, who began to disappear. Bevies of despairing peasant women who had come to visit the vali (Turkish governor) and demand news of their husbands, sons or brothers appeared on the streets of Saloniki. The answers were usually sardonic: "He has probably run away and left you," or, "He has probably gone to America" were favorite 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 reign of terror, the Turks' immemorial method of rule, was on in earnest, and the next step taken 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.[132]

The next two major steps in the Young Turk "programme of Ottomanization" of Macedonia was, first, the planned and assisted emigration and settlement of *muhacir*s from Austrian-held Bosnia-Herzegovina to Ottoman-ruled Macedonia and, second, the enrollment of Christians into the Ottoman army.[133] United with the Albanian Muslims, the *muhacir*s ended up committing a series of massacres against Macedonia's Christian population:

> After the annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina, the Young Turks sent agents into those countries to induce the Moslem population to emigrate to Macedonia. These immigrants, or muhadjers, as they were called, were settled by the [Ottoman] Government in those districts where the Moslem population was weak. The experiment, which was not without precedent, proved disastrous. The element which could be induced to emigrate was ignorant, unruly, fanatical, and economically worthless. The presence of this lawless, malcontent element in Macedonia ended in irretrievable disaster for Turkey. They readily united with the Albanian Moslem immigrants to perpetrate the succession of massacres in 1912 which resulted ultimately in the formation of the Balkan Alliance.[134]

The second policy adopted by the Young Turks was the abolition of the *bedel-i askeri*, the military service exemption tax, and the subsequent enrolment of Christians in the Ottoman army.

> This policy was attractive in theory, but impracticable in application. The social, educational, temperamental and religious incompatibility of Moslems and Christians, and the unspeakable and criminal conditions of the service rendered the plan of forming mixed regiments, officered exclusively by Moslems, a dismal failure. This system of obligatory military service was used from its inception as a means of extortion and terrorism; Jews and Christians who were financially able were forced to pay the £40 prescribed for exemption, and those who were unable to pay were practically reduced to military servitude. Under these conditions the Christian

> elements preferred exile, and between 1909 and 1914 Turkey lost hundreds of thousands of its best subjects by emigration.[135]

In the same period, the Ittihadist government applied a new education law that foresaw the introduction of a new, centralized educational system under the direct control of state authorities. At the same time, the government imposed a boycott against Ottoman Greek businesses under the pretext of the Cretan Question.[136]

The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 ended Ottoman rule in the region of Macedonia, and hence, the Ottomanization and Turkification policies of the Young Turks were directed toward the regions of Eastern Thrace and western Asia Minor.

### The 1913–1914 Genocidal Massacres and Anti-Greek Measures in Eastern Thrace and Western Asia Minor

In this framework of extreme nationalism and under the cover of the imminent war, the CUP began to implement its plan of demographic homogenization and Turkification. Initially, this process began in the western part of the empire, in the region of Eastern Thrace, and was later expanded to include all of Asia Minor.

A communication to the ecumenical patriarchate on 7 July 1913 reported that

> the Turkish army, as it marched forth to take possession once more of Kessane, destroyed, looted and burned all the Greek villages near Gallipoli. It left Ai-Mali without a house standing; Karadjahali was looted and entirely destroyed; Kourtzali was sacked and destroyed completely, as was also Pashakioi. Mavra itself the Turkish soldiers and fugitives burned, killing sixteen Greeks.
>
> The cause of this savagery of the Turks is their fear that if Thrace is declared autonomous the Greek population may be found numerically superior to the Mussulmans. For this reason, too, Mussulman refugees are dispatched thither.[137]

As Akçam has put it, this process of Turkification was implemented through "a dual mechanism of parallel official and unofficial tracks."[138] The official track encouraged "voluntary emigration" based on bilateral agreements with other countries, namely the attempted agreement between Greece and the Ottoman Empire for the exchange of minorities,[139] as well as the "involuntary emigration," or "violent uprooting," of various ethnic groups through various means, including boycotts, terrorism, forceful abductions, assassinations, small- and large-scale massacres, and outright extermination.

For the Ottoman Greeks, the process began with the reintroduction of a series of economic measures, including boycotts and labor control. As part of the Young Turkish plan for the Ottomanization and Turkification of the economy and society, a number of professional and guild associations were established. Membership was reserved to Turks only as they were meant to help found new, Turkish-owned companies and create a new bourgeoisie composed only of Turks. The plan aimed at replacing Christians, who had traditionally occupied these roles.[140] Among the activities of these associations was the boycott of Greek and Armenian businesses.[141]

As Horton relayed,

> The Rayas, or Greek Ottoman subjects, of the Port were . . . abominably treated. These people were the expert artisans, principal merchants and professional men of the cities, and the skilled and progressive farmers of the country. It was they who

> introduced the cultivation of the famous Sultanina raisins, improved the curing and culture of tobacco, and built modern houses and pretty towns . . . A general boycott was declared against them, for one thing, and posters calling on Mussulmans to exterminate them were posted in the schools and mosques. The Turkish newspapers also published violent articles exciting their readers to persecution and massacre.[142]

When the boycott did not bring the CUP's desired results, the process of cleansing assumed violent characteristics and turned into outright persecution. Horton explained,

> The violent and inflammatory articles in the Turkish newspapers . . . appeared unexpectedly and without any cause . . . evidently "inspired" by the authorities . . . Cheap lithographs . . . executed in the clumsiest and most primitive manner . . . represented Greeks cutting up Turkish babies or ripping open pregnant Muslim women, and various purely imaginary scenes, founded on no actual events or even accusations elsewhere made. These were hung in the mosques and schools . . . and set the Turk to killing.[143]

Alfred van der Zee (b. 1872), Danish consul in Smyrna (1910–1922), was an observer and witness to early CUP attempts at cleansing Greeks from Ottoman soil.[144] In one of his diplomatic reports to his superior, Carl Ellis Wandel, the Danish minister at Constantinople, under the heading "Disorders in the Vilayet of Aidin," van der Zee reported that in March 1914, the *vali*s of Smyrna and the surrounding areas had made inspection tours to the coastal towns and villages of the *vilayets*, "urging and advising" the local civil servants to force the Greeks to leave the region:

> About three months ago the Governor General of Smyrna [*vali* Evranoszade Rahmi Bey], acting, as I understand, on instructions from the Ministry, made an inspection in the small towns situated on 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 tortuous and vexatious measures so well-known to them. Similar instructions were, I understand, given by the Governors of the other maritime provinces.[145]

Usually, these policies were carried out by armed irregulars and other paramilitary volunteers,[146] the so-called *başıbozuk*s or *çete*s, mainly comprising of *muhacir*s, in collaboration with the local state authorities and the local police.[147] Van der Zee's report of 19 June 1914 provides a picture of the methods involved:

> After open hints that it would be advisable for them to leave the place [Adramytion, or Edremit], 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 Mytilene [Lesbos]. Soon the movement spread to Kemer, Kilissekeuy, Kinick, Pergamos and Soma. Armed *bashibozuks* attacked the people residing therein, lifted the cattle, drove them from their farms and took forcible possession thereof. The details of what took place [are] harrowing, women were seduced, girls were ravished, some of

them dying from ill treatment received, children at the breast were shot or cut down with their mothers.[148]

On 14 May 1914, Talât ordered the "cleansing" of all Greek settlements in the coastal areas between the Dardanelles and Çeşme and the replacement of the Greek population with Muslim refugees from the Balkans or Turks from the interior of Asia Minor. An official circular addressed to the provincial governor of Smyrna, *vali* Rahmi Bey, authored by Ali Riza, chief of correspondence, and cosigned by Talât and İbrahim Hilmi, the director of the ministry of the interior, accused the local Greeks "of working day and night for the realization of the Great Idea." Therefore, the Greeks should be forced to evacuate their villages along the Ionian (Aegean) coast and move to the inner districts of Erzerum (Theodosiopolis) and Chaldea. If they refused to comply, the circular said, the local Muslims should be instructed "to commit excesses of all kinds" in order to force their expatriation. In all cases, the local authorities were instructed to obtain a "signed declaration" of those migrating, stating that they were leaving on their own will and initiative.[149]

In order to achieve and accelerate this process, the Ottoman authorities organized large-scale massacres in May and June 1914 in the region, in the towns of Erythraea and Phocaea (Foça) in particular.[150]

The execution of this operation was undertaken by the *başıbozuk*s, the nucleus that later evolved to be the notorious Special Organization.[151] Van der Zee relays the event:

> The bands of bashibozuks, who had gone south of Menemen after looting all the villages on their way, attacked Phoc[a]ea on the night of the 12th June on three sides and ably assisted by the Cretans [i.e., Muslim refugees from Crete][152] who work at the salt depots soon turned it into a shambles.
>
> Quoting from the words of an eyewitness "within a quarter of an hour after the assault had begun every boat in the place was full of people trying to get away and when no more boats could be had the inhabitants sought refuge on the little peninsula on which the lighthouse stands. I saw eleven bodies of men and women lying dead on the shore. How many were killed I could not say, but trying to get into a house of which the door stood ajar I saw two other dead bodies lying in the entrance hall. Every shop in the place was looted and the goods that could not be carried away were wantonly destroyed."[153]

All these policies were supplemented by a deadly process of internal displacement, where Greek youth were forced into labor battalions (*amele taburlari*), where they worked under very harsh conditions that often led to death.[154] The overall aim of this process of forcible internal displacement was the annihilation of the Ottoman Greeks and their replacement with Ottoman Muslims from the former Ottoman-ruled lands in the Balkans and from the Russian Empire.[155]

Stuermer made the following observations regarding these processes:

> I should like to say a word here about these Greek persecutions in Thrace and Western Anatolia that have become notorious throughout the whole of Europe. They took place just before the outbreak of war, and cost thousands of peaceful Greeks—men, women and children—their lives, and reduced to ashes dozens of flourishing villages and towns. At the time of the murder of Sarajevo, I happened to

> be staying in the vilajet of Aidin, in Smyrna and the *Hinterland*, and saw with my own eyes such shameful deeds as must infuriate anyone against the Turkish Government that aids and abets such barbarity—from old women being driven along by a dozen Mohadjirs and dissipated soldiers to the smoking ruins of Phocæa.[156]

At least 115,000 Greeks were expelled from Eastern Thrace and sought refuge in Greece, 85,000 were deported from the same region to the interior of Asia Minor, and an estimated 150,000 were driven from the Ionian coast to Greece.[157] As Tessa Hofmann puts it, "the deportations in Eastern Thrace appear as the prototype of all subsequent deportations of Christians."[158]

### *World War I: The Second Phase: Labor Battalions, Genocidal Deportations and Massacres, and Concentration and Extermination Camps*

On 14 November 1914, the Ottoman Empire and the Allied powers entered a state of war. This and Sultan-Chaliph Mehmet V's subsequent declaration of jihad are said to have been made on the initiative of Germany.[159] Şeyhülislam (Ürgüplü) Mustafa Hayri Effendi (1914–1916), a close associate of the CUP, issued a religious decree (*fatwa*) that was read at Constantinople's Fatih Mosque.[160] The jihad was largely understood by the Muslim population as granting *mujahid*s, or holy warriors, permission to attack, kill, and plunder (*al-ghanîmah*) *gavur*s, as explained in the Qur'an and the *hadith*, or *sunnah*.[161]

In 1915, the persecution and deportations of Greeks resumed. On March 8, 200 Greeks were deported from Constantinople.[162] This deportation precedes that of notable Armenians from Cilicia and Constantinople. This act may be considered the beginning of the second phase of the genocidal process that evolved over the course of WWI.[163] On April 23, the Greeks of Gallipoli (Kallipolis), in the Marmara Sea, were deported to Bandırma (Panormos), in Asia Minor. From there, the deportees were spread across the interior of Asia Minor among Turkish villages in order to be Islamized by the surrounding Turkish Muslim population.[164]

The beginning of WWI (28 July 1914) had temporarily suspended the annihilation of the Ottoman Greeks, partially due to German influence: the Hellenic royal house had a family relationship with the German and the Germans also did not want Greece to enter the war on the side of the Allied Powers.[165] Moreover, Greek prime minister Eleutherios Venizelos had promised Germany that Greece would remain neutral provided that the Turks ceased persecuting Ottoman Greeks. With a moratorium on Greek deportations in place, the German general Liman von Sanders Pasha advised the Ottoman government that "he would be unable to take the responsibility for the security of the army" unless potentially disloyal Greeks were removed.[166]

But, as it appears, political considerations were soon forgotten, and the deportation of the Ottoman Greeks was again considered a necessity for the creation of a "new Turkey," again at the instigation of Turkey's German war allies:

> It is reported that in consequence of representations by General von Gitscher, commanding the Smyrna garrison, which have been endorsed by von der Goltz Pasha, to the effect that the Greek community constitutes a standing impediment for the regeneration of Turkey on national lines, the immediate expulsion of the whole Greek population of Smyrna has been decided on and orders in this sense have been telegraphed to the Governor-General of that Province.[167]

In the meantime, on 27 May 1915, the Ottoman parliament adopted the Dispatchment and Settlement Law (Sevk ve İskân Kanunu, also called the *tehcir* law), authorizing the internal displacement through deportation of the empire's Armenian and Greek populations.[168] The law was later coupled with a second set of orders to the Special Organization for the elimination of the evacuated populations.[169] These orders also included the alleged caretaking by the government of the vacated—euphemistically called *abandoned*—properties of the deported Christians.[170]

On July 28, Lewis David Einstein (1877–1967), US diplomat at Constantinople, wrote in his memoirs that

> the persecution of the Greeks is assuming unexpected proportions. Only a fortnight ago they reassured and told that the measures taken against the Greek villages in Marmora were temporary and not comparable with those against the Armenians. Now it looks as if there is to be equality in suffering, and that the intention existed to uproot and destroy both peaceful communities. The poor Greeks are obliged to leave their homes, often without any notice compelled to march night and day without food or water, and when they cry for this, their Turkish guards point to the mosque and tell them the highroad to the comforts of life lies in Islam. Their cattle, too, is requisitioned, and they are obliged to nourish it when they themselves starve. And by a refinement of cruelty the Greek community here is forbidden to give them relief.[171]

The persecutions extended from Eastern Thrace and the peninsula of Gallipoli to the Ionian coast:

> The situation of the Greeks in Turkey continues most critical, and according to reliable news from Mytilene the Greek population of Aivali has been ordered to evacuate that town. . . . Aivali is a purely Greek town. The population of 25,000 has been ordered to withdraw into the interior of Asia Minor.[172]

Meanwhile, Dr. Heribert Otto Paul Schwörbel (28 February 1881–5 October 1969), diplomatic dragoman (i.e., interpreter) at the German imperial consulate in Thessalonica, Greece, (the city had moved from Ottoman to Hellenic hands in 1912) and attaché at the general consulate in Constantinople, on official mission to Asia Minor during summer 1915, reported the existence of "concentration camps" along the Soma–Pandirma railways with "masses" of Greek women, children, and elderly.[173] They were deportees from the Marmara coast, entirely left to themselves without food and accommodation:

> Because the [Ottoman] government does not care at all about feeding these masses and because under the recent conditions the possibilities of 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. 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.[174]

The ongoing European war provided the Young Turks with a formidable opportunity to "solve the minority problem." According to Schwörbel, minister of war Ismail Enver Pasha (1881–1922)[175] had declared, in October 1915, that he wanted to "solve the Greek problem during the war. . . in the same way he believe[d] he solved the Armenian problem."[176]

The US ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, described the genocidal process against the Greeks, drawing some striking parallels with the process against the Armenians:

> The Turks adopted almost identically the same procedure against the Greeks as that which they had adopted against the Armenians. They began by incorporating the Greeks into the Ottoman army and the transforming them into labour battalions, using them to build roads in the Caucasus and other scenes of action. These Greek soldiers, just like the Armenians, died by thousands from cold, hunger, and other privations. The same house-to-house searches for hidden weapons took place in the Greek villages, and Greek men and women were beaten and tortured just as were their fellow Armenians. The Greeks had to submit to the same forced requisitions, which amounted in their case, as in the case of the Armenians, merely to plundering on a wholesale scale. The Turks attempted to force the Greek subjects to become Mohammedans; Greek girls, just like Armenian girls, were stolen and taken to Turkish harems and Greek boys were kidnapped and placed in Muslim households. . . . Everywhere the Greeks were gathered in groups and, under the so-called protection of Turkish gendarmes, they were transported, the larger part on foot, into the interior.[177]

In early spring 1916, new massacres of Greeks were reported in Eastern Thrace and western Asian Minor and repression started in Pontus.[178] In a special cable the *New York Times* of 21 August 1916, it is reported that

> the Turkish authorities acting on instructions from Constantinople, where all power is still in the hands of the Germans, are rounding up civilians in a considerable number of villages and sending off in batches to concentration camps in the interior. This means practically a sentence of 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.[179]

Metropolitan Germanos of Amaseia (Amasya) and Amisos (Samsun)[180] described the beginning of the deportations in Amisos thus:

> The Turkish people, after having hacked to pieces a million Armenians, organized and are still organizing, according to the same method, similar outrages. . . . Towards the middle of December, 1916, began the deportations from Amissos (Samsoun). First of all the army reduced to ashes the region round about. Nearly all the villages rich in tobacco plantations, civilized, friends of progress and possessing a lively national sentiment, were first pillaged and then set on fire. A large number of women and children were killed, the young girls of the nation outraged, and immediately afterwards driven into the interior. Where? Into the vilayet of Angora, to Tchoroum [Çorum], to Soungourlou [Süngürlü], and still further . . .

> The winter was of the most rigorous kind; these girls had to march 30 or 40 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 buy bread for money; 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 rigours of the cold, they were driven on farther. The majority of course died on the road, and none of the dead at all being buried, vultures and dogs feasted on human flesh.[181]

1916 also marks the first official appearance of the notorios Osman Ağa Feridunoğlu (1894–1923), called Topal (lame), mayor of Karasund (Giresun) and a commandant of the Kemalist army "responsible for a large number of the worst atrocities in the Pontine region."[182] Lampos Mauridês, a deportee from Tepeköy, near the town of Bulançak in the province of Karasund, describes some of the heinous crimes committed by him:

> Topal Osman arrived into the early hours of the morning and surrounded the village with his chettés. They gathered the people, one by one all the villagers, and put them in a house, near the Church: Men, children, women, elderly, babies. They fired the house and burned them alive! Before burning them, they chose 4–5 young women and kept them for themselves. After that, they poured 10 tins of petrol in and around the house and after threw a grenade. The fire lit up. The house belonged to Kota. The evil lasted 10–20 minutes. They screamed. The yells of women "went to the heavens." The house exploded in the flames and fell over them. A girl jumped out from the widow and escaped from the fire. The chettés fired bullets, but it was a slope and she escaped. A bullet skimmed over her head. Her name was Rouda. . . . The five women whom the Turks chose to take in order to rape them, understood it and as they were seeing the fire, they jumped into the house, saying: "Let the name of the Lord [be blessed]!" They jumped into the fire and were consumed. They died together with the others. All this lasted half an hour. After this time, the chettés left and went to other villages. In every village they stayed for half an hour, they burned and burned and then went away. They burned seventeen villages next . . . They did not burn [all] the houses of the villages; they burned only a house together with [all] the people.[183]

It is noteworthy that at this stage, the genocidal process did not include large-scale exterminatory massacres as in the Armenian case. As it appears, political considerations had prevailed among the Young Turks and the extermination process had not yet reached the climax of outright extermination, something that did not happen until the third and last phase of the Greek Genocide—that is, during 1919–1922.[184]

Hand in hand with the massacres, the Young Turks adopted a series of administrative measures aiming at the assimilation of the Ottoman Greeks, one of them being the abolishment of the so-called privileges of the ecumenical patriarchate.[185] Moreover, Muslims were forbidden to pay debts they owed to Greeks while Greeks had to pay compulsory levies to the Ottoman government, were thrown into prison, and starved unless they converted to Islam. Entire Greek villages were destroyed by fire, rape, murder, and terror, and Greeks were distributed among Turkish villages in the proportion of 10% of the Muslim population in order to dilute their presence and identity.[186]

As Donald Bloxham notes, throughout 1913–1916, the anti-Greek policies of the Young Turks consisted of a "combination of population engineering and economic appropriation, using boycotts, murder, terrorization, and then deportation of parts of the western Anatolian Greek population."[187] To this, one should add other genocidal measures, such as small and medium-scale massacres, like those in Eastern Thrace, western Asia Minor, Pontus, and elsewhere; a high rate of death in the labor battalions; and deportation toward the interior of Asia Minor.[188]

In January 1917, Cosswa Anckarsvärd, Sweden's ambassador to Constantinople, sent a dispatch to his government where he said, "What above all appears as an unnecessary cruelty is that the deportation is not limited to the men alone, but it is extended likewise to women and children. This is supposedly done in order to much easier be able to confiscate the property of the deported."[189]

During April–May 1917, new deportations of Greeks took place.[190] In a report of June 30, just a few days before Greece entered the war on the side of the Allied Powers, Count Paul Wolff Metternich (1853–1934), ambassador of Germany in Constantinople (1915–1916), wrote, "The Armenians are done. The Young Turkish pack impatiently prepares for the moment when Greece will turn against Turkey. The Greeks are the cultural element in Turkey. They will then be destroyed, in the same way as the Armenians."[191] As foreseen, Greece's entry into the war gave a new momentum to persecutions and deportations.[192] On October 17, Frank W. Jackson (1874–1955), chairman of the US Relief Committee for Greeks of Asia Minor (1917–1921),[193] 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.[194]

A memorandum of the British legation at Berne, Switzerland, dated 11 December 1917, confirmed that

> 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.[195] . . . 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 [1917].[196]

An early eyewitness account, published in the *New York Times* of 1918, sheds light on the assimilation policies, which included compulsory child transfer and Islamization during the war:

> Forcible conversions to Mohammedanism, long before 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 predominance of Mohammedan males and of Greek females in order to compel mixed marriages.[197]

Throughout 1918, prior to the end of the war, persecutions and massacres continued unabated and reached even greater numbers than in previous years.[198] In April, 900 families from Livissi and Macri were deported to the interior.[199] An article in the *Hamilton Spectator* reported, "The Turks are advancing in the Caucasus and are perpetrating wholesale massacres of Christians killing indiscriminately Armenians, Greeks, Americans and missionaries."[200] A *New York Times* news report relayed,

> According to the testimony of Mohammedan prisoners of war in Salonica made to the Entent [*sic*] authorities there, the Greeks in Turkey are undergoing the worst blow since the fall of Constantinople. This takes place in a threeforld [*sic*] way. First in General Moblization [*sic*]. Second, Commandeering. Third, Deportation. Since the beginning of the war to the end of 1917 these Mohammedan prisoners state that more than two hundred thousand Greeks between the ages of fifteen and forty eight have been drafted into the Turkish army. Thousands of these have died as a result of ill treatment, hunger and epidemics. More than five hundred thousand Greeks have been deported from Thrace into Asia Minor. With the exception of the Greek population of Smyrna, Constantinople and a few other towns, all the Greeks underwent untold suffering, exile, tortures and epidemics. Many were slaughtered in the interior of Asia Minor, and the survivors are in a terrible plight. Women are sold as slaves, men are forced to become Mohammedans and the Military officials declare openly everywhere that no Greek will be allowed to live in Turkey unless he becomes a Mohammedan. The property confiscated from the Greeks is worth five billions. Many of these Mohammedan prisoners relate that they saw with their own eyes men from Aivali and many other large cities who were working

> as slaves in rags and begging for a piece of bread. They say Smyrna is melting like wax. There are from forty to fifty deaths daily among the Greeks as a result of hunger, weakness and epidemics. Two hundred families have been deported from Tatavla in Constantinople. The streets in larger cities are full of Greek orphans, half naked begging for bread because the Turkish authorities have torn them from the bosom of their parents and circumcise them.[201]

After the defeat of the Central Powers and the Ottoman Empire, the government policy of persecuting and deporting Greeks and other Christians was temporarily suspended:

> The conclusion of the armistice with Turkey on the 30th October, 1918, seems to have brought about a temporary cessation of the persecutions of the minorities by the Turks which had gone on all through the war. In the course of those persecutions, it is generally agreed . . . that over 500,000 Greeks were deported, of whom comparatively few survived.[202]

As British diplomat George William Rendel (1889–1979)[203] pointed out in his "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres and Persecutions of Minorities since the Armistice," "it is necessary to refer to these pre-armistice persecutions, since there is now a strong tendency to minimize or overlook them, and to regard those which followed the armistice as isolated incidents provoked by the Greek landing at Smyrna and the general Turkish policy of the Allies."[204]

In all, from 1914 to 1918, more than 500,000 Ottoman Greeks were expelled from their homes and deported to the interior, with much loss of life.[205]

### *After World I: The Final Phase: Outright Extermination: The "Armenization"[206] of the Greeks and the Kemalist Share in the Genocide*

The end of WWI (11 November 1918) and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire did not stop the genocidal process against Ottoman Greeks. The third and most critical phase of the Greek Genocide took place during this period.[207] Already in December 1918, after the official end of the war, a news report in the *New York Times* noted the following: "The Turkish authorities, despite Turkey's defeat, are pursuing a brutal attitude towards the Christian populations of the empire and are inciting the Ottoman [Muslim] 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."[208] Following the Armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918), the so-called Committees in Defense of Rights (Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri) were constituted.[209] In 1919, Turkish courts martial were constituted to judge the leadership of the CUP on charges of subversion of the constitution, wartime profiteering, and massacres of Armenians, Assyrians/Arameans, and Greeks.[210] The courts martial reached a verdict that sentenced the organizers of the massacres, Talât, Enver, Cemal (Djemal), and others, to death.[211] On November 14, joint French-Greek troops occupied Eastern Thrace as well as the railway axis to Çatalca on the outskirts of Constantinople. Just previously, in March, Prime Minister Venizelos had communicated to the Supreme Council of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference (or the Council of Ten)[212] the following instructions to Turkish police in the province of Aydın:

> The police are instructed to prepare for the extermination of the Greek population. A number of known *komitadjis* [i.e., irregulars, *çete*s] have been concentrated in the neighbourhood of Aydin and supplied with money and arms. The police is 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.[213]

Against this background, the Supreme Allied War Council authorized Greece to take control of the province of Aydın.[214] Hellenic troops landed at Smyrna on May 15 with a mandate from the Allied Powers:

> With a view to avoiding disorders and massacres of Christians in Smyrna and its environs, the occupation of the town and forts by Allied Forces has been decided upon by President [Wilson], Prime Minister [Lloyd George] and M. Clemenceau. Greek troops are on the way to Smyrna and Turks will be summoned to hand over forts to a landing party.[215]

The Greeks of Smyrna greeted the Hellenic troops as liberators, but the landing also provoked angry reactions from the Turks. A skirmish was provoked and a number of Turks were killed.[216]

The landing also gave the Turks, as with WWI, the necessary pretext to "resolve" its "minority problem": "The Nationalists, taking advantage of the war with Greece, have been carrying out their programme of extermination of the non-Turkish elements in Asia Minor. . . . Many regions in the interior of Asia Minor have been scenes of deportation, massacre, imprisonment and execution of innocent people after mock trial."[217] In his year-by-year report of some of the atrocities committed against the Armenians and Greeks, Rendel recorded that "as early as May 1919 reports of renewed persecutions of Armenians and Greeks all over Anatolia and Pontus began to come in."[218] In June, more than 3,000 Greek men, women, and children in Aydın were massacred by the Turks, and the town was almost completely destroyed by fire.

> 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 cruelest tortures. The inhabitants' property was plundered, virgins were carried off to the mountains, and Aydin is a vast cemetery. After the destruction of Aydin 800 women and children were sent off by railway to Nazli and Denizli on June 18th and 19th 1919.[219]

Dr. George E. White, representative of the ACRNE, in a letter made public through the *New York Times* in July, reported that

> Turkish officials decimated the Greek population along the Black Sea coast 250,000 men, women and children living between Sinop and Ordu without shedding of blood, but by "parboiling" the victims in Turkish baths then turning them out half-glad to die of pneumonia and other ills in the snow of the Anatolian winter.
>
> In the province of Bafra, also where there were more than 29,000 village Greeks, now less than 13,000 survive, and every Greek settlement has been burned. The

number of orphans, including some Armenian and Turkish children, in the entire district, it was said, aggregated 60,000.[220]

As British admiral of the fleet John de Robeck, commander in chief of the Mediterranean fleet (1919–1922), reported on November 11,

> The relief officers . . . find themselves met with obstructions and hostility . . . The most flagrant cases of injustice to Christians have to be left unredressed . . . 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. Turks are again taking possession of property restored to their Christian owners through the instrumentality of our relief officers, and a recent report shows that there is a general tendency on the part of the Moslem population, supported by the local authorities, to render it impossible for the Christians to earn their living, and by boycotting and terrorism, to drive them again from their homes, never to return.[221]

Beginning in spring 1920, reports about massacres in all parts of Asia Minor began coming in in ever-increasing numbers.[222] Rendel reportes that "the spring of 1920 also witnessed the outbreak of intensified persecutions against the Greeks. . . . Later, the persecutions became worse and were frequently accompanied by actual massacres."[223] In the district of Yozgat, on May 21, Circassian Kemalist irregulars under the command of Ethem Bey killed nearly all Greeks and Armenians. Those who survived—60 Greeks and 20 Armenians—were killed when Kemalist troops occupied the town again on July 9 and pillaged the houses of the Greeks.[224] In August, Cemil (Djemal) Bey and his men massacred the entire population of Nicaea (İznik). Rendel has quoted the following from a report from a British officer attached to the general headquarters of the British Army of the Black Sea:

> From information in the hands of the Smyrna Division, which is confirmed by a previous report, the whole Greek population of Isnik has been massacred. Apparently the majority of the massacres took place at the end of August—the remainder [s] of the population were killed before the Greeks [i.e., the Hellenic troops] 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. I myself was taken round some of the places where the remains of the bodies lay . . . At the foot of the mountains east of Isnik, about 300 yards outside the city wall, is a large cave. In this the burnt and mangled bodies had been thrown, a few odd bodies lay about outside, though it was difficult to judge very accurately owing to the state of decomposition. I should say there were at least 100 dead at this spot alone. All the bodies I saw had been mutilated, apparently they had first had their hands and feet cut off, after that they were either burnt alive in the cave or had their throats cut. I clearly recognized the bodies of women and children among them—apart from the mutilated remains, odd bones which lay about proved conclusively that the bodies had been cut up . . . Djemal Bey is said to be responsible for these massacres. Many stories are in circulation regarding his outrages in the town . . . The ancient Greek Church at Isnik, which dates from 332 AD has been thoroughly smashed up, only the walls

> remaining. The images, carvings, &c., were all broken up, and the church literature taken outside and burnt in pile. It is said that a number of people were massacred inside the church.[225]

On September 8, Cemil and his men entered the village of Oçoğlu 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 babes. One boy 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.[226]

In the region of Eskişehir, the male population was deported, while in Kütahya, Circassian Kemalist irregulars under the command of Ethem and İsmail Hakı Paşa committed "indescribable atrocities." The reports of the ecumenical patriarchate record that

> the Christian communities were terrorized. The male Christians of Eski Shehir were deported from the town, after being imprisoned and heavily taxed. . . . The town of Kutahia was the scene of indescribable atrocities, from the day on which the fanatical Kemalist Tserkes Edhem Bey and Major Ismail Hakky Bey [İsmail Hakı 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 other Christian elements, himself presiding in all acts of horror.[227]

In the meantime, on September 11, the Angora government issued the Law on Deserters, which established special tribunals, the so-called Independence Tribunals (İstiklâl Mahkemeleri), which acted like courts martial "with nearly unlimited authority."[228] Established in eight regions across Asia Minor, these "tribunals" were dissolved in February 1921 and reinstated in August 1921. They were consciously modeled on the "revolutionary tribunals" established in France in 1793, during the so-called Reign of Terror. Little, if any, attention was paid to due process, and there was no right of appeal against their verdicts. Death sentences were very common and usually carried out by public hanging within a few hours.[229] As part of the ongoing genocidal policy, these tribunals aimed at killing, en masse, the most important religious and civil representatives of the Pontic Greeks under a legal pretext. The tribunal of Amasya pronounced 174 death sentences,[230] while that of Samsun pronounced 485 death sentences between August and September 1921.[231] They operated under the authority of Nureddin Pasha, who also supervised the deadly deportations and who, in order to rationalize and justify this activity, employed a virulent language: "The Rums in our country are a snake, and women are the poison of these snakes."[232] As Israël Setrak Tahmazyan remembers in his memoirs, "before the tribunal of 'Istiklâl' without any judgment, the killing of the human race lasted for months until the end of the war between the Greeks and Kemal."[233]

In 1921, massacres and other persecutions and atrocities increased further.[234] As Rendel notes, "the persecutions of 1921 were on a larger scale and more atrocious than those of 1920."[235] On March 2, the National Assembly at Angora ordered the reintroduction of labor battalions.[236] Living and working conditions therein were deliberately inhumane, and the ultimate aim was simply to have people die. One Armenian survivor describes the conditions thus:

> The number of men in our *tabor* . . . was increasing by the day. All the soldiers-laborers had been specifically sent to this area [Kuruçk, near Erzurum] so that the hunger, thirst, and cold would precipitate our deaths. Why use bullets to kill? Later on the Turks would be labeled as murderers! Instead, let the soldiers-workers die off because of their inability to withstand the lack of proper clothing, hunger, and never-ending lice![237]

In June, the Australian newspaper the *Argus* (Melbourne, Victoria) relayed, "Terrible massacres are reported from the seaports of Samsun and Trebizond . . . 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."[238] The *New York Times* reported,

> American travelers 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 . . . , inaugurated his entry by the murder of ten Greeks. Then, surrounding the stores of the American Tobacco Company, he arrested all Greek clerks, numbering 800, and had them transported to an unknown destination. The Greek quarter was then surrounded and 1,500 other Greeks [were] 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.[239]

In Alaçam, Sinop, the entire male Christian population above the age of 12 had been imprisoned in May and subsequently exterminated. In June, Orthodox priests from Bafra and nearby regions "were arrested and after being publicly tortured, were crucified in the market place of Guioz Keuy [Gözköy]."[240] Concerning the massacres at Marsovan (Merzifon) at the end of July, Donald M. Hosford's account paints "a picture of unrelieved horror":

> Christian men, women and children were gradually gathered into three places, the city prison, the French Boys' School and a place described as a large red house. . . . Those gathered in the red house were for the most part young girls. All of them were violated and many of them were taken by the chetehs when they left the city. Those in the French School included several of our workers so that my knowledge is more complete regarding that group. There were in the group some men and

> many women and children. While they were in the building they were many times ordered to go from one room to another, marching in single file. As they went, any desirable girls were taken out of the line, and several men and boys were also taken out of the line and killed. Sunday noon fire broke out in the city. Several people affirm that they saw the fire start simultaneously at five different places. . . . The fire lasted approximately twenty-four hours and 400 houses were burned. One of the first building[s] of these to burn was the French School in which one of these groups was gathered. The chetehs showed no disposition whatever to release the people from the building. Finally, after much protest by a group of leading Turks of the city, the people were let out after the building was already on fire.[241]

> 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 men were killed, many of them our employees and 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."[242]

Burning priests and Christians alive in houses and churches had become a common practice in the overall genocidal process against Ottoman Christians—Armenians and Greeks in particular.[243] Moreover, the destruction by torching of churches was a deliberate act aimed at the annihilation of the physical, religious, and cultural memory of the victims. Riza Nur (1879–1942), minister of national education in 1920, minister of health and foreign affairs in 1921, and Kemalist chief negotiator at the Lausanne peace negotiations,[244] wrote in his memoirs about conversations he had had with Topal Osman Ağa,

> I told him, "Do not leave a stone in the Greek villages [of the Black Sea]. He replied to me, "I will do exactly that, but I will protect and will not destroy their churches and buildings because they might be useful in the future." I told him, "Demolish the buildings and churches as well and scatter their stones away. You never know what will happen in the future. Nobody should be able to come here in the future and say 'there was a church here.'" The answer given by Topal Osman was, "I will do it that way, I wasn't thinking correctly."[245]

The genocidal process evolved further with mass deportations, in the form of death marches, where thousands of Pontic Greeks died.[246] As Rendel reports:

> the worst atrocities undoubtedly took place in the Pontine region against the Greek population of the coast towns. . . . the Angora authorities resorted to wholesale deportations, continuous persecutions, and frequent massacres. 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 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 eyewitnesses which we have received from the American Embassy and through private sources."[247]

In his memoirs, Varteres Mikael Garougian recalls these deportations of Pontic Greeks, watching them arrive in Harput (Kharpert), probably in 1921:

> From the shores of the Black Sea caravans of deported Greeks began to reach Kharpert. Even though they were wretched and sick, the [Kemalist] 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!" . . . 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 have been deported from the edge of the Black Sea. Because they were unable to survive the travel and hunger, they became ill and died. . . . As we continued on our journey, we encountered more corpses, large and small, being devoured by ravenous vultures.[248]

As Rendel underlined,

> 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 has become well-nigh impossible.[249]

From autumn 1921 through winter 1922, the relief workers of ACRNE/NER witnessed the genocidal process.[250] Stanley Hopkins, a NER transportation worker who three times, from September to October 1921, had traveled the several hundred miles from Harput to Samsun by automobile and had witnessed the deportations and atrocities, submitted a detailed report to NER foreign secretary Charles Fowle. In his report, Hopkins relayed what he had seen:

> About September 1st 1921 I started on a trip by automobile from Harpoot to Samsoun. On the roads between Harpoot and Malatia I passed a large number of Greeks being deported from the south coast region of the Black Sea to the east. I estimated them to be about twelve thousand persons. They consisted of entire families and villages that have been uprooted and started on the road with whatever property they could carry on their backs and ox-carts. They were guarded by Turkish gendarmes, and they were moved slowly so that they would be unable to reach any point where they could settle before the winter snow would come. As regards health, clothing and food, the gendarmes and Turks along the way took every possible advantage of them. One man sold a cow for one hundred silver piasters, the equivalent of about $3.00, in order to obtain food.

After leaving Samsoun on my return to Harpoot I passed the old men of Samsoun, Greeks, who were being deported. Many of these men were feeble with age, but in spite of that fact they were being pressed forward at the rate of thirty miles a day and there was no transport available for those who were weak or ill. There was no food allowance for them, and any food that they could obtain had to be procured by money or sale of small articles that they could carry with them. On the trip I passed many corpses of Greeks lying by the road side where they had died from exposure. Many of these were the corpses of women and girls with their faces toward the sky, covered with flies.

About October 1st I started from Harpoot toward Samsoun being accompanied by Miss. Bailey and McClellan, all of us planning to return to America. On this trip we passed what I estimated to be about ten thousand Greeks. I remember one group of about two thousand, being women alone, most of them with no shoes, many of them carrying babies on their backs and in their arms. A driving cold rain was falling at the time I passed them and they had no protection whatsoever and their only place to sleep was the wet ground. These women were on the road within a day's automobile journey of Harpoot. On this, our last trip out from Harpoot, we passed similar groups all along the way.

Harpoot seems to be a gathering and forwarding center for these Greek refugees. There are between fifteen and twenty thousand Greeks in Harpoot from all regions to the west and north. They are absolutely without help, and in the nature of the case large numbers of them are dying. They are allowed to stay in Harpoot a short time and are then sent forward to the east where their fate is not known. The Near East Relief is not allowed by the Turkish Government in any of its centers in Anatolia, so far as I know, either to hire Greeks or to help them by giving food, clothing or money. In Sivas the Americans of the Near East Relief were not even allowed to go and see the conditions in which the Greek refugees were. . . .

These are conditions and incidents all of which except the last I witnessed. They seem to indicate that the Greeks of Anatolia are suffering the same or a worse fate than did the Armenians in the massacres of the Great War. The deportation of the Greeks is not limited to the Black Sea Coast but is being carried out throughout the whole country governed by the Nationalists. Greek villages are deported entire, the few Turkish or Armenian inhabitants are forced to leave, and the villages are burned. The purpose is unquestionably 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.[251]

After a lengthy personal interview with Dr. Mark Hopson Ward (1884–1952), an NER medical doctor,[252] and after being compelled by the Turkish authorities to leave Harput on 15 March 1922,[253] British high commissioner in Constantinople Sir Orace Rumbold (1869–1941)[254] sent his government two telegrams and a report, on April 15 and May 10. These documents, which appeared in the *Times* on May 5,[255] prompted a debate in the British House of Commons in which Prime Minister Arthur N. Chamberlain confirmed the assessment of the situation[256] as given by Rumbold in his May 10 telegram:

> 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 Ceasarea, and then back again until they are eventually sent through Kharput to the east. In this manner a large number of deportees die on 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.
>
> 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 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. Turks, in preference, choose winter weather for driving these deportees into mountains. American Near Eastern Relief was not allowed to shelter children whose parents had died on the road. These children were driven forward with other deportees. Dr. Ward, himself, last year, in December, counted 150 bodies on the road between Kharput and Malatia. A fellow worker saw and counted 1,500 bodies on the road to Kharput, 2,000 deportees died on the road east of that place. Two-thirds of Greek deportees are women and children. At present fresh deportation outrages are starting in all parts of Asia Minor from northern sea ports to south eastern district.[257]

On his way back to the United States, Ward met with Lancelot Oliphant (1881–1965), assistant secretary of the foreign office and acting counselor, in London. Ward gave him a summary of the deportations, emphasizing the genocidal, or exterminatory, intent of the Kemalist authorities:

> From May, 1921, to March last [1922], 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. On these thirty thousand, ten thousand perished last winter and ten thousand escaped or 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 deaths to hundreds of these poor people. The Turkish policy is extermination of these Christian minorities.[258]

Once in the United States, Ward gave a lengthy interview to the *Christian Science Monitor*, where, among other things, he reported,

> While Mustapha Kemal Pasha is the leader of the murderers, I am firmly convinced that he is acting according to a tacit agreement with the Government at Constantinople . . .
>
> The Turkish Nationalists resumed their war of extermination against the Christian minorities, the Armenians and the Greeks, nearly ten months ago [in September 1921] . . .
>
> The Kemalists pursued with vigour their considered and systematic campaign for the extermination of the Greek minority in Asia Minor, which was attended with

the same incredible brutality as marked the Turkish massacre of 1,000,000 Armenians in the early part of the Great War.

This war of extermination became more thorough as the Turkish Nationalists grew in power. It involved the deportation of the Greeks from their homes on the southern shores of the Black Sea, along the roads through Sivas and Harpoot to the mountainous regions east of Bitlis.

At first the male inhabitants were sent to the interior near Sivas and Harpoot, where I was stationed, and set to work on the roads. There was no shelter and little food, and during last winter men succumbed in large numbers.

The next step was to clear out the women and children from these same villages and the men from the coast cities of Samsun and Trebizond. Of 30,000 deportees who were driven from their homes in Sivas, only 20,000 arrived in Harpoot. All were destined to Bitlis, a heap of ruins left from the war, and in the centre of a barren, mountainous country unfitted to provide food for even one-tenth of the refugees.

The deportees were driven along the roads like so many herds of cattle. The herds of wretched beings stretched along the roads for miles. . . . Herded thus on the road the deportees underwent a process of spoliation and murder. . . . I will never forget the sight of those long lines of poor mortals stretching into their exile in the mountains of Bitlis.[259]

Major Forrest D. Yowell (b. 1882), former director of the NER unit in Harput, arrested on March for reasons "which the Turkish authorities refused to divulge, and . . . forcibly deported,"[260] wrote in a report to the US secretary of state, Charles E. Hughes (1862–1948; in office 1921–1925), the following:

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 NER from assisting 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 to 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 t00 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 of 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.[261]

Edith Wood, an NER nurse working in Harput and Malatya from the end of November 1921 to early spring 1922, wrote in her diary in May 1922 that, during her two-week journey to the Black Sea coast, she had seen every day

> groups of deportees, mostly women and children, all starving, and a great number of bodies along the road . . . and the entire remaining population was being deported without food and clothing . . . Conditions at Malatia, where the deportees died at the rate of forty or fifty a day, were far worse than in Harpoot.[262]

She also gave a description of conditions in Malatya:

> Conditions were far 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 after Miss Wood thought 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 when we want to tell them 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 women 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 fields everywhere. There was no hope for the Greeks from Malatia to Samsun, and the most fortunate were those who perished at the start."[263]

Describing the death marches to which the Pontic Greeks were subjected, Ethel Thompson of the NER relayed,

The ghastly lines of gaunt, starving Greek women and children who staggered across Anatolia through the city of Harput, their glassy eyes fairly protruding from their heads, their bones merely covered with skin, skeleton babies tied to their backs, driven on without food supplies or clothing until they dropped dead—Turkish gendarmes hurrying them with their guns.

We crossed Anatolia under a blazing sun, passing groups and groups of the old men of Samsun and the inhabitants of other Black Sea ports walking on, God knows where, driven by Turkish gendarmes. Dead bodies of those who had dropped during the hard tramp were lying by the roadside. Vultures had eaten parts of the flesh, so that in most cases merely skeletons remained.

Upon arriving in Malatia we found the remainder of a group of young men who had been deported from Samsun in June [1922]. These men told us that the balance of their party had been killed. Upon arriving in Harput, we entered a city full of starving, sick, wretched human wrecks—Greek women, children and men. Those people were trying to make a soup of grass, and considered themselves fortunate when they could secure a sheep's ear to aid it—the ear being the only part of the animal thrown away in Anatolia. The Turks had given them no food on the 500-mile trips from Samsun. Those with money could bribe the guards for food or buy a little on the way until they were robbed. Those without money died by the wayside.

> In many places, thirsty in the blistering sun and heat, they were not allowed water unless they could pay for it. The Near East Relief stations tried to give them bread as they passed Caesarea and Sivas, but the amount they could carry was small. It would have been more humane to give them a bullet than bread, because death would come in any case sooner or later.[264]

She continued,

> When a woman with a baby died, the baby was taken from her dead arms and handed to another woman, and the horrible march proceeded. Old blind men led by little children trudged along the road. The whole thing was like a march of corpses, a march of death across Anatolia, which continued during my entire summer.
>
> The heaviest winter weather, when a howling blizzard was raging during a blinding snowfall, was the favourite time chosen by the Turks to drive the Greeks on. Thousands perished in the snow. The road from Harput to Bitlis was lined with bodies. I saw women with transparent lips who did not look human. They were like gaunt shadows. The roads over which women and children travelled were impassable for any kind of travel excepting pack mule.[265]

In late spring 1922, Dr. Herbert Gibbons, correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, reported the following in a cable to his newspaper:

> Despite repeated blank denials, the Angora [i.e., Kemalist] Turks are following a deliberate and ruthless policy of extermination of the Greeks. I find that Trebizond is being cleared of the remaining Christian population.
>
> Two years ago there were 25,000 Greeks here. To-day, between the ages of 80 and 14, the male population numbers 6 priests and 10 civilians. Not one doctor, not one teacher is left. The Greek hospitals and Greek schools are closed and even private lessons in the homes are forbidden. There are no Greeks in business. The Greeks were the most prosperous element here, with fine homes, a splendid hospital, owning large summer villas on the hills; but now that the fathers and the husbands and the sons have gone, the women are plunged into deep poverty.
>
> I see the women digging ditches, passing stones to masons, carrying heavy burdens in bare feet and rags. They are the longshoremen of the port. Now after having deported all the older boys, the Angora Government has ordered the seizure of children of 14 down to 11 years of age. It is a heartrending sight to see the poor little children herded like cattle, driven through the streets to the Government House, where they are being thrown into a filthy underground dungeon. Some 300 were thus collected on May 20th at Trebizond.

This extermination—on an industrial scale—was conducted at Jevislik (Cevizlık) concentration and extermination camp, where Pontic Greeks were interned and wherein certain death through starvation, disease, shooting, and other forms of violence and killing awaited them.[266] Gibbons describes vividly the conditions at Jevislik:

> This week [the children] there will follow their elders to the barbed-wire enclosure [i.e., concentration camp] near Jevislik, on the road to Erzerum, far from the unpleasant inquisitive eyes of foreigners, and where they will disappear for ever.

> For the deportees, once entering the Jevislik [concentration] camp, never leave it. The Turks give them no food, which of course can only have one result. Not only Trebizond, but all the Greek villages of this region, feed their mankind into the Moloch jaws of Jevislik.
>
> The Armenian villages were long ago destroyed; now has come the turn of the Greek peasants. With no men and boys, having no seed, cattle or farming tools, the women cannot eke out a living, so they come with their children to Trebizond in quest of food, the young girls hiding their youth behind dirt and rags. Whatever outrages may be perpetrated, the authorities make no investigation.[267]

Such were the tortures at Jevislik camp that even prominent Turks protested against them: " 'Jeveslik cries out to Heaven against us, we shall be doomed among the nations' one of these declared, while another pleaded with the Vali [i.e., Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran] that the Turkish national honor should be no longer stained with such crimes against humanity."[268]

In May 1922, Rendel wrote in his report,

> The great contention of the pro-Turks now that the massacres etc. are proved, is that they are due to the Greek landing at Smyrna. This is entirely untrue and mischievous. Apart from the million or more Armenians massacred during the war, we know that at least half a million Greeks were deported before 1919, of whom a great number died, and we have the evidence of British internees, (e.g. McLean) for some of the worst and most horrible anti-Greek atrocities of that period.[269]

On May 17, the secretary of state's draft reply to British parliamentarian Aubrey Herbert (1880–1923) stated,

> Turkish atrocities against the Christian minorities have been going on almost continuously for more than 7 years. His Majesty's Government has good reason to believe that about half a million Greeks were deported by the Turks during the war, of whom a large number perished in circumstances of unspeakable barbarity. I cannot therefore accept the Hon. Member's implication that the Turkish atrocities of the last few years are primarily due to the Greek landing at Smyrna.[270]

On August 29, Turkish Kemalist troops entered Cydoniae (Ayvalık). The city was destroyed, while most of the town's male population—some 3,000—were deported to the interior of Asia Minor. Only 23 persons survived—that is, less than 1%.[271] A survivor, Elias Venezis (born Elias Mellos; Cydoniae 1904–Athens 1973), had his recollections published in 1924 in a series of newspaper articles titled "The Number 31328: The Book of Slavery."[272] A youth of just eighteen years, Venezis was conscripted into a labor battalion and "remained a slave without any rights and even without any official recognition of existence for fourteen months."[273]

### *The Smyrna Holocaust*

The genocidal process was completed with the deliberate destruction and holocaust of Smyrna on 13 September 1922, five days after the departure of Hellenic troops.[274]

Kemalist troops entered the city on the morning of September 9.[275] The city's administration was assigned to Kemalist general Nureddin Ibrahim Pasha, a military commander known for his cruelty.[276] Personally involved in earlier massacres against

Greeks, he had apparently once suggested that all Greek and Armenian populations remaining in Asia Minor should be deported or killed.[277]

Together with local Greeks and Armenians, thousands of Greek and other Christian refugees from the interior had fled to the city after the retreat of the Hellenic troops. They had hoped to find protection there or be evacuated.[278] Immediately upon their entry, the Turkish troops, with the help of irregulars, engaged themselves in an orgy of slaughter, rape, arson, and looting of indescribable proportions.[279] American eyewitness Dr. James L. Park from Indiana describes this in a letter to his family:

> On September 9th, the Turks entered Smyrna by force of arms, following six hours in the rear of retreating Greeks . . . I saw people being robbed and then shot, houses being torn open and the contents being strewn on the streets, the women carried off, the men shot or stabbed at their own doorsteps, or driven out of the city in bands of from 100 to 200, to be killed, forced to hold up their hands and shout for Kemal while being clubbed and jabbed by the bayonet.[280]

On Sunday 10, Kemal also entered Smyrna. He gave no assurances for the safety of the civilian population.[281] On September 13, the Armenian quarter of the city was set on fire[282] by Turkish regular troops.[283]

A *New York Times* article reported the testimony of Minnie B. Mills, head of the American Collegiate Institute, an eyewitness of the events:

> Several stories are told concerning the origin of the fire. The most reliable is that of Minnie B. Mills, head of the American Collegiate Institute who declared she saw a Turkish regular army sergeant or officer enter a building near where the first flames were seen. He was carrying small tins, evidently containing kerosene. Immediately after he left the house it broke into flames. Other small fires started shortly after.[284]

Charles Dobson, the British chaplain at Smyrna, also reported:

> It is most significant that the fire shot up in several places with very little intervals of time and pointed to a systematic incendiarism such as only a well coordinated movement could have affected. Also, that the city was fired immediately after the changing of a wind that for the previous three days was in the general direction of the Turkish quarter. Any fire, previous to the change, would have swept the Turkish quarters. Independent witnesses, who have been at Smyrna since the fire, speaking of the unsatisfactory and lame stories of the Turks, tend to confirm their guilt in this matter.[285]

Falih Rifki Atay, the Kemalist nationalist journalist who had travelled from Constantinople to Smyrna to interview Kemal, noted about the burning of the city,

> It was the day of the great fire. As the fire spread through the districts, people ran toward the quay . . . As my heart trembled I watched this unique tragedy . . . Infidel İzmir with flames by night and smoke by day burnt to an end. Was it really just Armenian arsonists that were responsible for the fire as we were told at that time? Many were saying it was the work of the army general Nureddin Pasha . . . As I have decided to write the truth about what I know I would like to extract a page from my notes that I took at the time [while] here. "Pillagers helped the fire grow . . . If it wasn't for Nureddin Pasha, who I had known to be a strong fanatic and an

> engaged demagogue, I believe this tragedy would not have reached such proportions."[286]

As the *Times* Near East correspondent at Constantinople reported, the fire was deliberately planned in order to change the city's former identity: "Appalling stories of the Smyrna fire are told by British residents who have just arrived here. All whom I have seen say they believe that the fire was deliberately planned by the Turkish commanders with the object of making an end of 'Giaur Izmir.' "[287]

What occurred at Smyrna is beyond imagination and description. As F. W. Bunter, a medical officer on the British Royal Navy hospital ship *HMS Maine*, present at Smyrna, stated, "the carnage and cruelty to the Greek civilians was indescribable." In his unpublished memoirs, he described vividly some of the atrocities committed:

> It was not long after our stay in Constantinople with our fleet that we had a sudden call to sail to Smyrna where the Turks were raiding and devastating the city. The carnage and cruelty to the Greek civilians was indescribable. We saw from where we were just off the shore the Turks bayoneting bodies, men, women and children, through the windows of their home. Hundreds of Greeks, civilians as well as troops, hanging over the dock water-side and the Turkish soldiers coming along and deliberately severing the victims' arms resulting in hundreds of bodies falling to their deaths in the sea. Hundreds too were swimming towards us and eventually we rescued them, treated them and took them down to Malta.[288]

Park also provides a haunting image of the process of destruction:

> On the 13th of September at 3:00 p.m. fire broke out in the Armenian quarter at various places, finally converging into two huge raging furnaces by 7 o'clock and sweeping rapidly toward the waterfront. The 100,000 refugees and 100,000 inhabitants of Smyrna were driven from their houses, finally all collecting on the quay, which became packed with a tremendous, terror-stricken throng, of such magnitude that I cannot yet take it in, or form a sufficient conception of the meaning of it. Early in the evening at 4:30, the sky was darkened with smoke. The air was charged with a concentrated fear . . . All through the night, the roaring of the fire that took in the greater part of the city or the entire European section, the continuous wail of the 200,000 people on the quay that seemed to be doomed to be swallowed up in the flames when the fire would finally break through the water front, people throwing themselves into the sea to be drowned, to swim to the nearest ships, or to give up half way out from exhaustion, the crash of falling buildings, the shots on the quay, homicidal and suicidal, all combined to make the night one long, horrible fiendish nightmare. I saw it from on board the American destroyer. The glare of the fire was visible twenty miles out at sea. On the 14th killing of Armenians and Greeks continued . . . I have not told half of the things I have seen. The disgusting aftermath [i.e., of September 15], the bloated bodies of men, women and animals floating along the quay, the cart-loads of human bodies carried out of the city, the streets in the Armenian quarters strewn with bodies and household goods, the depressing forest of charred ruins, representing wealth and prosperity that is no more, and cannot soon be again, the awful scramble and moaning, crushing mobs of refugees trying to get on board the boats brought for them, the open and shameless robbery of refugees by the Turk soldiers that went through them

> systematically, to rob, beat and violate the women and girls, without any pretence of secrecy.[289]

Gülfrem İren, a Turkish eyewitness, also provides a haunting description of the scenery:

> In the sea I saw their carcasses . . . For months that filth wouldn't leave Smyrna's bay. The waves would drag them back and forth, back and forth . . . We came home, but for months the Greeks were being gathered by our soldiers. And almost every night the Greek men were being taken in groups past our doorstep, with their hands tied, their hair sticking up, and their beards grown, they were in a miserable state. They were taken up to the mountains and shot.[290]

Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy (1839–1967), a member of the American Women's Hospital, gave an account of the events she had witnessed, which, to her horror, perhaps surpassed all others:

> "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 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 cause one to wonder if escape were better than Turkish deportation. . . .
>
> "On September 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 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.
>
> "One could constantly hear the screams and moans and shrieks of those poor women and girls moving up and down that quay . . . There was no retreat from that position. If they had tried to go back to the ruins of the city they probably would have lost their lives."[291]

The destruction of the city and the carnage that followed were undertaken with the complete approval and knowledge of Kemal. He watched the fire from his mansion, high on a hill overlooking the inferno, and said, "It is a sign, a sign that Turkey is purged of the traitors, the Christians, and of the foreigners and that Turkey is for the Turks."[292]

One of the victims was the city's bishop, Metropolitan Chrysostomos (1867–1922),[293] who found a martyr's death as he was given to a Turkish mob by Nureddin:

> The mob took possession of Metropolitan Chrysostom and carried him away . . . a little further on, in front of an Italian hairdresser named Ismail . . . they stopped and the Metropolitan was slipped into a white hairdresser's overall. They began to beat him with their fists and sticks and to spit on his face. They riddled him with stabs. They tore his beard off, they gouged his eyes out, they cut off his nose and ears.[294]

He was then dragged around the city by a car or a truck, and he died soon after.[295] Of him Dobson has said, "He was truly a martyr who died through staying at his post to reassure his people."[296]

On September 15, the *Times* reported that, up to the September 13 outbreak of the fire, 1,000 persons were said to have been massacred but that there was fear that the death toll had increased greatly since then.[297] On September 16, the newspaper printed the estimate of John Manola of the American Relief Committee, who claimed that victims numbered at least 120,000.[298] According to Horton's estimate, at least 100,000 Greeks perished as a result of the Turkish campaign of extermination.[299] In fact, the Greek death toll is likely to stand significantly higher since comparisons of Smyrna's population prior and after the events show at least 190,000 Christians unaccounted for.[300]

On September 16, Nureddin issued a proclamation that all Greek and Armenian men between the ages of 18 and 45 would be deported to the interior and conscripted into labor battalions.[301] He repeated this order on September 24.[302] Men and women were separated; the men were led away and shot in groups. Alfred E. Brady of the American Smyrna Disaster Committee reported that

> although the majority of Greek and Armenian civilian men in Asia Minor have been deported to Angora, into what is tantamount to slavery, and the majority of women and children exiled, the Turks' campaign of massacre and terror continues as the last surviving Christian communities are being wiped out one by one.[303]

The conditions of the departure of the survivors and their evacuation to the Greek islands and the ports of Piraeus and Thessalonica occurred amid chaos, panic,

epidemics, and insanity. Morgenthau, who personally witnessed their arrival at the port of Piraeus, wrote,

> The conditions of these people upon their arrival in Greece was pitiable beyond description. They had been herded upon every kind of craft that could float, crowded so densely on board that in many cases they had only room to stand on deck . . . In one case, which I myself beheld, seven thousand people were packed into a vessel that would have been crowded with a load of two thousand. In this and many other cases there was neither food to eat nor water to drink, and in numerous instances the ships were buffeted about for several days at sea before their wretched human cargo could be brought to land. Typhoid and smallpox swept through the ships. Lice infested everyone. Babies were born on board. Men and women went insane. Some leaped overboard to end their miseries in the sea. Those who survived were landed without shelter upon the open beach, loaded with filth, racked by fever, without blankets or even warm clothing, without food and without money.[304]

The British consul general in Smyrna, Sir Harry Harling Lamb (1857–1948), had sent Lord Curzon a full account of the destruction of the city in the second week of September. On reading Lamb's account, Winston Churchill wrote, "Smyrna must, for a deliberately planned and methodically executed atrocity, find few parallels in the history of human crime."[305]

An October 10 report from Robert W. Urquhart, acting British vice consul at Smyrna, to Rumbold provides an account of the conditions at Smyrna a month after the carnage: "Bodies have been collected and burnt . . . Greek churches are being systematically razed to the ground. A house-to-house search and the activities of informers have completely cleared the town of Greeks and Armenians . . . The Turks claim to have solved the problem of minorities."[306]

Thus, as Churchill wrote in his memoirs of the Great War, "Turkey became once again the sole master of Asia Minor, and Mustapha Kemal's Army, having celebrated their triumph by the burning of Smyrna to ashes and by a vast massacre of its Christian population, turned the heads of their columns hopefully towards Constantinople and the Straits."[307] It was in this way that, in 1922, some 850 years after the Battle of Manzikert (1071) and the establishment of the first Turks in eastern Asia Minor, the millennia-long, vibrant Hellenic presence in the region came to an end. Gibbons is perfectly justified when he writes about the year 1922,

> The blow of September, 1922, proved to be a greater blow to Hellenism than the fall of Byzantium in 1453 or any other of the vicissitudes suffered by the Greeks in the original Turkish conquest of Asia Minor or the Balkans; for the Turks resolved this time to stamp out Hellenism for good and all.[308]

Paul Fregosi writes about Smyrna,

> The last days of Greek Smyrna (today's Izmir) does not make for pleasant reading either. But it is necessary reading, in the same way that we are urged to remember the murder of six million Jews by the Christian Germans in the gas chambers of Auschwitz and the other Nazi concentration camps during World War II.

And he concludes,

> There were twenty one foreign warships in Smyrna harbor that day; three American destroyers; two British battleships; three cruisers; and six destroyers; an Italian cruiser and destroyer; and three French cruisers; and two destroyers. Their orders were to observe strict neutrality as the Turks took over the city from the departing Greeks. They carried out their orders with aloof and superb inhumanity. Thousands of tightly packed Greek and Armenian refugees, men, women, and children, stood all night, standing shoulder to shoulder on the wharf, screaming for help. The band on the deck of British battleship played a light musical selection to show that whatever might be happening around them, stiff upper lipped Britons knew how to remain cool in the direst of circumstances.
>
> The wretched Greeks and Armenians screamed all night for help in the name of God and humanity.[309]

## The Post-1923 Continuation and Completion of the Genocidal Process

Against Turkey's wishes, the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) permitted around 90,000 Greeks of Turkish nationality to remain in Constantinople. A further 60,000 Greeks of Hellenic nationality were also allowed to stay on.[310] The ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, the seat of world Orthodoxy, was also allowed to remain in Constantinople. But the genocidal process against Turkey's Greeks did not end with the treaty and its arrangements. Its continuation was manifested by a series of measures and restrictions placed upon the remaining Greeks of Constantinople and against the ecumenical patriarchate, which was stripped of all its previous privileges under Ottoman law.[311]

In its anti-patriarchate policies and designs, the Kemalist regime extended multifold support to a parallel, antagonizing, and uncanonical "church," the so-called Turkish Orthodox Church (Türk Ortodoks Kilisesi), or Autocephalous Turkish Orthodox Patriarchate (Bağımsız Türk Ortodoks Patrikhanesi), which—with the acquiescence of the Turkish state—illegally occupied and misappropriated churches and properties belonging to the ecumenical patriarchate.[312] The state also brought grave obstacles to the free operation and religious independence of the ecumenical patriarchate, denying its universal status and its right for self-administration in internal matters. In addition, the Kemalists deported Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine VI (17 December 1924 – 30 January 1925) and forced the synod to elect a successor.[313] Continuing Ottoman anti-minority policies and policies of economic Turkification, the Kemalist regime confiscated in 1936 assets, properties, and land belonging to the ecumenical patriarchate and the remaining Greek community in general. These efforts continued as far as 1955, 1964, and 1974, and to a great degree are continuing today, albeit at a slower pace.[314]

The Turkish government also implemented a policy of strong discrimination against the Greeks of the Aegean Islands of Imbros (Gökçeada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada), which, in virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne, although overwhelmingly Greek-populated, were ceded to Turkey.[315] Article 14 of the treaty, which gave Turkey control of these islands, "stipulated a strong regime of local autonomy in favour of the traditional [Greek] inhabitants."[316] In accordance with that article, the Law about Local Administrations of Subdivisions Imbros and Tenedos (number 1151) was enacted on 15 June 1927, but it was never put into practice.[317] The government promptly took over the administration of the islands, including the judiciary, police, port authorities, and

customs officers. It chose the members of the administrative councils, confiscated the lands of those who left, prohibited their return and resettlement, and abolished the use of the Greek language, in flagrant violation of its obligations under the Treaty of Lausanne.[318] In 1926, British liaison officer Captain E. A. Nottingham Parker reported to his government, "The Turkish government has taken no steps to administer Imbros and Tenedos in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne."[319] In 1928, an official report advised the "Turkification of Imbros without delay and list[ed] what to do in order to achieve that." [320]

Just two years after the notorious capital (or wealth) tax was discriminately imposed upon Christians and Jews in 1942,[321] the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP), the party of Kemal and the ideological successor of the CUP,[322] issued a "Minority Report" ("Azınlıklar Raporu") in which the CHP put forth its policies vis-à-vis the remaining Greeks:

> 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 500th anniversary of its conquest.[323]

The Istanbul Pogrom of 6–7 September 1955,[324] the 1964 deportations,[325] the further restrictions imposed upon the ecumenical patriarchate and its religious, educational, and other institutions,[326] and the 1974 invasion of Cyprus, its occupation, ethnic cleansing, and the implantation of Turkish settlers there[327] are only some of the latter steps taken to further purge Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Cyprus from its autochthonous Greek populations and to replace them with ethnic Turks.

## Some Conclusions and Assessments

This article has attempted to document and analyze the genocide against the Ottoman Greeks.

As noted, the genocidal intent against Ottoman Christians in their totality did exist as early as 1908, if not prior. This destructive intent entered its phase of radicalization after the Balkan Wars as far as Ottoman Greeks were concerned and after the so-called Armenian Reforms as far as the Ottoman Armenians were concerned.[328] States of war, multilateral and even bilateral, were used as the pretexts for this radicalization. They also created the right time and space for committing the genocidal crime.

The genocide of the Ottoman Greeks lasted more or less 10 years, from about 1913 to 1923. The overall genocidal process began after the Balkan Wars, if not prior, and can roughly be divided in three major periods, or phases: before, during, and after WWI. The genocide was committed by two subsequent and chronologically, ideologically, and organically interrelated and interconnected dictatorial and chauvinist regimes: (1) the regime of the CUP, under the notorious triumvirate of the three pashas (Üç Paşalar), Talât, Enver, and Cemal, and (2) the rebel government at Samsun and Ankara, under the authority of the Grand National Assembly (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi) and Kemal. Although the process had begun before the Balkan Wars, the final and most decisive period started immediately after WWI and ended with the almost total

destruction of the Pontic Greeks and the intentional burning and destruction of the city of Smyrna and its population, along with the massacres and deportations that followed.

There is no doubt that the persecutions, massacres, deportations, and other genocidal measures clearly and convincingly accumulated in a total genocide of the Ottoman Greeks, an autochthonous and distinct ethno-religious group of the Ottoman Empire's multi-national and multi-religious setting.[329] The genocide of the Ottoman Greeks, in conjunction with similar processes affecting Ottoman Armenians and Assyrians/Arameans, point toward a systematic policy of extermination and annihilation of the empire's autochthonous Christian peoples aiming at the creation of a Muslim and—as we can infer from later developments and state policies—ethnically Turkish state where other non-Turkish and, to some extent, non-Sunni ethnic and religious groups would be hardly tolerated, if not systematically persecuted.[330]

From a comparative perspective, the Greeks' genocide experience took place over a longer period of time than the genocides against the Armenians and Assyrians/Arameans. It was also more episodic, but just as lethal. Moreover, the cumulative destruction seems to have been based on shifting regional focuses that depended on external and internal factors. From a regional point of view, roughly speaking, the genocide began in Eastern Thrace and was extended to western Asia Minor, Pontus, and then Smyrna and its surroundings.[331]

Having in mind the whole picture, we can conclude that the genocidal process against the Ottoman Christians constitutes the first massive destruction of citizens by their own government in the modern period. Under two consecutive, chauvinist regimes, the Ottoman Greeks suffered for the same reasons and from the same genocidal intent as their Armenian and Assyrian/Aramean compatriots, though methods, places, and motivations were sometimes different. The process continued even after the creation of the Turkish republic, the successor state of the Ottoman Empire, against the remaining Greeks of Constantinople, Imbros, and Tenedos and their institutions, the most important being the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, which was a pan-Orthodox, pan-Christian, and inter-religious point of reference. In sum, from 1913 to 1923, the Ottoman Greek community was thoroughly destroyed through expulsion, massacre, war, and genocide. In 1913, there were more than 2 million Greeks in Turkey. Today, there are fewer than 3,000.

**Vasileios Th. Meichanetsidis**, JCD, has studied humanities, religion, law, Byzantine and oriental studies, peace building management, political science, and history at various European universities. He has taught for a number of years at the European Schools of Brussels.

## Notes

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This article is dedicated to Dr. Polychronis Enepekidis (Amissos, Pontus, Ottoman Empire, 1917–Vienna, Austria 2014), professor emeritus at the University of Vienna, one of the first scholars to document, from the German and Austrian diplomatic archives, the systematic anti-Greek persecutions of the Ottoman Empire and Kemalist Turkey and to analyze them under the prism of genocide. May his memory be eternal!

Two transliteration systems are used in this text. Ottoman and modern Turkish words and names have usually been spelled according to today's Turkish orthography. Names in Greek have been rendered according to English phonetics. Throughout, I have tried to make note of varients so as to help the reader navigate through the material. Readers should note that some place names will be spelled

differently in quoted material than in my body text; since most of these are all pronounced the same way in English, I have chosen not to standardize them, though I have inserted clarifying notes where necessary.

2. Quoted in Lysimachos Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom of Smyrna and Eastern Christendom: A File of Overwhelming Evidence, Denouncing the Misdeeds of the Turks in Asia Minor and Showing Their Responsibility for the Horrors of Smyrna* (London: George Allen & Unwin), 1922, 27.
3. Tessa Hofmann, Matthias Bjørnlund, and Vasileios Meichanetsidis, introduction to *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks: Studies on the State-Sponsored Campaign of Extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor (1912–1922) and Its Aftermath: History, Law, Memory*, ed. Tessa Hofmann, Matthias Bjørnlund, and Vasileios Meichanetsidis (New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 2011), 1–13, 1.
4. On the definitions of the concepts *genocide*, *ethnic cleansing*, and *crimes against humanity*, see William A. Schabas, "The 'Odious Scourge:' Evolving Interpretations of the Crime of Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1, 2 (2006): 93–106; and Daniel Marc Segesser, "Dissolve or Punish? The International Debate amongst Jurists and Publicists on the Consequences of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire 1915–21," *Journal of Genocide Research* 10,1 (2008): 95–110. For a detailed discussion of the legal implications of the term *ethnic cleansing*, see Alfred de Zayas, "Ethnic Cleansing: Applicable Norms, Emerging Jurisprudence, Implementable Remedies," in *International Humanitarian Law*, ed. John Carey, William V. Dunlap, and R. John Pritchard (Ardsley, NY: Transnational, 2003), 283–313.On WWI and its impact on the formation of the concept of ethnic cleansing, see T. Hunt Tooley, "World War I and the Emergence of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe," in *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe*, ed. Steven Béla Várdy, T. Hunt Tooley, and Agnes Huszár Várdy (Boulder, Colo.: Columbia UP, 2003), 42–62 and some subsequent articles in the same volume.
5. "Genocide under the Law of Nations," *New York Times*, 5 January 1947. See also "Genocide," *New York Times*, 26 August 1946; and Raphael Lemkin, "Genocide," *American Scholar* 15,2 (1946): 227–30.
6. Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, introduction, 17. For more on Lemkin, see Steven Leonard Jacobs, "Genocide of Others: Raphael Lemkin, the Genocide of the Greeks, the Holocaust, and the Present Moment," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 297–309; and Steven Leonard Jacobs, ed., *Lemkin on Genocide: Written by Raphael Lemkin* (Plymouth: Lexington, 2012).
7. United Nations War Crimes Commission, comp., *Complete History of the United Nations War Crimes Commission and the Development of the Laws of War* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948), 45.
8. Use of the word *holocaust* to characterize and define pogroms and massacres against Christians in the Ottoman Empire and the total destruction and burning of their villages and cities was not rare. Publications such as Frederick Zaccheus Duckett Ferriman, *The Young Turks and the Truth about the Holocaust at Adana in Asia Minor during April, 1909* (London, 1913), Charles Dobson, *The Smyrna Holocaust* (London: Anglo-Hellenic League, 1923), and numerous press articles testify to this usage. Later, the term was *somehow* appropriated to the point of thinking that it should be used to refer solely to the destruction of the European Jewry by the Nazis during and after World War II. On the use of this term, see Jon Petrie, "The Secular Word Holocaust: Scholarly Myths, History, and 20th Century Meanings," *Journal of Genocide Research* 2,1 (2000): 31–63; Tessa Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῇ*—Cumulative Genocide: The Massacres and Deportations of the Greek Population of the Ottoman Empire (1912–1923)," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 95–108, 41; and Nikolaos Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust: The Final Phase of the Greek Genocide," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 195–244, 226.
9. On the term *genocidology*, see K. Kherlopian, *Genocidology: A Study of the Armenian Genocide* (Beirut, 2006).
10. See Panayiotis Diamadis, *From Hearth to Holocaust: The Hellenic Holocaust of Pontos, Asia Minor and Thrace* (Sydney, 1999); Sofia Kontogeorge Kostos, ed., *Before the Silence: Archival News Reports of the Christian Holocaust That Begs to be Remembered* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2010); Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2011), 149ff., 163ff.; and Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks* (with a vast collection of bibliographical references in various languages). See also George N. Shirinian, ed., *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide: Essays on Asia Minor, Pontos, and Eastern Thrace, 1912–1923* (Bloomingdale, Illinois: Asia Minor and Pontos Hellenic Research Center, 2012). There is also a vast bibliography in Greek.
11. See David Gaunt, *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006). See also Sébastian de Courtois, *The Forgotten*

*Genocide: Eastern Christians, the Last Arameans*, trans. Vincent Aurora (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2004); Joseph Naayem, *Shall this Nation Die?* (New York: Chaldean Rescue, 1920); Hannibal Travis, " 'Native Christians Massacred': The Ottoman Genocide of the Assyrians during World War I," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1,3 (2006): 327–71; Anahit Khosroeva, "The Assyrian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire and Adjacent Territories," in *The Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2007), 267–74.

12. Some of these reasons are analyzed in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, introduction.
13. See Hannibal Travis, "Constructing the 'Armenian Genocide': How Scholars Unremembered the Assyrian and Greeks Genocides in the Ottoman Empire," in *Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, Memory*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton, Thomas La Point, and Douglas Irvin-Erickson (Rutgers: Rutgers UP, 2013), 170–192; Israel W. Charny, "The Psychological Satisfaction of Denials of the Holocaust or Other Genocides by Non-Extremists or Bigots, and Even by Known Scholars," *Idea Journal* 6, 1 (2001), http://www.ideajournal.com/articles.php?id=27 (accessed 11 Dec 2014); and Israel Charny, "The Integrity and Courage to Recognize All the Victims of a Genocide," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 21–38.
14. Regarding the debate surrounding the suitability of using *genocide* in a historical context and prior to its formal adoption after WWII, Hans-Lukas Kieser rightly underlines:

> As historians, we can abandon the use of the term genocide and convey its content in other words. An important reason, however, to use this neologism as a historical (not in the first place legal or even militant political) term is its precise meaning in the context of contemporary history; it stands for the intended total or partial destruction of an ethnic group, be it by killing or other violent measures. Beyond the evidence that the Armenian case accords with the definition in the UN Convention, there is another powerful argument for using the term genocide for 1915—the simple fact that the pioneers of genocide studies, first of all Lemkin himself, started out from this experience.

Hans-Lukas Kieser, "Armenians, Turks, and Europe in the Shadow of World War I: Recent Historiographical Developments," in *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern, die Türkei und Europa* [The Armenian Genocide, Turkey and Europe], ed. Hans-Lukas and Elmar Plozza (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2006), 43–59, 52–3. Moreover, as I have underlined above, Raphael Lemkin himself used *genocide* to describe the intentional mass destruction and annihilation of the Ottoman Greeks. For Lemkin's views, see Jacobs, "Genocide of Others." Around this debate, see also Matthias Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources on the Destruction of the Ottoman Greeks, 1914–1916," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 137–78, 137–9n3, and the comparative and legal assessments in Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῇ*—Cumulative Genocide."

15. Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, introduction, 1–2. The most indicative case of an interlinked framework is Dominik J. Schaller and Jürgen Zimmerer, eds., *Late Ottoman Genocides: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Young Turkish Population and Extermination Policies* (London: Routledge, 2009).
16. C. K. Neumann, "Devlet'in Adı Yok: Bir Amblemin Okunması" [The state bears no name: The reading of a logo], *Cogito* 19 (1999): 268–83.
17. Concerning the concept and the implementation of jihad by the Ottoman Empire, see Gy. Káldy-Nagy, "The Holy War (Jihād) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3,4 (1979–1980): 467–73; Nicola Melis, "Il concetto di ğihād" [The concept of jihad], in *Dalla penna al mouse: Gli strumenti di diffusione del concetto di ğihād* [From pen to mouse: Instruments of diffusion of the concept of jihad], ed. Patrizia Manduchi (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2006), 22–55.
18. Gábor Ágoston, "*Ghaza*," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 231–2; Colin Imber, "What Does *Ghazi* Actually Mean?," in *The Balance of Truth: Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, ed. Geoffrey Lewis, Çiğdem Balım-Harding, and Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis, 2000), 165–78. The Nationalists also designated Mustafa Kemal as *ghazi*. "Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Atatürk," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, 2004, *Encyclopedia.com* http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3404700316.html (accessed 29 Sep 2014).
19. Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, new ed. (London: IB Tauris, 2004), 9–10.
20. Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Metropolitan, 2007), 19–20.
21. George N. Shirinian, introduction to Shirinian, *The Asia Minor Catastrophe*, 11–42, 22. See also Roderic H. Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 59,4 (1954): 844–64.
22. Akçam, *A Shameful Act*, 23.

23. For thorough treatments of the *millet* system, its meaning, and its implications, see Kamel S. Abu Jaber, "The Millet System in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire" *Muslim World* 57,3 (1967): 212–23; and Neoclês Sarrês, (Νεοκλὴς Σαρρής), *Ὀσμανικὴ Πραγματικότητα: Συστημικὴ παρά-θεση δομῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν* [Osmanic reality: Systemic ex-position of structures and functions], vol. 1, *Τὸ Δεσποτικὸ Κράτος* [The despotic state] (Athens: ID Arsenides, n.d.) 265–300.
24. With various modifications, especially during the Tanzimat period but also under the Young Turks, the *millet* system lasted until 1926, when it was abolished by Kemal. Yüksel Sezgin, *Human Rights under State-Enforced Religious Family Laws in Israel, Egypt and India* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 56.
25. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1968), 107.
26. Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Plandore, New York: New Age, n.d.), 279–80.
27. The position of Christian and Jewish peoples is an issue of disagreement and dispute among scholars. As Abu Jaber puts it, "The Ottomans, a nation of soldiers, had neither time nor inclination to involve themselves in the internal and personal affairs of infidels, whom they regarded as inferiors." Abu Jaber, "The Millet System," 212. In contrast, other scholars argue that the treatment of minorities was lenient when compared with conditions elsewhere in the world, namely in certain parts of Western (Christian) Europe. According to Edward Said, abuses of "Orientalism," which he describes as a Western way of "dominating" and "restructuring" the history of the Middle East because of prejudice against Arab-Islamic peoples, have caused a misconstruction of the historical narrative. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 3. According to Masters, Westerners were typically biased against Muslims and often distorted realities in the relationships between Ottoman Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 2. On Islam, see Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1980). On the position of the *dhimmi*s, see also Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* [The legal status of the non-Muslims in the lands of Islam] (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958; Beirut, 1995).
28. Slavery was a legal and important part of the empire's economy and society. "Enslaving Christians had been elevated to something approaching state policy" since the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 28. Slave markets in and around Constantinople and the abduction of Christians for slavery survived well into the mid- to late nineteenth century James J. Reid, *Total War, the Annihilation Ethic, and the Armenian Genocide, 1870-1918* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 43.
29. This refers to an Islamic institution adapted by the Ottomans. A *ghulam* boy was a slave—by definition, a non-Muslim—educated and trained for state service. See Dominique Sourdel et al., "Ghulām," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed. vol. 2, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 1079–91. See aslo Matthew Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords: A History of the Turkish Military of Samara (200–275 AH/ 815–889 CE)* (Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 2001).
30. This connotes *blood tax* or *child collection*, through which young Christian boys from the Balkans and Anatolia were taken from their homes and families, converted to Islam, and enlisted into the Janissaries. See A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1913), 46ff. See also Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos (Ἀπόστολος Βακαλόπουλος), "Προβλήματα τοῦ παιδομαζώματος" [Problems around child-abduction], *Hellenica* 13 (1954): 291–3, where a relevant bibliography can be found.
31. On types of Islamization and the phenomenon of crypto-Christianity, see Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey," *Byzantion* 8,1 (1933): 247–5.
32. See Madeline C. Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010).
33. Bat Ye'or, *The Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: From Jihad to Dhimmitude, Seventh–Twentieth Century* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1996). For historical background, see Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1971; New York: Greekworks, 2008); Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Turkish State and History: Clio Meets the Grey Wolf* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991), 237; and Neoclês Sarrês, *Ὀσμανικὴ Πραγματικότητα*, vol. 1, *Τὸ Δεσποτικὸ Κράτος*, 42–5, 53, 255–64.
34. Concerning the Ottoman taxation system, see Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).
35. James E. Lindsay, *Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World* (Westport: Greenwood, 2005), 121.

36. Efraim Karsh, "Turkey, Past and Future: Ankara's Unacknowledged Genocide," *Middle East Quarterly*, winter 2013, 17–26, 18.
37. See Ath. Gritsopoulos (Ἀθ. Γριτσόπουλος), *Τὰ Ὀρλωφικὰ: Ἡ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπανάστασις τοῦ 1770 καὶ τὰ ἐπακόλουθα αὐτῆς* [The Orlov events: The revolution in Peloponnese in 1770 and its aftermath] (Athens, 1967).
38. Philip Argenti, ed., *The Massacres of Chios, Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports* (London: J. Lane, 1932); Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Warrant for Genocide: Key Elements of Turko-Armenian Conflict* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1999), 153.
39. Karsh, "Turkey," 18.
40. Dominik J. Schaller and Jürgen Zimmerer, eds., *Raphael Lemkin as a Historian of Mass Violence* (London: Routledge, 2009).
41. Raphael Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography*, ed. Donna-Lee Frieze (New Haven: Yale UP, 2013), 141.
42. Ye'or, *The Decline*, 197.
43. In Greek, the verbs *τουρκεύω* and *τουρκίζω* (to become a Turk) initially mean to become a Muslim. Because the Ottoman Empire was a pre-modern and religion-based state structured around mainly religious *millet*s, religion was the principal component in the definition of one's nationality and appurtenance, especially in the Muslim-Christian antithesis. Greeks who abandoned their religion, through willing or forced Islamization, immediately lost their ethnic identity as well and became "Turks"—that is, Muslims. When the term *Muslim*, in the context of the belated Turkish nationalism, became identical to *Turkism*, Greeks who became Muslim were also considered to have become Turkish. In any case, in the context in question, there was not a generally accepted provision that a Christian could retain his or her religious affiliation but could be considered a Turk. This did, in fact, happen only exceptionally and for small and, hence, controllable numbers: the Greeks and Armenians who remained in Turkey as Turkish nationals, in virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne, and for the Turcophone Christians of Papa-Eftim Karahissaridis. All the others were not accepted and they were eliminated through death or expulsion.
44. See Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 185–207; Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late-Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 28ff.; Neoclês Sarrês, *Ὀσμανικὴ Πραγματικότητα*, vol. 2, *Ἡ Δοσιματικὴ Διοίκηση* [The tributary administration] (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Ι.Δ. Ἀρσενίδης & ΣΙΑ, n.d.): 319–525; and Paraskevas Konortas, "From Tâ'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (Princeton: Darwin, 1999), 169–79.
45. On the Greek communities of Asia Minor, see Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 1992); and Gondicas and Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks*.
46. Istanbul was officially adopted as the sole name of the city in 1930. Adrian Room, *Placenames of the World: Origins and Meanings of the Names for 6,000 Countries, Cities, Territories, Natural Features, and Historic Sites* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006), 177–8; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1923* (New York: Basic, 2005), 57.
47. Manuel Gedeon (Μανουὴλ Ι. Γεδεών), "Οἱ Κοσμικοὶ Τίτλοι καὶ αἱ Τιμαὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως" [The secular titles and honors of the patriarch of Constantinople], *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* [Ecclesiastical truth] 20 (1900): 86–8, 137–40.
48. After the 1453 conquest of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet II, the Conqueror, issued an imperial decree granting some privileges to the ecumenical patriarch and recognizing Ecumenical Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios as *milletbaşi*. These privileges were modified over the course of Ottoman history and were later brought together by Sultan Abdülmecit I in the Imperial Reform Edict (Islâhat Fermânı/Islâhat Hatt-ı Hümâyûn-u) of 18 February 1856. Elçin Macar, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde İstanbul Rum Patrikhanesi* [The Istanbul Rum patriarchate in the Republican era], 2nd ed., (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 38–61. For details regarding the legal status and privileges of the patriarchate, see D. A. Zakythinos, *The Making of Modern Greece from Byzantium to Independence* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976), 43–55; Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation 1453–1669*, trans. Ian Moles and Phania Moles (New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 1976), 100–50; H. Inalcık, "The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans," *Turcica* 21–23 (1991): 407–36; and E. A. Zachariadou, "The Great Church in Captivity 1453–1586," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 5, *Eastern Christianity*, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 169–186. See also Theodore

H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Brussels, 1952; Aldershot: Variorum, 1990 [with supplementary material]).

49. This number derives from the Ottoman authorities' 1910 population census and the ecumenical patriarchate's 1912 population census. For the latest study on Ottoman Greek demography as it pertains to this paper, see Antonis Klapsis, "Violent Uprooting and Forced Migration: A Demographic Analysis of the Greek Populations of Asia Minor, Pontus and Eastern Thrace," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, 4 (2014): 622–39. See also Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Alexandros Alexandris, "Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration: The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the Close of the Ottoman Era," *Bulletin of the Center for Asia Minor Studies* 5 (1984–1985): 9–44; and Alexis Alexandris, "The Greek Census of Anatolia and Thrace (1910–1912): A Contribution to Ottoman Historical Demography," in Gondicas and Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks*, 45–76, esp. 53–4. The 1912 census did not include the Ottoman Greeks of southern and eastern Asia Minor (i.e., Adana, Iskenderun, and Erzerum), who—whether Hellenophones or Arabophones—belonged to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. Harry J. Psomiades, *The Eastern Question: The Last Phase; A Study in Greek-Turkish Diplomacy* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968), 46. Cf. Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York UP, 1983), 92–112; and Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1985), 170–89.

50. Jovan Cvijić, *Remarks on the Ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs* (London, 1906), 36. D. Dakin underlines that

> the Turks had no census comparable to that in Western countries, but for military and taxation purposes they drew up figures based on the Nufuz defteri, or books in which officials recorded births and deaths. They recognized the four millets—Greeks, Bulgarians, Roman Catholic and Jews. Like the Eparchical lists made by the priest, the Turkish figures were inaccurate. No distinction was drawn between Serbs and Bulgarians. Figures otherwise compiled were the work of propagandists and describe ideals rather than actual facts.

D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897–1913* (Salonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966), 199.

51. McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities*, 58.
52. In 1861, there were 571 primary and 94 secondary schools for Ottoman Christians, with a total of some 140,000 pupils, a figure that far exceeded the number of Muslim children during the same time. Shirinian, introduction, 13.
53. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2, *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977), 250.
54. Clogg, "The Greek Millet," 188.
55. O. G. Indzhikian, *Burzhuaziia Osmanskoi imperii* [The bourgeoisie of the Ottoman Empire] (Erevan: Izd-vo Arm.SSR, 1977), 214; Charles Issawi, introduction to Gondicas and Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks*,1–16, 6. For a case study of the economic activities of the Constantinopolitan Greeks, see M. Chatziioannou and D. Kamouzis, "From a Multiethnic Empire to Two National States: The Economic Activities of the Greek Orthodox Population of Istanbul, ca. 1870–1939," in *The Economies of Urban Diversity: Ruhr Area and Istanbul*, ed. M. Salzbrunn, D. Reuschke, and K. Schönhärl (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 117–43.
56. See W. M. Ramsey, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, [1890]); and W. M. Ramsey, *Impressions of Turkey During Twelve Years's Wanderings* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897).
57. Ramsey, *Impressions*, 131.
58. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography*, 25.
59. "The Turkish Situation by One Born in Turkey," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 25, 2 (1902), 182–191, 186–8.
60. The genesis and development of Turkish nationalism is a large subject with extensive literature from a variety of scholars. For more, see David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876–1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977); Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A Study in Irredentism* (London: C. Hurst, 1981); and Akçam, *A Shameful Act*, 47–108. Regarding the Young Turks in particular, see also

the relevant sub-chapter and endnotes in this contribution, which give relevant bibliographical references.

61. M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995), 216. See also M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (New York: Oxford UP, 2001); and Zürcher, *Turkey*, 85–90.
62. Mehmet Turgut, "İktisadiyyat: Halıcılık Sanatı Ne Merkezdedir?," [Economics: What is the situation of Tapestry?] *Fikirler* 2 (1927): 7–8, quoted in English translation in Aytek Sonar Alpan, *The Economic Impact of the 1923 Greco–Turkish Population Exchange upon Turkey* (MA thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2008), 106.
63. Quoted in Lewis, *The Emergence*, 218, and Uğur Ümit Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 32.
64. Almost all Ottoman Greeks were Orthodox Christians under the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. However, there existed a small community of Greek Catholics, or Uniates, as well as one of Greek Evangelicals. See Elçin Macar, "Οἱ Οὐνῖτες στὴν Τουρκία καὶ στὴν Ἑλλάδα" [The uniates in Turkey and in Greece], *Deltion/Bulletin of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies* 14 (2004): 311–45, esp. 317–34; Mehmet Ali Doğan, "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and 'Nominal Christians': Elias Riggs (1810–1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire" (PhD diss., U of Utah, 2013).
65. This perception seems to have survived into our days. As Fatma Müge Göçek contends, "The prevailing Turkish foreign policy of deterrence toward Greece is based on a suspicion that since its inception, Greece, inspired by the Megale Idea of a Greater Greece including the former lands of the Byzantine Empire, has been pursuing a policy of constant territorial expansion against Turkey." Fatma Müge Göçek, "Through a Glass Darkly: Consequences of a Politicized Past in Contemporary Turkey," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (2008): 88–106, 99. See Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, introduction, 2–4. See also Paul Hidiroglou, *Turkish Conceptions of the Greeks of Asia Minor: Paper Delivered to the Academic Symposium on Aspects of Asia Minor Question* (Athens: Hellenic UP, 1993). On the related negative Turkish conceptions of Christians in general, see Wolfgang Haede, "The Historical Background of the Highly Critical Perception of Christians by the Turkish Society," *Mission Studies* 31,2 (2014): 191–205. With regard to the Young Turks, Armenians, and the genocide, see Boris Barth, "Racism and Genocide," in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*, ed. Manfrend Berg and Simon Wendt (Oxford: Berghahn, 2011), 84–104.
66. Halil Menteşe, *Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi Reisi Halil Menteşe'nin anıları* [The memoirs of Halil Menteşe, Chairman of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies] (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1986), 16.
67. Uğur Ümit Üngör, " 'Turkey for the Turks': Demographic Engineering in Eastern Anatolia, 1914–1945," in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek and Norman M. Naimark (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 287–305, 294.
68. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, 324–5.
69. Quoted in Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominik Schaller, "Völkermord im historischen Raum 1895-1945" [Genocide in the historical space 1895–1945], in *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah—The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah*, ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominik Schaller (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2002), 11–80, 20. For the memoirs, see Eşref Kuşçubaşı, *Hayber'de Türk Cengi: Teskilât-ı-Mahsusa Arabistan, Sina ve Kuzey Afrika Müdürü Eşref Bey'in Hayber Anıları* [Turkish battle in Hayber: Ottoman Secret Service Director of Arabia, Sinai and Northern Africa Mr. Eşref's Memoirs in Hayber], ed. Philip H. Stoddard and H. Basri Danışman (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1997).
70. Uğur Ü. Üngör, " 'A Reign of Terror': CUP Rule in Diyarbekir Province, 1913–1918" (master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2005), 18; Fatma Müge Göçek, *The Transformation of Turkey: Redefining State and Society from the Ottoman Empire to the Modern Era* (London: IB Tauris, 2011), 93–6; Taner Akçam, "The Greek Deportations and Massacres of 1913–1914: A Trial Run of the Armenian Genocide," in Shirinian, *The Asia Minor Catastrophe*, 69–88, 69.
71. The role of "ancient hatred" is an under-researched aspect of the late Ottoman genocides and frequently dismissed altogether. Regarding the role of hatred in ethnic conflict, see Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflicts and Ancient Hatreds: Cultural Concerns," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Oxford: Pergamon, 2001), 4810–3.
72. Udenrigsministeriet, 2–0355, "Konstantinopel/Istanbul, diplomatisk repræsentation," "Kopibog 1914-1921, 1916 03 06-1919 09 22," nr. 137, 7/7 1917, quoted in Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 177. Concerning Carl Ellis Wandel and his long diplomatic service in Constantinople, see Matthias Bjørnlund, "When the Cannons Talk, the Diplomats Must Be Silent:' A Danish Diplomat in Constantinople

during the Armenian Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1, 2 (2006): 197–224, doi: 10.1353/gsp.2011.0091.

73. Annie C. Marshall, "Impressions of Smyrna in War-Time," *Contemporary Review* 115 (1919): 328–36, 330.
74. George Horton, *The Blight of Asia: An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and the Culpability of Certain Great Powers . . .* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926; Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), 166. Citations refer to the 1953 edition. For more on him, see Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, "George Horton and Mark L. Bristol: Opposing Forces in US Foreign Policy 1919–1923," *Deltion/Bulletin of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies* 4 (1983): 131–58; and Brian Coleman, "George Horton: The Literary Diplomat," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 30,1 (2006): 81–93.
75. Harry Stuermer, *Two War Years in Constantinople: Sketches of German and Young Turkish Ethics and Politics*, trans. E. Allen and Harry Stuermer (New York: George H. Doran, 1917; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917; rev. ed. ann. Hilmar Kaiser, London: Sterndale Classics, 2004), 168–9. Citations refer to the George H. Doran edition.
76. See aslo Maurits van den Boogert, "Provocative Wealth: Non-Muslim Elites in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14,3 (2010): 219–37.
77. William Pember Reeves, "Turkish Rule over Christian Peoples," *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 February 1919.
78. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Atay, Falih Rıfkı," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 98–9.
79. Geoffrey Lewis, *The Atatürk I Knew: An Abridged Translation of F. R. Atay's* Çankaya (Istanbul: Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, 1981), 180; *Çankaya: Atatürk'ün Doğumundan Ölümüne Kadar Bütün Hayat Hikayesi* [Cankaya: The life story of Atatürk from birth to death] (Istanbul: Betaş, 1984), 325. On Turkish hatred of Greeks, see also Henry Morgenthau, *United States Diplomacy on the Bosphorus: The Diaries of Ambassador Morgenthau, 1913-1916*, comp. Ara Sarafian (Princeton: Gomidas Institute, 2004), 68.
80. Stuermer, *Two War Years*, 183–4.
81. For the the social and economic history of the Ottoman Greeks and for the Greek *millet* from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks, see Gondicas and Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks*.
82. See Theodore George Tatsios, *The Megali Idea and the Greek Turkish War of 1897: The Impact of the Cretan Problem on Greek Irredentism, 1866–1867* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1984).
83. Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 39.
84. Quoted in Lewis, *The Emergence*, 218, and Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 32.
85. Emmanouêlidês (Ἐμμανουὴλ Ἐμμανουηλίδης) was born in Caesarea (Kayseri) of Asia Minor. He studied law and became a lawyer first in Smyrna and later in Athens. He served as a member of the council of the elders (Δημογεροντία) of the former. He was a member of the CUP, as well as a member of the Ottoman Parliament for the region of Smyrna and Aydin. His account of events of 1908–1920, completed in 1920, have been published as *Τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς αὐτοκρατορίας* [The last years of the Ottoman Empire] (Athens: Τύποις Γ.Η. Καλλέργη, 1924; 2010) (citations refer to the 1924 edition); and Emmanuil Emmanuilidis, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Yılları* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2014). For more on him, see Vangelis Kechriotis, "On the Margins of National Historiography: The Greek *İttihatçi* Emmanouil Emmanouilidis—Opportunist or Ottoman Patriot?," in *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, Christoph K. Neumann, and S. Aksin Somel (London: Routledge, 124–142). On Greeks in the Ottoman Parliament, see Catherine Boura, "The Greek Millet in Turkish Politics: Greeks in the Ottoman Parliament (1908–1918)," in Gondicas and Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks*, 193–206.
86. Taner Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London: Zed, 2004), 67, 73, 76–8.
87. Article 2, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, 78 UNTS 277. See, for instance, consideration of former secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali in introduction to United Nations, *The United Nations and Human Rights, 1945–1995* (New York: United Nations, 1995), 21.
88. Travis, "Native Christians Massacred," 345.
89. For recent scholarly works on the genocidal intent of the Young Turks dealing mainly, but not exclusively, with the Armenian Genocide, see Taner Akçam, "The Ottoman Documents and the Genocidal Policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) toward the Armenians in 1915," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1,2 (2006): 127–48, doi: 10.1353/gsp.2011.0018; Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2012); Akçam, *A Shameful Act*; and Üğur Ü.

Üngör, "When Persecution Bleeds into Mass Murder: The Processive Nature of Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1,2 (2006): 173–95, doi: 10.1353/gsp.2011.0049. See also Ruben Safrastyan, *Ottoman Empire: The Genesis of the Program of Genocide (1876-1920)*, trans. Svetlana Mardanyan (Yerevan: Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences, 2011). Barth claims that while the massacres and deportations of Ottoman Armenians are a "definite case of genocide" he (arbitrarily) argues that despite similar crimes against Ottoman Greeks before and during WWI, there was no genocidal intent. Boris Barth, *Genozid: Völkermord im 20. Jahrhundert* [Genocide: Genocide in the twentieth century] (München: CH Beck, 2006), 73. For recent English-language works on the genocidal intent of the Young Turks, see Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ροή*—Cumulative Genocide"; Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources"; and Travis, "Constructing." From the vast Greek bibliography, I recommend Kônstantinos G. Lameras (Κωνσταντῖνος Γ. Λαμέρας), *Ἡ περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν ἐν Τουρκίᾳ διωγμῶν διάλεξις. . . γενομένη ἐν τῇ αἰθούσῃ τοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου «Παρνασσοῦ» τῇ 2ᾳ Ἰουνίου 1921* [Lecture on the nature of the persecutions in Turkey, delivered in the hall of Parnassos Philological Society on 2 June 1921] (Athens: Γ. Η. Καλλέργης,1921) and the works of Kônstantinos Phôtiadês on the Pontic Greeks.

90. Regarding the Young Turks, see Emmanouêlidês, *Τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη*, 15–20. From the more recent studies, see Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969); Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks*; Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution*; and Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement (1905-1926)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983).
91. Jacobs, "Genocide of Others," 300–1.
92. See Vangelis Kechriotis, "The Modernization of the Empire and the Community 'Privileges': Greek Orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies," in *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*, ed. Touraj Atabaki (London: IB Tauris, 2007), 53–70, 206–12. See also Nobuyoshi Fujinami, " 'Church Law' and Ottoman-Greeks in the Second Constitutional Politics, 1910," *Études Balkaniques* 1 (2007): 107–32.
93. He cites two examples of earlier genocidal intent against Greeks:

> The situation of the Greeks remained more or less unchanged for sixty years, until Selim I [1467–1520], grandson of Mohammed II [1429?–1481] ascended to the throne. He hated the Christians and was on the point of having them massacred to a man, when he was persuaded by his councellors [*sic*] *and the Greek Patriarch* to desist . . . [and] in 1640 the question of exterminating the raiahs was again considered. It was the last year of the reign of Murad IV [1612–1640] and he was also prevailed upon to renounce his bloody plans.

Quoted in Jacobs, "Genocide of Others," 299–300. Emphasis in the original.

94. Gábor Demeter, "The Views of the Young Turks and the Conservatives about Foreign and Domestic Politics before the Balkan Wars: A Historiographical Overview," in *Europe and the World in European Historiography*, ed. C. Lévai (Pisa: Pisa UP, 2006), 195–215, 197. For a thorough treatment of the Young Turks' extreme nationalist mindset, see also Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London: IB Tauris, 2010), 110ff.
95. "The Salonika Congress," *Times* (London), 3 October 1911, 3. See also "The Salonika Congress: Resolutions and Decisions," *Times* (London), 27 December 1911, 3. See also Demetrius Georgiadès, *Le nouveau régime en Turquie et l'œuvre néfaste du Comité Union et Progrès* [The new regime in Turkey and the fatal work of the Committee of Union and Progress] (Paris: Société Générale d'Imprimerie et d'Édition Levé, 1911); René Pinon, *L'Europe et la Jeune Turquie: Les aspects nouveaux de la Question d'Orient* [Europe and Young Turkey: The new aspects of the Eastern Question] (Paris: Librairie académique, 1911).
96. See Daniel Allen Butler, *Shadow of the Sultan's Realm: The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (Washington D.C.: Potomac, 2011).
97. Emmanouêlidês, *Τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη*, 54.
98. Stuermer, *Two War Years*, 166.
99. On the Armenian Genocide and the related demographic homogenization as fundamental elements of the Turkish state-building process, see Robert F. Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992); and Robert F. Melson, "The Armenian Genocide as Precursor and Prototype of Twentieth Century Genocide," in *Is the Holocaust Unique?*, ed. A. S. Rosenbaum (Boulder: Westview, 1996).

100. Martin Niepage, *The Horrors of Aleppo . . . Seen by a German Eyewitness . . .* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, [1917]; New York: George H. Doran, 1918; Plandome, NY: New Age, 1975), 20. Citations refer to the 1917 edition.
101. The Balkan Wars and the massive displacement of hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees appear as the point of no return on the Ottoman Muslim elites' road to genocidal decisions, for these events aroused among Young Turk leaders the conviction "that in order to avoid being exterminated the Turks must exterminate others." Halidé Edip Adıvar, *Memoirs of Halidé Edip* (London: Century, 1926; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2004), 333. Citations refer to the Gorgias edition. See also Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 150–2, esp. footnotes 53, 56, and 57. For the role of the Ottoman Greek elites, see Dimitris Kamouzis, "Elites and the Formation of National Identity: The Case of the Greek Orthodox Millet, Mid-19th Century to 1922," in *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna, Stefanos Katsikas, Dimitris Kamouzis and Paraskevas Konortas (New York: Routledge, 2013), 13–46. Leading Young Turk leaders hailed their origins from the Balkans or other borderlands of the collapsing Ottoman Empire. See Erik J. Zürcher, "The Young Turks—Children of the Borderlands?," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9,1–2 (2003): 275–86.
102. Concerning Kemalism's assimilational nationalism, see Göçek, *The Transformation*, 1–2. Though there is an immense literature on Kemalism, Western authors in general assume a simplistic and often uncritical attitude of appraisal. Most of the indigenous books on Kemal and Kemalism are mere hagiography; there is, however, a new trend of critical evaluations of Kemalism, of which the most noteworthy book is Taha Parla and Andrew Davison, *Corporatist Ideology in Kemalist Turkey: Progress or Order?* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 2004). For more on him, see Harold Courtenay Armstrong, *Grey Wolf: Mustafa Kemal* (London: Arthur Baker, [1932]) (reprinted as *Grey Wolf: Mustafa Kemal; An Intimate Study of a Dictator* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1937; with multiple editions) (citations refer to the Arthur Baker edition); Lord Kinross, *Ataturk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey* (New York: William Morrow, 1965); Andrew Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (London: John Murray, 1999; Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 2002). For the Nazi connection, see Stefan Ihrig, *Atatürk in the Nazi Imagination* (Harvard: Belknap, 2014).
103. On the continuity between the CUP and Keamlist movements, see Vahagn Avedian, "State Identity, Continuity, and Responsibility: The Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey and the Armenian Genocide," *European Journal of International Law* 23,3 (2012): 797–820, esp. 806–11. See also Akçam, *From Empire to Republic*.
104. See Uğur Ümit Üngör, "Geographies of Nationalism and Violence: Rethinking Young Turk 'Social Engineering,' " *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (2008), http://ejts.revues.org/2583 (accessed 23 Sep 2014). See also Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy*, 76, 218.
105. Edward J. Erickson, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* (Oxford: Osprey, 2013), 9. See also Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy*, 124ff.
106. Hamit Bozarslan, *Ἱστορία τῆς Σύγχρονης Τουρκίας: Ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπανάσταση τῶν Νεοτούρκων μέχρι σήμερα* [History of modern Turkey: From the revolution of the Young Turks to the present], trans. Μάρθα Οικονόμου (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Σαββάλας, 2008), 37; Hamit Bozarslan, *Histoire de la Turquie contemporaine* [History of modern Turkey] (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2004).
107. See George G. Arnakis, "Turanism: An Aspect of Turkish Nationalism," *Balkan Studies* 1 (1960): 19–32.
108. Yücel Bulut, "Gökalp, Ziya," in Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia*, 232–3. See also Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985); Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, trans. and ed. Niyazi Berkes (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959; New York: Columbia UP, 1959); and Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gokalp* (London: Luzac, 1950).
109. Parla, *The Social and Political Thought*, 7.
110. Gökalp contributed to the elaboration of Kemal's first political programme. Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Belgelerle Kurtuluş Savaşi anıları* [Memories of the War of Independence based on documents] (Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayıları, 1982, cited in Bozarslan, *Ἱστορία τῆς Σύγχρονης Τουρκίας*, 37.
111. Important for understanding Kemalism's ideological origins and close affinity with the Young Turk genocidal ideology are Parla, *The Social and Political Thought*; Erik. J. Zürcher, "The Ottoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic: An Attempt at a New Periodization," *Die Welt des Islams* 32 (1992): 237–53; Erik. J. Zürcher, "The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic," in *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran*, ed. Touraj Atabaki (London: IBTauris, 2007), 95–110; and Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy*. See also Paul Dumont, "The Origins of Kemalist Ideology," in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. Jacob Landau (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1984),

25–44; and Elaine D. Smith, *Turkey: The Origins of the Kemalist Movement and the Government of the Grand National Assembly, 1919–1923* (Washington, DC: Judd & Detweiler, 1959).

112. "Anatolian Atrocities," *Adelaide Chronicle* (Australia), 24 June 1922, 38.

113. On ACRNE/NER, see James L. Barton, *Story of Near East Relief 1915-1930: An Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan, 1930). Regarding the American Near East Relief, see Harry J. Psomiades, "The American Near East Relief (NER) and the *Megale Katastrophe* in 1922," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 265–75, which is a slightly revised version of "The American Near East Relief (NER) and the Megali Catastrophe in 1922," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 19–20 (2002–2003): 135–50.

114. "Turks' Insane Savagery," *Times* (London), 5 May 1922. "The Turkish authorities frankly state their deliberate intention to exterminate the Greeks, and all their actions support these statements. At the present time fresh deportations and outrages are starting in all parts of Asia Minor, from the northern seaports to the southern districts." "Killing by Turks Has Been Renewed," *New York Times*, 6 May 1922, 2.

115. George Horton, report to the secretary of state, 27 September 1922), "The Near East Question," NA 767.61/476, US National Archives. Also reproduced in Housepian Dobkin, "George Horton and Mark L. Bristol."

116. Constantine N. Hatzidimitriou, *American Accounts Documenting the Destruction of Smyrna by the Kemalist Turkish Forces, September 1922* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 2005), 51. On Bristol's policies, see Housepian Dobkin, "George Horton and Mark L. Bristol."

117. Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 148.

118. H. F. Ulrichsen, "Tyrkerne og det græske Patriarkat" [The Turks and the Greek patriarchate], *Armeniervennen* 5,1–2 (1925): 5, quoted in Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 140.

119. Another possible periodization is the following: 1908–Balkan Wars, Balkan Wars–WWI, WWI–1918 (Armistice of Mudros), 1919–1923. See *Οἱ Ἀνθελληνικοὶ Διωγμοὶ ἐν Τουρκίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ 1908 μέχρι τοῦ 1921 ἐνώπιον τῆς Γ΄ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνοσυνελεύσεως (Συνεδρίασις τῆς 5, 6 καὶ 8 Ἀπριλίου 1921)* (Athens: Ἐκ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1921), 6–7; also available as National Assembly, *Anti-Greek Persecutions in Turkey, 1908–1921: Statements Submitted to the Third National Assembly in Athens, Sessions 5th, 6th and 8th April 1921* (London: G. S. Vellonis, 1921). Hofmann contends that "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 and the rebel Kemalist government at Samsun and later at Ankara." Tessa Hofmann, "The Genocide against the Christians in the Late Ottoman Period, 1912–1922," in Shirinian, *The Asia Minor Catastrophe*, 43–67, 55.

120. Venetian Lauro Quirini (1420–c. 1479) describes the fall of Constantinople as follows:

> In this way in our wretched age this ancient, noble, wealthy city, . . . captured by raging barbarians, was sacked for three days and reduced to wretched servitude . . . It [Constantinople] is now a vanquished captive, cruelly and basely destroyed; its citizens . . . brutally slaughtered before their fathers' gates, noble virgins, innocent boys, worthy matrons, venerable nuns, seized, slain, raped; its churches . . . torn to pieces . . . What more is there to say? Wherever you went you heard nothing but groans and wails. O the shameful barbarity, O the inhuman cruelty, O the intolerable viciousness and savagery of the perpetrators! . . . Add to this that the raging barbarians who did all these heinous deeds not only captured a royal city, destroyed its churches, and defiled their sacred ornaments, but accomplished the ruin of an entire nation, obliterating the civilization that was Greece: more than 120,000 volumes . . . [were] destroyed. And so, the Greek language, and the literature of the Greeks created, extended, and perfected by so great an expenditure of time, so much labor, so much skill-annihilated, extinguished!

Lauro Quirini, "Letter to Pope Nicholas V, on the Fall of Constantinople (Candia, Crete, 15 July 1453)," in *Renaissance Humanism: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. and trans. Margaret L. King (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2014), 108–12. Although contemporary accounts of the immediate aftermath of the city's fall may vary, depending on the religious affiliation of the eyewitness, Ottoman reports also mention pillage, enslavement, rapes, and massacres. See ʿĀṣiḳpaṣazade, *Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀṣiḳpaṣazade* [The early Ottoman chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade (or Ashik Pasha-Zade)], ed. Friedrich Giese (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1929).

121. See Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and the Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002); and Norman Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2001).

122. "Turkish Atrocities," *Brisbane Courier*, 29 May 1896, 5. For a biography of Hamid, see François Georgeon, *Abdulhamit II: Le sultan calife (1876–1909)* (Paris: Éditions Fayard, 2003).
123. Jones, *Genocide*, 174n14.
124. De Courtois, *The Forgotten Genocide*, 106.
125. Gustave Meyrier, *Les Massacres de Diarbékir: Correspondance Diplomatique du Vice-Consul de France, 1894–1896*, ed. Claire Mouradian and Michel Durand-Meyrier (Paris: Éditions de l'Inventaire, 2000). Regarding these massacres, see also Arman J. Kirakossian, ed., *The Armenian Massacres, 1894–1896: US Media Testimony* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2004); and J. K. Hassiotis, "The Greeks and the Armenian Massacres (1890–1896)," *Neo-Hellenika* 4 (1981): 69–109.
126. De Courtois, *The Forgotten Genocide*, 101.
127. "The slaughter was unsparing. Greeks and Syrians [i.e. Syriacs/Assyrians/Arameans] 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." "Details of Slaughter Received," *New York Times*, 5 May 1909.
128. *Ottomanization* is a kind of euphemism, actually, and should be understood as synonymous with *Turkification*. For the conceptual equivalence of these two terms, see Heather Rae, *State Identities and the Homogenization of Peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 153ff. Also, Bernard Lewis quotes the British ambassador at the time, Sir Gerald Lowther (1858–1916), who reported: "That the Committee have given up any idea of Ottomanizing all the non-Turkish elements by sympathetic and constitutional ways has long been manifest. *To them 'Ottoman' evidently means 'Turk' and their present policy of 'Ottomanization' is one of the pounding the non Turkish elements in a Turkish mortar.*" Lewis, *The Emergence*, 219–20; Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 32–3. Emphasis mine. See also Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ροῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 44. Concerning the ideological premises of the policy of Ottomanization, see Emmanouêlidês, *Τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη*, 39–43, where an explanation of Ahmed Ferid's famous article "Three Policies" is presented.
129. The "elitocide" of Ottoman Greek notables continued throughout the genocidal process. For elitocide and its impact on the crime of genocide, see Dennis Gratz, "Elitocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Its Impact on the Contemporary Understanding of the Crime of Genocide," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 39,3 (2011): 409–24.
130. For anti-Greek violence in the Ottoman-ruled regions of Macedonia and Thrace prior to Balkan Wars, see [Alexander Papadopoulos], *Persecutions of the Greeks in Turkey before the European War by Archimandrite Alexander Papadopoulos on the Basis of Official Documents*, trans. Carroll N. Brown (New York: Oxford UP, 1919); Horton, *The Blight of Asia*; and A. A. Pallis, "Racial Migrations in the Balkans during the Years 1912–1924," *Geographical Journal* 66,4 (1925): 315–31.
131. Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, *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. Later published as *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972; New York: Kent State UP, 1988; New York: Newmark, 1998).
132. Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 30–1.
133. The belief of the Young Turks that a regeneration of the Empire was necessary to prevent the inevitable and irretrievable loss of European Turkey precipitated the revolution of 1908, and the paramount plank in the program of regeneration was the solution of the Macedonian problem. The policy which the Young Turk adopted to solve the Macedonian problem was to strengthen the Moslem element and to enroll Christians in the [Ottoman] army.

    Frank Maloy Anderson and Amos Shartle Hershey, *Handbook for the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia and Africa 1870–1914* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 392. See also Christopher Psilos, *The Young Turk Revolution and the Macedonian Question, 1908–1912* (Leeds: U of Leeds, 2000).

134. Anderson and Hershey, *Handbook*, 392.
135. Ibid., 392–3.
136. On the CUP's 1909–1911 economic boycotts against Ottoman Greeks and attempts to Turkify the economy, see Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Economic Activities of the Greek Community of Izmir in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Gondicas and Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks*, 11–44, 26, 28. On economic boycotts in the Ottoman Empire, see Halil İnalçik with Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 840–1. See also Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, "Patterns of Social Mobilisation in the Elimination of the Greek Orthodox Population, 1908–1914," *Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic*

*History* 10, 4 (2013): 46–65; Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement: Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London: IB Tauris, 2013); Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, "On the Social Origins of Turkish Nationalism: The Anti-Greek Movement in the Ottoman Empire 1910–1914" in *Social Transformation and Mass Mobilisation in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Cities, 1900–1923*, ed. Andreas Lyberatos (Heraklion: Crete UP, 2013), 229–44; and Chatziioannou and Kamouzis, "From a Multiethnic Empire."

137. See Papadopoulos, *Persecutions of the Greeks*, 52.
138. Akçam, "The Greek Deportations," 69.
139. See John Mourelos, "The Persecutions in Thrace and Ionia in 1914 and the First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities between Greece and Turkey," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 113–36, which is a slightly revised version of Yannis G. Mourelos, "The 1914 Persecutions and the First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities Between Greece and Turkey," *Balkan Studies* 26,2 (1985): 389–414.
140. Akçam, *A Shameful Act*, 90–1.
141. Ryan Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912–1923* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 38–41.
142. Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 41–2.

> The boycott was preached in the mosques and made the object of incitement against the Greeks by special emissaries, also threats and acts of oppression were applied to this Diocese [of Neocaesarea, or Castambol] (195 Communities, 67,424 inhabitants). A proclamation was distributed and posted updated June 1914, and in lieu of signature the words: "Atech" (fire) Young Men's Vengeance Association.

Greek [Ecumenical] Patriarchate, *Persecution of the Greeks in Turkey, 1914–1918* (Constantinople, 1919), 125.

143. Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 43.
144. Regarding the Dutch-born Alfred van der Zee, see Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 140–1.
145. Udenrigsministeriet, 2–0355, "Konstantinopel/Istanbul, diplomatisk repræsentation," "Noter og indberetninger om den politiske udvikling, 1914-1922," "Verdenskrigen. Rapporter fra Smyrna. Nov. 1914-Marts 1916," 19/6 1914, quoted in Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 143. See also Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 28–34.
146. On these irregulars and other paramilitary groups, see Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: Between Volunteerism and Resistance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2012).
147. On these *muhacir*s, see Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 150–1.
148. Udenrigsministeriet, 2–0355, "Konstantinopel/Istanbul, diplomatisk repræsentation," "Noter og indberetninger om den politiske udvikling, 1914-1922," "Verdenskrigen. Rapporter fra Smyrna. Nov. 1914-Marts 1916," 19/6 1914, quoted in Ibid., 150.
149. It read,

> It is urgent for political reasons that the Greeks living on the coast of Asia Minor are obliged to evacuate their villages and to settle in the vilayets of Erzerum and Chaldea. If they should refuse to be transported to the places indicated, you will like to give verbal instructions to our Moslem brothers, in order to oblige the Greeks, by excesses of any kind, to emigrate themselves of their own accord. Do not forget to obtain, in this case, certificates stating these immigrants leave their homes of their own initiative, so that later political questions do not result from it.

"Les persécutions contre les Grecs en Turquie" [The persecutions against the Greeks in Turkey], *Temps* [Times], 29 July 1916, 2; René Puaux, *La déportation et le rapatriement des Grecs en Turquie* [The deportation and repatriation of the Greeks in Turkey] (Paris: Éditions du Bulletin hellénique, 1919), 11. Also see Victoria Solomonidis, "Greece in Asia Minor: The Greek Administration of the Vilayet of Aidin, 1919–1922" (PhD diss., U of London, 1984), 15–16.

150. Concerning the Massacre of Phocaea, see Félix Sartiaux, "Le sac de Phocée et l'expulsion des Grecs Ottomans d'Asie Mineure en juin 1914" [The sacking of Phocaea and the expulsion of the Ottoman Greeks of Asia Minor in June 1914], *Revue des deux mondes* [Review of two worlds] 24,6 (1914): 654–86 (also published Paris: Imprimerie Renouard, 1914). See also Haris Yiakoumis, *Phocée 1913–1920: Le témoignage de Félix Sartiaux* [Phocaea 1913–1920: The testimony of Felix Sartiaux] (Paris: Éditions Kallimages, 2008); Mentoros tou Proteos (Μέντορος τοῦ Πρωτέως), *Μαῦρον Ἡμερονύκτιον: Ἡ φρικαλέα τραγωδία τῆς Παλαιᾶς Φωκαίας Μαΐου 30-31, 1914* [The black day and night: The horrific

tragedy of Old Phocæa, May 30–31, 1914] (Athens: Τυπ. Φραντζεσκάκη, 1915); Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 46–51; "Turks Slay 100 Greeks," *New York Times*, 17 June 1914; "Turkish Atrocities against Greeks," *Scotsman*, 19 June 1914; Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 152–4; Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihad ve Terraki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)* [Modern Turkey's cipher: The ethnic engineering of the CUP, 1913–1918] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 191–210.

151. See Racho Donef, "The Role of Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa (Special Organization) in the Genocide of 1915," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 179–93.

152. On Muslim Cretans, settling in the Ottoman Empire already before WWI, see Sophia Koufopoulou, "Muslim Cretans in Turkey: The Reformulation of Ethnic Identity in an Aegean Community," in *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, ed. Renée Hirschon (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), 209–19.

153. UM [Udenrigsministeriet], 2–0355, "Konstantinopel/Istanbul, diplomatisk repræsentation," "Noter og indberetninger om den politiske udvikling, 1914-1922," "Verdenskrigen. Rapporter fra Smyrna. Nov. 1914-Marts 1916," 25/6 1914, quoted in Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 152–3.

154. See Kônstantinos Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Πόντου* [The genocide of the Greeks of Pontus], vol. 13, *Ἀρχεῖα Ὑπουργείου Ἐξωτερικῶν Μ. Βρεταννίας, Γαλλίας, Κοινωνίας τῶν Ἐθνῶν καὶ S.H.A.T.: Πρωτότυπα ἔγγραφα* [Archives of the ministries of foreign affairs of Great Britain, France, the League of Nations and SHAT: Original documents] (Thessalonica: Ἐκδόσεις Ἡρόδοτος, 2004), 147–55, 169–71. See also Speros Vryonis Jr., "Greek Labor Battalions in Asia Minor," in Hovannisian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 275–90.

155. David Cameron Cuthell Jr., "The Muhacirin Komisyonu: An Agent in the Transformation of Ottoman Anatolia, 1860–1866" (PhD diss., Columbia U, 2005).

156. Stuermer, *Two War Years*, 169.

157. Stephen Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York: MacMillan, 1932), 15–6.

158. Hofmann, "The Genocide against the Christians."

159. On the declaration of jihad, see Geoffrey Lewis, "The Ottoman Proclamation of Jihād in 1914," *Islamic Quarterly* 19,3–4 (1975): 157–63; and Altay Atlı, "Proclamation of Holy War," Turkey in the First World War, 26 June 2006, http://www.turkeyswar.com/documents/jihad.html (accessed 11 Dec 2014). On the German connection, see Sean MacMeekin, *The Berlin–Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power, 1898–1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2010); Hilmar Kaiser, "The Baghdad Railway 1915–1916: A Case Study in German Resistance and Complicity," in *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1999), 67–112; and Mustafa Aksakal, "Holy War Made in Germany? Ottoman Origins of the 1914 Jihad," *War in History* 18, 2 (2011): 184–99.

160. Regarding Şeyhülislam Mustafa Hayri Effendi, see Ali Suat Ürgüplü, "Des Nachlass des Muṣṭafā Ḫayrī Efendi" [The *Nachlass* of Muṣṭafā Ḫayrī Efendi] (inaugural-dissertation, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, 2012). The *fatwa* read in part,

> —[Question:] In this way, would it be a religious duty for them to declare war against Russia, Britain and France, *and their helpers and supporters*, who are enemies of the Islamic Caliphate and trying to—may God forbid—extinguish the divine light of Islam by attacking the seat of the Caliph and the Ottoman nation with battleships and land forces?
>
> —Answer: It would.

Altay Atlı, "Proclamation of Holy War." Emphasis mine.

161. For an explanation of these terms and evidence from the Qur'an and *sunnah*, see Suhas Majumdar, *Jihād: The Islamic Doctrine of Permanent War* (New Delhi: Voice of India, 2004). For the implications of jihad on non-Muslims, see also Andrew Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non Muslims* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005).

162. Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *Persecutions of the Greek Population in Turkey since the Beginning of the European War according to Official Reports of Hellenic Diplomatic and Consular Agents* (London: Constable, 1918), 25–26. See also Tessa Hofmann, "German Eyewitness Reports of the Genocide of the Armenians, 1915–16," in *A Crime of Silence: The Armenian Genocide; The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal*, ed. Gérard Libaridian (London: Zed, 1985), 61–92, 73. For some examples of the atrocities perpetrated during this period, see Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 49–65.

163. For examples and accounts of the second phase, see Caroll N. Brown and Theodore Ion, *Persecutions of the Greeks in Turkey since the Beginning of the European War* (New York: Oxford UP, 1918); James Levi Barton, comp., *"Turkish Atrocities": Statements of American Missionaries on the Destruction of Christian Communities in Ottoman Turkey, 1915–1917* (Ann Arbor, MI: Gomidas Institute, 1998); Lewis Einstein, *Inside Constantinople: A Diplomatist's Diary during the Dardanelles Expedition, April–September, 1915* (London: John Murray, 1917); Greek [Ecumenical] Patriarchate, *Persecutions of the Greeks*; L. Eliou, *Persecution and Extermination of the Communities of Macri and Livissi (1914–1918)* (Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1919). See also John Williams, "The Ethnic Cleansing of Greeks from Gallipoli, April 1915," *Quadrant* 57,4 (2013), 26–33.
164. Concerning these persecutions, see Williams, "The Ethnic Cleansing." See also N. G. Kyriakides, *The Tragedy of the Sea of Marmora: How the Greeks of Marmora Were Expelled from Their Homes and Scattered among the Villages around Kermasti* (New York: Relief Committee for Greeks of Asia Minor, 1918); Greek [Ecumenical] Patriarchate, *Persecution of the Greeks*, 3–45; Elisabeth Kontogiorgi, "Forced Migration, Repatriation, Exodus: The Case of Ganos and Chora and Myriophyto-Peristasis Orthodox Communities in Eastern Thrace," *Balkan Studies* (Thess.) 35,1 (1994): 15–45; Elisabeth Kontogiorgi, *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees, 1922–1930* (New York: Oxford UP, 2006), 46–8; and Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime*, 67–70.
165. Vahakn N. Dadrian, *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity* (Watertown, MA: Blue Crane, 1996), 227.
166. Akçam, *A Shameful Act*, 115; John Freely, *Children of Achilles: The Greeks in Asia Minor since the Days of Troy* (London: IB Tauris, 2010), 205–6.
167. "Cheerful Recruits in Macedonia," *Times* (London), 28 September 1915, 7. See also Demeter, "The Views of the Young Turks," 197.
168. That the scope of this law did not solely cover the Armenians but also the Ottoman Greeks is also admitted by Turkish historian and notorious genocide denier Yusuf Halaçoğlu, who contents that "the Ottoman citizens of Moslem, Greek and Armenian origin covered under this law were subjected to immigrate from their own place and resettle elsewhere. To regard this law as being directed against one particular ethnic group is an indication of a lack of information, or else, intentional behavior." Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehcirine Dair Gerekceler—Realities on the Armenian Immigration—1915* (Ankara: TTK Publication, 2001).
169. Vahakn N. Dadrian, "The Armenian Genocide: An Interpretation," *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915*, ed. Jay Murray Winter (New York: Cambridge UP, 2003), 52–100, 94–5.
170. See Anastasia Lekka, "Legislative Provisions of the Ottoman/Turkish Governments Regarding Minorities and Their Properties," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 18,1 (2007): 135–54, 138–9.
171. Einstein, *Inside Constantinople*, 202–3. On Einstein, see George W. Liebmann, *Diplomacy between the Wars: Five Diplomats and the Shaping of the Modern World* (London: IB Tauris, 2008).
172. "Greek Population of Turkey," *Scotsman*, 20 July 1915, 8.
173. Schwörbel was a career diplomat of Germany. See Bernd Isphording, Gerhard Keiper, Martin Kröger, eds., *Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes 1871-1945* [Bibliographical handbook of the German Foreign Service, 1871–1945], vol. 4, *S* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2012), 233ff. Regarding the concentration camps for the extermination of the Armenians and Greeks, see Raymond Haroutiun Kévorkian, *L'extermination des déportés arméniens ottomans dans les camps de concentration de Syrie-Mésopotamie (1915-1916), La deuxième phase du Génocide* [The extermination of the Ottoman Armenian deportees in the concentration camps of Syria-Mesopotamia, 1915–1916: The second phase of the genocide] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nubar de UGAB, 1998). See also Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot, *Le siècle des camps: Détention, concentration, extermination: Cent ans de mal radical* [The century of camps: Detention, concentration, extermination; One-hundred years of radical evil] ([Paris]: Jean Claude Lattès, 2000); and Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 54–5.
174. German Foreign Office, Political Archives, Berlin, File Turkey [Türkei] No. 168, vol. 14 f. No. 552, A. 26689, quoted in Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 55.
175. Iraj Bashiri, "Enver Pasha," Bashiri Working Papers on Central Asia and Iran, 2000, http://www.angelfire.com/rnb/bashiri/Enver/Enver.html (accessed 11 Dec 2014).
176. Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 180.
177. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, 324–5.
178. "Massacres of Greeks in Turkey Reported," *New York Times*, 20 April 1916.
179. "Turks Deporting Greeks," *New York Times*, 21 August 1916, 2.

180. On Germanos of Amaseia and Amisos, see Demetrius Kiminas, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate: A History of its Metropolitanates with Annotaded Hierarch Catalogs* ([Rockville, Maryland]: Wildside, 2009), 96–7.
181. *The Turkish Atrocities in the Black Sea Territories: Copy of Letter of His Grace Germanos, Lord Archbishop of Amassia and Samsoun* (Manchester: Delegation of the Pan-Pontic Congress, 1919), 3–4. See also Hervé Georgelin, "Perception of the Other's Fate: What Greek Orthodox Refugees from the Ottoman Empire Reported about the Destruction of Ottoman Armenians," *Journal of Genocide Research* 10,1 (2008): 59–75.
182. George William Rendel, "Memorandum by Mr. Rendel on Turkish Massacres and Persecutions of Minorities since the Armistice," No. 22, 20 March 1922, FO 371/7876, X/P 09194. 20.3.1922 [E 3148/19/44], Foreign Office, National Archives, United Kingdom. On Topal Osman Agha, see Kônstantinos Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία,* 174–9; and Riza Nur, *Topal Osman olayi: tam metin* [The case of Topal Osman: The entire text] (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 1993).
183. Lampos Mauridês, oral testimony, Ioannina, Anatolê, 31 October 1964, Archives of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, cited in Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 174–5. For more survivor testimonies, especially of the late genocidal period and the process of the Ottoman Greek exodus from Asia Minor, see Ph. D. Apostolopoulos (Φ.Δ. Ἀποστολόπουλος), ed., *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* [The exodus], vol. 1, *Μαρτυρίες ἀπὸ τὶς ἐπαρχίες τῶν δυτικῶν παραλίων τῆς Μικρασίας* [Testimonies from the provinces of the western shores of Asia Minor] (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1980); Paschalês M. Kitromêlidês and Giannês Mourelos (Πασχάλη Μ. Κιτρομηλίδη-Γιάννη Μουρέλου), eds., *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* [The exodus], vol. 2, *Μαρτυρίες ἀπὸ τὶς ἐπαρχίες τῆς κεντρικῆς καὶ νότιας Μικρασίας* [Testimonies from the provinces of central and southern Asia Minor] (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1982); Paschalês M. Kitromilidês (Πασχάλης Μ. Κιτρομηλίδης), ed., *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* [The exodus], vol. 3, *Μαρτυρίες ἀπὸ τὶς ἐπαρχίες τοῦ μεσογείου Πόντου* [Testimonies from the provinces of Mediterranean Pontus] (Athens: Centre for Asia Mionor Studies, 2013). For more on Topal Osman's crimes, see Georgios Th. Kandêlaptês-Kanis (Κ. Κανδηλάπτης-Κάνις), *Τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς κακίας ἢ τὸ τέλος τοῦ Κερασουντίου κακούργου Τοπὰλ Ὀσμάν (Ἱστορικὸν Δοκίμιον)* [The just deserts of malice; or, The end of the criminal Topal Osman of Kerasous: A historical essay] (Alexandropolis: Γ. Σακελλαρίδης, 1956; Thessalonica: Ἀδελφοὶ Κυριακίδη, 2000); Phourniadês (Π. Φουρνιάδης), *Σελίδες ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κερασούντος καὶ τὰ τερατουργήματα τοῦ αἱμοσταγοῦς Τοπὰλ Ὀσμὰν καθ' ὅλην τὴν περιφέρειαν τοῦ Πόντου* [Pages from the history of Kerasous and the monstrosities of the bloodthirsty Topal Osman across the entire region of Pontus] (Kavala: Ἔκδοσις Ἰωάννου Παπαδοπούλου, 1965).
184. Dadrian, *German Responsibility*, 229–31.
185. Emmannouêl Emmanouêlidês, *Τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη*, 290–4; Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 179–83. See Lekka, "Legislative Provisions."
186. Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *Persecutions of the Greek Population*, 12–20. Regarding the Young Turks' demographic policy and its relation to the genocide, see also Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime*, 227–85. On sexual violence during the Armenian Genocide with references to the Greeks, see Matthias Bjørnlund, " 'A Fate Worse Than Dying': Sexual Violence during the Armenian Genocide," in *Brutality and Desire: War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 16–58. For rape as a weapon of genocide, see also Roger W. Smith, "Genocide and the Politics of Rape: Historical and Psychological Perspectives," in *Genocide Matters: Ongoing Issues and Emerging Perspectives*, ed. Joyce Apsel and Ernesto Verdeja (London: Routledge 2013), 82–105.
187. Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (New York: Oxford UP, 2005), 64.
188. For even more on the massacres, see, for example, these indicative news pieces: "Turks Massacre Greeks in Thrace," *New York Times*, 28 July 1913; "Turkish Persecution of Greeks," *Times* (London), 18 April 1918; "Persecution of Greeks," *Times* (London), 28 April 1914; "Massacre of Greeks Charged to the Turks," *Atlanta Constitution*, 17 June 1914; "Turks Slay 100 Greeks," *New York Times*; "Turkish Atrocities against Greeks," *Scotsman*; "Turks Massacre Greeks," *Denton Journal*, 19 December 1914; "Persecution of Greeks," *Scotsman*, 15 July 1915; "Women Massacred by Turks," *Fitchburg Daily Sentinel*, 22 July 1915; "Massacres of Greeks in Turkey Reported," *New York Times*; "Turks Deporting Greeks," *New York Times*; and "Turks in a Wholesale Massacre of Greeks," *Chillicothe Constitution*, 2 October 1916. For more on the latter two points, see Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 169–74.
189. Vahagn Avedian, "The Armenian Genocide 1915 from a Neutral Small State's Perspective: Sweden" (MA thesis, Uppsala U, 2008), 47.
190. "Deportations of Greeks," *Scotsman*, 22 May 1917; "Deportation of Greeks in Asia Minor," *Scotsman*, 23 May 1917.

191. Quoted by Dr. Johannes Lepsius during his expert statement at the trial of Soghomon Tehlirian, who had assassinated Talât in Berlin on 2 June 1921. *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht: Der Prozess Talaat Pascha* [The genocide against the Armenians on trial: The Talaat Pasha court process], ed. Tessa Hofmann, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker, 1985), 61. Count Paul Graf Wolff Metternich zur Gracht was a German Diplomat and had previously been the ambassador of Germany in London (1903–1912). Walter Keßler, "Persönlichkeiten und Originale: Botschafter in London. Paul Graf Wolff Metternich zur Gracht—vor 160 Jahren geboren" [Personalities and originals: Ambassador in London Count Paul Wolff Metternich born the canal—160 years ago], *Jahrbuch der Stadt Erfstadt* [Yearbook of the city of Erfstadt] 22 (2013): 50–2.
192. For some news reports, see "Persecutions of the Greeks," *Scotsman*, 9 August 1917; "Extermination of Greeks in Turkey," *Times* (London), 23 August 1917; "Greek Deportations," *New York Times*, 8 October 1917; "Turks are Backed by Germany," *Warren Evening Mirror*, 17 October 1917; "Turks Slaughter Christian Greeks," *Lincoln Daily Star*, 19 October 1917, 1; "Germans Help Turks in Deportation of Greeks," *Lincoln Daily Star*, 28 October 1917; "Greek Persecution in Turkey," *Scotsman*, 6 November 1917, 7; "Hope America Will Aid Greeks in Asia Minor," *New York Times*, 19 November 1917; "The Need Colossal," *Colorado Transcript*, 13 December 1917.
193. Nikolaos Hlamides, "The Greek Relief Committee: America's Response to the Greek Genocide (A Research Note)," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 3,3 (2008): 375–383, doi: 10.1353/gsp.2011.0021. See also John Xenides, *The Greeks in America* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922).
194. "Greek Persecution in Turkey," *Scotsman*. See also "Turks Slaughter Christian Greeks," *Lincoln Daily Star*; "Turks Are Backed by Germany," *Warren Evening Mirror*; and Hlamides, "The Greek Relief Committee," 375–6.
195. On the distribution of women among officials, see Viscount Bryce and Arnold Toynbee, *The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916* (Beirut: G. Donikian & Sons, 1972), 225, 238, 347–8, 475; Ara Sarafian, ed., *United States Official Documents on the Armenian Genocide*, vol. 1 (Watertown, MA: Armenian Review, 1993), 7, 26, 31, 36, 49; Ara Sarafian, ed., *United States Official Documents on the Armenian Genocide*, vol. 2 (Watertown, MA: Armenian Review, 1995), 27.
196. Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office, Reference FO 286/677, quoted in Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ροῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 59.
197. "Turkish Cruelty Bared by Greeks," *New York Times*, 16 June 1918, 42.
198. News reports are indicative: "1,000,000 Greeks Killed?" *New York Times*, 1 January 1918; "1,000,000 Greeks Are Put to Death by Turco-Teuton Forces in Asia," *Washington Post*, 1 January 1918; "Greek Massacres," *Coshocton Tribune*, 9 January 1918; "Turkish Atrocities Continue," *Newark Daily Advocate*, 27 March 1918; "Bombarding Ships Rescue 2,000 Greeks," *New York Times*, 7 April 1918; "Massacres by Turks," *Hamilton Spectator*, 30 April 1918, 4; "Atrocities," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1918, 11; "Turkish Cruelty Bared by Greeks," *New York Times*; "250,000 Exiled by Turks," *Washington Post*, 3 August 1918; "Tells of Turkish Cruelty to Greeks," *New York Times*, 26 August 1918; "Christians To Die under German Edict," *Syracuse Herald*, 4 September 1918; "Germans Inspired Turkish Atrocities against Asiatic Greeks," *New York Times*, 29 September 1918; "Proves German Guilt," *Daily North-Western*, 28 October 1918; "Greece," *Syracuse Herald*, 1 November 1918; "900,000 Greeks Killed," *New York Times*, 3 December 1918; "Turks Organizing New Massacres," *New York Times*, 8 December 1918, 6; "Turks Massacred 700,000 Greeks—200,000 More Died of Suffering," *Japan Times & Mail*, 8 December 1918; "Deputies Ask Turkish Government What Steps Will Be Taken," *Elyria Evening Telegram*, 13 December 1918.
199. Eliou, *Persecution and Extermination*.
200. "Massacres by Turks," *Hamilton Spectator*.
201. Telegram from Athens, Relief Committee for Greeks of Asia Minor, Gertrude V. Whitney Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, quoted in Hlamides, "The Greek Relief Committee," 383. See also "Atrocities," *Los Angeles Times*.
202. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 1. Rendel also says,

> The ghastly Armenian persecution of the early part of the war formed the subject of a British Blue Book as early as 1916, and the almost equally horrible Greek persecutions have been dealth with in several Greek official publications (See particularly the proceedings of the third National Assembly in Athens in April 1921). Information regarding the persecutions of the other Christian bodies has not yet been collected.

Ibid.

203. Sir George William Rendel (1889–6 May 1979) was a British diplomat. In 1922, he submitted two detailed reports: "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres"; and "Memorandum by Mr. Rendel on Turkish Atrocities between March to October 1922," 30 October 1922, [E11885/10524/44] FO 371/7960], Foreign Office, National Archives, United Kingdom. He also published his memoirs as *The Sword and the Olive: Recollections of Diplomacy and the Foreign Service, 1913–1954* (London: John Murray, 1957). See also "About: George William Rendel," DBpedia, http://dbpedia.org/page/George_William_Rendel (accessed 11 Dec 2014).
204. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 2.
205. Harry J. Psomiades, *Fridtjof Nansen and the Greek Refugee Crisis, 1922–1924* (Bloomingdale, IL: Asia Minor and Pontus Hellenic Research Center, 2011), 13; Shirinian, introduction, 33.
206. Phôtiadês writes of the "Armenization of the Greeks of Pontus" (*Ἡ ἀρμενοποίηση τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Πόντου*) not with the meaning of assimilation, but with that of an outright genocidal experience and of a similar genocidal pattern. Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 222.
207. For a vast bibliography of primary sources, books, dissertations, and articles, see Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, "A Select Bibliography," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 451–88. For contemporary press reports on the third phase, see the indicative list Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, "Reports and Articles from Contemporary Press," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 490–2. On the third phase, see also Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ροῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 65–93.
208. "Turks Organizing New Massacres," *New York Times*.
209. Some of these committees were the following: Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti, İzmir Müdafaa-i Hukuku Osmaniye Cemiyeti, Trabzon Muhafaza-i Hukuku Milliye Cemiyeti, Şarkî Anadolu Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti. Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores*, 77–80. For the period from Moudros to Lausanne, especially from a British perspective, see Briton Cooper Busch, *Mudros to Lausanne: Britain's Eastern Frontier in West Asia, 1918–1923* (New York: State U of New York P, 1976).
210. "Turkey Condemns Its War Leaders," *New York Times*, 13 July 1919. See also Taner Akçam, *Armenien und der Völkermord: Die Istanbuler Prozesse und die türkische Nationalbewegung* [Armenians and the genocide: The Istanbul processes and the Turkish National Movement] (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996; Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2004), 185. Citations refer to the 1996 edition. On these courts martial, see also Jennifer Balint, "The Ottoman State Special Military Tribunal for the Genocide of the Armenians: 'Doing Government Business,' " in *The Hidden Histories of War Crimes Trials*, ed. Kevin Jon Heller and Gery Simpson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 77–102.
211. "Turks Sentence Two Leaders for Organizing Massacres," *New York Times*, 21 January 1920.
212. Concerning the Paris Peace Conference, see the solid and systematic work of Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
213. "Extermination of Greeks: A Turkish Plot Revealed," *Times* (London), 21 March 1919, 9.
214. On the creation and working of this council, see Elizabeth Greenhalgh, *Victory through Coalition: Britain and France during First World War* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2005), 163–85.
215. A. J. Balfour, secret telegram, 11 May 1919, FO 141/580/1, Foreign Office, British National Archives, quoted in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 197. See also "Smyrna Is Taken away from Turkey," *New York Times*, 17 May 1919.
216. See Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 49–51; Housepian Dobkin, *The Smyrna Affair*, 50l; Victoria Solomonidis, "Greece in Asia Minor," 60–2; Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919–1922* (London: C. Hurst, 1999), 88–92; Giles Milton, *Paradise Lost: Smyrna 1922; The Destruction of Islam's City of Tolerance* (London: Sceptre, 2008), 140–8. George Horton noted in his memoirs,

> Much has been said on atrocities and massacres committed by the Greek troops at the time of their landing at Smyrna on 15 May 1919. In fact, the events that occurred on that and the few succeeding days have been magnified until they have taken on larger proportions in the public mind than the deliberate extermination of whole nations by the Turks, and no consideration seems to have been given to the prompt suppression of the disorders by the Hellenic authorities and the summary punishment of the principal offenders, several of them by death.
>
> Horton, The Blight of Asia, 72–3.

217. Xenides, *The Greeks in America*, 22.
218. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 5. See also "Urge Turks to Massacre All Greeks in Thrace," *New York Times*, 5 June 1919.

219. Ecumenical Patriarchate, *The Black Book of the Sufferings of the Greek People in Turkey, from the Armistice to the End of 1920* (Constantinople: Patriarchate, 1920), 46, 52. See "Aidin a Vast Sepulchre," *New York Times*, 29 August 1921.
220. "Turks Parboiled 250,000," *New York Times*, 31 July 1919. See also "The Greeks Were Parboiled and then Sent on Death Marches!," *Stevens Point Journal*, 11 September 1919.
221. George William Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 7. De Robeck also served as Allied high commissioner in Constantinople during autumn 1919. See Paul G. Halpern, "Robeck, Sir John Michael de, baronet (1862–1928)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, 2004; online ed., Jan 2012), http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101032790 (accessed 8 Sept 2014).
222. For some indicative reports, see "Report Turks Killed Many in Rodosto," *New York Times*, 14 June 1920; "Kendallville Woman Is Returning from Turkey," *Fort Wayne News and Sentinel*, 1 April 1920; "Turkey Deporting Greeks," *Ignacio Chieftain*, 5 November 1920; "Turks Expel Greeks," *Reno Evening Gazette*, 23 December 1920.
223. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," Nos. 16–17.
224. Vartkes Yeghiayan, ed., *British Reports on Ethnic Cleansing in Anatolia, 1919–1922: The Armenian-Greek Section* (Glendale, California: Armenian Remembrance Center, 2007), 161. Regarding Çerkes (Circassian) Ethem, his brothers, and his Circassian band of irregulars, see Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who Is a Turk?* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 113–5.
225. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 18.
226. Ecumenical Patriarchate, *The Black Book*, 38.
227. Ecumenical Patriarchate, *The Black Book*, 40.
228. Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization*, 307. See also Lewis, *The Emergence*, 266; Stéphane Yerasimos, "La question du Pont-Euxin (1912-1923)" [The Pontian Question, 1912–1923], *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporaines* [World wars and modern conflicts] 153 (1989): 9–34, 32–3; Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ποῃ*—Cumulative Genocide," 74–6; Balint, "The Ottoman State Special Military Tribunal," 98; Ergün Aybars, *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri* [The Independence Tribunals] (Ankara: Bilgi, 1975); Ergün Aybars, *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri, 1920–1927* [The Independence Tribunals, 1920–1927] (Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 1988); Ergün Aybars, *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri: Yakın Tarihimizin Gerçekleri* [Independence Tribunals: The truths of our recent history] (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1997; 1998), 23, 34–6, 52–3 (citations refer to the 1998 edition); Rıdvan Akın, *TBMM Devleti (1920-1923)* [The state of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1920–1923] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 164–96; "Alleged Turkish Crime," *Scotsman*, 7 October 1921, 3; and Yeghiayan, *British Reports*, 220, 228, 230.
229. Gareth Jenkins, *Political Islam in Turkey: Running West, Heading East?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 87.
230. Yerasimos, "La question du Pont-Euxin," 32–3.
231. George W. Gawrych, *The Young Atatürk: From Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey* (London: IB Tauris, 2013), 133.
232. Gawrych, The *Young Atatürk*, 134.
233. Israël Setrak Tahmazyan, *Gavur*: *Autobiographie d'un Arménien ayant survécu au génocide* [Gavur: The autobiography of an Armenian Genocide survivor] (Paris: Éditions Publibook, 2006), 53.
234. Indicative contemporary news reports include "Massacre of Greeks Rages," *Oakland*, 3 June 1921; "Massacre of Christians Reported in Western Asia," *Chronicle Telegram*, 3 June 1921; "Reported Massacre of Greeks," *Argus*, 6 June 1921, 7; "700,000 Greeks Victims of Turks," *New York Times*, 10 July 1921, 4; "Woeful Plight of Black Sea Greeks," *Lincoln State Journal*, 9 August 1921; "Extermination Plan Alleged," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1921; "Church is Made Turks Have Plan of Extermination," *Fort Collins Courier*, 10 August 1921; "Near East Aid Asked by Greek Patriarch," *Christian Science Monitor*, 13 August 1921; "Villages Fired by Kemalists," *Scotsman*, 18 August 1921; "Aidin a Vast Sepulchre," *New York Times*, 29 August 1921; "Alleged Turkish Atrocities," *Scotsman*, 12 September 1921; "Alleged Turkish Crime," *Scotsman*, 7 October 1921; "The Turk at Work," *Times* (London), 26 October 1921, 11; "Reports Massacres of Greeks in Pontus," *New York Times*, 6 November 1921; "Turks Persecute Christians Again," *New York Times*, 2 December 1921; "Bill Condemns Turk Brutality," *Reno Evening Gazette*, 14 December 1921; "Harding Urged To Intervene against Turkish Atrocities," *New York Times*, 15 December 1921.
235. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 20.
236. Corina Görgü Guttstadt, "Depriving non-Muslims of Citizenship as Part of the Turkification Policy in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic: The Case of Turkish Jews and Its Consequences during the Holocaust," in *Turkey beyond Nationalism: Toward Post-Nationalist Identities*, ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser (London: IB Tauris, 2006), 50–6, 51–2.
237. Varteres Mikael Garougian, *Destiny of the Dzidzernag* (Princeton: Gomidas Institute, 2005), 169.

238. "Reported Massacre of Greeks," *Argus*.
239. "700,000 Greeks Victims of Turks," *New York Times*, 10 July 1921.
240. Yeghiayan, *British Reports*, 236. The crucifixion of Christian priests was a customary act among Ottomans. Hezekiah Nile's national register of 1827 reports incidents of crucifixions in relation with the Hellenic national struggle for independence:

> Ancona, [Italy] November 3 [1827]. Letters from Zante, of the 25th October [1827] state that Ibrahim pasha upon being informed of the occurrences of the 20th, (the naval defeat), fell back upon Coron [Κορώνη], and *put to the sword or torture all the Greek prisoners*, men, women and children, that for fifteen months he had had in his power. According to custom, the priests were either crucified, or roasted by slow fires. The details given in relation to these enormities make shudder.

A letter from Zante reported,

> The most authentic (unofficial) accounts state, that Ibrahim was not at Navarino at the time of the battle, having been engaged for a fortnight in the interior of the Morea, pursuing the Christians in the mountains of Messenia, attending the execution of some priests, who he had crucified on some olive trees, making holocausts of poor peasantry, or packages of young girls and infants, to send into Egypt, and laying the country waste by fire and sword, rooting up the olives, vines, fig-trees, &c. &c.

Hezekiah Niles & Son, eds., *Nile's Weekly Register*, vol. 33 (Baltimore: Franklin, [1828]), 279–280. Charles Dobson also reports a crucifixion:

> The Reverend Robert Ashe, now Chaplain at Carthagena (Spain) told me of the fate of the Greek priest of Boudhah; his informant was the brother of the Roumanian Consul. According to him, this priest was blinded and then crucified on the door of Mr. Gordon's house in Boudjah. The Turkish soldiers nailed horse shoes to his hands and feet; he was dead when the Consul's brother saw him, he kissed his hands and left him there.

Dobson, The Smyrna Holocaust, 29.

241. See "Recent Conditions and Events in Northern Anatolia, Particularly in Marsovan," NA 867.4016/441, files of the Department of State, United States National Archives. See also American Board in Turkey, "Personnel records for Donald M. Hosford," item 13063, Digital Library for International Research Archive, http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/13063 (accessed 21 Oct 2014); "The Turk at Work: Rape, Murder and Arson," *Times*; Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," Nos. 22–24.
242. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 23.
243. See Lampos Mauridês, oral testimony, Ioannina, Anatolê, 31 October 1964, Archives of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, cited in Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 174–5; and "Greek Priests Burned When Scorn Islam," *Fort Collins Courier*, 2 November 1922. Similar genocidal experiences have been also reported by the Armenian victims; for example, see Robert Jébéjian, ed., *Routes and Centers of Annihilation of Armenian Deportees in 1915 within the Boundaries of Syria* (Aleppo: Editions Violette Jébéjian Library, 1994), 64.
244. Engin Aymete, "Dr Riza Nur," Find a Grave, 22 Aug 2007, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSvcid=25533&GRid=21080888& (accessed 11 Dec 2014).
245. Dr. Rıza Nur, Topal Osman'a "Rum köylerinde taş üstünde taş bırakma" dediğini onun da "Öyle yapıyorum ama kiliseleri ve iyi binaları lazım olur diye saklıyorum" karşılığını verdiği iddia eder. Rıza Nur'un "Onları da yık, hatta taşlarını uzaklara yolla, dağıt. Ne olur ne olmaz, bir daha burada kilise vardı diyemesinler' demesi üzerine Topal Osman "Sahi öyle yapalım. Bu kadar akıl edemedim" demiştir.
Rıza Nur, *Hayat ve Hatıratım* [My life and memoirs], ed. Abdurrahman Dilipak (Istanbul: Işaret-Ferşat Ortak Yayınları, 1992), 164.

246. See Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 171–4. See also the story of death march and genocide survivor Sano Themia Halo, written by her daughter in Thea Halo, *Not Even My Name: From a Death March in Turkey to a New Home in America; A Young Girl's True Story* (New York: Macmillan, 2000).
247. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," Nos. 25–27.
248. Garougian, *Destiny of the Dzidzernag*, 134, 142–3.

249. Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 20. For more genocidal acts, see Yeghiayan, *British Reports*, 234, 236–7.
250. NER developed an extensive, lifesaving relief project in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and the Caucasus. Like American missionaries, NER workers witnessed and reported the ongoing genocidal process against the Ottoman Greeks. See Mark H. Ward, *The Deportations of Asia Minor: 1921–1922* (London, 1922). Consequently, they were placed under pressure from the Kemalist regime and expelled from Turkey. In his Rendel says that NER workers "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." Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," No. 31.
251. NER foreign secretary Charles W. Fowle, letter to US secretary of state Allen Dules, 17 November 1921, with Hopkins' 16 November 1921 report as an attachment, 867.4016/432, US National Archives, quoted in Robert Shenk, *America's Black Sea Fleet: The US Navy amidst War and Revolution, 1919–1923* (Annapolis: Naval Institute, 2012), 110–1. Shenk also discusses Hopkins's report, which is also mentioned in Rendel, "Memorandum . . . on Turkish Massacres," Nos. 29–30.
252. Ward was a physician involved in overseeing medical work in countries such as Turkey, Syria, and France, and in the Far East. He first went to the Ottoman Empire in 1915 and remained there for two years, working for the American Red Cross in Constantinople. After the United States' entry into WWI, he joined the US Army. After the armistice (30 October 1918), he returned to do relief work and was stationed in Harput, where he was a physician at the American hospital. He was also acting director of the NER. "William Earl Dodge Ward (AC 1906) Family Papers, 1791-1977 (bulk 1870-1935): Biographical and Historical Note," Five College Archives and Manuscript Collections, http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/amherst/ma234_bioghist.html (accessed 11 Dec 2014); Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, eds., *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810–2010* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 75–6.
253. Rumbold says, "I have interviewed at great length Dr. Ward of Near Eastern Relief Commission, who had just arrived from Kharput which he left 15th March. He corroborates statements as to treatment of minorities contained in telegram from Constantinople published in 'Times' of 5th May." "Statement by Mr. Chamberlain," HC Deb 15 May 1922 vol 154 cc45-52, Hansard 1803–2005, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1922/may/15/statement-by-mr-chamberlain (accessed 11 Dec 2014).
254. Martin Gilbert, *Sir Horace Rumbold: Portrait of a Diplomat, 1869–1941* (London: Heinemann, 1973).
255. "Turks' Insane Savagery," *Times* (London), 5 May 1922.
256. "Turkish Deportations," *Times* (London), 16 May 1922, 21.
257. "Statement by Mr. Chamberlain." See also " 'Unspeakable Turk,' " *Irish Times*, 16 May 1922, 5; "Turkish Atrocities," *Irish Times*, 16 May 1922; "More Turkish Atrocities," *Belfast News-Letter*, 16 May 1922, 4; and "Turkish Atrocities," *Belfast News-Letter*, 16 May 1922.
258. "Kemalist War on Christians," *Times* (London), 8 June 1922, 7. See also "Says 22,000 Greeks Died on the March," *New York Times*, 7 June 1922, 3.
259. Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 36–40, here from 38–9. Ward's evidence is taken from *Christian Science Monitor*, 21 June 1922.
260. "Killing by Turks Has Been Renewed," *New York Times*, 6 May 1922, 2. Also see "Turks' Insane Savagery," *Times*.
261. Herbert Adams Gibbons, "Near East Relief Prevented from Helping Greeks," *Christian Science Monitor*, 13 July 1922, 1. Gibbons's article is also reproduced in Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 29–35.
262. Rendel, "Memorandum . . .on Turkish Atrocities," 2, quoted in Psomiades, "The American Near East Relief," 270.
263. Adams Gibbons, "Near East Relief." See also Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 29–30.
264. Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 40–1. A summarized version is given in *Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1922.
265. Quoted in Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 41.
266. Jevislik (Δικαιόσημον) is the current Maçka, a locality along the Trabzon–Erzerum Road, toward Gümüşhane (Argyroupolis) and Baipurt (Bayburt). There, there was a notorious camp where thousands of Pontic Greeks were concentrated and exterminated, especially after the 1917 withdrawal of the Russian troops and the recommencement of the deportations of Pontic Greeks. I thank Nikolaos Petridis for this information.
267. Quoted in Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 26.
268. Quoted in Ibid., 27.
269. FO 371/7877, X/P 9206, 16 May 1922, quoted in Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 307.
270. FO 371/7877, X/P 9206, 16 May 1922, quoted in Phôtiadês, *Ἡ Γενοκτονία*, 308.

271. Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsion that Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006), 25.
272. Ἠλία Βενέζη (Elias Venezis), "Τὸ Νούμερο 31328: Τὸ Βιβλίο τῆς Σκλαβιᾶς" [The number 31328: The book of slavery], serialized in *Kampana* (Mytilene) in 1924. See also Elias Venezis, "From Number 31328," trans. Gabriel Drachman," *Charioteer* 2 (1960): 110ff; and Alexander and Helen Karanikas, *Elias Venezis* (New York: Twayne, 1969).
273. Vryonis, "Greek Labor Battalions," 276.
274. It is now proven—beyond reasonable doubt—that Smyrna was destroyed by the Kemalist forces. See Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust." See also Hatzidimitriou, *American Accounts*; Constantine N. Hatzidimitriou, "The Destruction of Smyrna in 1922: American Sources and Turkish Responsibility," in Shirinian, *The Asia Minor Catastrophe*, 155–227; Housepian Dobkin, *The Smyrna Affair*; Ev. Dourmoussis, *La Verité sur un drame historique: La Catastrophe de Smyrne, Septembre 1922* [The truth concerning a historical drama: The catastrophe of Smyrna, September 1922] (Paris: Impr. Lemaux, 1922); J. Antoniades, *La fin d' une civilization ou la mort de Smyrne* [The end of a Civilization; or, The death of Smyrna] (Paris: Journal du Foyer Social, 1925); Petros Stylianou, *Turkish Massacres in Smyrna in 1922: As They Appear from the Unpublished Secret Document of the American Consul in Smyrna to the American Secretary of State* (Cyprus, 1979); and Hervé Georgelin, *La fin de Smyrne: Du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes* [The end of Smyrna: From cosmopolitanism to nationalisms] (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2005).
275. "They galloped in with drawn sabres and revolvers ready, presenting a most swashbuckling appearance." "Last Days of Smyrna," *Times* (London), 19 September 1922, 10.
276. Kinross, *Ataturk*, 324. Atay said about Nureddin, "He was arrogant, narrow-minded and a person addicted to atrocity and having power." Quoted in Hlamidis, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 206.
277. Akçam, *A Shameful Act*, 363.
278. C. A. Macartney, *Refugees: The Work of the League* (London: London League of Nations Union, 1930), 79; "200,000 in Smyrna Hopeless of Rescue," *New York Times*, 19 September 1922, 1.
279. Regarding the holocaust of Smyrna, see René Puaux, *La Mort de Smyrne* [The death of Smyrna] (Paris: Édition de la Revue des Balkans, 1922), 6–7; René Puaux, *Les derniers jours de Smyrne* [The last days of Smyrna] (Paris: Éd. de la Revue des Balkans, 1923); *La Grande Pitié des Chrétiens d'Orient* [The Great Pity of the Eastern Christians] (Paris, 1922); Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*; Lysimachos Oeconomos, *The Tragedy of the Christian Near East* (London: Anglo-Hellenic League, 1923); Gustavo Traglia, *I Turchi tornano in Europa! Dai selvaggi massacri turchi di Smirne al tragico esodo della Tracia* [The Turks return to Europe: From the savage massacres of Smyrna to the tragic exodus of Thrace] (Rome: Società Anonima Poligrqafica Italiana, 1922); Dobson, *The Smyrna Holocaust*; and Richard Reinhard, *The Ashes of Smyrna* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).
280. "Indiana Man, Eye Witness to Smyrna Horrors, Tells of Harrowing Experiences," *Indiana Evening Gazette*, 3 November 1922, 1.
281. "The Secretary of the League of Nations received today from Mustapha Kemal Pasha a cryptic telegram saying that on account of the excited spirit of the Turkish population the Angora Government would not be responsible for massacres. This is taken here to mean that massacres have already begun." Edwin L. James, "Kemal Won't Insure against Massacres," *New York Times*, 11 September 1922, 3.
282. One of the arrivals asserts that the massacre occurred in the Armenian quarter, where he himself saw streets strewn with bodies of men and women. After this, fire broke out at several points on one line within the quarter. It spread rapidly and [Turkish] troops in many cases formed a cordon and kept refugees within the burning area.

"Deliberately Planned," *Times* (London), 18 September 1922, 10.The destruction and burning of Smyrna by the Kemalist forces and the personal responsibility of Kemal and his close collaborator Nureddin have been a taboo subject in the Turkish national historiography. In their attempt to exonerate and exculpate emblematic figures in Turkish nationalist mythology, Turkish and pro-Turkish historians have attempted, in various ways, to recount the events either by reordering them or by placing responsibility for the burning upon the Armenians or the retreating Hellenic troops. This reordering of the events has been admitted by some recent Turkish historians themselves. See Leyla Neyzi, *"Ben Kimim?": Türkiye'de Sözlü Tarih, Kimlik ve Öznellik* ["Who am I?": Oral history, identity and subjectivity in Turkey] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 80; and Biray Kolluoğlu Kirli, "Forgetting the Smyrna Fire," *History Workshop Journal* 60,1 (2005):25–44, 35–6, as cited in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 207. The responsibility of the Turks in general and of Nureddin in particular has been admitted by Turkish contemporaries (e.g., Atay) and Turkish historian Süleyman Külçe, who concedes that Nurreddin "was responsible for the massacres and the fire." Süleyman Külçe, *Maresal Fevzi Çakmak: Askeri Hususi*

*Hayatı* [Marshal Fevzi Çakmak: The special life of an army man], vol. 1 (Izmir: Yeni Asır Matbaası, 1946; Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaasi, 1953), 236. Citations refer to the 1946 edition.

283. Macartney, *Refugees*, 79. See also Georgelin, *La fin de Smyrne,* 201–24.
284. "60,000 Are Left Homeless," *New York Times*, 15 September 1922. See also Housepian Dobkin, *The Smyrna Affair*, 142.
285. Dobson, *The Smyrna Holocaust*, 28.
286. Quoted in Hlamidis, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 206–7. As mentioned above, Atay also provides a rational for this burning.
287. "Deliberately Planned," *Times*.
288. F. W. Bunter, unpublished memoir, 22 January 1987, department of documents, Imperial War Museum, London, quoted in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 209.
289. "Indiana Man," *Indiana Evening Gazette*.
290. Neyzi, *Ben Kimim?*, 97–8, quoted in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 206.
291. "Woman Pictures Smyrna Horrors," *New York Times*, 9 October 1922, 3. See aslo Esther Pohl Lovejoy, *Certain Samaritans* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927; revised ed. 1933); and Kimberly Jensen, *Oregon's Doctor to the World: Esther Pohl Lovejoy and a Life in Activism* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 2012).
292. Armstrong, *Grey Wolf*, 203.
293. Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 268–9.
294. Ibid. On Muslim mob violence against Ottoman Christians, see MacMeekin, *The Berlin–Baghdad Express*, 132–4. See also Ebru Aykut, "Ethnic Conflict, the Armenian Question, and Mob Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *Globalizing Lynching History: Vigilantism and Extralegal Punishment from an International Perspective*, ed. Manferd Berg and Simon Wendt (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 119–36.
295. Chrêstos Em. Angelomatês (Χρήστος Ἐμ. Ἀγγελομάτης), *Χρονικὸν Μεγάλης Τραγωδίας: Τὸ Ἔπος τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας* [The chronicle of the Great Tragedy: The epic of Asia Minor] (Athens: Βιβλιοπωλεῖον τῆς Ἑστίας, 1963), 231–2. See also "Fiendish Tortures for Greek Prelate," *New York Times*, 18 September 1922, 3.
296. Dobson, *The Smyrna Holocaust*, 23.
297. "Smyrna Burning," *Times* (London), 15 September 1922, 10.
298. "Destruction of Smyrna,"*Times* (London), 16 September 1922, 8; "120,000 Die in Turk Massacre," *Ignacio Chieftain* (Colorado), 22 September 1922, 1. The *Birmingham Post* published a letter from a British resident of Smyrna and an eyewitness of the disaster:

> No doubt you have heard of the great catastrophe that has befallen our beautiful city of Smyrna, which was totally burnt by the Turks, and more than 125,000 of its inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Armenians, were massacred and burnt alive. The scenes I have witnessed and the cruelty committed are beyond description.

Quoted in Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 84.

299. Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, 173–5.
300. Housepian Dobkin, *The Smyrna Affair*, 190.
301. Angelomatês, *Χρονικὸν Μεγάλης Τραγωδίας*, 254.
302. Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquees Curzon of Kedleston, 5 October 1922, Enclosure 2, British Foreign Office Archives, FO 141/580/1, cited in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 214.
303. Oeconomos, *The Martyrdom*, 170.
304. Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1929), 48–9.
305. Winston Churchill to Dominion Prime Ministers, 3 October 1922, Copies of telegraphic correspondence with the Dominions, Lloyd George papers, British Parliamentary Archives, LG/F/209/2, quoted in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 223–4.
306. Acting Vice Consul at Smyrna R. W. Urquhart, report to British High Commissioner at Constantinople Sir Horace Rumbold, 10 October 1922, FO 141/580/1, British Foreign Office Archives, quoted in Hlamides, "The Smyrna Holocaust," 223.
307. Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis: The Aftermath* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1929), 419.
308. Herbert A. Gibbons, *Europe since 1918* (New York: Century, 1923), 435.
309. Paul Fergosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 1998), 405–7. For Western culpability, see also the magisterial work of Edward Hale

Bierstadt, *The Great Betrayal: A Survey of the Near East Problem* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1924); and Horton, *The Blight of Asia*.

310. Lausanne Peace Treaty, part VI: Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923.

311. H. J. Psomiades, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate under the Turkish Republic," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 6 (1960): 56–80; also in *Balkan Studies* (Thess.) 2 (1961): 47–70. See also Elçin Macar, "The Policies of Turkey toward the Ecumenical Patriarchate: The Single-Party Era (1923–45)," in Fortna et al., *State-Nationalisms*, 132–52.

312. Foti Benlisoy, "Papa Eftim and the Foundation of the Turkish Orthodox Church" (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002); Stavros T. Stavridis, "International Red Cross: A Mission to Nowhere," in Hofmann, Bjørnlund, and Meichanetsidis, *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks*, 277–95, 283–4.

313. Psomiades, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate."

314. Sait Çetinoglu has placed the expropriation of Armenians during the 1915 genocide in a much wider historical context. He argues that from the prism of the longue durée, the period 1895–1955 brought a complete obliteration to the economic life of Ottoman Armenians. This process moved from the 1895 Abdulhamid massacres to the Adana massacre, reached a zenith with the genocide and ultimately in the burning of Smyrna, continued in peacetime during the interwar discriminations, accelerated during the Wealth Tax launched during World War II, and found a conclusion in the 6–7 September 1955 pogrom. Within only sixty years, Ottoman Armenians had been eradicated–economically and in many other ways.

Üngör, Uğur Ümit and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (London: Continuum, 2011). In many ways, the same can be said for the Greeks as well.

315. See Alexis Alexandris, "Imbros and Tenedos: A Study in Turkish Attitudes toward Two Ethnic Greek Island Communities since 1923," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 7,1 (1990): 5–31; Human Rights Watch, *Denying Human Rights and Ethnic Identity: The Greeks of Turkey* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992), 27–32.

316. It reads in full,

> The islands of Imbros and Tenedos, remaining under Turkish sovereignty, shall enjoy a special administrative organisation composed of local elements and furnishing every guarantee for the native non-Moslem population in so far as concerns local administration and the protection of persons and property. The maintenance of order will be assured therein by a police force recruited from amongst the local population by the local administration above provided for and placed under its orders.
>
> The agreements which have been, or may be, concluded between Greece and Turkey relating to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations will not be applied to the inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.

Article 14, "Treaty of Lausanne," Brigham Young University Library World War I Document Archive, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne (accessed 11 Dec 2014).

317. See Elçin Macar, "İmroz ve Bozcaada'nin Türkiye'ye Bırakılması ve 1928 Tarihli Bir Rapor," [Annexing Imbros and Tenedos to Turkey and a Report of the Year 1928] in *Suriçi'nde Bir Yaşam-Toktamış Ateş'e Armağan* [A life within the walls of Istanbul: A *festschrift* for Toktamış Ateş] (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2014), 369–78. For an English summary of the report, see Elcin Macar, "An Official Report Dated 1928 on Imbros and Tenedos," ImvrosIsland.org, http://www.imvrosisland.org/UserFiles/File/Academic%20Works/Anofficialreportdated1928onImbros_paper_emacar.doc (accessed 11 Dec 2014).

318. Human Rights Watch, *Denying Human Rights*, 26.

319. Alexandris, "Imbros and Tenedos," 10–9.

320. Macar, "An Official Report," 1.

321. See Faik Ökte, *The Tragedy of the Turkish Capital Tax* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları* [The capital tax and the policy of Turkification] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000); Ayhan Aktar, " 'Tax Me to the End of My Life!': Anatomy of an Anti-Minority Tax Legislation (1942–3)," in Fortna et al., *State-Nationalisms*, 188–220.

322. On this and related arguments, see Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change* (Abington, Oxon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

323. Quoted in Faik Bulut, *Kürt Sorununa Çözüm Arayışları: Devlet ve Parti Raporları Yerli ve Yabancı Öneriler 1920-1997* [Seeking solutions for the Kurdish Question: State and party reports, national and foreign proposals, 1920–1997] (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 1998), 178. See also Rıdvan Akar, "Bir Resmi Metinden Planlı Türkleştirme Dönemi" [Planned phase of Turkification as given in an official document], *Birikim* [Acquaintance/legacy] 110 (1998): 68–75.
324. See Spyros Vryonis, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6–7, 1955* (New York: Greek Works, 2007); Alfred de Zayas, "The Istanbul Pogrom of 6–7 September 1955 in the Light of International Law," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 2, 2 (2007): 137–55, doi: 10.1353/gsp.2011.0019; and Human Rights Watch, *Denying Human Rights*.
325. See Samim Akgönul, *Les Grecs de Turquie: processus d'extinction d'une minorité de l'âge de l'état-nation à l'âge de la mondialisation* [The Greeks of Turkey: The process of extinction of a minority from the age of the nation-state to the age of globalization] (Louvain-La-Neuve: Academia Bruylant, 2004).
326. See Samim Akgönül, *Le Patriarcat grec orthodoxe de Constantinople: De l'isolement à l'internationalisation* [The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople: From isolation to internationalization] (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2004); Dimitris Kamouzis, "A Minority in a State of Flux: Greek Self-Administration and Education in Post-Lausanne Istanbul (ca. 1923–30)," in Fortna et al., *State-Nationalisms*, 101–31.
327. See Alfred de Zayas, "The Annan Plan and the Implantation of Turkish Settlers in the Occupied Territory of Cyprus," *Cyprus Yearbook of International Relations* 1 (2006): 163–79.
328. See Akçam, *A Shameful Act*, 102; Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, 6th rev. ed. (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 207–9, 213–6; and Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East: American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2010), 83–4.
329. Hofmann calls the Greek Genocide a cumulative genocide in the following terms: "By cumulative genocide I mean specifically serialized destruction, conducted in phases and with subsequent changing 'crime scenes' in various areas of East Thrace and Asia Minor [Ionia, Pontus, and Cappadocia] (as opposed to the coherent, nationwide genocide of the Armenians, carried out in 1915–16)." Hofmann, "*Γενοκτονία ἐν Ροῇ*—Cumulative Genocide," 101. On "total" and "partial" genocides see Melson, *Revolution and Genocide*, esp. 2–4, 247–57. Mark Levene argues that although the Armenian Genocide, like the Holocaust and the Rwandan Genocide, was a rare instance of "total genocide" (basically meaning that the scope, scale, and intensity of the killings were, if not unlimited, at least with few constraints and exceptions), other aspects of the "homogenization" of Anatolia can be characterized as "partial genocide." Mark Levene, "Creating a Modern 'Zone of Genocide': The Impact of Nation- and State-Formation on Eastern Anatolia, 1878–1923," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12,3 (1998): 393–433, 395–401.
330. Bjørnlund convincingly argues that the persecutions of the Greeks from 1914 onward point to an actual policy of extermination of Christian nationalities, if not in the sense that these policies were planned to be parts of a "grand scheme" of partial and total genocides, then in the sense that both policies were connected in profound ways. See Bjørnlund, "Danish Sources," 175.
331. However, genocidal acts against Ottoman Greeks also took place in Ottoman Kurdistan and in other regions of the empire, in conjunction with anti-Armenian and anti-Assyrian/Aramean acts.