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ELLY

**SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES AND CULTURES
DEPARTMENT OF MODERN GREEK**

HELLENISM

UNDER THE CRESCENT

A CASE STUDY IN AN ONGOING GENOCIDE

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List of Abbreviations

AIF: Australian Imperial Force

BCE: Before Christian Era

CE: Christian Era

CUP: *Ittihad ve Terrakke i Cemayeti* (Committee for Union and Progress)

DYP: “True Path Party”

IBDA-C: (Islamic Raiders Front of the Middle East)

ICC: International Criminal Court

ICTJ: International Centre for Transitional Justice

ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

IMT: International Military Tribunal

MHP: Nationalist Action Party

MIT: “National Intelligence Agency” (of Turkey)

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

“TRNC”: “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”

US: United States (of America)

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If a man is killed in Paris, it is a murder;
The throats of fifty thousand people are cut in the East,
And it is a question.

Victor Hugo

EXPLANATIONS

The essence of this dissertation, deliberately given the sweeping title *Hellenism Under The Crescent: A Case Study in Genocide*, is to discuss whether or not the fate that befell the Hellenes, indeed all the Christians, under Ottoman and Kemalist Turkish rule during the course of the 20th century, constitutes a case of genocide.

The intention is to show that the Hellenes and other Christians were the victims of genocide, as this criminal act is defined and determined by international law. In other words in accordance with the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Prosecution of the Crime of Genocide, as well as other definitions suggested over time by eminent genocide scholars. [Extracts of the Convention are reproduced as Appendix One.]

Although the focus of this dissertation is the fate of the Ottoman Hellenic population, the inextricably intertwined fates of the Ottoman Armenians and Ottoman Assyrians are also examined extensively, as are the fortunes of the Christian populations beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire which fell under Turkish rule during the 1910s and early-1920s.

This dissertation seeks to apply the theoretical framework developed by genocide scholars to the ideologies and events that have occurred in the territories ruled by the Ottoman and Republican Turks throughout the 20th century. The ultimate aim is to establish that the governments of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey since 1908 have planned and executed schemes to destroy the indigenous Christian populations of the territories they ruled or conquered. In short, the contention is that the 20th century Ottoman and Republican Turkish states are guilty of the crime of genocide as defined in international law.

Hellenism Under The Crescent is basically a detective case study, and an exercise in genocide studies theory. It seeks to argue that there is a *prima facie* case to answer on the part

of the Ottoman and Republican Turkish states. The purpose is to establish that the Turkish State either attempted, or actually committed, or, at the very least, was complicit in, the crime of genocide. The United Nations Convention in effect insists that all of these acts are really the same thing: that is, the attempt to commit the crime, the conspiracy to commit the crime, complicity in the attempt or in its commission, and the actual commission of genocide are deemed to be the offence. This study is an exercise in the reconstruction of events to establish not the Turkish motives motive but their intent.

0.1 “Holocaust”

The phrase “Christian Asia Minor Holocaust” is used throughout this dissertation, rather than the more common “Armenian Genocide”, “Assyrian Genocide” or “Greek Genocide”. With this phrase “Christian Asia Minor Holocaust”, this dissertation encompasses the genocides of these three peoples, the ancient indigenous inhabitants of Thrace and Asia Minor. It is impossible to completely extricate the fate of any one of these peoples from the fates of the others, so intertwined was the catastrophe that engulfed them.

The use of the Hellenic word “holocaust” (ολοκαύτωμα, the burning of everything) in the case of Asia Minor may seem unusual but it does have significant precedents. Marion Harland used the phrase “gigantic holocaust” about the massacres by Sultan Hamid II in her book written in 1897, and J. Castell Hopkins used the same terminology in his account of “Mahometan cruelty” in 1896.¹ Writing in 1918 the then Secretary of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, described the carnage of the Armenians as an “*administrative holocaust*”, underlining the critical role played by the Ottoman bureaucrats in the destruction. *National Geographic* magazine published two articles on Asia Minor in the 1920s, both of which refer to the destruction of the port city of Smyrne (modern Izmir) in September 1922 as a “*holocaust*”. W. Ramsay in “A Sketch of the Geographical History of Asia Minor” (November 1922) and Melville

Chater in “History’s Greatest Trek” (December 1925), as a “*holocaust*”.² In order therefore to distinguish between the case of Christianity in Asia Minor and Jewry in Europe, the Hebrew word *Shoah* (Holocaust) is used in this dissertation when referring to the later case.

0.2 “Genocide”

Despite the often furious discussion amongst scholars and commentators about what is or is not genocide, the existence of the United Nations Convention puts paid to the entire debate. Despite its flaws the definition contained in the 1948 United Nations Convention, and adopted verbatim by the newly-established International Criminal Court in 2002, remains the only definition under international law. Given the intricacies of international diplomacy this situation is unlikely to change for many decades to come.

The International Criminal Court (ICC), envisaged since 1948 and formally described in the 1998 Rome Statute, has become reality. Based on the model of universal human rights, the ICC was created from a recognition that states are often so decimated or intimidated by mass criminal acts that they are unable to respond with the enforcement of justice. Supporters of the ICC have crafted an international mechanism to hold individuals. The ICC can consider genocide, crimes against humanity, or war crimes which occurred after 1 July 2002 (the date from which it came into effect) and which are not being tried in a national court. Independent of the United Nations and funded by the ratifying states, the Court is housed at The Hague in the Netherlands. As it has been developed by the ICC, the crime of genocide has four elements:

- (i) the perpetrator killed one or more persons;
- (ii) such person or persons belonged to a particular national, ethnical, racial or religious group;
- (iii) the perpetrator intended to destroy, in whole or in part, that group, as such; and

(iv) the conduct took place in the context of a manifest pattern of similar conduct directed against that group or was conduct that could itself effect such destruction.³

Although Rafael Lemkin, co-drafter of the 1948 Convention and the international jurist credited with coining the term “genocide”, the text of the Convention and other writings conclusively establish that he and the other drafters of the Convention understood and used the word genocide to describe acts perpetrated prior to the Convention’s adoption.

Lemkin uses the term to refer, among other things, to “classical examples of wars of extermination in which nations and groups of the population were completely or almost completely destroyed”. Examples cited include the destruction of Carthage in 146BCE; the destruction of Jerusalem by Emperor Titus in 72CE; the religious wars of Islam and the Crusades; the massacres of the Albigenses and the Wladenses; and the siege of Magdeburg in the Thirty Years’ War.⁴ In modern times, this list could be extended to include – though not without controversy – the fates of the Carib and other Native American peoples, and the Australian Aborigines. The States Parties to the Convention recognise, in the Convention’s preamble, that “at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity”.

In the opening paragraph of the chapter on “Genocide” in his 1944 work *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, Lemkin says “[b]y ‘genocide’ we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group”. Lemkin argued that genocide did not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation;

except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups.⁵

While definitions of genocide abound, they can be described as being variations on Lemkin's definition.

War crimes are those violations of the laws of war - or international humanitarian law - that incur individual criminal responsibility. While limitations on the conduct of armed conflict date back at least to the Chinese warrior Sun Tzu (sixth century BCE),⁶

Steven Ratner states that the first war crimes case is generally considered to be that of Ratner cites the case of Peter von Hagenbach, who was tried in 1474 in Austria and sentenced to death for wartime atrocities, as the first true trial for war crimes. "By World War I", he continues, "[s]tates had accepted that certain violations of the laws of war - much of which had been codified in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 - were crimes".⁷

The term "crimes against humanity" originated in the 1907 Hague Convention preamble, which codified the customary law of armed conflict. There is an overlap in the definition of crimes against humanity and genocide; the major difference is that the former omits the question of intent or scope of group destruction. As outlined earlier, it is the contention of this study that the Ottoman Turkish government was legally responsible for the systematic extermination of its Christian citizens. During the course of this dissertation, a mass of evidence is presented to support this thesis. One of the most important items is the joint declaration issued by the Allied powers on 24 May 1915:

[i]n view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly ... that they will hold personally responsible ... all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.⁸

Within months of the commencement of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust and of World War One, the authorities of the Allied countries publicly declared that they were aware of the events unfolding within the Ottoman Empire, considered the role of the Ottoman authorities

in these events to be criminal acts, and stated their intention to prosecute the individuals responsible for these crimes. The importance of this statement cannot be overstated.

M. Cherif Bassiouni wrote that after World War One, the Allies, established a commission in 1919 (in connection with the Treaty of Versailles) “to investigate war crimes that relied on the 1907 Hague Convention as the applicable law”. The commission found that Turkish officials had committed “crimes against the laws of humanity” for killing Armenians during the war. “The United States and Japan strongly opposed the criminalisation of such conduct on the grounds that crimes against the laws of humanity were violations of moral and not positive law”.⁹

The 1919 Report of the Commission on Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties concluded that the Ottoman Empire’s treatment of Armenians in its territory contravened “the established laws and customs of war and the elementary laws of humanity”, and declared that Ottoman officials accused of such acts were liable for prosecution.¹⁰ The two United States delegates dissented, objecting most strenuously to the criminalisation of contraventions of the laws of humanity. These were, they believed, a moral rather than a legal concept, and they felt that the prosecution of individuals before a newly-created international court for violation of the ill-defined laws of humanity would constitute retroactive prosecution.¹¹

It took the catastrophic events of World War Two to change Washington’s attitude. There are literally hundreds of instances of crimes against humanity by the Nazis Germany in World War Two (Lidice and Oradour are perhaps best known) but only a few genocides: the Jews, the Roma, Soviet prisoners of war (as a whole) and Poles (in part). At the October 1943 Moscow Conference, Allied leaders Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt proclaimed their intention to punish the Nazi leadership for the crimes they had, and were committing. With the war in Europe ended, the victorious Allies developed the

'Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis and Charter of the International Military Tribunal (IMT)' at a conference in London in June 1945.

As history records, the four major Allied powers divided up Hitler's Reich into four zones. France, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States together formed the Allied Control Council, whose role it was to restore order to defeated Germany and Austria. The main problem facing the Allies was the accusation by the defendants of retrospective condemnation: *Nullum crimen et nulla poena sine lege* (No crime and no punishment without law.) So the Allies could be accused of possessing no *locus standi* (legal foundation) for the forthcoming prosecutions. The Allied representatives argued convincingly that Nazi crimes such as murder, aggressive war, oppression and racism were universally condemned in all civilisations and the Charter simply reiterated this on an international platform.¹²

Bassiouni states that Article 6(c) of the IMT Charter defined 'crimes against humanity': 'murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against civilian populations, before or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated'.¹³

Allied Control Council Law No.10, drafted in Berlin in December 1945, defined "crimes against humanity" as:

atrocities and offences including but not limited to murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, rape, or other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population" and "persecution on political, racial or religious grounds whether or not in violation of the domestic laws of the country where perpetrated.

The Nuremberg Charter, the body of law drawn up by the four major Allied powers especially for the post-war trials at Nuremberg, described "war crimes" as:

atrocities and offenses ... constituting violations of the laws or customs of war', such as murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war, plunder, wanton destruction, or devastation that is 'not justified by military necessity'.

The same document defined "crimes against peace" as the

initiation of invasions of other countries and wars of aggression in violation of international law and treaties including the planning of such wars.¹⁴

Genocide scholar Helen Fein defines genocide as "the murder of a group that is 'outside the universe of obligation of the perpetrator'"¹⁵ Israel Charny takes a broader perspective, stating that genocide "means the murder of a mass of people, even though there was less intention than indifference, stupidity, and avarice at work in creating the evil"¹⁶ Although some scholars criticise the United Nations Convention for its omission of political groups as victims of genocide and for its lack of 'gradations', of a scale of atrocity not contingent on numbers, it remains the most widely accepted definition of what constitutes genocide. In the words of Colin Tatz, "it is intent which is the discriminant"¹⁷

For my purposes, the crime of genocide is essentially the attempted extermination of one group of people (usually an ethnic/racial/religious minority of some sort) by another group of people (usually the dominant group) because of who the members of the victim group are. "Attempted extermination" is not necessarily restricted to mass killings; it can include state-sponsored measures that aim to destroy a minority in its midst through emigration and assimilation.

In 2002-2003, the United States-based International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) prepared a legal analysis on *The Applicability of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to Events which occurred during the early Twentieth Century*.¹⁸ The ICTJ analysis found that:

although the Genocide Convention does not give rise to state or individual liability for events which occurred prior to 12 January 1951, the term “genocide”, as defined in the Convention, may be applied to describe such events.¹⁹

The ICTJ report stresses that its analysis is a legal, not an historical one. This dissertation seeks to combine legal, political and historical elements into a single analytical, macronarrative on the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust of 1914-1924. The purpose of presenting this collection of definitions of genocide is to illustrate how these have developed and been expounded through the 20th century, and to illustrate the elements common to all legal and scholarly definitions of genocide. The intention of this dissertation is to establish that the Christian Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians under Turkish rule have been the victims of the crime of genocide. A key element of this is to examine how legal jurisdictions and scholars define the elements of the crime of genocide.

0.3 Intent

Although much of the theoretical aspects of genocide studies derives from scholarship on the *Shoah*, European Jewry’s catastrophe should not be used as the yardstick by which an episode of mass murder is deemed to constitute genocide or not. The world’s sole legal definition of genocide, the 1948 United Nations Convention, makes it quite clear that *intent* is the key factor.

An episode of mass murder constitutes genocide when the perpetrator group intends to exterminate “in whole or in part” the victim group. The Convention’s reference to “intent” sets it apart from other crimes under international law. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) Statutes were both established by the international community in order to deal with crimes arising out of the Yugoslav Wars of 1991-1995 (Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina) and 1999

(Kosovo) and the Rwandan Genocide of 1994. According to both tribunals, crimes against humanity refer to acts “committed as part of a widespread and systematic attack” against certain civilian populations.²⁰ Although it is understood that the perpetrators must be consciously and deliberately involved in actions such as killing or causing serious physical/mental harm to the pre-selected victims, there is not explicit reference in these Statutes to the perpetrators’ intent with respect to the “widespread, systematic attack”.²¹ On the other hand, genocide requires evidence of the perpetrator’s intent to kill with the effect of destroying, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such. When the destruction is concluded, whether the victims number 1,000 or 6,000,000 is not the issue: the requisite intent is.

The *travaux préparatoires* report debate on the question of the scope and level of intent required to commit genocide.²² The term *dolus specialis* (special intent) was used to connote this particular intent. It was repeatedly argued that what distinguished genocide from murder was the particular intent to destroy a group; as the Brazilian delegate pointed out, genocide is:

characterised by the factor of particular intent to destroy a group. In the absence of that factor, whatever the degree of atrocity of an act and however similar it might be to the acts described in the convention, that act could still not be called genocide.²³

Given this context, the “as such” language is susceptible of both a general and a stricter, motive-based, interpretation. As the delegate from Siam [Thailand] noted:

there were two possible interpretations of the words ‘as such’; they might mean ‘in that the group is a national, racial, religious, or political group’, or ‘because the group is a national, racial, religious or political group’.²⁴

The ICTY specifically defines ‘crimes against humanity’ as being acts “when committed in armed conflict, whether international or internal in character and directed against any civilian population”. These acts are listed as follows:

- (a) murder;
- (b) extermination;
- (c) enslavement;
- (d) deportation;
- (e) imprisonment;
- (f) torture;
- (g) rape;
- (h) persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds;
- (i) other inhumane acts.

The ICTR lists the same nine acts in its definition of 'crimes against humanity', "when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population on national, political, ethnic, racial or religious grounds". Article 7 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines "*Crimes Against Humanity*" as:

any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

- (a) murder;
- (b) extermination;
- (c) enslavement;
- (d) deportation or forcible transfer of population;
- (e) imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;
- (f) torture;
- (g) rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilisation, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;
- (h) persecutions against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally

recognised as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;

(i) enforced disappearance of persons;

(j) the crime of apartheid;

(k) other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.²⁵

To some extent, crimes against humanity overlap with genocide and war crimes. But crimes against humanity are distinguishable from genocide in that they do not require an intent 'to destroy in whole or in part', as cited in the 1948 Genocide Convention, but only target a given group and carry out a policy of 'widespread or systematic' violations. Crimes against humanity also apply in times of war and peace".²⁶

The judges of the ICTY and the ICTR have, on several occasions, been called upon to consider genocidal intent.²⁷ The decisions thus far have held that a genocide conviction requires a showing of a particular intent. The judgments have referred to this intent variously as 'specific intent', 'genocidal intent', or '*dolus specialis*'.

In a 300-page judgment issued on 2 September 1998, the ICTR found a former Rwandan mayor, Jean Paul Akayesu, guilty of various charges of genocide and crimes against humanity, the first genocide conviction since Nuremberg. Regarding the issue of criminal intent, the ICTR said:

[g]enocide is distinct from other crimes inasmuch as it embodies a special intent. Special intent of a crime is the specific intention, required as a constitutive element of the crime, which demands that the perpetrator clearly seeks to produce the act charged. Thus, the special intent in the crime of genocide lies in 'the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such'.²⁸

Genocide may be considered logically as a part of a larger universe of state killings, termed "democide" by Rudi Rummel. Legally, the crime of genocide must be considered, in

terms of several crimes embodied in international war prior to the 20th century and from The Hague Convention of 1907; namely, war crimes and crimes against humanity. What distinguishes war crimes is the context; genocide and crimes against humanity may occur in times of war or peace, and do not serve to further winning the war. A recent example is Rwanda in 1994: the *Interahamwe*'s actual killing of Rwanda's Tutsis was a critical diversion of resources from fighting the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front.

0.4 The *Shoah* and its precedents

To convict a person of the crime of genocide one must establish certain essential elements. Prior to its formal establishment, the Preparatory Commission for the ICC developed four such essential elements, the proof of which would result in a determination that the events in question constituted genocide as defined in the ICC Statute.²⁹

In his paper "Conceptual blockages and definitional dilemmas in the 'racial century': genocides of indigenous peoples and the Holocaust", colonial historian Dirk Moses argues that the study of genocides of indigenous peoples and the *Shoah* (the Jewish Holocaust) "is marred by dogmatically held positions of rival scholarly communities". These "rival scholarly communities" can be loosely classified as scholars of the *Shoah* and scholars of all other genocidal episodes that occurred during the course of the 20th century. According to Moses, scholars of the genocides of indigenous peoples object to the "uniqueness" or the "singularity" of the *Shoah* "on the grounds that it overshadows 'lesser' or 'incomplete' indigenous genocides". Once central to genocide scholarship, the "unique or universal" debate has become largely obsolete as researchers have come to recognise that every genocidal episode has unique features not present in any other and also universal features, common to all genocides. This applies as much to the *Shoah* as to its immediate and most direct predecessor, the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust.

A comparatively young branch of the social sciences and humanities, genocide studies continues to search for generally accepted definitions; in particular, which acts constitute genocide. For a number of years, this scholarly odyssey was dominated by the debate over whether the *Shoah* was “unique or universal”. Whether, in the words of Yehuda Bauer, the “‘unique situation of Jewry in Western culture’, meant that it alone was the object of fantasies of complete destruction”,³⁰ or whether the Jewish Holocaust is “another case of the mass killing that punctuates human history”.³¹

The *Shoah* is, indisputably, the most systematically deconstructed and analysed genocidal episode in human history. The suffering endured by European Jewry between 1933 and 1945, perhaps inevitably therefore, serves as a reference point for the study of all other genocides in recorded history. Scholarship on the *Shoah* has provided genocide scholars with the theoretical framework necessary to study other cases, including the subject of this dissertation.

The relationship, therefore, between the *Shoah* and preceding genocidal episodes has been, and remains, a hotly debated one. Many Jewish writers and academics – especially survivors of the *Shoah* – treat the Jewish Holocaust as “sacred”, as an event incomparable to any other in recorded history. To quote survivor and writer Elie Wiesel:

I always forbade myself to compare the Holocaust of European Judaism to events which are foreign to it. Auschwitz was something else. The Universe of concentration camps, by its dimensions and its design, lies outside, if not beyond history. Its vocabulary belongs to it alone.³²

Indigenous peoples in Australia and the Americas were decimated by a combination of introduced diseases, massacres by European settlers and assimilationist policies implemented by colonial administrations. In Nazi-occupied Europe, Jews and Romany were murdered because they belonged to specific religious and ethnic communities, who were deemed to be

an “infection” in the body of Europe that needed to be eradicated. In Rwanda, militias organised the mass murder of some 800,000 people, “cockroaches” in the eyes of the perpetrators, in a 100-day period.

In many ways setting the pattern for subsequent genocides, the ruling elite of the Ottoman Empire and its successor state the Republic of Turkey, planned and executed the systematic extirpation of its Christian populations. At the *Ittihad* Party Congress in 1910, held in Thessalonike, and chaired by Talaat Pasha (later to become Minister of the Interior), Dr Behaeddin Sakir stated: “The nations that remain from the old times in our empire are akin to foreign and harmful weeds that must be uprooted”.³³

As all genocide scholars acknowledge, the *Shoah* cannot be removed from the long history of Western anti-Judaic sentiment, which in turn is an inseparable part of the complex fabric of recorded human history. While it remains one of the most grotesque examples of inhumanity, Auschwitz, Chelmno, Dachau, Treblinka, the entire system of concentration, labour and extermination camps created by the National Socialists were not created out of some form of ‘Divine Inspiration’. They had precedents in the long history of human inhumanity, examples that the Nazis drew on and developed.

As this dissertation argues, the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust was the immediate predecessor to the *Shoah*. The aim is not to compare these two episodes of massive human destruction on a hypothetical scale of suffering, but to demonstrate that the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust constitutes the first case where modern science and ancient hatred were combined to produce death on an unprecedented – until that time – scale, in pursuit of an ideological goal.

Moses states that genocide is part of “a modernisation process of accelerating violence related to nation-building that commenced in the European colonial periphery and culminated in the Holocaust”.³⁴ There is one extra aspect which has to be added to this

assessment. As illustrated above, genocidal activity occurred long before the western European powers began conquering territories in 'the New World', in Africa, in Asia and in Oceania, making them colonies and dependencies of certain Western states. As discussed in greater detail in the following chapters and in Appendix Two, imperial³⁵ states in the medieval and early modern periods pursued policies which 20th and 21st century scholars recognise as being genocidal.

0.5 Children

The prime example of this point is the Ottoman Empire's *devshirme* (child tax): a levy imposed only on Ottoman subjects of the Christian faith, the clear intention of the policy was to maintain the subject populations weak and subdued through the removal of part of each generation of their offspring. The abducted children were then transferred to the politically and socially dominant Islamic group. [This issue is discussed further in Appendix Two.]

In recent times, residential schools similar to the ones used by the Ottoman Empire have been acknowledged as being a weapon against Native American peoples and their cultures in Canada and the United States. According to the report *Hidden From History: The Canadian Holocaust*, "[a]s early as November, 1907, the Canadian press was acknowledging that the death rate within Indian residential schools exceeded 50 percent". Yet the reality of this destruction has been wiped clean from public record in Canada over the past decades; a history that reveals:

a system whose aim was to destroy most native people by disease, relocation and outright murder, while 'assimilating' a minority of collaborators who were trained to serve the genocidal system,

continues the report by a group called 'The Truth Commission Into Genocide in Canada'.

In the past two decades, survivors of that system, which operated until the 1960s, have sued the Canadian government and the churches that operated the schools. In 1998, Ottawa apologised for the physical and sexual abuse and loss of culture suffered by native children in those schools. By 3 August 2004, more than 12,400 of 90,000 survivors of the system had filed claims against the federal government, and settlements had been reached with more than 1,250 of them, at a cost of C\$71 million, according to Ottawa's Indian Residential Schools Resolution department.

In the United States, survivors of the boarding schools and their families are now drafting a resolution they aim to have introduced in Congress that would demand compensation for the roughly 100,000 Native American children removed in the 18th and 19th centuries with the goal of assimilating them into white society. Activists working within the Boarding Schools Healing Project, activists argue that Washington is liable under international law for any continuing effects of that system, including the loss of aboriginal languages and the widespread violence in many native communities. A proposed apology from the United States government to American Indians is now making its way through the United States Congress. It reads in part:

This nation should address the broken treaties and many of the more ill-conceived federal policies that followed, such as extermination, termination, forced removal and relocation, the outlawing of traditional religions and the destruction of sacred places.³⁶

Children are the future of any cultural group. By removing the children from the victim group, the perpetrators were displaying clear intent to destroy "in whole or in part" the targeted group. These 're-education' centres for indigenous children in Canada, the United States and Australia, served to concentrate the young of the targeted group with the express purpose of transferring them from the victim group to the perpetrator group. While 'homes' and 'boarding schools' for forcibly removed indigenous children are a far cry from the

slaughterhouses of the Near East and eastern Europe, the precedent of concentrating the victims for the purpose of 're-education', already existed.

0.6 Pre-1933 Camps

The precedents of the National Socialist camp system, the engine room of the destruction of Europe's Jews were the United States' Civil War prisoner-of-war camp at Andersonville and the British internment camps of the South African War, and the World War One desert 'dumping grounds' of deported Christians, the most infamous of which was Deir ez Zor.

In the early 1860s, Andersonville became -- by default rather than by design -- a veritable charnel house: overcrowding, lack of supplies, exposure and disease killed thousands of Union prisoners-of-war at the Confederate prison.³⁷ In the first years of the 20th century, "concentration camps" were founded by Britain's Lord Kitchener to house tens of thousands of Afrikaner civilians and to deny the Afrikaner guerrillas supplies. Once again, overcrowding, lack of supplies, exposure and disease killed thousands. The Ottoman Turkish network is discussed in detail in the following chapters of this dissertation.

Perpetrators 'improve' on the techniques of their predecessors: the Ottoman Empire and its successor, the Republic of Turkey, converting the British camps from centers 'concentrating the enemy' into ones for killing 'the enemy' *en masse*. The Nazis then took the concept further again, developing their 'industry of death', where the human body itself became a commodity to be utilised for profit.

One often neglected aspect of the troubled relationship between scholars of the *Shoah* and scholars of earlier genocides, particularly in colonial environments, is discussion over who exactly constitutes a 'native' or 'indigenous' person and population. Dirk Moses has written:

[t]he enquiry into the extermination of so-called native or indigenous peoples continues to be overshadowed by the nationalistic and totalitarian 'cleansing' programmes of the twentieth century, particularly the Holocaust.³⁸

Such statements traditionally provoke debate over the dominant role of Eurocentric attitudes in genocidal scholarship. When used in a genocidal context, the terms 'native' or 'indigenous' bring to mind "the mass killing of African or American people", as Mark Mazower contends.

Why do groups such as the San, the Inuit, the Sami, the Aborigines, the Amerindians – constitute as 'native' or 'indigenous' peoples, while Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians do not? The Hellenes have an unbroken presence in south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor dating back millennia. The Armenians and Assyrians are the original inhabitants of eastern Asia Minor and much of the northern Middle East, with a presence predating the now dominant Arab and Kurdish populations of the region.

0.7 Genocide in the past

The *travaux préparatoires* of the 1948 United Nations Convention contain numerous references to genocide as a historical fact. The Cuban delegate stated that "[h]istory revealed innumerable examples of genocide",³⁹ while the Egyptian delegate, in arguing against a direct link between genocide and fascism-Nazism, spoke of "instances of genocide [which] were to be found in the far more distant past".⁴⁰ The British delegate, Sir Hartley Shawcross, who had been the chief British prosecutor before the Nuremberg Tribunal, spoke of genocide as "a crime already known in international law, of which history had furnished many examples throughout the centuries".⁴¹ The Argentinean delegate referred to genocide as "a crime which, although it had always been known to exist, had only recently been defined".⁴²

The fact is that the *Sboah* had precedents; the Nazis drew and expanded upon examples of inhumanity. Religious bigotry is not confined to Christian and Islamic Jew hatred.

Christians have slaughtered each other by the million for centuries, the perpetrators claiming the victims were “heretics”: Orthodox versus Roman Catholic, Canonical Orthodox versus Oriental Orthodox, Roman Catholic versus Protestant. Christians have also committed unspeakable acts against believers of other religions, claiming to be ‘saving pagan souls’. Zoroastrian Iran persecuted its Christian Assyrian and Armenian populations mercilessly for centuries before the Iranians adopted Islam. Then the Zoroastrians joined the ranks of the persecuted. Islamic rulers of numerous ethnic backgrounds have declared *jihad* – holy war in the name of *Allah* (God) – against Christians, Jews and ‘other infidels’. Not to forget the fratricidal conflict between Sunni, Shi’a, Bektash, Sufi, Alawi and other branches of Islam. All these constitute, to once again quote Rafael Lemkin, “classical examples of wars of extermination in which nations and groups of the population were completely or almost completely destroyed”.

Genocide is the crime of crimes. It is the ultimate example of man’s inhumanity to man. Debates over whether a genocidal episode is “unique” or “universal”, or whether a victim group is “native”, “indigenous” or not, fail to address the key element in genocide scholarship, the one factor that truly determines whether an episode of mass inhumanity constitutes genocide or not. That element, the only real issue for debate, is *intent*. The focal question remains: did the perpetrator group intend destroying the victim group?

Introduction

0.18 Structure

0.19 Sources

0.20 Contribution to Genocide Scholarship

0.21 Methodology

We are obliged to go beyond the act of teaching:
obliged to try to know that which we do not,
to comprehend the incomprehensible.

Colin Tatz

INTRODUCTION

0.8 Structure

Having established the theoretical and legal framework of this study, attention is now turned to its structure. Genocide scholar Colin Tatz writes that “there are two kinds of history: inside history and outside history”. The former “includes one’s perception of the nature of, and one’s attitudes towards, life and death, traditions, folkways, outlooks, idioms and, of course, memory”. Inside history is what defines an individual’s ethnic/national identity. “The outside history is the record and the aggregate of past events, the narrative in time, the chronicle of what has befallen a people, with good and (mostly) bad faith, across the centuries”. This also included “the history of turning them into an ‘outside people’, outside where everyone else lived and outside the laws by which everyone else lived”.⁴³ It is this history that is briefly outlined in Appendix Two.

The history of Hellenism in eastern Thrace and Asia Minor (the territories that today constitute the Republic of Turkey) through to Turkic invasions of the 1000s Christian Era (CE) is discussed in Appendix Two, as is the story of how the Turkic tribes, originally from north-central Asia, came to invade and settle in Asia Minor. The Appendix then proceeds with a brief discussion of the Ottoman Empire’s structures and history, with particular focus on its relations with the Christian European powers and sectarian relations within the Empire itself. According to British scholar Sir Harry Luke, the Turkish empires – Seljuk, Ottoman and Kemalist - were in their “conception and essence an Islamic military institution[s]”. The Turks’:

conscious aim the conquest and armed occupation of lands not inhabited by Turks. Even those of its provinces in which the majority of the inhabitants were Turks had originally been seized from other States; no part of Ottoman territory had been Turkish before the Turks set out on their westward march from Central Asia.⁴⁴

Appendix Two is designed to provide the reader with the necessary background information to the events discussed in the main body of the dissertation. It is recommended that the reader at least peruse this material to enhance comprehension of the intricate relationships examined in the main body of the dissertation.

One common thread of all cases of genocide is that the victim groups are always dehumanised by the perpetrators. In order to make the mass killings 'acceptable' to some degree to the dominant group, the victims must be portrayed as sub-human, as not being really human. In genocide scholarship, this is commonly called "an ancient hatred". In the case of the Turkish Empire, it is the contempt and hatred born of fear felt by the ruling Muslim elite towards the Christian peoples they had subjugated and on whom they had become so reliant. Just as Muslims believe the Prophet Mohammed was the last and greatest in a long line of prophets (a line that includes Jesus of Nazareth), so the conquerors of the Eastern Roman Empire saw themselves as not supplanting, but as continuing the great state centred on Constantinople.⁴⁵

As early as the 1300s, the rulers of the Ottoman Empire had been implementing policies that are now considered to be genocidal: the *devshirme* or child tax, and the forced Islamisation of subject non-Muslim peoples. It is indisputable, however, that the Ottoman Turks formulated and implemented a series of policy measures that aimed at boosting their numbers at the expense of the majority Christian populations they ruled. Policies now determined to be genocidal. This is not to say that the early Ottoman Sultans were planning to or actually committing genocide at this time. There is little or no evidence to support such an intention on the part of the Empire's rulers.

There is ample evidence that in the minds of the Muslim elite of the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslims were deemed to be lesser beings, little more than human cattle. There is also evidence that the idea of 'doing away with' all the Empire's non-Muslims was constantly

present in the Porte's thinking. The 17th-century Sultan, Selim I (nicknamed the Grim), even went as far as planning the forced Islamisation or massacre of every Christian in his realm, in the belief that this would solve at least some of the Empire's problems. The plan was abandoned only upon the intervention of the Grand Vizier, a member of the Albanian Koprulu clan, themselves formerly Christian.

The response of another Sultan to the threat posed to his Empire by the nationalist revolts in the Ottoman state's European territories in the 1820s was to prove prophetic: Hellenes and other Christians were massacred in great numbers across the Empire. It is no coincidence that these massacres occurred during the territorial decline of the Sultan's domain and continued at regular intervals until the final dismemberment of the Ottoman state.

The dissertation begins with the emergence of the modern era. **Chapter One** covers the development of nationalism as a political ideology in western Europe, its infiltration into the Ottoman Empire via the diaspora networks of the Hellenes and Armenians, the development of rival conflicting nationalist movements across the Empire, the revolts these ideologies triggered and the continual 'encroachment' of its Christian neighbours on this Islamic state.

Accustomed to being undisputed lords and masters of 'their' domains, Ottoman Muslims did not take kindly to their declining economic, political and military power, particularly since it was at their expense that the 'infidel' Christians were growing in strength. This decline had begun in the 1600s, first on the economic front, then on the battlefield, and finally in the political arena. Ottoman power had been shrinking for some two-and-a-half centuries before the catastrophe of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. [See map reproduced as Appendix Three.]

In the space of a few months, the Ottoman Empire was virtually expelled from Europe. Not by a rival imperial force but by peoples who had until recently been subjects of the Sultan. The Ottoman elite knew full well that Turkish Muslims still constituted only a small part of the Empire's population, a select group that ruled but did not belong. They were in Thrace and Asia Minor but were not of it.

In 1908, a military coup brought to power a group known as the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP), nicknamed the 'Young Turks'. At a series of conferences held in the city of Thessalonike between 1909 and 1911, the CUP drew up plans to 'Turkify' their empire:

Sooner or later the complete Ottomanization of all Turkish subjects must be effected, but it was becoming clear that this could never be achieved by persuasion, and recourse must be had to force of arms.⁴⁶

Following their crushing defeat in the Balkan Wars, the CUP set about creating a Turkish national homeland in Asia Minor by forcibly assimilating, expelling or massacring all the indigenous non-Muslim peoples: Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians. This is the subject of **Chapters Two to Five**. The Ittihadists used all the bureaucratic and military means at their disposal to first Islamise and then Turkify the territories they had staked out being the "Turkish national homeland". They believed that once the Christians had been disposed of, the other non-Turkic Muslim ethnic elements of the new state could be 'Turkified' voluntarily or by force. [See Appendices Four and Five for relevant maps.]

Islam was the only thing that the disparate non-Turkic elements of the Empire had in common. Ethnically, linguistically and culturally they were quite divergent: Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, Bosnjaks, Laz, Cherkez, Chechen, Ingush... not to mention the Islamised Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians. A *Jihad* (Holy War) against the 'infidels', was the only way the Ittihadists could effectively marshal these divergent elements into creating the 'Muslim Only' state envisaged by Ittihadist ideology. Openly proclaiming their true intention of carving an

'ethnically pure' Turkish state out of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire would not appeal to enough Ottoman Muslims to make the campaign effective.

In the study of history and political science dates are everything. In the study of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, dates take on even more importance given the ongoing battle against denialism. In January 1914 the CUP government began systematic attacks on the Hellenes of eastern Thrace. Gendarmes, Muslim villagers and Muslim refugees from former Ottoman territories to the west surrounded Christian villages, ordering the Hellenic villagers were to leave. Any resistance was met with ferocious violence. The expelled were permitted to take virtually none of their property with them, nor were they permitted to sell anything. The Muslim refugees then repopulated the emptied villages. On 8 May 1914, Talaat, Enver, Djemal, Nouredin Pasha and other leading Young Turks met and issued a series of orders for the mass compulsory deportation of Ottoman Christians across the Empire's western provinces⁴⁷:

Yildiz 14-5-1914

To the governor of Smyrna, Rahmi Bey⁴⁸

The Hellenes, Ottoman citizens, of your area constitute a majority, which could possibly prove dangerous. Generally, all of them living on the coast of Asia Minor, including those in your Province, must be compelled to abandon their homes and be transported to the provinces of Erzerum, Erzincan and elsewhere. This is imposed by political and military reasons. If they refuse to evacuate their districts, give instructions to our Muslim brothers to force them using, toward this end, every means and every kind of deviation. The Hellenes must also be compelled to sign declarations, in which they state that they leave and abandon their homes of their own will and initiative. These declarations are necessary so as political issues will not be created.

Talaat, Minister for the Interior and Hilme, Director, Ministry of the Interior ⁴⁹

By May, these pogroms had spread to the Aegean coast of Asia Minor with even more devastating consequences. By year's end, an estimated 250,000 people had been forced to flee to Hellas with thousands more being killed.⁵⁰ These well-documented pogroms commenced seven months before the outbreak of World War One and nine months before the Ottoman Empire joined the fighting. The state-orchestrated persecutions of 1914 revealed the plans of the Ittihadist regime for the complete Turkification of the Empire. They were used by the Ittihadists as a litmus test: to see how the European powers would react to such persecution of fellow Christians. The 'Great Powers' were, however, preoccupied with their colonial rivalries, paying little more than lip-service to the suffering in eastern Thrace and western Asia Minor.⁵¹

As with all cases of genocide economics were the 'hidden' cause of the mass death and destruction. "During the Turkish genocide of Armenians, the Ittihad government extended economic incentives to Turks willing to participate in the deportation and murder of Armenians".⁵² These constituted of "the property of deported Armenian families" all of which the state declared "had been 'abandoned'". The state:

then confiscated it and used it to reward Ittihad party activists and others who participated in the extermination process. Many Turks prospered by liquidating Armenians' businesses, stealing their stocks, and seizing Armenian farms and real estate".⁵³

The Christian Asia Minor Holocaust was not simply a matter of killing. It also involved looting on a massive scale, with the Turkish state (in its Ottoman and Kemalist forms) being the main beneficiary.

Thus, even Turkey's own post-war government found it difficult to try individual ringleaders without putting the country itself on trial.⁵⁴

Emboldened by the West's muted reaction and seeking to divert Muslim attention from the disastrous Caucasian offensive of December 1914 - January 1915, the Ottoman

Government began the deportations and massacres of Armenians and Assyrians throughout the Empire. During the next three years, hundreds of thousands of Ottoman Christians were massacred or deported to the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts and left to die of hunger and thirst:

they gather the Christian prisoners and form them into groups and handle them to the tyrant soldiers of the Turks and Kurds. They take them in the way without letting them have rest, and without food or drink in the hot days of Summer, they die in the desert and their corpses left on the road.⁵⁵

As the destruction did not end with the collapse of the Ittihadist regime, **Chapter Five**, deals with the period from the 1920s to the present day. In mid-1919, an officer in the Ottoman Army named Mustafa Kemal Pasha, began a revolution of his own. Opposed to the Sultan and to the occupation of parts of the Empire by various Western powers, Kemal called for the creation of a 'Turkish national homeland' in Asia Minor, 'free of all foreign influence'.

Kemal's movement welcomed Ittihadists to its ranks and placed party veterans in leading posts. His ideology enjoyed great influence in the postwar Turkish military, the Ministry of the Interior, and particularly the police. Kemal told the Allies that the price for accepting a partition of the Ottoman Empire was the pardoning of the Ittihadists. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (today's British Petroleum) and the Turkish Petroleum Company controlled most of the region's oil reserves. The French were pressing for concessions from the British following their securing of a substantial mandate in the region. Both wanted to keep the US Standard Oil Company (the modern-day Exxon) out of the region. Official US policy wanted "open-door" access to new sources of material and new markets. The Allies' hard-line policy of punishing the Turkish State gave way to a competition as to whom could cut the best deal with Kemal. This was caused by two main

factors: in-fighting over control of Mosul and Kemal's unrelenting pressure on the Sultan's government and on the remaining Christians.

The wartime massacres recommenced under Kemal, including the 1920 invasion of the Armenian Republic and culminating in the bloodbath at Smyrne in September 1922. This was the last massacre of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust but not the end of this tragedy. The surviving Christians of Asia Minor were banished from their ancestral homeland under the guise of the "Compulsory Exchange of the Greco-Turkish Populations" conducted between 1923 and 1925. In reality, the eastern side of this "exchange" had been completed long before the Lausanne Conference had even begun, with hundreds of thousands of Christians fleeing to safe havens in eastern Europe and the Middle East.

The peace treaty signed between Athens and Ankara in July 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne, included provisions for the protection of the Christian and Muslim populations exempted from the expulsions: the Christian Hellenes of Constantinople, Imvros and Tenedos, and the Muslim Turks, Pomaks and Romany of western Thrace. In the 80 years since its signing, the Muslim populations of western Thrace has grown by almost 20 per cent while the Christian populations of Turkey have dwindled to fewer than 2,000 souls.

The Republican Turkish State made it clear from the outset that Christians had no place in its territory. Innumerable bureaucratic measures were employed to destroy the remaining Hellenic and other Christian communities. Christians were banned from a series of professions, were forced to pay special taxes, faced the arbitrary confiscation of private and communal property and restrictions on the operation of their churches, schools and other community organisations. Terror tactics including bombings, murders, rapes and pogroms were also employed to ensure the destruction of the rump Hellenic community of Turkey.

The contentious and contemporary issues of denial of, and responsibility for, the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust are the subject of **Chapter Six**, although they are also

referred to throughout the main body of the thesis. As with any case of genocide, denial is a major issue; perhaps more so in this case than in most others. Denialists and apologists for the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey have developed a wide range of excuses, rationalisations and trivialisations for the events of 1914-1924. The issue of “anti-Turkish” or “anti-Islamic bias” is a major theme for writers like Rear Admiral William Colby Chester, his son Commander Arthur Tremaine Chester, Bernard Shaw, Justin McCarthy and Salahi Ramsdan Sonyel to name but a few. Any reference to Turkish (be it Ottoman or Republican) responsibility for the devastation of the country’s Christian populations is dismissed as “bias”.

Although the Republic of Turkey officially celebrates 1923 as the year of its birth, Kemal was clearly the leader of the only effective government in Turkish-controlled Asia Minor from 1920 onwards. This is another tactic to shift the blame for the Holocaust away from the founding fathers of the Turkish Republic. For example the burning of Smyrne in September 1922 is a major sore point for denialists and a focal point of Turkish efforts to shift the responsibility for the destruction to the Christians. Denialists proclaim that Mustafa Kemal could not be held responsible for the city called *‘giavur Izmir’* (infidel Smyrne) by Muslims, as he did not become President of the Republic of Turkey until the following year.

0.9 Sources

Whenever examining the policies of a state (be it an empire or a republic) the archives of that state are the first point of call for any researcher. This is however virtually impossible for non-denialist scholars of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. The records of the Ottoman Empire are now the properties of its successor state the Republic of Turkey. Access to them is strictly controlled, in practice restricted only to those researchers who espouse the official view that the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust did not happen.

Being fluent in only English and Hellenic, the candidate relies on translations of Ottoman Turkish and modern Turkish materials. During the course of this study, the candidate has accessed the digital database of the Ottoman Archives established on the worldwide web by the Turkish authorities precisely to counter claims of 'closed access'. The picture that is emerging is that immense holes remain in the materials open to researchers of Ottoman history from the 1890s to the 1920s. This is due either to the original documents having been destroyed or having been deliberately hidden. Time will tell.

Some few Ottoman records were made public by the Ottoman government immediately after World War One, as part of the series of war crimes trials conducted by the state in 1919. These have since been published in the original and in various translations. As these documents were originally written in Ottoman Turkish⁵⁶ all but a handful of scholars must rely on translations of these records to conduct their work.

The archives of other states pose fewer difficulties. The German and AustroHungarian Empires, both allied to the Ottoman Empire during the War, provide an abundance of material on the fate of Asia Minor's Christians during the period in question. Much of this material has since been translated into English and Hellenic. In addition there is the body of evidence provided by Protestant German missionaries working in the Ottoman Empire during the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Accounts of their experiences were published both during World War One and afterwards. The candidate has even had the honour of interviewing two grandchildren of Dr Johannes Lepsius, a German missionary who wrote extensively about his relief work in the Near East, especially amongst Armenian refugees. They have provided the candidate with photographic and written material on Dr Lepsius' work during his many years in Asia Minor.

The archives of the Allied powers (Great Britain, France and the United States) contain literally tens of thousands of pages of documents on the events of the Asia Minor Holocaust.

Part of the French material has recently been published in Hellenic. As an ally and former colony of Great Britain, Australia received copies of many of the diplomatic reports sent to the Foreign and Colonial Office in London. These are now stored in the vaults of the National Archives of Australia in every major city of the country, where they are open to all who request to view them. The candidate undertook visits to Melbourne and Canberra to view and obtain copies of documents held in these centers, as well as obtaining material from the Sydney offices of the National Archives.

This (largely unpublished) archival material has made it possible to reconstruct the entire historical period using sources originating from other than the victim communities. As is illustrated in the following chapters, the material held by the National Archives of Australia alone provide a great volume of evidence of the officially sanctioned persecution by the Ottoman and Republican Turkish states of Christians under their rule.

The most original contribution of this dissertation to scholarship of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust is the collation and analysis of the eyewitness accounts provided by Allied prisoners-of-war. Some 14,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen from the Western Powers were taken prisoner by the Ottoman armies on battlefields across the Near East. This does not include the thousands of prisoners from Czarist Russia whose records are yet to be examined. This particular group of sources is divided into statements made to the military authorities upon release and secondly, the memoirs written during and after the period of captivity, some of which are still unpublished. At first glance, the memoirs and statements of prisoners of war seem an unlikely source of information on the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Upon closer examination however, the memoirs of the men captured alive by the Ottoman Army during World War One provide invaluable first-hand accounts of what they witnessed as well as of what they themselves endured. Although a handful of Australian researchers have made brief mention of some accounts of Australian prisoners-of-war, this has been done in the

context of histories of Australian involvement in World War One rather than in the context of genocide scholarship, as they are dealt with in this thesis. This is the first time these 'forgotten' documents have been employed for their value to scholarship of the Asia Minor Holocaust.

The records of the 'Dunsterforce', a unit of the British Army that travelled from Baghdad to Baku and back again in an attempt to secure the Caspian oilfields for the British, are another source of military material on the Holocaust. On the return leg from Baku, the Dunsterforce escorted tens of thousands of Assyrian and Armenian survivors in an exodus from the Urumiah Plain in north-western Persia to refugee camps outside Baghdad in central Mesopotamia. The memoirs and photographs produced by some of these servicemen, including a number of Australians, provide first-hand eyewitness testimony of the genocidal activities of the Ottoman state. These manuscripts, letters and reports are now held by the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

The mass media of the period also constitutes a major source of primary material. Not only because the newspaper and journal articles were being written and published as the events themselves were unfolding but also because many of the articles published were being written by diplomats, military servicemen and civilians (especially missionaries and relief workers) who were witnessing the deportations and massacres first hand. As can be seen from the selection attached to this study as appendices, these items have been drawn from journals including *The New York Times' Current History*, *The Economist*, *The Contemporary Review*, *Time*, and *National Geographic*, as well as from newspapers including the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), *The Times* (London) and *The New York Times*. Original and microfilm copies of all these publications are kept by Fisher Library, The University of Sydney and The State Library of New South Wales, the two venues at which the candidate accessed the material.

As mentioned earlier the material used in this dissertation is not restricted to countries that fought against the Ottoman Empire during World War One; the archives of those allied to the Ottomans prove invaluable. What of the Ottoman Turks themselves? What were Ottoman (and later Kemalist) leaders and newspapers saying about the catastrophe that had befallen Asia Minor's native Christian populations?

There is a small but indispensable body of material written by leading members of the Ottoman state during the period in question and published in English. Some are articles in journals like *The New York Times' Current History* (for example translated extracts from the memoirs of Talaat Pasha, authorised by his widow). Others were published as complete books; for example Djemal Pasha's English-language memoirs run to 302 pages, 64 of which are devoted to "*The Armenian Question*". Along with Enver, Talaat and Djemal formed the triumvirate of *Ittihadist* leaders that ruled the Ottoman Empire between 1913 and 1918. These three individuals are widely held to be most responsible for Phase One of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Just as important is a collection of essays written by Dr Ziya Gokalp, the intellectual heart of the Young Turk movement. These were translated into English and published in a single volume decades after the original Turkish versions were released.

The small collection of material written and published by members of the Ottoman power elite provides scholars with direct insights into the workings of the decision-making mechanisms that produced the policies and events of the Holocaust. These documents – whose authenticity cannot be questioned – illustrate for scholars of the Holocaust why the decisions to “uproot the foreign weeds” were taken, who made these decisions, how the decisions were taken and how the decisions were implemented.

Although primary source material constitutes the bulk of the documentary and supportive evidence used in this dissertation, the works of modern scholars are also consulted, especially as sources of translations of official documents, biographies and other

works in languages other than English or Hellenic, primarily German and Ottoman and modern Turkish.

Works by Rafael Lemkin, Colin Tatz, Richard Hovannissian, Robert Lifton, and Yehuda Bauer have provided this study with much of the genocide theory that lies at its core. This thesis is essentially about illustrating why the events that took place between 1914 and 1924, collectively known as the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, constitute genocide as this crime is defined by international law and international scholarship. Historical analyses have been drawn from sources too numerous to list here but with the most prominent being Vahakn Dadrian, Taner Akcam, Konstantinos Photiades and Vlasis Agtzides. This study has drawn material from a diverse range of primary and secondary sources but attempted to avoid simply reproducing historical narratives of eastern Hellenism, something already done by a number of international scholars. As elaborated in the following passages, this dissertation seeks to re-mould this existing material, adding new elements to the study of Asia Minor's past, and so producing an original work.

0.11 Methodology

The purposes and methods of the writing of history have been a major debate since antiquity. What exactly constitutes history? Who precisely is a historian? Thucydides famously restricted himself to matters within living memory, but he still differed from modern practice by ascribing imaginary speeches to the people he considered to be important, something which is characteristic of ancient and medieval historians.

The modern study of history is traditionally traced back to 19th century Germany, when the work of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) brought into being criteria which have effectively formed the yardsticks of modern historical study. Von Ranke's aim was to reconstruct the unique periods of the past as they actually were and to avoid injecting the

history of former times with the spirit of the present; an approach known as historicism. To attain his goal, von Ranke insisted that only contemporary accounts and related material be used as sources. His technique depended in large part on exhaustive archival research and on philological criticism of sources. The accumulation of facts and details, serving the purposes of preparatory research and practical training, was a prominent feature of von Ranke's method. In particular, he concentrated on political, and primarily on diplomatic, developments.

Even from this exceptionally brief summary of von Ranke's work, his influence on modern historiographical writing – and by extension on this dissertation – is obvious. This study is drawn primarily - though not exclusively - from archival sources. Influenced by the *Annales* school of historiographical writing, this dissertation, however, goes beyond the strict confines of source material set out by von Ranke. *Annales* historians believe history emphasises “the general structures of life”. Man, like history, is a whole that must not be divided. In *The Historian's Craft*, French historical theoretician Marc Bloch argued that historians must go beyond written or oral documents, which told only of the intentions of individuals, to a wide array of sources, which would enable historians to understand past social facts, such as institutions. Published and unpublished survivor accounts as well as individual personal stories are interwoven with the high-level diplomatic events in this study to create one analytical and evaluative macro-narrative of the fates of the Armenian, Assyrian and Hellenic peoples under Turkish rule throughout the 20th century.

Edward Hallett Carr's radical *What is History?* and G.R. Elton's conservative *The Practice of History* both appeared in the early 1960s, and have remained the principal university texts on the subject ever since. “It was the Russian revolution which decisively gave me a sense of history which I never lost and which turned me into a historian”, Carr later commented, although he cannot be classified as an ideologue by any means.⁵⁷

'Objectivity' has long been considered a great virtue for a historian to have. In the related, but distinct, political sciences – which includes genocide studies – being 'objective' in one's writing is not as important. Carr posed this question on 'objectivity' more than four decades ago: "What, then, do we mean when we praise a historian for being objective, or say that one historian is more objective than another?" In response to his own question, he presented the following: "Not, it is clear, simply that he gets his facts right, but rather that he chooses the right facts, or, in other words, that he applies the right standard of significance".⁵⁸ In a politically-charged scholarly field like genocide studies, accusations of 'bias' abound; in this study the candidate labels writers like Justin McCarthy as 'denialists' because these writers deny the historical fact of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. As elaborated throughout this dissertation, this charge of denial is not laid due to Prof. McCarthy's pro-Turkish views. Rather it originates because, in Carr's words, "he chooses the right facts", omitting vast amounts of evidence that contradict his position.

"History deals in events, not states", declares Carr's fellow Briton and rival, G.R. Elton. History "investigates things that happen and not things that are." Historical interpretations of these events are, in Elton's view, "steps in a chain of events, as matters explanatory of a sequence of happenings". The historian – and to an extent the genocide scholar – "will have to concentrate on understanding change", because it is this "which is the essential content of historical analysis and description". History and allied sciences such as politics and genocide studies, in essence deals with "the transformation of things (people, institutions, ideas, and so on) from one state into another". In Elton's words, the event is history's "concern as well as its instrument".

The historical event is like the modern physicist's atom, composed of analyzable and repeatable ingredients but so composed as to be itself complex and in a measure unpredictable...⁵⁹

The youngest – and most radical – school of historiographical thought is postmodernism, which has gone so far as to deny the possibility of writing history at all (on the grounds that the past is a construct of the present). Postmodernist historians, such as Raphael Samuel, dismiss the “fetishism” of reliance on documents, obsessions with “the facts” and a methodology of “naive realism”.⁶⁰

In the field of genocide studies, it is the interpretation of events that may be challenged, but not the events of the past themselves. My purpose is to argue that the rulers of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey have had just such a *dolus specialis* - special intent - with regard to their Christian subjects/citizens since the 1800s, employing a combination of archival documents, contemporary media reports, eyewitness and survivor testimonies and the writings of genocide scholars from around the world.

More than anything else, this dissertation is an interpretive essay on the strategies of state-building during the dissolution of the multi-cultural and multi-national Ottoman Empire in the early part of the 20th century. This ruling Muslim elite imposed from above the establishment of a superficially homogenous nation-state (the Republic of Turkey) in which, according to its dominant ideology, there was no place for minority identities of any kind. The foundations of the modern Turkish state are constituted of such oppressive and exclusivist strategies.

This study seeks to present, in a macronarrative, and in diachronic perspective, the story (or stories) of the people oppressed and excluded by such processes. The Christian “story” in Asia Minor and surrounding regions is adopted as a case-study for what was to come throughout the 20th century. It is presented as an emblem of a historical mentality that was unable to deal with ‘Otherness’ and ‘Alterity’.

Chapter One:

Modernism and Reaction 1800s-1900s

- 1.10 Attempts at reform
- 1.11 International power politics
- 1.12 Internal reform
- 1.13 Degeneration
- 1.14 Turkish nationalism
- 1.15 The 'Young Turks'
- 1.16 Prelude to Genocide
- 1.17 Finances
- 1.18 Ittihadist Government

The study of genocide exposes the Enlightenment-based
self-image as dangerous complacency.

Winton Higgins

CHAPTER One: MODERNISM AND REACTION

According to Irfan Orga, the Ottoman Turks “might give concessions to minorities, show religious tolerance and encourage art but they were strangers”. Orga records that the Turks’ “aggressive intentions” were a major source of the Empire’s internal troubles. The “peoples they conquered so fiercely were ignored, overtaxed and at the mercy of the local tyrants who governed them in the name of an Ottoman Sultan. No land was theirs by right of heritage”, as he wrote, and to the educated Turk, the Ottoman Sultans “were merely the overlords of differing races, and the continued system of the millet kept the country from becoming a united whole”.⁶¹

Several Sultans commenced modernisation programmes from the late-1700s. This was partly in reaction to the defeats the Ottoman armies were suffering in Europe (particularly from the Russians) and partly the economic stagnation that had set in following the European conquest of the ‘New World’. This coincided with the end of the Empire’s era of expansion, and the commencement of its long decline.

Czarist Russia, in particular under Catherine the Great, captured large tracts of Ottoman-held territory. One result of Catherine’s wars was that Muslim Caucasian refugees (Tartars, Chechens, Ingush, Abkhaz and others) streamed southward into the Sultan’s domain. In 1798, Napoleon invaded and occupied Egypt. This event, in particular, made it obvious that not even the core regions of the Empire (namely those with large Muslim populations) were safe from attack. Over the first eight decades of the nineteenth century, there were no less than four Russo-Turkish wars fought,⁶² of which only one was a victory for the Ottoman Empire. By the autumn of 1829, during the first of these wars, Russian armies had reached Argyroupolis (Gumushane) and Theodosiupolis (Erzerum) in western Armenia. Following the Russian defeat in the war a few months later, these regions were

given back to the Ottoman Empire. The retreating Russians were followed by many Christians fearful of Turkish reprisals. The Crimean War (1853-1856), the Russian conquest of Abkhazia (1875), the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, and the Kretan Uprising of 1894-1898 (resulting in the autonomy of Krete)⁶³ continued this pattern of an 'exchange' of Christian and Muslim populations.

The Muslim population of Asia Minor was thus greatly increased by the influx of refugees from the Balkans and Caucasus, while the Christian population of the Empire continued to shrink through forced conversions, massacres, emigration and the loss of territory in Europe and North Africa to neighbouring states.⁶⁴ Between 1800 and 1900, the Ottoman Empire lost more than half of its possessions. Although these losses were severe blows to the Empire, the territorial losses to the former subject states of Hellas, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria were psychologically the more difficult for the Ottomans to accept.

1.1 Attempts at Reform

While Abdul Hamid I (1774-1789) attempted a military re-organisation of the Empire's forces, it was Selim III (1789-1807) who began a wholehearted attempt at reform. Selim began improving weapons, military organisation and technical military schools, employing several hundred western Europeans (many of them French) to implement the modernisation plans. There was a major thrust at a professional army to replace the Janissaries with 20,000 new recruits equipped with as their western counterparts.⁶⁵ The combined pressure of the religious and secular reactionaries forced Selim to disband the new corps in an attempt to save his own position. In any event, he was deposed in 1807.

Selim's successor, Mahmud II (1808-1839), was more determined to achieve substantial reform,⁶⁶ despite being plagued by the Hellenic and Serbian national revolts⁶⁷ and the ambitious Muhammed Ali, *vali* (governor) of Egypt. In 1826, Mahmud drew up plans to re-

train the Janissaries into a modern army, unit by unit.⁶⁸ The ultra-conservative corps revolted against this modernization, only to be crushed by forces loyal to the Sultan. Eight executioners worked for weeks carrying out the sentences of the courts-martial. The corps was abolished after this 'auspicious event'. Despite these reforms, the 'new' Ottoman army was still unable to stop neither the Russian assault nor Hellenic independence (1829-1830). According to Arminius Vambery, Mahmud II's attempts to reform his government and Ottoman Muslim society:

were ill-conceived and ill-directed from the very outset, and so came into the world as an abortion – nay, brought with them the germs of that disintegration, anarchy, and economic and political decay...⁶⁹

According to Vambery, the incredible ethnic diversity of the Ottoman Empire was a substantial, if not insuperable, obstacle to reform. The Empire's Muslims "brought up in the rigidly exclusive spirit of Islam", rejected "every innovation with abhorrence" as they believed "that in the Koran they had the quintessence of all knowledge". Vambery recorded that the Empire's dominant group:

could not bring themselves, by any stretch of self-control or self-denial, to take the Giaours, the offscouring of abomination in their eyes, for their teachers, and seek for intellectual nourishment in the books of the unbelievers.⁷⁰

Vambery did not lay the blame for the failure of the reforms solely on the Muslims. As he wrote, the Ottoman Christians were "likewise not impressed with the proposed reform programme". This was, he said, "because their eyes were set solely on independence from Ottoman rule. Nothing less would satisfy them".⁷¹

The failure of the martial reforms and pressure from the European powers shifted the focus of reform to the civilian sphere from the 1840s onwards. The Berlin Memorandum was issued on 13 May 1876 by Germany, Austria, Russia, (later joined by France and Italy). This

document included a demand that Ottoman Christians be permitted to possess arms, till then a largely-forbidden practice. The *Sheybulislam*, head of the *Ulema* (Islamic doctors of law), issued a *fetva* (a binding religious decree) declaring such a thing a violation of Islamic law.⁷²

Sultan Abdul Mecid (1839-1861) drew up the *Tanzimat* (The Ordering) charter,⁷³ which aimed at reinforcing the Empire's independence. The ultimate aim was to achieve '*sivilizasyon*' as seen through French eyes. These proposals were later adopted by the Kemalists in the 1920s as '*muasir medeniyet*' (contemporary civilisation). If the Tanzimat reforms were innovative, then the 1839 *Hatt-i* (Imperial Edict) *Serif* of Gulhane was revolutionary. In essence, there was to be no discrimination against non-Muslims in the fields of conscription, taxation and justice, a major break with Islamic Ottoman tradition. The *Hatt-i-Sherif* involved the complete reorganisation of the *milliyet* system.

Reaction to these reforms could be classed as confusion, abhorrence, antagonism and thirst for more. The Imperial Reform Edict of February 1856 repeated the 1839 guarantees of 'security of life, honour and property' for all Ottoman citizens, as did Articles 9 and 12 of the Treaty of Paris, which dealt specifically with the Ottoman Christians. Sherif Mardin recorded that Muslims received these new rights for Ottoman Christians with barely concealed disgust: "Today we lost our sacred national rights which our ancestor's gained with their blood". The dominant population group was developing the mentality of victimhood many genocide scholars consider an essential phase of the process. "While the Islamic nation used to be the ruling nation, it is now bereft of this sacred right. This is a day of tears and mourning for the Moslem brethren".⁷⁴ Vambery had expressed much the same sentiments five decades earlier:

The Turks bowed to the will of the higher powers; they did violence to their own feelings and mechanically aped the Europe they at heart abhorred, but under the mask Turkey remained as oriental as before.⁷⁵

According to Levene, the destabilisation of eastern Asia Minor was due, in large extent, to the “inexorable rise (and dominance) of the West” in both political and military terms.⁷⁶ Throughout the 1800s, a social dichotomy appeared between the westernised Ottoman elite and the rest of the population, Muslim and Christian alike, social divisions that cut across religious boundaries. Indeed it was the compatibility of Islam and Western-style modernisation which pre-occupied the Young Ottomans,⁷⁷ with debates about modernisation focussed on how to set a limit to it. The Ottoman elites were criticised for imitating western ways, even though this mimicking was only skin-deep.⁷⁸ It is interesting to note that from the Battle of Chaldiran⁷⁹ (1514) until the mid-1800s, no inter-communal massacres occurred in east Asia Minor. Muslim grumbling turned into action in 1859 with the failed Kuleli revolt in Constantinople, when army officers joined the *bodjas* (Islamic clerics) in an attempt to overthrow the government. It was a protest at the ‘illegitimate’ act of granting equal rights to Christians.

Reform aimed at abolishing the need for the *milliyeti* by creating a new non-sectarian Ottoman citizenship and identity. The reforms also had the unforeseen consequence of turning the purely religious *milliyeti* into national groups with an ethnic identity. It was in an attempt to head off the growing autonomist movements amongst the Ottoman Christian populations – especially the Armenians in the east and the Hellenes in the west – that Sultan Abdul Aziz issued the Edict of Gulhane, the Nationality Law of 1869. Beyond the standard promises of administrative reform, the edict proclaimed that all Ottoman citizens were equal, regardless of religion or ethnicity. Following the established patterns of ‘reform’, Gulhane “remained a dead letter”: it was proclaimed as law by the Porte and promptly ignored by the bureaucracy and the military. The Christian subjects of the Empire “began gradually to lift up their heads”, wrote Vambery, emboldened not only by the success of former subjects who “had now become independent and were ruled by their native Christian princes” but also

because it was “an open secret that Turkey was living on the pittance granted by the Christian West”.⁸⁰

Of special irritation to the Ottoman Muslim population were the ‘Capitulations’. These were special privileges conferred on foreign merchants by a series of treaties with the Great Powers. They included provisions that Russia, France and Britain were able to “protect” the Empire’s Christians against “unjust” treatment, a direct contravention of the Sultan’s ‘protection’ of the *dhimmi*.⁸¹ Protestant missionaries – particularly American – flooded into the Empire from the early 1800s. Armenians especially flocked to missionary schools. Hellene, Armenian, and Jewish businessmen found it to their advantage to apply to western consulates for protection, since the capitulations also included immunity from fiscal exaction for citizens of Western states.

Under Sultan Abdul-Mejid,⁸² the Ottoman state borrowed excessively from European banks at exorbitant rates, sums that were spent largely on luxuries. Taxation, increased to meet the loan repayments to foreign banks, reached such levels that it “reduced to beggary” the Empire’s agriculturalists and pastoralists, Muslim and Christian alike. It was “the steady growth of financial embarrassment” which “was the poison which hastened the dissolution of that ‘sick man’ of long standing”, wrote Vambery in the early-1900s. The ‘sick man’ he was referring to was “the Turkish body politic”. Abdul-Mejid’s ruin was attributed by the *hodjas* “to the introduction of godless innovations, or at the generally received opinion that this misery was a retribution for sinful imitation of the ways of unbelievers”.⁸³

The Ottoman Christians, seen as the agents of the European powers, were blamed for the financial, political and military decline of the Ottoman state. Revolutionary movements begin in the upper classes, not in the lower, as these are the first to be exposed to new ideas. Study of western European languages and literature grew steadily in popularity amongst the young of the upper classes within the Ottoman Empire, of all ethnic groups. The more

Europeanised the new Ottoman social elite became, the greater the gulf between them and the old Ottoman political elite and the rest of the Muslim population. The most significant thing about nationalism in eastern Asia Minor is that it originated amongst the diaspora of intellectuals in Constantinople, Smyrne, Thessalonike, Tiflis, Geneva, Cairo, and elsewhere, who were originally from towns and villages in the region but more often than not, never actually went there. It was partly in reaction to the minorities developing a national identity that the embryonic idea of Asia Minor as an authentic Turkish national homeland began appearing.

It was the very modernisation of the Christian Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians caused so much bitterness and anger against them amongst the Muslims. They were literate, multi-lingual, business-wise and had diasporas across Europe and the Americas. Ever-increasing rates of western education brought them more wealth and power. The growing intelligentsia and the *esnaf* (guilds) clamoured for democratisation and secularisation.⁸⁴

1.2 International Power Politics

European rivalry and interference also played no small part in the disintegration and chaos that was engulfing the Ottoman Empire at this time. In 1876, the 'old Ottoman' Grand Vizier, Mahmud Medim Pasha, declared the Empire bankrupt on the advice of Ambassador Ignatiev of Russia. Thousands of small investors in western Europe who had subscribed to loans issued by western banks to the Porte, lost everything. The result was that western Europe firmly became committed to exploiting as much as possible the inevitable dissolution of the Empire. Sultan Abdul Aziz committed suicide. His successor Murad proved incapable and was deposed in favour of Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909).

The financial crisis, the Bulgarian revolt and massacres, the Russo-Turkish War of 1875-1876 and the Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin⁸⁵ gave the Ottoman reformers the

impetus to depose Murad and enthrone Abdul Hamid II, after he promised support for a constitution. Once installed, however, Abdul Hamid harnessed the anti-reform, anti-Western sentiments of Ottoman conservatives by appealing to Islamic solidarity, the only common bond of the multi-ethnic Ottoman elite. He even named himself 'Caliph of All Muslims'. Veteran reformer Midhat Pasha (an ethnic Pomak) was one of the leaders of this coup. He pushed the building of the Hijaz railway linking Damascus and Medina, encouraged telegraph and railway line building throughout the Empire (which first came during the Crimean War of 1853-56), and allowed the German military mission to advise and guide the building of the Imperial Army.

1.3 Internal Reform

"Midhat Pasha believed in the eventual fusion of all Ottoman subjects into a single nation-state in spite of existing religious and nationality differences". As his son later declared, "Midhat attached the greatest importance to the question of mixed schools in the provinces where Christians and Mussulmans lived together". The bureaucrat dreamt "of welding together the different elements of the nation he desired to make a beginning by applying it to the military academies of the Empire".⁸⁶ A few Christians were appointed to high-level civil service positions, along with 50 non-Muslims amongst the 237 delegates to a "Grand Council" of notables convened by Midhat Pasha. The Grand Council unanimously rejected the ultimatum of the European Powers, with Midhat visiting the Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchs as well as the Chief Rabbi in thanks.⁸⁷

The *Hatt-i Humayun* was Abdul Hamid's first major policy statement, issued on 9 September 1876. He publicly decreed that Christians would be permitted to enroll in the Empire's military schools, till then restricted to Muslims alone. Following the established pattern, the decree was then secretly countermanded soon after. Midhat openly confronted

the Sultan's stalling reform. As Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Ambassador at Constantinople said: "Let the subjects of the Porte be made into real soldiers, and they will soon forget whether they be Mussulmans or Christians".⁸⁸ There remained a prevailing Ottoman-Turkish aversion to the idea of integrating non-Muslims into mainstream national life; formal edicts were issued to relieve European pressure, edicts which were then ignored. Non-Muslims were exempted from military conscription, but were forced to pay a military head tax for every male member in the family. In 1909, the CUP government in turn introduced legislation to permit non-Muslims into the military. However, by April 1910, the Chamber of Deputies had passed only six clauses.⁸⁹ Secondly, Christian enthusiasm for the military was lukewarm at best. Thirdly, Muslim opposition was vehement as military service meant tangible equality, further curbing the dominant status of the Muslim:

the prejudice strongly rooted in the Mussulman mind, that the Christian is too ignoble a being to be honoured with the use of the soldier's weapons and by the, perhaps, more reasonable apprehension that he is too dangerous to be trusted with them.⁹⁰

It was anathema for Muslims to be commanded by non-Muslims.

Christian youths in barracks would be exposed to nameless outrages, and that, on the other hand, if attempts were made to enlist Mussulmans and Christians in separate battalions or squadrons, collision between the different corps, whenever they might be brought together, would be inevitable.⁹¹

Lastly and arguably most importantly, Ottoman society "lacked the sort of business and educational opportunities available to its young" Hellenes and other Christians. The result was that the Empire was "largely bereft" of a Muslim bourgeoisie. Social mobility for Ottoman Muslims became "dependant upon a burgeoning state sector".⁹²

A commission was formed (including Midhat Pasha and poet/playwright Namik Kemal) to put a constitution together for the Ottoman state, promulgated on 23 December

1876. Elections were held for a chamber of deputies between November 1876 and January 1877. In all, 86 deputies were elected including seventeen Hellenes, ten Armenians, eight Slavs and three Christian Arabs.⁹³ Parliament sat for the first time on Saturday, 16 June 1877. It was the first time in the six centuries of the Ottoman Empire that that representatives of the subject peoples “ventured to publicly and officially raise their voices in protest against inequities endemic in the Ottoman provincial social system”.⁹⁴ The first speaker was the Hellene deputy Soulides. He compared the plight of the Armenians to that of the Hellenes and Bulgarians in the Balkans who, however, were able to sensitise Europe about their suffering and secure remedies.⁹⁵ Soulides ended by demanding “an immediate end to this unbearable state of affairs”. He was followed by Hamazasp Ballarian (an Armenian) and then by Vasilaki, another Hellene deputy. He moved a motion to authorise the Porte to initiate concrete steps for the immediate implementation of the remedies proposed. “All Muslim deputies voiced their agreement with the diagnosis of the problem and the proposals for a solution advanced by the three deputies”.⁹⁶

The Sultan prorogued the Parliament soon after as the deputies became too critical of Abdul Hamid. New elections were not held until 1908 as Abdul Hamid attempted to re-establish strong central government. His absolute rule brought only economic stagnation among all classes of the population and military ruin on his empire.⁹⁷ An autocratic reign of terror followed. As a long-time resident of Constantinople, Vambery recorded that “wholly and solely the absolutist and rigidly autocratic form of government, which is to blame for the backward state of the nation up to this time and for its present decline”.⁹⁸

In reaction to the Hamidian oppression younger officers, officials and writers formed a secret society, the *Ittihad ve Terrake i Cemeyati* (Committee for Union and Progress). The attitude of the Sultan to this new group was further oppression. Vambery wrote of their beliefs that “Not unless the field of the future is watered with the blood of these rebels and

not until then, can the shoot of reform be planted with good hope of prosperous increase".⁹⁹ CUP cells sprang up among army officers, particularly around Thessalonike, the Ottoman Empire's second city.

Muslims were not the only ones suffering under the "Red Sultan".¹⁰⁰ In the 1880s and early-1890s, the two main rival Armenian revolutionary movements, known as the Hunchak and Dashnak¹⁰¹ parties, were formed. Both believed the Great Powers could be counted on to intervene on behalf of the Armenians as they had in the cases of Hellas and Bulgaria. The more radical Dashnaks believed in selective terrorism to provoke a state crackdown and a general revolt that would provoke Western intervention. In the early-1900s, the Dashnaks and the CUP co-operated against Sultan Abdul Hamid. After the 1908 coup, as the radical agenda of the CUP developed, this co-operation ended.

1.4 Degeneration

The repeated defeats of the Ottoman Army on the battlefield and the subsequent losses of territory further destabilised the social and demographic balance within the Empire. Just as had occurred with the Eastern Roman Empire centuries earlier, the more the Ottoman state shrank in size, the more religiously homogenous it became. That is, religiously homogenous, not ethnically so.¹⁰² The Russian victory in the north Caucasus of 1877 triggered the migration of tens of thousands of Circassians to Asia Minor, especially to the Adana and Sevasteia (Sivas) regions, as well as to Nikomedeia (Izmid), Adapazar and Ikonion (Konya).¹⁰³ These regions were specifically chosen as the places for the resettlement of these refugees because they were home to large, compact Christian populations. The refugees were neglected, abandoned, sometimes even plundered by the Ottoman officials. The Sultan ruled by pitting disenfranchised, disgruntled groups against each other, implementing "the abominable idea of ruining and decimating the Christian population by leaving the new

arrivals without any resource save plunder".¹⁰⁴ When the British ambassador complained to the Ottoman Foreign Minister, he was told the Circassians have the choice of either robbery or starvation.¹⁰⁵ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* states that beginning in 1861, 1.5 million Circassians alone migrated to Turkey.¹⁰⁶ Dadrian estimated that from 1862 until the first decade of the twentieth century, close to three million Muslims fled from the Caucasus into the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁷ Vambey echoed the policy of the Ittihad in declaring that the "regeneration of Turkey is not yet utterly beyond hope":

All that Turkey would have to do would be to concentrate her forces, by casting off the foreign elements in Europe and establishing a new centre in Asia Minor, where she commands more than twelve millions of Turks.¹⁰⁸

1.5 Turkish Nationalism

One day in 1986, a group of actors dressed in Nazi SS uniforms stopped people walking in the streets of Constantinople (Istanbul) and asked them for their identity cards, using a curious Turco-German phrase "*kimlik bitte*". The majority did so without question. Although the stunt was meant to be a joke, it showed the unquestioned authority of those dressed in uniform in a country with a strong state tradition. Such unquestioning obedience of authority figures has been a characteristic of Turkic and Turkish society from its nomadic origins in the steppes of the Gobi Desert.

Modern Turkish nationalism enhanced the power of the state elites and paved the way for a manufactured, official identity. A patriotic Turk should try to achieve a balance between the benefits of the West and the East by adopting the science and technology of the former and the spirituality of the latter. Women were expected to dress modernly but retain traditional values like modesty and to stay out of men's realm. Those who leant too much

one way or the other were labeled promiscuous or outmoded and usually pushed to the margins of society.¹⁰⁹

The peoples of the Ottoman Empire had two nationalist models from which to 'chose'. Firstly, French nationalism, which had a cosmopolitan outlook. Universalistic, it was accepting of civilisation along with the material and intellectual premises of the Enlightenment. Secondly, the German model: anti-Western, anti-Enlightenment, Romantic, with a strong ethnic and cultural character. The early 1800s in Germany were characterised by "reconstructing the *volk* [genos; people] along more genuine and natural principles than modernity had offered".¹¹⁰ Culture was an entity with a soul, civilisation was external and artificial, a feature which had forgotten its genuine, Germanic purpose.

The paradox of Turkish nationalism stems from its attempts to combine the missions of both the French and the German nationalist models. It is imitative because it accepts the value of the standards set by an alien culture; and is also rejectionist because it selectively rejects the ancestral ways, which are seen as obstacles to progress, yet cherished as marks of identity. Dr Ziya Gokalp (1876-1924), a Kurd from Diyarbakir, was one of the Ittihadists' main ideologues. His basic political works emerged between 1911 and 1918, displaying an unreconciled conflict of three trends: Islam, Turkism and Westernisation. Dr Gokalp advocated "that only the material civilisation of Europe should be taken and not its non-material aspects".¹¹¹ He was the most prominent definer and advocate of Turkishness. A sociologist and popular writer, he espoused the belief that for Turks, culture must be Turkish. The traditional Persianate-Arabic-Islamic culture and nineteenth century Europeanised culture were artificial "like flowers raised in hothouses". According to Gokalp, neither Islam nor European civilisation would be abandoned. The best aspects of both would contribute to and merge into a basic Turkishness.

For Gokalp, the individual could not reconstruct society, only the whole nation could. Berkes wrote that as the ultimate reality of contemporary society is the nation, and as national ideas are ultimate forces orienting the behaviour of the individuals, so the most urgent task for the Turks consisted of awakening as a nation in order to adapt themselves to the conditions of contemporary civilisation. The primary task of sociology was to determine “what the Turkish people already possessed or lacked to be a modern nation”.¹¹² The existing cultural climate in Turkey, the dichotomy of East and West, was the major ailment. Civilisation became a matter of mechanical imitation without a cultural basis. The source of cultural values was the nation. Hence he wanted the creation of a modern Turkish nation as an independent cultural unit within the confines of contemporary civilisation. The Enlightenment and Romanticism combined. This resulted in two paradoxes: firstly, the national question in the Turkish context is an insoluble problem and secondly, popular consciousness was to be transformed from above.

Although not a western colony, Turkey has followed the same path as the rest of Asia: simultaneously hostile to and imitative of, Western ways. This has accompanied the process of modernisation in Turkey since the early 1800s and is a conflict that remains unresolved to this day. The rise of Turkish nationalism was not the emergence of Turkish national consciousness but a project undertaken by intellectuals who took it upon themselves to transform a popular consciousness “steeped in centuries of superstition and irrational folk religion” by instigating a distancing of popular religious elements.¹¹³

1.6 The ‘Young Turks’

Deeply influenced by German nationalism¹¹⁴, the Young Turks abandoned Pan-Islamism, substituting this ideology for that of Pan-Turkism (also known as Pan-Turanism). This ideology called for the creation of a Turkic Empire, encompassing all the Turkic and non-

Turkic Muslim peoples between the Adriatic and China), imitating the German policy of *Drang nach Osten* (Drive for the East). As Oztuna wrote, "One of the most important reasons for the problems of the Ottoman Empire was the lack of a 'homeland' for the empire". By this he meant "a clear dividing line separating the 'homeland' from its 'colonies'.¹¹⁵ More often than not from *Rumelia* (the Empire's European territories), the members of this movement¹¹⁶ resorted to "Pan-Turkism", labelled the "mirror-image of Pan-Germanism or Pan-Slavism", with their calls for the return to the ways of the authentic warrior Turk.¹¹⁷

The fact that many of the Ittihadist elite were not ethnic Turks, but were converts to Turkism, was also a problem to them. Oktem declares that "[a]lmost the entire state elite of the Ottoman Empire and the modernizing revolutionaries of the early 20th century were of Balkan ... origin".¹¹⁸ The Ittihad's four ideologues were Gokalp, Yusuf Akoura (a Kazan Tatar from southern Russia), Ali Hussein zade and Ahmet Agaya (both Azeris from Baku). The latter three were instrumental to guiding Pan-Turkism against Christian Russia. Of the other CUP leaders, Interior Minister Talaat Pasha was a Romany from Bulgaria, Treasury Minister Javid Bey was a *Dohnme* (an Islamised Jew), and Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha was an Albanian prince from Egypt). Some say Minister of War Enver Pasha was part-Cherkez part-Albanian, while others claim he was from Central Asia. Dr Mehmed Nazim, Midhat Sukru and Dr Behaeddin Sakir were all described as having "obscure Balkan origins", meaning they were most likely from Islamised Slavic-speaking families.¹¹⁹ Even Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself, later proclaimed *Ataturk* (Father of the Turks), was not an ethnic Turk. Born in a village outside Thessalonike in Macedonia, Kemal's parents were both born in the mountains of modern Albania. Indeed, some scholars believe that his mother, Zubeyde, was from an Islamised Hellenic family of northern Epiros (modern-day southern Albania).

The Ittihadists' 'Pan-Turkism' was a new religion, quite distinct from Ottoman Islam. This reinforced their sense of marginality. Many were from middle or lower middle class

social backgrounds, rather than the ruling aristocracy. By exterminating the scapegoat group, compensation and reaffirmation of the new identity was gained in one.¹²⁰ In his inaugural speech to the 1910 Committee Congress in Thessalonike, the President remarked that “it was impossible to recruit Christians” to the Gendarmerie as “no reliance could be placed” upon them. He went on to say that:

as Europe always regarded the affairs of Turkey through Christian spectacles every effort must be made to crush the propaganda of the Empire’s Christian nationalities, which might attract the attention of European politicians. The policy of disarmament and the boycott of Greek commerce had contributed largely to the achievement of this object, but it was necessary to strengthen further the Mussulman element.¹²¹

A number of resolutions prepared by the Central Committee were also adopted by the Congress “without discussion”. According to *The Times* report on the meeting, these resolutions essentially stated that:

Musulmans generally should retain their arms, and where they are in a minority arms should be distributed to them by the authorities. ... Emigration from the Caucasus and Turkestan must be encouraged, land provided for the immigrants, and the Christians prevented from purchasing property. ... Turkey was essentially a Moslem country, and Moslem ideas and influence must preponderate. All other religious propaganda must be suppressed, as no reliance could be placed on Christians, who were always working for the downfall of the new regime. ... Sooner or later the complete Ottomanization of all Turkish subjects must be effected, but it was becoming clear that this could never be achieved by persuasion, and recourse must be had to force of arms.¹²²

At the 1911 Congress, again held in Thessalonike, chaired by Talaat Pasha, Dr. Behaeddin Sakir stated that “[t]he nations that remain from the old times in our empire are akin to foreign and harmful weeds that must be uprooted. To clear our land”.¹²³

In the period between 1908 and 1913, the Ottoman Empire was in a virtual state of civil war as the Sultan, the CUP, the Pan-Islamists, and other Ottoman elite factions all fought for dominance. To this explosive mixture was added the struggle of the various minority autonomists. A number of distinctive features set aside twentieth century massacres from these of earlier times: organisational specificity; planning, programming and timing; bureaucratic efficiency and comprehensiveness; technological capability; and the ideological imperative. "These are what separate massacres from instances of genocide".¹²⁴

An ideologically conditioned organisational network, armed with technology, creates a totalitarian environment from which there is little opportunity for the victims to escape.¹²⁵

The apparatus of the Ittihad was instrumental in planning and executing the genocide. The *Merkezi Umumi* (the Central Committee) decided to massacre the Christians. The *Teshkilati Mahsuse* (Special Organisation), the *Kassab Taburu* (Butcher Battalions) and the *chete* (irregulars) carried out the massacres, assisted by Kurdish tribesmen lured by promises of loot and land. This explains how the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust occurred, but not why it occurred.

Public support (implicit or explicit) is needed for a government to commit genocide. The reason "was embedded in the official ideologies espoused by the political elites". In the present case, this official ideology is Pan-Turanism. Dekmejian writes that "three catalytic factors" (societal, ideological and governmental) need to converge to produce "a genocidal outcome".

This crucial coincidence of elite and mass psychopathology finds its theoretical expression in the official ideology, and its practical expression in genocide.¹²⁶

The 'x' factor that mutates the social upheaval of the three factors into genocide "is the elite and its pathological commitment to the total destruction of a particular 'race' ".¹²⁷ Drawing on Erikson's psychological theories, there are three factors at play:

- (1) an Identity Crisis amongst the ruling group, in this case the Ottoman Muslims;
- (2) the Marginality of this group *vis a vis* the society, culture and institutions.¹²⁸
- (3) the creation of a New Identity.

To compensate for (2) and for the failings of (1), (3) is embraced in its most extreme form. There was a “Projection of Patienthood”, the “Patienthood of the Masses”. In the case of Asia Minor, the victim status of the Ottoman Muslim at the hands of the Western Imperialists and their Ottoman Christian lackeys. A “Medium of Salvation” is therefore sought. The elite attempt to solve for everyone the problems they could not solve for themselves. “A pathological ‘fit’ between the elite’s identity crisis and that of the masses” is a prerequisite for the mass adoption of the collective patienthood (psychoses/neuroses) of the elite. Past deprivation is blamed on “specific ‘undesirable’ groups”. In this case, Christians inside and outside the Empire were responsible for the economic, military, territorial and political decline of the Islamic Ottoman state. Genocide, the destruction of those responsible, is declared by the elite to be the ‘medium of salvation’.¹²⁹

1.7 Prelude To Genocide

Some two decades before the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust began, American and European commentators were predicting the events of 1914-1922, the government-orchestrated campaign to “cleanse Anatolia” of its indigenous Christian inhabitants.¹³⁰ The extent to which Great Power economics influenced the events of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust cannot be, and should not be, understated. The Ottomans were not only influenced by German political thought, but also by German imperial ambitions. In 1893, Sultan Abdul Hamid II conceded to the German Anatolian Railway Company the right to build a railway from Ankara through eastern Armenia and down the Euphrates River valley to Baghdad, then on to Basra at the Euphrates-Tigris delta and then to another, unnamed,

Persian Gulf port. The German Anatolian Railway Company had a 99-year lease on the railway itself, as well as mining rights for twenty kilometres on either side of the line; electric and other privileges; permission to build ports at Baghdad, Basra and the unnamed Persian Gulf terminus.¹³¹

The projected railway ran through regions with large Christian populations, long viewed by the Germans as obstacles to their plan to dominate the Ottoman Empire. Viewed from this perspective, the 1890s Hamidian massacres could be seen as the Turco-German alliance testing the waters of Western reaction to the wholesale “cleansing” of the region’s Christians. It is undoubtedly more than a coincidence that the Hamidian Massacres were focused on south-eastern Asia Minor.¹³²

Although Christians dominated culture, education and commerce in the Ottoman Empire, Shaw and Shaw estimated that Muslims held 95.4 per cent of government positions.¹³³ The Ottoman government (either through the public service or through the military) was the sole provider for much of the Muslim population, a fact described as “one of the chronic causes of disturbance” because of “the circumstance that the Turkish employees being left unpaid by the State, have to quarter themselves on the people”.¹³⁴

1.9 Ittihadist Government

In the northern summer of 1908, some units of the Ottoman army in Macedonia revolted. The CUP leaders, Enver Pasha, Mehmet Talaat Pasha and Djemal Pasha, in Thessalonike telegraphed Sultan Abdul Hamid to restore the constitution. On 24 July, he called fresh elections. The CUP’s assumption of power was greeted with celebration throughout the Empire as they promised freedom and democracy for all. Fresh parliamentary elections were held and the Ottoman Parliament reconvened on 17 December 1908. The 245 elected representatives were comprised of 140 Turks, 40 Arabs, 25 Albanians, two Kurds, 23

Hellenes, twelve Armenians, five Jews, four Bulgarians, three Serbians and one Romanian.¹³⁵ Rejoicing and jubilation swept the streets of every major centre of the Empire. Press freedom returned; newspapers, political comment and cartoons flourished. Exiles returned from abroad.

In April 1909, some disgruntled revolutionaries joined political reactionaries in a counter-coup in support of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. This was put down by troops from Thessalonike that were loyal to the CUP. The Chamber of Deputies blamed Abdul Hamid for the coup attempt and deposed him. Sultan Mehmet V (1909-1918) was installed as the figurehead sovereign as all real power lay with the bureaucracy. The Ottoman Parliament was dominated by the CUP, which now became a political party. Opponents, however, especially the *Itilaf* (Liberal) Party, felt the CUP was becoming too authoritarian. The *Itilaf* was a group of Europeanisers around Prince Sabaheddin, who worked closely with the Armenian parties in the Ottoman Parliament. Largely aristocratic and cosmopolitan, they opposed Turco-centrism in favour of a loose federation or confederation. Originally part of the CUP, they were formally expunged in 1913.

The CUP coup of 1908 and the return of some sort of constitution did not prevent further massacres. As nationalist movements continued gaining ground inside, and European imperialists kept advancing outside, a group of young radicals rose to power. They wanted to rejuvenate the Empire and saw the answer in Pan-Turansim and a Turco-German alliance, in which the latter would provide military, technical and economic aid. The Ittihadist elite wanted to model the Ottoman Empire on Germany: militarily powerful, internally united. All the Turkic peoples of European Russia, the Caucasus and Central Asia were to be united in one state. These disparate elements were to undergo total social homogenisation through Turkification (voluntary or forced adoption of the officially sanctioned Turkish language and identity) and outright extermination of all opponents to this planned homogenisation. Melvan

zade Rifat later quoted Talaat Pasha as saying: "Without heeding the dictates of one's conscience, all the Armenians – women, children, invalids – must be eliminated".¹³⁶

In a dispatch to Berlin, Herr Miguel, Ambassador of Germany to Constantinople, reported that the new Ottoman Prime Minister, Shevket Pasha, had made the following statement to Oecumenical Patriarch Ioakeim III, the spiritual leader of Orthodox Christianity: "We will cut off your heads. We will exterminate you. Either we will survive or you will".¹³⁷ This was the first 'public' expression by the Young Turks of their plans for the Empire's Christians.

The contrast between the Muslims and the Christians of the Empire was stark. In rural areas, the Hellenes and Armenians were relatively prosperous farmers; Muslim peasants were usually poverty-stricken or nomadic herdsman. Yet tens of thousands of Christian men had to leave their families and migrate abroad for great periods of time in order to secure their livelihoods. In the urban centres, they were the big businessmen, bankers, store-owners, teachers, lawyers and the doctors. Located as they were on the coasts of Asia Minor, they controlled most of the trade in and out of the country.¹³⁸ Hellenes and Armenians were to be found in great numbers in the bureaucracy due to their education.¹³⁹ This was the socio-political climate on the eve of the Balkan Wars. These social and economic contrasts fuelled the plans of the Young Turks and made them easier to implement.

Unlike the highly centralised bureaucracy of Nazi Germany, the central Ottoman bureaucracy was rather chaotic. Regional and local governors held the real power. The leadership in Constantinople issued orders for implementation by the regional and local administrations; only the degree of implementation of these orders varied. The Turkish boycott of Hellenic businesses met with mixed success. In regions like Smyrne and Pontos, there was little choice but to go to Hellenic businesses, as there were too few Turkish businesses to patronise. The officially organised boycott of Hellenic businesses, eagerly

supported by the Turkish press, did not stop there: it included banning of the importation and sale of produce from the Hellenic Kingdom and the barring of Hellenic ships from docking in Turkish ports. On 11 May 1911, the Metropolitan of Amaseia (Amasya), Germanos Karavangelis, wrote to the Oecumenical Patriarchate and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens about the “economic war” the Young Turks had declared on the Christians of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁰

Chapter Two:

The Holocaust Phase One 1912-1918

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1915 is one of the painful pages of the Ottoman history:
on this date, the Committee of Union and Progress
committed a huge crime against humanity.

Oral Calislar

CHAPTER TWO: THE HOLOCAUST – PHASE ONE

2.1 Portents

The year 1912¹⁴¹ proved to be one of the most important in the long history of the Ottoman Empire, and the most disastrous. Only months after the loss of Tripoli, the historically loyal Muslim Albanians seceded in their own national revolution.¹⁴² This unexpected event sent shock waves throughout the Ottoman realm. If the Albanians, for centuries the enforcers of the Ottoman Sultans in southeastern Europe, could quit the Empire, what was to stop the Arabs, Kurds and other Muslim peoples following suit?

Although other Muslim peoples had already been lost to the Ottoman State, this had come about as a result of their conquest by Christian European powers. The successful Albanian revolt was the first time Muslim people had abandoned the Porte of their own accord. This more than any other event convinced the CUP leadership that Islamisation of all their subjects was not enough to secure their domain. It had to be accompanied by their linguistic and cultural Turkification.

Rome took advantage of the turmoil triggered by the Albanian secession to seize the Dodecanese Islands, centred on Rhodes in the south-eastern Aegean Sea between 28 April and 20 May.¹⁴³ Meanwhile, Russian calls for a European-supervised local autonomy in the six eastern *vilayets* (provinces), as well as Trapezounta (Trabzon), “were intended as little more than a pretext for their ultimate takeover” by Moscow. The Russian proposals included the enfranchisement of the settled population only (giving the nomadic Muslim Kurds and Turkomen no vote or say), the disbanding of the infamous Hamidiye regiments and the removal of refugee Muslim immigrants from the region. The Russian plans were enthusiastically supported by the Armenian elite (the Apostolic Church hierarchy and Members of Parliament), as well as by Russian agents planted amongst the region’s

Armenians. Following the pattern set by the Germans and Czechs in Central Europe, each group in the Ottoman Empire began using language and the numbers game to justify its claims. For example, the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople claimed there were 1,000,000 Armenians in the six vilayets of eastern Asia Minor, while the Ottoman Government claimed they numbered only 600,000.¹⁴⁴

Tanin (Echo), the CUP newspaper, argued that this plan would fragment the empire along ethnic lines. The example of Krete (Crete) illustrated what the Turkish nationalists feared would happen in Asia Minor if the Armenians were given autonomy. Conquered by the Ottomans in 1669, the island was given to Mohammed Ali, the semi-independent *Vali* (Governor) of Egypt, in 1830, as a reward for his assistance against the rebellious Hellenes. From 1840 to 1898, “its predominantly Greek population (is) carrying on a perpetual guerrilla warfare against the Turkish authorities”. The four Great Powers - Italy, Russia, Britain, France - intervened and “constituted Crete an autonomous State [1899], with a nominal suzerainty of Turkey but with no tribute payable to the Sultan”. In 1906, “the four powers recognized certain interests of the Kingdom of Greece in Crete, and the local gendarmerie was organized under Greek officers”. Following the CUP *coup d’etat* two years later, Krete proclaimed its *enosis* (union) with the Hellenic Kingdom, an event not formally recognised until the signing of a peace treaty on 4 November 1913.¹⁴⁵

Events on Krete were a warning of what was to come. For years, the island was wracked by savage guerrilla warfare pitting the island’s majority Christians against the dominant Muslims. Ironically, almost all Kretans were Hellenic-speaking. The blood-letting eventually ceased with the departure of Ottoman rule and with it the entire Muslim population.

War was a constant feature of life in south-eastern Europe in the 1800s and early 1900s. So it came as little surprise when war broke out again in October 1912. Setting aside their

rivalry over Macedonia, Bulgaria and Serbia signed a treaty of alliance on 29 February, followed two months later by a military co-operation agreement. Still smarting from its humiliating defeat in the War of 1897, Hellas sought allies amongst its Balkan neighbours. Athens and Sofia signed a treaty on 16 May, an agreement along the lines of the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty. Still officially under the suzerainty of the Sultan, Kretan nationalists continued to agitate for *enosis* with Hellas; in the Kosovo *vilayet* (province), Bulgarian civilians were massacred at Kocani.

Athens declared general mobilisation on 18 September, followed four days later by the signing of a military co-operation agreement with Sofia. Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire on 25 September. Five days later, Bulgaria, Serbia and Hellas sent a joint memorandum to the Sultan, demanding recognition of minority rights for the Ottoman Christians. The Porte rejected the demands out of hand. On 4-5 October, the three Balkan Allies declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Hellenic troops crossed the frontier and began marching northwards, while the Hellenic fleet liberated one island after another in the Aegean. Unable to deal with the quadruple assault, the Ottoman armed forces collapsed and retreat became rout. The retreating Ottoman army looted and burned the Hellenic and other Christian villages of south-central Thrace.¹⁴⁶ The spiritual home of the Young Turks, the port city of Thessalonike, was liberated by Hellenic troops on 26 October, the feast day of its patron saint, Ayios Demetrios. Hellenic troops arrived only four hours ahead of their arch-rivals, the Bulgarians.

On 20 November, the Porte sued for peace, with the armistice signed at Chatalja (a short distance from Constantinople) between the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria and Serbia. On 3 December, the peace conference began in London, while the Hellenic army continued its operations in Epiros and in the Aegean Sea. The peace talks collapsed on 16 December with open warfare resuming five days later. On 4 April, a Helleno-Serbian Protocol was signed,

followed on 1 May by a military co-operation agreement. Helleno-Bulgarian clashes broke out all along the line of control in central Macedonia, as neither side was satisfied with its share of the spoils from the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe.

The peace negotiations, which had recommenced in London, produced a treaty which was signed on 17 May. The First Balkan War was over. Two days later, a Helleno-Serbian Treaty of Alliance was signed. On 16 June the Hellene General Kallares ordered the Bulgarian garrison in Thessalonike to evacuate the strategic city. The Bulgarian refusal sparked serious street fighting, while simultaneously Bulgarian troops attacked Serbian positions at Gevgeli and Hellenic ones at Eleutheres and Tsagezi. The Second Balkan War was at hand.

Holding their positions for three days, the Hellenes and Serbians attacked on 19 June, quickly advancing and capturing Bulgarian-held Macedonia. The Ottomans seized their opportunity and re-captured eastern Thrace, the 'backyard' of the imperial capital of Constantinople. Another peace conference began on 17 July, this time in Bucharest, Romania, coinciding with a ceasefire on the Helleno-Bulgarian Front. On 25 July, Athens and Sofia signed an agreement setting their mutual frontier, while the complete peace treaty was signed three days later. Hellas and the Ottoman Empire signed a separate peace treaty between them on 1 November, thus restoring diplomatic relations.

When the Ottomans re-occupied eastern Thrace, the Ottoman army proceeded with what can be described as a new pogrom: 16,000 Hellenes fell victim to the rampaging troops and their civilian followers. Tens of thousands more fled west.¹⁴⁷ Despite the small recovery, in the space of a few months, the Ottoman Empire lost 124,000 square kilometres of territory and nearly four million people. Of these losses, almost half went to Hellas (56,000 square kilometres of territory and 1.9 million people). Hellas had successfully revolted almost a century earlier and had been expending at the expense of the Ottoman state ever since.

The Ottoman Hellenes were concentrated in eastern Thrace and on the coastlines of Asia Minor. Indeed, “their supremacy in the western-oriented trade out of Smyrna” was a great source of irritation to the nationalist CUP. During the Balkan Wars, the CUP not only responded with an economic boycott of Hellenic businesses but with a series of anti-Hellenic massacres and atrocities around Smyrna which seem to have been specifically designed not to kill all Hellenes in these areas, but to ‘encourage’ them to flee. [See map reproduced as Appendix Six.]

Muhajirs (Muslim refugees) from southeastern Europe then occupied the villages and towns ‘evacuated’ by the Thracian and Asia Minor Hellenes. The Balkan Allies had themselves expelled many of these *muhajirs*. “This war was one of the greatest calamities Turkey ever suffered. It was a sign of the impending collapse of the Empire”. The Muslims who fled the Christian armies “were settled in Rumeli (eastern Thrace) and in Anatolia (Asia Minor)”. Till then a rare sight, Muslim “refugees became a common sight until the end of the Ottoman Empire. They started leaving the Balkans in droves”. The flood of Muslim refugees into Constantinople and other cities of western Asia Minor were housed in mosques, schools, warehouses, hospitals, and in any large building that was available. For thousands of families in Turkey today, “the wounds of the war are still not forgotten”.¹⁴⁸

As explained earlier, the Hellenes and other Christians formed a physical obstacle to the realisation of the Pan-Turanist dream, a mass of non-Muslims at the heart of the territory of ‘Turan’. The fact that the six Armenian vilayets and the Hellenic Trapezounta (Trabzon) vilayet were considered inviolable Turkish territory is a core ingredient of the January 1920 National Pact, which is “in effect Turkey’s charter of national sovereignty”. No refugees (displaced Armenians, Assyrians or Hellenes) could return with the express permission of its representative committee. “Not an inch of land, of our *vilayets*” would be ceded “to Armenia or any other country”.¹⁴⁹

Perhaps the most ironic aspect of the long decline of the Ottoman Empire was that the more territories it lost in Europe and North Africa, the less heterogeneous and more 'Turkish' it became. As late as World War One, no single ethnic group constituted a majority of the population of Asia Minor. "In the last hundred years, four Eastern Anatolian groups – Armenians, Kurds, Assyrians and Greeks – have fallen victim to state-sponsored attempts by the Ottoman authorities or their Turkish or Iraqi successors to eradicate them" in misguided attempts at creating such majorities.¹⁵⁰ As indicated by earlier statements of CUP leaders, the CUP had decided on just such a policy as early as 1909. The then Ottoman Prime Minister Shevket Pasha had told Oecumenical Patriarch Ioakeim III in 1911, "We will cut off your heads. We will exterminate you. Either we will survive or you will". Levene states that this policy of expulsion and resettlement on the part of the CUP government "suggests the beginnings of a conscious policy of demographic restructuring and ethnic homogenisation".¹⁵¹

The triumvirate of Talaat, Enver and Djemal did not move to exterminate the Ottoman Hellenes at this time for a number of reasons:

(a) fears of retaliation against the Muslims still in southeastern Europe. A legacy of the more than five centuries of Ottoman rule, the region had huge Muslim populations by the early 1900s. The overwhelming majority were ethnic Slavs, Bulgars, Pomaks, Romany and Hellenes who had converted to Islam, while a few were the descendants of Turkish soldier-settlers. The Ittihadists' interest in protecting these people was more strategic than humanitarian: the CUP wanted to use these people as a fifth column through which to eventually regain control of the region. Unless these Muslims remained in southeastern Europe, the goal of re-taking the region for the Ottoman Empire would be near impossible;

(b) fears of direct Allied intervention. The various peoples of south-eastern Europe had long believed that the Great Powers would one day liberate them from the rule of the

Ottoman Turks. French action in creating Christian Lebanon out of the Syrian *vilayet*, European pressure for autonomy for Krete, Macedonia and Armenia, military actions such as the Battle of Navarino (1826) only fuelled such speculation. Hence the Ittihad was reluctant to in effect, declare war on the Hellenic Kingdom by moving to exterminate the Ottoman Hellenes, until its own position was more secure;

(c) and most importantly, the shattered Imperial Army was in no condition to fight another war against the victorious Balkan Allies. The twin Balkan Wars left the western part of the Ottoman Empire virtually defenceless. The Imperial Army had been annihilated on the battlefield; its shattered remains were scattered amongst the tens of thousands of Muslim refugees in the capital and western Asia Minor. The Hellenic fleet had swept its Ottoman counterpart from the Aegean, bottling it up in the Propontis. Thousands of Ottoman troops were prisoners of the Balkan allies. Enver knew that it would take time and massive amounts of aid to rebuild the Imperial armed forces. Until that time, any formal moves against the Ottoman Hellenes would have to wait. None of these considerations applied to eastern Asia Minor, which goes a long way to explaining why the Armenian and Assyrian Christians there were targeted for complete destruction. Even though implementation of the “policy of demographic restructuring and ethnic homogenisation” (as Levene phrased it) had already begun in the west.¹⁵²

In yet another of those twists for which Balkan politics are famous for, Sofia and Constantinople signed a treaty of alliance on 1 January 1914. This came only months after they had fought each other in the Balkan Wars. In the event of a Turkish-Hellenic war, Ottoman troops would be permitted to cross Bulgarian territory to attack Hellas by land. Days later, Enver Bey was made Minister of War, although the Empire was not officially nor unofficially in a state of war. He effectively became the dictator of the Ottoman Empire. Reports immediately began circulating that the former enemies, now allies, were preparing to

exact their revenge on the Balkan allies for the losses of the Balkan Wars. The purchase by Constantinople of the Brazilian dreadnought *Rio de Janeiro*, only served to further fuel rumours of a coming war.¹⁵³ The American Rumanian Emancipation Committee's Henry Green (organiser of an international congress that was to be held in Berlin to deal with the 'Jewish Question') told *The New York Times*' Berlin correspondent on 12 January that "the war cloud again overhanging the Balkans".

Conservative persons predict another outbreak of hostilities in the Near East within ninety days. Turkey is preparing to wage war on Greece. Bulgaria is seeking revenge and is covertly working for an alliance with Turkey for the purpose of thrashing Rumania, Greece, Servia, and Montenegro.¹⁵⁴

Still smarting from the catastrophic defeat it suffered in the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire set about preparing its revenge on its former subjects, ironically enrolling the assistance of another former subject people in the process.

2.2 Ethnic Cleansing

The Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople issued a written protest to the Ottoman Government on 25 February 1914. At the urging of the Patriarch, the Sultan had issued instructions that all Christians who had been deported or wrongfully imprisoned were to be released and permitted to return home. As the protest letter noted, the official instructions were ignored and "the persecutions and imprisonments on false accusations still continue".¹⁵⁵

Hellenes in Thrace and western Asia Minor continued to be expelled from their homes to make way for the Muslim refugees. The long-standing boycott of Hellenic business:

is now being applied nearly everywhere by the active aid of the regular government officials and it is being encouraged openly by instructions and exhortations in the mosques, the squares and the markets, and those of the Mussulmans who wish to have dealings with the Christians

are actually prevented from doing so by threats.¹⁵⁶

The duality of the Ottoman administration only served to convince the Oecumenical Patriarchate, and many other individuals and institutions of standing, "that a ruthless persecution of the loyal Greeks has been begun, a persecution which aims at its total destruction".¹⁵⁷ [The full text of the letter is reproduced in the endnotes.]

Besieged throughout the northern winter of 1913-1914, the Hellene villagers of eastern Thrace decided *en masse* to leave their homes in March 1914. The Young Turk administration formed committees that would evaluate the movable property of the Hellenes for purchase by Muslim villagers. The committees consisted of a judicial employee, a taxation agent, an employee of the Agricultural Bank and an officer of the gendarmerie. They valued the livestock (horses, mules, donkeys, cows, bulls, sheep, goats, calves) at prices three to five per cent of their true value. The committee took the proceeds from the sales. The Hellene villager's debts, taxes and fines were then deducted. If there were any funds left over, they were given to the unfortunate victim. If there was a shortfall, the victim had to pay the difference. One carriage between two families was permitted for their emigration. All other carriages and carts were left to the Muslim villagers and to the state. All household furniture, clothing, tools, kitchenware and heirlooms had to remain in the house. There was no compensation for houses and fields.

On the road to exile, the gendarmes escorting the deportees would stop the column and demand payment of one silver *metzeti* per family. This would happen in each *kaza* (county), since the escorts would change at county boundary. Typically, the Hellene deportees would pass through three counties. The destination was Raedestos (Tekir Dag), on the coast of the Propontis (Sea of Marmara). Those who could still pay embarked ships for Kavala or Thessalonike in Hellas. Those who could not were deported to Asia Minor. This is how over 30,000 Hellenes were forced from the villages of eastern Thrace by the

(northern) spring of 1914. Throughout 1914, more than 250,000 Hellenes were dispersed from eastern Thrace and western Asia Minor.¹⁵⁸

2.3 Pogroms

Talaat, Enver, Djemal, Nouredin Pasha and other leading Young Turks then met and issued a series of orders like this one obtained and published in the French newspaper *Le Temps*:

Yildiz 14-5-1914

To the governor of Smyrna, Rahmi Bey¹⁵⁹

The Hellenes, Ottoman citizens, of your area constitute a majority, which could possibly prove dangerous. Generally, all of them living on the coast of Asia Minor, including those in your Province, must be compelled to abandon their homes and be transported to the provinces of Erzerum, Erzincan and elsewhere. This is imposed by political and military reasons. If they refuse to evacuate their districts, give instructions to our Muslim brothers to force them using, toward this end, every means and every kind of deviation. The Hellenes must also be compelled to sign declarations, in which they state that they leave and abandon their homes of their own will and initiative. These declarations are necessary so as political issues will not be created.

Talaat, Minister for the Interior and Hilme, Director, Ministry of the Interior¹⁶⁰

This telegram-order had two main points that are of special interest. Firstly, that the Ottoman Hellenes were to be deported hundreds of kilometres to the eastern frontier districts, those adjoining Russia. If these people were a security risk in the western border regions (those adjoining the Hellenic Kingdom), why would they be any less of a risk in the east; especially considering that on both sides of Asia Minor were large Christians populations, co-religionists of the deportees. The reason the victims were deported eastward was that they were not expected to ever reach their destinations; at least not in any substantial numbers.

Secondly, there is the telegram's reference to 'every kind of deviation' and to 'declarations' signed by the deportees that were necessary to avoid 'political issues'. [See cartoon reproduced as Appendix Seven.] The CUP government explicitly ordered its provincial officials to use any measures deemed essential to get the Christians to leave their homes 'voluntarily'; no matter how violent these measures were. The government also ordered its men to obtain declarations from their victims that would give a veneer of legality to actions the government was acknowledging were illegal. The confiscation and redistribution of Armenian and Hellenic property would be used to facilitate the creation of an authentic Turkish middle class and were part of the Ittihadists' extensive preparations for the final "cleansing of Anatolia". The conclusion is that this was a well-planned, well-executed scheme.

The Thracian pogrom had spread to western Asia Minor by mid-year. The Erythraia and Phokaia districts of western Asia Minor were devastated. French journalist and writer Felix Sartiaux was in Phokaia at the time and witnessed the events. Phokaia was a city of some 8,000 Hellenes. According to Sartiaux, it was destroyed by "methods which originated from a well thought-out and systematic plan, were identical everywhere, as I can confirm from a study I did in the coastal areas" (of Ionia).

The panic-stricken populace with torn clothing and bloodied faces, ran toward the coast. ... The unfortunates squeeze themselves into the boats and sailing ships without, in most cases, our being able to care for them; because the city was large, the pharmacies had been looted, the council doctor was taking part in the looting.¹⁶¹

"So frantic was the populace that many drowned". The Ottoman authorities allowed Sartiaux to use the telegraph, with which he called for more ships from Smyrne. "The authorities are in a hurry to complete their work, since the atrocities which satisfy the lust for blood, will be followed by the division of the spoils". As the Frenchman recorded, the

message for the Ottoman Hellenes was clear: leave and do not return.

The refugees left absolutely stripped of everything, not having anything apart from what they had on them; some saw fit to steal even their shoes. On the shore, where they embarked, they suffered the final attacks of the looters, who snatched from the women the bundles of old clothes they had, and subjected the men, women and children to a body-search, so as to take the money and small items that the refugees had managed to secret.¹⁶²

The cash and jewellery left in the abandoned homes were looted first. Once all the city's Hellenes were gone, their household furniture and real estate was divided up. "It was a broad scale operation of profit distribution", wrote Sartiaux. He left no doubt about the systematic and organised nature of the theft:

[T]he homes and stores, just as their contents, were going to be distributed amongst the Turkish immigrants who would shortly be coming from Europe, amongst the executioners and the organisers. ... other caravans were headed for the interior of the country. They are the stolen flocks, the horses, the carriages; they are the camels with the loot and with the produce of the looting, returning to their villages, which they had left the previous day. These villages are too small to hold so many things; part of the loot will go to those who so honourably won it and the rest will be sent to the distribution centres.¹⁶³

Upon arrival in Smyrne, the French journalist sent his observations to Paris and then set off on a journey northwards along the coast of Ionia. The scenes recorded by Sartiaux along the Ionian coast were even worse in the inland regions, where the victims did not have the maritime escape route, being forced to scatter to the hills, far from the prying eyes of Western observers.¹⁶⁴ Sartiaux estimated that by 8 June, between 150,000 and 200,000 people had been expelled from their homes.¹⁶⁵

A pamphlet circulated in the western Pontian town of Neokaisareia (modern Niksar) at the time gives us an insight of Turkish attitudes towards the Empire's Christian populations during this period:

O ungrateful Hellenes!!! For 600 years we have lived together as compatriots... As we cannot nourish in our midst snakes like yourselves, naturally we will prefer the disappearance of you ingrates.¹⁶⁶

The use of animals to describe people considered suspect is often an integral part of the genocidal process. The victims are dehumanised. By ceasing to be seen as human in the eyes of the perpetrators, the actual killings of the victims are much easier to carry out, and afterward to rationalise.

The Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople took the virtually unprecedented protest measure of ordering the closure of all churches and schools. The protest was held on 25 May 1914.¹⁶⁷ The very next day, the CUP regime issued an official order, giving the Ottoman military the right to deport anyone considered suspect, including the populations of entire villages. Governor Rahmi Bey, publicly declared that “rather than having Smyrne fall into the hands of the enemy, it is better for it to be destroyed and become ash”.¹⁶⁸

The ecclesiastical authorities were not alone in their protests against the persecution of the Ottoman Hellenes. Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos issued a warning to Turkey to cease the persecutions, to reinstate the victims to their homes and guarantee that the refugees would not be harassed again.¹⁶⁹ Fearing similar actions against the Muslims of Macedonia and western Thrace, the CUP government permitted many of the deportees to return home. This feint, however, did not stop the preparations for war by all the states in south-eastern Europe, attributed by the media at the time:

to the drastic policy of the Young Turks in expelling all Greeks from Asia Minor and Turkish Thrace. It believes this policy is a prelude to a declaration of war upon Greece, the main object being the reconquest by Turkey of Salonica and the reoccupation of Macedonia.¹⁷⁰

Addressing the Hellenic Parliament on 12 June, Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos said: “If a stop is not put to these conditions the Hellenic Government will be forced not to

content itself with joining in the lamentations of unhappy refugees". He went on to say that thousands of Hellenic refugees had already arrived in Hellas from Thrace and Asia Minor, while thousands more were only waiting for transport "to escape from their persecutors".

The Hellenic leader:

characterised the Turkish persecutions of Greeks as being 'of a character such as history had never known until today, their object being the elimination of populations which had been living in those places for several thousand years'.¹⁷¹

Repeated Hellenic government protests and warnings to the Sultan had been met with replies attributing the ethnic cleansing "to vengeance for the alleged sufferings of the Mussulman populations in Macedonia". Venizelos estimated the number of refugees "who had already arrived in Greece or were awaiting transport at about 100,000, all of whom he declared were abandoning their entire possessions in order to escape persecution". The Athens correspondent of London's *The Daily Telegraph* reported that the Hellenic Ambassador in Constantinople:

has been instructed to demand the cessation of persecutions of Greeks in Asia Minor and the reinstatement in their homes and on their properties of 50,000 refugees who sought shelter from the Turks in Greek territory. A guarantee also is demanded, according to the correspondent, that these refugees be not again molested. A reported attack by Turkish regulars and a force of Bashi-Bazouks on the town of Aivalik, Asia Minor, is denied. It is said that instructions from Constantinople to the Turkish troops arrived in time to prevent the attack.¹⁷²

The report that an attack was prevented on the orders of the government only reinforced the wide-held opinion that pogroms were being orchestrated by the CUP regime.

The Athens newspaper *Hestia* (Hearth) reported on 13 June "that war between Greece and Turkey is inevitable as a result of the persecution and expulsion of Greeks by Ottoman officials". The newspaper further stated that "the majority of Greek public opinion"

supported this position. Diplomatic circles in Athens agreed with this assessment, especially following the announcement that Hellas was formally annexing the strategic islands of Lesbos and Chios.

It is reported that there have been several encounters between Turks and Christians in the Asiatic littoral and that the Turks are concentrating arms and ammunition at various points. Several sailing vessels with Greek refugees aboard are also reported to have been captured by the Turks.¹⁷³

A major commercial centre with the best port on Asia Minor's Aegean coast and an overwhelmingly Christian population, Smyrne was for years a focal point of attention. An order was issued there "for the dismissal of Greek subjects employed by foreign commercial houses, including several American concerns". The US Ambassador in Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau, who proved to be a great friend of the Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire, managed to obtain a temporary stay on the order. In the meantime, the US and British vice consuls at Smyrna visited the island of Lesbos "to investigate the situation of the Greek refugees who have arrived there from Asia Minor". Many of the refugees on the island were natives of the mainland city of Kydonies (Aivalik), home to 25,000 Hellenes before the persecutions began.¹⁷⁴

According to the general feeling expressed in Athens, war with Turkey is inevitable, and it is not considered likely that the failure of the United States to permit the sale of battleships to a foreign nation would have any influence on the situation. A Constantinople dispatch reports fighting at Menemen and Phocaea, not far from Smyrna. It adds that forty of the inhabitants of Menemen were killed in the defense of that city.¹⁷⁵

The use of the term "defense" is of particular interest when it is taken into consideration that there were no foreign forces in the country at this time, nor was the country yet officially at war.

Greek refugees from Asia Minor today (June 17) brought reports of the massacre by Turks of

100 Greeks, including priests, old men and children, in the town of Phokia, twenty-five miles northwest of Smyrna. The town, according to the official report, was invaded by a horde of armed men, who looted and then set fire to all the buildings. They are said to have been assisted by the Turkish police. All the inhabitants, most of whom were Greeks, fled, leaving their property behind them, and 3,800 of them have reached Salonika. They declare that the bodies of the massacred persons were thrown into wells. The refugees, many of whom were suffering from wounds, were in a state of starvation on their arrival at Salonika.¹⁷⁶

Report after report, from various sources, all agree that the pogroms were state-sponsored, state-orchestrated and aimed at 'cleansing' Asia Minor of its indigenous Christians.

When the Porte privately replied to the Hellenic Government's public note, it was described as "conciliatory" and included statements that reparations were being prepared and inviting a commission of investigation from the Powers to look into the Hellenic charges. The Ottoman Government claimed the anti-Christian pogroms were provoked by "the enforced emigration in a body of the Mussulmans of Macedonia". According to media reports, the Sultan's note:

expresses the hope that Greece, like Turkey, will take steps to restore order, but it evades the specific demands of Greece for the reinstatement of Greek emigrants and the restoration of the property of Greeks.¹⁷⁷

Ambassador Morgenthau sent the Embassy's Secretary, Hoffman Philip, to determine the danger to United States citizens of:

the threatened anti-Christian uprising in Asia Minor. Turkish refugees from Macedonia who assert that they have been driven out by the Greeks, have arrived in considerable numbers on the Asiatic coast, where they have taken possession of entire villages deserted by their former Greek inhabitants, who have crossed over to the Islands of Chios and Mitylene. There has been some pillaging on the coast of Asia Minor, and altogether the position there is generally regarded as a dangerous one, although the Turkish officials are using great efforts to keep the

people in check.¹⁷⁸

According to a Turkish statement issued on 18 June, a court-martial at Smyrne had convicted 47 individuals of “pillaging Greeks”, sentencing them to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to five years. Several local officials deemed responsible for “disorders” were also dismissed from their posts.¹⁷⁹

The first phases of the plan to ‘rid’ the Empire of its undesirable indigenous Christian populations agreed upon in 1910, was being implemented by mid-1913. Tens of thousands were dead and tens of thousands more were displaced, long before the outbreak of World War One. The events in eastern Thrace in 1913 that spread to western Asia Minor in 1914, effectively put paid to the claims of denialists that there was no official plan to destroy Asia Minor’s indigenous Christian communities. The official Turkish position that the 1915 deportations were a reaction to an Armenian uprising do not answer the question of why Hellenes and other Christians were being deported from the western parts of the Empire as early as November 1912. Their statements do not explain the fact that 20 months before a single shot had been fired in World War One Christians across the Empire were being deported and massacred.

The 1914 Turco-German Treaty of Alliance was based on the common enmity towards Russia. Negotiated and signed in secret, this brought the Empire into World War One, the war that ultimately destroyed it. Although German political and military influence in the Ottoman Empire was strong, Britain, France and Austria-Hungary had greater trade links with the Ottoman Empire than Germany.¹⁸⁰ It emerged during the 1919 trial of the former Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha:

that Germany began as early as July 10, 1914, five days after the famous Potsdam conclave, to win Turkey to the side of the Central Empires, and that a treaty was signed on Aug. 1 by himself, Baron von Wangenheim for Germany, and Count Pallavicini for Austria-Hungary.¹⁸¹

The Ottoman Empire officially entered the war on the side of the Central Powers on 20 July 1914. The Ottomans found themselves in the nightmare scenario of fighting on multiple fronts: (a) Egypt and the Caucasus in 1914; (b) Egypt, the Caucasus and Gallipoli in 1915; (c) Palestine, the Hejaz, the Caucasus, and Mesopotamia in 1916; (d) Palestine, Syria, the Caucasus, and Mesopotamia in 1917; and (e) Palestine, Syria, the Caucasus, and Mesopotamia in 1918. When the Empire surrendered in October 1918, the CUP government collapsed and Mehmet V abdicated. Mehmet VI (1918-1922) was installed as the next and last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. The Empire was divided amongst the victorious Allies, including the imperial capital of Constantinople. Only central Asia Minor was left to the Turks. What the Young Turks had feared the most became reality.

The CUP government joined the Central Powers in the hope that it would re-take its lost European territories and 'cleanse' all its territory of Christians. As far as Enver, Talaat, and the rest of the CUP leadership was concerned, this was a war of extermination. Reinforcing the territorial aspect of the renewed alliance, the Ambassador of Germany to Constantinople, Hans von Wangenheim, wrote the following in a letter dated 6 August 1914, to the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, Shevket Pasha:

Germany would fight for Turkey's eastern borders to be restored, which would allow it to have direct access to the Muslims in Russia.¹⁸²

"In pursuance of a long-prepared policy, the greatest pressure was exercised by Germany to force Turkey into hostilities", Mallet told the *New York Times*.

Turkey would emerge from war the one great power of the East, even as Germany would be the one great power of the West. Enver Pasha, dominated by a quasi-Napoleonic ideal of political pan-Islamism and by the conviction of the superiority of German arms, was from the first a strong partisan of the German alliance.¹⁸³

As was well-known, the CUP government was far from united. The hawks were led by

Enver, while the Sultan and the Grand Vizier Dejavid Bey led those opposed to war. It was Talaat, "the most powerful civilian in the Cabinet and most conspicuous of the committee leaders" who decided the struggle, joining the war faction. Mallet believed "that for some time". Talaat thought it possible "to postpone the decision until it was clearer what would be the result of the European war". According to the British diplomat, Talaat "may well have been anxious to gain time and to secure in exchange for Turkey's adhesion to the German cause something more solid than promises". In any event, "Talaat Bey's hesitations were overcome and that he had definitely joined the conspiracy to bring about war this Autumn some three weeks before the crisis was precipitated".¹⁸⁴

Mallet then discussed the battle between the Grand Vizier and the War Faction. The British Ambassador met with the Vizier and told him that unless the German missions were expelled from the Ottoman Empire, "war with Allies was inevitable". A council meeting was held later that day at which the issue was discussed, but no decision taken. No Minister even dared formally propose the deportation of the German missions.

In the interval the war party had sealed their resolution to go forward by publishing a communiqué, in which it was stated that the first acts of hostility in the Black Sea had come from the Russian side. Untrue and grotesque as it was, this invention succeeded in deceiving many of the public. It is not possible to establish by proof which of the Ministers had pre-knowledge of the German Admiral's coup, but it may be regarded as certain that Enver Pasha was aware of it, and it is highly probable that Talaat Bey was also an accomplice.¹⁸⁵

There were reports in diplomatic circles in Constantinople on 20 June that the Ottoman Empire was prepared to accept the return of the expelled Hellenes, as demanded by Hellas, and had sent a note to Athens stating this. Meanwhile in New York, the Hellenic *Charge de 'Affaires* there, Alexandros Vouras, issued an official statement denouncing the Turks' treatment of their Hellenic subjects:

‘The real situation, therefore, is this: The Mussulmans, immigrating from the ceded territory, have retired into Turkey, wishing to continue under Turkish rule. The Turkish Government, without the slightest regard for rights or property, has quartered the Mussulman immigrants on the Greek homes and villages, and has even given the Mussulmans the right to live in Christian homes and be supported at the expense of the Greeks. When the Greeks have objected or resisted, they have been persecuted and driven out of their homes, and finally compelled to flee the country. The logical outcome of this has been that the Turks, who were at first uninvited guests, have become the owners, literally by force, of the homes and property of the former inhabitants of the land.’¹⁸⁶

‘Now the statement is made that the Greek Government, in an attempt to lure to Macedonia the Greeks that are in Turkey, has spread mendacious reports in Turkey and throughout the civilized world in order to frighten the Greeks and compel them to make this much advertised exodus a reality. This, on the face of it, is absurd. Neither as an economic proposition nor as a patriotic undertaking could the Greek Government possibly desire to bring into its borders Greeks who are poverty stricken, without the means of beginning life anew, and in such a situation as to be liabilities instead of assets for the State. Greece already has many thousand such refugees from Bulgaria as a result of the last war’.¹⁸⁷

Denial of the crimes being committed against Ottoman Christians by the Ottoman Government is not a recent phenomenon. In the age before television and instant communications, newspapers, journals and radio were the primary sources of news and information. As such, they were the primary fields for propaganda. These attempts at justifying the unjustifiable fell largely on deaf ears in the West as missionaries, travellers and journalists alike reported what they witnessed happening throughout the Ottoman Empire.

In the September 1919 issue of the French periodical *Revue des Deux Mondes*, journalist Rene Pinou wrote about the entry of the Ottoman Empire on the side of the Central Powers, extracts of which were translated into English and published in the November 1919 issue of

Current History:

Their psychology, however, did not differ from that of Abdul Hamid and the rest of his race, save in the hypocrisy of formulas and the more sustained and methodical brutality of execution. The Red Sultan' and the Young Turks practiced the same policy of narrow nationalism, of unification and of inner 'Turkification'.¹⁸⁸

The CUP saw the existence of non-Turkish populations in the Empire as being "the pretext of all European interventions". Hence the solution was "to oblige all Ottoman subjects to become Turks", by force if necessary. Following the catastrophe of the Balkan Wars, Germany stepped in convincing the CUP leadership that the only hope the Empire had for survival was through German protection. First, diplomats and military officers like Baron Marschall and, after his death, his successor, Baron von Wangenheim "strove to stir up the grudges of the Young Turks and to fan the flame of their mad desires". They were quickly followed by professional "publicists like Axel Schmidt, J. Hermann and especially Paul Rohrbach, began a campaign of propaganda" informing Ottoman Muslims that the Czar was preparing to attack, striving for the Bosphorus and the Gulf of Alexandretta. The Ottoman Christians, so the line went, were helping the Empire's enemies from the inside and had been doing so for decades.

It was the same in the provinces, where no functionaries could use their authority except in so far as they were submissive to the instructions of the Young Turk committees which formed a network extending over all the empire. This secret organization constituted for the leaders of the Constantinople committee an instrument of domination; it was through this channel that Talaat, Enver, Djemal and their accomplices carried out their will, and implemented the destruction of Asia Minor's ancient Christians.¹⁸⁹

2.4 Mass Murder

Soon after the declaration of war, the general mobilisation of the Ottoman Empire's forces

was proclaimed. Ottoman authorities began a programme of drafting Hellenes into 'labour battalions' and sending them to western Armenia. By war's end, 729,085 had been drafted and some 400,000 died from starvation, disease, hardship, maltreatment, and deprivation. The lice, the typhus, the hunger and the maltreatment drove many to desert, fleeing to the mountains of Pontos and Asia Minor. This was the beginning of a sporadic, disorganised Hellenic resistance movement.¹⁹⁰ Neither the threats emanating from Athens nor the pressure of the Western Powers now had any effect on the CUP government. With the outbreak of war, the gloves were truly off.¹⁹¹

While the proclamation of the holy war did not succeed in arousing the whole Muslim world, it did at least excite Turkish fanaticism. A pamphlet was printed in Arabic and distributed throughout the Ottoman Empire. According to Pinou:

it summoned all the faithful to the holy war, to the extermination of all Christians, except the Germans. This pamphlet said: 'The extermination of the wretches who oppress us is a holy task, whether it be accomplished secretly or openly, according to the word of the Koran: 'Take them and kill them wherever you may find them; we give them up to you and grant you all power over them.' He who kills even one of them will be rewarded by God. Let every Mussulman, in whatever part of the world he may dwell, swear solemnly that he will strike down at least three or four of the Christians who surround him, for they are the enemies of Allah and of the Faith. Let each one of you know that his reward will be doubled by the God who has created heaven and earth. He who obeys this order will be saved from the terrors of the last judgement and assured of resurrection and eternal life'.¹⁹²

The pamphlet discussed, in some detail, "the mode of organising bands and the duty of assassination". Pinou stated that the pamphlet:

bears the stamp of German manufacture, but it was disseminated by the Ottoman Government, and if it had scarcely been heard of outside Turkey, its ideas were put into practice by the Young Turk in the case of the Armenians, the Greeks, the Syrians, and even the

Arabic Mussulmans.¹⁹³

These 'Muslim' bands, which were in effect Ittihadist death squads, were the responsibility of Dr Behaeddin Sakir, one of the CUP's leading ideologues and head of the 'Special Organisation'. Following a meeting of high-ranking CUP officials in Theodosioupolis (Erzerum) in north-eastern Asia Minor, Dr Sakir set up the Special Organisation headquarters in that city. Between late-August and December 1914 there were extensive massacres of Christians (predominantly Armenians and Assyrians) across eastern Asia Minor, prior to the Ottoman Army's offensive into Russian Armenia:

Armenian refugees from Erzerum [arriving at Tiflis in Russian Georgia] describe the terrible position of 20,000 Christians whom the Turks threaten with massacre for their Russian sympathy. The prisons are full of Armenians and Greeks suspected of espionage. They are hanged in the streets and squares without trial and the corpses are suspended for weeks from the street lamps. In passing Turks spit on the bodies and compel Christians to do the same.¹⁹⁴

The same report stated that some 200,000 Ottoman troops, commanded by 1,500 officers had assembled at Theodosioupolis (Erzerum) as well as a vast quantity of military supplies, while "German officers control everything in the town and fortress". When the winter offensive was launched, it was commanded by Enver Pasha himself and ended in the crushing defeat at Sarakamish, with the loss of 90,000 troops, many of whom froze to death in the snow. The Ottomans attempted to invade the Russian Empire from three directions (along the Pontian coast, via the Sarakamish Pass and across the Urumiah Plain), and were blocked on all three fronts. There were large concentrations of Christians on all three fronts and it was they who bore the blame for Enver's miscalculations.

Armenians fought against the Ottoman invaders with the Czar's Army just as Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, and Arabs fought against their homelands' rulers. The CUP's charges against all Armenians make it obvious that there was more at stake for them than just a

scapegoat for the Sarakamish debacle.¹⁹⁵ There were reports of Caucasian Muslims fighting with, and against, the Ottoman Empire, as well as of the Arab revolt (the one made famous by Lawrence of Arabia). "Constantinople learns authoritatively that a Mohammedan uprising has occurred in the Caucasus, and that 50,000 armed Russian Moslems went over to fight against the Russians".¹⁹⁶ Yet there is no mention in Russian, Turkish or US press releases or media reports of Armenian or Hellenic revolts anywhere in eastern Thrace or Asia Minor neither at this time nor earlier. If there had been, it would have been expected that the 'enemy' (the Allies) would have used the fact as propaganda material.

Commenting on the Ottoman Empire's usefulness to Germany as a fighting force, Sir Louis Mallet, former British Ambassador to Constantinople, told the *New York Times*:

There was, of course, always a chance that massacres of Christians would take place in the wilder sections of the Ottoman Empire, but, in his belief, the combined power of the American and German Ambassadors would be sufficient to prevent any concerted outbreak of fanaticism.¹⁹⁷

This may have been true had the Germans been willing to use their influence to protect their co-religionists. As it turned out, they did not find enough incentive to do so.

A *Reuters* dispatch from the Georgian capital of Tiflis (Tbilisi), dated 20 January 1915, reported that fifty Hellenic villages of the Kars region of western Armenia (then part of Russia) "have been laid waste in ruins by the Turks. The flight of the Greek inhabitants was precipitate, and the women and children are said to have suffered intensely from the cold weather. It is reported that many of the men among the Greeks were made prisoners, and that some were killed".¹⁹⁸ The mounting evidence was clearly pointing to the fact that the CUP authorities were engaged in a war of extermination against the Christian populations of the territories they already held as well as of the territories they were capturing in the war. From Thrace in the west to Persia in the east and Palestine in the south, Christians of various

nationalities and denominations were being deported and massacred by Ottoman troops assisted by local Muslim irregulars.

The atrocities were by no means restricted to Asia Minor or to the oil-rich territories the Ittihadists hoped to secure for a 'purified' Turkey. As mentioned earlier, the CUP committed numerous atrocities against Muslims, Christians and Jews alike in Syria and Palestine. The Marquis of Crewe, Lord President of the Council, told the House of Lords in London:

that the Turks had drawn a cordon around the Lebanon district, and were virtually starving the inhabitants. Bearing in mind the fate of Armenia, it was impossible not to feel the gravest concern as to the doom which threatened the inhabitants of Syria.¹⁹⁹

In an article published a month later:

A Mussulman, writing in the 'Journal de Geneve', protests against the cruelties practiced on the Christians in Lebanon by the Young Turks. He states that 80,000 have died of starvation since the beginning of May, and that thousands of persons of the highest Syrian society have been deported.²⁰⁰

The estimated 220,000 inhabitants of the district of Lebanon were divided amongst Maronites (Eastern-rite Catholics), "Druses and heretical Moslems. After the bloody quarrels of the Druses and Maronites in 1860 the district of Lebanon was separated from the Turkish pashalik of Syria, and put under a Christian governor with the European powers constituting themselves the 'guardians' of the new province".²⁰¹ Syria and Lebanon were seen by Turkish nationalists as 'forecasting' what the future held for the rest of their Empire, especially for the Armenian Vilayets, if the proposals of the European Powers were implemented. Once again, mass murder was the solution the Young Turks hit upon.

2.6 The Role of Hellas

Whenever discussing the early stages of what developed into the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, it must always be remembered that the Hellenic Kingdom remained a non-combatant until 1917. It was not until more than three years after the outbreak of World War One that Hellas entered the war on the side of the Allies. The country was torn between a pro-German King and a pro-British Prime Minister. This was despite:

public opinion [which] is already much incensed over the renewed persecutions, wholesale expulsions, violations, and spoliation of Greeks in Thrace and Asia Minor, which continue unabated despite the repeated assurances of the Porte.²⁰²

In January 1915, Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Minister of Great Britain, sent a telegram to the British Ambassador in Athens, instructing him to offer a sizeable part of western Asia Minor to Hellas, if she joined the War on the side of the Entente.²⁰³ Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos agreed to allow the disembarkation of Entente troops at Thessalonike, opening the 'Macedonian Front' against Austria-Hungary (which was then occupying Serbia) and Bulgaria (then-occupying western Thrace and eastern Macedonia). The pro-German King Constantine was opposed to this move. The result was the *Ethniko Dibasma* (National Division): the formation of two Hellenic national governments (the one led by Prime Minister Venizelos in Thessalonike and the other loyal to King Constantine in Athens), both of whom claimed to be the sole legitimate rulers of the country. Thanks in part to the support of the Great Powers Venizelos won this political battle, resulting in the King going into exile the following year. With the Kaiser's brother-in-law gone, Hellas formally joined the Entente and the war. It must always be kept in mind that Hellas did not attack the Ottoman Empire throughout World War One. Hellenic troops did not land in Asia Minor until May 1919, five and a half years after the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust began.

Imprisonment and deportation were punishments not reserved for Ottoman citizens.

“The favourite move” of the Ottoman authorities, wrote US Consul to Smyrne George Horton “was to round up the colonies suddenly and crawl the people into dark cellars where they would be obliged to stand for from twenty-four to thirty-six hours”. In May 1915:

there came a general order for the transportation into the interior of all the Allied colonies, men, women and children, to be interned at some point at a distance from the railway. The Vali told me that they would be plunged into dire misery and would starve.

On 8 June, the deportations began.

They were first shut in prison and given nothing to eat. When I asked the Vali what they had no money and he said, ‘They can borrow of one another’.²⁰⁴

An ample illustration of the authorities’ attitude was the fate of Oscar Hadkinson, 80, his son Percy, father of several children, and their lawyer Mr. Kyriakhides. All three were arrested for ‘espionage’, shortly after Sabri Pasha, a very important figure, was taken prisoner by the British. The Hadkinsons and Kyriakhides were sent to Constantinople.

The prisoners, it seems, were on the same ship with me. I did not see the Hadkinsons, but Kyriakhides was brought on shore at Constantinople covered with blood, and soon died. His throat had been cut during the night.

Rahmi had wanted the Englishmen hanged but the intervention of US Ambassador Elkus and Consul Horton saved them. “But whenever a Turk is cheated of his legitimate prey, he invariably gluts his vengeance on the Armenians; a thing which happened in this instance”. After being “soundly rated by Talaat” Rahmi discovered the existence of “a general Armenian conspiracy, and threatened to send the whole colony on foot to Angora – a sentence of slow death” if the province’s Armenian community did not give him the names of fifteen leading members of the “Revolutionary Society. He got hold of fifteen names, somehow, and declared his intention of hanging these people”.

Horton intervened once again, telling Rahmi that hanging these men “would eternally damn his reputation”, that they both knew very well there was no such “Revolutionary

Society”, and that if the executions were carried out, Horton would expose Rahmi throughout Europe.

He did not hang the fifteen ‘leaders’, as a result of my intervention, but about seventy Armenian families were aroused from their beds at one o’clock in the morning and sent away on foot into the interior – ostensibly to Angora.

Horton recorded that their fates were unknown, although he sent Miss Elsie Pohl, a German teacher in the American Girls’ School to Constantinople, to intercede for them with the Turkish authorities.²⁰⁵

As the war progressed, resistance to German influence in the Empire and to Enver’s government grew, including Rahmi Bey and Perteff Pasha (the regional Military Commander). For the duration of the War, the British fleet attempted to blockade the ports and shores of Asia Minor, but the country’s self-sufficiency in food production blunted the blockade’s efficiency since, for example, “[t]he great flour mills operated by enterprising Greeks ensured the bread supply”. As Horton recorded, the chief danger lay in the fact that the Ottoman Empire was being stripped clean of the necessities of life for the benefit of Germany. Under the supervision of a commission of Turks and Germans, whom Horton labelled “profiteering scoundrels”, trainloads of foodstuffs and other produce were being sent off to Berlin every day. As usually occurs in a wartime situation, domestic and international trade came to a virtual standstill. The effect this had on a population that depended on trade for its survival was devastating.

In an ominous sign of things to come, Horton recorded that friendly Turks informed him of plans for “a general massacre, in case the final attack by the enemy on the town began”. The American Consul was told that a committee had been formed “to lay plans for the massacre and conduct it methodically and effectively”. Horton named the members of this committee as Fikri Bey, Ismail Bey, Djela Bey, Ahmet Bey, and Hadji Ismail Bey, with

Keour Ali Bey (alias 'The Murderer') as chairman. The *Vali* (Governor) of Smyrne rode through the city with a staff of aids attempting to reassure the population by informing them of the CUP government's determination to hold onto Smyrne at all costs.

If it became impossible to hold it, the streets would run with blood and not one stone would be left upon another. We did not find these words very reassuring.²⁰⁶

The Helleno-Italian struggle for control of Smyrne²⁰⁷ played a crucial role in the city's ultimate fate. In order to bring Italy and Hellas into World War One on their side, the Entente Powers secretly promised the strategic city to both. Promises of territorial gains were not enough for the Royalist government in Athens to join the Allies in the war. With the resignation of the Zaimis Cabinet, Venizelos formed a new Ministry. On 29 June, the new Government severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers. The Ottoman Empire announced that it "would consider this act equivalent to a declaration of war and would deport the Greeks and confiscate their property". On 16 July 1917 Hellas officially informed the United States that Hellas "considered herself a belligerent".²⁰⁸

The Allies had not yet opened a front with the Ottoman Empire, nor was Hellas a combatant in the expanding global conflict. Yet the Turkish State was planning "for a general massacre" of its Christians, ostensibly as a preventative measure, to prevent them assisting an Allied invasion of Asia Minor: then came ANZAC Day.

2.6 Genocide

The landings by Allied forces on the Kallipole (Gallipoli) peninsula of eastern Thrace in April 1915 were to prove crucial for the CUP and for its the victims alike. If the Dardanelles Campaign had succeeded in its aim of capturing Constantinople and knocking the Ottoman Empire out of the war:

the history of Turkey and of the war would of course have been changed. Smyrna would never

have been destroyed by the Turks, and thousands of Christians would have been saved from massacre.²⁰⁹

The irony was that four empires - British, French, German and Turkish - were fighting over territory that rightfully belonged to none of them.

CUP propagandists used the landings on the Kallipole (Gallipoli) Peninsula to justify the exterminatory campaign against the Ottoman Christians that had in fact begun in January 1914. By April 1915 the persecution had become exterminatory, as evidenced by the mass hangings of Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople on 24 April 1915. The aim was no longer to force out the Christians from the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The aim was now their physical extermination. News of the 1915 deportations in the West led the Entente to declare that those responsible would be brought to justice at war's end for "crimes against humanity and civilisation". [See cartoon reproduced as Appendix Eight.]

The Ottoman government of the declared the deportation law for "the ones opposing the government in times of war" on 27 May 1915, resulting in "many hundreds of thousands of Armenians, Syriac Christians, Greeks and even some Muslim (Kurdish) communities" being "forced into exile, destruction and extermination", wrote Turkish scholar Dundar.²¹⁰ The CUP government proclaimed the official abolition of the *Ermeni* (Armenian) *millet* in July 1915.²¹¹ By declaring the abolition of the *Ermeni milliyet*, the Ottoman authorities were declaring the abolition of the existence of the Armenian and Assyrian peoples, at least as far as the Ottoman state was concerned. None of the other *milliyeti* were ever officially abolished in the lifetime of the Ottoman Empire.

British diplomat Lord Bryce produced a 600-page report on the "Turkish Atrocities in Armenia". In his lengthy introduction he stated that "[a]ll that happened in 1915 is in the regular line of Turkish policy", citing the destruction of the Aegean islands of Chios, Samos and Psara in the 1820s, the Bulgarian Massacres of 1876 and the Hamidian Massacres of

1895-1896 as precedents.²¹² Bryce included 150 documents in his final report, drawing on other reports to illustrate the extent of the crimes committed against the Christian Armenian, Assyrian and Hellenic populations of the Ottoman Empire: reports by German and American missionaries quoted by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, Danish and American Red Cross doctors and nurses, the 1915 Annual Report of the Medical Department at Urmia to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA and diplomatic reports.²¹³

Nor was Lord Bryce alone in exposing the crimes of Ottoman Turkey. In his article "The Total of Armenian and Syrian Dead", Dr William Walker Rockwell of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief estimated the Empire had "at least 1,600,000 to 2,000,000 Armenians" before World War One. By May 1916, he estimated the survivors at only 1,139,900.²¹⁴

The Armenians are not the only unfortunates; the Syrians also have been decimated. There are many varieties of Syrian Christians. Some lived near the Persian border and in ancient Assyria, and are known as Nestorians, or Assyrian Christians. ... Before the war there were from 160,000 to 200,000 Syrian Christians (inclusive of Nestorians, Roman Catholic Uniates, Protestants, and some scattered communities of Jacobites) living in the Tigris region, exclusive of Diarbekir, in the Highlands of Kurdistan, and in Northwestern Persia, (Adarbaijan). Great numbers have perished, but no-one knows how many.²¹⁵

As this thesis is attempting to illustrate, it is impossible to separate the three genocides that combined constitute the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust of 1914-1924.

A small group of authors make much of the great losses suffered by the Muslim population of Asia Minor, particularly in the east, in a vain attempt to rationalise and equate Muslim suffering with the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. What these individuals fail to mention is that the Ottoman government was to a large extent responsible for the large loss

of Muslim lives. Famine, disease and warfare decimated the region's Muslim population, especially the Kurds. Consul George Horton for example recorded spotted fever and cholera being rampant in the Smyrne region during the War.²¹⁶ The CUP regime, fearing an Albanian-style secession of eastern Asia Minor supported by Russian Kurds and Ottoman Army deserters, began a programme of deporting and dispersing Kurds to the west. Levene estimated that in 1917 alone possibly as many as 700,000 Kurds were forcibly deported, "with considerable loss of life".²¹⁷ When the CUP fell, many Kurds believed that the Islamic solidarity of Ottoman times would return. For a time it did.

2.7 Genocide

By 1916 faced with Russian troops advancing through the Caucasus and a growing resistance movement amongst the Empire's Christians, the CUP authorities began deporting the Hellenic populations of Pontos and Ionia to southeastern Asia Minor. Ahmed Bey and Field Marshal Vehip Pasha led the destruction of eastern Pontos by the retreating Ottoman Army, marking the beginning of the Pontian Genocide.²¹⁸ [See map reproduced as Appendix Nine.] A Pontian autonomist movement emerged, led by Metropolitan Chrysanthos (Philippides) of Trapezounta, and the Kerasounta (Giresun)-born, Marseilles-based merchant, Konstantinos Konstantinides, son of Georgios Konstantinides, life-time mayor of Kerasounta (Giresun). While the main demand was for the creation of an independent Republic of Pontos, a small group favoured the impractical solution of direct union with Hellas.²¹⁹

Denialists for the Ottoman Empire often cite the existence of such autonomist/nationalist movements amongst the subject Christian peoples as justification for the 'measures' the CUP authorities took 'to put down rebellions' and 'end acts of sabotage'. In the study of history and politics, dates are of crucial importance. There was no large-scale separatist movement amongst the Ottoman Empire's Christian peoples prior to World War

One. Indeed the Christian elites like the Hellenic Phanariots were openly opposed to any attempt at undermining the Empire (and therefore their position). The primary preoccupation of Christian political groups was the recognition of their communities' rights within the Ottoman state. Public calls for breakaway nation-states did not receive widespread support amongst Ottoman Christians until after the Ittihadists began their exterminatory campaign against their Christian subjects.

In early-April, 1916, Czarist troops occupied eastern Pontos as far as Trapezounta (Trabzon), entering the Pontian capital on 4 April. The Ottoman governor of Trapezounta (Trabzon), Mehmet Djemal Azmi, handed over control of the city to Metropolitan Chrysanthos shortly before the arrival of Russian troops with these words "from the Hellenes we took Trapezounta (Trabzon) and to the Hellenes we deliver it".²²⁰

In a letter dated 7 February 1917, Metropolitan Lavrentios of Chaldea informed the Hellenic *charge d'affaires* in Constantinople that since the occupation of the city of Trapezounta (Trabzon) by Russian troops, 38 Christian mountain villages in the district had been evacuated by Ottoman troops, with 23,000 people being deported to the interior.²²¹ Dispatch number 1570, dated 30 August 1916, sent from the Hellenic Embassy in Petrograd, Russia, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens reported that 6,000 Hellene inhabitants of sixteen villages of the Vazelonos district of Trapezounta (Trabzon), left their homes in order to save their lives.²²² Between December 1916 and February 1917, the people of 88 Hellenic villages in the Kerasounta (Giresun) district of central Pontos were deported and their homes were looted and burned by the Ottoman police and military police, ostensibly while searching for some 300 army deserters and draft dodgers. The unfortunates were force-marched to the Angyra (Ankara) region.²²³ In March 1917, the entirely Hellenic population of the city of Kydoniae (Ayvali) in north-western Asia Minor, 23,000 people, was deported inland and Muslims settled in the empty homes.²²⁴

Reverend John F. MacClean and, Reverend Wigram of the Crimean Memorial Church, were detained in Constantinople on 29 August 1917. Initially sent to Angyra (Ankara), the two Anglican clergymen eventually arrived at Ivora (Corum), a centre in western Pontos. They were permitted to return to Constantinople in June 1918, at which time MacClean wrote a report to London on his experiences, including his meetings with British and Commonwealth prisoners-of-war he met.

This is a town (Mutasariflik) of some 30,000 inhabitants ... At one time there was a considerable Armenian population there, now there are none, and I saw their houses all being pulled down and the timber there from being used to heat the ovens of the military bakers. Large numbers of Greeks, women, children and old men, were continually being driven through Tchorum during the winter, going in a southerly direction; sometimes as many as 1,500 in a single group. They came principally from villages in the Bafra district and were said to have harboured deserters, their ultimate fate appeared to have been that of the Armenians.²²⁵

Eyewitness accounts such as this leave little room for doubt about the systematic, organised nature of the deportations of the Pontian Hellenes in 1916 and 1917: the Turkish State had clearly declared war on its Christian citizenry.

While deportation and massacre were decimating the Hellenes under Ottoman rule, the Hellenes under Russian rule were far from indifferent to the plight of their compatriots. The National Assembly of Hellenes of Transcaucasia was held in Tiflis, Georgia on 5 May 1917. Amongst the resolutions of the Assembly were the 'nationalisation' of all Hellenic schools in Transcaucasia (many Hellenic villages established junior high schools, in addition to the existing primary schools and a five-year Hellenic high school was also established in Tiflis). It was also decided to begin publication of a Hellenic-language newspaper and to establish a Hellenic-language publishing house. It was also decided to participate in the Pan-Hellenic Congress at Taighan (Taganrog), southern Russia.²²⁶

The Congress also discussed the issue of land ownership and the management of Hellenic inheritances. The 'Union of Hellenes of Russia' was born out of this Congress. An eight-member Executive Committee was elected to form a Central Council, based in Rostov. This Central Council was responsible for implementing the resolutions of the First Congress and organising the Second Congress. The Central Council also took on the responsibility for relief work amongst the Pontian refugees streaming into Russian-held territory from Turkish-held lands by the thousand. The Union also supplied arms and ammunition to the Pontian guerrillas fighting the Turks in Turkish-held Pontos.²²⁷

The Central National Committee of Pontians was established in the Russian Caucasus in October 1917, with the stated goal of the liberation of Turkish-held Pontos. Konstantinos Konstantinides, leader of the Pontian autonomists²²⁸ and president of the Pontian Association of Marseilles (France), declared to his compatriots in Pontos:

Compatriots, to us it has fallen to seek and achieve our national independence. Let us unite them, under the ideals of freedom and let us be assured that the protector powers – France, Russia and England – who recognise our supreme rights will support us in the realisation of our centuries-old desire for the restoration of the Republic of Pontos.²²⁹

Konstantinides met with Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos in Nikaia (Nice), France, briefing him on the aims of the Pontian autonomists. He wrote in his diary afterwards:

The honourable President of the Government approves of our struggle and encouraged me very much for his success; his support for us is henceforth assured.²³⁰

The Bolshevik Revolution began in Petrograd soon afterward, in October-November 1917. The Ottoman authorities marked the occasion by expelling 400 Hellenic families from southwestern Asia Minor to the Italian-ruled Aegean island of Rodos (Rhodes).²³¹ The Czarist Commander of the Caucasian Front, General Prezevalsky, issued the following order: "any nation of Transcaucasia which contributes troops capable of holding the Front, will be

kept in mind after peace returns and its rights will be recognised".²³² A leading Hellene activist in the Abkhaz centre of Sukhumi, Dr. Kosmas Spyranter, was imprisoned by the Georgian authorities, because of his opposition to Hellenes holding Hellenic and Ottoman citizenship being drafted into the Georgian Army. Despite this opposition, he stated that:

the Georgian authorities treat the Hellenes as an ally nation and hold unlimited trust in their friendship and loyalty, and this is why they (Hellenes) were allowed complete freedom in their movements, travels and in their every activity.²³³

Representatives of the four Christian peoples of the Caucasus Mountains [Armenians, Georgians, Hellenes and Russians] met in Tiflis (Tbilisi), Georgia in late-November 1917. It was decided that each nationality would create its own military units, in accordance with the size of its population. Thus, the Hellenic Division was born of the region's 200,000-strong Hellenic population.²³⁴ Three infantry regiments [based in Tiflis (Georgia), Kars and Maglis (Armenia)] were created; each regiment made up of three battalions, each battalion made up of four companies. In addition, one reservist regiment in Batum was created, along with one regiment of mountain artillery, made up of three batteries, one cavalry battalion made up of two troops and one mechanized company. In addition to this, each Hellenic village had its own self-defense unit, which were not under Divisional Command.²³⁵

A specially-convened Hellenic Congress held on 29 December, appointed the command of the Hellenic Division (a total of eleven Hellene and two Russian officers), whose strength reached 3,000 men with four howitzers, sixteen machine-guns and 155 cavalry. Many other Hellene junior officers are transferred from the Russian Army.²³⁶ Colonel D. Pantazides wrote the following about the Hellenic Division of the Caucasus:

Our goal is high and holy. It looks to the gathering of all Hellenes, for the moment to defend Hellenic towns and villages from the blade and the dishonour of the wild Turks. In the future, after the peace, to communicate with our national homeland, Hellas, to receive guidance, to

send to the Hellenic Army officers and non-commissioned officers to learn about Hellenic military order...to infuse the allure, the emotion...the ideal of the Hellene.²³⁷

While Transcaucasia's anti-Bolshevik Christians²³⁸ largely co-operated with each other and with the Czarist Army, the region's Muslims were of divided loyalties. Some supported the Ottoman Turks, some the Bolsheviks and some neither side. As central Russian control in the region collapsed as a consequence of the Civil War, each nationality created its own militia groups. Most of these were fiercely anti-Bolshevik. At Zavod, Armenia in January 1918, over 1,000 Muslim irregulars ambushed 200 Caucasian Hellene militiamen transferring supplies from Kars to Ahtaleia (Ardahan). This was the first Hellenic-Muslim military clash in the Caucasus Mountains. Under political pressure from the Muslims of the southern Caucasus, the Russian High Command ordered the Hellenic Battalion of Ahtaleia (Ardahan) to disband. Most of these men returned to their home villages; some transferred to the Kars Hellenic Regiment.²³⁹ An official announcement of the Press Office in Athens read:

In relation to the Hellenic Division in the Caucasus. A Hellenic Corps has been recognised by decree of government in Tiflis. The Command of the 4th Russian Division has been ordered to surrender all its material to the Command of the Hellenic Corps. A special committee has been convened in the Caucasus to receive this.²⁴⁰

The First Pan-Pontian Congress was held in Marseilles, on 4 February 1918, attended by representatives from across Europe and the United States. The Congress sent a telegram to Leon Trotsky, then Soviet Foreign Minister, asking that Trapezounta (Trabzon), then occupied by White Russian troops, not be returned to Turkey, and seeking the support of the Bolshevik government for an independent Republic of Pontos. "It is our wish to form an independent republic, from the Russian border to beyond Sinope, with the hinterland".²⁴¹ The Congress officially declared the commencement of the struggle for independence and began circulating maps of the proposed Republic of Pontos. The Congress also sent the

following telegram:

To the Hellenic Division of the Caucasus. Everywhere Pontians filled with joy and pride, salute the formation of the Hellenic Division of the Caucasus. We are grateful for this active support of our national rights.²⁴²

As Russian troops withdrew from Trapezounta (10 February 1918) and all of eastern Pontos, some 30,000 Hellenes left their homes and followed them north, fearing the return of Turkish rule. The Hellenic Council of Sukhumi²⁴³ was formed that month. Militias were formed to protect Hellenic villages and fight the Bolshevik Red Army. The most capable and famous of these militias was lead by Haralambos Papadopoulos, also known as Hambos Azantlis. His band was some 200-strong. Some members of the Council wanted to hold the front-line at the Harsiotis River and attempt to halt the Ottoman advance there; others wanted to go on the offensive, to go to Turkish-held Pontos and protect the Hellenes there from Ottoman attack.²⁴⁴

It is occasionally argued that the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust cannot be compared to the *Shoah* (and therefore cannot be considered a case of genocide) because unlike the Nazis, the Young Turks did not pursue their prey across international borders. It is an oft ignored fact of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust that the Ottoman Turkish military massacred and looted Christian communities beyond the borders of their Empire. In Russian Transcaucasia as well as in Iran, Ottoman troops were responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of Armenians, Assyrians and Hellenes, and for driving tens of thousands more into refugeedom.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between the Soviet Union and the Central Powers on 3 March, ending fighting on the Caucasian and Eastern Front. The Bolshevik government surrendered the Kars and Ahtaleia (Ardahan) regions of Armenia and the Batum district of Georgia to Ottoman Turkey. At the time, anti-Bolshevik forces held these regions.

Caucasian and Pontian Hellenes united with 'White' Russian troops to successfully defend the city of Trapezounta (Trabzon) from Ottoman attack. The response of the CUP government was to unleash bands of Muslim irregulars against the Hellenes of eastern Pontos. The plan was to empty the region of Hellenes; if there were no Hellenes in Pontos, no Republic of Pontos was possible. The Young Turks met with mixed success: where Hellene officers of the 'White Army' were present, Turkish attacks were repulsed. Where such professional military leadership was unavailable, the Ittihadists 'ethnically cleansed' the entire district. Hellene refugees fled to the Soviet Caucasus by the tens of thousands.²⁴⁵

Metropolitan Chrysanthos of Trapezounta, seeing Pontos being emptied of its indigenous Hellenes, contacted Vehip Pasha (the regional Ottoman commander). The two opponents reached a ceasefire agreement: all armed Hellenes were expelled to Russia and all Hellenic organisations in Trapezounta (Trabzon) were disbanded. Not everyone agreed with this arrangement. Some militiamen joined the guerilla band of *Kapetan* Eukleides Kourtides in the mountains around Santa in eastern Pontos rather than abandon their homes. Following much intense debate, it was decided by general consent for the Hellenes of Kars to withdraw to Russia, rather than fight an entire Ottoman Army with one Armenian Division and three Hellenic regiments. The divide between the military and political leadership was overcome by the horrifying stories brought by refugees from Turkish-held Pontos. They travelled to Tiflis (Tbilisi) by train, and from there to Bakom, Azerbaijan. Eventually, they were settled in and around the southern Russian centres of Ekaterinodar, Kuban, Stavropol and throughout Ukraine's Crimean peninsula. Some chose to continue on to Hellas. Many villages in the border districts of Horosan, Ahtaleia (Ardahan) and Giolas did not have enough time to evacuate and were taken intact by the advancing Turks.²⁴⁶

The abandonment of these areas was chaotic, as each scrambled to salvage as many of its possessions as possible. For example, the Hellenes of the Kayisman district in the Kars

region of Armenia gathered at the village of Karaklise for a final service before departing from their homes and heading for Russian territory. Ironically, it was 25 March, the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hellenic War of Independence in 1821. A troop of Armenian cavalry arrived, demanding the surrender of a number of horses the Hellenes had. When they refused to hand over the animals, the cavalry commander killed the village president Eustratios Kakoulides. Two days of clashes followed between those Hellenes who had arms (some 400 in all) and the numerically superior cavalry troop, before some of the Hellenes' horses were seized and both groups fled the area as the Turks approached.²⁴⁷

Breaching the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Turkish Army occupied all the territory as far as Baku, Azerbaijan, catching the Bolshevik Red Army by surprise. Together with Azeri irregulars, the Turks proceeded to massacre the sizeable Hellenic and Armenian populations of the city. A fresh wave of Christian refugees streamed northwards. Ottoman troops occupied Batum in April.²⁴⁸ In the Samtrentia district, the Hellenic Company of Batum resisted the Turkish advance, distinguishing itself in the process. Only German intervention, called in by newly-independent Georgia,²⁴⁹ finally halted the Ottoman advance.²⁵⁰

The military situation of Transcaucasia was not as straightforward as Ottoman versus Christian. The Ottoman Army was not without allies amongst the peoples of Transcaucasia. Muslim Abkhaz leaders had gathered in the village of Tsikentre in Georgia's Sukhumi region, to serve the Ottoman forces occupying the region. Abkhazian Hellenic militiamen, together with Hambos Azantlis' force, attacked the meeting and scattered the assembled Muslim Abkhaz leadership.²⁵¹ The Hellenic forces in Abkhazia joined the region's Menshevik army to force the Bolsheviks as far north as the Russian Black Sea of Sochi and as far east as Kutaisi, Georgia between March and May 1918.²⁵² On 17 May the Sukhumi City Council addressed the National Council of Hellenes:

Since the military revolutionary committee has abandoned the city and since there is an absence of forces to maintain order, we request the Hellenic National Council despatches to the jurisdiction of the administration of Sukhumi, a band of one hundred armed men for the maintenance of order in the city.²⁵³

With the arrival of German troops in Georgia a few days later, all non-Georgian military units were ordered disbanded, including the Russian-supplied Hellenic Division.²⁵⁴

The independent Republic of Armenia was proclaimed on 28 May 1918.²⁵⁵ The First Conference of Hellenes of the Republic of Armenia was held on 14 July:

[The] Hellenic population, for the last five months, has continued a literally defensive war against a well-organised band of Kurds, systematically attacking Hellenic villages. ... On the issue of how they [the Armenians] behave towards the National Council of Hellenes, this is shown by the words of the Governor of Kars: You should not occupy yourselves with these sort of [national] issues. Your role is educational and your preoccupation philanthropic works.

The Conference decided to request of the new Armenian Government:

the rights of self-administration of the Hellenic population of Armenia, with dilatation of the rights and functions of the National Council. The Hellenes of Armenia will support the Armenian Government to the point where the government will support the interests and the life of the Hellenic Republic [meaning the autonomous Hellenic districts inside Armenia] and so long as her democratic rights are not violated.

The Conference opposed the drafting of Hellenes into the fledgling Armenian army as “the Hellenic villages of Kiolas, Horasan and Olpes are in a state of war with the Kurds of the region”. It proposed instead that “a local military organisation of Hellenes with the assistance of Armenia to the Diocese of Trapezounta”.²⁵⁶

Georgi Chicherin, the Soviet Union’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs quoted General Kiazim Karabekir, one of the Kemalist delegates to the talks for a 1920 Soviet-Turkish Friendship Pact. “No Armenian provinces have ever existed in Turkey” said. “In Turkey

there has been neither an Armenia nor territory inhabited by Armenians".²⁵⁷ This statement encapsulates the Kemalist attitude towards the indigenous Christian populations of the territories they claimed: the Christians were never really there. With the living Christian presence eliminated, the very memory of these peoples was to be assigned the same fate.

2.8 End of Empire

Anti-German sentiment was always prevalent amongst Ottoman Muslims, even at the height of the war when success seemed assured. As the realisation set in that the Central Powers could not win the war, the normally compliant Ottoman press began speaking out against the Ittihad:

In reality, under the disguise of Pan-Turanianism, it was Pan-Germanism whose domination and triumph were to be assured. The Young Turks, in their naïve pride, exulted joyously; they saw themselves back to the days of Soliman the Magnificent. 'The Black Sea is a Mussulman and Ottoman Sea', wrote the *Ikdam* newspaper on 23 March 1918.²⁵⁸

The Young Turk government resigned power on 7 October and Izzet Pasha formed a new Ottoman government on 9 October. Sultan Mohammed V died and Prince Mohammed Vahiduddin became Sultan Mohammed VI, the last Ottoman Sultan. The Ottoman Empire signed the Armistice of Mudros on 30 October, surrendering to the Entente. World War One was over as far as the Empire was concerned. The state founded by Sultan Osman five centuries before was dead; only the funeral needed to be held:

The War was premeditated by the Central Powers together with their allies Turkey and Bulgaria, and was the result of acts deliberately committed in order to make it unavoidable. Germany, in agreement with Austria-Hungary, deliberately worked to defeat all the many conciliatory proposals made by the Entente Powers.²⁵⁹

This was the conclusion of the Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War, chaired by United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and submitted in its report to the

Paris Peace Conference. Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles, the so-called 'war guilt' clause, was based largely on this Commission's conclusions.

Senator Damad Ferid Pasha, a former Grand Vizier and co-founder of the *Itilaf* (Liberal) Party, told the Ottoman Senate on 22 October that:

The annihilation of the Christian population was an unforgivable crime, which must be laid on the 'Committee for Union and Progress' and was a crime committed without reason. These populations did not emigrate of their own volition, but were compelled to leave by threats and violence and were exterminated without mercy.²⁶⁰

Following the Senator's speech, *Aksam* and some other Turkish newspapers picked up this theme the next day's editions:

The Ottoman government and not the Turkish people committed these unspeakable crimes, and so the government has all the responsibility and not the nation and it is obliged to answer for these cruelties before the High Court, which will soon be assembled by humanity and where the Turkish people will declare this truth.²⁶¹

Sultan Mohammed VI issued a statement of his own on 6 December, expressing great sorrow at the treatment of the Armenians by "certain political committees of Turkey" and adding:

Such misdeeds and the mutual slaughter of sons of the same fatherland have broken my heart. I ordered an inquiry as soon as I came to the throne so that the fomenters might be severely punished, but various factors prevented my orders from being promptly carried out. The matter is now being thoroughly investigated. Justice will soon be done and we will never have a repetition of these ugly events.²⁶²

Damad Ferid Pasha became Grand Vizier and Foreign Secretary on 7 March 1919.

It seems to me impossible that this whole nation should be held responsible for what has been done by a young sub-lieutenant and a band of thieves. In a family there may be one who is responsible for murder, but the whole family are not condemned for his crime, though it is all

the same very unpleasant for the family.²⁶³

In his official memorandum, Damad Ferid went on to say of the massacres ““which are profoundly to be regretted whoever may have been the perpetrators””. Damad’s Government requested the neutral powers of Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden “to form an international commission to decide on the responsibility for these ‘regrettable events’”.²⁶⁴ However, that was the extent of his remorse over Phase One of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. His memorandum proceeded:

to make the charges of Armenian initiative – ‘it is a proved fact that Armenian bands massacred a million Mussulmans, partly before the deportations began and especially after the invasion of the eastern provinces by the Czar’s army, and the horrible work of these bands still continues’.²⁶⁵

Regarding the proposed territorial settlement, the memorandum offered an alternative solution.

The maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty in the ‘Armenian provinces, so-called’, which shall presuppose the reparation of both Mussulmans and Armenians or the extension of the Republic of Armenia formed in the Caucasus.²⁶⁶

Damad Ferid’s Government also proposed an exchange of populations, though it did not use this term. All Armenian refugees in Ottoman territory would be sent to the new Republic of Armenia, while “all Mussulmans of the old as well as the new territories of the republic are to be removed and settled in the provinces remaining under Ottoman sovereignty”.²⁶⁷

Soon after the New Year, a commission of British, French, Italian, and American officers led by Admiral Calthorpe, took control of the administration of the Ottoman capital:

The city and the vilayet beyond have been cleared of both criminals and vermin, the former principally held on the charge of being agents acting for the Talaat Government in the matter of the Armenian, Greek and Syrian massacres.²⁶⁸

In protest at “allied demands that Turkey restore property carried away during the war from

occupied territories and cease drastic measures against Greeks and Armenians.” The Ottoman Cabinet resigned on 20 January 1919.

With the end of World War One, survivors of the death marches began returning to their homes. Repatriation of Hellene deportees became widespread when the Ottoman Empire surrendered to the Entente. Felix Sartiaux estimated the Hellene deportees from western Asia Minor alone at 700,000 to 800,000 people, of whom more than half were killed.²⁶⁹ M. Ailianos estimated that some 85,000 Pontian Hellene survivors had fled to the Caucasus and southern Russia in recent years.²⁷⁰ The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief estimated a total of 4,000,000 Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Syrians were “massacred by the Turks”.²⁷¹ Prime Minister Venizelos told the Paris Peace Conference “that between 300,000 and 400,000 people of Greek nationality had been killed in the Turkish Empire during the war”.²⁷²

As Rene Pinou noted, mere months after the collapse of the CUP triumvirate, for reasons of their own, the Allies did not require that all Turkish officials and troops leave “the non-Turkish countries, that is, the region east of Taurus”. As a result:

the Turkish officials who had massacred the Armenians, hung the Arabs, deported the Greeks, remained on the scene of their activities, and, when they had recovered from their first fright, began anew to oppress the population; with only more discretion, the massacres recommenced.²⁷³

Nor were such atrocities restricted to Asia Minor. In British Egypt “bands of pillagers rush through the streets; Armenians and Greeks are particularly attacked”. In French Syria (at Aleppo in late-February) and in Cilicia (at Adana on 10 March):

grave episodes occurred; Armenians were killed, and the French and English commanders were forced to intervene to restore public order. On the Persian frontier, among the Kurdish tribes, the Young Turk Committee organized armed bands to prevent the Armenians who had taken refuge in Persia from returning to their country; Haidar Bey, former vali of Van, directed

the movement.²⁷⁴

Pinou's words proved startlingly prophetic:

The longer the indecision of the Peace Conference and the inactivity of the Allies continue, the more the audacity of the Turks increases and the further they carry their intrigues.²⁷⁵

Amongst the tasks the Inter-Allied Commission in Constantinople set itself, according to a report made by the American Commissioner Heck to the State Department, presented on 1 February:

thousands of Armenian and Greek prisoners were to be sought-out and set free. Owing to an order published in the press by the Chief of Police, calling on all Turks to hand over to the police within the week of Jan. 20 all Armenian and Greek women and children detained in Turkish houses, something was accomplished.²⁷⁶

Just how difficult this task was is illustrated by this story reported to the commission.

At a private house which was visited we found an Armenian girl. A Turk had killed her parents and had then handed the girl, who was well off, over to his son, who, after having forcibly converted her to Islam, married her, and thus obtained the wealth that belonged to her. The girl, when asked if she would leave, could not make up her mind. She is expecting to become a mother. If she leaves she knows she has a child to support, and that her own people will not take her in, so that she will be a waif for life, as she can recover none of the property which became her husband's by their marriage.²⁷⁷

This story was repeated tens of thousands of times across the Ottoman and Republican Asia Minor. The forced conversion of Christians to Islam, and especially the abduction of Christian children by Muslim families, makes it especially difficult to determine how many Christians actually died during the ten year period of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. The 'numbers' of victims are, however, a side issue. Whether the Christian Hellenes, Armenians or Assyrians were massacred, converted or expelled from their native lands, the result was the same: the extermination of the Christian presence in Asia Minor.

2.9 Justice

What sort of justice was delivered to the victims of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust? There were two forms: the justice they delivered themselves and the justice delivered by the Turkish legal system. For all their proud words during the war years, none of the Allied powers conducted any trials of their own for crimes they had earlier described as 'unprecedented'. The fact that the Allies were the ones who supplied some of the evidence for these trials has been used ever since by denialists in an attempt to discredit them as 'kangaroo courts' organised by the victorious powers. What the denialists ignore is that these trials were conducted by Ottoman lawyers and judges, in Ottoman courts according to the Ottoman legal code.

By May 1919, there were over 3,300 individuals in prison in Constantinople on evidence supplied by the Interallied Mission. "The charges against them range from treason to murder and the instigation of massacres". The former Governor of Iosgate (Yozgad), east of Angyra (Ankara), Kiamil Mahmud Pasha, was reported to have been executed on 12 April in Constantinople's Bayazed Square. He had been charged and convicted of responsibility for the "massacres of Armenians" in his province. Yet by 3 May, Fethi Bey, the former Minister of the Interior, and nineteen others had been released with the suspended verdict of "not yet proven".²⁷⁸

On 11 July 1919 the Turkish court-martial sentenced Enver Pasha (Minister of War), Talaat Bey (Grand Vizier and Minister of the Interior), and Djemal Pasha (Military Governor of Syria and Commander of the Damascus-based IV Ottoman Army) to death, while Djavid Bey (Minister of the Treasury) and Alusa Mussa Kiazim were each sentenced to fifteen years hard labour. The same courts-martial acquitted Rifaat Bey, former President of the Senate, and Nachim Bey, former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. Having fled to Germany in late-

October 1918 Enver, Talaat, Djemal and Djavid were all sentenced *in absentia*.

On July 15 the newspapers of Constantinople stated that the Government contemplated asking the allied and associated nations for permission to extradite Enver, Talaat, and Djemal.²⁷⁹

Some commentators at the time saw the Turkish war crimes trials as a desperate attempt on the part of the 'old' Ottoman elite to rescue the Empire from complete dismemberment, "to wash her hands of responsibility for the war and for the massacres in Asia Minor which had startled and shocked the entire world". One of the men most prominent in the execution of these massacres, Kemal Bey, former Turkish Minister of Food and Governor of Diarbekir, had been convicted and publicly hanged in Bayazid Square, Stamboul on 12 April:

Sixty-six others, all Turks of prominence, ... had been turned over to the British and deported by them to Malta. But the bloody spots on Turkey's escutcheon could not be washed away, and the plans proceeded for confining her again to the Anatolian territory, in Asia Minor, whence 800 years ago she had started out upon her career of rapine and aggression.²⁸⁰

The Ittihadist's victims did not rely solely on the courts for justice. Young Armenians tracked down and executed a number of those responsible for the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Talaat Pasha, nicknamed "The Butcher of the Armenians" for his key role in planning and executing the Armenian Genocide, wrote his memoirs shortly before his execution in Berlin by Soghomon Tehlirian on 15 March 1921. The German court that tried this student for murder, acquitted him of all charges, citing the murder of his family during the 1915 deportations as justification.

Cemal Azmy Bey, the former Governor General of Trapezounta (Trabzon), and Dr Bahaeddin Chakir, were both assassinated in Berlin on 18 April 1922:

as they were returning from a Turkish gathering in company with the widow of Talaat Pasha. The assassins, who were Armenians, escaped. The Berlin police arrested fifteen other Armenians, whom they charged with belonging to an Armenian murder-band financed from

America.²⁸¹

Enver Pasha was killed fighting the Soviets in his Central Asian homeland in 1925. His advocates state that Enver was leading the struggle for the independence of Turkic-speaking Central Asia from Soviet rule, while his detractors say that he was attempting to carve out a fiefdom for himself. Cemal Pasha, the third member of the Ittihadist triumvirate was likewise executed by a young Armenian, this time in a street in Tiflis, Georgia, where he had fled for refuge.

For many years afterwards, former CUP men were executed by Armenian 'avengers' across the world. When the generation of perpetrators passed, the targets of Armenian vengeance became Turkish officials, the offices of *Türk Hava Yolları* (Turkish Airlines) and others associated with the Turkish state. By the 1980s however, such terrorist attacks had ceased as Armenian organisations accepted that they had become counter-productive. It is worth noting that such 'vengeance squads' did not appear amongst the Hellenic and Assyrian Diasporas, despite the common suffering of all three peoples at the hands of the CUP regime.

Chapter Three:

“precious and honoured guests”

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- 3.20 Conclusion

It was a horrific sight to see our boys
driven along by rifle butt and whip.
Some of them were beaten until they dropped...

J. MacKenzie Sloss

CHAPTER THREE: *PRECIOUS AND HONOURED GUESTS*

As mentioned in the introductory parts of this study, Chapter Three constitutes the most original part of this study: an examination of the body of first-hand accounts by Allied servicemen from the 'Great War' verifying the intent of the Ottoman authorities to destroy not only their subject Christian communities, but also those *ghavurs* of neighbouring territories the Ottoman Turks wished to annex. An example of this body of source material is Captain Stephen White of the Egyptian Police. Taken prisoner near the Suez Canal soon after the outbreak of war, White "was in Ourfa from April to August 1915 when the extermination of the Armenians took place there".²⁸² His statement is indicative of the acts perpetrated by the 'Young Turk' government against its Christian citizens, acts which the eyewitnesses were in no doubt were calculated and deliberate. In other words, the government's actions constituted genocide as defined by the United Nations' Convention decades later.

Prior to the publication of "Precious and Honoured Guests" in the journal *Genocide Perspectives*, only one other study of the events of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust – be it from the Armenian, Assyrian, Hellenic or even Turkish perspective – even mentioned the existence of this body of evidence. Some scholars are reluctant to use such memoir material, arguing that these are tainted by political and other considerations, that memoirs are often written years after the events took place, and that many borrowed stories from one another when their own memories failed them. Anne Applebaum argues that personal memoirs, oral histories, are an invaluable source of information on aspects such as "prisoners' relationships with one another, conflict between national, religious and ideological groups, the behaviour of camp guards and administrators, the role of corruption...".²⁸³ Although Applebaum was writing about memoirs of the Soviet Gulag system, the memoirs of these Allied servicemen echo the memoirs of genocide survivors, and the voluminous official archival record on the

treatment of non-Muslims in wartime Ottoman Turkey.

Famished and spent across the waste, beastlike you drove us on,
And clubbed to death the stragglers by the way.
Our sick men in the lazar huts you left to die alone,
And you robbed the very dying as they lay.
Naked and starved we built you roads
And tunnelled through your hills,
And you flogged us when we fainted at our work.
Fevered beneath the sun we toiled, wrecked by winter chills,
Till death released us, kindlier than the Turk.
And the tunnels we drove for you, the roads that we have made,
Shall be highways for the armies of your foe.
We shall mock you in our graves, that in what we did as slaves
We helped, we too, to work your overthrow.

The poet, Royal Flying Corps Flight-Lieutenant Leonard Woolley, wrote "The Roadmakers" during his time at the Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) prison camps.²⁸⁴ He is describing the Ottoman Empire's treatment of its "*precious and honoured guests*", the Allied prisoners-of-war interned in camps scattered across the Empire.

These prisoners-of-war were Australian, New Zealander, British, French, Russian, Indian, Canadian and African soldiers, sailors, aviators, and civilians. Some were forced marched from southern Mesopotamia and Palestine, while others were transported in sealed cattle-trucks for days on end to the camps in Asia Minor. Some worked as slave labourers, in particular on the Constantinople-Baghdad railway alongside Hellene, Armenian and Assyrian draftees of the Ottoman Army, who were working in the hope that they would cheat death for another day. At the height of construction, some 30,000 prisoners were labouring on the Tauros (Toros) and Amanus Mountains section of the railway.²⁸⁵ Others worked in the fields,

built roads, quays and railway lines in other parts of Asia Minor, laboured in stone-quarries and even in nail and cement factories.

The testimonies of the men captured by the Ottoman Army during World War One provide invaluable first-hand accounts of what they witnessed and endured. Despite the overwhelming majority of Commonwealth prisoners being from the British Isles, this chapter will focus on the written testimonies of the Australian prisoners-of-war.

3.1 The overall picture

Australian participation in World War One, in particular in the Gallipoli campaign is regarded as the focal point of early 20th century Australian history. Yet few of the plethora of works on the subject even mention the fact that over 4,000 Australians were taken prisoner-of-war by the Central Powers.²⁸⁶ Of these, all but some 300 were captured by Germany. Almost 14,000 British and Indian troops were captured by the Ottoman Turkish armies, as were an undetermined number of French, Russian and other Allied officers and men, all taken prisoner on the battlefields of Thrace, the Caucasus Mountains, Sinai, Palestine and Mesopotamia. [See map reproduced as Appendix Ten.]

Some 534 Commonwealth soldiers and sailors were taken prisoner during the Gallipoli/Dardanelles Campaign of 1915. Apart from those captured during the bitter fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula itself, there were the crews of the Australian submarine *AE2*, the British submarines *E7*, *E15* and *E20* and the French submarines *Saphir*, *Turquoise* (sometimes recorded as *Joule*) and *Mariotte*, which were sunk as they attempted to break through the Ottoman defences along the Dardanelles (Hellespont).

Above all, it was the enemy's reputed brutality to the wounded, which particularly embittered the Dominion troops against them. "It makes one bitter to hear how they treated our wounded left behind in our retirement", a subaltern wrote on 3 May 1915:

Stories are rife that men known to have been only wounded were afterwards found with their own bayonets stuck into them. Others [were] horribly mutilated, and none are known to be alive in the hands of the enemy at all... God save me from being captured that's all. ... At Suvla, in August, two British officers who had surrendered were taken back and bayoneted in cold blood.²⁸⁷

The bulk of the Allied prisoners were captured at the British-held garrison town of Kut-el-Amara, 120-miles south of Baghdad on the Euphrates River in Mesopotamia (modern Iraq). After a siege that lasted 147 days, the town fell to the Ottoman Army on 29 April 1916.²⁸⁸ A total of 13,309 Commonwealth troops (including eight Australians) were taken prisoner.²⁸⁹

The prisoners²⁹⁰ were forced to march through deserts and across mountains to the railway junction at Ras-el-Ein in northern Syria. There the survivors boarded cattle trains which took them to the foothills of the Anti-Tauros Mountains in south-east Asia Minor, which they then crossed on foot, before boarding more trains that took them to prison and labour camps the length and breadth of Asia Minor; in all, a journey of 1,900 kilometres.

According to the post-war report of one prisoner, by the name of Hudson, 40 to 50 men were crammed into each railway truck for the first two stages of the railway journey. Between 20 and 30 men did not survive the journey.

Most of the day and all night, the doors of these closed trucks were kept locked, and as almost every man was suffering from fever, dysentery and diarrhoea, the state of affairs can be imagined... After three days and nights of such travelling, five men in my wagon were found to be dead when the doors were opened, some of the other wagons were just as bad as ours.²⁹¹

By November 1918, 1,306 British and 1,790 Indians were missing and presumed dead. A handful of the missing Indians were Muslims who joined their co-religionists in the war against the British Empire. The official British Government inquiry into the treatment of British prisoners-of-war in the Ottoman Empire eventually found that 1,755 British officers

and men were found to have died in captivity while only 837 survived.²⁹² These latter figures do not include non-British troops from British colonies such as undivided India. Some 30 percent of Australian prisoners-of-war in Turkish hands perished compared to only nine percent of those in Germany. Nearly 20 percent of Australian deaths in Ottoman hands were due to causes other than wounds received in battle, compared to less than two percent in Germany.²⁹³ [See article reproduced as Appendix Eleven.]

3.2 The Dardanelles Campaign 1915

Following the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), a senior German military officer was assigned to restructure the Ottoman armed forces along German lines. General Liman von Sanders conducted an inspection tour of eastern Thrace, the western frontier of the Ottoman Empire, the backyard of the Imperial capital of Constantinople, in the autumn of 1913. His chief recommendation was the 'evacuation' of all the non-Muslim population in the name of 'national security'. The existence of a 'hostile' Christian Hellenic population so close to Constantinople was deemed unacceptable.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a series of anti-Hellenic pogroms began in eastern Thrace in January 1914, with the aim of forcing the indigenous Hellenes of the region to leave their homes permanently. Those who could pay for transport fled to Hellenic territory. Those who could not were deported to Asia Minor. Relatively few of the latter survived to see the liberation of eastern Thrace in 1919.²⁹⁴ Indeed, when British troops captured the town of Krithia (in the south-east of the peninsula) in late-April 1915, they found the once bustling market town deserted.²⁹⁵

The *AE2* was one of only two Australian submarines in service in 1915. By breaching the formidable Ottoman defences of the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and entering the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) on 25 April 1915, the *AE2* became the first Allied vessel to do so.²⁹⁶ This is

how Able-Bodied Seaman John Wheat described the *AE2*'s encounter with a ferry near the islands at the south-western end of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora).

Remembering the order to 'run amok', the *AE2* steamed very close to a pilot boat with our White Ensign flying to show them what we were. The occupants seemed greatly alarmed, holding up their hands and crossing themselves.^{297 13}

While heading for the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and the Aegean Sea, off the Propontic Isles, the *AE2* was forced to the surface by a technical fault in the main ballast tank. Unable to submerge and too slow to escape from approaching enemy vessels, Commander Stoker surrendered. The ship was scuttled shortly after the entire crew was safely evacuated to the German-manned Ottoman Navy torpedo boat the *Sultan Hissar*. The final resting place of the *AE2* remained unknown until an Australian expedition rediscovered it in early July 1997.²⁹⁸

3.3 Individual Witness – J.H. Wheat

The crew of the *AE2*, less than half of whom were Australians, was taken to Maidos (Eceabat), and then on to Constantinople, where they endured "*quarters dirty, food not fit for a pig*" as Able-Seaman John Harrison Wheat recorded, before being transported to the city of Akroinos (Afion Karahissar). At Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) the men built roads – broke stones and dug with picks and shovels; at harvest-time, they worked on nearby farms crops. Aside from infrequent aid packages delivered via the embassies of neutral countries like the Netherlands, the prisoners survived on bread and water.²⁹⁹ Wheat made the following entry in his diary on 18 August 1915.

All the Armenians are driven from the town. The principle cause of this is the Armenians are Christians and all the business of the town is carried on by them. There is a very strong feeling against the Christians in this Country. At this time, thousands of Armenians were turned out of these big towns to starve and thousands were massacred. This day we also got news of a big

Russian victory in the Caucasus capturing 2,500 Turks.³⁰⁰

This particular entry is of great interest for two reasons. Firstly,

In the autumn of 1915, some of the *AE2* crewmen were sent to labour on the Constantinople-Baghdad railway, digging a series of twelve tunnels through the Taurus and Amanus Mountain ranges of southern Asia Minor.³⁰¹ The prisoners were divided into three shifts so that the work never stopped; many, especially the weak and wounded, preferred the night shift in the tunnels because there were no fleas and, as well, they escaped the intense heat of the day. Those who refused to work in the tunnels were sent to Bozanti, a punishment camp where work was even harder and hours were longer. A number of men died here. "One of my shipmates, Williams, a stoker on *AE2*, succumbed to this cruelty".³⁰²

Wheat was later transferred to the town of Bor, near Nigde in southeastern Kappadokia, where he "was quartered in a Greek College quite free from vermin", quite an achievement for an Ottoman prisoner-of-war camp, which were renowned for being disease-ridden.³⁰³ Wheat attempted escape four times; each time he failed. Following his recapture after his third attempt, he was locked for some days in a room infested with mice. A group of prisoners was then moved to the south Taurus (Toros) railway construction camp at Gelebek, only 35 miles from the Mediterranean coast. "Of all the different camps I have been in, Gelebek was by far the worst, both for work, food and fever".³⁰⁴ D.J. van Bommel, the Netherlands inspector of POW camps wrote in 1918, "[t]he South Taurus region is the least good of the whole (Baghdad Railway) line".

Escape, however, was never far from Wheat's mind. "I made friends with some Greeks and Armenians and got all the information I could".³⁰⁵ On 29 April 1918, Wheat and two others again attempted to escape. Again they were recaptured. This time their punishment was to be thrown into a hole in the ground with ten other men.

There were eleven of us in this awful place swarming with lice and fleas. It was sweltering hot,

and that, combined with the awful smell from this filthy pit was unbearable. We used to strip to the waist to enable us better to keep off attacks from vermin. Sometimes I think it was only a horrible dream but when I think it over, I know it actually happened. We endured this for fourteen days.³⁰⁶

John Wheat finally regained his freedom in late-1918, in a prisoner of war exchange between the Allies and the Ottoman Empire. He returned to Australia in early 1919. [See document reproduced as Appendix Twelve.]

3.4 Individual Witness – H. Brown

AE2 Stoker Herbert Brown wrote the following of his time at Akroinos (Afion Karahissar): “For two months we worked from 6:45 a.m. until 5:45 p.m. on bread and water alone”. At harvest-time, he remained in the camp to repair reaping machinery; ironically enough, it was Australian-made!³⁰⁷ Brown was one of some 400 Allied prisoners-of-war who laboured at Belemedik, a railway building camp 900-kilometres southeast of Constantinople, in the north Taurus Mountains that was a ‘model’ owing to the presence of German and Swiss military and civilian personnel. Although the prisoners were treated reasonably well, by Ottoman standards, deaths amongst the prisoners continued to occur. Brown later recorded that “up to this date (4 August 1916), two sailors and three soldiers have died and been buried”. The chief stoker of the *AE2*, Chief Petty Officer Charles Barcoe, Leonard New (15 Battalion AIF), Petty Officer Stephen John Gilbert (*AE2*) and Able-Seaman Albert Edward ‘Bill’ Knaggs (*AE2*) all died in Belemedik and neighbouring camps in the Tauros Mountains.

Several Russians have died here and were buried with the English and French in the Christians’ graveyard at Belemedik. ... they estimated that over the last six months (April to October 1916) there have been 800 deaths of all nationalities...³⁰⁸

Herbert Brown was released from captivity following the Armistice in November 1918.

3.5 Individual Witness – G. Kerr

Corporal George Ernest Kitchin Kerr, 14th Battalion, Australian Imperial Force, arrived on Gallipoli at the end of May 1915. His younger brother, 20-year-old Hedley (serving with the 6th Battalion), took part in the initial ANZAC landings on 25 April. He was last seen alive about one kilometre inland, heading in the direction of Lone Pine. Initially he was officially listed as "*wounded*". His remains have never been found and his name appears on the Unknown Soldier's Memorial at Lone Pine. In May 1916 an AIF Court of Inquiry concluded that he must have been killed in action. In light of George Kerr's account of his capture and many similar ones, it is quite possible that Hedley Kerr was captured and then killed. We will probably never know for sure.³⁰⁹

In an assault on Hill 971 on 8 August 1915, a group of thirteen Australians of the 14th Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force became cut off from the main body of the ANZAC offensive and trapped behind enemy lines. Lieutenant Luscombe, the senior officer, decided to surrender rather than fight on with a group of wounded men in a hopeless situation. The result of his decision was not what he exactly what he expected: Luscombe was shot in the armpit while he threw his pistol away before another bullet grazed his head and knocked him unconscious; according to Kerr, Private Calcutt was bayoneted to death³¹⁰; Private O'Connor protested and was bashed over the head with a large rock until he lost consciousness with a fractured skull. One of the group managed to escape back to Allied lines. Kerr was lying wounded in the right arm and in the left thigh.

A Turkish soldier walked over to Kerr, looked him over, went to a nearby pine tree and broke off a branch. Throwing it to Kerr, the Turk said in broken French: "If you do not use this, I'm going to have to shoot you". The bashing of the prisoners continued until the approach of a German officer. Kerr had little doubt that they would all have been killed had

it not been for the appearance of the German.³¹¹ The prisoners were removed to a dressing station where Private Warnes died of his wounds.

The Australian prisoners were taken to Constantinople, firstly to the Harbiye Hospital and then to the Tash Kishla Army Barracks Hospital. Three Australian prisoners who had been recovering in Harbiye Hospital (Corporal Hodson, Private Hennessey and Private Kelly) died at the army hospital. Writing in his diary about the death of Hodson:

We were under what they called reciprocal treatment. Our impression was that it was too much trouble for them to clean his wounds [two in the groin] and that they killed him.³¹²

On 20 November, George Kerr and a group of other prisoners were taken to Chrysoupolis (Scutari/Uskudar) to board a train for Dorylaion (Eski Shehir), 335 miles south-east of Constantinople. There, according to Kerr, the Roman Catholic and Protestant prisoners were separated: the former went to Akroinos (Afion Karahissar), the latter to Angyra (Ankara). The empty Armenian houses of the murdered Armenians formed the Lower Camp, while an Armenian church and the surrounding houses formed the Upper Camp. As Kerr later recorded:

Earlier in 1915, scores of Armenians had been murdered or driven out of the town (Afion Karahissar) by Turkish troops in the name of 'ethnic cleansing', and the grounds of the prison camp were reputedly sown with the remains of some of these victims.³¹³

Two months later (18 January 1916), Kerr was transferred to Bozanti, a labour camp high in the north Tauros/Toros region). The prisoners were housed on the upper floor of a two-storey building.

Underneath us on the floor of the room, were huddled, in all kinds of rugs, about sixty miserable creatures who, we afterwards discovered, were Greeks and Armenians employed on the tunnel. They were crouched about the fires made in old mess dishes and in that dull light, looked the lowest human beings I had ever set eyes on. ... their fires, which gave forth horrible smoke and poisoned the air with their fumes. Some of the Turks on the opposite side objected

to this and made one of the party put out its fire.³¹⁴

After a short stay here, he was transferred to Belemedik, where he spent the rest of the war. On 5 February 1916, George Kerr was made responsible for the camp stores and wages at Belemedik, a position he kept until his release on 15 November 1918. He returned to Australia on 22 September 1919, following a seven-month stay in England.

3.6 Individual Witness – W. Bailey

Private William Bailey was serving with the 15th Battallion of the Australian Imperial Force, when he was captured at Hill 971, near Anafarta, Gallipoli on 8 August 1915. Initially interned at a “Field Hospital”, he was taken to the “Gallipoli jetties” and then Constantinople, where he was held in a number of hospitals. After “about a month” in the Tchappa Hospital, Bailey was sent to the “Tache” (Tash) “Kishla Hospital where treatment was very bad. Some wounds were allowed to go undressed for 2, 3 or 5 days, causing in several cases, septic poisoning and erysipilis and subsequent death”. He next spent two weeks in the “Top Kapou Military Prison where treatment was not too good”, before being sent to Akroinos (Afion Karahissar). “At that time, treatment there was good”. He was held at this central railway town for another fortnight, before being sent further east, to “Ouloo Kishla” (Ulukishla). There Bailey was taken off the rail, together with 29 other men, and sent to Pivas (Sevasteia/Sivas) “by road, 18 day march”, arriving on 13 April 1916. After a week in “Pivas” (Sevasteia/Sivas):

proceeded to Oulache and was put to work on road-making. After three weeks here, Enver Pasha passed through on his way to Ezerum. We complained to him of bad rations and billets. He immediately gave orders that N.C.O.s were not to work and 4 days afterwards, we returned to Pivas (Sevasteia/Sivas). 9 men were left here in hospital (of whom five died). The remainder being sent to Angora. I and three others remained in Pivas (Sevasteia/Sivas) 10 months and were well treated. We were in a monastery which had belonged to Armenians with about 200 Russians. We were granted a separate room and never worked.

Just as with the accounts of his fellow prisoners, Bailey’s report to the Australian army, made upon his release from captivity in November 1918, contains much important information on events within Asia Minor during World War One. Crucial to the argument outlined in this study is that the destruction of the Ottoman Christian populations could have been prevented had the Ottoman authorities wished it. The situation in central Asia Minor (where Bailey spent much of his time in captivity) was not one of chaos nor of civil war.

Allied prisoners were moved around without problem, German, Australian and Swiss military and civilian personnel travelled unimpeded and unhindered. The Ottoman government was in complete control.

From Sevasteia (Sivas), Bailey proceeded to “Kir Shehir (Angora Vilayet). Stayed a year there under the same conditions as Pivas” (Sevasteia/Sivas). From here, he was sent to work on a railway line linking the provincial capital Angyra (Angora/Ankara) with the country’s main network.

This camp was in tents during the worst of the winter of 1917, being moved after New Year 1918. Treatment has been exceptionally bad here, but during the last year of our imprisonment, changed radically. ... Were forced to work inside a tunnel here. ... Turkish, Greek, and Armenian workmen inclined towards us but guards were often violent in carrying out their orders, using sticks, rifles or whips. ... Many men were flogged with rawhide whips. I myself was not, but have been badly knocked about by rifle butts.

As Bailey wrote, his knowledge of Turkish stood him in good stead when he fell ill. Just as with a number of other prisoners, Bailey mentions – with praise – an Ottoman Christian medical practitioner, a certain “Tusbashi Zenides Effendi, a doctor at Asi Fusgat (Iosgate/Yozgad) Hospital, near Angora” (Angyra/Ankara), who “also deserves recognition for his careful treatment of men of my camp”.

But must state that majority were very badly treated. In cases of lingering sicknesses, caffeine injections were often given, causing death. This is a fact. Sanitation of all camps I was in was conspicuous by its absence.

Bailey left the railway construction camp in early-January 1918 bound for Iosgate (Yozgad), returning to Angyra (Ankara) on 10 June 1918, as he was to be exchanged as “sick”. Three days later, he was sent back to Iosgate (Yozgad). On 3 September, it was back to Angyra (Ankara, only to be disappointed and returned to Iosgate (Yozgad; returned three days later. On 9 October, Bailey was re-examined for his eligibility for exchange, before being sent to Angyra (Ankara) and - finally – departed for Smyrne on 17 October. William Bailey was released on 1 November 1918, departing Smyrne the same day and returning to Australia on 1 May 1919.

3.7 Individual Witness – J. Brown

Queensland-born Lieutenant James Brown was serving with the Royal Army Medical Corps when he was captured at Katia, 25-miles east of the Suez Canal in the Sinai Peninsula in April

1916. He was part of a group of prisoners-of-war (22 officers and about 100 men) marched to a prison camp at Bir el-Abd, to Bir el-Mazar and then to El-Arish where an Armenian medical officer was in charge. In mid-May, some ten days after their arrival at El-Arish, a Turkish doctor came to take over command.

A couple of days afterwards, the Armenian said to me: 'Today I mentioned to the Turkish doctor that you were not receiving either pay or rations, and asked him what was to be done about it. He merely replied without showing the least concern: 'Let him starve'.³¹⁵

Brown was then sent to the provincial capital of Damascus:

One day, while we were gazing from the balcony, an Armenian youth with head and body bent forwards and hands bound, passed in the charge of a Turkish soldier. The scene recalled the atrocities of which I had heard so much at El Arish.³¹⁶

Aleppo was the next stop, followed by Kulek (near Tarsus), Bozanti and finally Akroinos (Afion Karahissar)). Most of this journey was covered by rail. "Nearly all the houses" that constituted their prison camp "were two-storeyed and were more imposing than any private buildings we had yet passed in Afion", wrote Brown later on. "They were then empty but had been occupied by Armenians before their deportation or massacre and were visible evidence of their financial standing".³¹⁷

As Brown mentioned in his memoirs, many Turkish officers he encountered had Armenian concubines. "The Turkish, Armenian and indigenous Greek women seemed to do most of the manual work in these parts... The Greek women I saw were stalwart, the men of poor physique".³¹⁸ There are two key aspects of this part of Brown's account. First, he records the sexual enslavement of Ottoman Christian women by agents of the 'Young Turk' government. A long standing practice of the Ottoman state, the mass removal of young women and children to Muslim households was widespread, being mentioned regularly in survivor and prisoner-of-war memoirs. The 1948 United Nations' Convention and the

international treaty that brought the International Criminal Court into existence both cite the forced removal of children as a genocidal practice. Second, Brown refers to the Hellene women he encounters as being “indigenous”, arguably to distinguish them from the Hellenes deported from other parts of Asia Minor and to distinguish them - in the minds of his readers – from the women of the Hellenic Kingdom (Greece).

On 19 September 1916 the first group of prisoners from Kut arrived in Akroinos (Afion Karahissar); 116 went straight to hospital. Of the 230 other prisoners, 100 were sick.

An atmosphere of solemnity pervaded the camps. The officers' hardships had been severe on occasions. They had lived under conditions revolting to civilised men and had sometimes been forced to sustain life with unsavoury food and unwholesome water. But their imaginations had only pictured such depths of prolonged misery as their rank and file was enduring in the alien refugees who had been hounded from their homes by the Turkish authorities and harried from place to place. The knowledge that their own men, whom the Turks had spoken of as honoured guests, had been starved, ill-treated and neglected, and were now human derelicts, was agonising to high-spirited officers who cursed their own inability to help, except with some of their substance. It brought the humiliation of imprisonment into the boldest relief.³¹⁹

Within a week, 20 prisoners-of-war were dead. Within two weeks, the death toll reached 42.

Within two months, about 100 had died. Nursing care was practically unknown.

If the sick could not help themselves, they were helpless indeed. Food was brought, but no attempt was made to feed them. If they were too weak to eat it without help, they were left to the mercy or perhaps the vengeance of Allah.³²⁰

Camp life was harsh. Prisoners were bastinadoed for minor offences. New clothes were sent for them from England and from Australia, but the Camp Commandant, Bimbashi Muslim (also known as Mazloun Bey),³²¹ withheld them until the prisoners-of-war handed over their old clothes. These were then sold in the marketplace. Disease was rampant and medicine inadequate. The sick were housed in an abandoned Islamic school, which had no

windows or doors for shelter from the mountain winds. As to the causes of these anti-Christian persecutions he and his fellow prisoners witnessed, Brown made the following telling comment in his own memoirs:

Religion, race and politics probably combined to cause the massacre of Armenians by the Turks in 1894-96, 1904, 1909 and 1915. Abdul-Hamid pitted the Kurds against them. The Young Turks aimed at their extermination, although they were allowed to fight for the Turkish Government in the Balkan Wars.³²²

James Brown was finally released in November 1918. He returned to Edinburgh to continue his medical studies and eventually returned to outback Queensland³²³ to practice.

3.8 Individual Witness – D.B. Creedon

Private Daniel Bartholomew Creedon of the 9th Battalion, AIF, was captured on Gallipoli on 28 June 1915. In early-October of that year, Creedon arrived in the Angyra (Ankara) region on his way to “Khangeri” (Cankiri), as he wrote in his diary. After breakfast “in an old Monastery”, Creedon and about 200 other prisoners began the four-day march. They spent the night in Astova “a fair-sized town built up in a mountain. ... Some of us were put in a church - I was in the church - others in stables and others in private houses”. Creedon wrote in his diary on 2 February 1916: “The people say the Turks killed 1 ¼ million Armenians”.³²⁴ He died in Angora (Ankara) on 27 February 1917, aged 23 years. Without a known grave, Daniel Creedon is today commemorated on a Missing Memorial in the Baghdad (North Gate) War Cemetery, Iraq.

3.9 Individual Witness – T.W. White

Captain Thomas Walter White of the Australian Flying Corps was captured at Aziziyeh, north of Kut-el-Amara, when he was forced to land his plane behind enemy lines. This was in early-

April 1916, shortly before the fall of that outpost. He was marched 100 miles to Baghdad and it was there that he was joined by the prisoners-of-war from Kut. The march continued on to Mosul and then to Aleppo in Syria.³²⁵ In his memoir *Guests of The Unspeakable*, White wrote:

It is probable that our lives were plotted against. We had incurred the bitter enmity of the Mosul Commandant and had been threatened by him because we had told him what we thought of his inhuman methods, and we found on arrival at Aleppo that we were totally unexpected.³²⁶

Like all the Allied prisoners captured on the Sinai and Mesopotamian Fronts, White crossed the Amanus and Tauros Mountain Ranges from Syria into Cilicia. He noted that Adana and Tarsus both once had a thriving cotton industry, when “some enterprising Greeks ... imported a cotton ginning machine in the [eighteen] sixties”. The Australian aviator noted that the Anatolian Railway Company, although “a purely German concern”, “French is the official language spoken by a staff that is mainly Greek”.³²⁷ The wealth of Asia Minor’s Christian peoples is a recurrent theme throughout the memoirs of former prisoners-of-war, reinforcing the opinion of scholars that their financial clout was both a source of jealousy and of propaganda amongst Ottoman Muslims.

Over the next few months, hundreds more Allied prisoners-of-war arrived at Akroinos (Afion Karahissar). White wrote that the British officers were later moved to a group of buildings near the city’s railway station, while the French and Russians were given empty Armenian houses in the town itself.³²⁸ White recorded that the prisoners’ “exercise yard” was the graveyard of the Armenian Church. Many died at Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) of various causes and were buried in the Armenian cemetery.

One soldier thus described his experiences: On arrival at Afion Karahissar I went into hospital. There I saw many weakly men knocked about by the Turkish orderlies simply because they were too weak to attend to themselves. I saw this happen to a QMS who died within a few days

of the beating. I saw about half a dozen men receive an injection from a Turkish doctor. This was done about 9 p.m. and in every case the man was dead next morning. We nicknamed one of the Turkish doctors 'The Butcher' from his habit of lancing abscesses with a sharpened half of a pair of scissors.³²⁹

By convincing the chief Turkish doctor that he was ill and was in need of hospitalisation and recuperation, White got himself transferred to the Haidar Pasha Barracks Hospital on the Asian shore of Constantinople, then to the Gumush Suyu Hospital on the European side of the city and finally to the Armenian Theological School at Psomatia. Here he set about planning escape, together with other Australian and English prisoners-of-war. From fellow prisoner Konstantin Kambani, a Russian Hellene merchant seaman,

I endeavoured to learn something of Yeni Fotcha and the nature of the Greek fisherfolk thereabouts. He saw through my plot on the instant and assured me that there were no longer any Greeks in that vicinity. Recently, their boats had been seized or sunk and the owners driven off by the Turks, otherwise being of Greek descent and speaking the language, he would have willingly accompanied us.³³⁰

With the help of some Constantinople Hellenes and former Russian prisoners-of-war who were freed when Russia sued for peace in March 1918, Captain Alan Bott RFC and White together escaped from their Turkish guards on 24 August. He made his way to the *Batoum*, a Russian freighter docked in Galata harbour, which eventually sailed him to freedom in Odessa, Ukraine, arriving there in October. Travelling via Kiev and St Petersburg to England, White eventually found his way home to Australia.

3.10 Individual Witness – F. Yeats-Brown

An aviator, Captain Francis Yeats-Brown arrived at Basra in southern Mesopotamia in July 1915. His mission was to alternately photograph and bomb Ottoman positions and lines of communication. As he was landing near Nimrod's Tomb in Mesopotamia to cut a telegraph

line, his plane was damaged and unable to take-off. It was 13 November 1915. The two British aviators were marched to Baghdad and then transported to Mosul. Between Samara and Mosul, they encountered a Turkish squadron heading to Kut-el-Amara. Several of their officers spoke French, as did Yeats-Brown.

He made my scalp creep, telling us of atrocities. The Armenians had been massacring Turks in Eastern Anatolia, he said: they had intrigued with Russia: they had revolted at Van: their subjugation was as necessary to modern Turkey as the coercion of Red Indians had been necessary to make America. The Armenians were a threat to the heart of the Empire: the order had gone forth from Constantinople: 'Yak, Var, Oldur' - Burn, Kill, Destroy: they would be wiped out, he said, blowing on his hands.³³¹

The prisoners marched by day and rested by night, sleeping "in mud huts amongst rats, and once on a despoiled Christian altar". On the road to the Syrian city of Aleppo, the group passed the village of Tel-Armin, "a village of dead Armenians". The settlement:

was ugly, with its bloated carcasses of bullocks (the other corpses had been buried) and its plangent dogs with phosphorescent eyes, but I had already imagined worse things. I was not horrified by it, but when my best friend fell ill I lost my nerve. ... the Armenian deportations had left a trail of typhus in these parts, and I feared for him.³³²

Yeats-Brown and his fellow prisoners eventually reached Akroinos (Afion Karahissar), where they were initially held in the Armenian Church (the Upper camp), before being moved into a group of selected houses in the town itself. Unlike rank-and-file prisoners-of-war, captured officers spent most of their internment in camps with very little to do. Few officers were used as slave labourers. Despite the filth, the disease, the hunger and the general depravation they endured, officers in some camps like Kastamone (Kastamouni), Changri (Cankiri) and Kadoi (Gedis), arranged football matches, organised musical ensembles and lectures, even put on theatrical performances.

Even during a period of 'strafing', when dozens of prisoners would be locked into a

building designed for half that number for days on end, they would still find the strength to sing, to taunt their guards, and to attempt escape. As Yeats-Brown later wrote, “As we were being treated like Armenians, they (the Turkish guards) could not understand why we did not behave like Armenians”.³³³ After much manoeuvring, he managed to get himself transferred to a hospital in Constantinople, then to “the dismantled Armenian Patriarchate” in the suburb of Psomatia.³³⁴ Russian prisoners were held in a row of houses across the road – buildings that were, most likely, once home to Armenian and other Christian families.³³⁵

After one failed escape attempt, Yeats-Brown succeeded in escaping from custody on 15 September 1918. He was being hidden by Hellenic families and attempting to arrange passage on a ship out of Constantinople (alternately disguised as a Hungarian mechanic and as ‘Miss Josephine’, when the Ottoman Empire surrendered to the Allies on 30 October 1918. “The captivities of the Jews and migrations of the Middle Ages were small affairs compared to the terrible uprooting of the peoples of the Near East”, the Australian aviator wrote at the end of his memoirs.³³⁶

3.11 Conclusion

These are a tiny selection of the large volume of available published and unpublished material on the experiences of Allied prisoners-of-war in the Ottoman Empire. To scholars of the Asia Minor Holocaust they provide invaluable eyewitness accounts of events already well known to members of the victim communities but largely unknown to wider society. We have here eyewitness accounts from individuals who do not belong to the principal victim communities, written during or immediately after World War One (as far as we can tell) without consulting Hellenic, Armenian or Assyrian sources on the Asia Minor Holocaust, that corroborate the accounts of victims from the indigenous Christian populations.

This chapter closes with another one of Woolley’s poems, *The Kastamuni Alphabet*.

A is for *Askar*, a taciturn folk
Who limit their language to *Yessak* and *Yok*.
B's for *Bimbashi* (you'll all understand
Why I do not insist that it's also for Band).
C's for Contractors, whom, oddly enough,
One associates mostly with pay and pilaf.
D is for Dullness. Most officers say
That mastik (or *Mastik*) will drive it away.
E stands for *Ekmek*, the Turkish for bread –
Most ostriches slightly prefer it to lead.
F is for *Fenner* – I think you'll agree
That fenner describes Tewfik Bey to a T.
G's *Gelior*, meaning things coming, not come;
Peace, last month's pay, and next Christmas are some.
H is *Hawadis*, which shows you once more
That pens are more potent than swords in the war.
I's for Interpreters, genial Greeks,
Heavily perfumed with garlic and leeks.
J is for Jiu-jitsu, an art from the East;
I don't like jiu-jitsu myself in the least.
K's Kastamuni, an odorous town.
We arrived here done up, but we've since been done down.
L is the League, in which Haig – but the rest
Of this verse we omit at the Padre's request.
M is for *Mastik*, a harmless refecation –
The following letter will show the connection,
N is for Nobby, whose birthdays – ahem!

If you care to know more I refer you to M.

O are the Orphans who murder a tune;
They'll be learning to murder Armenians soon.

P's for Parole and for Puzzled – but stay

I can't treat Parole in a frivolous way.

Q are the Questions we commonly put

Re parcels and pay and the capture of Kut.

R stands for Rumour, which breeds like a rabbit;

What once was a pose is becoming a habit.

S is for *Sherif* who badgers the guard

And runs the lamented G. Washington hard.

T is for Trombone. I'm thankful to say

That the band hasn't got any trombones to play.

U is for *Usnu* who plays with the light

And drinks seven *okas* of *mastik* a night.

V's for Vexations and Virtues (if any) –

Our virtues are few, our vexations are many.

Will you bet on the length of the War? Then I'll trouble you

To mention your odds and I'll probably W.

X as Xhausting applies to our treks –

Silly, but what can you do with an X?

Y is for *Yessak* – a curious word

Employed by the Arab, the Turk, and the Kurd.

Z is for Zero, or what will be seen

Of Turkey-in-Europe in 1919.³³⁷

Chapter Four:

The Holocaust Phase Two 1919-1924

- 4.19 Partition
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Three days after Mustapha Kemal made his triumphal entry into the former Greek city, the town was swept by a devastating fire of incendiary origin, ...

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CHAPTER FOUR: THE HOLOCAUST - PHASE TWO

4.1 Partition 1919-1920

Diplomatic activity around the Pontian issue took on a new lease of life with the Ottoman Empire's collapse: the Pontian Society of Constantinople actively joined the autonomist cause; a Pontian proposal was submitted in January 1919 to Constantinople's British Commissioner, Mr. Wardrop, for a joint Hellenic-British expedition to Batum, Georgia, only to be ignored.³³⁸ On 27 February, the Pontian Society sent the following memorandum to the Hellenic Foreign Minister, N. Polites:

The Hellenes of Pontos want to take care of their fate themselves. Their exclusive wish is Freedom away from every foreign authority. In case union with Hellas is deemed unrealistic, at least let the creation of the Hellenic Republic of Pontos be recognised...³³⁹

Metropolitan Chrysanthos of Trapezounta met with Venizelos in Paris in April on the sidelines of the Peace Conference. The cleric presented his case for an independent Pontos. He was so eloquent that Venizelos acknowledged his mistake in not pushing the Pontian cause at the Conference.

I did not have this information that you have brought me; I did not know of the things you have told me. Write me a memorandum Your Grace, and re-open dialogue with those interested. And wherever they refute you, contradict them.³⁴⁰

With Venizelos' support, Metropolitan Chrysanthos began a campaign to inform all the delegates at the Conference of the issue of Pontos. From their statements, most of them were impressed by the clarity of the Metropolitan's arguments. Most, except the English, looked upon the Pontian claims with great understanding. On the issue of Pontos becoming an independent state under Hellenic command, United States President Woodrow Wilson was reported to have declared: "Everything you are telling me is amazingly convincing. Pontos must become independent".³⁴¹ The Republic of Pontos was never anything more than an

idea in the minds of certain leaders and a map on paper. There was neither the political nor the economic interest on the part of the Great Powers to create such a state.

Their attention rapidly became focussed on the HellenoItalian struggle for control of Smyrne. In the final days of the Paris Peace Conference in early-May 1919, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain and Venizelos agreed to the occupation of Smyrne by Hellenic troops. The British Chamber of Commerce at Smyrne though actively agitated for a British protectorate to be established over the region. On 6 March about 200 civil prisoners rioted at Attaleia (Antalya, on Asia Minor's south-western coast) Prison, killed their guards, escaped and began robbing and murdering the city's inhabitants. Italian troops were landed on 26 March, ostensibly to restore law and order, but really in order to secure part of the spoils for the Italian Empire. Reinforcing the point, Italian forces immediately began pushing north, towards Smyrne. To head off a potential armed clash between the two rivals, British marines were landed at a point opposite Rhodes on 14 April. They were positioned between the spheres of control assigned by the Allies to Athens and Rome.

It was stated that the military and naval precautions were taken against the possibility of rioting by the Turks when the peace conditions were imposed on them.³⁴²

On 14 May, Italian, French and British forces occupied key parts of Smyrne. The following day, Hellenic forces under Colonel Zapheiriou disembarked, to a joyous reception from the Hellenic and Armenian populations. [See photograph reproduced as Appendix 22.] On their journey across the Aegean, Hellenic and English destroyers had escorted them.³⁴³ For the first time in some seven centuries, Smyrne was in Christian hands once again. The landings were however not incident-free, with demobilised Ottoman soldiers sniping at the Allied forces as they spread out through Smyrne and into the surrounding district. By the time order was restored, some 300 people were dead.³⁴⁴ It was Admiral Sir Somerset Gough-

Calthorpe, the British High Commissioner at Constantinople, who officially announced Smyrne's occupation by Hellenic troops.

On the same day Hellenic troops landed at Smyrne a band of Turkish *chetas* entered Tralleis (Aydin), an inland city to the south-east, with the acquiescence of the Italian forces occupying southwestern Asia Minor. The *chetas*, led by a certain Adnan, proceeded to systematically massacre the town's Hellenic and Armenian population and burn the buildings.³⁴⁵ Hellenic troops under General Georgios Kondylis marched on Tralleis (Aydin) and cleared the area of *chetas* over the objections of the Italian commanders who were ostensibly responsible for the region. The Italians protested at the "violation" of their zone by the Hellenic forces.³⁴⁶ Turkish protests forced the Italians to withdraw from a similar landing at Sokia, 50 miles southeast of Smyrne in late-May.³⁴⁷

Aristeides Stergiades was appointed *Harmost* (Commissioner) of Smyrne and Ionia on 21 May. From now on, all military decisions had to be approved by the political leadership, before being carried out. A competent administrator, Stergiades had his hands full simply maintaining order in the Smyrne Zone, let alone rebuilding its devastated economy. Amongst his first acts was to repatriate some 120,000 Hellene deportees and give them loans to re-establish themselves.³⁴⁸

The Turks, who had been in control for centuries, and who had perpetrated many outrages on the Greek inhabitants, were now the subjugated race, and the Greeks naturally saw their opportunity for revenge. This revenge Mr Sterghiades knew must not be realized, and he punished most relentlessly any unfair act on the part of the Greeks toward the Turks. For example, two Greek soldiers were summarily and publicly shot in the outskirts of Smyrna because they had extorted money from the Turkish villagers. A Greek priest was thrown into prison for making uncomplimentary remarks about the Turks. In fact, the Turks themselves were so pleased with the fairness of Mr Sterghiades that in case of dissension with a Greek their strongest threat was to appeal the case to the High Commissioner.³⁴⁹

Another difficulty Stergiades had to deal with was the different systems operating in Smyrne as each power had its own consulates, post offices and courts of law which applied to their citizens. Not to mention the import laws and commercial privileges that applied to Westerners only. Third was the changing boundary of his administration and the constant Kemalist attacks. When, in 1920, the Greek Army moved beyond its initial zone of control in pursuit of these brigands:

the destruction of property and the massacres committed by the retreating Turkish Army brought added burdens to the High Commissioner, who had to appoint and assist deputies in administering and reorganizing these devastated regions.³⁵⁰

Although he was a Venizelos appointee, the new Royalist government, testimony to his abilities, did not dismiss Stergiades.³⁵¹

4.2 Muslim Reaction

These landings marked the beginning of the Hellenic Army's (ultimately catastrophic) Asia Minor Campaign. The Kemalists used the May 1919 landings at Smyrne, described as "a thunderclap [that] burst over Asia Minor which sent whole provinces scurrying to Kemal",³⁵² and renewed fears of an Armenian state being created to scare the Kurds into supporting them. It worked like a charm.³⁵³

In a 1922 article, US journalist Clair Price described Mustafa Kemal as "the personification of the Turkish people". His success in the Gallipoli Campaign had done nothing for his career, beyond his promotion to the rank of Pasha. His long-standing feud with the Ottoman Minister of War, Enver Pasha, meant that Kemal had spent the rest of the war moving from one distant post to another, far from any of the frontlines. The news of the Armistice found him in disgrace in Adana.³⁵⁴ Kemal immediately returned to Constantinople, where he was given a high position in the Ottoman government formed after the collapse of

the CUP regime. Kemal was sent to eastern Asia Minor by the Minister of War to supervise the demobilisation and disarmament of the Ottoman Army on the Caucasian Front, in order to escape a British arrest warrant that had been issued in Constantinople.

Another result of the Allied landings at Smyrne was the beginning of a Turkish civil war which pitted the Sultan (who accepted Allied troops in Asia Minor) against Mustafa Kemal (who refused to).³⁵⁵ Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) Damad Ferid Pasha's government ordered the arrest of Kemal and Reouf Bey,

charged with organizing armed bands respectively in the Erzerum and Smyrna regions. Halil Pasha, former Minister of Marine and an uncle of Enver Pasha, escaped from the capital with Kritcheik Talaat and joined Mustafa at Erzerum.³⁵⁶

Kemal was not only assembling forces to resist the Allies and the Sultan; he was re-assembling like-minded sections of the Ittihad.

Sultan Mohammed V was spirited away by the British to Malta, where he died on 3 July 1919. Damad Ferid arranged for a relative of the deposed monarch to assume the throne as Mohammed VI. Ferid then obtained a decree from the new Sultan, who was also *Sheikh-ul-Islam* (the spiritual leader of the Islamic world), proclaiming a *jihad* (holy war) against Kemal's rebels and dispatched a makeshift army to crush them.

It was a perilous moment for the Nationalists. The peasant of Asia Minor is a docile, obedient creature, whose attachment to the Caliphate is as deep-seated as his hope of Paradise.³⁵⁷

By convincing the peasantry that Damad Ferid was using Christians in his 'Caliphate Army' Kemal was able to claim that the decree of *jihad* against him was irregular and the 'Caliphate army' a fiasco.³⁵⁸

In order to secure his control of the parts of Asia Minor not occupied by the Allies, from the Dorylaion (Eski Shehir) to Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) line east to Transcaucasia against the Grand Vizier and his pro-Entente Liberal *Party* in Constantinople:

the Nationalist leader stippled the country with so-called 'military courts of independence', which stamped out every possibility of counter-revolution by promptly hanging all Ottoman subjects, whether Turkish, Greek or Armenian, who were convicted of anti-Nationalism.³⁵⁹

However victory for Kemal was far from assured. Knowing the power Islam still had amongst the Muslim peasantry of the country, he paid lip service to the religion while systematically and radically altering the structure of Turkish Islam.

Today a small framed motto, done in Arabic characters of white on a blue ground, hangs on the wall above the Speaker's desk in the Assembly Chamber – a quotation from the Koran such as may be found in thousands of devout Moslem homes – 'Let us meet together in council and discuss'.³⁶⁰

While refraining from any violation of its allegiance to the Ottoman dynasty and the Ottoman Caliphate, Kemal managed to secure for himself the conservative Muslim peasantry who had for centuries been the base of the Ottoman Empire.

Kemal had landed at Samsounta (Samsun), Pontos, on 19 May 1919 and immediately declared a national war against Hellene and Armenian organisations.³⁶¹ Here began the second phase of the extermination of the Hellenes and other Christians of Asia Minor. Irregular guerrilla bands (*chetas*) were re-organised under Topal Osman, along the lines of the CUP's Special Organisation.³⁶² Show trials of prominent Hellenes (priests, businessmen, and intellectuals), followed by exile, confiscation of property, and execution became commonplace throughout Pontos and Asia Minor. The Hellenic population of Amisoss (Samsounta/Samsun), Pontos, was decimated by nine death marches to the Anatolian desert. There were few survivors.³⁶³ All the villages of (Samsun) district of Pontos were systematically looted and razed to the ground.³⁶⁴ Boys and girls were taken as slaves by Topal Osman's irregulars. Many parents preferred killing their children to seeing them become

slaves of the Turks. Paphra (Bafra), a city in the Amisoss (Samsun) district of western Pontos, lost its entire Hellenic population in nine death marches to the interior.³⁶⁵

By ridding themselves of the Armenians, Greeks or any other group that stood in their way, Turkish nationalists were attempting to prove how they could clarify, purify and ultimately unify a polity and society so that it could succeed on its own, albeit Western-orientated terms”, wrote British scholar Mark Levene. “This, of course, was the ultimate paradox: the CUP committed genocide in order to transform the residual empire into a streamlined, homogenous nation-state on the European model. Once the CUP had started the process, the Kemalists, freed from any direct European pressure by the 1918 defeat and capitulation of Germany, went on to complete it, achieving what nobody believed possible: the reassertion of independence and sovereignty via an exterminatory war of national liberation.³⁶⁶

4.3 Hellenic Rule

The Hellenic Army liberated a number of cities in southwestern Asia Minor³⁶⁷ in the first ten days of its presence there. Despite the activities of well-armed Turkish irregulars inside the Smyrne Zone, Hellenic troops were not permitted to act against them by their officers, who were in turn acting on orders from Admiral Somerset-Calthorpe. Italian troops occupied the area south of the Maeander River (Buyuk Menedres), as far as the Smyrne-Tralleis (Aydin) railway. Hellenic forces already in this area were compelled to withdraw. Turkish irregulars thereafter operated freely in this area, often with the support of the Italians.³⁶⁸

The Hellenes of the city of Pergamon (Bergama) in western Asia Minor returned home on 4 June.³⁶⁹ Two weeks later, Turkish guerrillas captured the city, only to lose it to Hellenic troops again on 20 June. The Archipelagos Division proceeded to clear all the Turkish guerilla bands from the area, pushing them north of Kydoniae (Ayvali).³⁷⁰ In late-June, Britain's Admiral Fitzmaurice, ordered the evacuation of Nazli by Hellenic troops. The town, south-west of Smyrne, was subsequently devastated by Turkish guerilla bands, who were in

turn attacked and disbanded by Hellenic troops in the Axarios-Salihli-Ahmetli area. The Smyrne Division was then formed from a general mobilisation of Ionian Hellenes.³⁷¹ The frontier of the Smyrne protectorate now ran north-south through Pergamon, Magnesia, Nymphaion, and Tralleis (Aydin). According to regular dispatches issued by the Hellenic Government, the commander charged with securing the region from Turkish attack, General Nide, “was encountering stubborn resistance on the part of the Turks, who were reported to be well supplied with artillery”.³⁷²

A Turkish attack on Tralleis (Aydin) on 28 June forced the withdrawal of the Hellenic troops stationed there, after two days fighting. 1,000 civilian Hellenes were slaughtered by the Turks, before a counterattack on 3 July re-took the city. The Turks retreated south of the Maeander River (Buyuk Menderes), pursued by the Hellenic troops. Admiral Fitzmaurice ordered the withdrawal of the Hellenic troops north of the river.³⁷³ This was the pattern over the next three years. Turkish guerrillas would attack civilian Hellenic populations, be counter-attacked by the Hellenic military and would run to parts of Asia Minor under Italian or Turkish control where they would be out of reach of the Hellenic forces.

4.4 Diplomatic Chess

The Porte sent a delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, which would decide the fate of the Ottoman Empire, and especially the territories that would be left to the Sultan. Damad Ferid Pasha himself led the twelve-man delegation. The Council of Premiers and Foreign Ministers heard their plea on 17 June 1919:

All share of responsibility in the war that had ravaged Europe was disclaimed, and the whole blame was thrown upon the Young Turk party and the German Government.³⁷⁴

With regard to the massacres of Ottoman Christians, they were:

committed by the Turkish revolutionaries, and not only Christians, but Moslems, were their victims. The trial of the high personages responsible amounted to Turkish rehabilitation from these charges.³⁷⁵

They also accepted the Allied demand on “autonomy for Arabia and Palestine and independence for Armenia.” This did not stop the delegation from pleading for the maintenance of the Turkish Empire as it was before the war, a plea inevitably rejected by the Allies. “Its record, they declared, was an evil one; it had always destroyed and oppressed, and never shown progress in peace.” The delegates’ attitude was expressed in unusually plain language:

which left no doubt of their belief in Turkish guilt, both in entering the war and in the matter of the Armenian atrocities, and indicated their absolute incredulity regarding Turkish promises.³⁷⁶

The *Ikdam* newspaper in Constantinople wrote in a leading article on 15 July, in favour of Italian claims to parts of Asia Minor controlled by Hellas.

In these circumstances, we must await with the greatest tension the decisions of the Peace Conference. Our territorial and ethnic entity is at stake. Just now we can discover only four possible steps which a future Government may take:

1. The maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty in those territories inhabited by a Turkish majority, by means of a strict control by the powers of the Entente.
2. The granting of a mandate for Constantinople to one single power.
3. The granting of a mandate to a con-dominion - that is to say, to a group of powers enjoying equal rights.
4. The division of the Ottoman Empire into different zones, the mandates being confined, respectively, to different great powers.

This last solution of all will be the most bitter and crushing for Turkey.³⁷⁷

Inter-Allied relations were simplified with the signing of the Tittoni-Venizelos Agreement on 29 July. Italy formally renounced all claims to Smyrne, Rodos and the Dodecanese Islands, retaining only a strip of southern Asia Minor. The Great Powers drew up an agreement at the Italian resort town of San Remo reinforcing the Tittoni-Venizelos agreement and the 'secret' wartime treaties on 24 April 1920.³⁷⁸ The sting in the tail was that the retreating Italian forces left behind all their supplies intact, which were quickly swooped upon by Kemal's men as Hellenic troops were not permitted by the British to venture beyond the Maeander River (Buyuk Menderes). A war of attrition quickly developed between Hellenes and Turks across western Asia Minor that left the region utterly devastated. Hellenic populations under Allied or Hellenic rule were relatively safe. Hellenes outside these zones of control continued to endure deportation and massacre.

4.5 Offensive in the East

Kemal called a conference of Muslim regional political and military leaders in Theodosiupolis (Erzerum) for 23 June. A similar conference was held at Sevasteia (Sivas), Kappadokia, on 4 September. At these conferences, it was decided that Allied forces in Asia Minor (British, Italian, and French) would not be touched, but that Hellenes and Armenians would be confronted with all possible means. What Kemal feared most was a union of Hellenic forces in Ionia (western Asia Minor) with the Christian guerillas active in the mountains of Pontos and the newly-formed Armenian Army. The presence of properly trained and equipped Hellenic troops in Pontos could have led to the implementation of the Treaty of Sevres: the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.³⁷⁹ In late-July Turkish and Azeri forces invaded Armenia from three directions in what was labelled a "War of Extermination".³⁸⁰ Mustapha Kemal ordered the 3rd Regiment based at Sevasteia (Sivas) north-central Asia Minor and the 15th Regiment based at Theodosiupolis (Erzerum) in

western Armenia “*to destroy the Pontian bands*”³⁸¹ on 22 August, acknowledging the threat the Hellene resistance fighters posed to his assault on Armenia.

Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education in New York and lately Red Cross Commissioner in Palestine, told the United States Government and mass media in September that “massacres of Armenians by the Turks” had recommenced in February “and had continued ever since”. His source was William Allen White, who Dr. Finley stated had written in early-June that:

The small Armenian Republic, which had but a weak and ill-equipped army, was entirely surrounded by a Turco-Tartar cordon of Governments determined to destroy the new and struggling nation. The Young Turks desired, first, to cut off Caucasian Armenia from so-called Turkish Armenia, and, second, to exterminate the whole race, the outpost of Christian civilization in the East.³⁸²

White’s report was confirmed on 30 July by Major Joseph C. Green, director of the American Relief Administration’s work at Tiflis, the information contained in a series of despatches to Herbert Hoover. He in turn presented the information to the Peace Conference in Paris, “which had already received similar dispatches from other American and British observers”. In his despatch of 23 July, Major Green said that well-prepared Turkish and Tartar forces were described as advancing from west, south and east.

If military protection is not afforded to Armenia immediately the disaster will be more terrible than the massacres in 1915, and the Armenian Nation will be crushed, to the everlasting shame of the Allies.³⁸³

The Turkish and Tartar armies (commanded by a Kemalist officer, Colonel Khalil Bey) were blocking new relief and military supplies. In another despatch two days later Major Green reported that “relief depots and trains are surrounded and have probably been seized”. He repeated an earlier call for British troops already in the Caucasus to be used to push the Turks out of the territory of the Republic of Armenia in order to save not only the new

country but also the Armenian people. It was a call that fell on deaf ears.³⁸⁴ Then, as today, Russian Armenia also had a substantial Hellenic population, boosted in recent years by refugees from Pontos. As during the World War, so during this campaign, massacres of Christians of all nationalities in the territories conquered by Kemal's forces were widespread.

Some believed that Kemal's co-ordinated invasion was triggered by the:

delay by the Congress of the United States in deciding the question of accepting a mandate over Constantinople and Armenia. Fear of the power of America had kept the brutality of the Turkish troops in check, but the long delay in settlement of the question had unchained anew the age-long and inveterate hatred borne by the Turks to the Armenians.³⁸⁵

Prime Minister Venizelos supported a United States mandate over Armenia, stating in Paris on 14 September "that if the status of Turkey were not settled soon there would be no Armenians left". The United States State Department publicly announced its decision on the proposed mandates on 28 August: "the United States neither desired nor would accept a mandate for Armenia". Furthermore, it said that it did not believe that American public opinion "would not support the necessary military force to preserve the Armenian Republic from the Turks". An intense pressure campaign of petitions and pamphlets by prominent Armenians and pro-Armenians in favour of the mandate being adopted was stepped up, promoting the idea that "the mandatory guardianship of the United States of the only means to save the survivors of the Turkish war massacres".³⁸⁶ [See the cartoons reproduced as Appendices Thirteen and Fourteen.]

Obviously feeling the pressure but unwilling to change its attitude, the United States Government declared that it was merely following its pre-war policy in the Near East. Washington had not declared war on the Ottoman Empire and had no desire to do so now. It did however leave a window of opportunity open. It conceded that this policy could possibly be altered once the report by Major General James G. Harbord was submitted. The

American military man had been sent to Armenia and Transcaucasia in mid-August to investigate the situation in the region.³⁸⁷ However, as is explained later, the best humanitarian sentiments could not match the power of the oil of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and the Caucasus, wealth that was secretly being offered to US companies, particularly Standard Oil (today's Exxon).

4.6 Another Player

Domestically too, Kemal went on the offensive, forming his own government based in Angyra (Ankara) on 13 September 1919, in opposition to that of the Sultan in Constantinople. He openly rejected the proposed peace treaty and drew up a new 'national oath' for the creation of a "Turkey for the Turks" and 'a declaration of war against Hellene and Armenian organisations'. His attempts to create a "Turkish Orthodox Church", under his control, failed miserably as the region's Orthodox clergy and laity refused to abandon the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.³⁸⁸ Some diplomats described Kemal and his followers "as patriots not opposed to any rational decree of the Peace Conference", while others saw the Kemalists as being "opposed to any political or territorial change in the empire". The situation was not made any clearer by the sacking of Damad Ferid and his replacement with a new Cabinet under General Ali Riza Pasha on 4 October. A key demand of Kemal, Ferid's dismissal was a futile attempt by the Sultan at accommodating Kemal.³⁸⁹

Speaking in Sheffield, England on 17 October, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George declared that "The people of Turkey have been living in the shadow of a great tyranny for centuries. They are appealing to America for help. I hope that the appeal will not be in vain". United States Ambassador Henry Morgenthau published an appeal the next day, "for the acceptance by the United States and a mandate for Constantinople, Armenia, and Anatolia".³⁹⁰ During a debate on the peace treaty in the United States Senate, Senator

Brandege of Connecticut told the Chamber that he had received many letters asking that something be done to protect the Armenians following the withdrawal of the British troops.

‘Of course, we know, or have been informed through the press, that the British are withdrawing rapidly their forces from Armenia and the Caucasus and have requested this country to send from 100,000 to 200,000 men over there to take the place of the withdrawn British troops’.³⁹¹

A question on oil punctured his address. Senator Borah asked ‘There are not any undeveloped oil fields in Armenia or Turkey, then?’ to which Brandege replied:

‘The article states that the President is very anxious that we should accept the mandate for Armenia, and, therefore I assume that there is no oil or anything else of use to this country there.’³⁹²

While the United States and the other Allies were attempting to decide how to deal with the situation in the Near East, “[r]epresentatives of all the provinces assembled” at Sevasteia (Sivas) in November 1919 “and laid the foundation for the Nationalist movement”. [See cartoon reproduced as Appendix Fifteen.] In early 1920 the Turkish Grand National Assembly was formed in Angyra (Ankara),³⁹³ passing the fundamental law on 20 January:

all the power of the State is vested in the hands of the National Assembly, the members of which are direct representatives of the people. There are no separate legislative, executive and judicial powers, as generally accepted by the European democracies. The National Assembly is all three in one. Mustapha Kemal ... is the formal representative of the nation. He signs the acts of the Assembly and the treaties agreed with the foreign nations, and he receives the diplomatic representatives of foreign Governments.³⁹⁴

The name of the country was changed to Turkey. Under the Ottoman Constitution, only the Sultan could declare war or peace, dissolve Parliament, receive diplomats and appoint Cabinet and the Senate.³⁹⁵ The Grand National Assembly’s ‘National Pact’ stripped the Sultan of his secular powers, the first step to the abolition of the institution altogether.

Control of the country's economy (overwhelmingly in Christian hands until the Great War) had long been a major issue amongst Turkish Nationalists. The infamous 'Capitulations' dated back to 1060 when the Eastern Roman Emperor made the Venetian colony in Constantinople judicially autonomous. The Genoese colony secured similar rights in 1152. As soon as Mehmet the Conqueror took the City, he confirmed the Genoese colony's capitulatory rights. Islamic Egypt (1252) and Tripoli (1270) gave similar rights to France. Sultan Selim I conquered Egypt in 1517. He confirmed French rights there and extended them throughout the Ottoman Empire in 1535.³⁹⁶ In 1830 an American-Ottoman Treaty signed.

Under the economic capitulations the embassies at Constantinople claimed for their nationals exemption from every tax levied by the Ottoman Government, except land tax and customs duties; in the case of customs duties the agreement of the embassies was necessary before their nationals became liable.³⁹⁷

The Sultan had abolished the capitulations on 28 September 1914, but they were reimposed by the Allies in December 1918. Article 6 of the Turkish National Pact stated:

with a view to assuring our national and economic development, and with the object of giving the country a regular and more modern administration, the signatories of the present pact consider the possession of complete independence and liberty as the sine qua non of our national existence. In consequence, we oppose all juridical or financial restrictions of any nature which would arrest our national development.³⁹⁸

Kemal's 'National Pact' was adopted by the (completely Turkish) Ottoman Parliament in Constantinople on 28 January, one of its final acts before the British dissolved the institution on 16 March.³⁹⁹ The last Chamber of Deputies was dissolved on 11 April 1920, meaning that:

the Great National Assembly at Angora exercises the functions of a Parliament and makes the de facto Government established by Mustapha Kemal Pasha a dominant factor, much stronger than the Government of Mohammed VI., the reigning Sultan of Turkey.⁴⁰⁰

The 1920 National Pact declared all Turkey's Muslims to be "natural compatriots". "Committees for Turco-Kurdish Independence" were set up.⁴⁰¹ So for a time, there were not one but two Turkish governments, each claiming the other were illegitimate. The Allies initially refused to recognise Kemal's declaration of independence but the re-emergence of the Soviet Union in regional geopolitics forced them to change this attitude. At the Battle of Inonu (7 January 1921) Kemalist forces under Ismet Pasha defeated the last army loyal to the Sultan, effectively ending the Turkish Civil War. Seeing Kemal win, the Allies offered Kemal a revised peace treaty, which he rejected out of hand.⁴⁰²

4.7 Thrace

The Christians of Thrace and Asia Minor were by no means sitting on their hands, waiting to be saved by the Great Powers. Hellene refugees in Thrace addressed an appeal to the American people and press, through a petition to President Wilson asking him to give his approval to the union of Thrace with the Hellenic Kingdom; by 4 October it had 87,380 signatures from Thracian refugees in the Thessalonike region alone. The appeal called on the United States to apply the principle of self-determination to Thrace, adding:

It is a well-known fact that of the population of Bulgarian Thrace and Turkish Thrace the Turks and Greeks together form 85 per cent, and the Bulgarians only 6 per cent ...⁴⁰³

The Hellenic press stated that:

there were in Greece alone nearly 200,000 Greek Thracians from Bulgarian and Turkish Thrace, who had been driven mercilessly from their homes and property in 1913, 1914, and 1915, and who had since been living in Greece at the expense of the Government. Thousands had also in those years fled to America.⁴⁰⁴

The Hellenic mass print media recommended the establishment of a:

large allied repatriation commission to reinstate these exiles in their homes and lands and expel therefore the Bulgarian and Turkish squatters, who had since taken possession. 'Only after

these preliminaries have been completed,' it was added, 'can the question even be discussed as to what portion, if any, of Thrace should be annexed to the proposed International State of Constantinople.⁴⁰⁵

Reinforcing the argument in favour of the unification of all of Thrace with the Hellenic Kingdom, the Pomak inhabitants of Bulgarian Thrace⁴⁰⁶ sent a strong protest to the Peace Conference in Paris against their region being retained by Sofia. The Pomak delegation was led by Ismail Hakki Bey, Deputy for Gumuldjina (Komotene) in the Bulgarian Parliament. Ismail ended the lengthy protest statement with the following words:

As for the Greeks, we Mussulmans of Thrace feel that we can live with them and in perfect good fellowship, despite the difference of religion. We have more in common with the Greeks than with any hybrid international regime that may be erected in Western or Eastern Thrace, and I am confident that after the upheaval due to the gigantic world struggle has passed Mussulmans and Greeks will settle down everywhere together to a life of peace and co-operation in honest work and of material prosperity.⁴⁰⁷

Further complicating the situation, Colonel Djafer Tayar, commander of the First Ottoman Army Corps in Adrianoupole (Edirne), declared the autonomy of Thrace from the Ottoman Empire on 4 April.⁴⁰⁸ There were now three Turkish governments in three centres. With the security situation in the region out of control and British troops in Thrace's largest city, Constantinople, Prime Minister Venizelos contacted the Hellenic General Staff (via telegraph from Belgium) on 20 June, ordering the immediate occupation of eastern Thrace. After a six-day campaign, eastern Thrace was liberated by Hellenic troops by 12 July.⁴⁰⁹

4.8 Pontos and Armenia

In the east, Metropolitan Chrysanthos of Trapezounta met with representatives of the Armenian government in Yerevan between 10 and 16 January. The Pontian leader and Prime Minister Khatisian signed an agreement for the creation of a Hellenic-Armenian Federation,

uniting the fledgling Republic of Armenia and an autonomous Pontos. The Armenians wanted the complete annexation of Pontos, whereas the Pontian Hellenes wanted a measure of autonomy. This difference of opinion, coupled with the refusal of the British to permit either the creation of a Pontian army or the landing of Hellenic forces in Pontos meant that the landmark treaty was never implemented. The "Tribunal of Independence" at Angyra (Ankara) condemned Metropolitan Chrysanthos to death (*in absentia*), for his part in the proposed creation of a Pontian Hellenic-Armenian Federation.⁴¹⁰ The Allies officially recognised the existence of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia on 15 January 1920. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States hoped that the United States Congress would accept a mandate for Armenia. On 1 June the United States Senate formally refused to accept a mandate over Armenia that would have made Armenia a protectorate of the United States for a certain period.⁴¹¹

Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos sent the following telegram to the Pontian National Assembly in Batum Georgia on 21 January:

I recognise that the Pontians do not accept my submission to the (Paris Peace) Conference that the Trapezounta vilayet (province) be included in the Armenian State. And I am prepared to acknowledge this in the conference, because I do not think I have the right to impose this solution, without your approval. But please explain to these representatives what thinking led me to write this submission. I do not think claims for the establishment of a Pontian state have hope of success.⁴¹²

In November 1919 Colonel Katheriotis again proposed to the British ambassador in Athens the dispatch of a newly formed Pontian Battalion from Hellas to Batum, Georgia. Once in Batum, the Pontian troops would support the local anti-Bolshevik and anti-Turkish forces in protecting the region's Christian population. The proposal was rejected outright by the British diplomat.⁴¹³ Hellas sent 23,000 soldiers to participate in the Entente's failed anti-

Bolshevik campaign in Ukraine between January and May 1920. When these troops left for Hellas, thousands of Ukrainian Pontians left with them. The dispatch of these battle-hardened troops to Pontos would have been a relatively simple logistical exercise; except for the fact that the British again blocked such a move.⁴¹⁴

4.9 Treaty of Sevres

Entente forces occupied Constantinople on 15 March 1920. The next day British and Indian troops dissolved the Ottoman Parliament and arrested 40 Nationalist (Kemalist) Deputies and more than 100 other Kemalist leaders. Those arrested were sent to Malta for trial.

The rest of the Nationalist leaders in Constantinople, both Deputies and others, fled across the Bosphorus in a great and unrecorded Hegira, and began filtering into Angora in a hundred different disguises.⁴¹⁵

The National Assembly in Constantinople protested and the Ferid government declared Kemal an outlaw.⁴¹⁶ The Grand National Assembly in Ankara declared the Sultan's government prisoner of the Allies on 29 April and so refused to recognise the validity of their orders, proclaiming in advance as null and void any obligations entered into by the Sultan.⁴¹⁷

The Kemalists' War Office became the "Ministry of National Defense". There were two heads here – Rafet Pasha, Minister of War (whose authority was carried down into the provinces by Military Governors whom he had stationed in every provincial capital of importance), and Fevzi Pasha (Chief of the General Staff). Under Kemal, these two ruled Asia Minor.⁴¹⁸

On 11 May "the British communicated the Sevres Treaty to Ferid". The Grand Vizier assembled some 80 Ottoman notables at the Yildiz Palace and had it accepted.⁴¹⁹ The Treaty was signed by the Allies and the Ottoman Empire on 10 August. This document was the Empire's death certificate and to this day sends chills down the spines of Kemalists. The

articles dealing with territory ceded Eastern Thrace and the Smyrne region of Ionia to Hellas. Lesbos, Imvros and Tenedos were united as one administrative region of Hellas. Two new independent states were created: Armenia, with an outlet to the Euxeinos Pontos (Black Sea), and Kurdistan. [See map reproduced as Appendix Sixteen.] Cilicia and Syria were mandated to France. Palestine and Mesopotamia were mandated to Britain. Italy gained the south-west region adjacent to the Aegean Islands Rome had seized from the Sultan a decade earlier. The Turks were left with the Anatolian plateau of central Asia Minor, the only region where they constituted a clear majority of the population.⁴²⁰ After extensive consultations with Britain, but without any explicit sign of support, the Hellenic Army officially launched the Asia Minor Campaign, a military expedition that aimed to clear the Kemalists from Asia Minor. [See map reproduced as Appendix Seventeen.]

The new peace treaty satisfied no-one but the British. France and Italy both refused to sign, saying it gave too much territory to Hellas. As one commentator said in 1922,

had this Peace Treaty ... been ratified, or recognized by the United States, the leading signatory nations outside of Great Britain – France, Italy, and Greece – would no doubt have felt obliged to carry out to the letter the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations embodied in that treaty, and would not have recognized the Kemal Government at Angora.⁴²¹

The 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement made the oil-rich Mosul region of northern Mesopotamia part of French Syria, but the British had occupied it in 1918 and now refused to leave. Shortly afterwards, both Paris and Rome reached agreement with Kemal, withdrew their troops from Asia Minor and left the Kemalists vast amounts of supplies.

The treaty which Kemal's mission signed at Moscow on March 16, 1920, has already given complete and explicit recognition to the Turkish National Pact.⁴²²

By the terms of the 13 October agreement signed between Kemal's government on the one hand, and the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and the Mountain

Republic (Daghestan) at Kars, Armenia, the autonomous State of Nakhitchevan, was set up on Armenian territory under the protection of Azerbaijan. Half of Caucasian Armenia was given to the Turks, as was large tracts of Georgia. This agreement, which abolished all treaties relating to the Caucasus signed prior to the Moscow treaty of 1920, included in its preamble recognized the rights of peoples to self-determination.⁴²³

The Turco-French Treaty was signed on 20 October 1920, negotiated by France's representative at Angyra, Henry Franklin-Bouillon, and Kemal's Foreign Affairs people. The French did not consider Kemal's actions as an insurrection, "but rather as a continuation of war". From 75,000 to 100,000 French soldiers were required in Cilicia, and several thousand French soldiers were killed in fighting with Muslim guerrillas, most of whom were loyal to Kemal. "The cost of maintaining so large an army so far from France was large, and the French nation grumbled about it".⁴²⁴ In April of that year Britain and France had made another of their secret agreements, this one at San Remo, "to pool and divide among themselves certain oil resources in the Near East".⁴²⁵ London and Paris reached agreement on 23 December:

to strengthen the San Remo agreement and provide for joint British and French co-operation in certain points connected with the mandates for Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon.⁴²⁶

Kemal had, in effect, paid the French to withdraw from Asia Minor. The Turks convinced Paris that their Near Eastern territories would be secured if they surrendered Cilicia. "France made considerable concessions to the Kemalists to which the British object strenuously".⁴²⁷ Articles 8 and 10 – the ones dealing with territory – sent Lord Curzon, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, into fits. He declared "that France had no right to make such concessions, as they disposed of territory which France held only as a mandatory".⁴²⁸

Henry Woodhouse wrote that France had:

acquired a substantial foothold in the Near East, with commercial, mining and political privileges such as no other nation ever held under Turkish sanction.⁴²⁹

London's opposition to the Turco-French Treaty stemmed not from any concern for the native Christians but from concern at the Turkish threat to "her position in establishing an oil monopoly in mandated countries". The British Foreign Office knew full well that Kemal would never recognise the British claims to the Mesopotamian oil fields, "and that, if they should be victorious, the British oil monopoly on former Turkish territory would be in danger". In order to further secure their hold, London announced it would shun Kemal's government at Angyra and "confine dealings entirely to the passive Sultan Government in Constantinople".⁴³⁰

The announcement of the Turco-French Treaty triggered a new round of massacres of Christians in Cilicia, and renewing fears of the consequences of the pending withdrawal of French troops. "It is estimated that the Turks have slain 25,000 Armenians in Cilicia since 1920".⁴³¹ The French evacuation began on 28 November. At once news came out of the region from Armenian and Hellenic sources of renewed atrocities on the part of the Turks, while from Angyra it emerged that the Nationalists expected to recruit 50,000 Cilician Muslims and replenish their munitions supplies from the ammunition dumps abandoned by the French.⁴³² Clair Price became "the first American journalist to traverse Cilicia after the Turkish re-occupation". Her writings with regard to Kemal's Turkey exhibit a curious dichotomy. The articles she published during her time there have a decidedly pro-Kemalist slant. However, upon her return to the United States, Price 'changed her tune': "what has happened in Cilicia is being regarded as an indication of what may happen in Smyrna, should Smyrna finally be returned to the Nationalists".

The French quickly withdrew to Upper Mesopotamia while the Armenians fled to port of Mersine (Mersin) and the Dortyol district, following the French out. The French

Commander, Colonel Sarrou, arranged a meeting between Hamid Bey, Kemal's political officer, an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, and Cilicia's Christian leaders on 22 November. Gregorian and Roman Catholic Armenians, as well as Orthodox (Hellenic and Assyrian) notables attended. Assurances for their security were issued by the Kemalists but were, unsurprisingly, not believed. Two days later General Muheddin Pasha, Military Governor of Cilicia, and Hamid Bey arrived in Adana. Some 15,000 Armenians had already fled to Cyprus, the Syrian port of Alexandretta, Smyrne and Constantinople. Another 40,000 waited for transport at Mersine (Mersin). British, French and Hellenic authorities forbade further entry of refugees to their territories. One hundred Armenian notables in Mersine (Mersin) met with Muheddin and Hamid and Bouillon. The same reassurances were issued by the Turks and French and ignored by the Armenians. The French finally relented and opened Alexandretta to the Armenian refugees at Mersine (Mersin). Hamid Bey told the meeting:

As for the Orthodox and Syrian Catholics who remain in Cilicia, you may see for yourself whether they are prospering under our rule. We are doing our best to persuade them to return, and I am convinced that as far as they succeed in breaking away from the Armenian organization, they will come back to their homes.⁴³³

By 29 December, the last Armenians had left Mersine (Mersin) and Cilicia, once home to a flourishing Armenian Kingdom, was almost exclusively Muslim. "According to the French official announcement, 3,985 Christians remained in Cilicia of their own free will".⁴³⁴

These agreements between Kemal and some of the Great Powers were bilateral treaties the Kemalists signed with three European powers. By concluding and implementing these treaties, three world powers (France, Italy and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), were in effect recognising that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was the real and legitimate power in the regions of Asia Minor outside Allied control and that the Grand National Assembly in

Ankara constituted the legitimate government of Turkey. As some commentators at the time wrote:

By accepting Kemal's representatives to the London Session of the Peace Conference in March 1921, allowing them to propose modifications to Sevres and responding to their proposals, the Allies de facto, if not de jure, recognised Kemal's Government.⁴³⁵

Kemal's government can therefore be held responsible for the deportations and massacres of Christians in the regions under its control, atrocities that barely stopped after the collapse of the CUP two years before. Since the end of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, denialists have attempted to lay all blame for the atrocities suffered by the Christian populations on the defunct Ottoman Empire, leaving the new Republican Turkey, free of any guilt. The existence of such government-to-government agreements put paid to any suggestions that Kemal's Turkey bears no responsibility for the death that occurred between 1919 and 1922. Ankara celebrates 29 October 1923 as the beginning of the Republican period, attempting to distance itself from the devastation of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. These are semantics. Responsibility cannot be discarded so arbitrarily.

4.10 Renewed Offensive in the East

As mentioned earlier the Kemalists secured munitions from the Ottoman Army, from Soviet Russia, as well as from the Italians and the French. "Still more came from raids on allied depots along the Straits, raids conducted with or without the connivance of allied officers". For example, in early December 1921 a British military mission went to Inepoli (Inebolu) on the Pontian coast in disguise 'to secure an option on the apple crop'. Rafet Pasha met them there, and arranged for the purchase of a large amount of British munitions for use against the Hellenes.⁴³⁶ Even with these 'free' munitions, war is an expensive business: Kemal "increased his customs tariff five times over, he has added a 40 per cent requisition tax" in

order to fund his 'War of Independence'. Deputies were paid out of the *Evkaf* (religious institutions). Soldiers and minor officials "rarely see a pay day". Despite his public declarations of independence from the Sultan, Kemal confined:

himself to the use of the paper issued at Constantinople during the war; as rapidly as this is worn out it is sent to the Ottoman Public Debt offices in Constantinople to be exchanged for clean paper.⁴³⁷

Clair Price wrote in 1922 that "Kemal holds the still incomplete but slowly maturing Pan-Turanian project" of great importance. When Baghdad fell to the British in 1917:

Germany's eastern highway swung to the north, the old Berlin-to-Bagdad scheme gave way to the new Berlin - Baku - Bokhara scheme, and Transcaucasia was made over from Russia to Turkey amid the rattling sabres of Brest-Litovsk.⁴³⁸

In September 1920 Kemal's army invaded the fledgling Armenian Republic, a state born after the Great War from the remnants of the Armenian Genocide.⁴³⁹ Despite the desperately fought defense of the region's Christian Armenian, Hellenic and Russian populations on 7 November Turkish troops seized Kars and Alexandropol (Leninakan).⁴⁴⁰ Yerevan and Ankara signed the Treaty of Alexandropol on 3 December, setting the Armenian-Turkish border much further east than the border set by the Treaty of Sevres. Armenia also officially acknowledged that there were no Armenian minorities in Turkey (therefore Yerevan had no territorial claims on Ankara) and the Nakhitchevan region was made an autonomous Turkic state.⁴⁴¹ The total elimination of the Armenians was only averted by the intervention of the Red Army, who absorbed the parts of the Republic not occupied by the Turks into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.⁴⁴² Knowing the British had forbidden Hellas to land troops along the Pontian coast, Kemal left his irregulars to battle the equally untrained Pontian guerrillas, while he opened an eastern back door past Yerevan in case retreat became necessary.⁴⁴³

As he recorded in *Meetings with Remarkable Men*, 20th century philosopher Georgios Ioannou Georgiades (better known as Georgi Ivanovitch Gurdjieff), military conquest was not enough for Kemal's men. There was no organised opposition to speak of to the Turkish advance and yet there were widespread massacres of those who did not manage to (or chose not to) escape from the rapid Turkish advance.⁴⁴⁴ After an epic trek under extreme winter conditions, some 20,000 Hellenes from the Kars region of Armenia arrived in Hellas. They had walked from Kars to Tiflis (Tbilisi), then by train to Batum and then by ship to Thessalonike, arriving in January 1921.⁴⁴⁵ Many did not survive the journey. Some chose to remain in the northern Caucasus, founding the village of Sparte (Sparta), 100 kilometres from Stavropol in southern Russia.

4.11 Hellenic Politics

A series of political events in Hellas marked the turning point of the Asia Minor Campaign and sealed the fate of the indigenous Christians of Asia Minor. The popular King Alexander of Hellas died in Marseilles on 25 October.⁴⁴⁶ His two brothers, Georgios (the elder) and Pavlos (the younger), however, refused to succeed him. These refusals had the effect of turning the coming parliamentary elections into a referendum on the return to Hellas of the twice-exiled pro-German king, Constantine.⁴⁴⁷ When Prime Minister Venizelos announced elections for 14 November, the Ambassadors of Britain, France and the United States in Athens:

came out with a formal warning to the Greek people that they must vote for Venizelos at the risk, otherwise, of losing all friendship and support from the allied and associated powers.⁴⁴⁸

Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos lost the elections to a coalition of monarchist and leftist parties whose only common positions were opposing Venizelos and promising to end the war. Of the 370 seats in Parliament, 246 were won by the coalition as opposed to 120 by

the Venizelists.⁴⁴⁹ Mr. Tsamados, Hellenic Ambassador to Washington from February 1919 to November 1920, wrote that Venizelos' defeat was due to the mobilization of a decade and three wars. The Kretan politician had:

extended the Greek Kingdom beyond the wildest Nationalist hopes and freed the groaning Greek population of Thrace and Asia Minor, but he wearied the people of old Greece, and the strain of ten years of continual mobilization was too great for them.⁴⁵⁰

Again when the plebiscite for the recall of Constantine was announced, the Ministers of Great Britain and France, representing also the attitude of the United States, solemnly notified the Greeks that in case Constantine was recalled an economic blockade would be declared against Greece.⁴⁵¹

Despite these warnings, on 20 December 1920, King Constantine re-assumed the throne of the Hellenic Kingdom. With the return of the pro-German King to power in Hellas, Britain reneged on the deal reached with Venizelos to deliver the Smyrne region, eastern Thrace and Cyprus to Hellas. The threatened blockade was enforced by Britain, France and the USA. The financial blockade imposed in November meant that Hellas could not obtain a loan in Europe or the USA while maintaining a standing army of 250,000 men and fighting a war. The effect was a series of emergency measures by which Hellas aimed to raise loans internally without triggering hyperinflation.⁴⁵²

The Allies abandoned the Hellenes to fight it out with the Kemalists. The Soviet Union supplied Kemal with all the war materiel he could pay for with food as Lenin considered the Hellenes "as British pawns in the game of the Near East". Italy supported Kemal:

in the hope that Greece's defeat in Asia Minor will open the way for Italian penetration into these markets, and will make things easier in the turbulent Tripolitan (Libyan) hinterland.⁴⁵³

The United States Government "is viewing the whole problem of the Levant with little or no concern". The United States press and:

courageous statesmen like Senator King of Utah protest against the tacit support given by America to the butchers of Anatolia, murderers of 1,000,000 Armenians and 700,000 Greek civilians.⁴⁵⁴

As had been proven in the case of Armenia the year before, “when it comes to the question of American interests with the Levant, silence is the only answer with Turkey as the only beneficiary”.⁴⁵⁵

Domestically also the repercussions of the fall of Venizelos were quickly felt. Venizelist officers in the Hellenic Army were replaced by monarchists, including units in Asia Minor. Many of units were left leaderless in the middle of a campaign as there were not enough officers considered loyal enough to the King to fill all the vacancies. The “Centre for National Defence” (*Kentro Ethnikis Amynis; KEA*) was formed by Venizelists in Constantinople, quickly developing cells in Paris, London and Athens.⁴⁵⁶ The KEA sent a memorandum to General Papoulias on 28 January 1921, urging him to take on the leadership of the Asia Minor autonomist movement.⁴⁵⁷

4.12 Pontos

Having crushed Armenian attempts at resurrecting their state, the Kemalists focussed on destroying all opposition in Pontos. On 28 January Metropolitan Zelon of Amaseia in western Pontos was arrested by the Turkish authorities, and brought before the Tribunal of Independence at Amaseia (Amasya). On trial with him were the entire personnel of the Diocese; 72 Hellene notables (professionals, teachers, civil servants, businessmen) of Samsounta (Samsun) plus another thirteen from neighbouring cities; 85 men in all. As the most senior, Metropolitan Zelon undertook their common defense; his address to the court was so eloquent that the judges postponed delivering their verdict and sentence. (The usual

procedure was arrest, trial, verdict of guilt, sentence of death, and then execution in less than 24 hours).

As it was Holy Week (the week before Easter Sunday), Metropolitan Zelon continued to fulfill his priestly duties in prison. When the Turkish guards realised what he was doing, he was thrown into solitary confinement on Easter Sunday. Despite merciless torture, he continued to pray and chant until the day he died. When he realised death was approaching, he performed his own funeral service. On 29 May his body gave up. His remains were wrapped in a blanket and buried in the courtyard of a nearby church. Three days later, a written order for his death arrived from Mustapha Kemal. His fellow inmates were hung on 21 September. Amongst them was Nikolaos Kapetanidis, publisher of the Trapezounta (Trabzon) newspaper *Εποχή* (Times) and supporter of the unification of Pontos with Hellas.⁴⁵⁸

The Laz boatman turned mass murderer, Topal Osman, and his band of 850 *chetas* killed all the remaining Hellenes of Neokaisareia (Niksar) Pontos on 8 April. It was then the turn of Erbaa (Herek), where in two houses alone, more than 450 people were strangled (the women were raped first). At Kirk-Harman, the elderly, women and children who stayed, were gathered in the largest houses of the town. The houses were then burned to the ground. The *chetas* then moved on to Merziphounta (Merzifun). In five hours, 1,800 Hellenic homes were burned, with their occupants inside. Kavvesos (Havza) was next. The remaining Hellenes of the town were butchered: their body parts were thrown down the public wells. At Kavak, the women and children had their throats cut and were then thrown into the river, before their homes were burned. At every village between Kavak and Samsounta (Samsun), the Hellenes were killed and their homes burned.⁴⁵⁹ On 30 April Topal's *chetas* arrived in Samsounta (Samsun) Pontos. Some 1,500 elderly, women and children who had sought refuge at the

village of Atta were killed. More than 50 Hellenic towns and villages in western Pontos were destroyed by Topal and his followers during April and May alone.⁴⁶⁰

About 550 elderly, women and children in the village of Surmeli in the Paphra (Bafra) region of Pontos, were burned alive in one of the village churches, by Topal's *chetas* in May. In the village of Musamli, some 365 women and children were forced into the Tsigalides' residence, which was then set alight. Topal repeated this horror in the nearby village of Kizilkiol. About 800 villagers from a group of neighbouring villages had gathered in the Church of Ayios Georgios, outside Paphra (Bafra), in an attempt to save themselves. Topal's men torched the church with everyone inside. The remaining Hellene women and children gathered at Paphra (Bafra) for a forced march to the Kurdish mountains: 5,500 set out, only 350 reached Diyarbekir in November. Themiskyra (Charshamba) was put to the torch next. At nearby Agatsemini, every Hellene Topal's men could find was herded into a cave. They were slashed with axes and stabbed with knives until the Turks' fury was spent. The dead, dying and a few survivors (they played dead) were covered with tree branches and with dust. Many Hellenes had sought to escape in the forest of Kestene-Keris. They were followed by Topal's band; few survived. Taking the village of Karapertzin in the Samsounta (Samsun) district by surprise, Topal captured 270 women and children and slaughtered them all. After an all-night march, Topal's *chetas* reached Djoumboush, where they came across 500 Hellenes and some Turkish guards on a march towards the interior. The *chetas* attacked them with rifles, whips, hands and feet. The victims were shot, beaten, stabbed and thrown into a canyon. None survived.⁴⁶¹

In June Topal Osman killed many of the wealthy and prominent Hellenes of Tripolis (Tirebolu), Kerasounta (Giresun), Poulantzake (Bulancak) and Kotyora (Ordu) in Pontos, confiscating their possessions afterwards. (Many of modern Turkey's rich families gained their wealth in this manner). Kotyora (Ordu): 190 men were hanged; two of the largest

Hellenic churches were converted into prisons; systematic looting of all shops and homes. Tripolis (Tirebolu): of a population of over 2,500, only 200 women and children remained. Kerasounta (Giresun): of a population of 14,000, only 4,000 women and children remained. Phavva (Fatsa) and Unish suffered the same fate. 1,320 prominent Hellenes of Samsounta (Samsun), Pontos were arrested on 3 June. The next day, 701 of them were killed and buried in a mass grave behind the house of Governor Bekir Pasha. The rest were deported to Sevasteia (Sivas) in Kappadokia. Few survived.⁴⁶²

Metropolitan Germanos of Amaseia in western Pontos proposed the Hellenic forces in Asia Minor co-operate with Kurdish and Armenian forces to strike at Kemal's forces in discussions with the Hellenic Foreign Affairs Minister on 10 March. The Hellenic Government formally replied to Metropolitan Germanos' proposal on 9 April: "We share expressed points of view and approve actions towards the creation of the Kurdish diversion for Kemal's army". The plan never left the realm of paper as the Royalist government had other plans.⁴⁶³ The idea was given renewed life when a committee of Pontian Hellenes visited the Hellenic Prime Minister Demetrios Gounares in Smyrne on 21 July, asking him to send troops to Samsounta (Samsun). In their submission, they again stressed the necessity of co-operation with the Kurdish tribesmen, opening another battlefield for Kemal's forces. A three-way attack - guerrillas from the east, Assyrian and Kurdish tribesmen from the south-east and the Hellenic Army from the west - would then give the Hellenic army a great chance to defeat Kemal once and for all. The Government, isolated by the Allies and knowing the Great Powers were now opposed to a Pontian state, remained silent to this proposal.⁴⁶⁴

4.13 International Games

The London Conference on the 'Near Eastern Question' began in February 1921, attended by not one but two Turkish delegations: one on behalf of the Sultan, the other sent by

Kemal. The Treaty of Sevres was unofficially abandoned. "Once the ephemeral props of Sevres had been unceremoniously removed, a post-Ottoman genocidal order underwritten by the West was in effect, confirmed".⁴⁶⁵ As mentioned earlier, France and Italy had reached secret agreements with Kemal's representatives, giving up any claims to territory in Asia Minor and Cilicia, in return for widespread economic concessions.⁴⁶⁶

In mid-February Bolshevik troops invaded newly-independent Georgia. By 9 March all effective resistance was over and the kingdom was forcibly absorbed into the Soviet Union.⁴⁶⁷ A week later, Kemal signed a Friendship Treaty with Soviet Russia which delivered Armenia's Kars and Ahtaleia (Ardahan) regions to Turkey and delivered Moscow and Ankara their regime's mutual legitimacy.⁴⁶⁸

Alarmed by this development and by the flood of Soviet arms being given to Kemal's forces, England, France, Italy and the United States declared their neutrality in the HellenoTurkish war in early April and imposed an arms embargo on both sides. Only England and the United States, however, adhered to the embargo, while France and Italy supplied Kemal's forces with tons of war materiel. Moscow was also hedging its bets, supplying arms to the Kurds and to Kemal's old rival, Enver Pasha, "who, at last advices, was in Batum, creating a new State – Ajaristan – under his rule on the Black Sea", on territory carved out of Georgia. Its official pronouncements about having nothing to do with Kemal's regime were exposed for the falsehood it was when it was revealed that "a British mission to Ineboli under Major Henry meanwhile had done much toward securing for Great Britain an agreement favorable to British interests in Turkey".⁴⁶⁹ The Assyrian and Arab-populated Hatay region (around Alexandretta/Iskenderun and Antioch) was assigned to French-ruled Syria, although it was claimed by Ankara.⁴⁷⁰ Hatay was seized and forcibly annexed by Turkey in 1938.⁴⁷¹

4.14 Asia Minor Campaign

In late-March the Hellenic Army, now led by King Constantine himself, launched a major offensive against Kemal's forces.⁴⁷² The Kemalists held the railway line linking Constantinople to Angyra via Dorylaion (Eski-Sher) and Akroinos (Afion Karahissar). The Turkish forces had been assisted by the arrival of 40,000 reinforcements from Cilicia, courtesy of the Franco-Turkish Armistice. In the end the French withdrawal released some 80,000 Turkish troops and "enough supplies and ammunition to equip an army of 40,000 men". Not even these however were enough to halt the battle-hardened Hellenic troops. The key railway junction of Dorylaion (Eski-Sher) was liberated on 21 July. The Hellenic High Command then decided to take Angyra to secure their hold on the railways and therefore on the Smyrne Zone. Kemal had chosen this provincial backwater as his capital for strategic as well as sentimental reasons. Angyra has the Pontic Mountain Range to its north and the Salty Desert to its south, making it easily defensible even before Kemal reinforced its defences.⁴⁷³

By June Hellenic Army had almost completely surrounded Ismet's army, when Kemal ordered a one hundred mile retreat, to the Sangarios (Sakarya) river, 60 kilometres west of Angyra (Ankara), headquarters of Kemal's government. The Turkish National Assembly made Kemal dictator of Turkey. The entire country was to be geared for war: food, clothes, bedding, petrol, oil and automotive spare parts were requisitioned for the Army. In early July Hellenic troops reached the point of furthest advance: Polatli, barely 20 kilometres west of Kemal's capital.⁴⁷⁴ A month later, Hellenic troops attacked the Turkish defensive lines along a 90 kilometre front, made up of hills along the Sangarios River (Sakarya). The battle developed into stalemate that lasted for 22 days. The Hellenic offensive was hampered by an inability to purchase arms and ammunition.⁴⁷⁵

Throughout July and August Pontian guerrillas inflicted a series of defeats on Topal's band of irregulars. Soon afterward, he and his men were summoned to the Sangarios

(Sakarya) Front. Topal was sent to serve with the 95th Samsun Regiment in the Battle for Magal Tepe near the Sangarios (Sakarya) river. One night, the Hellene troops withdrew from the height and Topal ordered his men to take it. A Hellenic counter-attack the next morning scattered the Regiment. With half his men killed or wounded, including himself, Topal ordered them to retreat. The retreat became a rout. Kemal ordered the execution of the *Kebayia* of Trapezounta (Trabzon), Topal's counterpart in the Trapezounta (Trabzon) district of Pontos. When Sukri Bey (Member of the Turkish National Assembly for Trapezounta/Trabzon) protested, hinting about those responsible for the murder, he was then in turn assassinated by Topal's men. The Assembly was in an uproar. Kemal ordered an investigation, which naturally implicated Topal. He fled Ankara with a small group of followers. An army detachment was sent to arrest him and found him in a house ten kilometres outside the capital city. Topal was captured alive, but died soon after from his wounds. On Kemal's orders, his corpse was hung upside down over the steps of the Assembly building in Ankara for three days.⁴⁷⁶

The Hellenic Army withdrew from the Sangarios (Sakarya) Front on 13 September, to the Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) - Dorylaion (Eski-Sehir) railway in western Asia Minor. Their situation was precarious as their supply and communication lines had become dangerously stretched. The Turkish Grand National Assembly bestowed the title of *Gazi* (Conqueror) upon Kemal in honour of his 'great victory over the invaders'.⁴⁷⁷ The 'great victory' is still celebrated with great pomp and circumstance today.

Having secured his capital, Kemal wanted to pressure the retiring Hellenic forces whom as they retired from the Sangarios destroyed the 150-miles of railway that lay between Angyra and Dorylaion (Eski-Shehir). On 1 October five Turkish infantry divisions, three cavalry brigades and "adequate artillery, the total force being more than 40,000 men" attacked Hellenic-held Akroinos (Afion Karahissar). Nine days later, the Kemalists retreated. "The

Turkish Army suffered such tremendous losses that its offensive power was definitely broken".⁴⁷⁸

4.15 Pontos - Renewed Deportations

The world, however, is less familiar with the Greek tragedy in the same region. The Greek population of the Black Sea littoral, notably in what is known as the Pontus region, has been the victim of Turkish persecutions for many decades, as a result of which it has been reduced to half its former numbers. Since the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish war this persecution has been intensified.⁴⁷⁹

The surviving Hellene men in Tripolis (Tirebolu), Kerasounta (Giresun), Poulantzake (Bulancak) and Kotyora (Ordu) were rounded up and deported, most to their deaths, in July 1921. The most beautiful women were distributed amongst Osman's *chetas* as slaves. All Hellene men (between the ages of 15 and 60 years) from Trapezounta (Trabzon), Sourmena (Surmene) and Rizounta (Rize) were deported. Most were killed on the march towards the mountains and deserts of south-eastern Asia Minor.⁴⁸⁰ *The Times* reported the following in its 22 October 1921 edition, under the title "Turkish Cruelty – The Amaseia Hangings":

The accused persons were tried by a Revolutionary Tribunal, which, in accordance with the custom prevailing in Turkey in such cases, did not allow them to be defended by counsel or to call witnesses for their defence. The condemned were hanged in daily batches, after having been stripped, and those whose turn was to come on the following day were led out from the goal to witness the execution of their comrades.⁴⁸¹

In all some 450 Pontian Hellenes were murdered on the gallows of the Amaseia (Amasya) "Tribunal of Independence".

The *Echali* Turkish-language newspaper of Amisos (Samsun) Pontos published lists of the condemned in its 25 September 1921 edition: some were executed prior to being condemned to death as conspirators in the creation of a Republic of Pontos; others were

listed as being condemned to death in absentia, sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment (including four who *died in prison before sentencing*) and executed in the town of Amaseia (Amasya) on 8 September.⁴⁸² *Echali* published similar lists in its 4 October edition. Amongst those individuals condemned to death as conspirators in the creation of a Republic of Pontos and executed was Matthaios Kophides, formerly Member of the Ottoman Parliament for Trapezounta (Trabzon). Amongst those individuals condemned to death in absentia were Archbishop Chrysanthos of Trapezounta, Konstantinos Konstantinides, a banker in Marseilles, originally from Kerasounta (Giresun), Metropolitan (Archbishop) Lavrentios of Chaldea, Archbishop Polykarpos of Neokaisareia and Mr. Sekeriades, Director of the Kotyora (Ordu) branch of the Ottoman (National) Bank.⁴⁸³

The Oecumenical Patriarchate published two statements (8 October and 19 October 1921) on the pseudo-judicial executions being conducted by the Kemalists in Pontos.

Statement A:

reproduces notices from the Turkish papers *Ehali* and *Hihal*, published in Samsun, issues of Sept. 18, 19 and 25, 1921, reporting that three Armenians and 163 Greeks had been condemned to death, and that all but seventeen were executed, including two Greek Protestants, one a missionary and the other a professor in the American College at Merzefun. This first statement adds: 'According to the news emanating from all parts of the Black Sea littoral, the deportation and wholesale executions of our Christian people continue, and extend to a vast zone.'⁴⁸⁴

Using the justification "that Greeks were detected at Trebizond exchanging signals with Greek warships", the Kemalists embarked on a fresh wave of lethal deportations and massacres of the remaining Christians of Pontos.⁴⁸⁵ Diplomats, relief workers and journalists in Asia Minor at the time had no doubt as to who had the responsibility for the ongoing atrocities. "Three hundred Greeks of Samsun were arrested and massacred by the Turkish

authorities, acting under the direction of Kemal Pasha".⁴⁸⁶ Fethi Bey, Minister of the Interior and an old personal friend of Kemal's, launched "a punitive expedition" in the Paphra (Bafra) and Samsouna (Samsun) districts:

where the Greeks offered the most stubborn resistance. ... The formation of an Extraordinary War Committee which will control the activities of various Ministries of the Turkish Nationalist Government has been decided upon.⁴⁸⁷

This "punitive expedition" included the destruction of entire Hellenic villages; it was reported that on 23 February alone, no less than 24 Hellenic villages were put to the torch, while another four "met a similar fate March 1".⁴⁸⁸ The Associated Press reported on 14 June that 1,300 Christian women and children were force marched from Amisos (Samsun):

and massacred near Kavak two weeks ago ... A Mohammedan woman saved three of the children, who were returned to Samsun and handed over to the care of the American committee there, the message adds.⁴⁸⁹

These sort of news items were appearing almost daily in the press of western Europe and the United States, provided by Protestant missionaries and relief workers, mostly from the United States, as well as Western diplomats and survivors escaping to the Allied-held territories of Cyprus, Syria and Mesopotamia.

While all this was going on in Asia Minor, while destitute Christian refugees continued to flow into Hellas, each one bringing new tales of horror, the Hellenic Parliament had a total of 27 Macedonian and Thracian Muslim members. There were no pogroms against Muslims in the Hellenic Kingdom, state-sponsored or otherwise. The atrocities committed by Hellenic troops against Muslims in Asia Minor were war crimes that were (occasionally) punished as such. These crimes were largely committed by units of Asia Minor Hellenes who had suffered during World War One. These atrocities were a policy of neither the Hellenic Army or of the Hellenic State and as such cannot be considered genocide, as is claimed by denialists in their

attempt to excuse Young Turk and Kemalist genocidal atrocities. Unlike in the cases of Talaat's or Kemal's governments, there was no policy formulated or implemented by any Hellenic government that aimed at exterminating the Muslim populations of the Territories they ruled. The ultimate proof is that while Hellene and other Christians were being slaughtered and deported by the thousand in Turkish-ruled territory, Muslims were going on with their everyday lives, even electing Members of Parliament in Hellenic-ruled territory.

4.16 Political Machinations

In February Ioannes Siotes went to General Papoulias at the Asia Minor Front on behalf of the 'Centre for National Defense', urging him to declare the autonomy of Smyrne and Constantinople. The General replied that the support of the Hellenic government was necessary for the success of this plan. Siotes then went to the *Harmost* (Commissioner) of Ionia, Airsides Stergiades, only to be rejected again.⁴⁹⁰ The following month Siotes turned to Athens, where he again found no official support. Monarchist Prime Minister Demetrios Gounares told Siotes that the Great Powers continued to support Hellas, despite the return of the pro-German King Constantine to Hellas; Gounares also stated that Asia Minor was in no danger. It was at this time that the Allies (at a conference in Paris) decided to force Gounares and Kemal to declare a ceasefire and begin negotiating a final peace treaty. The next day, they sent a note to Gounares stating that Asia Minor had to be evacuated by the Hellenic Army.

At the Paris Conference on the 'Near Eastern Question', Lord Curzon of England proposed a peace settlement between Hellas and Turkey: the Hellenic Army would withdraw from Ionia in return for League of Nations protection of the Hellenic populations of Asia Minor, Pontos and Kappadokia. Hellas accepted but Turkey refused. Kemal wanted the unconditional withdrawal of all Hellenic troops from Asia Minor.⁴⁹¹ Diplomatic manoeuvring

was not restricted to the Peace Conference in Paris. The Hellenic Ambassador in Genoa, Italy sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens on 26 April:

Kharonian, the Armenian representative ... indicated the necessity of Hellenic Pontos uniting its energies with Armenia for the maintenance of the terms of the Treaty of Sevres with whatever terms for their forthcoming or future withdrawal from the Armenian state and guarantees autonomy in the interim period.⁴⁹²

At a meeting on 21 May, Kharonian fleshed out the details of the terms of the Pontian-Armenian agreement. However Kemal's late-summer offensive in Ionia put paid to these plans.⁴⁹³ In mid-January the Grand National Assembly in Angyra 'elected' two "extremists" to key portfolios: Fevzi Bey, Deputy for Diyarbekir, as Commissar for Public Works, and General Kiazim Pasha, formerly in command of the Nikaia (Ismid) front, as Commissar for Defense. On 3 February a member of the French Mission to Angyra told the French press that Mustapha Kemal Pasha's following was dwindling by the day, most due to:

the exhaustion of his treasury. Over 1,000 Nationalist functionaries had been paid nothing since July 1920, and tribal chieftains had contributed only enough gold to pay for food for the army. Consequently, the Angora police winked at crimes, including the looting of stores, whose stocks, however, were so reduced, that unless the Allies reach a settlement, Kemal would face a general strike and the possible desertion of his followers to Constantinople".⁴⁹⁴

The Council of Ministers in Paris held a series of closed sessions between 22 March and 26 March specifically to revise the Treaty of Sevres. The deliberations were attended by two separate Turkish delegations: the Kemalists led by Yussuf Kemal Bey, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and the Ottomans led by Izzet Pasha, the Sultan's Foreign Minister. France's Poincare, Britain's Lord Curzon and Italy's Schanzer sent telegrams to Athens, Constantinople and Angyra (Ankara) "making specific proposals for an armistice".

The revised Treaty of Sevres was signed on 26 March 1922. Constantinople was to remain the Turkish capital with the Sultan to remain the "secular and religious authority".

The Zone of the Straits was to be demilitarised, not only to keep them open to all shipping but also to create a buffer between Hellene and Turk. As “compensation” for their efforts in the war, the Hellenes gained all of eastern Thrace from a point just east of Ganos on the Propontic (Sea of Marmara) coast, almost directly northward to the Bulgarian frontier. The Turks retained all of Asia Minor, except Smyrne which was to be under a special regime:

Though the Armenians will profit from the strict protection of the minority clauses proposed in the new treaty, they will become the special charge of the Council of the League of Nations.

The Armenian delegation to Paris was led by former President Dr Alexander Khatissian:

‘The birthplace of our nation is around Lake Van,’ he said, ‘and there we wish to remain. All we want in Cilicia is protection for the Armenian minority there.’ He stated ‘that the Armenians would be willing to sacrifice part of the territory’ included in former US President Woodrow Wilson’s decision in fixing Armenia’s borders, ‘if they could have an outlet to the sea at Rize, leaving Trebizond and Erzerum to the Turks’.

Both sides were given three weeks to accept the proposals and begin final peace negotiations. The Sultan announced his acceptance on 30 March with counter-proposals on Thrace. Kemal accepted on 5 April with reservations: “Anatolia, including Smyrna, must be evacuated within four months”. The armistice may be renewed for a further three months if negotiations had not been concluded. The Dorylaion (Eski-Shehir)-Akroinos (Afion Karahissar)-Kutaieh line had to be evacuated within a fortnight, with that of the rest of the country “to proceed under the supervision of allied officers”. If the Hellenes accepted, Kemal’s men were ready to meet for peace talks in three weeks. They did not.⁴⁹⁵ The sticking point was the complete evacuation of Asia Minor by Hellenic troops. This was clearly unacceptable to the Hellenic Government as:

such a step would jeopardize the lives of the freed Greek population of Asia Minor, which under no circumstances will again submit to Turkish rule, all the allied guarantees notwithstanding.⁴⁹⁶

It was reported that the Hellenic, Armenian and Circassian populations of Asia Minor were “feverishly preparing to resist to the bitter end any attempt of the Turks or the Allies to dislodge the Greek troops from there”. The Hellenic press was “unanimously against any evacuation of territory held by Greek troops”.⁴⁹⁷ The signing of the revised Treaty of Sevres was followed up with an agreement between Kemal and Italy. Angyra:

made much of the evacuation of Italian troops from the Meander area, as a precedent for its demand on Greece, and the Grand National Assembly passed a vote of thanks to the Italian Government.⁴⁹⁸

Reinforcing its staunch opposition to surrendering any territory to Kemal, Hellenic forces liberated Sokia and Scala Nova, 40 miles south of Smyrne, while at the same time sending a flotilla of Hellenic destroyers to the Auxins Pontos “to enforce a blockade of the Turkish Black Sea ports”. In early-April Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) was attacked by 1,000 Kemalists, who were “beaten off with insignificant Greek losses”.⁴⁹⁹

At the beginning of May General Papoulias and the KEA drew up plans for the autonomy of Smyrne. When these plans were uncovered, the Gounares government forced General Papoulias’ resignation. His replacement as Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Hellenic Army was General Hatzianestes, an officer who had not seen action since the Balkan Wars, ten years previously. This change had a devastating effect on the troops at the Front: known as a severe disciplinarian, Hatzianestes was extremely unpopular amongst both officers and men.⁵⁰⁰ Following Prime Minister Demetrios Gounares’ resignation, a new government was formed on 3 May. When this cabinet lost a vote of confidence, Mr. P. Protopapadakes formed yet another government. In an attempt to blackmail both the Allies and Kemal into accepting a peace treaty, the new government began moving troops from Asia Minor to Thrace. The aim was to seize Constantinople. Allied reaction was so fierce that the drive on the City never eventuated.⁵⁰¹ While the politicians and diplomats were busily

planning the fates of entire countries, the deportations and massacres of the remaining Christians under Turkish control went on unabated. Major Yowell, Director of the Near East Relief unit at Harput in south-east Asia Minor, and four other American relief workers, all of whom had been arbitrarily expelled from Kemalist territory:

had filed with the American Consul at Aleppo and the American High Commissioner at Constantinople a full report of the bad treatment which the Christians were receiving in Turkey.⁵⁰²

Constantinople itself was struggling to cope with 150,000 refugees (Armenians, Russians, Hellenes, Muslims and various other nationalities) who had arrived in the city by 1 May. In the meantime the Sultan's Government commenced negotiations with Moscow to transfer 25,000 Soviet Muslims from the famine districts of southern Russia to the depopulated provinces of eastern Asia Minor.⁵⁰³

4.17 End Game

While Kemal's forces kept growing in strength, gaining an airforce and heavy artillery from the Soviet Union and large amounts of military supplies from France, the Hellenic Army kept weakening. The troops were exhausted and demoralised; were it not for the threat from Turkish guerillas, mutiny would have become widespread. Any Hellenic soldier caught by the Turks was hung or impaled. Every so often, Turkish planes would bombard the Hellenic troops with anti-war articles, photocopied from Hellenic newspapers or supplied by the Soviets, further weakening their morale.⁵⁰⁴ All indicators pointed to a massive Kemalist offensive in the making.⁵⁰⁵

On 26 August it came. The Kemalists launched a fierce attack, along the entire 200-mile front, opening with a heavy artillery barrage. A breach opened in the Hellenic lines in the Akroinos (Afion Karahissar) area. The Hellenic General Staff were at a loss as to how to deal

with the new situation. Within days, the Hellenic Army's retreat had become a full rout. Prime Minister Gounares attempted to prevent the truth becoming public knowledge; he became so desperate that he even announced the capture of Mustapha Kemal by Hellenic troops!⁵⁰⁶ General Nikolaos Trikoupes was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ionia (Asia Minor) on 6 September, with General Dousmanes as his Chief-of-Staff. The truth was that both of them, along with hundreds of officers and thousands of men had already been captured by the Kemalists in the Battle of Ali Verran. As the Hellenic retreat turned into a rout, Hellenic troops torched and devastated many Turkish villages they came across; much as the advancing Turks were doing to Hellenic villages. Some units of the Hellenic Army managed to withdraw properly, but they were far from the main thrust of the Turkish offensive. They evacuated via Erythrea to the neighbouring Aegean islands of Chios and Lesbos.⁵⁰⁷

The last Hellenic troops withdrew from Smyrne on 9 September 1922. Amongst them was the Armenian Legion of the Royal Hellenic Army. Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Smyrne refused to leave: "It is the tradition of the Hellenic Church and the duty of the priest to stay with his congregation". In Athens, the Gounares-Stratis royalist coalition government, unable to conceal the truth of the situation in Asia Minor any longer and fearing the repercussions of this fact, resigned. King Constantine called on N. Kalogeropoulos to form a new government. When he failed to do so, it was N. Triantaphyllakos' turn to try.⁵⁰⁸

Stratis Pergamalles, a leader of the Ionian Autonomist Movement, was captured by Kemal's *chetas* and hung from the branches of a pine tree outside Pergamon (Bergama), Asia Minor. The tree was still preserved in the late-1980s.⁵⁰⁹ Metropolitan Amvrosios of Moschonesi (on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor near Kydoniae/Ayvali), twelve priests and 6,000 Hellenes were sent on a forced march by the Turks. All perished: either slain by Turkish irregulars or from starvation and disease. Metropolitan Amvrosios himself was killed

when his Turkish guards nailed horseshoes to his feet and began cutting his body into pieces as he was forced to keep walking.

Metropolitan Chrysostomos conducted the Holy Liturgy for the last time in the Cathedral of Ayia Photeine the following day, 10 September. In the packed Cathedral, the Orthodox cleric was leading his final holy liturgy when Turkish police burst in and arrested him. He was brought before General Nouredin Pasha, nicknamed the 'Butcher of Ionia', who spat on the Orthodox clergyman before informing him that the Tribunal of Independence at Ankara had condemned him to death. The commander ordered the waiting mob to "treat him as he deserves". Metropolitan Chrysostomos was then handed over. His eyes were gouged out, his nose and ears were cut off and as he was dragged through the streets of Smyrna by his beard, being beaten and kicked continually, pieces of flesh were cut off his body. He continued praying and when he could muster the strength, would raise his right hand and bless his torturers. A Turk realised what the Metropolitan was doing and in a rage, sliced off Chrysostomos' hand with his sword. He fell to the ground and was hacked to pieces by the surrounding Turks.⁵¹⁰

Metropolitan Chrysostomos was but one of the victims of the orgy of death and destruction that followed the entrance of Kemalist troops into Smyrne. Thousands of people (almost entirely Hellenes and Armenians) ultimately perished. The entire city (apart from the Turkish Quarter) was burned to the ground over the next ten days. Hundreds of civilians swam to the warships of the Western Powers, lying at anchor in Smyrne harbour, only to be pushed or kicked off; there were even cases of sailors cutting off the hands of refugees desperately trying to clamour on board. Once the fires were extinguished, the United States Consul at Smyrne, George Horton, attended a dinner with the French consul. The diplomat from Paris apologised for arriving at the dinner late; the boat ferrying him from the French warship had a hard time pushing its way through all the corpses in the water!⁵¹¹ At Mudania

(northern Asia Minor), there were reports that French sailors poured scalding water on refugees seeking shelter from the rampaging Turks, on French warships lying off the coast.⁵¹²

Every year since, the entry of Kemal's forces into Smyrne was celebrated with a re-enactment of the triumph, including the final clashes of the Helleno-Turkish War of 1919-1922. Following the devastating earthquake of August 1999 in north-west Asia Minor and the massive Hellenic relief effort, the re-enactment was cancelled for the first time since in 77 years.⁵¹³ In 2000, the tradition resumed.

With the withdrawal of the Hellenic troops from Asia Minor, King Constantine sacked his government, but he was no longer in control. A revolutionary committee, composed of the remnants of the officer corps from the Asia Minor Campaign, led by Colonels Plasteras and Gonatas (of the Royal Hellenic Army) and Captain Phokas (of the Royal Hellenic Navy), seized power by month's end.⁵¹⁴ Between 30 September and 18 October the Hellenic Army also withdrew from eastern Thrace, retreating to the more defensible Evros River frontier. Some 300,000 Hellenes from eastern Thrace and Constantinople followed them. The same day (30 September) the withdrawal from eastern Thrace began, the remaining 15,000 Hellenes of Kydoniae (Ayvali)⁵¹⁵ began a forced march inland, escorted by special police. Four days later, all were executed. Metropolitan Gregorios, about to be buried alive, suffered a stroke as he stood before his grave and fell in dead.

King Constantine was forced to abdicate in the first days of October, succeeded by his eldest son, Georgios.⁵¹⁶ Eight high-ranking politicians and officers were arrested: Gounares, Protopapadakes, Baltatzes, Stratos, Theotokes, General Hatzianestes and two others. Venizelos, then in self-imposed exile in Paris, declined to join the revolutionary government, but agreed to act as its representative to the Western Powers.⁵¹⁷ The new regime announced the launching of an inquiry into the military catastrophe that was the Asia Minor Campaign. They were brought before a court martial the following month, on charges of high treason.

England threatened to break off diplomatic relations, if death sentences were imposed and carried out. So the puppet political government resigned and a military junta officially took power, with Colonel Gonatas as Prime Minister and General Pangalos as Minister for Military Affairs. General Plasteras was named 'Leader of the Revolution'. All eight accused were convicted of high treason on 27 November, and sentenced to death. Gounares, Protopapadakes, Baltatzes, Stratos, Theotokes and General Hatzianestes were executed.⁵¹⁸

It was during this time that Mustapha Kemal Ataturk issued a new directive under which all "refugees" in Turkey were "free" to leave Turkey, within two weeks. "Refugees" was the Kemalist term for the by destitute survivors of the deportations.⁵¹⁹ Ismet Pasha, chief Turkish delegate to the Lausanne Peace Conference, demanded the immediate expulsion of all Hellenes and of the Oecumenical Patriarchate from Constantinople on 1 December. When the Great Powers rejected this demand, Turkey raised the issue of proportionality between the Hellenic minority of Turkey (over 350,000 people) and the Muslim minority of Hellas (86,000 people), demanding the maintenance of approximately equal numbers. This meant that about two-thirds of Constantinople's Hellenes had to be expelled. According to *TIME* magazine, Constantinople was 80 per cent Christian at this time.⁵²⁰

Hellas and Turkey signed the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations in Lausanne Switzerland on 11 January 1923 to regulate what was little more than officially sanctioned 'ethnic cleansing'. The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Greek Government agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. As from the 1st May 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.

Article 2. The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1: The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople; The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. All Greeks, who were already established before The 30th October 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople. All Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest shall be considered as Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

Article 3. Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the 18th October 1912, left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged, shall be considered as included in the exchange provided for in Article 1. The expression “emigrant” in the present Convention includes all physical and juridical persons who have been obliged to emigrate or have emigrated since the 18th October 1912.

Article 4. All able-bodied men belonging to the Greek population, whose families have already left Turkish territory, and who are now detained in Turkey, shall constitute the first instalment of Greeks sent to Greece in accordance with the present Convention.⁵²¹

The Treaty of Lausanne, the agreement formally negating the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, was signed on 24 July 1923. [See map reproduced as Appendix Eighteen.]

Articles 14, 37-40 and, 41-44 of the treaty dealt with the rights of the Hellenic minority in Constantinople and on the Aegean islands of Imvros and Tenedos⁵²² and the obligations of Turkey towards its remaining Hellenic minority. The Treaty of Lausanne was not applicable to the Assyrian people because Turkey does not believe an Assyrian national identity existed, a position it maintains to this day. Upon their arrival on the previously Hellenic islands, the Turkish authorities declared 1,500 Imvrian and 66 Tenedian Hellenes to be “*undesirables*” and deported them to Hellas.⁵²³ A further 64 Hellene notables of Tenedos were arrested and expelled in October.⁵²⁴ [See map reproduced as Appendix Nineteen.]

4.18 “Refugees”

Some 400,000 Hellenes who had fled Constantinople in 1922 were declared fugitives by the Kemalist regime, stripped of their Turkish citizenship and had all their property in Turkey confiscated. The municipal and prefectural boundaries of Constantinople were declared to be one and the same. The effect is the expulsion of many more Hellenes resident in the suburbs of the city, outside the municipal boundary but inside the prefectural one, in direct violations of Article 2 of the Agreement on the Exchange of Populations.⁵²⁵

By the end of the HellenoTurkish War (September 1922), some 200,000 Pontian Hellenes had already fled to Hellas. By 1924, some 400,000 Pontian Hellene refugees had arrived in Hellas since 1916 (from Russian and Turkish Pontos).⁵²⁶ In total, some 1,300,000 Hellene refugees arrive in Hellas from Pontos, Asia Minor and Thrace, in addition to thousands of Armenians, Assyrians and anti-Kemalist Muslims. Another 55,000 scattered throughout the Middle East, 35,000 in Western Europe, 25,000 in Austria, Hungary and Romania, 20,000 in North and Central America and another 15,000 in South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania. Following the tide of refugees from Thrace, Pontos, Kappadokia, Constantinople and Asia Minor the population of Hellas, reached 6.2 million. In 1907, it had been a mere 2.6 million.⁵²⁷

The survivors of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust set about rebuilding their lives and communities in their new land. For example, refugees from Ionia settled 1,720 houses built in the Podonyphthe district of Attika. In 1932, the district was renamed *Nea Philadelpheia* (New Philadelpheia) for the region of Asia Minor they had originally come from. They and their descendants contributed immensely to modern Hellenic civilisation. Amongst the most prominent of these personalities were the historian Pavlos Karolides and the businessman Bodosakes Athanasiades from Kappadokia; the singer Stelios Kazantzides, the author Demetres Psathas and the architect Georgios Kandyles from Pontos; the theologian Christos

Androutsos from Kios (coast of northern Ionia); the archaeologist Manolis Andronikos from Prousa (Bursa); the shipping magnate Aristoteles Onassis, the Nobel Laureate Georgios Sopheris and the scholar Ioannes Sykoutres from Smyrne; Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos from Madytos; the present Archbishop of Athens and All-Hellas Christodoulos from Adrianople (Edirne) and the singer Sophia Vembo from Kallipole (Gallipoli/Gelibolu) in eastern Thrace. This is by no means an exhaustive list.

The Hellenic economy began rebuilding itself after almost fourteen years of constant war. Jacques Ancel wrote the following in an Athenian newspaper in 1933:

With the departure of 300,000 Turks from Macedonia, the region has become unrecognisable ... There has been a revolution in agricultural life by the refugees ... Macedonia, marshy, wracked by fevers, has been drained and made healthy.

Exaggerating slightly, the Frenchman continued.

The most active part of the Hellenic Nation came from the plains of Smyrna, of Prousa, of Byzantium. The Megale Idea is being realised, quite different though from what was foreseen.

Financially, the Hellenic state was stretched to breaking point simply housing and feeding the survivors. 'Superfluous things' like schools and churches were left to the refugees to build by themselves.

That is when the village, grown out of the ashes of Ionia, collects drachmas and muscle. Atop a small hillock, unaided, just as it built the fortress or the church, the villager builds the school, temple of the nation, depository of civilization.⁵²⁸

The devastation of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust was incalculable in human terms.

All the losses of the Pontians in terms of persons lost is calculated from the Great War until March 1924 at 353,000 murdered, hanged and dead of hunger and hardships.⁵²⁹

However, as mentioned earlier, an unknown number of persons converted to Islam in order to escape deportation and massacre. This makes the accurate calculation of the losses very

difficult. An estimated 1.65 million to 2.65 million kryptochristian Hellenes remained in Asia Minor after the Exchange of Populations.⁵³⁰ Under pressure from local Turks, many kryptochristians in Ophis (Of) district of Pontos abandoned Christianity altogether, along with their priests and their Metropolitan Alexandros. Similar forced mass conversions occurred in Theania and Rizounta (Rize) districts in the Trapezounta (Trabzon) region of Pontos. The result was that of the original seventeen Dioceses in the Trapezounta (Trabzon) region, only two remained by 1922. By 1924, there were none.

Chapter Five:

The Holocaust Ongoing 1925-2004

- 5.1 World War Two
- 5.2 Administrative Ethnic Cleansing
- 5.3 Communal and Private Property
 - 5.3.1 Varlik Vergisi 1942-1944
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- 5.4 Education
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 - 5.9.1 Christian Heritage

The driving forces of the Kemalist national integration process were ethnically based policies such as assimilation and deportation.

Fuat Dundar

CHAPTER FIVE: THE HOLOCAUST ONGOING

5.1 'Birth' of the Republic

Is genocide restricted to mass deportations and mass murder? Can state-orchestrated pogroms and administrative measures targeting particular groups also be deemed acts aimed at the destruction of those groups because of who constitute those victim groups? In the context of the record of treatment of the Ottoman Empire and its successor state, the Republic of Turkey, towards their Christian populations, the events that have occurred since the completion of the "Exchange of Populations" in 1924 can be seen to constitute genocide under the 1948 United Nations definition.

The Grand National Assembly declared the formal establishment of the Republic of Turkey on 29 October 1923, naming Mustapha Kemal as President. The Caliphate was formally abolished and all members of the Imperial Dynasty expelled from the 'new' Turkey on 3 March 1924. Article 88 of the new Constitution, adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 20 April read: "All inhabitants of Turkey, regardless of religion and nationality are considered Turks". There was no room in the new state for any other officially accepted national or ethnic identity.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the Grand National Assembly, a parliamentary body of representatives especially selected by Kemal and his lieutenants, had been formed at Ankara in April 1920. This body proclaimed the formation of the Republic of Turkey, renounced the proposed Treaty of Sevres, and ratified agreements that Kemal had already reached with the Soviet Union, Italy and France. In reality, therefore, a Republican Government had been in existence for three and one-half years before this second proclamation was made.

The signing of the HellenoTurkish Friendship and Non-Aggression Pact and the Trade, Establishment and Shipping Agreement⁵³¹ by Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos and President Mustapha Kemal Ataturk on 30 October 1930 was supposed to hail a new era in HellenoTurkish relations.⁵³² History shows however conditions did not change for Turkey's Hellenic minority.

Why was the 1923 proclamation of the founding of the Republic of Turkey necessary? Essentially, the purpose was to place a clear defining line between the "old" Ottoman era and the "new" Turkish one. The polyglot, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, religiously diverse Ottoman Empire was 'swept away' in favour of:

a new Turkish nationalist ideology. From that time onward, there was no 'race' in Turkey other than the Turkish 'race' and no language was allowed but Turkish. There were 'One Party', 'One Nation' and 'One Leader' in the country.⁵³³

As the famous Turkish sociologist Ismail Besikci observed, the ideas of Fascism (as espoused by Benito Mussolini) were very influential in determining Kemal's ideology. From the early 1930s Kemal ordered that scientific conferences be held aimed at developing scholarly works that supported the 'new' Turkish nationalism. At one of these conferences, an idea called the 'Son-Language' Theory (that states that the Turkish language was 'the mother of all languages' was accepted following 'scientific' discussions. At another one the 'Turkish history thesis' ('the superior Turkish race' was the 'mother of all civilisations and races') was accepted. *Bir Turk Dunyaya Bedeldir* (One Turk is worth all the World) and *Ne Mutlu Turk'um Diyene* (What happiness to say that I am a Turk) became the slogans of the day. In 1931 the Turkish Grand National Assembly passed a law outlawing the 'vilification of Turkism'.⁵³⁴ A slogan proclaiming the "indivisibility of the Motherland" today adorns a hillside overlooking Lake Van in the east of the country. Made of large stones painted white,

it is visible for miles. These and other similar slogans still adorn mountainsides throughout Turkey and even in Turkish-occupied Cyprus.⁵³⁵

As part of this ‘Turkification’ campaign, the city known as Constantinople since 330CE was officially renamed Istanbul in 1930, the Turkish derivative of the Hellenic phrase ‘*Eis Tin Polin*’, To The City. Communists, Socialists, Islamic Fundamentalists, Kurds, Hellenes, Armenians, Assyrians, Laze and other ethnic minorities were the enemies.⁵³⁶ Premier Ismet Inonu declared in late-August 1930 that “Only the Turkish nation has the right to have national claims in this country. No other element has such a right”.⁵³⁷ The following month the Minister of Justice was quoted as stating that “The Turk is the only master in his country. Those who are not pure Turks have one right in this country: the right to be servants, the right to be slaves”.⁵³⁸ Turkey’s Hellenes were forced by Law No.2525/1934 to ‘Turkify’ their names. The ‘*Citizen, Speak Turkish*’ campaign was launched at the same time. As noted by British ambassador George Klarm, Hellenes were detained and fined if they spoke their native tongue in public.⁵³⁹

During an interview he gave to the *Turkish Daily News* in 2001, human rights activist Murat Cano stated that in the 1930s a special security unit was formed, with the sole purpose being :

to follow the situations and activities of minorities, especially the Greeks and Armenians, and was to establish state policies ranging from the control of how much property minorities could own to delegating the supervision of their commercial transactions within the state.⁵⁴⁰

The Turkish military seized power for a third time in 1980, ostensibly to end street fighting between left and right wing activists. The following year it enacted a revised Constitution. Paragraph 68 bars any political party which opposes the state’s unity with its nation, its country and its secular republican principles on which it depends. The same groups banned in the 1930s remained banned since:

[n]o idea can be upheld against the interests of the Turkish Nation, the foundation of the indivisibility of the Turkish existence with its state, its country, its history and moral values, Ataturk's nationalism, principles, revolutions and civilisation.⁵⁴¹

Article X of the 1982 Constitution reads:

All individuals are equal without any discrimination before the law, irrespective of language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such considerations.⁵⁴²

Despite intense promotion of the Republic of Turkey as a progressive, westernised, liberal democracy, the actions and policies of the Turkish State tell a very different story.

To this point the thesis has followed a largely chronological line. From this point, it will adopt a more thematic approach, looking at the administrative, bureaucratic and other measures the Turkish State has used to virtually extinguish the Christian presence in the Republic of Turkey: persecution of the Oecumenical Patriarchate; persecution of Hellenic education; unsolved murders and orchestrated pogroms.

5.2 World War Two

At this point, a brief exploration of Turkish foreign policy during the pivotal event of the 20th century – World War Two – is warranted. Just as it had in World War One, Turkey used the cover of global conflict to further its plans to force all Christians from Turkey and expand its territory at the expense of its neighbours.

Turkey remained officially neutral during World War Two although its well-documented close relations with Nazi Germany leave no doubt as to where the sympathies of the country's government lay. Gold looted from victims of the *Shoah* and from the treasuries of occupied Europe was used to purchase raw materials from Turkey as well as to fund pro-Nazi activities both there and throughout the Middle East.

On 23 November 1940, the German Ambassador to Turkey, Franz von Papen, and President Ismet Inonu met in Ankara. The outcome of the meeting was that should Germany win the war, Berlin agreed to a "reorganisation" of the Balkans, in Turkey's favour. Two months later, in response to British pressure to enter the war on the side of the Allies, Turkey demanded British Cyprus, the Italian Dodecanese Islands and French Syria as payment. London offered only Syria in return for Ankara joining the ranks of the Allied powers. This was not enough for Turkey, which remained neutral.

At the height of the Nazi campaign to subdue Hellas, Germany asked for permission to send troops across Turkey in order to support anti-British rebels in Iraq (17 May 1941). Ankara said that in exchange Turkish garrisons should be sent to the Hellenic islands of Lesbos, Chios and Samos and to a land corridor to the west of Alexandroupolis in western Thrace as well as jurisdiction over northern Syria and northern Iraq. A draft German-Turkish Treaty (drawn up in collaboration with Foreign Minister Sukru Saracoglu) was sent to Berlin for approval on 23 May. The German-Turkish Non-Aggression Pact was signed on 18 June. The Rashid Ali uprising in Iraq was put down in early-June, before the agreement could be implemented.⁵⁴³

A short time later, in August, the Turkish Ambassador to Berlin, H. Gerede, asked the German Deputy Foreign Minister von Waiszaiker to declare the creation of a "Turanic" (Turkic) State in the Caucasus under Turkish leadership. Waiszaiker immediately agreed. The British consul in Damascus reported to the Foreign Office on 13 August that the Turkish consul in Damascus, a man named Umar, had met with him. The purpose of the meeting was to learn that if, in the event of an Allied victory in the War, Britain would approve the annexation of Soviet territory by Turkey. The reason given was that although Turkey would rather expand southwards, repeated rebuttals and humiliations had forced it to look elsewhere. The following month Nourre Pasha, brother of Enver Pasha, was sent to Berlin as

an official envoy. His mission was to finalise the agreement between Turkey and Germany on the handover of Crimea, the Tatar Republic and Transcaucasia to Turkey.

In December 1942 the Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent five million Reichsmarks to Ambassador Franz von Papen in Ankara, with instructions to distribute the funds to 'our Turkish friends'. Amongst those named as a 'friend' of the Nazi regime was Alparslan Turkes, later to become founder of the Grey Wolves, a notorious neo-fascist terrorist group.⁵⁴⁴ Despite all its maneuverings in 1941-1942, Turkey did not gain any additional Turkey from its neutrality during the Second World War.

Turkish policy towards its Christian minorities tended to closely mirror events on the world stage. During the 1920s and 1930s, when the western world was pre-occupied with at first punishing and then containing Germany, Ankara was preoccupied with eliminating its Christian population. The intense assault on the economic fabric of Turkey's Christian communities during World War Two was begun soon after Hellas was invaded by the Axis in October 1940 and not ended until 1944, when it was clear that the Allies would emerge the victors. For the first time since 1928, the Turkish State permitted the 106 Hellenic communities and institutions of Constantinople (Istanbul) to be administered by committees elected from their members, by adopting Law No.5404/31.5.1949.⁵⁴⁵

By 1949 Hellas was emerging from a bloody three-year civil war and, like Turkey, was the keystone of US foreign policy in south-eastern Europe and the northern Middle East. It was the beginning of the Cold War and Hellas and Turkey were now Allies. In 1950 the Republic of Turkey signed the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and withdrew a couple of anti-Christian measures. In early 1955 King Constantine of Greece paid an official visit to Constantinople (Istanbul) amid a period of hope that the animosity between Athens and Ankara could finally be resolved. By this time, Turkey's Hellenic population had dwindled to some 245,000 souls. No. 2007/11-0

The remainder of this chapter examines individual measures and tactics adopted by the Turkish state in pursuit of its policy of eliminating its Christian communities. Although the material presented deals almost exclusively with the Hellenes of Constantinople, Imvros and Tenedos, the policies described were applied equally to Turkey's Hellenic, Armenian and Assyrian populations.

5.3 Administrative Ethnic Cleansing

Kemal's forces took control of Constantinople from the occupying Commonwealth forces on 2 October 1922. A favourite tactic of the various Ottoman regimes before and during World War One, expulsions and deportations proved to be a favoured weapon of Kemalist governments also.

The Treaty of Lausanne, the peace agreement negotiated and signed between Hellas and Turkey in 1923, set up an autonomous status for the only two Aegean islands left under Turkish rule. The islands, overwhelmingly Hellenic in population, were to be self-governing under a Hellene administrator. However, Kemal's government made it quite clear from the outset that it had no intention of implementing this part of the Treaty.

In 1924, the Turkish authorities arrested 4,452 Hellenes they considered "exchangeable" and imprisoned them at the Monastery at Valoukle in Constantinople. Following an appeal by Hellas to the League of Nations Turkey was forced to release them.⁵⁴⁶ A decade later, another 10,000 Hellenes, resident in Constantinople and holding dual Hellenic and Turkish citizenship, were arbitrarily expelled from Turkey, as Ankara considered them to be 'exchangeable'.⁵⁴⁷

Legislation was enacted in 1924 by the Grand National Assembly barring Turkey's remaining Hellenes from political life and the civil service, as well as forcing foreign companies to replace many Hellene employees with Turks.⁵⁴⁸ Law No.2007/11-06-32

banned Turkey's Hellenes from practising thirty-two different professions including those of travelling salesman, musician, photographer, tailor, carpenter, concierge, barber, and waiter.⁵⁴⁹ The measures were expanded in 1960 to further restrict the professions Hellenes could practice.⁵⁵⁰

In violation of Lausanne, military age Hellenes of Imvros (classes of 1923, 1924 and 1925) were sent to Asia Minor.⁵⁵¹ As an autonomous region, they were supposed to be exempt from serving in the Turkish Armed Forces. Captain E.A. Nottingham Parker, British liaison officer in the Aegean, reported to London in 1926 that "The Turkish government has taken no steps to administer Imvros and Tenedos in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne".⁵⁵² The Grand National Assembly in Ankara enacted Local Government Act No. 1151/27 on 20 February 1927, formally denying self-administration to Imvros and Tenedos.

In May 1941 20 classes of non-Muslims of military age called up for non-armed military service (labour battalions). As one of these conscripts later recorded, "[n]one of us had held a pick or shovel in our hands, even for hobby-tending a garden." As army conscripts the men were given the same uniforms issued to all army recruits. However, the Christian conscripts were transferred from the Army to the Ministry of Public Works and issued new uniforms which were brown not khaki.

Distinguishable, but sufficient to indicate to the population that we did not belong to, and that we were not part of, the famous Turkish Army. (So, any verbal insult against us would be passable.) However, we remained strictly under Army rules.⁵⁵³

Just as in Ottoman times, Christians in the military were set aside for special treatment, separate from the Muslim conscripts. Their status as second-class citizens was constantly being reinforced.

Rather than being trained for support duties essential to the operation of any military force, they were sent to special labour camps in the interior to dig roads and canals. The

middle-class conscripts (shop owners, salesmen, merchants, office clerks, employees, artisans and professionals) were completely unprepared for the harsh conditions in which they found themselves.

The tent camp was erected on top of a colony of a species of centipede. Their breeding holes were directly beneath the tents of the camp. These centipedes were not the harmless domesticated ones that we usually come across in house gardens, creeping through the grass after the first spring rains. They were ugly creatures, red in colour, fifteen to twenty centimeters in length, thick as a human finger. They were disturbed by the erection of the camp on top of their domain. They surfaced and started 'investigating' the strange smell and warmth of human bodies. It was this 'investigating' by the centipedes that brought chaos to the inmates of the camp. Seeking the warmth of the sleeping recruits, the centipedes began creeping under the blankets.

A number of these 'recruits' did not return home.⁵⁵⁴

In November 1956 eighteen elders of the Hellenic community of Constantinople (Istanbul) and twelve members of the Hellenic Society of Constantinople (Istanbul) were arrested and imprisoned at the Harbiye military prison on charges of espionage. One of them, Lambros Goulakis, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.⁵⁵⁵

During the 1958 calendar year, a total of 67 Hellene notables were arbitrarily expelled from Turkey.⁵⁵⁶ The arbitrary expulsions of two senior Orthodox clerics (Metropolitans Aimilios of Seleukia and Iakovos of Philadelpheia) were part of a programme of such expulsions conducted throughout 1964 that more than halved the Hellenic community of Turkey within nine months.

Turkish authorities began the mass expulsion of Hellenes from Constantinople (Istanbul) on 16 March. The police confiscated their property and expelled them with only 24 hours notice. The deportees were permitted to take with them only one suitcase of clothing

and 50 drachmas (US\$22) in cash. All real estate holdings and household goods were confiscated. The reason: “anti-Turkish activity”.

Then government spokesman Mumtaz Soysal⁵⁵⁷, stated: “As a result of the unfriendly policy of the Greek government towards Turkey, the Turkish government is terminating the privileged treatment accorded in the past to the Greek nationals”.⁵⁵⁸ The deportees were taken to the 4th Police Division of Constantinople (Istanbul) where they were forced to sign a document without being permitted to read its contents and told to leave Turkey by sunrise. Amongst them were four mentally ill persons, eight paralysed individuals, nine hospitalised persons, three blind people and three disabled persons.⁵⁵⁹

The *Cumhuriyet* Turkish daily newspaper reported on 11 October that a total of approximately 30,000 Turkish nationals of Hellenic descent had left Turkey with the 17,000 expellees since the expulsions began. By year’s end some 50,000 Hellenes had been expelled, leaving only 32,000 in Constantinople (Istanbul).⁵⁶⁰ It is this event that is one of the central themes of the award-winning film, *Politiki Kouzina* (A Touch of Spice). Its director-producer, Tasos Boulmetis, was one of the ethnic Hellenes expelled from Constantinople due to his father’s Greek citizenship.

5.4 Communal and Private Property

Fire broke out in the wealthy Tatavla district of Constantinople in 1928. In six hours, 800 Hellenic families were made homeless by the delayed reaction of the Fire Department. Shortly afterward, the district was renamed *Kurtuluş* (Wolf’s Lair). By itself, this event may be considered accidental or coincidental. However, taken in the context of the sustained assault by the Turkish State on the Hellenes of Constantinople, the fire and the delay in the arrival of the firefighters takes on sinister connotations.⁵⁶¹

The new Turkish Civil Code (adopted on 4 October 1926) prohibited minority institutions from acquiring further property, either by purchase, gift or inheritance.⁵⁶² In 1935, a five per cent tax was imposed on charitable institutions (hospitals, orphanages, schools, nursing homes) belonging to the Christian minorities. Confiscation of property was the penalty for inability to pay.⁵⁶³

In the same year, Law No.2762 “regarding monasteries” was enacted. The administration of minority schools and charitable institutions was turned over to a *tek muttevelli* (sole trustee) appointed by the Turkish authorities. Only one administrator (Mr. Kiorktzoglou) accepted the new regulation and turned over administration of the Tax Authority for Philanthropic Organisations to Stamat Zichni Osdamar, private secretary of Father Eftim (founder and leader of the “Turkish Orthodox Church”). Stamat was later appointed the Hellenic delegate to the Turkish National Congress and the representative of the monasteries of Valoukle by the Turkish authorities.⁵⁶⁴ The position of “sole trustee” was not abolished until 1946.⁵⁶⁵

The purpose of these measures was to bring the substantial Christian communal property in Constantinople under state control and also to bring further psychological pressure on the embattled minorities. The message being sent was clear: there was no place for Christians in the ‘new’ Turkey.

5.4.1 VARLIK VERGISI 1942-1944. Law No.4305, the infamous *varlik vergisi* (property tax), was introduced by the government of Prime Minister Sukru Saracoglu on 11 November 1942. The new tax was imposed on four categories of tax-payers:

- a) Muslim Turks,
- b) Minorities,
- c) Foreigners and
- d) Converts (mostly Islamised Jews).

There was no right of appeal. Those who could not pay were sent to labour camps in the interior to work on 'infrastructure projects'. The penalty of exile applied to members of the minorities only. Of the total sum collected, 52 per cent was paid by the minorities, 29 per cent by Muslim Turks and 19 per cent by foreigners. The purpose of the tax was to displace the minority groups from their disproportionately large role in the economy of Constantinople (Istanbul). The result is the economic devastation of Turkey's Hellenic minority.⁵⁶⁶

The amount of tax to be paid was set arbitrarily by a three-man panel: Faik Okte, Fuat Agrali and Mumtaz Tarham. In his 1951 book *The Calamity of the Varlik Vergisi*, Faik Okte described how the committee would arbitrarily set the amount of tax to be paid, after examining the personal details of the individual or institution (name, address, type of business owned or institution operating, nationality/ethnicity and so on). It was at least ten times the income of the average wage-earner. It was often many times the value of the property of the Christian owner. He wrote that the "property tax represents a page in our fiscal history which should shame us all!" Relatives living with those owing taxes (ascendants and descendants) were held equally responsible. The tax had to be paid within fifteen days.

A one-week delay in payment resulted in a one per cent penalty. A two-week delay resulted in another one per cent penalty. After three-weeks, the real estate and household property of the victim were confiscated and sold to pay his tax debt. He was also arrested and sent to Aksale, east of Theodosiupolis (Erzerum), nicknamed Turkey's Siberia. Prisoners worked from sunrise to late at night, either digging roads or clearing them of snow. For their labours, they were paid two Turkish pounds per day: one pound was withheld for food and shelter; the other pound was withheld to repay the unfortunate's 'debt' to the Turkish state. Most would have had to work for 200 to 300 years to repay their debt. In all 1,869 prominent Christian and Jewish men of Constantinople (Istanbul) were deported to Aksale; 21 perished

there from the hardships they endured (eleven of them Hellenes). By Christmas 1942, the mass circulation daily newspapers were full of advertisements for auctions of Hellenic and Armenian owned properties. As of 7 January 1943 the names of the individuals who could not pay were published in the press.

The real value of the property seized by the Turkish authorities is beyond calculation but it produced an 189,969,980 Turkish pound windfall for the State, 27 per cent of the total money then in circulation. The Hellenic community (0.5 per cent of Turkey's population) paid 20 per cent of the total tax bill (80 million Turkish pounds out of 435 million). The *varlik vergisi* was abolished on 15 March 1944. In his doctoral thesis on the *varlik*, journalist Ridvan Akar wrote that the minority groups of Hellenic and Armenian descent, whose rights and interests were supposedly protected by the Treaty of Lausanne, were terrorised by both official state policies and the chauvinistic climate of the society of the time. The *varlik* destroyed the economic fabric of their communities, resulting in only small communities remaining, with even those dwindling day by day.⁵⁶⁷

In scenes reminiscent of 1930s Nazi Germany, Kemalist students would stand outside Hellenic-owned businesses in 1958, distributing pamphlets urging boycotts proclaiming *Bu dukkan gavurlarin malidir. Yanina girin, cunku Turk tur* ("This shop belongs to a non-believer. Go into the next one because it's Turkish.") and citing the familiar slogan *Vatandas turkece konus* ("Citizen, speak Turkish").⁵⁶⁸

The Hellenic Society of Constantinople (Istanbul) was arbitrarily dissolved by the Turkish state in April 1958 because it used the term *Yunanli* (Hellenic) in its title and not the officially-sanctioned *Rum* (Orthodox Christian). All its property (including the valuable Sismanoglou Building) was confiscated.⁵⁶⁹ In 1960 the Turkish authorities disbanded the central tax offices of the large Hellenic communities of Stavrodromio, Sykae (Galata) and Halkedona (Kadikoy). Until then these offices had co-ordinated the financial affairs of

numerous Hellenic community institutions. The authorities required that each institution be classified as a separate entity and if an institution loses its members, it becomes State property.⁵⁷⁰ The purpose was to fragment the communal nature of Hellenic property ownership in Turkey and therefore to make it easier to confiscate.

5.4.2 ERITME PROGRAMI. Literally 'elimination programme', this was a 'secret' scheme to destroy the ancient Hellenic communities of the islands of Imvros and Tenedos by forcing the permanent migration of their populations. The island communities had been largely unaffected by the destruction of 1955, so a new plan was needed to achieve the same result on these Aegean isles as in Constantinople (Istanbul).

In 1964, the scheme was set into motion. The date selected was no coincidence. The independent Republic of Cyprus came into existence on 1 October 1960. However, by December 1963, clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriot terrorists was tearing the island apart and polarising public opinion in both Hellas and Turkey. Inevitably the remaining Hellenes of Turkey were used as both pawns and scapegoats.

Imvros, with a population of 5,000 Hellenes and 822 Turks and other Muslims, was officially renamed Gokceada while neighbouring Tenedos became Bozcaada. Schinoude, the economic capital of the island, had 3,000 Hellene inhabitants and 800 households.⁵⁷¹ In May the same year, the Turkish State confiscated 8,000 acres of cultivated land around Schinoude, on which an open-air agricultural prison for 1,200 long-term inmates was opened. Compensation for the Hellene owners was set at one Turkish pound per metre and never paid. The 'inmates' were given the right to bear arms while the freedom of movement of the remaining villagers was severely curtailed.

All arable land in the south of Imvros (Gokceada) was seized and given to a newly established village of Laze colonists from the eastern Black Sea region. Animal husbandry was severely curtailed on both Imvros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) with the

prohibition of the export of meat. Mountainous areas of the islands were designated for reforestation and grazing was prohibited. More arable land was confiscated.

The fertile central plain of Imvros (Gokceada) was “bought” by the Turkish State for the equivalent of one egg per quarter acre. A dam was then built, flooding the most fertile part of the island. Its purpose still remains a mystery. A side-effect of the dam has been the drying-up of the island’s natural springs, leaving the highland villages without a natural supply of water. The waters of the coastal plains have since become polluted and mosquitoes now plague the island, a phenomenon that had never before been part of the island’s ecology. Prior to the land confiscations some 61,511,000 square metres of land on Imvros (Gokceada) was Hellenic-owned, either privately or communally.⁵⁷²

In July 1964 a regiment of the Turkish army was installed on Imvros (Gokceada), in an area between the villages of Panayia and Glyky. All churches, chapels and farm buildings in the area were torn down and their materials were used for the military base.⁵⁷³ Another 13,444 *dekars* of arable land were confiscated in June 1966 to expand the island’s agricultural prison.⁵⁷⁴ Between 1966 and 1968, 27,354 acres of land on Imvros (Gokceada; 80 per cent of the island’s arable land) had been confiscated by the Turkish State. Miniscule compensation was paid, when any was paid at all.⁵⁷⁵ By 1970, the population of Imvros (Gokceada) was 2,622 Hellenes and 4,020 Muslims, while some 1,400 Hellenes lived on neighbouring Tenedos (Bozcaada). For the first time in their recorded history, the indigenous Hellenic populations of the neighbouring islands were a minority.⁵⁷⁶

Confiscations of Christian-owned land and buildings by the Turkish State are amongst the blunter weapons in Ankara’s arsenal. A variety of bureaucratic measures, particularly from the 1960s, were the more subtle tactics in the undeclared war on the country’s dwindling Christian population. Law No.502 abolished community ownership of Hellenic communal property (including schools) excluding church buildings. Ministerial Decree

No.3706/2.11.1964 banned ethnic Hellenes banned from acquiring real estate or participating in any legal transactions transferring property rights. Ministerial Decree No.6/3807/2.11.1964 ordered the seizure of all real estate and bank accounts belonging to Turkish residents who were Greek citizens. Profits from Hellenic-owned businesses were deposited in closed accounts at ridiculously-low interest rates.⁵⁷⁷

General Djemal Giursel issued the 'secret' *Kararname* Edict (Law No.6/380) in early 1965, reinforcing and expanding the two Ministerial Decrees issued in November. Although it has never been officially published in the government bulletin (and is therefore illegitimate according to the Turkish Constitution) Hellenes were banned from buying, selling, inheriting, donating or exchanging real estate. It remains in force to this day.⁵⁷⁸ The following year the Turkish state again began preventing Hellenic charitable institutions in Constantinople (Istanbul) from holding elections for their management boards. Elections for the executive committees of Hellenic community organisations in Constantinople (Istanbul) were arbitrarily cancelled by Turkish authorities in 1972.⁵⁷⁹

Law No.502/1978 stated that no donations to the Hellenic hospital of Constantinople (Istanbul) after 1936 had been nor would be registered by the state as such transactions would "disturb public order".⁵⁸⁰ Law No.502/1978 limited the value of communal property belonging to the Valoukle Hellenic Hospital in Constantinople (Istanbul) to its 1936 level. All property transfers since then were declared null and void. The properties in question were seized by the State.⁵⁸¹

All wills of Constantinople (Istanbul) Hellenes were declared invalid by the new military regime in 1980. Although this decree violated the Turkish Constitution, it remains in force today. The Panas case began on Prinkiponesos (Buyukada/Prince's Island) later the same year. Five Constantinople Hellenes (expelled in 1964) sued for the return of their confiscated household furniture and personal effects in a Turkish court.⁵⁸² Georgios Gikakis and four

others won their legal suit. However in 1991 in utter frustration at repeated failed attempts to bring his personal property to his residence in Athens, Mr. Gikakis wrote to the Hellenic Minister of Finance and declared that he would be donating his property to Turkey.⁵⁸³

The issue of the *Kararname* Edict reached the European Parliament in 1987. Cancellation of the illegal Edict became a condition of Hellas' lifting its veto of a Turkey-European Economic Community Pact. The following year then Prime Minister Turgut Ozal promised to cancel the 1965 *Kararname* Edict, by issuing the *Elpida Edict* (named for Elpida Phrangopoulou, the lawyer who has devoted her career to fighting the *Kararname* Edict). Following the familiar Turkish pattern of dual orders (one public, the other secret) the former edict remains in force.⁵⁸⁴ Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic population had by now fallen to some 3,500 individuals.⁵⁸⁵

5.4.3 OECUMENICAL PATRIARCH MAXIMOS CASE. The late Oecumenical Patriarch Maximos left a property to a blood-relative, Kornelia Vapourtze. It was a mansion of rare architectural value located in the aristocratic Halkedona (Chalcedon/Kadikoy) district of Constantinople (Istanbul). The Second Court of First Instance challenged the Patriarch's will (something in itself illegal according to Turkish law, since only a blood-relative can challenge a legal will). The night the writ was issued, bulldozers levelled the mansion to the ground, despite the intense protests of neighbours who called the demolition a crime. A week later, the foundations for the Havije Ozal Mosque⁵⁸⁶ were laid on the site. Despite the mansion's demolition, Elpida Phrangopoulou went to court and won her case. The presiding judge ruled that the Oecumenical Patriarch's will was legal and binding. The Turkish State appealed the verdict and in 1993, had the judgement overturned.⁵⁸⁷

5.4.4 CHRISTINA TZANNETOU CASE. 96-year-old Christina Tzannetou owned a 1,200 square metre property with two houses on it (one of which was heritage listed) in the exclusive Bebek district of Constantinople (Istanbul). Christian Koswik, a German citizen,

was renting the house. In 1987, Tzannetou was officially declared deceased by Turkey, without legal heirs, appointed executors for her estate and gave the leasee one day to vacate the premises. Phrangopoulou went to Ottawa, Canada, and obtained a statutory declaration from the Turkish Consul there that Tzannetou, a dual Turkish and Hellenic citizen, was in fact still alive and had two daughters, residents of the Canadian capital, as heirs. It was not until 1994 when she appeared in person at the Turkish Consulate in Ottawa, Canada (where she had been living for many years) did Turkey officially recognise she was still alive.⁵⁸⁸ With the presentation of this evidence, the case ended.

Then Turkey declared Tzannetou a refugee. Phrangopoulou went to the Turkish Foreign Ministry to obtain the records that showed the Tzannetos family living in Constantinople (Istanbul) after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The relevant volume was mysteriously missing. So Phrangopoulou went to Lausanne, Switzerland, and found the records there.

Twice thwarted, the Turkish State then declared that Tzannetou's ownership of the house had been cancelled. The Land Titles Office stated that no one could legally do this (arbitrarily cancel ownership of real estate). So the court was forced to rule for Tzannetou.

On 6 January 1993 the First Court of Appeals of Constantinople (Istanbul) ruled that the deceased's will was invalid and the property Tzannetou was to inherit, which had been in her family for 150 years, passed to the Turkish state. Five days later the First Court of Appeals of Constantinople (Istanbul) ruled that the will of the late Oecumenical Patriarch Maximos was invalid and his property too passed to the Turkish state.⁵⁸⁹

After examining the Oecumenical Patriarch Maximos and Christina Tzannetou cases, the European Parliament for the first time officially condemned Turkish state discrimination at the expense of the Hellenic minority in March 1994.⁵⁹⁰ Condemnation by the European Parliament did nothing to alter the rapacious attitudes of the Turkish authorities towards

Hellenic-owned property in Turkey. In July 1994 the Propontic Isles (in the western Sea of Marmara) were declared to be “border regions” by Turkey and placed under special military control. Large areas of Hellenic-owned property were confiscated.⁵⁹¹

In violation of Article 9 of the European Union-Turkey Customs Union (which explicitly forbids racial discrimination) all Hellenic property in Constantinople (Istanbul) passes to the Turkish state as inheritance by ethnic Hellenes is forbidden. The lawyer for the Turkish State admitted this in court on 29 April 1996. He officially stated that neither Christina Tzannetou nor any Hellene had any right to inherit the properties her family had owned for 150 years. The will according to which she claimed her family property was drafted in 1936. The Turkish state refused to acknowledge its validity.

5.4.5 KALAMATOUSAKIS CASE. Thanassis Kalamatousakis, a Turkish citizen and resident of Constantinople (Istanbul) had given an interview to the Athens current affairs magazine *ENA* in 1990. In January 1993 the Turkish authorities revoked his passport and sought to arrest him but he secretly fled to safety in Hellas.⁵⁹² Phrangopoulou was charged with the crime of ‘vilifying Turkishness’ in May 1993. In order to lay the charge, a long-inactive law had to be re-activated by Turkish authorities.⁵⁹³

In Istanbul (Constantinople), the publisher of a Turkish edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica faces charges of weakening Turkish national feelings because the work says an Armenian state had existed in southern Anatolia (Cilicia) in the 11th century. Isfendiyar Bariounu, Chief Prosecutor at the State Security Court, said the statement was “contrary to historical facts”. If found guilty, Hulya Porturoglu, the publisher, could be sentenced to four and a half years in prison.⁵⁹⁴

5.4.6 MAGDALENE KALINOGLU CASE. The Constantinople Magistrate’s Court had twice ruled the will of the late Magdalene Kalinoglou to be legal and enforceable. The Pera (Beyoglu) Magistrate’s Court overruled these judgements, declaring in favour of the

Turkish government on 27 October 1993. The Second Magistrate's Court of Constantinople (Istanbul) overruled the Pera court's judgement.⁵⁹⁵ On 7 December the Constantinople (Istanbul) Appeals Court ratified the judgement of the Second Magistrate's Court in favour of the heirs of Magdalene Kallinoglou.⁵⁹⁶

5.4.7 PHOKAS CASE. Originally from Drama in eastern Macedonia, siblings Polyxene (born 1942) and Ioannes Phokas (born 1944) were orphaned during World War Two. Ioannes was placed in a Drama orphanage, while Polyxene was placed in one in Kavala. The wealthy Constantinople (Istanbul) Hellene Apostolos Pistikas later adopted her. The siblings were not reunited for 40 years.

Polyxene became the sole heir to her adopted father's fortune estimated at 25 billion drachmas in 1995, the equivalent of 50 downtown apartments. Polyxene has been hospitalised in the Valoukle Hellenic hospital for a number of years, under mysterious circumstances according to the family lawyer Dem. Gleutes, while the Turkish authorities refused to appoint her brother, by then a resident of Katerine in southern Macedonia, administrator of the Pistikas estate. The Pera (Beyoglu) Magistrate's Court ruled in December 1994 that a Mr Karayiannes (a Turkish citizen) was the administrator, despite the fact that Karayiannes had already resigned from the position. As Polyxene was a Hellenic, not a Turkish citizen, she was protected by Article 9 of the European Union-Turkey Customs Union (which stresses equality before the law of citizens of member-states).

According to the lawyer, Polyxene was banned from communicating with her brother following a stroke in November 1992. She entered the hospital's psychiatric ward with depression and was now being held hostage as a "psychotic".

Without being examined by a doctor, they injected me (with something) and this has been going on for six months. The injection brought on terrible tremors and debility. It has now

been two months since they began giving me two pills, twice a day, keeping me in hospital as an insane person,

Polyxene later wrote to her brother. The case was taken to the European Court of Human Rights in January 1995 as another example of Turkey's persecution of its Hellenic community where it is currently working its way through the system.⁵⁹⁷

5.4.8 OTHER CASES. Another, unnamed, Hellenic citizen, the legitimate owner of real estate property in Constantinople (Istanbul) illegally seized by Turkey, won his fight for restoration of his property in the Turkish court system. In May 1995 the Turkish state refused to accept as legitimate a letter granting power of attorney that had been drafted in Hellas. The Turkish authorities demanded that he present himself to the Turkish Embassy in Athens so that it could be officially ascertained that he was still alive.⁵⁹⁸

The Turkish government has decreed that all donations made to communal institutions since 1936 are the property of the government. In addition, the Greek community was not allowed for many years to hold elections for seats on the boards of their charitable institutions. In 1991, an election was permitted for the board of the Greek hospital, but Greeks reported to Helsinki Watch that the Istanbul governate had removed from the list most of the candidates proposed by the community.⁵⁹⁹

Out of a total of some 40,000 individual properties owned by Constantinople (Istanbul) Hellenes in 1965, the Turkish State had since confiscated more than 25,000.⁶⁰⁰ Despite the official seizures of real estate, some 600 properties remained in Hellenic ownership, some in the most exclusive districts of Constantinople.

The Turkish State confiscated another 9,000 cultivated acres on Imvros (Gokceada) in 1975-1976, while 3,000 more settlers from Turkey were settled on land once owned by Hellenes. Between 1964 and 1976, a total of 35,259,000 square metres of land were seized by the Turkish state.⁶⁰¹ By 1977 only 26,251,711 square metres of arable land were still owned by Hellenes on Imvros (Gokceada). That year, another 25,758,526 square metres were

confiscated by the State.⁶⁰² The Turkish newspaper *Gunaydin* reported in its 23 November edition that the villages of Sek and Eskisihar had been forcibly transplanted from Asia Minor to the newly built village of Ugurlu. Their old homes had been seized for the construction of a new energy plant at Yatagan.⁶⁰³ By 1985 Imvros (Gokceada) had a population of 7,615, of whom only 496 were Hellenes.⁶⁰⁴ The island had a population of 7,200 Turks and 400 Hellenes in 1990, with only 64,095 square metres of land remained in Hellenic-ownership on the entire island. The neighbouring island of Tenedos (Bozcaada) had only 140 Hellenes remaining alongside 2,650 Muslims.⁶⁰⁵

In accordance with Decree 26.6.1984 the Turkish State confiscated the last 238 acres of cultivated land owned by Hellenes on Imvros (Gokceada). The island's indigenous inhabitants were left with no fields to cultivate at all beyond their home gardens.⁶⁰⁶ Large tracts of confiscated land near the highland village of Agridia in 1987 were given to the Turkish military for the instalment of a radar station and airforce unit. The island's 'military zone' status (forbidding access to foreigners; in force for more than 20 years) was subsequently lifted.⁶⁰⁷ State-owned tourist hotels began appearing on seaside properties confiscated from Imvrian Hellenes the following year.⁶⁰⁸ In 1990 Turkish authorities began construction of another dam on Imvros (Gokceada), this one near Kephalos in the south-east. Since 1964, 98 per cent of the arable land on Imvros (Gokceada) and 90 per cent on Tenedos (Bozcaada) had been confiscated by the Turkish State.⁶⁰⁹

Nor were land confiscations the only measures the state adopted in order to 'cleanse' the twin isles of their indigenous populations. For 20 days in December 1991 the Hellenic village of Schinoude was without electricity, while the nearby Muslim villages of Ugurlu and Sahinkaya experienced no such disruption. The snow-blocked road to Agridia remained uncleared for several days, while the roads leading to neighbouring Turkish villages were cleared promptly.⁶¹⁰ Although the open-air agricultural prison on Imvros (Gokceada) was

finally transferred off the island by the Turkish government in 1991,⁶¹¹ Turkish journalists revealed a government plan to build 400 dwellings to house 2,500 Bulgarian Muslims only months later. The *Nokta* magazine reported in its 18 May 1993 edition that the National Security Council had voted to increase the Muslim populations of Imvros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) by settling more Muslims on the islands. Foundations were laid for homes for new settlers on the islands in direct violation of Article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne.⁶¹² In mid-1996 400 government-funded houses for Muslim settlers from the town of Eselek on the Gallipoli peninsula were built at Kephalos, as were 500 houses for Bulgarian Muslims in Panayia, Imvros' capital.⁶¹³

By 1992, the population of Imvros (Gokceada) consisted of 7,500 Muslims and 260 Hellenes (fifteen in Glyky; 120 in Ayioi Theodoroi, the home village of the reigning Oecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos I; 60 in Agridia; 65 in Panayia, the island's capital; and none in Kastro, the oldest village on the island).⁶¹⁴ By early-1993 only eight of the island's Hellenes were under twelve years of age, while 95 per cent were over 60 years of age. The highland village of Agridia had the only Hellenic school left by Turkey on the Aegean island. Approximately 50 Hellenes remained on Tenedos, none under 40 years of age. All Hellenic-owned houses were declared heritage sites by the Turkish authorities, meaning that no repairs or alterations were permitted without the written consent of the regional administrator in Prousa (Bursa) in Asia Minor.⁶¹⁵ By 1996, only 250 Hellenes remained on Imvros (Gokceada) and 40 on Tenedos (Bozcaada).⁶¹⁶

In March 1993 Imvrians living in exile in Athens, formally demanded the implementation of the Treaty of Lausanne in relation to their Aegean island home: autonomy under an Imvrian governor.⁶¹⁷ In April 1997 the Imvrian Union of Macedonia and Thrace announced it would provide free medical care to the remaining Hellenes of the Aegean islands of Imvros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada). The previous doctor, a Hellene, was

killed in a car accident leaving the mostly elderly communities without proper medical care for the previous two years.⁶¹⁸

In late-March that same year, “two large trucks driven by Turks stopped in front of houses abandoned by Greeks” in the village of Schinoude on Imvros (Gokceada) “and loaded valuable articles, moving them without the Turkish authorities giving them the slightest trouble”.⁶¹⁹ By July 1998 Imvros (Gokceada) had only 200 Hellene inhabitants, of whom only two were children, amidst a total population of 8,000. Tenedos was left with only 20 elderly Hellenes out of 2,000 inhabitants.⁶²⁰ However by 1999 Imvros (Gokceada) had a population of 300 Hellenes and 7,500 Muslims (Turks, Kurds, Laze and Muslim Pontians). The increase in the Hellenic population was due to the return of Imvrians to their island from Constantinople. More than 50 Hellenic homes have been renovated by their owners and are lived in at least part of the year.⁶²¹

5.5 Education

Since the earliest days of Hellenism, the temple/church and the school have been the twin pillars of Hellenic communities across the globe. By attacking Hellenic education the Turkish State was attacking the foundations of Hellenic communal life. The abolition of Hellenic education on Imvros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) forced hundreds of Hellenes to seek a Hellenic education for their children in places as near as Constantinople and Hellas, and as far as South Africa and Australia.

The Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople was arbitrarily closed down by Turkish authorities in 1925. Its valuable library was confiscated and sent to Angyra (Ankara). The Zappeion Girls' School in Constantinople was closed because it had statues on its premises representing figures from Hellenic mythology, which violated the tenets of Islam forbidding graven images. After removing the 'offensive' objects and after a considerable delay, the

school was permitted to reopen. An 'education tax' was then imposed on Turkey's Hellenes, the funds being used to more than double the salaries of Turkish teachers in minority schools.⁶²²

In early-1926 Hellenic community leaders were summoned by the police to the Zographeion Gymnasion at Pera (Beyoglu) and ordered to sign a document stating that the Hellenic community waived its rights under Article 42 of the Treaty of Lausanne "of its own free will". Avrilios Spatharis and Savvas Apostologlou refused and were imprisoned. Hellas appealed to the League of Nations, which ruled that no alterations could be made to the Treaty of Lausanne except by the procedures outlined in Article 44.⁶²³ Following the prohibition of business colleges, the Hellenic Business School at Halke and the Apostolides School of Foreign Languages were closed. The Halke school was later seized by the State and converted into a Naval Military College.⁶²⁴

Local Government Act No. 1151/27, enacted on 20 February 1927, banned the use of Hellenic in teaching in Turkey's schools. All Hellenic schools on the islands of Imvros and Tenedos were ordered closed. The Central School of Imvros, the island's sole secondary institution, was closed immediately. The primary schools of the villages of Panayia, Evlambio, Kastro on Imvros and of Tenedos were closed on 25 June.⁶²⁵ With the beginning of the new school year in September all lessons (except Hellenic-language classes) in Hellenic schools in Turkey had to be conducted in Turkish. Turkish Vice-Principals were appointed in Hellenic schools and given the task of liaising with the Ministry of Education on all matters relating to their schools.⁶²⁶

The death of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk in November 1938 brought no change in policy of 'Turkification'. Ismet Inonu (previously known as Ismet Pasha), a close friend and colleague succeeded him. At the National Congress in December, Inonu was bestowed with the title 'National Chief' and proclaimed the irreplaceable leader of the Party.⁶²⁷ Only months

later, minority athletic associations were forced to merge with their Turkish counterparts or shut down.⁶²⁸

Following the passage of Law No.5713/1951, primary and secondary schools began re-opening in all the villages of Imvros. The island had a population of 6,100 Hellenes and 225 Turks, mostly civil servants in 1950.⁶²⁹ The Hellenic community of Constantinople (Istanbul) operated 43 primary, five junior and six senior high schools with 5,033 students at this time.⁶³⁰ The following September, owing to the activity of Metropolitan Meliton Hatzes of Imvros and Tenedos, a kindergarten and a cultural centre were opened on Imvros and its neighbour Tenedos regained its Hellenic school.⁶³¹ Turkey then enacted Law No.222 that placed all minority schools under the Department of Private Schools of the Ministry of Education. This meant that they were no longer classified as 'communal schools' and were not protected by the Treaty of Lausanne.⁶³² For the 1955-1956 academic year, beginning in September, 6,912 Hellene, Assyrian and other Christian students enrolled in Constantinople's (Istanbul) Hellenic schools.⁶³³

Laws No.502 and No.504, part of the 1964 *eritme programi*, outlawed any Hellenic education on Imvros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada), forcing the closure of the one high school, six primary schools and four kindergartens on Imvros (Gokceada) and one on Tenedos (Bozcaada) and the dismissal of their teachers. Real estate and other school property were also confiscated by the Turkish State. This left 980 students on Imvros without a Hellenic education as Turkish only was now permitted to be taught. The junior high school was converted into a boarding house for students from rural eastern Turkey, "studying" at the newly established "Teacher's College" on the island. The 'students' however spent more time terrorising the Christian islanders than studying.⁶³⁴

In the 1963-1964 school year 25,000 students attended the Hellenic schools in Constantinople (Istanbul).⁶³⁵ Measures attacking Hellenic education introduced in 1964 were

not restricted to the islands of Imvros and Tenedos. Law No.8459/18.2.1964 (Protocol No.3885) banned the remaining Hellene schoolchildren in Turkey from speaking Hellenic in school, even in the schoolyard. The Hellenic Orphanage on the isle of Prinkipos (Buyukada) in the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) was closed down on 21 April and its property seized by the State, throwing 117 boys and 46 girls into the street.⁶³⁶ In June three ethnic Hellene Constantinople (Istanbul) high school principals and 41 teachers were arbitrarily expelled from Turkey. The appointment of new educators to replace them was prohibited.⁶³⁷

Directive 3385/2-09-64 banned the importation of Hellenic books and encyclopaedias for Hellenic community schools in Constantinople (Istanbul). Directive 3385/13-09-64 forbade the distribution of the Hellenic-language children's magazine *My Companion*, Hellenic books and encyclopaedias at Hellenic community schools. Celebrations for Christmas and Easter were banned in community schools, as was the traditional Morning Prayer. Protocol No.410/16 prohibited Orthodox clerics from entering the premises of community schools. Law No.6980/15.10.64 banned the appointment of graduates of Hellenic teaching academies and of the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada) in the Hellenic community schools in Constantinople (Istanbul).⁶³⁸ Hellenic primary and secondary schools had to accept the appointment of Turkish deputy principals. The Turkish government refused permission for the repair of dilapidated school buildings and withdrew official recognition from the elected boards of the schools of the Hellenic community.⁶³⁹

Law No.625/8.6.1965 on Private Higher Educational Institutions outlawed the establishment of private educational institutions for religious education. Six Hellenic community primary schools in Constantinople (Istanbul) were closed down by the Turkish authorities, with 39 teachers dismissed. Entrance to Hellenic community schools was now refused to any students whose identity cards included the word "*Hristiyan*" (Christian) and not

"*Rum Ortodoks*" (Orthodox Hellene), a measure aimed at members of Turkey's Assyrian and Bulgarian communities. Those refused entry were forced to attend Turkish public schools.⁶⁴⁰

The Assyrians of south-eastern Turkey were banned from using the term "Rum Ortodoks" (Orthodox Christian) in official documents in 1979. Assyrian and Hellenic names of individuals in the region were forcibly Turkified and education of religion and language banned. Professor Mehlika Aktot Kasgarli wrote in his book *The Turco-Semites in Mardin and Surrounding Populations*:

These Turkish Christians, who accepted our language and traditions and who do not have the status as a minority, are called Turco-Semites, in consideration of their origin. Turco-Semites are not a different nation from the Turkish nation, and they even have Turkish characteristics.⁶⁴¹

According to *The Economist* magazine of London, the Hellenic population of Constantinople (Istanbul) had been reduced to 15,000 people⁶⁴² while only 1,147 Hellene schoolchildren remained when the 1978-1979 school year began. In early-December 1979 the building of the Glyky Hellenic Primary School on Imvros (Gokceada) was confiscated by the Turkish state, to be sold at auction. The sale was blocked by legal action taken by the island's Hellene and Turkish inhabitants.⁶⁴³ Only 816 schoolchildren remained in Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic schools for the commencement of the 1980-1981 academic year. Following the military *coup d'etat* of 12 September 1980 Turkey's minorities were barred from establishing new educational institutions.⁶⁴⁴

Despite all the pressures from the Turkish State Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic community still maintained thirteen primary and five secondary schools in 1990.⁶⁴⁵ By the end of that academic year, the once great Zappeion Girls' School had only 76 students. Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic schools had only 410 students altogether from a community that now numbered less than 8,000.⁶⁴⁶

As the 1992 Helsinki Human Rights Watch Report on the Hellenic Minority of Constantinople (Istanbul) recorded, Hellenic education was a favourite target of Turkey. Greek children are not allowed to study Greek history; teachers from Greece who are supposed to teach the children Greek, English, music, gym and art are not permitted to arrive in Turkey until the school year is well under way; Greek language textbooks are old and out of date; students are discouraged from speaking Greek; and the Greek community cannot control the hiring or assignment of teachers or access to schoolbooks.

Hellenic secondary teachers appointed by the Hellenic Ministry of Education to teach Hellenic and Assyrian students in Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic schools were barred from entering the buildings on the first day of the 1992-1993 academic year. The pretext was that the Turkish Ministry of Education had not confirmed their appointments, despite the existence of an education protocol between Hellas and Turkey. Their Turkish counterparts in Hellas assumed their duties unhindered.⁶⁴⁷ A mathematics teacher (an ethnic Hellene and Turkish citizen), at the Zographeion High School in Constantinople (Istanbul) had his appointment withdrawn by Turkish education authorities in late-March 1993. It was not until two-thirds of the way through the academic year that the authorities 'discovered' that by the terms of a cultural protocol agreement between Athens and Ankara, the sciences must be taught by a teacher from Hellas. This decision set the precedent for more Turkish-born Hellene teachers to be fired from their positions.⁶⁴⁸

According to Melih Asik of the daily *Milliyet*, the Deputy Director of the Education Directorate of Constantinople (Istanbul), Mr. Redjep Akbulut, called a meeting of the Turkish vice-principals of the handful of Hellenic schools remaining in Constantinople (Istanbul). At this meeting he told them that "[a]ll those go into these schools Turks, come out Hellenes." So the Turkish vice-principals must keep an eye on the Turkish teachers in these schools and report to the authorities anyone who "co-operates" with the Hellene

teachers of the schools. "You are the representatives of the Republic of Turkey in these schools. You must have eyes in the back of your heads".⁶⁴⁹

Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic schools are also regularly targeted by thieves and vandals, few of whom are caught, none of whom are prosecuted. On 27 December 1992 'unknown individuals' broke into the Zappeion Girls' School in Constantinople (Istanbul), smashed open a closet and stole 20 million Turkish lira in cash and property as well as various valuables and other objects. Damage to the ground floor of the building was so severe that classes were suspended until repairs could be conducted.⁶⁵⁰

'Persons unknown' set fire to the Ioakeimio Girl's School in the Phanare (Fener) district of Constantinople (Istanbul) on 28 September 1993. Neighbours fought the fire alone as the Fire Department did not appear, despite being called to the scene.⁶⁵¹ 'Unknown persons' attempted to set fire to the *Megale tou Genous Schole* (Great School of the Nation) in Constantinople (Istanbul) on 12 March 1994.⁶⁵² Vandals broke windows with rocks of the Zappeion Girl's School, next door to the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul) in mid-April 1994. Similar incidents occurred at the *Megale tou Genous Schole*.⁶⁵³ The Zographeion High School in Pera (Beyoglu) Constantinople (Istanbul) was bombed by unknown individuals in early October 1998, causing material damage but no casualties.⁶⁵⁴

The Hellenic community of Tatavla (Kurtulush), Constantinople's (Istanbul's) largest, numbered some 650 persons in 1991, with its school having a mere 48 students. The Zographeion School had 86, the Zappeion 79, the *Kentriko Parthenagogeio* (Central Girls' School) four and the eleven primary schools still operating had 208 pupils. The Ioakimeio Girls' and the Halke (Heybeliada) High Schools had closed.⁶⁵⁵ The graduating classes of 1995 of the *Megale tou Genous Schole*, the Zappeion and the Zographeion schools numbered barely 25 students.⁶⁵⁶ The Constantinople (Istanbul) Hellenic community continued to operate ten primary and four secondary schools with 297 students, of whom at least 75 were Assyrian at

the commencement of the 1996-1997 academic year.⁶⁵⁷ By 1997 the Imvros Boy's School was a hotel, the Girl's School a ruin, the *Astike Schole* (Urban School, founded in 1951) a health clinic and the Hellenic kindergarten a court house.⁶⁵⁸ Only 28 students graduated from the three remaining Hellenic high schools of Constantinople (Istanbul): the Zappeion, the Zographeion and the *Megale tou Genous Schole* at the end of the 1997-1998 academic year.⁶⁵⁹ With higher education in Turkey not available to them, the youth of Constantinopolitan Hellenism continue to emigrate in search of opportunities denied them in their homeland.

5.6 The Oecumenical Patriarchate

Under the theocratic Ottoman Empire, the Oecumenical Patriarch was also deemed the leader of the Hellenes under Ottoman rule. Under the secular Republic of Turkey, the Oecumenical Patriarch is officially regarded as the leader of the Hellenic minority of Turkey alone. Known in official Turkish circles as the "Fener Patriarch", his position as the spiritual leader of the Orthodox world is not acknowledged by Ankara. Recognising the central role religion plays in everyday life, the Turkish state has set about to systematically stifle the independence of the Oecumenical Patriarchate and to dismantle its institutions to the point where it will operate as an appendage of the Turkish state and nothing more. In December 1968 Athens and Ankara signed a protocol issued by a Helleno-Turkish cultural commission. Among other things, respect for religious, ethnic and national consciousness of the Hellenic and Muslim minorities in Turkey and Hellas respectively would be respected. Just as with numerous other 'good-will measures' agreed to by the neighbouring states, Ankara immediately proceeded to ignore its provisions.

The following month the United European Left bloc in the European Parliament called on Turkey to do everything possible to ensure the unhindered operation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate.⁶⁶⁰ The Helsinki Human Rights Watch Report on the Hellenic Minority of

Constantinople was compiled in October 1991 and published in March 1992, under the title DENYING HUMAN RIGHTS and ETHNIC IDENTITY: THE GREEKS OF TURKEY.

One member of the Greek community alleged that churches had been condemned and destroyed in order to widen roads, but that, in some cases, the roads had not been built, and the churches had been replaced by other buildings. A Turkish (non-Greek) human rights activist confirmed that historical Greek churches had been torn down while still in use.⁶⁶¹

5.6.1 PERSONNEL. The Turkish state has relentlessly harassed the clergy and laity of the Oecumenical Patriarchate since the Ottoman period. In a vain attempt to wrest the loyalty of the remaining Orthodox Christians in Turkey away from the Oecumenical Patriarchate, Ankara arranged for Father Ephthymios Karachisarides, a Turkish-speaking Orthodox priest in the village of Keskin in the Angyra (Ankara) region, to establish the *Türk Ortodoks Kilisesi* ("Turkish Orthodox Church") with himself as 'Patriarch Eftim I' and its seat in Angyra (Ankara) in October 1923.⁶⁶² Papa Eftim later Turkified his name to Eftim Hisaroglu and later still to Erenerol. The attempt failed miserably with only a handful of Turcophone Orthodox Christians joining Papa Eftim.

On 6 December 1923, officials of the Prefecture of Constantinople delivered Directive No.1092 to the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Participation of clerics who were not Turkish nationals and not serving in Turkey in Patriarchal elections was prohibited.⁶⁶³ This meant that only Turkish citizens (in other words Christians born in Turkey) could be elected to the post of Oecumenical Patriarch.

Following the celebration of the Divine Liturgy for the feast day of the *Trion Ierarhon* (Three Prelates - 30 January 1925), Turkish police invaded the grounds of the Oecumenical Patriarchate and arrested Oecumenical Patriarch Constantinos VI. They handed him papers declaring that he was "exchangeable" and deported him to Hellas.⁶⁶⁴ Following an appeal to the League of Nations by the Hellenic Government, Turkey proposed that Hellas withdraw

her appeal in exchange for recognition by Turkey of the non-“exchangeable” status of all Patriarchal Prelates, once Oecumenical Patriarch Constantinos VI resigned. The Patriarch and Hellas accepted the deal on 1 March.⁶⁶⁵

The two most prominent members of the Holy Synod, Metropolitan Maximos of Halkedona and Metropolitan Iakovos of Imvros and Tenedos were arrested and isolated at Prousa (Bursa) in 1943.⁶⁶⁶ Metropolitans Aimilios of Seleukia and Iakovos of Philadelpheia were stripped of their Turkish citizenship and deported to Hellas on 1 April. The reason given by the authorities was their “activities against Turkish interests”.⁶⁶⁷

Following the veto by Hellas of the European Union-Turkey Customs Union in December 1994, the Oecumenical Patriarch was investigated by Turkish authorities on charges of “behaving like a head of state”, the Turkish equivalent of high treason.⁶⁶⁸

A Turkish man threatened the priest of the village of Panayia on Imvros (Gokceada) with a knife in early-September 1995, demanding the Hellene hand over his house. When the priest refused, the Turk dragged him to the Christian cemetery demanding money. Somehow the priest managed to escape and went to the authorities, which arrested the attacker.⁶⁶⁹

In January 1997 Metropolitan Iakovos of Laodikeia was charged, convicted and sentenced to five months imprisonment by the Fatih Magistrate’s court in Constantinople (Istanbul). His ‘crime’ was that he conducted the midnight Divine Liturgy for the Resurrection of Christ at the Bulgarian Orthodox church in Phanare (Fener) district of Constantinople (Istanbul) on Easter Sunday. The court ruled that this was outside his religious duties and a violation of the religious freedom of Turkey’s Bulgarian Orthodox community. The Vice-President of Constantinople’s (Istanbul’s) Bulgarian community was charged and convicted for the same crime: he had invited Metropolitan Iakovos to conduct the service. These charges were despite Metropolitan Iakovos having ordained the parish

priest, Father Konstantin Kostoff, at the Oecumenical Patriarchate and the fact that the Bulgarian Orthodox parish belongs to Metropolitan Iakovos' diocese.⁶⁷⁰

Shortly after midnight on 2 December 1997, a large bomb exploded in the grounds of the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul), seriously wounding Deacon Nektarios Nikolaou (shrapnel struck him in the left shoulder) and causing extensive damage to the exterior of the Church of Ayios Georgios.⁶⁷¹ Only moments earlier, a group of senior clerics from around the world had passed by the site, attending a meeting of Roman Catholic-Eastern Orthodox Dialogue.

Another weaker bomb had been placed in the same vicinity a year earlier. The bomb (possibly a hand grenade) was thrown from a northerly direction, where a large mosque backs onto the Patriarchate. The minaret of the mosque overlooks the Patriarchal residence. It was the 5th attack on the Oecumenical Patriarchate since 1993.⁶⁷²

Nobody claimed responsibility for the attack. Meanwhile, Head of Istanbul Police Organization Hasan Ozdemir made observations in the Orthodox Patriarchate. Officials said that the investigations and operations are underway concerning the bomb attack.⁶⁷³

The Turkish Foreign Ministry:

said that Turkey is uneasy about the explosion and wounding of a priest in the bomb attack, adding that Turkey condemns such kinds of violence attempts launched in any country. The statement noted that 'Turkey will exert necessary efforts to find those who are responsible for the attack, bring them before the court and prevent the re-occurrence of such events'.⁶⁷⁴

The Chapel at the Holy Spring of Ayios Therapon in Constantinople (Istanbul) was looted and set alight in the pre-dawn hours of 12 January 1998. Eight icons, a Gospel Book and a blessing cross were stolen. That night, Father Iakovos Haviaropoulos, custodian of the Chapel, went looking for his father who had failed to return home. A search of the Shrine's storage revealed nothing, but bloodstains were found before the miracle-working icon of Ayios Therapon. Although reluctant to do so, the Turkish police permitted a search of the

holy spring itself. They assumed the opening was too small to put a body through. A sweater, shoes, a pack of cigarettes, and then a body were found in quick succession. It was Vasilis Haviaropoulos, an acolyte of the Oecumenical Patriarchate and father of Father Iakovos.⁶⁷⁵

His forehead had been visibly fractured. ... The next day, January 13, the son of the victim, Fr. Iakovos Haviaropoulos went to the coroner's office, where he encountered discrepancies in the story he was told. One person told him that his father, fearing for his life, had probably tried to hide in the well and drowned. Father Iakovos rejected this explanation. Another coroner stated to Father Iakovos that his father had been murdered and that before being murdered, his father's hands and feet had been bound and that he had been tortured. Gashes were present on the victim's forehead and rear of his skull, as well as bruises on his back. Results from the autopsy will determine whether Vasilios Havriaropoulos was murdered before being thrown into the well, or whether he ultimately died by drowning.

The funeral was held on 16 January, in the Church of Ayios Demetrios Megalomartyras (Saint Demetrios the Great Martyr) in the Tatavla (Kurtulush) district. The Spring and its Chapel are located near the Sirceci railway station, in the vicinity of Ayia Sophia (Haghia Sophia; Aya Sofya), a part of the city where no Christians live today. It is open only on Mondays and Fridays, while once a month holy liturgy is celebrated there.⁶⁷⁶

Houlia Karadeniz, representative of the Turkish Nationalist Action Party (MHP) declared in a January 1998 interview with the official Anatolia News Agency that re-opening the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada) would constitute "a danger for Turkey." Continuing her statement, Karadeniz said "The Patriarchate and the priests who studied at the School try, even today, to create difficulties for the independence of Turkey", citing "Iakovos, Aimilios, Melitona (Soteris Hatzes), Athenagoras, Makarios, Spyridonas" as examples of clerics working against Turkey. She went on to say:

The Patriarchate, as well as the priests who graduated from the school of theology are still attempting to create trouble for Turkey's independence ... Since his appointment in 1991,

Patriarch Vartholomeos' behavior has created a state within a state. He receives foreign dignitaries, he travels abroad, meets with politicians and regards himself as the Oecumenical Patriarch and is attempting to use pressure from foreign countries against Turkey.⁶⁷⁷

5.6.2 RESTRICTIONS. In June 1926 the Oecumenical Patriarchate was prohibited from organising a Pan-Orthodox Conference. On 14 June Turkish authorities took punitive action against Oecumenical Patriarch Vasileios III and the Holy Synod for meeting at the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada), outside the Phanare (Fener) district boundary that the authorities had set arbitrarily.⁶⁷⁸ Law No.2596/1934 banned the wearing of priestly robes outside church with the Oecumenical Patriarch and Papa Eftim were the only exceptions.⁶⁷⁹ Law No.2762 was enacted in 1935 "regarding monasteries". The administration of minority schools and charitable institutions was turned over to a *tek muttevelli* (sole trustee) appointed by the Turkish authorities. Only one administrator (a Mr Kiorktzoglou) accepted and turned over administration of the Tax Authority for Philanthropic Organisations to Stamat Zichni Osdamar, private secretary of Father Eftim. Stamat was later appointed the Hellenic delegate to the Turkish National Congress and the representative of the monasteries of Valoukli by the Turkish authorities.⁶⁸⁰ The following year Turkish tax authorities ordered the submission of detailed returns on all monastery properties and anything connected with their activities. Law No.2782/1936 banned Hellenic community organisations in Turkey – including the Oecumenical Patriarchate - from gaining any additional property by purchase or by inheritance.⁶⁸¹

Sections of the Oecumenical Patriarchate complex in Constantinople (Istanbul) were destroyed by fire in early 1941. Permission to repair the damage was refused by local authorities. Another request (in 1962) to rebuild the Patriarchal Centre and conduct repairs to the Prinkipos Orphanage, the Derka Cathedral and the Tatavla (Kurtulush) School was again refused by Turkish authorities. The Civil Administration of the Police Department officially

informed the Oecumenical Patriarch that he was barred from any and all involvement in inter-community affairs.⁶⁸² Permission to rebuild was not finally granted until 1987.

Law No.5681/10.4.1964 closed the printing presses of the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul), which had been operating continuously since 1627. The Oecumenical Patriarchate was not recognised as a legal entity and in the opinion of the Chief of the Civil Administration of the Police Department, only physical and legal entities had the right to have a license to print. The ecclesiastic publications *Apostle Andrew* and *Orthodoxy* ceased circulation.⁶⁸³

By a Constitutional Court Decree (issued 12 January 1971) and implemented on 9 July, the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada), the seminary of the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (Istanbul), was nationalised and arbitrarily closed. Founded on 14 September 1844, its library (one of the largest ecclesiastical libraries in the world, numbering over 50,000 volumes) remains intact.⁶⁸⁴ The Theological School was the main seminary of the Orthodox Church in Turkey. Without it, the training of new priests and theologians who were Turkish citizens became extremely difficult. Under Turkish law all clerics in Turkey (except diplomatic staff) must be Turkish citizens including the Oecumenical Patriarch.

Following its passage through the United States Congress in October, President Bill Clinton signed into law a bill recognising the importance of and calling for the protection of the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as the reopening of the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada).⁶⁸⁵ Ankara's reaction was swift. On 3 November the Turkish authorities dismissed the Board of the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada). The General-Directorate of Charitable Institutions dismissed the committee for reasons of "mismanagement" and "propaganda against the Turkish State". The School is housed in the Patriarchal Monastery of the Holy Trinity on the Propontic isle of Halke (Heybeliada). For some time, the General Directorate has been pressuring the Patriarchate and the Synod to

seek the permission of the Board of the School to conduct any activity on the grounds of the monastery. Both the Patriarchate and the Board refused to accept this. If the dismissal of the Board is upheld in court, the members of the Board are barred from running for the boards of any of the Hellenic minority institutions. By Turkish law any institution that does not elect a complete board of governors is declared defunct and its property is automatically confiscated.⁶⁸⁶

Respected Turkish journalist Ali Birand announced on the CNN-2 television station (22 October 1999) that following intense and sustained pressure from the United States, the Turkish government would announce the re-opening of the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada) during the state visit of United States' President Bill Clinton to Turkey. No such announcement was made and the Theological School remains closed.⁶⁸⁷

Pressures increase for the opening of the clergy school for Greek Orthodox in Heybeliada, Istanbul. Greek clergy man who are American citizens convened in the corridors of the school, which was closed by Turkey 30 years ago, and asked Turkey to start the education in the school as soon as possible.⁶⁸⁸

5.6.3 PROPERTY. The Turkish state has been illegally confiscating real estate belonging to the Oecumenical Patriarchate for decades. Occasionally the seized churches are given to the 'Turkish Orthodox Church', as occurred with the Orthodox Churches of *Panayia Kaphatiane* (Our Lady of Kaphatia) and *Soterios* (Christ the Saviour) in the Sykae (Galata) district of Constantinople in 1924.⁶⁸⁹ A Turkish court awarded Papa Eftim compensation for the expropriation and destruction of the Church of *Soterios* (the Saviour) in 1963.⁶⁹⁰ The Church of *Soterios* (Christ the Saviour) was levelled for reasons of "town planning". A lawsuit filed by the Hellenic community of Sykae (Galata) for the return of its churches was ultimately rejected in 1973.⁶⁹¹

Other properties are given to property developers and transmigrants from south-eastern Turkey. The properties of the Mount Athos Monasteries of Lavra and Koutlomouision on Imvros were seized in 1943 and settled by Muslim colonists. The newcomers proceeded to destroy all churches and other buildings on the confiscated lands. The Mayor and three village elders were arrested and exiled to Asia Minor for complaining about the destruction.⁶⁹²

In 1962, the site where the Church of Ayios Georgios Therapion in Constantinople (Istanbul) had stood until its destruction in the Pogrom of 6-7 September 1955 was seized by the Turkish State. A large resort was then built on the site.⁶⁹³

Father Eftim seized the Churches of Ayios Ioannes at Hia and Ayios Nikolaos at Sykae (Galata) in Constantinople (Istanbul) in September. All Hellenic institutions in the Sykae (Galata) region (three churches, two schools and 52 other properties) were then arbitrarily given to the "Turkish Orthodox Church" by the State.⁶⁹⁴

The Turkish government enacted *Vakif* (charitable foundation) Law No.903/1967. Article 74 Paragraph 2 states that communal property founded by a group and aimed at "the enforcement of a certain race or minority" would no longer be recognised as a charitable foundation. A new five per cent income tax was imposed on minority institutions, on top of existing government and municipal taxes (Monasteries were compelled to deposit an amount of money equal to five per cent of their annual gross income with the General Administration of Monasteries, which was called the right of audit). Monasteries forbidden from acquiring property other than that detailed in the 1935 tax return.⁶⁹⁵

The Monastery of Akatalitou Maria of Diakonisi (built in 582CE) in Constantinople (Istanbul) was converted into a mosque in September 1974, as were the Church of Ayia Theodora and the Monastery of Myrelaios.⁶⁹⁶ An attempt by Turkish authorities to convert

the Cathedral of *Ayia Sophia* (Hagia Sophia/Aya Sofya) in Constantinople (Istanbul) was abandoned in the face of an international outcry.⁶⁹⁷

Since 1964, 248 of the churches and chapels on Imvros (Gokceada) had been desecrated and/or destroyed. Of the almost 300 privately-owned chapels in 1964, only ten survived by 1993. No repair work has yet been permitted by the Turkish government to the 16th century abbey in the village of Kastro, torched by Muslim settlers on the night of the invasion of Cyprus (20 July 1974). In March 1993 the Cathedral of the Panayia (Virgin Mary) in the village of Kastro was vandalised again. No arrests.⁶⁹⁸

By 1997 only one Orthodox Church remained operational on Tenedos (Bozcaada) dedicated to the *Koimiseis tes Theotokou* (Dormition of Our Lady). The Church of Ayia Paraskeve, patron saint of Tenedos (Bozcaada) stood empty. Its natural holy spring was diverted by a Muslim settler who had discovered its source. Most of the more than 25 chapels on the island have been destroyed or ruined. The two Hellenic cemeteries and the ossuary are pictures of ruin and neglect.⁶⁹⁹

Since 1923, the Turkish state conducted a campaign of systematically destroying the 514 natural springs in the Constantinople (Istanbul) region considered holy by Orthodox Hellenes. Eight were destroyed between 1987 and 1992 alone. By 1992 only 30 survived. A similar campaign has been conducted against Orthodox churches as well.

The Orthodox Church of Ayios Georgios at Makrihori in Constantinople (Istanbul) was levelled on the orders of Turkish authorities on the anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople (29 May 1453).⁷⁰⁰ Of the six million residents of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1990, less than 3,000 were Greek Orthodox. Construction of new churches was forbidden and there were tight restrictions on residence permits for foreign clergymen, further smothering the operation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Yet according to the Turkish weekly news magazine *Dateline* (26 May 1990) there was one mosque for every 875 people in

Turkey.⁷⁰¹ At the same time the municipality of Sariyer in Constantinople (Istanbul), tore down an Orthodox Church annex that was still in use, supposedly to build a parkway. It has yet to be built. In 1991 the buildings adjoining the Churches of Ayios Nikolaos in the Hellenic community of Djivalios and of Ayios Phokas at Mesohori on the Bosphorus in Constantinople (Istanbul) were arbitrarily seized by the Turkish State. The reason given was that the Hellenic community had wilfully abandoned the buildings and that the State was restoring them.⁷⁰²

In March 1991 Turkish authorities permitted elections for the executive committees of the 62 Hellenic community organisations remaining in Constantinople (Istanbul) for the first time since 1971. The elections were overseen by a supervisory committee appointed by the Turkish authorities who were themselves candidates. The list of candidates was screened and two days before the elections, the authorities banned 21 individuals from standing without giving reasons. Styliane Thanasoglou protested the interference of the Prefect of Constantinople (Istanbul), Djahit Bayar. She was later found beaten and sexually assaulted by 'persons unknown' who had broken into her home.⁷⁰³ The 6th century, UNESCO heritage listed, Orthodox Church of Ayia Eirene in Constantinople (Istanbul) was used to stage a beauty contest in October 1994.

Oecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos I met with Turkish officials on 15 January 1992 and made a number of requests: re-opening of the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada), freedom of residency for personnel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul), the return of all property unlawfully taken from Turkey's Hellenic minority, return of all property seized from the Oecumenical Patriarchate and given to the illegitimate "Turkish Orthodox Patriarchate" and the unrestricted operation of the schools of the Hellenic minority. There was no official reply.⁷⁰⁴

After meeting with the Oecumenical Patriarch on 29 November 1996, Hellas' Deputy Foreign Minister Georgios Papandreou, met with the Deputy Foreign Minister of Turkey Onur Oymen. Amongst the topics of discussion was the issue of re-opening the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada). The Turkish diplomat was reported as saying that the issue was open for discussion.⁷⁰⁵

Islamists marked the anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople (1453) with a demonstration outside the 1,600 year old Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (Haghia Sophia; Aya Sofya) in Constantinople (Istanbul). They were demanding its conversion into a mosque.⁷⁰⁶ According to Turkish press reports, the Turkish Minister of Culture, Aga Oktai Gyunner, began the process of converting the church of Ayia Sophia in Trapezounta (Trabzon) Pontos into a mosque in June 1994. It has been a museum since 1960 and was a mosque before that. Similar legal proceedings were initiated by the Minister to the Prime Minister Djemil Tudch for the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (Haghia Sophia; Aya Sofya) in Constantinople (Istanbul).⁷⁰⁷ The Turkish press reported the following month that the Turkish Minister to the Prime Minister, Cemil Tuc, had initiated legal proceedings to convert the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (Haghia Sophia; Aya Sofya) in Constantinople (Istanbul) from a museum into a mosque.⁷⁰⁸

The Istanbul (Constantinople) Municipal Council destroyed a small chapel dedicated to Ayios Nikolaos in early September. The chapel was located over a holy spring on private property in the Kasim Pasha district on the banks of the Golden Horn. Built in the 1800s, the chapel was levelled despite the protests of local residents and of the Turkish owners of the property to make more room for a public park.⁷⁰⁹

Not even the dead are spared the daily terrorism endured by Turkey's Hellenic community. The Orthodox cemetery at Mega Revma (Arnavutkoy) Constantinople (Istanbul) was vandalised in August 1991 with 30 graves being opened and desecrated and numerous headstones were smashed. At approximately the same time there was a break-in and theft at

the chapel in the Prophet Elia cemetery. No arrests.⁷¹⁰ On 23 August 1993 the Orthodox cemetery of Neohori in Constantinople (Istanbul) was vandalised. Fourteen graves were opened and desecrated; tombstones were smashed. Five of the defiled graves were recent. One corpse was removed from its shroud. No arrests.⁷¹¹ The Hellenic cemetery on the Propontic (Sea of Marmara) isle of Halke (Heybeliada) was desecrated by persons unknown in early May 1996. Turkish press reports blamed followers of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) leader Alpaslan Turkes for the desecration.⁷¹² The same cemetery was vandalised and desecrated for the third time in four weeks in early June.⁷¹³ In the early hours of Tuesday morning (31 March 1998), unknown individuals desecrated 51 Hellenic graves in the Tatavla (on Bayir Road, Kurtulush) Hellenic cemetery in Constantinople (Istanbul). Corpses had been exhumed and beheaded; tombstones and crucifixes were smashed. The Oecumenical Patriarch described the repeated vandalism of Hellenic cemeteries as “an insult to civilization”.⁷¹⁴ On 26 July 1999 ‘unknown individuals’ broke into and desecrated the Orthodox cemetery of Tatavla (Kurtulush) in Constantinople (Istanbul), breaking tombstones and crucifixes.⁷¹⁵

Apart from the catalogue of injustice, exploitation and persecution described above, two events that stand out in the study of state persecution of Turkey’s indigenous Hellenes: the 1995 Pogrom and the 1974 invasion of the Republic of Cyprus.

5.7 Constantinople’s *Kristallnacht*

1955 has often been described as the year the City fell for the third time (1204 and 1453 being the other two). On 1 April of that year the ‘National Organisation of the Cypriot Struggle’ (*Ethnike Organose Kypriakou Agona*, EOKA) began its campaign for the independence of Cyprus from British rule. A round table conference began on 28 August in London, to decide the future of Cyprus. The same day a Turkish mob destroyed the Churches of *Panayia*

Neochorion (Our Lady of Neohori) and of the *Taxiarchon Stenes* (the Archangels of the Strait) in Constantinople (Istanbul), before the eyes of the police who did nothing to prevent the desecration.⁷¹⁶

In the early hours of 5 September, a bomb exploded outside the Turkish Consulate General in Thessalonike, breaking two windows of the “birthplace” of Mustapha Kemal Atatürk⁷¹⁷ next door. Five hours later the *Istanbul Eksampress* newspaper brought out an extra edition announcing the event. [The front page is reproduced as Appendix 20].

Thessalonike and Constantinople (Istanbul) are some one thousand kilometres apart by road. It still seems amazing how the photographs of the “destroyed home of Atatürk” were taken, developed, printed alongside an article in a newspaper in Constantinople (Istanbul) and distributed around the city, all within five hours of the original event. Road was the primary mode of transport and email was still in the realm of fantasy. The *Istanbul Eksampress* report included photographs taken the day before at the request of the wife of the Turkish Consul-General at Thessalonike, images which had subsequently been doctored.

Police investigations revealed that the explosive device had been set by an agent of the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MIT), Oktayi Engin, a Hellenic citizen, resident of Komotene in western Thrace and a student at the Thessalonike University Law School. Engin was arrested, released on bail and smuggled out of Hellas in the trunk of the car of the Turkish Consul-General at Komotene on 15 June 1956. He was later honoured with such offices as Chief of Police in Ankara and Director-General of State Security and Prefect of Neapole (Nevshehir) in Kappadokia.⁷¹⁸

Commonly known as “St. Bartholomew’s Night”, the night of 6-7 September was the straw that broke the camel’s back for the Hellenic minority of Turkey. Soon after the *Istanbul Eksampress* hit the newsstands, shouts of “YIKIN, KIRIN, GLAVOURDUR!” (SMASH IT, PULL IT DOWN, IT BELONGS TO THE INFIDELS!) filled the air. Mobs of

“spontaneous” rioters swept through the Constantinople (Istanbul) districts of Phanare (Fener), Pera (Beyoglu), Topkapi, Edirne Kapi, Vlanca and Psomatia as well as the Prinkiponesa (Prince’s Isles/Kizil Adalar, a group of seven islands that lie between 15 and 30 kilometres south-east of Constantinople). Five boats, each carrying 200 to 300 rioters landed on Prinkipos (Prince’s Island/Buyukada) shortly after midnight on 7 September. Their leaders had a discussion with local police before rampaging across the predominantly Hellenic inhabited island. When they were done, they simply re-embarked on their boats and left. No attempt was made to stop the pogrom or to arrest the rioters.

In Smyrne (Izmir), another mob overran the National Park where an international exhibition was taking place. At 9:00 a.m. on 7 September they trampled the Hellenic flag before looting and burning the Hellenic pavilion before the astounded visitors. The mob then attacked and destroyed the Church of Ayia Photeine and looted the homes of the Hellenic officers attached to the NATO installations in Smyrne (Izmir).

The pogrom devastated Constantinople’s (Istanbul’s) Hellenic community. At least fifteen Hellenes were killed, 2,000 women and girls were raped, 32 were seriously injured, and 600 others beaten. No less than 71 of Constantinople’s (Istanbul) 82 Orthodox churches were burned and 35 were looted. Eight *asperges* and three monasteries were reduced to ruins. The major Hellenic cemeteries were desecrated with graves (including those of Oecumenical Patriarchs) being opened and their remains scattered. Beyond the incalculable psychological damage was the economic destruction: 4,300 Hellenic-owned businesses, 2,600 Christian homes, 130 Hellenic restaurants, 27 Hellenic-owned pharmacies, 21 Hellenic-owned factories, and the offices of the three Hellenic newspapers were looted and/or destroyed. Nor were the city’s 52 Hellenic primary and secondary schools spared, being stripped of their furniture, books and equipment.

The only natural and human request that we, the Constantinople Greeks, make is a guarantee for the security of our children and our homes. We are tired of the historical repetitions of anti-Hellenic measures and outbursts that take place at regular intervals,⁷¹⁹

wrote Andreas Lambikis, a journalist and a native of Constantinople (Istanbul), who wrote for *Eleuthere Phone* (Free Voice), one of the daily newspapers of the Hellenic minority. After publication of this article, the offices of *Eleuthere Phone* were torched. Andreas was arrested on 16 September, imprisoned and tortured in the Harbiye Military Prison for approximately three months. Demetrios Kaloumenos, the official photographer of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, wandered around Constantinople (Istanbul) photographing the devastation. He was arrested by Turkish police, imprisoned, interrogated under torture, and expelled from Turkey “for publishing stories injurious to Greek-Turkish friendship”.⁷²⁰

Despite a crackdown by the Turkish military on journalists reporting on the pogrom (forbidding foreign journalists from reporting, confiscating telegrams, notes and photographs) news did reach the international media. Noel Barber, of London’s *The Daily Mail*, hid his notes in his shoes and thus escaped detection. In the 14 September edition of his newspaper he wrote that the Hellenic neighbourhoods of Constantinople (Istanbul) looked “like the bombed parts of London during the Second World War.” The World Council of Churches estimated the destruction exceeded US\$150 million. Other estimates placed the damage at US\$300 million. Turkish authorities estimated the property damage bill at 69,578,744 Turkish pounds. Reparations paid on account to minority institutions by Turkish authorities amounted to three million Turkish lira.

The government arrested 2,060 rioters and resorted to declaring martial law to restore order. Amongst those arrested was the editor of *Hurriyet*, Hikmet Bil. He revealed years later that he had met with the President and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes to map out the events of 5-7 September. United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles sent letters to

Athens and to Ankara requesting that set their differences aside for the sake of NATO unity. On 24 October Foreign Minister Fatin Rustu Zorlu personally re-hoisted the Hellenic flag in Smyrne.⁷²¹

In late-August 1989, Mursit Zolker (a Constantinople/Istanbul) lawyer and his wife were found with their throats slashed and their faces mutilated. According to the report in the *Hurriyet* newspaper, Zolker's "shady dealings" began when he was still a law student:

He was one of the MIT agents who egged on the mob in Taksim Square to loot Greek shops. Zolker also embezzled the property of a Greek woman on Prinkiponesos (Buyukada) and for that reason was expelled from the Bar Association. ... the truth of the matter was that the bomb had been planted by an M.I.T. agent, who would later rise to the rank of Security Police Chief. The Menderes Government needed support before the conference on Cyprus, which was about to begin in London. On the evening of the day on which the bomb was planted, agents spread out into the areas of the city inhabited by the minorities. Everyone came out onto the streets; a group of porters gathered in front of the church in Taksim Square. It was as if they were waiting for someone to come and give them a signal. They didn't have long to wait: a well-dressed young man made his appearance among these baggage-handlers and gave the word: "Go ahead, friends." This turned the angry crowd into an army of vengeance. "That was how that shameful looting in Pera (Beyoglu began".⁷²²

In the wake of the pogrom, Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Hellenic population was reduced to 72,950 people by early 1956.⁷²³

Following a military coup on 27 May 1960 led by General Djemal Giursel, deposed Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and Foreign Minister Fatin Rustu Zorlu, were arrested and court-martialled on a variety of charges. One of the things that emerged (20 October 1960 to 5 January 1961) was that the Thessalonike bombing had been ordered by the Menderes government in order to incite and justify a pogrom against the Hellenes of Constantinople (Istanbul). Menderes apologised to the Hellenic government and offered compensation to

those whose property had been damaged or destroyed. Both men were convicted of bringing bad publicity and damage to Turkey's international image (note that they were not convicted of organising and executing the pogrom), sentenced to death and hung on the prison island of Plate (Imrali)⁷²⁴ in the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) soon afterwards. The spokesman of the military junta was Colonel Alparslan Turkes.⁷²⁵

The United States Senate passed a resolution calling on President Clinton to declare the 6th of September a memorial day for the victims of the 1955 Pogrom in Constantinople (Istanbul) on 11 August 1995. The Resolution also condemned Turkey's violation of numerous treaties to which it is a signatory, in regards to the operation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate and its seminary, the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada).⁷²⁶

Hellenes from Prinkipos (Buyukada) returned for a one-week visit in late-April 2000, 45 years after they fled the Pogrom. The *Radikal* newspaper wrote that "their hearts were always here" and that they were warmly received by the islands' Muslim residents. The report went on to say that the Hellenes were sobbing because the island was their home and they had once lived in peace with their Turkish neighbours. Miltos, one of the returnees, remembered that during the Pogrom his family's Turkish friends had raised a Turkish flag at their house in order to protect them from the rioters and had slept outside their door to chase away any intruders. Eirene visited Prinkipos (Buyukada) with her son. Her family had fled in late-1955 and her father had died in Athens, his last wish being to be buried on Prinkipos (Buyukada). She fulfilled his wish and brought his remains to the island in 1992.⁷²⁷

5.8 Cyprus

*Hurriyet*⁷²⁸ began circulating in 1948, with an initial readership of about 11,000. With the introduction of inflammatory anti-Hellenic content later on, it was printing over 600,000

copies per day by 1955.⁷²⁹ The following 'poem' titled "KIN" (Hatred) was published in *Hurriyet* on 18 July 1974.

As long as Greeks – sons of a bitch – exist,
by Allah, my hatred can't go away.
As long as I see them, like dogs,
even one thousand heads of *giaours* (infidels) can't wash my hatred away.
Revenge is my only dream.
When the time comes,
I'll slay one thousand *giaours*.
Even if I crush thirty thousand of them by stones,
or if I extract their teeth,
or if I sling the corpses of one hundred thousand of them into a river,
even then my hatred can't end.
All the world knows what a Turk is;
I can crush the Greeks' heads.
Even if I burn five thousand of them,
or if I slash forty thousand of them with a bayonet,
or if I send eighty thousand of them to hell,
or if I hang one hundred thousand of them,
even then my hatred won't end.⁷³⁰

The night after the poem "*Kin*" was published [the original and the translation are reproduced as Appendix 48], Kastro, the oldest village and old spiritual centre of Imvros (Gokceada), was evacuated by its Hellenic inhabitants shortly before Muslim colonists rampaged through the area and burned the entire seaside village. Churches, chapels and cemeteries across the island were attacked and desecrated. The 11th century cathedral's historic and priceless icons were stripped from the *iconostasis* (icon screen separating the altar

from the public section of the church). It was later converted into a barn.⁷³¹ The ruined village was re-populated with Kurdish colonists in the late-1970s.⁷³²

Two days after "*Kin*" was published Turkish forces invaded the independent island Republic of Cyprus. Turkish troops proceeded to occupy 37 per cent of the island, making 200,000 Hellenes, Armenians and Maronite Catholics were expelled from their homes in the Turkish-occupied zone.

When Turkey invaded Cyprus in July 1974, the island republic had a population of less than 600,000. In the invasion, more than 3,000 Christian Cypriots were killed, 1,619 (992 soldiers and 627 civilians) went missing and their fates are still unknown and some 200,000 were made refugees. The missing were last seen alive in Turkish custody. Sixteen of those missing were permitted to broadcast on Turkish radio to reassure their relatives that they were alive and well.⁷³³

The following were seized by the Turkish military: 78 Christian churches, 38 archaeological sites, sixteen medieval dwellings, ten monasteries and seven fortresses and medieval fortifications. 87 per cent of hotel beds under construction, 83 per cent of general cargo handling capacity (the port of Ammohostos/Famagusta), 70 per cent of gross national output, 65 per cent of tourist accommodation capacity, 56 per cent of mining and quarrying output, 48 per cent of agricultural exports, 46 per cent of industrial production, 41 per cent of livestock production, 38.3 per cent of educational facilities, 36.2 per cent of houses and apartments.⁷³⁴

Since that time, the Turkish state has systematically set about eradicating all traces of Christian heritage in the occupied territories: expelling Christian Cypriots, looting antiquities, destroying chapels, churches and monasteries, illegally 'selling' properties owned by Christian Cypriot refugees to Turkish settlers and foreigners. In the words of Ahmet Karaman, "[t]his system you have created in Northern Cyprus is not recognised and will not be recognised by

the world, because it is opposed to the international law".⁷³⁵ For the last three decades, Ankara has been converting northern Cyprus into an 'Anatolian province'.

On 28 July 1998, the European Court of Human Rights handed down a judgement upon which Karaman based his comment. In *Loizidou versus Turkey*, the Court found Ankara to have violated Titina Loizidou's human rights by seizing her property and preventing her from returning to occupied Kyrenia to make use of it as she saw fit. The Oecumenical Patriarchate and hundreds of Cypriot refugees from around the world are now using this precedent to pursue the return of their own illegally seized properties by the Turkish State.

The attitude amongst sections of the Turkish population, of using Turkey's Christians as scapegoats has not diminished over time, as exhibited by events since 1974. "If the Greeks dare touch our brethren [in Cyprus], then there are plenty of Greeks in Turkey to retaliate upon" wrote *Hurriyet* in its 28 August 1995 edition. During a demonstration outside the Hellenic Consulate in Constantinople (Istanbul) in mid-August 1996, some minor property damage occurred. This particular demonstration was in response to recent events on Cyprus in which two Hellene Cypriots (Tasos Isaak and his cousin Solomos Solomou) were murdered by Turkish military and paramilitary forces.⁷³⁶ At a similar demonstration in November 1997 approximately 200 people attacked the Hellenic Consulate in Smyrna (Izmir) causing light damage to the windows of the building. Personnel of the consulate had been receiving phone threats for a number of days previously. At the same time a similar demonstration took place outside the Hellenic Consulate in Constantinople (Istanbul).⁷³⁷

5.9 Terrorism

Unsolved murders and various psychological pressures have remained regular features of life for Turkey's Hellenes in the Republican period, just as they were under the Ottoman Sultans.

While the Turkish state cannot be held responsible for the actions of every individual Turkish citizen, through its lack of effort in pursuing the criminals who commit these acts, Ankara has issued the message that Turkey's Christian populations are 'fair game'.

The Hellenic ambassador to Ankara visited Imvros (Gokceada) in 1966. Councillor Nikolaos Palaiopoulos presented him with a list of complaints about conditions on the island. Turkish authorities subsequently arrested him, imprisoned him at Canakkale and convicted him of slandering the Turkish nation.⁷³⁸

In September 1973 murder of tradesman Stylianos Kavalleros of the village of Panayia on Imvros (Gokceada) by prison 'inmates'. His body was then hacked to pieces and dumped down a well.⁷³⁹ In July 1975 a Turkish soldier killed Styliane Zouni in the village of Ayioi Theodoroi on Imvros (Gokceada) for refusing to submit to his sexual advances. He then raped the corpse of the mother of two. No arrests have ever been made.⁷⁴⁰ Farmer Georgios Viglis of the village of Schinoude was beaten and hacked to death on his farm by 'inmates' of the island's open-air agricultural prison in July 1980. No arrests have ever been made.⁷⁴¹ Eustratios Stylianides of the village of Schinoude was murdered by prison 'inmates' and Muslim settlers murdered Nikolaos Ladas of the village of Panayia in 1984. No arrests have ever been made.⁷⁴² On 19 November 1990 65-year-old Zapheiris Delekonstantis of the village of Glyky was murdered by Muslim settlers.⁷⁴³ An elderly Imvrian Hellene was beaten twice in three days before the village coffee shop by "persons unknown" in early September 1991. The following month seven Hellenes were brutally beaten in their home villages, also by "persons unknown". Thankfully all survived.

Some 250,000 Hellenes visited Turkey during the 1990 calendar year, mostly to Constantinople (Istanbul) alone. A coach, full of Hellenes on a pilgrimage to the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul), was firebombed by 'unknown individuals' on 9 April 1991; 36 people were burned to death including five children and

another thirteen were seriously injured. Turkish authorities later arrested Qadir Chald, “a psychopath, an alcoholic, a drug addict and a homosexual” according to the police.⁷⁴⁴ Islamic fundamentalists besieged the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul) for four days (25-30 August 1991), permitting no one to neither enter nor leave the complex. Turkish authorities failed to act against them although the Islamists repeatedly threatened to invade the Patriarchate and throw out the Oecumenical Patriarch. The demonstrators burned a Hellenic flag and promised to return to install a Turkish Patriarch. Oecumenical Patriarch Demetrios died of a heart attack a few days later.⁷⁴⁵

Greeks in Istanbul told Helsinki Watch of being harassed by police -- called in and threatened. One businessman reported that he had left Turkey in 1980 because of psychological pressure: The chief of police called me into his office in Istanbul and gave me coffee and cigarettes, and said, ‘It would be better if leave, since you have a daughter. We won’t shoot you, but maybe a car will hit you when you’re out walking.

The Helsinki Watch investigators recorded “found that these pressures continue today”.

One man reported being visited recently by a member of the secret police who put his gun on the table in front of him and questioned the man for three hours about the Patriarchate and the committee for the Greek hospital.⁷⁴⁶

‘Persons unknown’ attempted to set the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople (Istanbul) alight in July 1993. The fire was discovered immediately and extinguished by the staff. No arrests were made.⁷⁴⁷ Twelve-year-old schoolgirl Petroula Syrigou was found naked, mute and sexually assaulted in the swimming pool of a building complex in early August 1993. According to her 13-year-old sister, three people had forced Petroula into a Mercedes and attempted to rape her. She died three days later and was buried in the Orthodox cemetery of Neohori, Constantinople (Istanbul). No arrests.⁷⁴⁸ On 23 August her grave was one of many opened and desecrated by ‘persons unknown’ in the Christian cemetery.

A bomb exploded outside a Hellenic church in the Phanare (Fener) district of Constantinople (Istanbul) in March 1994. Two fire-bombs were hurled into the courtyard of the Oecumenical Patriarchate by 'unidentified persons'. The flames were extinguished before they caused serious damage. Another bomb exploded outside the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (Haghia Sophia; Aya Sofya) wounding three European tourists.⁷⁴⁹ A few weeks later vandals broke windows in the Oecumenical Patriarchate complex with rocks.⁷⁵⁰ In June the Islamic Raiders Front of the Middle East (IBDA-C) threatened the life of the Oecumenical Patriarch and was suspected of being responsible for at least three attacks on major Orthodox churches in Constantinople (Istanbul). Later in the month three members were arrested on suspicion of responsibility for the attempted bombings of a number of Christian churches.⁷⁵¹

In early-March 1996 a 15-kilogram remote-controlled bomb was removed from the gate of the Church of *Panayia Ouranou* (Our Lady of Heaven) in Constantinople (Istanbul), one of 40 still operating in the City. Islamic fundamentalists had been flooding into this run-down quarter of Constantinople (Istanbul) since the mid-1980s.⁷⁵² Unknown persons desecrated the Orthodox church of Ayios Demetrios on Prinkiponesos (Buyukada, one of the Prince's Isles) in the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) on 14 June.⁷⁵³ A hand-grenade thrown from the grounds of a mosque that stands behind the Oecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople's (Istanbul's) Phanare (Fener) district, exploded in the courtyard of the Oecumenical Patriarchate on 30 September 1996, causing slight damage to the roof of the Cathedral of Ayios Georgios. It was the 4th attack by 'unknown individuals' against the Oecumenical Patriarchate since 1993.⁷⁵⁴

Unknown individuals firebombed the house of Mrs. Maria Sozde in the village of Glyky on Imvros (Gokceada) on 18 October 1999. Her 6-year-old son Alexes was burned to death while her 2-year-old daughter Maria and herself escaped with various injuries.⁷⁵⁵ A few months later (15 April 2000), four Kurdish settlers attacked and beat Georgios Zarbouzanes.

He was the first Imvrian Hellene to return to his home village of Agridia, after emigrating to Constantinople (Istanbul) in the 1960s. The owner of a hotel and restaurant in the village, his assailants later confessed to beating him in order to terrorise him into hiring them instead of Laze settlers from another village. Zarbouzanes, who was attacked when he stopped to clear some rocks from the road, blocking his way, returned to Imvros after a short stay in hospital in Cannakale.⁷⁵⁶

Two bomb attacks took place on Constantinople (Istanbul) churches on the night of Friday 28 April 2000, Orthodox Good Friday. Unidentified assailants threw two bombs around 10:45 p.m. at the rear entrance of the ‘Turkish Orthodox Church’, also known as the ‘Galata Haghia Church’ in Halkedona (Karakoy). One of the bombs exploded, causing minor damage to the church’s back door as well as a car which was parked close by. This is one of many Orthodox churches seized by the Turkish state and given to its puppet ‘Turkish Orthodox Church’. The second bomb was deactivated by bomb experts. Bomb experts also deactivated another bomb, which was left at the gate of the ‘Kirmizi Church’ in the city’s Palati (Balat) district.

Security teams were mobilized following the incidents and measures were intensified around churches and other places of worship in Istanbul.⁷⁵⁷ There were no injuries and no arrests.⁷⁵⁸

5.10 Christians Today

While commenting on Prime Minister Turgut Ozal’s law rescinding the long-standing ban on public use of the Kurdish language, then-leader of the DYP and later President of the Republic, Suleyman Demirel, told *Hurriyet* in a 1992 interview that Turkey has no less than 26 distinct *etnik grubun* (ethnic groups). Amongst these are the Islamised Hellenes who remained in Turkey after the 1920s “Exchange of Populations” and the kryptochristians. The same newspaper article mentions that the people who gained the most from the new law are the

Laze people, who 'flooded' the country with cassette tapes in their native tongue. 'Laze' is the name used by the Turkish press in reference to the Muslim Hellenes of Pontos AND the real Laze, a Muslim Caucasian people related to the Georgians. The article states the new law means freedom for all to speak in their own dialect, to sing in them and to record them on video and audio cassettes. The article goes on to specifically mention the Ophis (Of) region of Pontos, where the Muslim Hellenes retain their dialect and culture to the extent that they Hellenise Turkish loan words into their dialect.⁷⁵⁹

In recent years, primarily through the efforts of Oecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos, there has begun something of a revival of Christianity in the Republic of Turkey. The Turkish authorities are being driven to treat the country's remaining minorities more decently particularly by the demands by the European Union. More than four decades after applying to join the continent's economic and political bloc, Turkey's poor human rights record (especially with regard its religious minorities) remains a serious obstacle to Ankara's European aspirations.

An example of this new spirit of religious tolerance occurred on 26 September 1997 the Orthodox Church of the *Taxiarhes* on Moschonise, off the coast of the Kydonies (Ayvali) district Asia Minor, echoed to the sounds of the Orthodox Holy Liturgy for the first time since 14 September 1922. That 'last' liturgy had been conducted by Bishop Amvrosios of Moschonise only hours before he and hundreds of others were arrested and executed by Turkish authorities.⁷⁶⁰

The Vryoula (Urla) City Council (Smyrna/Izmir region) renamed a street in the Skala district in honour of the Nobel Laureate for Poetry, Georgios Seferis. An attempt by an extremist MHP-dominated council in June 1999 to change the name of Georgios Seferis Street was overruled by the national government in Ankara.⁷⁶¹ Seferis was born and raised in

the area, fleeing for the first time during the pogrom of 1914. He returned with his family five years later, only to flee for a second time in 1922.

On the 77th anniversary of the Asia Minor Catastrophe (9 September 1922), the Church of the Taxiarche in Kydonies (Ayvali) echoed once more to the sounds of the Orthodox Divine Liturgy. Objections to the ceremony by the MHP-dominated Kydonies (Ayvali) City Council were overruled by the national government in Ankara. At the end of the liturgy, a requiem was held for the victims of the recent Turkish and Hellenic earthquakes.⁷⁶²

For the first time since 1923, the Orthodox Divine Liturgy was celebrated amongst the ruined monasteries and churches of Avanos in Kappadokia on 30 April 2000. Oecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos I officiated before a congregation of the Hellenic and Bulgarian Ambassadors to Ankara, as well as pilgrims from Constantinople (Istanbul), Hellas, Mount Athos, Germany and Montenegro. Avanos' Mayor Ceyhan Dourou, told the assembled media: "I always wanted to organise the ceremony, and I hope it will be established once a year".⁷⁶³ A similar service was celebrated by Metropolitan Kyrillos of Seleukeia in the Orthodox Church of Ayia Varvara in Nikomedia (Izmid) a few weeks previously, the first time the church had echoed to the sounds of the Holy Liturgy for since 1922.⁷⁶⁴

On the initiative of the Mayor of Agirnas – a hamlet near Kaesareia (Kayseri) in Kappadokia - Patriarch Vartholomeos celebrated Holy Liturgy at the Church of Ayios Prokopios on 23 August the same year, as part of the 'First Agirnas Friendship Festival', as it was labelled by Agirnas Mayor Mehmet Osmanbasoglu. The historic service was attended by the Mayor of Komotene, Nikos Parasopoulos, and approximately 60 "people who had emigrated to Greece from Agirnas in accordance with the exchange of people in 1924". Osmanbasoglu was quoted as saying: 'We will be very pleased with hosting our Greek friends in Agirnas. We will sing together Turkish and Greek songs'.⁷⁶⁵

Addressing the Orthodox Church's Clergy and Laity Conference in Constantinople (Istanbul) in November 2000, Oecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos I stated in no uncertain terms that the Patriarchate would remain in the ancient city.

'We trust in Divine Providence and not in secular leaders. ... Divine Providence wants this historical throne (of the Patriarch) to this side of the world and not anywhere else'.

The leader of the Orthodox world was responding to questions regarding the future of the Patriarchate in a city inhabited largely by Muslims. The Patriarch said that this was not the first time in history that the Patriarchate existed in this city with a very small minority of Orthodox Christians. He reminded the participants of the conference of the times of St. Gregory Nazianzos (300sCE), when the Patriarchate was but a small community around the Church of Ayia Athanasia.⁷⁶⁶

As the Orthodox Hellenes of Turkey continue to dwindle in number into the 21st century, debates around questions such as the long-term future of the Oecumenical Patriarchate and the fate of the hundreds of properties owned by the metropolis' Hellenic community have become increasingly urgent.

While the Orthodox Hellenic community of Turkey has been virtually extinguished, this by no stretch of the imagination means that the living Hellenic presence in Asia Minor has been extinguished. An estimated 500,000 Hellenic-speakers (a number of whom are possibly also kryptochristians) remained in Pontos in the early 1990s. Some of the elderly retain their traditional dual names (Hellenic in private/Turkish in public), while some of the young have become completely Islamised. The Ophis (Of) district has 52 Hellenic-speaking villages, the Tonya district has nine, the Sourmena (Surmene) district has eight. In addition, villages in the Matsouka and Argyroupolis (Gumushane) districts like Xenos, Katahor⁷⁶⁷, Melikoa, Iskender (Alexandros), Yarnenadan, Vari, Zourkadadan, Thomaradan, Saita, Mesoplaia and Hotsikon are also Hellenic-speaking. Thousands of people from these

Hellenic-speaking villages have migrated to cities like Trapezounta (Trabzon) and other major urban centres, looking for a better life, but retain their native tongue (to varying degrees).⁷⁶⁸

Gulden Aydin, a journalist with the *AKTUEL* news magazine asked Mrs. Fatima Gulday, a resident of the Pontian-speaking village of Alexandrohori (Iskenderli) in the Tonya district of the Trapezounta (Trabzon) region of Pontos, “And what are you?” asking about her ethnic identity. The 94-year-old woman replied “I do not speak Turkish and I did not learn Romeika out of thin air”. Other villagers taking part in the discussion added “Why should we deny ourselves? We are Romioi”. Romioi (Romans) is the Byzantine and Ottoman-era name for Christian Hellenes.⁷⁶⁹

5.11 Christian Heritage

With the living presence of the victim group eliminated, the perpetrators often turn their attention to the physical heritage of the people they slaughtered *en masse*. Sowing a burial ground with grain or with salt has long been symbolic of erasing even the memory of the victim group’s presence in the area. The Turkish authorities employed just these practices across Asia Minor during the early part of the 20th century. Having deported the Jews of Thessalonike, the Nazis proceeded to level the city’s centuries-old Jewish Cemetery, bulldozing the tombstones and ploughing the soil. The purpose is clear: the extirpation of the ‘unwanted’ population is meant to be permanent.

The vehemence of official Turkish reaction to any challenge to their view of Turkish history can – at least partly – be put down to their own insecurity in ‘their own land’. Former Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of State and MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli illustrated this principle amply in 2000 during celebrations in the town of Malazgirt in the eastern province of Mus to mark the Seljuk Turks’ victory on the plain of Mantikert in 1071, a victory that,

according to the semi-official *Anatolia News Agency*, “made Anatolia motherland for the Turks”. The extremist Bahçeli was quoted as saying that:

there are circles who do not deem Anatolia worthy for the people who has been living in peace and brotherhood for centuries. There are circles who want to change Istanbul into Constantinople and Agri into Ararat but they will not manage to do this.⁷⁷⁰

Despite the decades-long campaign targeting all physical evidence of Christian habitation in Thrace and Asia Minor⁷⁷¹, Hellenic, Armenian and Assyrian monuments continue to be uncovered across the length and breadth of the country. Thanks to the Turkish State realising the tourist potential of these sites and artefacts in recent years, the systematic destruction is being replaced – to some extent - by preservation.

This change of heart is by no means an attitude generally accepted by Turkish society. Conservative circles in Turkish society continue to see ‘dire threats’ to the territorial integrity of the country in expressions of identities and practices considered ‘alien’ to their view of ‘Turkish’ identity.

In July 1997, the Turkish General Secretariat of Religious Foundations ordered the commencement of works to convert the museum of the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (built in 734CE by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos) in Trapezounta (Trabzon), Pontos, into a mosque. The *Akit* newspaper published an article in its 21 November 1997 edition titled “St. Sophia Is Saved”. The article focussed on the campaign of the president of the Trapezounta (Trabzon) branch of a Turkish nationalist party for the conversion of the cathedral into a mosque. He was quoted as stating: “As long as St. Sophia remains a church, Trabzon will be a Hellenic city”.⁷⁷²

Archaeologists and historians announced in mid-December 1993 that they had discovered the tomb of Ayios Nikolaos (Saint Nicholas; Santa Claus) on the island of Gemile Adasi (Turkish for ‘Island of Sailors’), off the southern coast of Asia Minor. They found the

desecrated tomb in a 1,600-year-old Christian pilgrimage site on the island. Ayios Nikolaos was born in Patara (32 kilometres away) and was Bishop of Myra (a town 40 kilometres to the east) for much of his adult life. He died in 326CE.⁷⁷³ Entombed in his cathedral until 10.., Crusader knights sacked the Orthodox house of worship, removing the saint's relics to Bari, Italy, where they remain to this day.

In May 1998 the Pontian associations of Hellas declared their intention to campaign for the protection and restoration of the 4th century Monastery of Panayia Soumela (Our Lady of Mount Melas) in the Trapezounta (Trabzon) region of Pontos.⁷⁷⁴ Three months later, the Turkish Government ordered the Administration of the Trapezounta (Trabzon) Prefecture to close a stone-quarry that had been operating for years near the monastery, undermining the bedrock on which the Orthodox centre rested. The entire area around the monastery was then declared protected.⁷⁷⁵

The ruins of the Imperial Byzantine Palace were uncovered in July 1998, just outside the walls of the Ottoman Topkapi Palace and across the street from the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (Hagia Sophia; Aya Sofya) in central Constantinople (Istanbul).⁷⁷⁶ An international conference was held in Constantinople (Istanbul) in early-October 1998 on the restoration and preservation of the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia (Haghia Sophia; Aya Sofya) with the participation of scientists from Princeton University, the National Metsovio Polytechnic in Athens and the Bosphorus University.⁷⁷⁷

A Hellenic cemetery containing 43 commoner graves dating to the beginning of the Byzantine period was discovered directly beneath a hotel complex in Nevshehir (Neapolis), Kappadokia, in early-July 1998. Only weeks later, 51 peasant graves from the early Byzantine period were uncovered in the Atzigiol area of the Neapolis (Nevshehir) district during road-building work.⁷⁷⁸ The following year, 95 mansions in the Kappadokian town of Sinasos (Mustafapasa), built and until 1924 owned by Hellenes, were heritage-listed by the Turkish

government. A marble inscription above the entrance to one of them, the 1855 mansion of Seraphim Rizos reads: “Ἀνθρῶπε! Εἰ μὲν φίλος πέφυκας ἀπελθε χαιρῶν, εἰ δὲ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἐπιβουλος, πόρρω τῆς πύλης τούτης...1855”. (Person! If you are a friend, enter and be welcome. If you are an enemy and insidious, pass by this door...1855).⁷⁷⁹

Reversing a policy of decades of neglect, the regional Kahta Tourism Consultation Directorate announced in 1997 that 720 artefacts from the Hellenistic Kingdom of Kommagene, would be scientifically catalogued. The photographs of statues, foundations, high reliefs and epitaphs located atop Mount Nimrod (also known as Nemrut Dagħ) would be made into an inventory. Upon completion, the inventory was to be sent to the Ministry of Tourism, to the Turkish Representation to UNESCO and other concerned organisations. The citadel of Kommagene has been described as the eight wonder of the world and is listed on UNESCO’s World’s Cultural Heritage List.⁷⁸⁰

Despite progress in the liberalisation of Turkish state policies with regards the country’s remaining minorities, Turkey’s Hellenes, Armenians, and Assyrians remain ‘outsiders’, ‘enemies’, in their own homelands. The import and distribution of newspapers from Hellas in Turkey was prohibited in January 1965. This ban remains in force to this day.⁷⁸¹ The Helsinki Human Rights Watch Report on the Hellenic Minority of Constantinople included a section on the Hellenic-language press in Turkey. The Turkish government does not permit newspapers or magazines published in Hellas to be imported. No Hellenic books are available in Turkish bookstores. Two Hellenic-language newspapers are printed in Constantinople (Istanbul); each with a circulation of 500 to 600 and consisting of only about eight pages. Each newspaper must submit five copies to the office of the Governor of Constantinople (Istanbul) every day.

Neither newspaper is permitted to criticize the Turkish government; if a Turkish newspaper prints criticism of the government, the Greek newspapers cannot translate and publish the criticism for their readers.⁷⁸²

As discussed in the final part of this dissertation, the Turkish state and Turkish society as a whole maintains a decidedly schizophrenic attitude towards the past. 30 August is “celebrated with great enthusiasm” as “Victory Day”, the anniversary of “the great victory won against the enemies”. The focal point of these annual festivities is “Anitkabir, the Mausoleum of great leader Ataturk”.⁷⁸³ Chief of General Staff Huseyin Kivrikoglu signed the special book of the mausoleum:

The Turkish Armed Forces will continue to protect Turkey against enemies inside and outside Turkey ... The Turkish Armed Forces is always in the service of the Turkish nation as an assurance of democratic and secular state and the state of law.⁷⁸⁴

Another example of these suspicious positions was the proposed ferry service between the neighbouring Aegean islands of Lemnos and Imvros (Gokceada); a distance of eleven nautical miles. The inaugural trip was scheduled for 21 August 1998, 75 years to the day after the last Hellenic troops left the island. The trip was cancelled when Turkish authorities insisted that the ferry would have to go from Lemnos to Canakkale (a distance of 24 kilometres) in order to go through customs, before continuing on to Imvros (Gokceada). This would have doubled the length of the trip and made the service financially unviable.⁷⁸⁵

The potential economic development of Imvros (Gokceada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) from tourism was apparently deemed insufficient before the potential for the revival of the indigenous Hellenic populations of the islands. The ‘threats from enemies inside and outside Turkey’ – namely, Turkey’s Christian citizens – remains uppermost in the minds of the powerbrokers of the modern Turkish state, just as it was for their Ottoman predecessors.

Chapter Six:

Denial and Responsibility

- 6.10 Official Turkish Denial
- 6.11 Academic Intervention
- 6.12 Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies
- 6.13 Refutation

We have to deal with history,
like the Germans after the war

Fikret Adanir

CHAPTER SIX: DENIAL AND RESPONSIBILITY

6.1 The four-headed Hydra

Since the commencement of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, Turkish authorities – Ottoman and Republican alike – have gone to extraordinary lengths to trivialise, relativise, repudiate, rationalise, and ultimately to deny that the events discussed throughout this dissertation constitute a deliberate state policy; the Turkish State has steadfastly denied that these events constitute genocide.⁷⁸⁶ Creating a frightful mental picture, Richard Hovannisian wrote of “the four-headed Hydra of denial, rationalisation, relativisation, and trivialisation.”⁷⁸⁷ The image of the multi-cephalus reptile of Hellenic mythology is most appropriate for the practices examined in this chapter: they are all different parts of the one beast.

In *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, scholar Deborah Lipstadt wrote that “[d]enial aims to reshape history in order to rehabilitate the perpetrators and demonize the victims”.⁷⁸⁸ Denial of genocide is not so much about reshaping the past as it is about “justifying the present, and shaping the future”.⁷⁸⁹ After all, “the blatant lies, the double messages, and the averted gazes’ that constitute ‘conscious, intentional denial’ are ‘informed by geopolitical [or] local political interests only’”.⁷⁹⁰ The phenomenon of denial is, essentially, the refusal on the part of perpetrators to accept – and to deal with – the responsibility for their actions.

Considering the key roles played by highly educated men in the phenomenon of genocide, their equally key role in the denial of genocide should not come as any surprise. Doctors, philosophers, lawyers and other professionals turned their knowledge and skill to the taking of human life on an incredible scale. In his landmark work *Genocide*, Leo Kuper quoted an Ittihadist activist describing Armenians - by extension, all Ottoman Christians as:

a cancer, a malignance which looks like a small pimple from the outside, which if not removed by a skilful surgeon's scalpel, will kill the patient.⁷⁹¹

Considering the willingness of intellectuals to become active participants in genocidal activities, why then would they hesitate to become involved in activities in which no human lives are taken? Does this make genocide denial a 'victimless' or 'harmless' phenomenon? The damage to victim groups achieved by scholarly and pseudo-scholarly denialists alike is incalculable; primarily because the damage is to the very heart and soul of the victim group.

Some scholars go as far as to assert that deliberate denial is a form of aggression that ought to be regarded as a contribution to genocidal violence in its own right. In his essay titled "The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides", genocide scholar Israel Charny wrote that denial causes "violence to others" because it "conceals the horror of the crimes and exonerates those responsible for it".⁷⁹² Denial "attacks the historical spirit and morale" of the victims and their descendants and places "further burdens on their recovery".⁷⁹³ Denialists attack "the collective identity and national cultural continuity of the victim people".⁷⁹⁴ Denial prevents the healing of the wounds inflicted by the perpetrators. Colin Tatz and many other genocide scholars regard denial as the last stage of genocide, the killing of the memory of the original deed.

Denials of genocide make no sense unless one sees in them renewed opportunities for the same passions, meanings, and pleasures that were at work in the genocide itself, now revived in symbolic processes of murdering the dignity of the survivors, rationality, dignity, and even history itself.⁷⁹⁵

The ultimate aim of denial is to remove any responsibility – and therefore any 'stain on the national psyche' – of the perpetrators. The motives that drive denialists to undertake the practice vary. However, all denialists (whether they deal with the *Shoah*, the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, Cambodia or Burundi/Rwanda) deny as a result of a combination of the

following factors: ideology (including racism), intellectual confusion, careerism, identification with power, and a particular conception of knowledge.

In cases of denial of the *Shoah* and the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, old fashioned racism (at least in part) lies at the heart of the denialists' work. By way of example, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who once stated that the Turkish State "offer[ed] the very exemplar of a historiography of denial",⁷⁹⁶ analysed the writings of Faurisson and other French "revisionists". He concluded that "all revisionists are resolute anti-Zionists". After a broader study of deniers of the *Shoah*, Lipstadt concluded that "it is clear that deniers have no interest in scholarship or reason. Most are antisemites or bigots".⁷⁹⁷ It needs to be emphasised, however, that beyond racism, there are other factors at play in the phenomenon of denial, particularly political ideology.

Even the more outrageous incidents of Turkish denial are too numerous to describe here. Nor indeed, is that the intention of this chapter. Rather than examine the broader phenomenon of eight decades of denial of the Asia Minor Holocaust, this chapter seeks to explore the "obsessive denialism"⁷⁹⁸ of the Turkish State utilising the experiences of the staff of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies as a case study.

6.2 Official Denial

In one of the most famous (perhaps infamous) public incidents of denial orchestrated by Ankara, 69 scholars signed an advertisement which, in the words of Charny and Fromer, "questioned insidiously the evidence of the Armenian genocide". The controversial advertisement appeared on 19 May 1985 in several prominent United States newspapers, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The statement reads, in part:

The weight of the evidence so far uncovered points in the direction of serious inter-communal warfare (perpetrated by Muslim and Christian irregular forces), complicated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Anatolia and adjoining areas during the First World War.⁷⁹⁹

The Washington DC-based Institute of Turkish Studies was “instrumental” in arranging the advertisement with many of the 69 signatories being recipients of grants awarded by the Institute.

Charny and his colleague Daphna Fromer sent questionnaires to the 69 scholars, of whom only seventeen provided “active responses”. The researchers discerned a number of “thinking defense-mechanisms” that enabled the scholars to engage in “the denial of genocide”, including – in the words of Charny and Fromer - “scientificism in the service of denial” (the claim that not enough empirical evidence is available to justify an unequivocal position on the reality of the genocide); and “definitionalism”, (acknowledging deaths, but denying that they were the result of “genocide”).

The result of these “thinking defense-mechanisms” was the transference of responsibility for the genocides that constitute the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust away from the Turkish government and the trivialisation of the killing of more than two million Armenians, Assyrians and Hellenes “as the inadvertent result of famine, war, and disease”.

Whether anyone is led into denial by such reasoning is an open question, but such thinking does serve to make denial easier thereafter, while, at the same time, it preserves the appearance of objectivity.⁸⁰⁰

All deniers of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust follow variations of the same basic line of ‘argument’ namely, it never happened and [the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey were not responsible for the deaths of the Christians under their rule. The clinching contention is that the term ‘genocide’ does not, and cannot (given its invention in 1944) apply to the events of 1914 to 1924.

The tactics of denial, however, have evolved over the last nine decades.⁸⁰¹ While the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust was unfolding, and in its immediate aftermath, denialists and apologists for the Turkish State sought out scapegoats; after all, the ‘deportations’ were ‘only a security measure’ that had gone wrong due to the actions of ‘unscrupulous officials, Kurdish tribesmen, and common criminals’.

In the 1930s, for example, Kemal’s government pressured the United States’ Department of State into preventing Hollywood’s MGM Studios from producing a film based on Franz Werfel’s *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, a book that depicted the siege and ultimate rescue by French warships, of a group of Armenians on Mount Moses to the west of Antioch.⁸⁰² The book was eventually made into a B-Grade drama decades later.

In the 1960s, with the worldwide commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the commencement of the Armenian genocide, Turkish denialist efforts became more refined. Journalists, teachers, and public officials were to be influenced by telling “the other side of the story.” Non-Turkish scholars, particularly in the United States and western Europe, were encouraged by Ankara to ‘revise’ the record of Armenian Genocide. The intended result of this ‘revision’ was to present an account of the events of 1915-1922 in which responsibility for the deaths fell either on the victims themselves, or placing blame largely on the Armenians or on wartime conditions and which claimed the lives of more Turks than Armenians.⁸⁰³

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Republic of Turkey attempted to prevent any mention of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust in a United Nations report, as well as lobbying against parliamentary assemblies in the United States and other western countries adopting resolutions commemorating the Armenian Genocide. Ankara has been successful in its pressure on the Reagan and Bush administrations in repeatedly defeating Congressional resolutions⁸⁰⁴ that would have designated 24 April as a national day of remembrance of the

Armenian genocide.⁸⁰⁵ The denialist campaign has enjoyed decidedly less success in jurisdictions in Europe, the rest of the Americas and Australia. In a resolution approved on 10 June 1987, the European Parliament acknowledged the reality of the Armenian genocide and held that Turkey's refusal to acknowledge it constituted an obstacle to that country's membership in the European Community. The number of national, regional and local jurisdictions which have adopted resolutions on the commemoration of the Armenian, Hellenic and Assyrian Genocides now numbers in the dozens.

The Turkish state – regardless of the political party in power at the time - has also made concerted efforts “to exclude any mention of the genocide from American textbooks”. Still more intense attempts have been undertaken “to prevent any discussion of the 1915 genocide being formally included in the social studies curriculum as part of Holocaust and genocide studies”.⁸⁰⁶

6.3 The Institute for Turkish Studies Inc.

Official Turkish efforts to disrupt academic conferences and public discussions of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust have been particularly intense in the last three decades. A notable example was the attempt by Turkish officials to force the cancellation of a 1982 genocide studies conference in Israel, “if the Armenian genocide were to be discussed”. Ankara's “demands” were “backed up with threats to the safety of Jews in Turkey”.⁸⁰⁷ The United States Holocaust Memorial Council reported similar threats over plans to include references to the Armenian genocide within the interpretive framework of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.⁸⁰⁸

The Turkish State and its officials, go to great lengths to make an absolute distinction between the *Shoah* and the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Denialists always refer to the latter as “alleged” or “so-called”, dropping these adjectives when referring to the Jewish

experience. Roger W. Smith (College of William and Mary Williamsburg, Virginia), Eric Markusen (Southwest State University Marshall, Minnesota) and Robert Jay Lifton (The City University of New York), all scholars of great repute, reproduced documents in their article “Professional Ethics and the Denial of Armenian Genocide”, clearly indicating that, in private, such labelling is often abandoned by Turkish officials, constituting a tacit (at least) acknowledgment of the historical factuality of the Asia Minor Holocaust.⁸⁰⁹

Perhaps the most blatantly ‘sophisticated’ denialist methods of the Turkish State has employed has been in the world of academia. Diplomats, officials and employees of the Turkish State attempt to confuse and intimidate academics and journalists worldwide. Ankara has also established academic arrangements through which the Turkish State:

has channeled funds into a supposedly objective research institute in the United States, which in turn paid the salary of a historian who served that government in its campaign to discredit scholarship on the Armenian genocide.⁸¹⁰

Since the 1980s, Turkish governments have established and supported “institutes”, particularly in universities in the United States – including Georgetown and Princeton (established through a US\$1.5 million grant). Their stated purpose is “to further research on Turkish history and culture”. As discussed by Smith *et al*, these “institutes” are also used to further denial of Turkish genocide and otherwise improve Turkey’s image in the West”. The article re-produced and discussed correspondence from the Turkish ambassador to Washington “rebuking one’s scholarship because one has written about what the ambassador refers to as “the so-called ‘Armenian genocide’”.⁸¹¹

The Institute of Turkish Studies was established in 1982 with a grant of US\$3 million from Turkey. In the past, much of its financial support has come from American corporations that sell military equipment to Turkey. Its ten year “report”, cited its:

key role ... in encouraging the Government of Turkey to embark upon a plan of endowing a series of Chairs in Turkish Studies at major American Universities. In an advisory capacity the Institute has been involved in every stage of this process.⁸¹²

In 1992 the Institute began a fund-raising campaign to double its endowment to US\$6 million, with funds to be raised from businesses in America and Turkey. In various directories of associations, its purposes and activities are listed:

To provide funding for research centers and scholars interested in Turkish studies; to encourage development of Turkish studies in university curricula. Bestows awards. ... Grants for the academic community of U.S. specialists in the field of Turkish studies; support includes awards to individual scholars and to institutions. ... In terms of activities, it is said to provide grants to individuals and institutions for 'research, publications, scholarship funds, fellowships, seed money, conferences and seminars, including matching funds, grants to individuals'.⁸¹³

The Institute states that it has received grants from major US defense contractors, such as General Dynamics and Westinghouse, and with this support the Institute "shall continue to play a key role in furthering knowledge and understanding of a key NATO ally of the United States, the Republic of Turkey, among citizens of our country", including denial of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. The executive director of the Institute from its inception to 1994 was Dr. Heath W. Lowry PhD. (history) (UCLA), who then took up the position of Ataturk Professor of Turkish Studies at Princeton University.

6.4 "The Institute for Armenian Research"

In 2001, the United States-based institutes were joined by the "Institute for Armenian Research" (*Ermeni Arastirmalari Enstitutu*) in Ankara. Headed by former ambassador Omer E. Lutem, this new Institute has a staff of nine 'researchers' as well as a number of 'guest researchers'. All are sympathizers of the Turkish State and focus on history, international relations, security, and peace studies and international law. The Institute's aims are "to

organize international and national academic seminars, lectures, and conferences on the Armenian and Caucasian studies in general". It also "brings together scientists, diplomats, journalists and experts to discuss current developments in the region". Amongst the "academicians and historians" associated with the Institute are the late Uras Esat (the dean of Turkish denial), Simsir Bilal, Ataov Turkkaya, Sonyel Salahi, and Justin McCarthy.⁸¹⁴

A cursory review of the website of the "Institute for Armenian Research" presents the visitor with a collection of the usual denialist arguments:

- there was no Armenian Genocide, only deportations that were implemented in war zones in order to prevent recurrence of the Armenian uprisings behind the front lines;
- deportees were given full protection by the state and their road expenses were paid by the Ottoman government;
- those responsible for wartime excesses against Armenian deportees were fully punished; the number of the Armenians killed due to disease and starvation did not exceed 50,000;
- after their return, deportees were offered to settle in their houses and their properties were returned; Armenians committed atrocities against the Turks;
- Ambassador Morgenthau's story was a fabrication;
- Andonian's documents were falsifications;
- Hitler's quotation was also a pure invention;
- Armenians never had sovereignty over Eastern Anatolia throughout history; under the Ottoman administration, Armenians prospered and had no grievances until they were manipulated and used by foreign powers to undermine the security of the state and collaborated with the enemy; and finally,
- Armenians resorted to terrorism and killed Turkish diplomats in order to force their views on Turks.

Lowry and his collaborator, Justin McCarthy, were both students of Professor Stanford Shaw. This well-known individual strenuously denies the reality of the Armenian genocide,

while, at the same time, blaming the victims, who are depicted as disloyal, rebellious, and terroristic.⁸¹⁵ In *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Shaw and his wife Ezel Kural Shaw, stated that:

It would be impossible to determine which of the Armenians would remain loyal and which would follow the appeals of their leaders. ... orders were issued to evacuate the entire Armenian population from the provinces of Van, Bitlis, and Erzerum, to get them away from all areas where they might undermine the Ottoman campaigns, against Russia or against the British in Egypt.⁸¹⁶

As discussed in the Smith *et al* paper, while Lowry prepares memoranda for Turkish diplomats and officials on the work of scholars on the Asia Minor Holocaust, “his own work contains many questionable assertions and conclusions.” In one paper, Lowry denies that Hitler, when discussing his plans for the ‘Final Solution’ of the Jewish problem, and when questioned by his officers as to how this was conceivable, replied with the infamous words: ‘Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?’⁸¹⁷

In his book, *The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story*, Lowry asserts that the then-United States Ambassador’s account of the Asia Minor Holocaust was nothing but “crude half-truths and outright falsehoods . . . from cover to cover”.⁸¹⁸ Lowry has also claimed that what the Ittihadist Minister of the Interior, Talaat Pasha, had in mind for the Armenians and other Ottoman Christians was not destruction, but “segregation”, similar to the experience of African and Native Americans in the South of the United States.⁸¹⁹

6.5 Academic interference

Smith *et al* presented *pro-forma* responses to scholars writing about the Armenian Genocide, prepared by Heath Lowry for the Turkish Ambassador in Washington:

In short, you [the 'offending' scholar or journalist] have simply passed along questionable secondary sources as evidence for a number of contentions which are, to say the least, hotly debated among contemporary scholars writing on the period and events in question. ... To compare a tragic civil war (perpetrated by misguided Armenian nationalists) and the human suffering it wrought on both the Muslim and Christian populations, with the horrors of a premeditated attempt to systematically eradicate a people, is, to anyone familiar with the history in question, simply ludicrous ... I am enclosing copies of works by two American experts on the history of Turco Armenian relations, Professors Justin McCarthy and Heath Lowry, and would hope that in the interests of objectivity and fairness you will not only read them, but reflect having done so in any future works you may publish.

Extracts from the actual letter from Ambassador Nuzhet Kandemir to Robert Jay Lifton, dated 2 October 1990, read:

To compare a tragic civil war (initiated by Armenian nationalists) and the human suffering it wrought on both the Muslim and Christian populations with the horrors of a premeditated attempt to systematically eradicate a peaceable people is, to anyone familiar with the history in question, simply ludicrous ... I am enclosing copies of works by two American experts on the history of Turco-Armenian relations, Professors Justin McCarthy and Heath Lowry, and would hope that in the interests of objectivity and fairness you will not only read them but also reflect having done so in any future works you may publish.⁸²⁰

The Lowry memorandum provides evidence of the desire to check scholars from referring to an Armenian genocide. Indeed, the process by now may even be almost bureaucratic. In a review of Richard Hovannisian, ed. *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide* Dennis Papazian went as far as to say that Lowry's activities were in the opinion of Smith *et al*, "an egregious offense that warrants being regarded as a contribution to genocidal violence".⁸²¹

6.6 Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies

The activities and correspondence referred to and re-produced in the Smith *et al* paper bear striking resemblances to the candidate's experience as Researcher with the Pontos and Asia Minor Holocaust Research Unit of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies at Macquarie University in Sydney. One of only three such institutes in the world, this unique body was founded by Professor Colin Tatz in 1994. On the initiative of the Hellenic Council of New South Wales, and with initial funding from the Pontian Association of New South Wales, the world's first "Pontian Genocide Studies Unit" was established in 1998. The candidate was appointed the Unit's first Researcher, a position he still holds today. It was in this capacity that he organised an international conference, titled "Portraits of Christian Asia Minor", held at Macquarie University over the weekend of Saturday 18 and Sunday 19 September 1999.

The Turkish State responded immediately to the Unit's establishment, both to the University authorities and through new publications refuting the Unit's work: in April 1998, the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs issued a glossy pamphlet titled *Setting The Record Straight on Pontus Propaganda Against Turkey*. The pamphlet was reproduced on the Ministry's website and is reproduced as Appendix 21 in this study.

Organising and hosting this meeting of academics and scholars from around the world provided an invaluable first-hand insight into the mechanism of official Turkish denial of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. The Centre was the recipient of numerous letters and phone calls from Turkish diplomats, Turkish Australians and Turcophile Australians, essentially presenting the same message: the conference – and the Centre – were propaganda devices and should be closed.

The following letters were sent by the Turkish Consulate General in Sydney to the Centre on 15 April 1999. The first one was addressed to Professor John Loxton, Deputy

Vice-Chancellor, Macquarie University; the second to Centre Director, Professor Konrad Kwiet. Note in particular the similarity of the language and tone employed in the Lifton letters and in the following correspondence:

It has come to our attention that a conference on "Portraits of Christian Asia Minor" will be organized this year on 18-19 September by the "Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies - Pontos & Asia Minor Holocaust Research Unit".

Allow me, Professor Loxton, to reiterate that, in our opinion, as was in the case of the establishment of the said Unit within the said Centre in the first place, such acts being attempted to under academic disguise are the extension and the end result of hostile propaganda aimed at deviating historical facts and misleading world public opinion at large and that of Australia in particular. It would in the minimum be over-optimistic to expect any result out of these activities. It would, on the contrary be more realistic to accept as a fact that these kinds of externally supported activities will not only cause peril to the ethnic harmony that exists within the multicultural Australian society, but it is my sincere concern that they will also inflict irreparable damage to Turkey-Australia relations.

I would therefore ask you, Professor Loxton, as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of a prestigious tertiary education institution, to consider cancelling the conference in question. However, should the conference be proceeded with I will then ask you to assure that academicians from Turkey are also invited to participate and be allowed to deliver papers on the topic to be debated – for which the deadline is January 31, 1998 [*actually 1999*] as I am informed. We shall only then be able to be inclined to consider the conference as an academic activity.

(signed)

Ferit ERGIN

Consul General

As I mentioned to you today on the telephone, the so called "Pontos & Asia Minor Holocaust Research Unit" which is established within the "Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies" of

the Macquarie University, will be holding an "Inaugural Biennial Conference" on "Portraits of Christian Asia Minor" at the University on 18-19 September 1999. Information regarding the conference which I received from Mr. Panayiotis Diamadis is enclosed.

Please also find enclosed photocopies of the communications between Professor John Loxton, Deputy Vice Chancellor and myself – while you were not in Australia – concerning confirmation of the participation of Turkish academics or scholars at the conference by him. Mr Diamadis himself had also confirmed to me on the telephone on 19 January 1999 that Turkish participation was welcome.

Prof. Dr. S.R. Sonyel, from London, wrote to Mr. Diamadis on 21 January 1999 informing him of his desire to participate and present a paper at the conference together with a synopsis.

... I am therefore writing to you to request your intervention in securing confirmation to them and/or me of their participation at the said conference.

(signed)

Ferit ERGIN

The letter Consul-General Ergin referred to, by former Ambassador Philip Peters, was sent by facsimile to Centre on 30 December 1998:

I am writing to you in connection with a Conference that I believe you are organising, called "Portraits of Christian Asia Minor". According to a circular, which you issued, you wanted proposals for papers, as well as synopses by 31 January next.

If you wish, I could present you with a paper on the very emotional issue: "The Armenian Question: Genocide or Not". A synopsis is attached.

I will not give you a full c.v. at this stage. My qualifications for speaking on this issue are simply that I was Australian Ambassador to Turkey from 1984 to 1987, when I took an active interest in the Armenian issue, together with the situation of a number of Christian minorities. I regularly visited both the Greek and Armenian patriarchs in Istanbul, as well as the Syrian Orthodox bishop in Midyat. Since then, I have been giving two series of lectures each year to

the University of the Third Age in Canberra on Middle East issues. My series last October was entitled "Anatolia: Past and Present."

Whilst I appreciate the extent of the Greek and Armenian emotional concerns in relation to any Turkish issue, it would only be fair to point out that my own position on these matters is as objective as far as is humanly possible. It would nevertheless be appreciated and reassuring if you could confirm that the Conference will have a truly academic approach, welcoming a range of views rather than only those of participants from one particular perspective.

[signed]

Philip Peters

Following is the synopsis of the lecture former Ambassador Peters proposed to present to the Conference. It is especially interesting for its exhibition of the denialist tactics of equating the victim with the perpetrator, of blurring the line of responsibility.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION: GENOCIDE OR NOT

Summary of a Paper for the Conference "Portraits of Christian Asia Minor"

The issue - Armenian claims: genocide of two million people, explicit orders from Sultan, deliberate attempt to solve Armenian question

Turkish rebuttal: Armenian deaths, whilst regrettable, were not deliberate, but were the result of hostilities initiated by the Russians and Armenians themselves

Considerations - extreme difficulty in getting accurate and reliable facts

- heavy emotional overtones, mutual suspicions and deep prejudices
- issue must be viewed in wider context of confusion resulting from World War 1 as well as the strong pressures for independence from various component parts of the Ottoman Empire, with overlapping claims
- frequently unrealistic claims in the light of present international configuration

Historical Background - Armenia as a nation in history

- absorption into Ottoman, Persian and Russian Empires
- the Ottoman millet system

- Armenian struggle for independence and Western support
- Van episode of April 1915 and deportations of May 1915
- Sevres and Turko-Armenian war of 1920
- Turko-Armenian Treaty of Dec. 1920 and Turko-Russian Treaty of Mar. 1921

Post 1921 - Creation of Armenian State

- Continuing terrorist activities
- war against Azerbaijan

Present Position - status of claims

- Armenians in Turkey

Examination of Claims of Genocide

Parameters for a Lasting Settlement

The “Portraits of Christian Asia Minor Conference” also provoked intense reactions from Sydney’s Turkish community representatives. The academic meeting was “malicious Greek propaganda” according to a spokesperson for the Australian Turkish Social and Cultural Trust; “Anti-Turkish University Conference” proclaimed the front page of the *Yorum* Turkish community newspaper. Rather than present a point-by-point analysis – and thus refutation – of the literal contents of these appendices, this study will examine the correspondence within the framework of a broader examination of the phenomenon of denial.

Denial of any genocide by any group (state or non-governmental) involves explicit denial of the perpetrator bearing any responsibility for the events that took place – if the denialists accept that the events took place at all - or that the term ‘genocide’ is not applicable to what occurred. As Deborah Lipstadt argues, this constitutes the “Yes, but” mode of denial.⁸²² Charny describes a “template of denial”: do not acknowledge that the genocide took place; transform it into other kinds of events; portray the victims as the perpetrators; insist more victims were from the perpetrator’s group; and relativise the genocide in whatever way possible.⁸²³

The items of correspondence reproduced here are examples of the Turkish state's denialism. The aim is to obstruct recognition by any authority of the fact that what the Ottoman government inflicted on their Christian citizens during the 1910s and 1920s constitutes genocide. There is a barely disguised attempt to remove the label 'genocide' from the experiences of the Ottoman Empire's Christian peoples. Ambassador Peters and Mrs Knudsen pursue their purpose in part by not differentiating between the victims of the massacres and those of warfare, of blaming the victims as the initiators of violence (suggesting that they got what they deserved, even though it never happened), and describing the genocide as a civil war within a global war. The deliberate extermination of more than two million Christian Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians is presented as an "amorphous human disaster".⁸²⁴

Richard Hovannissian identifies a theme in Turkish denialism that is unique to the Asia Minor case: that is the determination to deny the Armenian genocide by acknowledging the *Shoah*.⁸²⁵ The 'good' side of this policy involves special efforts by the Republic of Turkey to recognise the tragedy of the *Shoah* and show compassion for its victims. As evidenced by the correspondence of Ankara's representatives in Sydney with one Jewish director of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies, the 'dark' side of Turkey's policy are the extraordinary lengths Ankara has gone to, including threats and disruption of academic conferences, to prevent Jews from learning about the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust.

The letters by Ambassador Kandemir/Lowry and Knudsen seek to draw "a sharp and decisive distinction between the Holocaust and the experience of the Armenians in 1915". In essence, these denialists seek to claim that no comparison can be made between the fates of European Jewry (genocide) and of Ottoman Christianity (not genocide). Lucy Dawidowicz provided an excellent response to this pseudo-academic 'debate': "The once unthinkable 'Armenian solution' became, in our time, the achievable 'Final Solution'".⁸²⁶

Smith *et al* write that denial “is, at times, a deliberate distortion of the facts to serve some presumed advantage” but the phenomenon “may also be a ‘defense mechanism’ that functions to reduce stress and inner conflict”.⁸²⁷ Denial of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust by individuals who today identify themselves as ethnic Turks is understandable (to some degree) when one considers the alternative: acknowledging that their grandparents’ generation are guilty of the heinous crime known to humanity as genocide. Turkish scholar Taner Akcam gives us an insight into this point in his article “What Are We Talking About?”

I’m trying to understand the hysteria, the wild attacks, the threats, the obscenities, etc. Perhaps all of these can be explained. However what strikes me as most odd are the “rational” discussions of this topic. It’s as if a match is being played and each side is deeply analyzing what steps will be taken and what strategies will be made. The “Genocide” ball is in the middle and we are “playing” a game. And the “ball” we are kicking is the death of 800,000 people.⁸²⁸

As a psychological and political defence mechanism, the events of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust and the emotions that these events provoke, Turks wish to place their ancestors’ actions “in a more favorable light through a kind of selective emphasis and reappraisal”.⁸²⁹ As Akcam wrote, “[t]hey all claim that ‘the Armenians were only deported from Eastern Anatolia’ (Guner Civaoglu goes a little further in adding Central Anatolia)”,⁸³⁰ whereas the reality was that the deportations of Ottoman Hellenes and other Ottoman Christians not only took place across the Ottoman Empire, but well beyond its international borders.

Smith *et al* write that while this practice distorts the truth, those who employ these strategies may not be aware that they are doing so to make the situation less threatening. “Nevertheless, denial as distortion of truth and as self-serving rationalization are often intertwined and reinforce each other”.⁸³¹ This is compounded by the difficulty in coming to terms with the realisation that what is trumpeted as the “homeland of the Turks” is in fact

not Turkish, a point reiterated every day by place names and archaeological excavations being conducted across the length and breadth of Turkey every day.

While this “self-serving rationalization” may apply to individual and non-governmental deniers of the *Shoah*, it cannot be applied to the vigorously pursued official Turkish policy of denial of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. As illustrated amply by the work of Akcam, Hilmer Kaiser and others, Turkish courts of law, Turkish officials and Turkish documents accepted the reality of the genocides of the Armenian, Assyrian and Hellenic peoples during World War One.

6.7 Refutation

In December 1918, Talaat Pasha’s successor as Minister of the Interior, Mustafa Arif, formed a commission to calculate the numbers of Armenians killed during the war. On 14 March the following year, the new Ottoman Minister of the Interior, Djemal Bey, announced that the number was 800,000 men, women and children. “Many people, including Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), made this figure public on various occasions”.⁸³² The Turkish state has in the past acknowledged the reality of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. It is political expediency (in particular fear of reparations and territorial restitution) that has brought about the change of heart.

Writers like Stanford Shaw, Heath Lowry, Bernard Lewis and others do not have these ‘escape clauses’ for their denial of the fact of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Scholarship is a quest for truth. Every word learned persons write, type or utter matters a great deal. As Smith *et al* wrote:

Directly or indirectly, our words contribute to a shared consciousness -- to the constellation of beliefs that a society forms in connection with issues of any kind. Scholars’ contributions to

that shared consciousness become especially important in relation to a society's struggles with large, disturbing, and threatening historical events.⁸³³

During an interview in the French daily *Le Monde* published on 18 November 1993, Lewis stated that:

if one speaks of genocide, that implies a deliberate policy, a decision to systematically destroy the Armenian nation. This is highly doubtful. Turkish documents reveal the desire to deport, not to exterminate.

On 1 January 1994 the same daily published the following, under the title "Clarifications Offered by Bernard Lewis":

- 1) There was no campaign of hatred aimed directly at the Armenians, no demonizing comparable to European anti-Semitism.
- 2) The deportation of Armenians, although on a large scale, was not total; in particular, it did not apply in the two large cities of Istanbul and Izmir.

The French Gayssot Law prohibits the press from being used for defamation, discrimination, libel, apology for crimes, and the denial of crimes against humanity. The Forum of Armenian Associations in France and the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism subsequently brought civil legal action against Lewis for these and other comments he made. At the end of a lengthy judicial process, the court decided that although Lewis "was entitled to dispute the validity and import of such assertions", referring to the historicity of the Armenian Genocide, "he had a duty to point out and analyze the circumstances capable of persuading readers of the lack of relevance thereof".⁸³⁴ Charny was an expert witness at the Lewis trial. He wound up his testimony saying: "As a professor and as a Jew, I am deeply ashamed of Prof. Bernard Lewis".⁸³⁵ Writing in the July 2002 issue of *Harper's*, Edward Said concluded that Lewis' work "systematically dehumanizes people and turns them into a collection of abstract slogans for purposes of aggressive mobilization and bellicosity".⁸³⁶

Charny is not the only scholar who feels shame at the state-sponsored denial of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Writing about "the Turkish discussion of the United States Congress' discussion on the topic of [the] Armenian Genocide", Akcam declared:

I'm ashamed! Because those who are discussing the topic either have no idea what they are talking about or they lack basic human emotions. I can find no other explanation. I want to remind you! The fact is that even if we fight over the amount and the cause, in the end, according to official Ottoman statistics, it is 800,000 people that have been killed.⁸³⁷

In his article "Killing Truth", *The Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen provided an excellent example of 'truth' being whatever officials (in this case Turkish) say it is. He recounted how after a brief reference to the Armenian genocide in a previous column, the Turkish ambassador to Washington, D.C. invited him to the embassy for a talk. Cohen wrote:

I found myself sitting at one end of an enormous table in the embassy of Turkey. At the other end was the ambassador himself and what he was telling me was that the crime I had always thought had happened, simply had not.... What the world persisted in calling a genocide was actually a civil war -- one with atrocities on both sides and one in which the central government in Constantinople lost control of its own troops and could not protect the Armenians. There never was a policy to exterminate the Armenians.⁸³⁸

Cohen, who thought that "the genocide was a given --- that no one could possibly dispute that it had happened", was thrown into turmoil by the ambassador's claims; the Turkish official had "dented his confidence".⁸³⁹

When Macquarie University's Professor of Politics, Colin Tatz proposed teaching a comparative genocide studies course in 1987 he included material on the Armenian Genocide. Similarly to Cohen's case, news of the new course prompted a telephone call, then a personal visit by the Turkish Ambassador to Australia. Over coffee in Professor Tatz's office, the diplomat proceeded to 'threaten to expose Macquarie University as a centre for anti-Turkish propaganda'. Following publication of an opinion piece in *The Financial Review*

newspaper (published 3 April 2001), the “Australian Turkish Assembly” went as far as to label Professor Tatz “a criminal against history”.⁸⁴⁰ Turkish denialism is often characterised by similar bouts of defamatory name-calling, especially in reference to Turkish scholars who acknowledge the Asia Minor Holocaust.⁸⁴¹

Sometimes, the character assassination is conducted employing more polite terms. Shortly after taking a position with the bilingual Australian Hellenic community newspaper *O Kosmos* in mid-2000, the candidate experienced an episode similar to Cohen’s. In a letter the candidate received from the Consul of the Republic of Turkey in Sydney, Cenk Karaduman. The candidate was advised to “come out of isolation where you live in long gone mystical era, which clouds both your judgement and work”. Karaduman also expressed the wish that the candidate “acquire the skills of a journalist who should be dedicated to publishing unbiased information”, claiming further that that the candidate could “be held responsible for sowing the seeds of hatred in this beautiful country”.

The Washington Post journalist concluded his article with the observation that perhaps the ‘last victim of any genocide is truth’. The Turkish diplomats in Washington D.C. and in Sydney all had the same purpose in mind: undermining the certainty of any writer (academic or otherwise) regarding the historical fact of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. This is how year by year, person by person, the genocide blurs, doubt corrodes it, and the easy word ‘alleged’, creeps in to mock the victim’s anguish. The goal of such denial, Cohen believed, was not so much the rewriting of the past as such, but the control of the present and the future.

Echoing the aforementioned Lowry Memorandum, Consul Karaduman “provided” the candidate with “just two simple examples to prove that your research lacks the required readings for the time period you are so greatly committed to studying”: extracts from the Treaty of Lausanne that, according to Karaduman “clearly defines” that “the idea of the so

called great catastrophe in the Asia minor” was in fact a “catastrophe perpetuated against the Turkish Nation by the Greek Army of the time”. The Turkish diplomat went on to explain that while “[y]ou and your collaborators keep insisting that Greek people were removed from Anatolia by force during that era”, the Convention on the ‘Exchange of Populations’ “clearly defines what has happened during that period”.

6.8 “Turkish Cypriot Genocide”

A new dimension of Turkish denial emerged in the late-1990s: assertions of a “Turkish Cypriot Genocide” having been perpetrated by “Greek-Greek Cypriot thugs” in the 1960s and early 1970s.⁸⁴² Continuing the role-reversal tactics characteristic of Turkish denial, Ankara’s apparatchiks in Turkish-occupied Cyprus have begun producing a series of “research” publications ‘proving’ that the island-republic’s Christian majority drew up, and implemented, plans the “absolute aim” of which “was exterminating all of the Turkish Cypriots”.⁸⁴³ The “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Public Information Office” (whose postal address curiously is “Mersin 10, Turkey”) dispatched a number of these publications to the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies.

According to the President of Sydney’s “Northern Cyprus Turkish Cultural Association”, Mr Mehmet Durmush, “Greek terrorists ... killed thousands of unarmed Turkish Cypriots and British using ambush”. In the same letter, dated 3 May 2001 and addressed to South Australian Premier, the Hon. Mike Rann MP, Durmush went on to claim that “the EOKA boys” were “trained to kill them, confiscate their land, exterminate them”.

Claims about the “Turkish Cypriot Genocide” have more to do with Ankara’s insistence on pursuing recognition of the state the Turkish armed forces set up in the occupied territories of Cyprus than with genocide scholarship. On 20 July 1974, the Turkish armed forces invaded and occupied 37 per cent of the sovereign island Republic of Cyprus.

In November 1983 the occupation forces declared the creation of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”, a move declared to be illegal by the United Nations and the European Union. To date, Turkey remains the only country to recognise the “TRNC”.

Although these claims of “genocide” are essentially about the international diplomatic chess game that is the search for a solution to the Cyprus Problem, they are relevant to this exploration of the phenomenon that is state Turkish denial for the striking resemblance they bear to Turkish statements about ‘Armenian terrorists killing Muslims in eastern Anatolia’ in order to ‘divide the Motherland’.

The roles of victim and perpetrator are reversed, with the Asia Minor and Cypriot Muslims becoming the victims and the Asia Minor and Cypriot Christians becoming the perpetrators. As illustrated by the Karaduman and Durmush letters, the Hellene, Armenian and Assyrian “perpetrators” are then called upon to compensate the Turkish “victims”. It is this very point that lies at the core of official Turkish denial: the fear that acknowledgment will lead to payment of reparations.

Ankara’s worst fears have been realised – at least with regards to Cyprus. One of the 200,000 Christian Cypriots made internal refugees by the 1974 Turkish invasion, Titina Loizidou from Kyrenia, sued Turkey in the European Court of Human Rights. After a long battle, the Court delivered its judgment on “28 July 1998 which ordered Turkey to pay to the applicant before 28 October 1998 specific sums for damages and for costs and expenses”.⁸⁴⁴ The Republic of Turkey was held legally responsible for violating Loizidou’s human rights, despite Ankara’s assertions that the “TRNC” was the governing body in the occupied territories. Turkey has yet to pay the compensation or to return Mrs Loizidou’s property to her or to recognise the Republic of Cyprus (a European Union member-state since 1 May 2004). Hundreds of Cypriot refugees from around the world have since followed Loizidou in filing cases against Turkey with the European Court of Human Rights.

The Turkish state's worst fears are similar occurrences regarding the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. In essence, Ankara believes that recognition of the Holocaust would lead to the break-up of the Republic of Turkey itself and although Turkish officials may privately acknowledge the genocidal events of 1914-1924, publicly they dare not do so. Kerem Oktem contends that in the Turkish case:

the processes of nationalism and the process of reproduction of geography have worked hand in hand to the effect of creating a new homeland, on whose soil the Turks were to be the only rightful dwellers.⁸⁴⁵

With this being the dominant ideology amongst Turkey's power elite, there is little room for recognition of the fact that the "Turkish homeland" belonged to others, nor for recognition of the genocidal fate that befell those original inhabitants in the early 20th century.

6.9 Future direction

At the 1999 Portraits of Christian Asia Minor Conference, the candidate presented the final paper, titled "To Deny or to Gloat?" Immediately prior to this, Turkish Cypriot Dr. Salahi Ramsdam Sonyel presented the Turkish position on the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. Emotions were running very high in the lecture theatre that weekend as scholars from a variety of disciplines and members of the general public (including Karaduman and Durmush) gathered to discuss all aspects of the indigenous Christian peoples of Asia Minor; while the focus of the conference was the Holocaust, it was not the only aspect of Asia Minor's history and cultures discussed.

As the candidate explained in the conference paper, the highly politicised field of genocide studies revolves around scholarly research and commentary. The role of genocide scholars is not to be rabble-rousers, to call for the bones of long-gone perpetrators to be dug up and lynched from the branches of the nearest tree. "[T]he scope of mass murder and the

depth of its moral violation defy understanding and arouse every kind of confusion, whether in the form of diffuse passions or resistance to painful evidence". The role of genocide scholars is to defuse these emotional reactions; directing energies instead towards "reasoned interpretation and the channelling of passion into constructive policy".⁸⁴⁶

Historical events are by their very nature political. The danger lies in scholars using their positions in universities, research institutes and society in general, to deny episodes of genocide occurred in the face of overwhelming evidence that they did in fact take place. These 'scholars' contribute to creating a false consciousness that have (arguably inevitable) consequences. Denialists, in effect, declare that murderers did not really murder; victims were not really killed; mass murder requires no confrontation, no reflection; that such crimes should be ignored, or at best glossed over. In this way denialist 'scholars' lend their authority to the acceptance of this ultimate human crime.

The most dangerous consequence, reverberation, of denial is that denial undermines the very processes that lead society to strive to avoid repetitions of genocidal episodes. "Who, after all, today remembers the Armenians?" Adolf Hitler is oft quoted as telling an assembly of Nazi officials discussing the 'Final Solution to the Jewish Question' in 1941. Genocide scholars can today only speculate about the fate of European Jewry in the 1930s and 1940s had the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust of a generation before been examined and acknowledged by the international scholastic community at the time.

Conclusion

- 7.1 Before the Great War
- 7.2 World War One
- 7.3 1919-1924
- 7.4 Republican Era
- 7.5 Present and Future

The other option is to face the trauma and to allow the
'other' back into the frame of reference.

Kerem Oktem

CONCLUSION

The essence of *Hellenism Under The Crescent* is to analyse the fate that befell the Hellenes, indeed all Christians, under Ottoman and Kemalist rule in the 20th century. This study seeks to illustrate that this fate constitutes a case of genocide. Persecution of Christian Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians orchestrated by the Ottoman and Republican Turkish states occurred at different times, under different groups of officials and in very different circumstances. It was necessary therefore to examine the four periods in question individually to determine whether the Turkish authorities in each period are guilty of committing genocide against their Christian populations.

In this final part, the study employs the International Criminal Court definition of the crime of genocide as the superstructure around which to summarise the case presented in this dissertation. According to the ICC statute, the crime of genocide has four elements:

- (i) the perpetrator killed one or more persons;
- (ii) such person or persons belonged to a particular national, ethnical, racial or religious group;
- (iii) the perpetrator intended to destroy, in whole or in part, that group, as such; and
- (iv) the conduct took place in the context of a manifest pattern of similar conduct directed against that group or was conduct that could itself effect such destruction.⁸⁴⁷

7.1 (i) the perpetrator killed one or more persons

Having seized power in a *coup d'état* in 1908, the "Committee for Union and Progress" faced a counter-coup by supporters of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in April 1909. As well as persecuting their reactionary opponents, the new regime carried out the infamous 'Cilician Massacres'. Centred in and around the southern city of Adana the predominantly Armenian and Assyrian victims of this pogrom numbered in the tens of thousands. The purpose of the Cilician atrocities was two-fold: first, to test internal and international reaction to violent anti-

Christian activities; and second, to further 'encourage' emigration of Christians from the Ottoman Empire.

In January 1913, immediately after the catastrophic First Balkan War that saw the Ottoman Empire virtually expelled from Europe, a coup took place within the upper echelons of the *Ittihad ve Terakke i Cemayeti*. The party radical wing, led by Dr Behaeddin Sakir and Mehmet Nazim, took control of both the party and the government with the backing of Dr Ziya Gokalp. Their plans for the Empire's 'nationalities question' were now policy: "The empire was to be purged one way or another of the non-Muslim elements". The radicals confirmed their new position of power by recovering some of the recently lost territories in the Second Balkan War.⁸⁴⁸

The new government agreed to implement reforms while at the same time as it had already embarked on its campaign to 'cleansing its territories' of all non-Muslim peoples. While Ottoman officials were negotiating and agreeing with European diplomats on measures to improve the governance of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, another group of Ottoman officials were systematically 'cleansing' eastern Thrace of its indigenous Christian inhabitants. Within months, these pogroms had engulfed western Asia Minor, with similar bloody results.

As indicated by the evidence presented in this dissertation, the Ittihadists designed, organised and executed plans to 'Turkify' its remaining western provinces by deporting, expelling or massacring the region's indigenous Hellenic population as testified by the voluminous diplomatic and media reports of the time. There is no doubt that the destruction was orchestrated and executed by agents of the Ottoman government in accordance with a plan openly advocated by leading members of the Committee for Union and Progress for many years prior to its implementation.

7.1.1 World War One. The pogroms continued unabated throughout the later part of 1914, spreading to eastern Asia Minor. In early August, Patriarch Benyamin Mar Shimun,

leader of the Church of the East, based in the Hakkari region, met with the *Vali* (Governor) of the Van *vilayet* (province), Tahsim Pasha, to discuss the status of his followers in the growing conflict. Despite reassurances that the Ottoman government would respect the lives and property of all the Christians of the province in return for the neutrality *vis a vis* Czarist Russia, massacres of Assyrians and Armenians began almost immediately.⁸⁴⁹

In November, Muslim *chetas* (irregulars) moved in force against the Christian populations of the eastern border regions.⁸⁵⁰ Max Erwin Scheubner-Richter, was captain of the reserves at the main Ottoman base in the region at Theodosiopolis (Erzerum), with the title of vice-consul. As co-commander of the Ottoman force that invaded Iran and Azerbaijan with Omer Naci, Scheubner-Richter wrote an extensive report to the Chancellor of Germany before returning home. The:

finishing off of the Armenians was part of a pre-existing program drawn up by the Unionist leaders. The plan is to recast the empire on a strictly Islamic and Pan-Turkic basis.⁸⁵¹

Wartime Ottoman propaganda, apologists and denialists alike make much of the 'hostile' Christian populations in the war zones (the frontier provinces bordering Czarist Russia and Russian-occupied Persia), 'infidels' who were sabotaging the Imperial war effort. Both Scheubner-Richter and Germany's Consul at Aleppo, Walter Rossler, confirmed that acts of sabotage in the war-zone did occur, but that they were the actions of a select few and that this was nothing unusual. In fact, about 6,000 Ottoman and Russian Armenians joined the Czar's armies in the war against the Ottoman Empire. The former were used as guides and scouts. The matter was largely ignored by German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman officials alike as insignificant.⁸⁵²

It was no coincidence that 300 Armenian leaders were executed in Constantinople only hours before the Allied landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula on 25 April 1915. Aerial reconnaissance and other military intelligence gave the Ottoman and German commanders

ample time to prepare their defences. The mass executions were in part a message to the overwhelmingly Christian population of the Ottoman capital: dissent would not be tolerated. One of the documents authenticated by Turkish authorities in 1919 is a telegram sent in June 1915 by Dr. Sakir, one of the leaders of the secret organisation that carried out the planning and implementation of the genocide. He asks the provincial party official who is responsible for carrying out the deportations and massacres of Armenians within his district:

Are the Armenians, who are being dispatched from there, being liquidated? Are those harmful persons whom you inform us you are exiling and banishing, being exterminated, or are they being merely dispatched and exiled? Answer explicitly....⁸⁵³

As early as July 1915, the German ambassador reported to Berlin that:

Turks began deportations from areas now not threatened by invasion. This fact and the manner in which the relocation is being carried out demonstrate that the government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey.

By January 1917 his successor reported: The policy of extermination has been largely achieved; the current leaders of Turkey fully subscribe to this policy.⁸⁵⁴

The issue of ‘uprisings’, in particular by Armenians, against the Ittihadist authorities is another favourite denialist ‘justification’. Dadrian records only four cases Armenian ‘uprisings’ as such, all of which occurred in 1915: Van (20 April – 17 May), Musa Dagh (30 July – 12 September), Shabin Karahissar (6 June – 4 July) and Edessa (Urfa, 29 September – 23 October). “Of these, the Van uprising stands out in two respects”, wrote the scholar.

First, it served as a major triggering mechanism for the activation of the anti-Armenian exterminating plan. Second, unlike in the other uprisings, in Van the Armenians [*and Assyrians*] prevailed.⁸⁵⁵

Confidential reports from officers and diplomats in Asia Minor tell a very different tale to the official position expounded by the Ottoman government. German ambassador Paul Wolff-Metternich wrote:

There was neither a concerted general uprising, nor was there a fully valid proof that such a synchronised uprising was planned or organised.' Moreover, he said, the local uprisings in the summer and fall of 1915 were defensive acts to avert deportation.⁸⁵⁶

The plains and valleys of the Assyrian-populated south-eastern regions of Asia Minor were wracked by massacres and death marches throughout the summer and autumn of 1915. The 'destinations' of the Christian deportees were the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts, where they were either left to die of hunger and thirst or were slaughtered. In the mountains of Hakkari, the Assyrian highlanders were under siege from Ottoman Army units and Kurdish tribesmen. In October 1915, hunger and the lack of ammunition forced them to leave their homes and to seek shelter in the Russian-held plains to the east.

This accordingly we did, though we lost many men and children by the road, mostly from famine, but many also in battle, for the road by which we went lay near to Albaq (where was a force of Kurds) and there was a fierce battle with them,

wrote the sister of the Patriarch of the Church of the East.⁸⁵⁷

All the primary and secondary testimony about Christian resistance in Asia Minor, whether from German military officers, Austrian diplomats, American missionaries or British journalists, all agree that Hellenic, Armenian and Assyrian action against Ottoman troops and their Muslim auxiliaries was of a defensive nature. They were fighting to save their very lives.

The Turkish command in the East haphazardly armed all the local Kurds and Arabs they could bring together and dispatched them, along with their own reserves, to meet the Russian advance across the Assyrian plain to Mosul.⁸⁵⁸ In the meantime, the revolt of the Arabs to the south and their seizure of the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina "appears to have been engineered by the British as an effective and crushing reply to Turkey's proclamation of a holy war".⁸⁵⁹

The recruitment of tribal and religious groups by opposing sides in war is an accepted tactic on the battlefield and in the propaganda war. Both the Entente and Central Powers made much of every opportunity to undermine the opposition on the homefront. The most interesting point is that Entente propaganda did not even mention similar uprisings by Asia Minor's Christians.

In 1916 the Holocaust engulfed the rugged Pontos region. The rapid Russian advance through eastern Asia Minor seemed unstoppable as district after district fell to the Czar's armies. Russian warships had virtually swept the Ottoman fleet from the Auxins Pontos (Black Sea) and were raiding the ports along the country's north coast at will. Accusing the substantial Hellenic and Armenian populations of the region of spying and communicating with Allied vessels off-shore, the Ottoman authorities employed the tried and true tactics of deportation and massacre. As reported in newspapers across the globe at the time, entire villages were systematically looted and razed to the ground by *cheta* bands led by individuals like Topal Osman Aga.

7.1.2 1919-1924. Contemporary Turkish attempt to distance Mustafa Kemal and the republic he founded from responsibility for Phase Two of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust. As the responsible authority for much of region, especially after 1920, the Kemalists do bear a great deal of the burden for the death and destruction that occurred at this time. An illustrative document is this memorandum by Dr Mark Ward, Director of the Near East Relief American Hospital at Harput (Kharput) in south-eastern Asia Minor:

Beginning with May 26 1921 and up to January and up to January 1922 there were a total of 20,378 deportees that reached Harput. About 18,000 were Greek Ottomans and the remaining 2,000 were Armenians. ... As the deportees were driven down the road many dropped by the roadside from exhaustion, and during the Winter nights these froze to death, as they had no covering. One American road as he journeyed from Sivas to Harput during the month of

December last. Another going from Malatia to Harput earlier in the same month, saw 150 bodies of women and children. ... Some of these bodies were on the roadway itself, just where they had stumbled and fallen. Others appeared to have had just enough strength to crawl to the side of the road so they would not be crushed by passing wagons.⁸⁶⁰

Kemalism defined the Turkish “nation” as an ethnic group – Turkish-speaking, non-devoutly Muslim, secular - denying the existence of ethnic differences within the Republic.

The driving forces of the Kemalist national integration process were ethnically based policies such as assimilation and deportation. The practice of Kemalist nation building is the expression of an impressive project of political engineering aimed at the creation of national homogeneity as the basis of Turkishness.⁸⁶¹

Amongst the most infamous of these acts of destruction was the ‘purification’ by fire of ‘Giavur Izmir’, ‘Infidel Smyrne’. With all Allied troops evacuated and the city completely in the control of Kemal’s forces, a fire broke out in the Christian quarter days after Kemal’s triumphal arrival (and the orgy of looting that followed the city’s capture by the Nationalists. Thousands of Christian Hellenes and Armenians perished in the catastrophe, described by eyewitnesses as a “holocaust”).

7.1.3 Republican Era. Since the 1980s, many scholars writing about the phenomenon of genocide, including William Rubinstein,⁸⁶² and others have made reference to the fates of the Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians under Turkish (Ottoman and Kemalist) rule. What they have all failed to acknowledge, at least in writing, is that the genocidal activity of the Turkish state continued long after 1925 (the conclusion of the “Compulsory Exchange of Greco-Turkish Populations”) and indeed continues to this day.

The Greco-Turkish peace treaty of 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne, included provisions for the protection of the Christian and Muslim populations exempted from the expulsions: the Christians of Constantinople, Imvros and Tenedos, and the Muslims of western Thrace. The intention was to bring about a final peace, a form of co-existence between Greek and

Turk on the two sides of the “wine-dark” Aegean Sea. While the Hellenic state has – by and large – respected the provisions of this document, its Turkish counterpart made it clear from the outset that Christians had no place in its ‘New Turkey’. Since then hundreds of Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians have been killed by the Turkish State over the last eight decades: in the labour camps of Askale, during the pogroms of 1955 and 1974, as well as in ‘isolated incidents’ that more often than not have gone ‘unsolved’.

7.2 (ii) such person or persons belonged to a particular national, ethnical, racial or religious group

7.2.1 Pre-1914. Writing in 1892 in *Exposé historique de la question arménienne*, long-time French Ambassador to Constantinople, Monsieur Paul Cambon, recorded a conversation that he had had with “a high ranking Turkish official”:

‘the Armenian question does not exist but we shall create it.’ ... They simply yearned for reforms, dreaming only of a normal administration under Ottoman rule. ... As if it were not enough to provoke Armenian discontent, the Turks were glad to amplify it by the manner in which they handled it.

Cambon recorded that already by 1892 the Ottoman government was “contemplating the possibility of transporting the Armenians en masse to Mesopotamia”.⁸⁶³

It is precisely because of their perceived treachery that the *ermenî miliyet* (as discussed earlier, consisting of ethnic Armenians and Assyrians) and because of their lack of a foreign patron that these groups were selected as the ‘guinea-pigs’ of the proposed ‘Turkification’ of the Ottoman Empire. Long regarded as the “Faithful People”, the most loyal of the Sultan’s Christian subjects, the *ermenî* were seen as traitors by the Ottoman elite for demanding better treatment.

Religious bigotry was harnessed by these essentially secularist nationalists to justify their stances and convince the Ottoman Muslim peasantry of the necessity of mass murder. As the leading Ittihadist ideologue, Dr Ziya Gokalp, wrote in a wartime essay titled *The Two Mistakes of Tanzimat*:

Islam mandates domination. Non-Muslims can never become the equals of Muslims unless they convert and embrace Islam.⁸⁶⁴

Mehmet Talaat Pasha declared to an Ittihadist meeting in Thessalonike on 6 August 1910 that equality with “the *ghiaours*” (unbelievers, non-Muslims) “is an unrealisable ideal since it is inimical with *Sheriat* and the sentiments of hundreds of thousands of Muslims”. This particular translation of Talaat’s words comes from a British Foreign Office report. Austria-Hungary’s Vice-Consul Zitkowsky and France’s Charge at Hidjaz in Arabia also sent similar reports to their respective ministries in Vienna and Paris.⁸⁶⁵

7.2.2 World War One. The military plenipotentiary of Austria-Hungary to the Ottoman Empire from 1909 to 1918, Vice-Marshal Joseph Pomiankowski, wrote about:

‘the spontaneous utterances of many intelligent Turks’ who blamed the old regimes for not decisively solving the problem of separatism ‘by either forcibly converting the Christian subjects to Islam, or by exterminating them. In the light of this widely held view there can be no doubt that the Young Turk government already before the war had decided to utilize the next suitable opportunity for rectifying this mistake, at least in part’.⁸⁶⁶

Only weeks after the infamous 1915 Deportation Law was issued, the Ottoman government initiated the name change of ‘evacuated’ villages. In a directive, Enver Pasha declared:

It has been decided that provinces, districts, towns, villages, mountains and rivers, which are named in languages belonging to Non-Muslim nations such as Armenian, Greek or Bulgarian, will be translated into Turkish. ... In order to benefit from this suitable moment, this aim should be achieved in due course.⁸⁶⁷

Former bureaucrat Ridvan Akar states that “[i]t is easy to see that in the space of 8 years, from 1915 to 1923, a total of 3 million Turkish non-muslim citizens were removed from the map”.⁸⁶⁸ Kerem Oktem refers to “strategies of destruction and neglect” which “are directed at exterminating the ‘other’ as a material and historical entity and to render its traces in space and time invisible”.⁸⁶⁹ It is precisely because they constituted “others”, they were not “Turks” according to the Ittihadist and Kemalist definition that the Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians within and without the Ottoman Empire were slated for extermination in the 1910s and 1920s.

7.2.3 1924-2004. While the Christian Asia Minor Hlocaust certainly meant a serious rupture in the history of the Turkish State in the modern era, “the ideology and practice of Turkish nationalism was not deeply affected”.⁸⁷⁰ The surviving Hellenic, Armenian and Assyrian populations continued to be slated for destruction by the authorities because of who they were not; because they did not fit the official mould of ‘Turkishness’. This point is illustrated nowhere better than in the publications of official *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (TTK; Turkish History Foundation), “the central institution in canonizing the official historical discourse of Turkey”. Where Asia Minor’s indigenous Christian communities appear at all in the works produced by the TTK, they are depicted as traitors during the Kemal’s “war of independence”.⁸⁷¹

7.3 (iii) the perpetrator intended to destroy, in whole or in part, that group, as such

7.3.1 World War One. The American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, immediately recognised that the forced marches into the desert, and the atrocities that accompanied them, were a new form of orchestrated massacre:

When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were simply giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.⁸⁷²

The evidence of intent is backed by the outcome of the actions against the Hellenes and other Christians: it is inconceivable that over two million persons could have died due to even a badly flawed effort at resettlement. Moreover, the pattern of destruction was repeated over and over in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, many of them far from any war zone; such repetition could only have come from a central design. The destruction crossed international borders, extending into the territories of the Russian and Persian Empires in the 1910s and 1920s, into Syria in the 1930s, into Cyprus in the 1970s and into Iraq in the 1990s and 2000s.

Further, the reward structure was geared toward destruction of the Christian minority: provincial governors and officials who refused to carry out orders to annihilate the Armenians were summarily replaced.⁸⁷³ Basically all the immobile and most of the mobile possessions of the victims were expropriated by the state, virtually the moment they left their villages and towns. These properties were re-distributed by special state agencies to Muslim refugees from south-eastern Europe or to local leading families or the *aghas* (hereditary leaders) of Kurdish tribes. The state sought to re-settle the muhajirs and to encourage the nomadic Kurds to become sedentary.⁸⁷⁴

7.3.2. 1924-2004. The practice of expropriation continued unabated with the advent of the Republican era. Eastern 'Thrace' Jewish community was expelled in 1934 (when the government passed a law (No.2510) restricting the settlement of the region to persons of 'pure Turkish ethnic or educational background'), followed by the imposition of the *varlik vergisi* in the early 1940s. Faik Okte, one of the main administrators of the tax and the deportations, later repented and described the *varlik vergisi* (capital tax) as "one of the most

embarrassing events in the financial history of the Turkish Republic". The American Jewish Committee, well aware of the fate of their Turkish brethren, reported that the tax, "amounting to discrimination against all non-Turkish national, ethnical, and religious minorities, revealed a stark nationalistic, anti-minority propensity on the part of the government".⁸⁷⁵

The persecution of World War Two was followed by the Pogrom of September 1955, the *ertime programi* (elimination program) and the mass deportation of Hellenic citizens from Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1964 and the barrage of legislative and administrative measures that have virtually eliminated once thriving indigenous populations of the territories that make up the Republic of Turkey. Ayhan Aktar, Demir and Ridvan Akar all agree "that the driving force of these incidents was the state's insistence on creating a national bourgeoisie and on devaluing the cultural and political status of non-Muslim minorities".⁸⁷⁶

7.4 (iv) the conduct took place in the context of a manifest pattern of similar conduct directed against that group or was conduct that could itself effect such destruction

The decisions made by Turkish powerbrokers across the 20th century and into the 21st, together form more than a necklace of negatives, more than a chain of atrocity. Each individual decision combined the conviction of true believers with the calculation of predators. Kerem Oktem writes that "Turkey's last century has been shaped by the ideology and the social, cultural and economic policies of an aggressive and at times racist/ ethnicist nationalism".⁸⁷⁷

7.4.1 Background. The conceptual boundaries of the new "Turkish nation", as envisaged by Gokalp and the other Ittihadist ideologues, while relying on territorial and cultural location in Asia Minor and northern Mesopotamia, acknowledged threats from abroad by identifying itself as modern and secular. Gokalp drew from Emile Durkheim's

ideas of the supremacy of society over the individual, but replaced the idea of 'society' with that of the 'nation'. The Turkish word *millet* (nation), also means 'people'. It is the same word that referred to different ethnic-religious groups within the Ottoman Empire. Gokalp differentiated 'culture' and 'civilization', separating the values of a community from the system of knowledge that governs it, to argue that the Turkish nation had its own strong culture, but that it had been submerged in an Islamic/Arab and partly Byzantine civilization. He proposed developing Turkey by replacing this traditional civilization with a modern European one while holding on to Turkish culture, including Islam, which he considered integral to Turkish culture.⁸⁷⁸

Through a decade of mass expulsions, pogroms, deportations, massacres and confiscations, the *Ittihad ve Terrakke i Cemayeti* succeeded in carving out a "Turkish homeland" from the multi-national Ottoman Empire. Plans were carefully drawn up and religiously executed to systematically "uproot the foreign weeds" from the lands that had been designated as being "ours" by the Turkish power elite. "They" were the diverse peoples (Hellenes, Armenians, Assyrians, Jews) who lived in "our country" but did not meet the criteria to be (or to become) one of "us" (Turks). The result was the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust of 1914-1924.

7.4.2 Republican Era. Kemal's 'new' Republic of Turkey continued to "manifest [the] pattern of similar conduct directed against that group" targeted for elimination. With the overwhelming majority of the victim group excised, the Turkish State turned to less bloody means of achieving its goal of a 'pure' Turkey.

In the early 1940s, the government bureau in charge of minority issues, published an internal report. With regard the Armenians, the report declared that "[t]hose who still remain in Anatolia must be evacuated at all cost. We must stop their growth and create situations to force them to emigrate to Istanbul. When the time comes, it is necessary to find a global

solution for all those concerned (meaning the surviving minority populations). According to this report, "Armenians are not assimilable and those who survive must be encouraged to depart" (emigrate). Regarding the Hellenes, the report concluded that they "no longer represent a danger", but there were those who were forced to move to Constantinople (Istanbul). The recommendation of the report is very clear: "[o]n the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman forces [1953], not one Greek should be left in the city".⁸⁷⁹

Innumerable bureaucratic measures have been employed to destroy the remaining Hellenic and other Christian communities. Christians were banned from a series of professions, were forced to pay special taxes, faced the arbitrary confiscation of private and communal property and restrictions on the operation of their churches, schools and other community organisations. Terror tactics including bombings, murders, rapes and pogroms were also employed to ensure the destruction of the rump Hellenic and other Christian communities of Turkey. Despite the best efforts of the Turkish State and its agents, the victim groups survive in their ancestral homeland.

Perhaps the most remarkable factor of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust is the lack of retaliation on Muslims in the Hellenic state. In the face of the horrific events unfolding across the water in Turkish-ruled territory, there were no pogroms, expulsions or massacres of Muslims in Hellas. Undoubtedly there would have been incidents but these were neither large-scale nor officially sanctioned. There were atrocities committed by Hellenes in Hellenic-ruled districts of Asia Minor, particularly in 1921 and 1922. These, while being war crimes, however do not constitute genocide as the relevant authorities not only did not sanction, in fact actively prosecuted those responsible for such crimes.

7.5 Present and Future

The current situation cannot be reversed; the millions of victims cannot be restored to life. Hence, the question is “what now?” Indeed, where do the Republic of Turkey and its neighbours go to from here, given the events of the past and the Turkish State’s blanket refusal to acknowledge the historicity of those events?

The issue of ‘recognition’ of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust by governments and parliamentary bodies, as well as by educational institutions, around the world remains one of international significance. Memorials and parliamentary resolutions for the victims of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust have been erected and carried around the world, primarily on the initiative of the descendants of the victims. These are fought tooth-and-nail by the Turkish State, particularly when they are proposed or actually erected in Western countries such as The Netherlands and Australia. There are numerous examples but the following suffice to illustrate the point.

In May 1991, the President of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, undertook a state visit to Australia, to be made “an honorary Companion of the Order of Australia for services to Australian-Turkish relations”. According to his nomination form, Ozal was being rewarded for “his help in organising anniversary ceremonies” of the landings at Anzac Cove in 1915.⁸⁸⁰ As expected, the honour and the visit provoked fierce reactions from Australia’s Hellenic, Armenian, Assyrian and Kurdish communities, as well as from human rights groups. A major issue for those protesting the award to Ozal was recognition of the Holocaust.

The Parliament of the Australian state of New South Wales passed unanimously the Armenian Genocide Commemorative Motion on 17 April 1997. The motion was subsequently inscribed on a brass plaque and installed on the Armenian Genocide Memorial that now stands in the gardens of the Parliament. The parliament’s email system was flooded

by some 70,000 'protest' emails within hours, forcing the system to be closed down. It was later established that the emails had been generated *en masse* from outside the country.

7.6 Final Thoughts

This dissertation, titled *Hellenism Under The Crescent*, is as much a study of Turkish history and historiography as it is a study of Hellenism under Turkish rule. In the Closing Address to the 1999 "Portraits of Christian Asia Minor Conference", the candidate concluded his paper by stating that without Turkish acknowledgement of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust, without some common historical ground, conciliation between the Republic of Turkey and its neighbours, much less between Turkey and its own citizenry is impossible.

The Turkish state is not prepared to take this momentous step. There are, however, Turkish intellectuals and groups that have already done so. This is the future direction Turkey as a whole needs to take. Ankara's aspirations of membership of the European Union are forcing the country to undertake major reform. An unforeseen consequence of this 'reformation' has been a re-examination of the history of the Turkish state. In discussing "Looking to the future from a historical perspective, former Foreign Minister Ismail Cem, wrote that the Ottoman Empire became:

a safe-haven for persecuted ethnic and religious groups from the 16th century onwards. ... Our history was moulded as much in Istanbul, Edirne, Tetova, Kosovo and Sarajevo as it was in Bursa, Kayseri, Diyarbakir and Damascus. ... We do not conceive our citizens' ethnic origins to be a relevant factor ... Contemporary Turkey based itself on this heritage of non-discrimination and further developed it through its modernisation process.⁸⁸¹

Bernard Lewis, the originator of the theory of the 'clash of civilisations' adopted and popularised by Samuel Huntingdon, paints a less rosy picture, stressing that there "is a fourteen hundred-year-old bloody history of confrontation and conflict between the

Occident and the Orient".⁸⁸² For more than a century, the Turkish power-elite has sought to present the country as a modern nation-state, both European and Islamic. In the words of Germany-based Turkish scholar Fikret Adanir, "We have to deal with history, like the Germans after the war". Only by examining and recognising the past can the future be discussed.

Turkey's efforts to become a full member of the European Union have brought about an interesting – and largely unforeseen – side-effect. It has triggered an self-examination by Turkish society of its past and its present. During the 2000 Helsinki summit, the Prime Ministry's Human Rights Advisory Board was established "to check whether Turkey is fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria – in other words, to show Brussels that Ankara is determined to implement them". Its report on minority and cultural rights, released in early November 2004, exploded with the force of an atom bomb.⁸⁸³

A press conference held by its Chairman, Ibrahim Kaboglu, was brought to an abrupt end when one board member prevented him from releasing it by resorting to brute force, tearing the report up. The Prime Ministry and Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul refused to acknowledge it, declaring that the board, for whatever reason it was established other than preparing such a paper, was not asked to prepare this kind of report.⁸⁸⁴ President Ahmet Necdet Sezer described the debate over minority rights as "destructive" and that every citizen of the state - Muslim or other - is a Turk and is bound to the Turkish state.⁸⁸⁵

Despite the best efforts of the Kemalist establishment, "[t]he genie is out of the bottle", according to the report's principal author, Professor Baskin Oran. The ground-breaking report brought out into the open issues regarding non-'Turkish' minorities in the Republic of Turkey long swept under the carpet; in particular, the long and bloody history of the treatment of non-Muslims by the Turkish State. The shockwaves will be felt for decades to come as, for the first time, agents of the Turkish State have publicly and officially

acknowledged the active, state-orchestrated discrimination that has been a way of life for non-“Turkish” minorities in Turkey since the 1920s. In part, the report vindicates this study. To quote Hrant Dink, editor in chief of the bi-lingual (Armenian-Turkish) *Agos* weekly, “the essence of the report is the essence of Turkey and the reality remains there”.⁸⁸⁶ Its greater importance is that it has opened the door for official Turkish recognition of the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust.

The title *Hellenism Under The Cresecent* was chosen for this dissertation as much for its Islamic connotations as for its allegorical dimension. Since the failed siege of the city of Byzantion by King Philip II of Macedon in the 340s BCE, the crescent moon has been a symbol of the city. It was the light of the moon that alerted the defenders to a surprise night-time assault by Philip’s Macedonians. The Christian Asia Minor Holocaust is as much part of the history of that part of the world as the arrival of the Turkic tribes and the establishment of the Hellenic city-states millennia beforehand. This history is at last being examined by ALL the groups involved. After all, “a people without memory has no future”.⁸⁸⁷

ENDNOTES

¹ Tatz (2003), 186

² Chater, Melville "History's Greatest Trek" *National Geographic* December 1925, 533-583.

³ *ibid*, 6

⁴ Lemkin (1944), 80 at n.3

⁵ Gutman and Rieff (1999), 374

⁶ Gutman and Rieff, 375

⁷ Gutman and Rieff, 376

⁸ See Matthew Lippman The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: Fifty Years Later 15 *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Literature* 415, 416 (1998)

⁹ Gutman and Rieff, 107

¹⁰ Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on the Enforcement of Penalties, Report Presented to the Preliminary Peace Conference, 29 March 1919, reprinted in 14 *American Journal of International Law* 95, 112-117 (1920)

¹¹ *ibid*, 134-136

¹² Warner, A. ed. Nuremberg *Hitler's Third Reich* Volume 32, 16-27

¹³ Gutman and Rieff, 107-108

¹⁴ Simpson (1993), 8

¹⁵ Tatz (1997), 314

¹⁶ *ibid*, 313

¹⁷ *ibid*, 311-312

¹⁸ The text of the ICTJ Analysis on Applicability of the United Nations Convention on Genocides pre-1915 was accessed by the candidate on Wednesday, 12 February 2003, through the H-GENOCIDE@H-NET.MSU.EDU list moderated by Dr Alan Jacobs ajacobs@MAIL.H-NET.MSU.EDU

¹⁹ "The Turkish government maintains that no direct evidence has been presented demonstrating that any Ottoman official sought the destruction of the Ottoman Armenians. [See Armenian Allegations of Genocide: The Issue and the Facts, <http://www.turkishembassy.org/governmentpolitics/issuesarmenian.htm/>]. In light of the frequent references to the participation of Ottoman officials in the Events, we wish to highlight that a finding of genocide does not as a legal matter depend on the participation of state actors. On the contrary, the Genocide Convention confirms that perpetrators of genocide will be punished whether they are "constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals." [Genocide Convention, Art. IV.] Thus, it is legally appropriate to maintain that the Events constituted genocide as defined in the Convention on the basis of a conclusion that they were perpetrated with the intent of permanently resolving the "Armenian question", whether or not this was the official state policy of the Ottoman Empire. ICTJ Report

²⁰ ICTR Statute, *supra* note 5, Art. 3; ICTY Statute, *supra* note 5, Article 4

²¹ See Payam Akhavan Contributions of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda to Developments of Definitions of Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide 94 *American Society of International Legal*

Proceedings 279, 282 (2000); Alexander K.A. Greenawalt *Rethinking Genocidal Intent: The Case for a Knowledge-Based Interpretation* 99 *Columbia Law Review* 2259, 2278 (1999)

²² *Travaux Préparatoires*, 117-139

²³ *ibid*, 81-89. The adoption of the words “as such” after the enumeration of protected groups represented a compromise designed to satisfy both the delegates who favoured inclusion of a motive and those who thought it counterproductive. *Travaux Préparatoires*, 129-139. See also Greenawalt, *supra* note 52, at 2278.

²⁴ *Travaux Préparatoires*, 133. The protected groups identified by the Siamese delegate later changed.

²⁵ For the purpose of paragraph 1:

“Attack directed against any civilian population” means a course of conduct involving the multiple commission of acts referred to in paragraph 1 against any civilian population, pursuant to or in furtherance of a State or organisational policy to commit such attack;

“Extermination” includes the intentional infliction of conditions of life, *inter alia* the deprivation of access to food and medicine, calculated to bring about the destruction of part of a population;

“Enslavement” means the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children;

“Deportation or forcible transfer of population” means forced displacement of the persons concerned by expulsion or other coercive acts from the area in which they are lawfully present, without grounds permitted under international law;

“Torture” means the intentional infliction of severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, upon a person in the custody or under the control of the accused; except that torture shall not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to, lawful sanctions;

“Forced pregnancy” means the unlawful confinement of a woman forcibly made pregnant, with the intent of affecting the ethnic composition of any population or carrying out other grave violations of international law. This definition shall not in any way be interpreted as affecting national laws relating to pregnancy;

“Persecution” means the intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights contrary to international law by reason of the identity of the group or collectivity;

“The crime of apartheid” means inhumane acts of a character similar to those referred to in paragraph 1, committed in the context of an institutionalised regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime;

“Enforced disappearance of persons” means the arrest, detention or abduction of persons by, or with the authorisation, support or acquiescence of, a State or a political organisation, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of freedom or to give information on the fate or whereabouts of those persons, with the intention of removing them from the protection of the law for a prolonged period of time.

²⁶ M. Cherif Bassiouni *Crimes Against Humanity in International Criminal Law*

²⁷ See for example *Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*, Case Number ICTR-96-4-T, Judgement, (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Trial Chamber 1, 2 September 1998), available at <http://www.ictr.org/>;

Prosecutor v. Clement Kayishema and Obed Ruzindana, Case Number ICTR-95-1-T, Judgement, 1999 WL 33288417 (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Trial Chamber II, 21 May 1999);

Prosecutor v. Ignace Bagilishema, Case Number ICTR-95-1A-T; Judgement, (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Trial Chamber I, 7 June 2001);

Prosecutor v. Goran Jelisic, Case Number ICTY-95-10-A, Appeals Judgement (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Appeals Chamber, 5 July 2001), available at www.un.org/icty/brcko/appeal/judgement/index.htm;

Prosecutor v. Sikirica, Case Number ICTY-95-8-T, Judgement, (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Trial Chamber III, 3 September 2001), available at www.un.org/icty/sikirica/judgement/index.htm;

Prosecutor v. Krstic, Case Number ICTY-98-33, Judgement, (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Trial Chamber I, 2 August 2001), available at <http://www.un.org/icty/krstic/TrialC1/judgement/index.htm>

²⁸ *Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*, *supra* note 56, 498

²⁹ Finalized Draft Text of the Elements of Crimes, Report of the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court, Addendum, Part II, U.N. Doc. PCNICC/2000/1/Add.2 (2000), 6

³⁰ Moses, *Conceptual blockages and definitional dilemmas in the ‘racial century’: genocides of indigenous peoples and the Holocaust*, 15

³¹ Moses, 13

³² Moses, 12

³³ The Salonika Congress; The Young Turks and Their Programme, *The Times*, 3 October 1911, 3

³⁴ Moses, 7

³⁵ "Imperial" in the sense of rule by a king or queen.

³⁶ Logan, Marty INDIGENOUS PEOPLES DAY: Genocide It Is <http://ipsnews.net/interna.asp?idnews=24994>

³⁷ After the war, the camp commandant, a German immigrant named Henry Wirz, was tried, convicted and executed of 'war crimes'. This case, arguably, established the principle in law that even in times of war, prison officials are responsible for the welfare of inmates.

³⁸ Moses,

³⁹ *Travaux Préparatoires*, 23

⁴⁰ *ibid*, 500

⁴¹ *ibid*, 40

⁴² *ibid*, 28

⁴³ Tatz (2003),

⁴⁴ Luke (1955), 20

⁴⁵ Luke, 97. Sultan Orkhan had not one but two Hellenic wives The first was the daughter of a Hellene lord in Bithynia (north-western Asia Minor); the second was Theodora, daughter of Emperor Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos. Mehmet the Conqueror himself "claimed descent from the Comneni" dynasty, who ruled the Empire until the Latins conquered the City in 1204 and subsequently established their own state at Trapezounta in Pontos.

⁴⁶ The Salonika Congress; The Young Turks and Their Programme *The Times* 3 October 1911, 3

⁴⁷ *Le Temps* 29 July 1916 as quoted by Koumakis (1996), 80

⁴⁸ Rahmi Bey was a Dohnme, an Islamised Jew and a Young Turk. He was later imprisoned by the British on war crimes charges on Malta, but was released without trial. Rahmi returned to Smyrne as the agent of a US "tobacco firm...but fled from there (to Moscow) to escape the vengeance of the blood-stained Mustapha Khemal, who was rounding up and hanging all persons of sufficient intelligence to be dangerous political opponents". Horton (1927), 220, 236.

⁴⁹ This is one of only a handful of official Ottoman documents relating to the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust to see the light of day. To this day, the archives of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Republic of Turkey remain open only to selected researchers who follow the official Turkish government view of history.

⁵⁰ *Asia Minor Refugees* (1983), 12

⁵¹ See _____, "Massacre of the Greeks in Turkey" *Current History* March 1919, 558-562

⁵² Simpson, 5-6

⁵³ *ibid* 28-29

⁵⁴ *ibid* 40

⁵⁵ Gallo Shabo in Zitoun (unpublished)

⁵⁶ Written in Arabic script, with a vocabulary heavily influenced by Persian and other languages.

⁵⁷ Rob Stout, *The Vices of Integrity: E H Carr 1892-1982* by Jonathan Haslam 27 November 2000
http://www.ce-review.org/00/41/books41_stout.html

⁵⁸ Sexton, Michael The History Wars *Sydney Morning Herald* 6 September 2003
<http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/09/05/1062549014085.html?from=storyrhs&oneclick=true>

⁵⁹ Elton, G.R. (1987) *The Practice of History* Fontana in HSC History Extension Readings

⁶⁰ Sexton

⁶¹ Orga (1958), 23

⁶² 1806-1812, 1828-1829, 1853-1856 (Crimean War), 1877-1878.

⁶³ Following the granting of autonomy to Krete in 1898, all Muslims were forced to leave the island for Ottoman-ruled territory. Many were ethnic Hellene converts to Islam. Some of their descendants still retain their Hellenic speech in the Halicarnassos (Bodrum) region of Asia Minor and in the Syrian town of Hamidyeh.

⁶⁴ France took Algeria (1830) and Tunisia (1881); Britain took Cyprus (1878) and Egypt (1882); Austria-Hungary took Bosnia-Herzegovina (1908) and Italy took Tripoli (Libya; 1911).

⁶⁵ Imported guns, red breeches, wine berets and western-educated drillmasters. A printing press re-opened for the publication of military and other practical books. Beyond the military sphere, a porcelain works were established.

⁶⁶ "A modern form of government appeared to him to be the best guarantee for the future of the Ottoman Empire, and, above all, he saw in a regular army the best expedient for consolidating his power and carrying out his projected reforms for the modernisation of the state".

⁶⁷ "During the Greek revolution of 1821, the silk trees in the Peloponnesus were all cut down by the Turks, thus destroying an ancient and profitable industry". Horton (1927), 40. This is but one example of the scorched earth policy the Ottomans adopted when dealing with uprisings, real or imagined. A portent of things to come.

⁶⁸ Captain Helmuth von Moltke of Prussia was secured as an adviser; composer Guiseppe Donizetti was hired to train military musicians, shipbuilder Henry Eckford was hired from New York to build frigates at Constantinople. Western methods, books and even instructors were also employed at the new military academy and medical school.

⁶⁹ French became the language of the educated. The old sinecures were abolished and replaced by ministries. Some of the *ulema's* official functions were withdrawn. The *Moniteur Ottomane*, the first Ottoman gazette was established, soon followed by *Takvim-i Vekayi*, its Turkish-language counterpart. Ottoman officials were forced to give up their flowing robes and turbans for the black stambouline frock coat and the fez. Vambery (1908), 427. The author spent more than fifty years in contact and observation in Constantinople, including several years residence in the house of Aifat Pasha, former Foreign Affairs Minister. He later taught at the University of Budapest.

⁷⁰ Vambery, 426

⁷¹ op cit

⁷² Dadrian (1999), 15

⁷³ The *Tanzimat* was inspired by Resid Pasha, an 'Old' Ottoman, a Francophone diplomat who served as Foreign Minister and Grand Vizier. These innovations included a major re-organisation of provincial administration, education and the judiciary. The Europeanised Ottoman reformers were led by Reshid Pasha and his pupils Ali and Fuhad Pasha. Other leading figures of this movement were Sefvet, Serwar, Arifi Muterjim Rushid and Muhammed Kibristi Pasha. As Grand Viziers and Foreign Ministers, they controlled Turkey for more than 40 years. The plan for secular education was based on the French model: the Francophone *Galatasaray Lycee* was opened; the commercial and penal law codes were similarly recast along the French model; the *vilayet* system of provincial administration copied the French department system. These were secular, westernizing changes super-imposed on an Islamic-

dominated traditional society from above: *medreses* and the western-style schools; *Sharia* and secular law and courts were placed side-by-side.

⁷⁴ Mardin in Dadrian (1999), 19-20

⁷⁵ Vambery, 429

⁷⁶ Levene, M. Creating a Modern 'Zone of Genocide': The Impact of Nation and State Formation on Eastern Anatolia 1878-1923 *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 12 (1998), 398

⁷⁷ A boom in newspaper circulation occurred in the 1860s and 1870s as literacy amongst Muslims increased. Some journalists and government officials began calling themselves *Yeni Osmalilar* (New Ottomans). They criticised Sultan Abdul Aziz (1861-1876) as irresponsible and authoritarian and demanded a parliament that would curb the Sultan's autocratic power. The most prominent dissidents fled to Paris after a government crackdown. One of them, Namik Kemal (1840-1888), a playwright among other things, wrote *Vatan* (Fatherland). First performed in 1873, it still awakens patriotic sentiments amongst Turkish audiences.

⁷⁸ Ahmet Midhat wrote a novel titled *Felatun Bey ile Rakim Efendi* (Felatun Bey and Rakim Efendi) that ridiculed the pseudo-westernised Ottoman elites. The former is a wealthy playboy living on the European shore of Constantinople, who prefers to be called Plato. The latter is a modest, educated, hard-working man. *Araba Serdasi* by Recai Zade Ekrem is an 1896 novel in the same vein.

⁷⁹ When Alevis (a moderate Islamic sect, deeply influenced by Orthodox Christianity and deemed to be heretical by Sunni Muslims) were massacred in great numbers.

⁸⁰ Vambery, 431

⁸¹ For an excellent discussion on dhimmitude, see Bat Ye'or, <http://www.dhimmi.org>

⁸² Abdul Mejid died in 1861, succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz.

⁸³ Vambery, 430

⁸⁴ While the Ottoman Hellenes looked to the Hellenic Republic, the Armenians developed their own 'National Constitution' in 1862. While the established communal elders accepted the Ottomanism of the Tanzimat era, the younger intelligentsia refused and adopted the project of creating an authentic Armenian homeland in eastern Asia Minor.

⁸⁵ Both signed in 1876, the latter effectively negating the former.

⁸⁶ Ali Haydar Bey in Dadrian (1999), 51. Midhat was exiled on February 5 1878. He was later lured back, put on trial in April 1881, for complicity in "the murder" of Sultan Abdul Aziz, convicted, exiled again and finally strangled in May 1884.

⁸⁷ In late-December 1876, Abdul Hamid appointed five non-Muslims as his aides-de-camp from among the leaders who had enrolled in the Civil Guard: two Hellenes, two Armenians and one Jew. Dadrian (1999), 48 and 54

⁸⁸ Gallenga in Dadrian (1999), 61

⁸⁹ There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the loss of revenue from the defunct military exemption tax was estimated at one million pounds sterling. Aflab in Dadrian (1999), 62-63

⁹⁰ Gallenga in Dadrian (1999), 64

⁹¹ *ibid*

⁹² Levene, 403-404

⁹³ Dadrian (1999), 55

⁹⁴ *ibid*

⁹⁵ “Deprived of this vehicle of remedy, the Armenians silently endured their bitter hardships. But is it just that the Armenians, the most loyal and obedient subject of the state, be so plagued and persecuted, by of all people, the Kurds, who are rebels acting against our state?” Dadrian (1999), 56

⁹⁶ Dadrian (1999), 59-60

⁹⁷ Vambery, 433

⁹⁸ There was press censorship and political meetings were forbidden. Spies ferreted out opposition forces and intellectuals led two lives (public and secret). Banned works and anti-Hamidian poems were circulated from hand to hand. The opposition wanted the imperial constitution restored. Some opposition figures went into exile in Europe, secretly sending back anti-Hamidian propaganda. Vambery, 435

⁹⁹ Vambery, 425

¹⁰⁰ Rural Armenians paid the price for Russian advances in eastern Asia Minor in the 1870s and 1880s. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 War, between 20,000 and 30,000 Ottoman Armenians were used as baggage handlers. This situation was only exacerbated when Russia invoked the Armenian right of self-government in March 1878.

¹⁰¹ The Dashnaks formed in Tiflis, Georgia, in 1890.

¹⁰² Schweiger-Lerchenfeld estimated that 300,000 Circassians and Abkhaz left the Caucasus for Asia Minor after the 1864 Russian conquest, mostly to eastern Pontos, with active Russian assistance. von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, Amand Baron Freiherrn in Dadrian (1999), 29. This was confirmed by a report from Lord Napier, British ambassador to St Petersburg, to Lord Russell, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London. 17 May 1864.

¹⁰³ 5,000 Laze families were settled in the Trabzon region; 60,000 Laze eventually returned to Russia. Father Minas Nourikhan estimated 30,000 (1896 book). Lieutenant Colonel CW Wilson’s August 20 1879 report. Ambassador Goschen’s report August 30 1880 and other reports from that year; Blue Book, Turkey, No. 6 1881, 89; Blue Book, Turkey, No.4, 1880 p.26. Consul Bilotti’s April 20 1880 and July 16 1880 reports in Dadrian (1999), 30
Schweiger-Lerchenfeld described the situation at Trapezounta (Trabzon) where Russian steamers kept bringing Circassian Muslims to an Ottoman state totally unprepared for them. Nearly a third (100,000) subsequently died of starvation. Lieutenant-Colonel CW Wilson, British Consul at Sevasteia, denounced the government’s “almost criminal action”. Blue Book, Turkey, No.4 (1880) October 14 1879 report, 113 in Dadrian (1999), 30-31

¹⁰⁴ Ramsay and Rolin-Jaquemeyna in Dadrian (1999), 31

¹⁰⁵ ‘An Eastern Statesman’ Contemporary Life and Thought in Turkey *The Contemporary Review* 37 February 1880, 342 in Dadrian (1999), 31

¹⁰⁶ Dadrian (1999), 30

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

¹⁰⁸ Vambery, 436

¹⁰⁹ Kadioglu, Ayse The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 32 No.2 (April 1996) <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/ayse.htm>

¹¹⁰ As George Mosse wrote in *The Crisis of German Ideology*, “[t]he acceptance of Culture and the rejection of Civilisation meant for many people an end to alienation from their society. The word ‘rootedness’ occurs constantly in their vocabulary. They sought this in spiritual terms, through an inward correspondence between the individual, the native soil, the volk and the universe. In this manner, the isolation they felt so deeply would be destroyed. Kadioglu.

¹¹¹ Berkes in Kadioglu

¹¹² Berkes in Kadioglu

¹¹³ Chatterjee in Kadioglu.

“No Mussulman will entertain the notion of equal rights for the Giaour and the Mohammedan and no-one acquainted with the condition of the country can justly blame them. For reforms doled out to the Christians mean increased disabilities imposed upon Moslems”. Dillon (1903), 308

¹¹⁴ Not surprising given that almost all the leadership were graduates of the Military Academy in Constantinople, established and run by the German military.

¹¹⁵ Oztuna (1967), 121

¹¹⁶ They were statist and secularists, who read the *Ikdam* (Effort) and *Sabah* (Morning) newspapers, publications that espoused an “overt, sometimes aggressive nationalism”. They were resentful of the European ‘takeover’ of the Empire, and particularly of the Ottoman Hellenes and Armenians.

¹¹⁷ Levene, 403

¹¹⁸ Oktem, 5

¹¹⁹ This trio became the ‘Committee of Three’, the co-ordinators of the 12,000-strong *Teskilati Mahsuse*.

¹²⁰ Dekmedjian, R. Hrair Determinants of Genocide: Armenians and Jews as Case Studies” in *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, 91-92

¹²¹ ____, The Salonika Congress; The Young Turks and their Programme *The Times* 3 October 1911, 3

¹²² *ibid*

¹²³ *ibid*

¹²⁴ Dekmejian, 86.

¹²⁵ Dekmejian, 87

¹²⁶ Dekmejian, 88

¹²⁷ Dekmedjian, 91

¹²⁸ The ethnically, linguistically and culturally extremely diverse Young Ottomans, and their successors the Young Turks, were united by little more than their religion and their sense of being ‘taken over’ by the Ottoman Christians who dominated cultural and economic life in the Empire, and who played a major political role as well.

¹²⁹ *op cit*

¹³⁰ In early-1894, a high-ranking Turkish official told French diplomat Paul Cambou “the Armenian Question does not exist, but we shall create it”. Cambou himself wrote that the Turko-Armenian problem originated in “the exasperation of the inoffensive population ... which simply was aiming at reforms, and dreaming of an orderly Ottoman administration”. Dadrian (1999), 67

The final chapter of Cemal Pasha’s memoirs deals with the Armenians: “We like the Armenians, especially their revolutionaries, more than the Greeks and the Bulgarians, for they are more gallant and heroic than those two elements. They do not practice two-facedness”. Cemal in Dadrian (1999), 68

Beginning in Sassoon in south-western Armenia in August 1894, the so-called “Hamidian” massacres were largely limited to adult men in urban centres. The victims were killed within two to four days of arrest, near their homes and businesses. “The Turks hated the idea that they were no longer masters. ... Among the fiercer professors of Islam resentment grew. Were God’s adversaries to be the equals of Islam? In every café, the heathen were speaking great mouthing words of some godless and detested change... Cheers were given for Sultan Abdul Hamid. He had set the fashion of massacres”. FO 424/220, enclosure to 48 Report, 70 (British Foreign Office document) in Dadrian (1999), 71

¹³¹ Russian diplomatic pressure blocked this route as it brought the Germans too close to Russian territory for Moscow’s comfort. So a new route was drawn up from Ikonion (Konya) across the Taurus Mountains. After an official visit by the Kaiser in 1898, the concession was formally authorized in 1899. The *firman* (Imperial Decree) was finally issued in 1903. A Turkish corporation was to be formed to run the concession.

There was immediate strong opposition to the railway plan from France. Britain was initially indifferent, but soon became hostile. The Germans wanted English and French capital to build the railroad and the Indian mail contracts to keep it viable. But they refused to give up control. The result of this impasse was that little English money was ultimately involved in this massive project. A group of French bankers and the Deutsche Bank provided some finance, but most of it was raised through the sale of Turkish bonds. The Sultan's government issued the bonds to the Railway Company, secured by kilometric guarantees. For the first series of bonds, these guarantees were secured on the revenues of the provinces traversed by the Railway; for the Second and Third series, the surplus revenue handed over to the Government by the commission of the debt was used as security as were the revenues of provinces traversed for the balance. For a small brokerage fee the Deutsche Bank sold the bonds on the international market.

The ambitious Turco-German plans hit another snag. The Sheikh of Kuwait accepted British protection in January 1899, in return for promising not to cede any territory without London's approval. The following year he refused to sell or lease terminal facilities to the German Railway Company. British cruisers offshore prevented his overthrow by the Turks and Germans. In 1901, the Sultan was virtually forced to accept the independence of Kuwait. Foreign Secretary Lord Lansdowne announced in May 1903 that Britain "would regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified port in the Persian Gulf as a very grave menace to British interests and would certainly resist it by all means at her disposal". _____, *Railway Projects In Turkey* *The Times* (London) 24 May 1909, 8

Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II met Russia's Czar Nicholas II in November 1910, for the signing of the Potsdam Agreement. They agreed that Russia would be free to build railways in northern Persia and Germany to build the Baghdad Railway, so long as no branch lines were built into Armenia and Kurdistan, areas Russia considered 'buffer zones' between herself and the Ottoman Empire. The Baghdad Railway Company was given a concession for the port of Alexandretta and for the construction of a railroad from there to the main Baghdad line in 1911. The Baghdad-Basra line was to be built by an Anglo-German company which would include at least two English directors. The dream of a line to the Persian Gulf was abandoned.

On 19 August of that year, Russia officially withdrew all objections to the Baghdad Railway. By early-1914, France and Germany had come to terms in respect to French interests in the railroad. As long as the Turco-German alliance lasted, "the railroad is political life insurance for Germany," wrote Rohrbach, the chief German authority on the subject. _____, *French Loan for Turkey* *New York Times* 11 April 1914, 4

By the time World War One broke out, work on the Railway was well under way. Some of the most difficult sections (those through the Taurus Mountains) were in fact built with slave labour: Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians as well as Allied prisoners-of-war, including Australians, New Zealanders, British, Indians, Russians and Frenchmen. Completed in early 1918, it opened the way for the Germans to attack the Suez Canal and Egypt, as well as on India. Being well inland, the Berlin-Baghdad Railway was out of reach of the power of the British Navy.

¹³³ Dadrian (1999), 72

¹³⁴ *ibid*

"For the last six months (July-December 1902), for instance, soldiers, officers and civil servants have received no pay at all." _____, *Foreign Affairs: The Balkan Peninsula; Turkey and Macedonia* *The Contemporary Review* January 1903, 139-140.

"Turkey's past is pitiful. In Macedonia she is to pay cash to all her officials, to sanction a financial committee which will supervise the work of tax collecting, to invest with the office of Governor General – the name is a secondary consideration – a man who shall be independent at once of Yildiz Kiosk and of Mohammedan traditions, and her gendarmerie is to be officered by subjects of a neutral European state. Can the Porte comply with those demands?" _____, *Foreign Affairs: Macedonia, the Balkans and Russia* *The Contemporary Review* February 1903, 286-287

Once again, events in the Empire's European provinces forecast what was to come in Asia Minor: "At present trade and commerce are at a standstill throughout Macedonia, crimes against life and property are rife. ... An insurrection, if the insurgents be left to themselves, would inevitably end in a mass massacre. ... The only hope of the non-Turkish elements lies in the presumed readiness of Bulgaria and Servia to interfere and take their part". _____, *Foreign Affairs: The Balkan Peninsula; Turkey and Macedonia* *The Contemporary Review* January 1903, 139-140

"Those were the reasons which impelled me, in an anonymous article on Macedonia, which appeared in this REVIEW nearly eight years ago, to write: 'Macedonia, like the Slough of Despond, is a 'place that cannot be mended' until Turkish rule there has been brought to a close.' September 1895 p.323"

"The problem therefore, fairly stated, amounted to what philosophers would term an antinomy: on the one hand the Christians of the three provinces could not go on living without some measure of social and political reform, and on the other hand, Turkey was unable to grant them any real concessions without exposing herself to ruin; while the Powers, owing to mistrust and jealousy among themselves could not afford to re-open the Near Eastern Question by coercing her."

"The ghastly Macedonian spectacle of fire and blood continues to unfold itself slowly to the gaze of Christian peoples grown suddenly indifferent. Two years ago all central Europe was frenzied at the thought that the brave little Boer people were being unjustly dealt with by England. Today the news that hundreds of unarmed men, women

and children are being massacred in the broad daylight and thousands are crowded together in fetid prisons, leaves those once sympathetic beholders unmoved.”

The Hamidian and Macedonian Massacres clearly showed the lengths to which the Ottoman state would go to retain her remaining European territories. “In truth, Turkey could not make existence easy for her Christian subjects in the provinces of Macedonia without entirely losing her hold upon them, as she lost her grip on Eastern Rumelia and on Crete. ... Furthermore, not only was the integrity of the Ottoman Empire at stake, but the loyalty of the Sultan’s subjects in other portions of his dominions was dependant upon his refusal to set the Giaours above the faithful”. The chaos of course could not go on forever. The Ottoman Government eventually moved to restore order: by unleashing a reign of terror. “False statements – refuted by the Consular reports – were set afloat by the Porte to excuse the cruelties of the Bashi-boozooks; euphemistic phrases were coined by the Press organs of Central Europe to glaze over them”. Dillon, E.J. *Macedonia The Contemporary Review* June 1903, 894-895

Dillon laid the responsibility for the Macedonian atrocities and for the apologist stance of the press in Germany and Austria-Hungary on the fact that Germany wanted to have a clear road from Hamburg via Constantinople to the Persian Gulf. “We have good grounds for the hope that when nothing remains of the Macedonian Christians but a lake of blood, Turkey will make some such declaration as this: the reforms should indeed have been introduced, but at the present those for whose behoof they were drawn up, are no longer living”. *ibid*, 895-897

He went on to write about the “reign of terror” that “had been inaugurated by the Turks”, despite the fact that Abdul Hamid II had been deposed “with the aid of the leading Christians: “the Turks were now busy murdering these people, in order to get exclusive control. The Christian populations were groaning under a ferocious persecution”. Horton, (1927), 187, 191

“The Consuls of the Great Powers knew that this state of things could not last, and that the Christians, if sufficiently harassed, would get together and drive out their oppressors. They knew also that the sanguinary Abdul was a very wise man, and one of the greatest diplomats of modern times, and that his dethronement had been a fatal blow to the greatness of the old Ottoman Empire. They felt that a hurricane was impending which would probably shake off plums worth picking up. The fact that Austria did not get Saloniki was the real thing that started the Great War; defeated, ambitious, nourished in long plotting, explain the race for Saloniki between Bulgarian and Greek troops and the Second Balkan War”. ... “But for the fearful suffering of the native Christian population at the hands of the Turks, causing a continual feeling of indignation and sorrow in the breasts of all civilized onlookers, Saloniki would have been a pleasant place of residence in 1910”. George Horton was appointed US Consul in Thessalonike in 1910 and spent a year there before being transferred to Smyrne. “That ancient city, one of the oldest in the world in point of continuous existence from prehistoric times, was in 1910 a flourishing mixed settlement of about three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, whose civilization was essentially Greek. ... “She was situated on a magnificent bay, comparable to that of Vancouver, in which any number of ships can anchor safely. The town itself extended in a half moon around the shores of this harbor and flowed back up the sides of Mount Pagus. The best built and most sanitary portions were the Greek, Armenian, Levantine and Jewish, with the Turkish town mainly higher up, on the slopes of the mountain”. Horton (1927), 143

¹³⁵ Oztuna, 190

¹³⁶ Dekmedjian, 89-90

¹³⁷ Hellenic Council of New South Wales *The Genocide of the Pontian Greeks* 1994 [pamphlet]

¹³⁸ For example, in Trapezounta (Trabzon), four of the five banks were Hellenic-owned. The fifth was the Ottoman Bank, the Imperial financial institution.

¹³⁹ Just as in ancient Hellas and in Australia today, Hellenic life in Asia Minor revolved around the Church and the School. Even the poorest peasants were given an elementary education. At the commencement of what became the Hellenic Holocaust, Asia Minor had 24 Dioceses, 2,035 churches, 2,984 priests, 1,319 communities, as well as 2,038 primary and secondary schools with 4,808 teachers and 192 420 students. Pontos had six Dioceses, 22 monasteries, 131 churches, 1,459 priests, as well as 1,057 primary and secondary schools with 1,236 teachers and 37,594 students. There were also 27 sporting and cultural organisations in the 41 cities and towns and 1,013 villages of Pontos. _____, Πόντος: 30 αιώνες Ελληνισμού *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 21 Ιουνίου 1996, 26; _____, Η κραυγή της προσφυγιάς ηχεί απόμνη *Νέα Πατρίδα* 17 Μαΐου 1997, 28-29.

¹⁴⁰ _____, Greece Tells Turks To Stop Expulsions *New York Times* 13 June 1914, 3. See also Patriarchat Oecumenique (1919) *Les Persecutions de l’Hellenisme en Turquie* Constantinople

¹⁴¹ Photograph of Constantinople in 1912 is reproduced as Appendix Eight.

¹⁴² Anderson (1966), 292-297

¹⁴³ Petsalis-Diomides (1978), 29

¹⁴⁴ Levene,

¹⁴⁵ ____, The War: Military Phases (The Political Status of Crete) *Current History* November 1916, 201-202

¹⁴⁶ Those of the Didymoteichon, Adrianoupolis (Edirne), Malgara and Kessane (Keshan) districts. The first is now split between Hellenic western Thrace and Turkish-ruled eastern Thrace while the other three lie entirely in Turkish-ruled eastern Thrace.

¹⁴⁷ Petsali-Diomides, 30-31; Μαγκριώτης (1993), 198-199

¹⁴⁸ Oztuna (1967), 117

¹⁴⁹ Levene, 408

¹⁵⁰ Levene, 396

¹⁵¹ Levene, 407

¹⁵² ibid

¹⁵³ ____, Turkey Preparing for War *New York Times* 12 June 1914, 5; ____, Greece Nearing War With Turkey *New York Times* 14 June 1914, 1; ____, Greek Navy Preparing *New York Times* 15 June 1914, 4

¹⁵⁴ ____, The Great Powers Courting Rumania *New York Times* 13 January 1914, 4

¹⁵⁵ ____, Greece Tells Turks To Stop Expulsions *New York Times* 13 June 1914, 3; ____, Greece Nearing War With Turkey *New York Times* 14 June 1914, 1; ____, Turks Slay 100 Greeks *New York Times* 17 June 1914; 6; Papadopoulos (1919)

¹⁵⁶ op cit

¹⁵⁷ "February 25, 1914

The repeated steps by the Patriarchate with the Imperial Government have up to this time been limited to the formulation of complaints which had in view definite distressing events that had taken place in definite places. Today, however, we are grieved that these events, increasing in number and extent, have gradually assumed a more general character. Thus, for example, the amnesty which was granted in consequence of requests which had previously been made by the Patriarchate, has proved entirely ineffective.

Some of those to whom this amnesty which was granted have been again thrown into prison, others have been exiled, not being permitted to return to their home, and to cap the climax, the persecutions and imprisonments on false accusations still continue. The commercial boycott that has for some time been put in operation against the Orthodox Greeks, in a limited way, is now being applied nearly everywhere by the active aid of the regular government officials and it is being encouraged openly by instructions and exhortations in the mosques, the squares and the markets, and those of the Mussulmans who wish to have dealings with the Christians are actually prevented from doing so by threats. As to Christians is destroyed while transported from one place to another. Apart from this in certain places the Greek Orthodox Christians are compelled, through various oppressive measures, to expatriate themselves, their places being taken by Mussulman refugees while in many places, under the pretext of various "contributions" money was by force or by threats extorted from them.

The Patriarchate, in consequence of this abnormal situation, has become convinced that a ruthless persecution of the loyal Greeks has been begun, a persecution which aims at its total destruction. It is all the more convinced of this since these events are occurring after so many lofty pledges and promises on the part of the Imperial Government had been given to the Patriarchate as a result of complaints made because of antecedent occurrences. In consequence of the above the Patriarchate in the name of the Greek nation finds itself compelled to protest most energetically against this unbearable situation and declares that in case effective measures are not at once taken to put an end to these occurrences, the responsibility for consequences that may arise from this state of affairs will rest entirely upon the Imperial Government.

25th of February 1914

signatures follow

Communication between Patriarchate and the Porte

op cit

¹⁵⁸ Soon after, it was again the turn of the Vizye and part of the Saranta Ekklesies (Kirk Kilise) districts of eastern Thrace were forcibly evacuated by the Turks. 19,000 Hellenes were exiled to Anatolia. For example, in January, Raedestos (Rodosto; Tekir Dagh) had 250 Hellenic-owned businesses; by December, there were only 20 left. Muslim refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina were settled in the abandoned homes. *Asia Minor Refugees* (1983), 12. According to statistics of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, another 119,940 were expelled to Hellas. Between January 1914 and March 1915, 180 Hellenic villages had been abandoned and 320 others destroyed. Koumakis (1996), 81; ____, Starvation in Thrace *New York Times* 1 January 1914, 3; Vanech, Peter Killings: Turkish & Greek *New York Times* 2 July 1922 Section 8, 8; Μαγκριώτης, 202-205

¹⁵⁹ Rahmi Bey was a Dohnme, an Islamised Jew and a Young Turk. He was later imprisoned by the British on war crimes charges on Malta, but was released without trial. Rahmi returned to Smyrne as the agent of a US "tobacco firm...but fled from there (to Moscow) to escape the vengeance of the blood-stained Mustapha Khemal, who was rounding up and hanging all persons of sufficient intelligence to be dangerous political opponents". Horton (1927), 220, 236

¹⁶⁰ Koumakis, 80

¹⁶¹ Sartiaux (1993), 162-163

¹⁶² Sartiaux, 163-164

¹⁶³ Sartiaux, 165-166

¹⁶⁴ See also Sartiaux, F. Le sac de Phocees et l'expulsion des Grecs ottomans d'Asie Mineure en Juin 1914, *Revue des deux Mondes* 15 Decembre 1914, 4; *Asia Minor Refugees*, 11; Sartiaux (1993), 162-166; ____, Greece Tells Turks To Stop Expulsions *New York Times* 13 June 1914, 3; ____, Turkey Fails To Reply *New York Times* 16 June 1914, 2; ____, Turks Slay 100 Greeks *New York Times* 17 June 1914, 6

¹⁶⁵ Sartiaux, 171. In the nine days since May 30, according to the records of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, 727,286 Hellenes were deported: Ephesos (Efes) district 58,100; Kydonies (Ayvali) district 28,657; Sokia district 15,283; Smyrne (Izmir) district 9,250; Kato Panayia (Cesme) district 60,559; Heliopolis district 10,000; Chalcedon (Uskudar) district 8,104; Nikomedea (Izmit) district 8,336; Prousa (Bursa) district 12,076; Dardanelles (Canakkale) district (all in Asia Minor) 25,000; Prokonisos district (Propontic Isles) 29,600; Kallipoli (Gelibolu) district 35,525; Herakleia district 47,000; Adrianopolis (Edirne) district 17,334; Vizye district 28,777; Tyroloe (Chorlou) district 13,175; Sozopolis district 11,650; Didymoteihon district 19,000; Saranta Ekklesies (Kirk Kilise) district 11,000; Derkes district (all in Thrace) 10,472; Paphra (Bafra) district 57,403; Rodopolis (Karye Cheliveuy) district 18,000; Neokaisareia (Niksar) district (all in Pontos) 20,038; Chaldea/Kerasounta (Giresun) districts (Pontos/Armenia) 60,020; Kaesareia (Kayseri) district (Kappadokia) 20,000; Adana district (Cilicia) 10,000. Χατζηβασίλης, Γ. Να αναγνωριστεί διεθνώς η γενοκτονία των Ποντίων *Ο Κόσμος* 20 Μαΐου 1997, 11

¹⁶⁶ Μαχαιριδης, I. (title unknown) *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 26 Ιουλίου 1992, 27

¹⁶⁷ *Asia Minor Refugees*, 11; Μαγκριώτης, 205

¹⁶⁸ Sartiaux, 171-172; Μαγκριώτης, 205-206; (Editoria) The Greeks In Smyrna *New York Times* 29 November 1919, 10

¹⁶⁹ ____, Greece Tells Turks To Stop Expulsions *New York Times* 13 June 1914, 3

¹⁷⁰ ____, Turkey Preparing for War *New York Times* 12 June 1914, 5

¹⁷¹ "The Government has demanded from Turkey payment of \$50,000 damages for loss suffered by Mr. Tricoupis, a Greek subject, at the hands of the Turks on his estates in Asia Minor." This was only one individual. The total value of property loss is unestimable. ____, Greece Tells Turks to Stop Expulsions *New York Times* 13 June 1914, 3

¹⁷² ____, Greece Tells Turks to Stop Expulsions *New York Times* 13 June 1914, 3

¹⁷³ “The Government has not yet received any intimation of the nature of the Sublime Porte’s reply to the Greek note demanding that Turkey cease its persecution of the Greeks in Turkey and make reparation to them for the losses incurred. It is feared here that, in accordance with the usual method of Turkish diplomacy, the Turkish note will contain vague promises and denials and will seek to delay a settlement. But public opinion is strongly opposed to dilatory tactics, and, it is believed, will compel the Government to insist that the persecutions cease, with war as the immediate alternative. An outbreak of a new war between Greece and the Turkish Empire would be only the logical result of the unsatisfactory state in which their relations were left by the Balkan wars of 1912-13. The mutual recriminations with regard to the treatment of each other” subjects are merely the outward expression of a resentment, left by the latest phase of an age-long conflict, which was not fought out to a definite conclusion.”

___, Greece Nearing War With Turkey *New York Times* 14 June 1914, 1

¹⁷⁴ “The American Ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau, has used his good offices with the Grand Vizier and has obtained at least a temporary withdrawal of the order issued at Smyrna for the dismissal of Greek subjects employed by foreign commercial houses, including several American concerns. The relations between Turkey and Greece have reached high tension over the alleged persecutions of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and it is because of these persecutions that many thousands of Greeks have left Turkey or been forced out of the country and are returning to the home land.

“The American and British vice consuls at Smyrna have gone to Mitylene to investigate the situation of the Greek refugees who have arrived there from Asia Minor. A recent official dispatch from Mitylene, which lies off the coast of Asia Minor, reported an attack by the Turks on the town of Aivalik, on the mainland, which includes in its population 25,000 Greeks.”

___, Greek Navy Preparing *New York Times* 15 June 1914, 4

¹⁷⁵ “The Turkish Government has not yet replied to the Greek note demanding the cessation of the persecution of the Greeks in Turkey and reparation for the injury caused to them and their interests, and it is expected that Turkey will ignore the demand or refuse to comply with it. The tension between the two countries is high, and although the powers are busying themselves diplomatically to prevent a new war, they continue to display their usual inability to arrive at any agreement where the Balkans are concerned.” ___ , Turkey Fails To Reply *New York Times* 16 June 1914, 2

¹⁷⁶ ___ , Turks Slay 100 Greeks *New York Times* 17 June 1914, 6

¹⁷⁷ ___ , Turkey is Conciliatory *New York Times* 19 June 1914, 3; ___ , Turks Tell of Cruelties *New York Times* 20 June 1914, 5

¹⁷⁸ op cit

¹⁷⁹ ___ , Turkey is Conciliatory *New York Times* 19 June 1914, 3. On June 19, the Ottoman Consul-General in New York extracts from a large report on the conditions of Muslims in Greek and Serbian Macedonia, which “serves to excite and aggravate public opinion in the Ottoman Empire.” The New York Times published extracts of the report given to it:

“The general trend of the governmental policy in Macedonia seems to have for its purpose to force, by all sorts of pressures, the Mussulmans to emigrate. All representations and protests against this inhuman system of persecution remains futile. Innocent persons are cast into prison, families are dispossessed, all their rightful possessions and their homes are turned over to the Greek immigrant, who goes thither from Caucasia, from Thrace, and from Asia Minor. To the protests of these unfortunate people the reply of the local authorities is that they cannot leave their own nationals in the streets.

Mussulmans from all over the districts occupied by the Greeks and the Servians flock to Salonica by rail and on foot. The number of those who arrived during the last week in February from Prichtina and Veltchterin districts exceeded 10,000. Forty thousand inhabitants of Karadji-Abad are now bound for Salonica. The oppressors, not satisfied with the appropriation of the belongings of the Mohammedans, attack their honor and their families.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Fall of Janina the Mohammedans were forced to wear crosses in their buttonholes, and those who declined were maltreated and clubbed.” ___ , Turks Tell of Cruelties *New York Times* 20 June 1914, 5

¹⁸⁰ “In return for the (new) loan France is to enjoy certain economic advantages the nature of which has not been disclosed. The amount of the loan and the terms on which it is to be issued also have been kept secret.” ___ , French Loan for Turkey *New York Times* 11 April 1914, 4; France alone had more investment in Asia Minor than Germany did. Ottoman Empire <http://www.naqshbandi.org/ottomans/history/1909.htm>

¹⁸¹ ___ , Among The Nations: Turkey *Current History* June 1919, 435

¹⁸² Koumakis, 135

¹⁸³ ____, Says Enver Pushed Turkey Into War *New York Times* 12 December 1914, 5

¹⁸⁴ op cit

¹⁸⁵ “German success in the European war was said to be assured. The perpetual menace to Turkey from Russian might, it was suggested, be averted by a timely alliance with Germany and Austria. Egypt might be recovered, for the empire of India and other Moslem countries were represented as groaning under Christian rule and might be kindled into a flame of infinite possibility for the Caliphate of Constantinople.”

“How far his several colleagues and other directing spirits outside of the Ministry entered into his views, is to some extent a matter of speculation, but it may be taken as certain that the Sultan, the heir apparent, the Grand Vizier, Dejavid Bey, a majority of the Ministry, and a considerable section of the Committee of Union and Progress were opposed to so desperate an adventure as a war with the Allies. At what moment Talaat Bey, the most powerful civilian in the Cabinet and most conspicuous of the committee leaders, finally threw in his lot with the war party, cannot be ascertained precisely. His sympathies were undoubtedly with them from the beginning, but the part which he actually played in the earlier stages is shrouded in mystery.” op cit

¹⁸⁶ “The motive of the unjust proceedings against the Greeks in Asia Minor has been to make room in Turkey for the Mussulmans who emigrated from the territory ceded to the Balkan allies. These Mussulmans, as is well known, refused to live under any Government and religion but their own, and have left the land thus ceded as a result of the Balkan war.” ____, Turkey Yields To Greek Demands *New York Times* 21 June 1914, 4

¹⁸⁷ op cit

¹⁸⁸ Pinou, R. The Young Turks Policy in Asia *Current History* November 1919, 331-336

¹⁸⁹ ____, The Young Turk Policy in Asia by Rene Pinou *Current History* November 1919, 331-332

¹⁹⁰ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Το Αντάρτικο του Πόντου. Μέρος Α' Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 25 Ιουνίου, 1996, 26; Koumakis, 81; Asia Minor Refugees, 12

¹⁹¹ In September, the Makre region of southwest Asia Minor (across from Rhodes) was wracked by the ever-spreading pogrom. Asia Minor Refugees, 12. In November, Hellenic towns like Neohorio, Sykae (Galata), Kallipole (Gelibolu) along the Thracian side of the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) were again forcibly evacuated. Μαγκριώτης, 206; (Einstein, L.) Tells of Turkish Cruelty To Greeks *New York Times* 26 August 1918, 9

¹⁹² “The method of deportation applied to the Christian populations was not a Turkish invention. It was a method lauded by the Germans...but the Turks added to it their own special interpretation.” ... “The Germans brought to this their spirit of organization, and it was due to their instructions that the massacres were systematically and regularly carried out.” ... “Talaat said to the Ambassador of the United States: ‘I have done more to solve the Armenian problem in three months than Abdul Hamid in thirty years.’” ... “It is clearly proved from all the evidences that the Young Turk Government willed and organized the total extermination of the Armenians, that the Germans encouraged them in this, and that the Turkish people carried it out gayly, robbing and assassinating the victims, forcing the women and children to become Mussulmans, and choosing the prettiest from the sad caravans to take away with them for their harems.” ____, The Young Turk Policy in Asia by Rene Pinou *Current History* November 1919, 333-334

¹⁹³ op cit

¹⁹⁴ ____, Turkish Women Revolt *New York Times* 14 December 1914, 2

¹⁹⁵ Dadrian (1999), 407

¹⁹⁶ ____, Russian Revolts Reported *New York Times* 16 December 1914, 2

¹⁹⁷ “For the present there is little danger to American missionaries and other Christians from Mohammedan fanatics, because the Turks are being held in leash by the German officers who dictate the movements of the Ottoman Army. Enver Bey is the strongest man there today, but his power would be nullified if the Germans turned against him.

Thus there is no more powerful individual in Turkey than the German Ambassador, Baron von Wangenheim, and it is quite certain that he would do nothing to alienate the United States.”

“I feel sure he will be able to put a stop to any uprising against Christians should such a calamity occur, which I consider unlikely. There can be no Holy War, despite the efforts of Germany to embroil India, Egypt, and other Islamic countries by spreading false reports that such a war is being declared, because the Turkish Mohammedans would be obliged in such an event to fight their present allies in common with the rest of Christendom. It is true that the great mass of Turks believe that the Kaiser is a Mohammedan. Also they believe that they will be able to seize Egypt, which, the Germans tell them, is their Alsace-Lorraine, and a goodly slice of Russia. From what I heard on the subject in Constantinople, I do not believe the Germans really share the Turkish delusion that they can invade Egypt, but they naturally foster plans for this invasion in the hope of compelling the British to keep a large force in Egypt. The same is true of the attitude toward Russia. Being the most gullible people on earth, the Turks are quite ready to believe that they can overrun Russia” —, Trusts Morgenthau to Save Foreigners *New York Times* 11 December 1914, 4

¹⁹⁸ —, Fifty Villages Destroyed. Turks Lay Waste Greek Settlements in Transcaucasia *New York Times* 30 January 1915

¹⁹⁹ —, Turkey Starving Syrians *Sydney Morning Herald* 29 June 1916

²⁰⁰ —, Syrians Left to Starve *Sydney Morning Herald* 16 July 1916

²⁰¹ op cit

²⁰² —, Turks Sentence Greek Officer To Death *New York Times* 18 December 1914, 3

²⁰³ Grasty, C.H. Greeks In Smyrna By Secret Treaty *New York Times* 28 November 1919, 1, 3

²⁰⁴ Horton (1927), 221-223

²⁰⁵ Horton concluded relating this episode with a very telling comment. “It was necessary to make all communications by messenger, as the Turks, long before our diplomatic relations were severed, seized our diplomatic mail, broke the official seals and read it. A small valise full of such mail for the Embassy, entrusted to Doctor Cass Arthur Read, Dean of the International College at Smyrna, was thus violated by them and returned to the Consulate. I reported this and similar insolent outrages to Washington, but I believe that no protest was made. Our persistent attitude of ‘turning also the other cheek’ to Turkey, the real reasons for which are known only by the directors of a few great corporations, had already begun”. On 20 April 1917, Ottoman-US relations (which were first established in 1819) were severed. “During this entire period, the United States had been a persistent friend of Turkey, and had even now done no act justifying the severing of diplomatic relations. It has continued till the present date (1927), swallowing insults and aggressions that have, in several instances, been tantamount to acts of war”. ... “I was instructed to read the records of the office for years back and to destroy all communications that might be of a nature compromising to any inhabitant of Smyrna. Thousands of letters had been written to us during the years, complaining of acts of injustice on the part of (p.260) Turkish officials; or begging the influence of the United States in matters of contention; or furnishing political or other information. The archives of a British Consulate in a neighbouring city had been seized, and several hangings had resulted”. Horton (1927), 248-251, 259 The author returned to Smyrne shortly after its liberation in mid-1919, and remained until its destruction in September 1922. Publication of *Recollections* and *The Blight of Asia* ended his career in the US diplomatic service.

²⁰⁶ Horton (1927), 237-243

²⁰⁷ The War did not end the diplomatic manoeuvring over the partition of the Ottoman Empire that would follow its defeat. The Agreement of Saint Jean de Maurienne was signed in April 1917, reinforcing the Treaty of London. The Secret Treaty of London was signed on 26 April 1915 British Secretary for Foreign Affairs Sir Edward Grey, M. Cambon, Ambassador of France, Count Benckendorff, Ambassador of Russia and Marquis Imperiali of Italy. In Article 9 France, Great Britain, and Russia: “admit in principle the fact of Italy’s interest in the maintenance of the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her rights, in case of a partition of Turkey, to a share, equal to theirs, in the basin of the Mediterranean.” In other words, that part of Asia Minor which adjoins the Province of Adalia, “in which Italy has already acquired special rights and interests defined in the Italo-British Convention.” (Gordon-Smith, Gordon Genesis of the Secret Treaty of London *Current History* November 1919, 249) England and France agreed that Italy would be given south-western Asia Minor (including Smyrne) upon the war’s successful conclusion. Schulz (1967), 42)

Soon afterward, the US Consul in Smyrne, George Horton, recorded that: “When the [Italian] Consul-General, Marquis Carletti, finally received word that his country had entered the lists against the Central Powers, he lost no

time in leaving Turkey. The manner of his going can only be described in slang. He literally 'scratched gravel'. ... Mrs Carletti, bidding good-by to my wife, said, 'We leave like this, but we will return in different manner. My husband will come back as governor-general of Smyrna.'" Horton (1927), 243-245

²⁰⁸ ____, Progress of the War: Greece *Current History* August 1917, 236

²⁰⁹ Horton (1927), 238

²¹⁰ Dundar (2001), 65 in Oktem, 9

²¹¹ Asia Minor Refugees, 12

²¹² ____, Lord Bryce's Report on Turkish Atrocities in Armenia *Current History* November 1916, 322 (Extract from an article printed in the *Sonnenaufgang* and the *Alleghmaine Missions – Zeitschrift* October – November 1915.) "1,200 of the most prominent Armenians and other Christians, without distinction of confession, were arrested in the Vilayets of Diarbekir and Mamouret-ul-Aziz. It is said that they were to be taken to Mosul, but nothing more has been heard of them." (The prisoners were stripped and robbed. Their clothes were sold in Diarbekir market. Vilayet of Aleppo villages listed.) ____, Lord Bryce's Report on Turkish Atrocities in Armenia *Current History* November 1916, 326

²¹³ ____, "Lord Bryce's Report on Turkish Atrocities in Armenia" *Current History* November 1916, 321-334

A village near Anderoum converted to Islam. Hadjin families. Aleppo, Ourfa, Aintab, Mush. p.326
(They quoted on Ottoman gendarme as saying) "First we kill the Armenians, then the Greeks, then the Kurds." He would certainly have been to add: "And then the foreigners!" Our Greek driver was the victim of a still more ghastly joke: 'Look down there in the ditch; there are Greeks there, too!'" p.331

1915 Annual Report of the Medical Department at Urmia to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA. "One of the most terrible things that came to the notice of the Medical Department was the treatment of Syrian women and girls by the Turks, Kurds and local Mohammedans. After the massacre in the village of _____, almost all the women and girls were outraged, and two little girls, aged 8 and 10, died in the hands of Moslem villains. A mother said that not a woman or girl above 12 (and some younger) in the village of _____, escaped violation. This is the usual report from the villages. One man, who exercised a great deal of authority in the northern part of the Urmia Plain, openly boasted of having ruined eleven Christian girls, two of them under 7 years of age, and he is now permitted to return to his home in peace and no questions are asked. Several women from 80 to 85 years old have suffered with the younger women. The most diabolically cold-blooded of all the massacres was the one committed above the village of Ismael Agha's Kala, when some sixty Syrians of Gawar were butchered by the Kurds at the instigation of the Turks. These Christians had been used by the Turks to pack telegraph wire from over the border, and while they were in the City of Urmia they were kept in close confinement, without food or drink. On their return, as they reached the valleys between the Urmia and Baradest Plains, they were all stabbed to death, as it was supposed, but here again, as in two former massacres, a few wounded, bloody victims succeeded in making their way to our hospital." (Mush) p.332

(Trapezounta). Italian Consul-General's report. Deportation decree issued 24 June 1915, the day after he left the city. His description matches precisely the events described by A.I. Γαβριηλίδης (1924), 333-334

²¹⁴ "There are no perfectly reliable statistics of the racial elements which composes the population of Turkey. The ordinary Turkish figures for the Armenians and other Christian groups are too small, for two reasons: First, the Turks are anxious to minimize the strength of the Christian minorities, in order to block European demands for internal reforms; second, some Christian families fail to report all their men to the Government, in order to evade their full duty in the matter of military service." Rockwell, Dr William Walker The Total of Armenian and Syrian Dead by American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief *Current History* November 1916, 337

²¹⁵ "Some of these living north of Mosul have been massacred. The Nestorian Highlanders, who according to figures I communicate from a pamphlet now in press, claimed before the war to number 90,000, had to fight their way out to Persia in the Autumn of 1915. Our committee fed during November and December, 1915, no less than 30,000 of these refugees from Turkey, in addition to an equal number of destitute Christians whose homes were on the Persian side of the boundary. Though the death rate has been high, it has not perhaps reached the one-third to one-half reported through native channels of information."

"During the Turkish occupation of Urmia (Jan. 2 – May 20, 1915) 4,000 died of want and of epidemics in that town, and 1,000 were killed in outlying villages. That is the outstanding item in the long roll of death in Persia. The woes of the Syrians in modern Syria, near the Mediterranean, are also crying. It is said that at least 80,000 of the inhabitants of the Lebanon have died of starvation; and some have been deported into the region of Sivas, Asia Minor. (See "The Near East" London, June 9, 1916.) The Syrian Mount Lebanon Relief Committee, a native organization in

New York, asserts that 100,000 have perished in the Lebanon alone. An American traveler, just back from Beyrout, says that in that centre of information the estimates vary from 80,000 to 120,000. In addition, there has been awful misery among the Palestinian Jews.”

Rockwell, Dr William Walker The Total of Armenian and Syrian Dead by American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief *Current History* November 1916, 337-338

²¹⁶ Horton (1926), 246-247

²¹⁷ Levene, 397

²¹⁸ Of the 16,750 people who were exiled from villages in the Elevi and Tripolis (Tirebolu) regions of Pontos, 550 reached Sevasteia (Sivas) in Kappadokia. Of the 49,520 people who were exiled from villages in the Trapezounta (Trabzon) region, 20,300 reached Sevasteia (Sivas). Some 50,000 Hellenes were deported from Tripolis (Tirebolu), Kerasounta (Giresun), Kotyora (Ordu) and Amisoss (Samsun) in Pontos in 1916 and 1917. Most perished on the ‘death marches’ to the Anatolian desert.

²¹⁹ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου. Μέρος Α’ Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 27 Ιουνίου 1996, 26; Asia Minor Refugees, 12

²²⁰ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου. Μέρος Α’ Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 27 Ιουνίου 1996, 26; ____, Trebizond Falls To Czar’s Attack By Land and Sea *New York Times* 19 April 1916, 1, 3

²²¹ Extracts from despatches from the Hellenic Embassy in Constantinople to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens: “A gendarme kidnapped Despoina Stephane of the village of Gioumetsi (Pontos) and after the local head of the gendarmerie, Nuran Bey, had raped her, all the gendarmes and official debauched themselves on her. Military officers and civil servants who seize Hellenic homes, convert them into centres of debauchery where Hellene girls are raped; two hundred are already pregnant.” Χατζηβασίλης, Γ. Να αναγνωριστεί διεθνώς η γενοκτονία των Ποντίων Ο Κόσμος 20 Μαΐου 1997, 11

²²² 600 of them went to the Monastery of Ayios Ioannes Vazelonos, where they met up with 130 other refugees from Trapezounta (Trabzon); 1.200 hid in a great cavern near the village of Kounaka and the rest (some 4.200 men, women and children) scattered in the surrounding forests. Those who fled to the cavern were besieged and forced by hunger to surrender. 26 young women fell into the nearby river and drowned so that they would not be ‘dishonoured’ (raped). The report refers to a Hellene eyewitness reportedly seeing hundreds of Hellenes being tortured and murdered. In the courtyard of the Monastery there were five decomposing bodies; one of whom was that of Father Konstantinos of Thersa village. Another five corpses were to be found inside the Monastery, while in a room lay the beheaded body of a woman in her early twenties, who once she had been raped, was slashed across the chest with a bayonet. Witnesses said that she had been caught in the forest by nine Turks who raped her before killing her. Χατζηβασίλης, Γ. Να αναγνωριστεί διεθνώς η γενοκτονία των Ποντίων Ο Κόσμος 20 Μαΐου 1997, 11; ____, Turks Deporting Greeks *New York Times* 21 August 1916, 2

²²³ These scenes were repeated in the districts of Neokaisareia (Niksar), Phavva (Fatsa) and Themiskyra (Charshamba) in Pontos. The entire male population of Paphra (Bafra) in western Pontos was deported to the Voivat district. Eight villages of the Paphra (Bafra) district were torched and the inhabitants were deported to the *Vilayet* (Province) of Ankara.

²²⁴ Smith (1973), 34; Asia Minor Refugees, 13

²²⁵ MacClean, John F. Colonial Office File CO693/8

²²⁶ A Pan-Hellenic Congress held in Taighan (Taganrog) between June 19 and July 10 of that year. Twelve sessions were held, focussing mainly on issues of education. Amongst the resolutions of the Congress: (a) unification of all Hellenic communities in Russia into one union; (b) autonomy of the Hellenic church, from the Russian Church (This was achieved in September between the Central Council met with the Holy Synod of the Russian Church. Moscow granted ecclesiastical autonomy to the Hellenic Church in the Kars and Ahtaleia (Ardahan) regions of Russian-ruled Armenia. (c) nationalisation and re-organisation of Hellenic schools; (d) founding of Hellenic banks and co-operative societies; (e) publication of a Russian-language Hellenic newspaper; (f) opening of Hellenic consulates in Hellenic-populated regions of Russia and the Caucasus. Αγτζιδης, Β. Το Παγκόσμιο Ποντιακό Συνέδριο *Ελλοπία Καλοκαίρι* 1992, 33

²²⁷ Αγτζιδης, Β. Το Παγκόσμιο Ποντιακό Συνέδριο *Ελλοπία Καλοκαίρι* 1992, 33

²²⁸ ΠΟΝΤΟΣ (PONTOS), the newspaper of the Pontian autonomists, began circulating in Constantinople (Istanbul) on 4 March 1918. Αγτζιδης, Β. Το Παγκόσμιο Ποντιακό Συνέδριο *Ελλοπία Καλοκαίρι* 1992, 32

²²⁹ Αγτζιδης, Β. Το Παγκόσμιο Ποντιακό Συνέδριο *Ελλοπία Καλοκαίρι* 1992, 32

²³⁰ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου. Μέρος Β' *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 28 Ιουνίου 1996, 26

²³¹ Asia Minor Refugees, 13

²³² Α.Υ.Ε., Α/5/VI (4), from the report of artillery colonel of the Czarist Army, D. Pantazides, despatched on November 28 1918 to the Hellenic consul in Ekaterinodar Mr. Tzanetos in Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 59

²³³ Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 59

²³⁴ By 1918, the Hellenic population of the U.S.S.R. was estimated to be 700,000-strong, including recent refugees from Turkish Pontos. Αιλιανός, Μ. Χ. Το Έργο της Ελληνικής Περιθάλψεως 1921, 88 in Βεργέτη, Μ. Η Ελληνική Εθνική Ταυτότητα των Ποντίων της Σοβιετικής Ενώσεως *Ελλοπία Άνοιξη* 1991, 30

²³⁵ Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 59

²³⁶ The Hellenes were Colonel Kylinkanoff (Commander of the 1st Regiment); Colonel Evangelides (Commander of the 3rd Regiment); Captain Charitoff (Commander of the Cavalry Battallion); Colonel D. Pantazides (Commander of the Artillery Regiment); Major Oikonomou, (Battery Commander) and Sakellariou, (Battery Commander). The Russian officers were Colonel Athanasieff (Commander of the 20th Regiment) and Major Mihailoff (Battery Commander).

²³⁷ Α.Υ.Ε., Α/5/VI (4) in Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 59-60

²³⁸ N. Ioannides says that the failure of socialist thought to take root amongst the Caucasian Hellenes was due to the fact that from "...1918-1919, with the creation of a committee, which set as its goal the rebirth of the Kingdom of Pontos in that region of Turkey, from Sinope to the Caucasus." Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 63

²³⁹ Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 61-62

²⁴⁰ Παυλιδης, Ε. Ο Ελληνισμός της Ρωσίας Αθήνα 1953, 26 in Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 59

²⁴¹ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου. Μέρος Β' *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 28 Ιουνίου 1996, 26

²⁴² Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 60

²⁴³ At this time, the Hellenes formed the single largest national group in multi-ethnic Abkhazia.

²⁴⁴ *ibid*, 62-63

²⁴⁵ *ibid*, 64

²⁴⁶ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου. Μέρος Α' *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 27 Ιουνίου 1996, 26; Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 64

²⁴⁷ *ibid*, 66

²⁴⁸ *ibid*, 67; Dadrian (1995), 385

²⁴⁹ Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia formed the Transcaucasian Republic. They quickly split however into their constituent parts. Μαζής, Ι. Το Αρμενικό Ζήτημα *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 141

²⁵⁰ d'Encausse (1992), 88-89; Μαζής, Ι. Το Αρμενικό Ζήτημα *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 141

²⁵¹ Αγτζιδής, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 67

²⁵² *ibid*, 63

²⁵³ *ibid*, 63-64

²⁵⁴ *ibid*, 67

²⁵⁵ *Asia Minor Refugees*, 13

²⁵⁶ Μαυρογένους, Σ., 213 in Αγτζιδής, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 68

²⁵⁷ Levene, 409

²⁵⁸ Pinou, R. *Current History* November 1919, 335

²⁵⁹

²⁶⁰ ____, Διωγμοί και Γενοκτονία των Ελλήνων του Πόντου *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* Τόμος Β', 327-328

²⁶¹ *op cit*

²⁶² Collinson Owen, H. Constantinople Occupied *Current History* January 1919, 92

²⁶³ ____, Among The Nations: Turkey *Current History* May 1919, 224-226

²⁶⁴ *op cit*

²⁶⁵ *op cit*

²⁶⁶ *op cit*

²⁶⁷ *op cit*

²⁶⁸ ____, *Current History* Chronicled: Turkey *Current History* March 1919, 458

²⁶⁹ Petsalis-Diomides, 98-99; Sartiaux, 171

²⁷⁰ Αγτζιδής, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 64

²⁷¹ "The number of Armenians massacred has been variously estimated at from one to three million. This is probably an exaggeration. An estimate of 300,000 is based on the following facts, published in the *Horizon of Tiflis* and the *Artzakank Parisi*, (Paris:) still the natural increase in population in the unaffected region might tend to increase this total. When the war began there were fewer than three million Armenians in all Turkey, Transylvania and Galicia. In Transcaucasia the Armenian population increased from 1,000,000 to 1,207,000; in Ciscaucasia, from 30,000 to 80,000; in European Turkey, from 400,000 to 500,000, and in Transylvania and Galicia, from 15,000 to 25,000. Supposing that this increase were entirely due to refugees, we have 367,000. Now for the region affected by massacre. First comes Turkish Armenia, with its predominant Kurdish population, where, before the war, there were 650,000 Armenians, and today there are 32,000, a decrease of 618,000; Northern Persia had 100,000 and today has 51,000, a decrease of 49,000, showing a total decrease in two regions of 667,000, and a grand total decrease of 300,000 (667,000 minus 367,000)."

Littlefield, Walter *War Casualties of All the Nations* *Current History* February 1919, 238

²⁷² ____, The Peace Congress: Claims of Other Nations *Current History* March 1919, 388

²⁷³ "To put a stop to the complaints of these peoples and to discredit them, the Young Turk Committees, evidently at the order of their leaders, Talaat, Enver, Djemal, whom the Allies have not yet been able to locate and arrest, began anew to terrorize and decimate them." Pinou, R. *Current History* November 1919, 335-336

²⁷⁴ op cit

²⁷⁵ op cit

²⁷⁶ ____, The Lesser Belligerents *Current History* March 1919, 419-420

²⁷⁷ op cit

²⁷⁸ ____, Among The Nations: Turkey *Current History* June 1919, 435

²⁷⁹ ____, Among the Nations: Turkey and the Levant *Current History* August 1919, 247

²⁸⁰ ____, The Passing of the Turkish Dominion *Current History* September 1919, 530

²⁸¹ ____, Obstacles to Greco-Turkish Peace *Current History* June 1922, 539

²⁸² White (1928), 204-205

²⁸³ Applebaum, A. (2005) *Gulag: A History* Australia: Penguin, 10

²⁸⁴ Woolley (1921), iv

²⁸⁵ Brenchley (2001), 158

²⁸⁶ Gammage (1975), 283

²⁸⁷ James (1965), 176-177

²⁸⁸ A number of former prisoners mention the fate of the Christians who assisted the British forces during the siege of the town. Jones recorded that "500 Arabs" were tortured and killed. According to White, the Christians of Kut were hanged when the Turks captured the town. (Sandes (1919), 258-261) Although described as "Arabs", and being most likely Arabic-speaking, these Christians were more likely Assyrians, members of the Eastern-rite Chaldean Catholic Church as few Mesopotamian Arabs were (or are) Christian.

²⁸⁹ 2,680 British and 10,486 Indian officers and men. 220 senior British and 200 senior Indian officers were transported to Constantinople and Angyra (Ankara) where they spent the rest of the war in relative comfort. Sandes (1919), 258-261

²⁹⁰ 2,592 British and 10,397 Indians.

²⁹¹ White, 174-175

²⁹² Moynihan (1978), 159

²⁹³ Robertson (1990), 222

²⁹⁴ Vakalopoulos (1999), 229-323

²⁹⁵ Kerr (1997), 74

²⁹⁶ It also decided the fate of the Allied campaign to capture the strategic waterway. The heavy casualties sustained by the Allies during the initial landings on the Peninsula had the High Command on the brink of abandoning the entire enterprise. The signal from Commander Stoker convinced them to push on.

²⁹⁷ Adam-Smith (1997), 18

²⁹⁸ F and E Brenchley Undersea Hero's Sighting Awakens Ghosts of Gallipoli *Sydney Morning Herald* 5 July 1997, 1, 11

²⁹⁹ Adam-Smith, 25-26

³⁰⁰ J.H. Wheat AWM 3DRL/2965

³⁰¹ The Tauros (Toros) Mountains section of the Constantinople-Baghdad Railway was the World War One counterpart of the infamous Burma Railway of World War Two. Some 90,000 Asian forced labourers and 15,000 Allied Prisoners-of-War died during the construction of the 415-kilometre rail link between Burma and Thailand, killed by disease, malnutrition and the brutality of the guards. We do not know how many died during construction of this final section of the Constantinople-Baghdad Railway, but it certainly ran into the thousands.

N. Labi Traveller's Advisory: Bangkok *Time* 23 September 1916, 6 and I. McKinnon Kwai and Mighty *Sun-Herald* 5 December 1999, 106-107

³⁰² Adam-Smith, 20-21

³⁰³ J.H. Wheat AWM 3DRL/2965, 55

³⁰⁴ *ibid*, 60

³⁰⁵ Wheat, 60

³⁰⁶ Adam-Smith, 24

³⁰⁷ *ibid*, 25

³⁰⁸ *ibid*, 25-26

³⁰⁹ Kerr, 75

³¹⁰ Another Australian POW, RTA MacDonald, reported that Calcutt had died of septicaemia at Bozanti on 18 December 1916, aged 20 years. The Australian Red Cross informed Calcutt's family that he had indeed died as a Prisoner-Of-War. Calcutt today lies in grave XXI. U. 2. in the Baghdad (North Gate) War Cemetery, Iraq.

³¹¹ Kerr, 96-99

³¹² *ibid*, 104

³¹³ *ibid*, 116

³¹⁴ *ibid*, 142

³¹⁵ Brown (1940): 95

³¹⁶ Brown, 147

³¹⁷ *ibid*, 165

³¹⁸ *ibid*, 176

³¹⁹ *ibid*, 195-196

³²⁰ *ibid*, 199

³²¹ 'Bimbashi' was not a name, but a military rank.

³²² Brown, 94

³²³ Outback is Australian English for the sparsely inhabited regions of inland Australia.

³²⁴ D.B. Creedon, *Diary*, AWM 1 DRL 223

³²⁵ White, 175

³²⁶ *ibid*, 172

³²⁷ White, 137-138

³²⁸ *ibid*, 172

³²⁹ *ibid*, 172

³³⁰ *ibid*, 213-214

³³¹ Yeats-Brown (1932), 127

³³² *ibid*, 145

³³³ *ibid*, 160

³³⁴ *ibid*, 204

³³⁵ *ibid*, 205

³³⁶ *ibid*, 280-281

³³⁷ Woolley (1921), 1-2

³³⁸ Αγτζιδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 70

³³⁹ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου. Μέρος Β' *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 28 Ιουνίου 1996, 26

³⁴⁰ *op cit*

³⁴¹ *op cit*

³⁴² (AP) Allies Question Italy On Landing *New York Times* 23 May 1919, 1; (Editorial) Dividing Asia Minor *New York Times* 19 May 1919, 16; __, Smyrna Is Taken Away From Turkey *New York Times* 17 May 1919, 5; __, Among The Nations: Greece *Current History* June 1919, 429

³⁴³ __, Smyrna Is Taken Away From Turkey *New York Times* 17 May 1919, 5

³⁴⁴ __, Among The Nations: Greece *Current History* July 1919, 69

³⁴⁵ He later adopted the surname Menderes (after the nearby Maeander/Menderes River) and went on to become Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey.

³⁴⁶ Koumakis, 86-87

³⁴⁷ __, Among The Nations: Greece *Current History* July 1919, 69

³⁴⁸ Dakin (1972), 224; Ελευθερουδάκης (1962), 440

³⁴⁹ Henderson, H.A. 'Aristides the Just' of Smyrna *Current History* August 1922, 595-596

³⁵⁰ *op cit*

³⁵¹ *op cit*

³⁵² Price, Clair Kemal Pasha – Creator of a New Turkey *Current History* July 1922, 591

³⁵³ Levene, 411

³⁵⁴ Price, Clair Kemal Pasha – Creator of a New Turkey *Current History* July 1922, 590

³⁵⁵ Price, Clair Kemal Pasha – Creator of a New Turkey *Current History* July 1922, 591

- ³⁵⁶ ____, *Among The Nations: Turkey and the Levant Current History* September 1919, 420
- ³⁵⁷ Price, C. Kemal Pasha – Creator of a New Turkey *Current History* July 1922, 592
- ³⁵⁸ op cit
- ³⁵⁹ Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 791-792
- ³⁶⁰ Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 792
- ³⁶¹ May 19 is now marked as the Pontian Genocide Remembrance Day.
- ³⁶² Amongst their most ‘memorable moments’ in Pontos were the massacres of Tepe Koj, Hav, Merziphounta (Mersivan/Merzifun), Ada (a village of Amisos/Samsun district) and Ivora (Corum). Hovannisian (1971), 431
- ³⁶³ Group A consisted of 2 000 people; Group B 1 901; Group C 2 000; Group D 560 and Group E 620. Near the village of Kavak, the guards opened fire on the defenseless deportees. Group A lost 530 people, while Group C lost 600. The survivors of these two groups were stripped and forced to continue the march naked.
- ³⁶⁴ In Chakalli and Kavak villages, Osman ordered all the women and children locked in pre-selected houses, which were subsequently put to the torch. Only a solitary 80-year-old man survived. In Phaximoniton Thermai (Kavsa) village, the women and children were gathered near the river Tersaken. The best-looking women and girls (eighteen in all) were selected as slaves; the rest were slaughtered, their corpses thrown into the river.
- ³⁶⁵ Few survived, some of whom later establish the village of Paphra, outside the city of Ioannina, Epiros. ____, *Terrorize Greeks In Asia Minor New York Times* 15 March 1919, 24
- ³⁶⁶ Levene, 415
- ³⁶⁷ Turvali, Mainemene, Magnesia (Manisa), Kassalea, Vainderi, Arkadioupolis (Thera), Tralleis (Aydin), Nazli, Valkeser, Sokia and Philadelphieia (Alashehir).
- ³⁶⁸ Ελευθερουδάκης, 440
- ³⁶⁹ *Asia Minor Refugees*, 13
- ³⁷⁰ Ελευθερουδάκης, 440
- ³⁷¹ *ibid*, 440
- ³⁷² ____, *Among the Nations: Turkey and the Levant. Current History* August 1919, 248
- ³⁷³ Grasty, C.H. *Greeks In Smyrna By Secret Treaty New York Times* 28 November 1919, 1; ____, *Among the Nations: Turkey and the Levant. Current History* August 1919, 248; Petsalis-Diomides, 218-219
- ³⁷⁴ Both the Ottoman delegation’s plea and the allied reply were made public on June 26. ____, *Among the Nations: Turkey and the Levant Current History* August 1919, 247; ____, *The Turks and Bulgars at Paris Current History* August 1919, 229; ____, *The Passing of the Turkish Dominion Current History* September 1919, 530
- ³⁷⁵ ____. *Among the Nations: Turkey and the Levant Current History* August 1919, 247. ____, *The Turks and Bulgars at Paris Current History* August 1919, 229; ____, *The Passing of the Turkish Dominion Current History* September 1919, 530
- ³⁷⁶ ____. *Among the Nations: Turkey and the Levant Current History* August 1919, 247. ____, *The Turks and Bulgars at Paris Current History* August 1919, 229; ____, *The Passing of the Turkish Dominion Current History* September 1919, 530
- ³⁷⁷ ____, *Among The Nations: Turkey and the Levant Current History* September 1919, 420
- ³⁷⁸ Schulz (1967), 213
- ³⁷⁹ Σαρρής, Ν. Η Ιστορία επιστρέφει και στην Τουρκία *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 154; Schulz, 215-216

- 380 ____, Turkish Army Moves To Destroy The Armenians *New York Times* 31 July 1919, 1
- 381 Φωτιάδης, Κ. Το Αντάρτικο στο Πόντο Μέρος Β' Ο *Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 26 Ιουνίου 1996, 26
- 382 ____, The Passing of the Turkish Dominion *Current History* September 1919, 530-532
- 383 op cit
- 384 op cit
- 385 ____, Among The Nations: Turkey and Armenia *Current History* October 1919, 64; ____, The Passing of the Turkish Dominion *Current History* September 1919, 532
- 386 op cit
- 387 op cit
- 388 Schulz, 213; ____, Kemal Defies Allies; Forms A Government *New York Times* 10 October 1919, 19; ____, 'Nationalist Pact' Key To Turks' Policy *New York Times* 1 October 1922, 3
- 389 ____, Among The Nations: Turkey *Current History* December 1919, 470
- 390 ____, Activities of the Peace Conference *Current History* November 1919, 220
- 391 ____, Activities of the Peace Conference *Current History* November 1919, 225
- 392 op cit
- 393 Σαρρής, Ν Η Ιστορία επιστρέφει και στην Τουρκία *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 156; ____, 'Nationalist Pact' Key To Turks' Policy *New York Times* 1 October 1922, 3
- 394 Ottoman Empire <http://www.naqshbandi.org/ottomans/history/1909.htm>; Zekeria, M. The Turkish Government at Angora *Current History* April 1922, 73-74
- 395 Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 795
- 396 The Franco-Ottoman treaties of 1569, 1581, 1597, 1604, 1678, 1740 and 1802, as well as a series of firmans reinforced and extended French capitulatory rights in the Empire. Price, C. The Turkish 'Capitulations' *Current History* June 1922, 465
- 397 Price, C. The Turkish 'Capitulations' *Current History* June 1922, 464-466; Schulz, 216
- 398 op cit
- 399 op cit
- 400 ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 658
- 401 Levene, 411
- 402 Schulz, 219
- 403 ____, Among The Nations: Greece *Current History* November 1919, 269
- 404 ____, Among The Nations: Greece *Current History* November 1919, 268-270
- 405 op cit
- 406 A majority of the population in the Rhodope districts of Daridere, Egri dere, Sulyanyeri, Pashmakli, and Kirtejali.

- ⁴⁰⁷ ____, *Among The Nations: Thrace Current History* December 1919, 463
- ⁴⁰⁸ Μαγκριώτης (1993), 213
- ⁴⁰⁹ Μαγκριώτης, 214
- ⁴¹⁰ Hovannisian (1982), 528-529; Αγτζίδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 70
- ⁴¹¹ Schulz, 213
- ⁴¹² Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου Μέρος Β' Ο *Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 28 Ιουνίου 1996, 26
- ⁴¹³ Αγτζίδης, Β. Η Επικαιρότητα της Ιστορικής Μας Εμπειρίας! *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 70
- ⁴¹⁴ op cit
- ⁴¹⁵ Price, C. Kemal Pasha – Creator of a New Turkey *Current History* July 1922, 592
- ⁴¹⁶ ____, 'Nationalist Pact' Key To Turks' Policy *New York Times* 1 October 1922, 3; Schulz, 213
- ⁴¹⁷ Schulz, 213
- ⁴¹⁸ Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 795-796
- ⁴¹⁹ Price, C. Kemal Pasha – Creator of a New Turkey *Current History* July 1922, 592
- ⁴²⁰ ____, *Treaty of Peace Between the Allied Powers and Turkey Signed at Sevres 10th August 1920* Albert J. Mullett Government Printer for the State of Victoria 6th April 1921
- ⁴²¹ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 658
- ⁴²² Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 794
- ⁴²³ ____, News of the Nations: Armenia *Current History* January 1922, 664
- ⁴²⁴ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 658;
 Covering letter to the Treaty signed by Yussuf Kemal Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Angora October 20, 1921. "The Government and the Grand Assembly wishing, on the other hand, to favor the development of material interests between the two countries, empower me to assure you that they are disposed to grant the concession of the iron, chrome and silver mines located in the Harchite Valley, on a ninety-nine year lease, to a French group, it being understood that this group shall, within five years from the signature of this agreement, begin the working of this concession through a company organized according to Turkish law, and that Turkish capital up to a total of 50 per cent, shall be allowed to participate in its funding.
 Furthermore, the Turkish Government is ready to examine in the most favorable spirit all other desires that may be expressed by French groups relative to mine, railway, harbor and river concessions, on condition that such desires shall conform to the reciprocal interests of Turkey and France. On its own part, Turkey wishes to profit by the collaboration of French technical instructors in her professional schools, and accordingly will later inform the French Government of its needs in this report. In conclusion, Turkey hopes that from the date of this agreement the French Government will authorize French capitalists to enter into economic and financial relations with the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey."
- ____, France's Pact With Mustapha Kemal *Current History* January 1922, 663
 (Article 6) "the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey declares that the rights of minorities solemnly recognized in the National Pact will be confirmed by them on the same basis as that established by the conversations concluded on this subject between the Powers of the Entente, their enemies and certain of their allies." Woodhouse, Henry The Anglo-French Conflict Over Turkey *Current History* April 1922, 59
 "The 'minorities' referred to are substantially Greek inhabitants in Cilicia, Syria, Angora and Smyrna regions, said to number over one million." Woodhouse, H. The Anglo-French Conflict Over Turkey *Current History* April 1922, 68
- ⁴²⁵ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 655

- ⁴²⁶ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 657
- ⁴²⁷ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 655
- ⁴²⁸ ____, France's Pact With Mustapha Kemal *Current History* January 1922, 660
- ⁴²⁹ Woodhouse, H. The Anglo-French Conflict Over Turkey *Current History* April 1922, 57
- ⁴³⁰ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 658
- ⁴³¹ ____, News of the Nations: Armenia *Current History* January 1922, 664
- ⁴³² ____, News of the Nations: Turkey *Current History* January 1922, 677
- ⁴³³ Price, C. Present Turkish Rule in Cilicia *Current History* April 1922, 216-220
- ⁴³⁴ ____, News of the Nations: Turkey *Current History* January 1922, 877
- ⁴³⁵ ____, Turco-French Treaty *Current History* January 1922, 658
- ⁴³⁶ Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 795
- ⁴³⁷ Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 793
- ⁴³⁸ op cit
- ⁴³⁹ Dadrian (1995), 348; Schulz, 217
- ⁴⁴⁰ ____, Imperial and Foreign News Items: Armenian Refugees Fund *The Times* 18 January 1921, 9
- ⁴⁴¹ Schulz, 217; Armenian Massacres *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*
<http://search.eb.com/bol/topic?eu=9633&sctn=1&pm=1>
- ⁴⁴² Levene, 415
- ⁴⁴³ Price, C. Mustapha Kemal and the Angora Government *Current History* August 1922, 792
- ⁴⁴⁴ Gurdjieff (1978),
- ⁴⁴⁵ Ξανθοπούλου-Κυριάκου, Α. Πως βρέθηκαν Έλληνες στην Υπερκαυκασία *Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος* 14 Ιουλίου 1994, 58
- ⁴⁴⁶ Ostensibly after being bitten by a monkey. Rumors of assassination by poison remain rife to this day.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Dakin, 228
- ⁴⁴⁸ Polyzoides, Adamantios Th. The International Status of Greece *Current History* April 1922, 129
- ⁴⁴⁹ Dakin, 229; Clogg (1979), 172
- ⁴⁵⁰ Tsamados, M. Venizelos Vindicated *Current History* June 1922, 394
- ⁴⁵¹ Polyzoides, Adamantios Th. The International Status of Greece *Current History* April 1922, 129
- ⁴⁵² ____, Nations of Southeastern Europe: Greece *Current History* June 1922, 553
- ⁴⁵³ Polyzoides, Adamantios Th. The International Status of Greece *Current History* April 1922, 131
- ⁴⁵⁴ op cit
- ⁴⁵⁵ op cit

⁴⁵⁶ Dakin, 229, 235

⁴⁵⁷ Κορδάτος (1959), 569-570

⁴⁵⁸ Γαβριηλίδης; Extracts from Central Committee of Pontos *Black Book: The Tragedy of Pontus 1914-1922* in Αργύρου (1998), 47-72

⁴⁵⁹ (Harmsworth, Cecil) Parliament: The Mersivan Massacres *The Times* 27 October 1921, 14; ____, The Turk At Work. Rape, Murder and Arson *The Times* 26 October 1921, 11

⁴⁶⁰ Γαβριηλίδης;; Asia Minor Refugees, 13; Αργύρου (1998),

⁴⁶¹ op cit

⁴⁶² ____, Hangings in Asia Minor. Hard Case of Pontus Greeks *The Times* 18 October 1921, 9; ____, Turkish Cruelty. The Amaseia Hangings *The Times* 22 October 1922, 7; Asia Minor Refugees, 13

⁴⁶³ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου Μέρος Γ' *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 1 Ιουλίου 1996, 26

⁴⁶⁴ op cit

⁴⁶⁵ Levene, 414

⁴⁶⁶ Schulz, 219; ____, Turkey & The Peace *The Times* 19 February 1921, 9; ____, Concessions To Turkey: Text Of Allies' Proposals *The Times* 14 March 1921, 17; ____, Franco-Turkish Treaty Discussed *The Times* 3 May 1921, 9

⁴⁶⁷ ____, Bolsheviks Attack Georgia *The Times* 21 February 1921, 9; ____, Georgian collapse *The Times* 11 March 1921, 9

⁴⁶⁸ Schulz, 221; ____, Fate Of Batum. Turko-Russian Agreement *The Times* 24 March 1921, 9

⁴⁶⁹ ____, News of the Nations: Turkey *Current History* January 1922, 877

⁴⁷⁰ James, E.L. Paris Acclaims Peace In Near East *New York Times* 25 September 1922, 1-2

⁴⁷¹ Turkey called for the intervention of the League of Nations in the 'Hatay Question' in 1937. The League proposed the establishment of an independent Republic of Hatay. Turkey invaded and annexed the territory. Following its invasion of Hatay in 1938 and the importation of thousands of Turkish and Kurdish settlers, parliamentary elections were held under the supervision of the Turkish military. The puppet parliament then dutifully requested union with the Turkish 'Motherland'. On July 5 Turkish troops occupied and subsequently annexed the Mediterranean port of Alexandretta, renaming the predominantly Arabic-populated district 'Iskenderun'. Yeriigoz, 3 in Bjorgo (1997); Koumakis (1996), 123

⁴⁷² Dakin, 231

⁴⁷³ Polyzoides, Adamantios Th. The Greek Campaign of 1921 *Current History* January 1922, 644

⁴⁷⁴ Koumakis, 88

⁴⁷⁵ Dakin, 232

⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁷ Dakin, 232

⁴⁷⁸ Polyzoides, Adamantios Th. The Greek Campaign of 1921 *Current History* January 1922, 645

⁴⁷⁹ ____, GrecoTurkish Atrocities *Current History* June 1922, 475

⁴⁸⁰ ____, Hangings in Asia Minor. Hard Case of Pontus Greeks *The Times* 18 October 1921, 9

⁴⁸¹ Γαβριηλίδης, Αντώνιος Ι. (1924) *Σελίδες εκ της Μαύρης Εθνικής Συμφοράς του Πόντου* Αθήνα; Αγτζίδης, Β. Η ματωμένη απόβαση του Κεμάλ Ατατούρκ *Νέα Πατρίδα* 25 Μαΐου 1996, 34

⁴⁸² Αργύρου, 71-72

⁴⁸³ Αργύρου, 70

⁴⁸⁴ Statement B which is quoted in full in the article, presents facts and figures on atrocities across Pontos. ____, *GrecoTurkish Atrocities Current History* June 1922, 475

⁴⁸⁵ ____, More Greeks Deported *New York Times* 4 January 1922, 2

⁴⁸⁶ ____, 300 Greeks Massacred *New York Times* 1 February 1922, 3

⁴⁸⁷ ____, Turks Hem In Greeks *New York Times* 11 March 1922, 19

⁴⁸⁸ ____, Turks Burn 24 Greek Villages *New York Times* 30 March 1922, 1

⁴⁸⁹ ____, Atrocities Enquiry Limited To Past Year *New York Times* 15 June 1922, 40

⁴⁹⁰ Κορδάτος (1959), 570

⁴⁹¹ Κορδάτος, 570-571

⁴⁹² Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου Μέρος Α' Ο *Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 27 Ιουνίου 1996, 26

⁴⁹³ Φωτιάδης, Κ. Η Δημοκρατία του Πόντου Μέρος Γ' Ο *Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 1 Ιουλίου 1996, 26

⁴⁹⁴ ____, News of the Nations: Turkey *Current History* March 1922, 1065

⁴⁹⁵ ____, The Sevres Treaty Revised *Current History* April 1922, 211-215

The Allied proposals were summarised as follows: "(1) Hostilities would cease between the Greeks and the forces of Mustapha Kemal, on a date to be determined; (2) the troops on each side would retain their general lines, the advance elements being withdrawn so as to leave ten kilometers between the two forts; (3) the duration of the armistice would be three months, and would be automatically renewable until the signing of a preliminary peace treaty; (4) each side to be privileged to abrogate the armistice by notification fifteen days in advance of its expiration; (5) allied military Commissioners to be attached to both parties to see that the conditions were faithfully observed; (6) steps to be taken for the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks."

"The first subject discussed at the session of March 23 was the question of the regime of Smyrna, now held by the Greeks. Involved in this was the problem of protecting the Greek minorities in Smyrna after the disputed district had been evacuated and restored to Turkish sovereignty – a course on which all the Ministers were now decided." (The delegates spent most of the day discussing the protection of all Asia Minor's minorities. It was decided that this should be done with the League of Nations." On March 24, 1922, Yusuf Kemal Bey left Paris for Ankara with "a general outline of the peace terms which both Great Britain and France had agreed upon. "That the Greeks withdraw from Anatolia; That the Allies protect the Christian minorities in Ionia, since the Turks have proved incompetent administrators; That the Thracian frontier be adjusted, starting at Midia; and that a special regime be created for Adrianople; That the Turks accept unreservedly the British solution of the problem of the Dardanelles Strait; That the British frontier in Mesopotamia include the town of Mosul, which has been disputed by the Turks; That a special Turco-British convention be completed to run twenty-five years; That the Turks abandon anti-British propoganda in India, Persia and Afghanistan; That Anatolia recognize the Porte as the legitimate Government in Turkey and the re-establishment of the Sultan's authority over Anatolia." On eastern Thrace and the Straits, France supported the maximum territory to Angyra/Ankara; Britain the minimum.

⁴⁹⁶ ____, Greece and the War in Asia Minor *Current History* May 1922, 361

⁴⁹⁷ op cit

⁴⁹⁸ ____, Obstacles to Greco-Turkish Peace *Current History* June 1922, 537-538

⁴⁹⁹ op cit

- ⁵⁰⁰ Dakin, 235-236; Κορδάτος, 571-572
- ⁵⁰¹ Dakin, 234-235; Κορδάτος, 572
- ⁵⁰² ____, Obstacles to Greco-Turkish Peace *Current History* June 1922, 537-539
- ⁵⁰³ op cit
- ⁵⁰⁴ (AP) Soviet Tells Balfour It Backs The Turks *New York Times* 17 September 1922, 2; ____, Who Equipped Kemal? The Soviet, One Report *New York Times* 17 September 1922, 2
- ⁵⁰⁵ Dakin, 232
- ⁵⁰⁶ (AP) Greeks Lose Ushak; Smyrna Menaced *New York Times* 5 September 1922, 3; Κορδάτος, 575-576
- ⁵⁰⁷ (AP) Europeans Begin Leave Smyrna *New York Times* 7 September 1922, 4; Dakin, 236-237; Κορδάτος, 577-578
- ⁵⁰⁸ (AP) Greeks Hand Over Smyrna To Allies; Looting Reported *New York Times* 9 September 1922, 1; Dakin, 237; Κορδάτος, 578
- ⁵⁰⁹ Pergamon (Bergama) had fallen to the Kemalists on 24 August. The Hellenes of the city abandoned their homes again. *Asia Minor Refugees*, 13
- ⁵¹⁰ His priestly robes were taken as trophies and eventually made their way to a pawn shop in Constantinople (Istanbul), where they were bought by Father Ioannes Vouzounerakes, a student at the Theological School of Halke (Heybeliada) in 1949. When Father Vouzounerakes became Philotheos, Metropolitan of Ierapetra and Seteia on Krete, the holy relics went with him. Shortly before his tragic death in a car accident in 1995, Metropolitan Philotheos gave the relics to the museum of the Monastery of Toplou in Seteia, where they are on display today. Metropolitan Chrysostomos was canonised by the Orthodox Church of Hellas in 1995.
- ⁵¹¹ Καρολίδης Συμπλήρωμα εις το Παπαρηγόπουλος, Κ. *Ιστορίαν του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, 327-328; Clogg (1979): 175; ____, Smyrna Burning *New York Times* 15 September 1922, 1-2; Prentiss, M.G. Eyewitness Story of Smyrna's Horror *New York Times* 18 September 1922, 1; ____, Fiendish Tortures for Greek Prelate *New York Times* 18 September 1922, 3; Σπυρόπουλος, Γ. Τα ματωμένα ράσα του Ελληνισμού *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 29 Οκτωβρίου 1996, 27
- ⁵¹² Κορδάτος, 570
- ⁵¹³ ____, Δεν γιόρτασαν την εισβολή στη Σύμωρη οι Τούρκοι. Νέα σελίδα στα ΕλληνοΤουρκικά *Αυριανή* (Αθηνών) 11 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999, 4
- ⁵¹⁴ (AP) George on Greek Throne, Rebels Rule *New York Times* 29 September 1922, 1, 4
- ⁵¹⁵ Another 20,000 had already been evacuated to Hellas.
- ⁵¹⁶ The deposed and disgraced King Constantine of the Hellenes died in his room in Palermo, Sicily, alone and abandoned by all on January 11 1923. Armstrong, H.F. The New Balkans *Foreign Affairs* 15 December 1924, 309
- ⁵¹⁷ Venizelos returned to Hellas in January 1924, assumed the Prime Ministership for one month, then handed it over to Kaphantares, for health reasons.
- ⁵¹⁸ Dakin (1972): 238-239; (AP) Greek Army Revolts *New York Times* 27 September 1922, 1-2; (AP) Greek Rebels Seize Deposed Officials *New York Times* 30 September 1922, 1; (AP) Defense of Thrace is Greeks' New Aim *New York Times* 2 October 1922, 1-2
- ⁵¹⁹ James, E.L. Turks Proclaim Banishment Edict to 1,000,000 Greeks *New York Times* 2 December 1922, 1, 3; (AP) Christians Flee Anatolia *New York Times* 3 November 1922, 1
- ⁵²⁰ Ostling, Richard Fear In The First Churches *Time* 23 April 1990, 60; Λαμπροπούλου, Ρέα Το Ζήτημα των 'Εγκατεστημένων' (ΕΤΑΒΛΙΣ) στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά την Υποχρεωτική Ανταλλαγή των Πληθυσμών Σύμφωνα με τη Συνθήκη της Λωζάννης *Ελλοπία* Φεβρουάριος-Μάρτιος 1992, 35

⁵²¹ Fischer-Galati (1967), 90-92

⁵²² Article 14: "The islands of Imvros and Tenedos, remaining under Turkish domination, shall enjoy a special administrative organisation, made up of local elements and providing all guarantees for the native, non-Moslem population with regard to local government and the protection of persons and property. Order shall be maintained by a police force recruited from the native population by the competent local authority, under whose command it shall be picked." Σπετσιώτου-Μέλλιου, Ε. Η Ίμβρος, ένα νησί πολύ χαριτωμένο... *Ελληνική Λιθική Γλώσσα* Απρίλιος-Ιούνιος 1999, 131

⁵²³ Κόρμαλης, Α. Ίμβρος και Τένεδος *Ελλοπία Σεπτέμβριος-Οκτώβριος* 1992, 25; Αβραμίδου, Κ. Ο Αρχιεπίσκοπος Ιάκωβος στο Παν-Ιμβριακό Συμπόσιο *Νέος Πυρσός* 1 Μαρτίου 1992, 23

⁵²⁴ Violation of Article 38 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Citizens' Association (1997): 35

⁵²⁵ Citizens' Association, 33-34

⁵²⁶ Αγτζίδης, Β. Το Παγκόσμιο Ποντιακό Συνέδριο *Ελλοπία Καλοκαίρι* 1992, 34; Γιαγκόζης, Φ. Ρωμιοί, οι ξεριζωμένοι του Πόντου *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 11 Νοεμβρίου 1997, 25

⁵²⁷ Clogg, 180

⁵²⁸ Εφραιμίδης (1992), 35

⁵²⁹ Βαλαβάνης, Γ (1927) *Συγχρόνος Γενική Ιστορία του Πόντου Θεσσαλονίκη* όπως αναφέρεται στο Αγτζίδης, Β. Η Γενοκτονία των Ελλήνων του Πόντου και η Τουρκική Αντίδραση *Ελλοπία Καλοκαίρι* 1991, 38

⁵³⁰ Λαμηρά, Κ. Το Μικρασιατικό Πρόβλημα 1918, 6-40 στο Καρρά (1972), 99; Φωτιάδης, Κ. Οι διωγμοί των Ελλήνων του Πόντου *Ελευθεροτυπία* 12 Νοεμβρίου 1986

⁵³¹ Turkey unilaterally denounced the 1930 bilateral Convention on the Establishment of Commerce and Navigation with Hellas in March 1964. Citizens' Association, 58-59; Koumakis, 133

⁵³² Citizens' Association, 40; Koumakis, 133

⁵³³ Yeriigoz in Bjorgo. See also Oktem.

⁵³⁴ Koumakis, 16. See also Oktem.

⁵³⁵ Oktem (2003), 7-8

⁵³⁶ Yeriigoz, 3 in Bjorgo

⁵³⁷ Premier Ismet Inonu as quoted by the *Milliyet* daily newspaper 31 August 1930, Asia Minor Refugees, 14

⁵³⁸ Turkish Minister of Justice as quoted by *Milliyet* 30 September 1930 in Koumakis, 91; Asia Minor Refugees, 14

⁵³⁹ Violation of Articles 38 paragraph a, 39 paragraph c and 42 paragraph a of the Treaty of Lausanne. Citizens' Association, 41

⁵⁴⁰ The interview was published in the 9-10 February 2001 edition of the newspaper. ____, Turkish Lawyer on Minority rights in Turkey *Turkish Cypriot Press and Other Media* Cyprus Press and Information Office 14 February 2001

⁵⁴¹ Yeriigoz, 2 in Bjorgo

⁵⁴² Helsinki Human Rights Watch (1992), 39

⁵⁴³ Koumakis, 125-126

⁵⁴⁴ An unabashed fan of Adolf Hitler, Turkes was the founder of the ultra-right terrorist group, the Grey Wolves, and its political wing, the Nationalist Action Party (MHP). Yeriigoz, 4 in Bjorgo. In 1999, the MHP became a

member of the three-party coalition government of Turkey, led by Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, the man who ordered the invasion of Cyprus in July 1974.

- ⁵⁴⁵ Σταματόπουλος, Κ. Ύστατη Αναλαμπή Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996, 32-33; Citizens' Association, 46
- ⁵⁴⁶ Armstrong, H.F. The New Balkans *Foreign Affairs* 15 December 1924, 311-312; Citizens' Association, 35-36
- ⁵⁴⁷ ____, Η Άγκυρα εξοντώνει την Ελληνική μειονότητα Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 15 Μαΐου 1996, 27
- ⁵⁴⁸ Violation of Article 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Citizens' Association, 33; Koumakis, 123
- ⁵⁴⁹ Violation of Article 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. *ibid*, 40-41
- ⁵⁵⁰ *ibid*, 56
- ⁵⁵¹ Violation of Article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Κόρμαλης, Α. Ίμβρος και Τένεδος *Ελλοπία* Σεπτέμβριος-Οκτώβριος 1992, 23
- ⁵⁵² Alexandris, A. Imvros and Tenedos: A Study in Turkish attitudes toward two ethnic Greek island communities since 1923 *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* Spring 1990, 10-19
- ⁵⁵³ Rodokanakis (1994), 52-54
- ⁵⁵⁴ Violation of Article 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. ____, Η Άγκυρα εξοντώνει την Ελληνική μειονότητα Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 15 Μαΐου 1996, 27
- ⁵⁵⁵ Citizens' Association, 55
- ⁵⁵⁶ Violation of Article 38 of the Treaty of Lausanne. *op cit*
- ⁵⁵⁷ Mumtaz Soysal went on to become Foreign Minister and for a number of years has been a foreign policy advisor to Rauf Denktaş, self-described "President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".
- ⁵⁵⁸ Helsinki Human Rights Watch, 9
- ⁵⁵⁹ Citizens' Association, 59-60
- ⁵⁶⁰ Γριμάνη, Α. Οι Τελευταίοι Έλληνες της Πόλης Ο Κόσμος 4 Ιουνίου 1991, 18; Koumakis, 123
- ⁵⁶¹ Citizens' Association, 40
- ⁵⁶² Violation of Articles 37, 38, 39, 40 and 42 of the Treaty of Lausanne. *ibid*, 38-39
- ⁵⁶³ Γριμάνη, Α. Οι Τελευταίοι Έλληνες της Πόλης Ο Κόσμος 4 Ιουνίου 1991, 18
- ⁵⁶⁴ *ibid*, 42-43
- ⁵⁶⁵ Σταματόπουλος, Κ. Η Ύστατη Αναλαμπή Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996, 32-33
- ⁵⁶⁶ Violation of Article 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Αμπατζής, Α. Πως οι Τούρκοι εκμηδένισαν τις μειονότητες Ο Κόσμος 24 Μαρτίου 1992, 26
- ⁵⁶⁷ Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών Αθηνών Ο Φόρος Περιουσίας Ο Κόσμος 22 Νοεμβρίου 1996, 8; ____, Βαρκίλ Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας 15 Νοεμβρίου 1996, 28-29; Citizens' Association, 44-45
- ⁵⁶⁸ Citizens' Association, 56
- ⁵⁶⁹ Violation of Articles 38 and 40 of the Treaty of Lausanne. *ibid*, 55-56
- ⁵⁷⁰ Violation of Article 40 of the Treaty of Lausanne. *ibid*, 57

- 571 ____, The Tragedy of Imvros *O Kόσμος* 23 March 1993; Σηφουνάκης, Ν. Μια σύγκριση θα τους πείσει *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 30 Δεκεμβρίου 1992, 18; Μπουτάρας, Μ. Ίμβρου Εκπαίδευσης *Ελληνική Διεθνής Γλώσσα* Απρίλιος-Ιούνιος 1999, 119; Σαββίδης, Π.Α. Σχοινούδι Ίμβρου *Ελληνική Διεθνής Γλώσσα* Απρίλιος-Ιούνιος 1999, 134. In 1960 Imvros' population had consisted of 5,487 Hellenes and 289 Turks. Ποτήρης, Κώστας Ίμβρος-Τένεδος *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 25 Απριλίου 1997, 5
- 572 Violations of Article 14, 37, 38 and 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Γιαννίση, Ν Ο Ελληνισμός της Ίμβρου δεν θα σβήσει *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 19 Μαρτίου 1993; ____, The Tragedy of Imvros *O Kόσμος* 23 Μαρτίου 1993
- 573 ____, The Tragedy of Imvros *O Kόσμος* 23 Μαρτίου 1993
- 574 Routouridou, M. Dire Straits *Odyssey* May/June 1996, 43
- 575 Violation of Articles 14, 38 and 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Κονιάδης, Ξ.Ι. Ίμβρος: Ξεχασμένη Πατρίδα *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 27 Οκτωβρίου 1998, 31
- 576 ____, The Tragedy of Imvros *O Kόσμος* 23 Μαρτίου 1993
- 577 Violation of Articles 38 and 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Citizens' Association, 61
- 578 Κοτρώτου, Ν. Τουρκία '94: Η Περιουσία σας μας ανήκει *Νέα Πατρίδα* 5 Μαρτίου 1994
- 579 Citizens' Association, 67
- 580 Helsinki Human Rights Watch, 23
- 581 Citizens' Association, 68
- 582 ____, Ελπίδα Φραγκοπούλου: Ανένδοτος σε Τουρκικό έδαφος *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 27 Απριλίου 1995, 27
- 583 ____, Δωρίζω την περιουσία μου στην Τουρκία *Νέα Πατρίδα* 29 Ιουνίου 1996, 17
- 584 ____, Η Άγκυρα εξοντώνει την Ελληνική μειονότητα *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 15 Μαΐου 1996, 27
- 585 (ANA) Persecution of Greeks in Turkey *Athens News* 12 May 1987
- 586 Named for the mother of the then Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, and paid for by his brother Korkut.
- 587 Κοτρώτου, Ν. Τουρκία '94: Η Περιουσία σας μας ανήκει *Νέα Πατρίδα* 5 Μαρτίου 1994
- 588 ____, Περιουσίες Γιόκι Για Τους Έλληνες *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 15 Μαΐου 1996, 27
- 589 ____, Περιουσίες Ελλήνων της Πόλης *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 18 Μαρτίου 1993
- 590 ____, Το Ευρωπαϊκό κοινοβούλιο κάνει έρευνα για τις περιουσίες των Κωνσταντινουπολιτών *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 9 Μαΐου 1996, 14
- 591 ____, Ελπίδα Φραγκοπούλου: Ανένδοτος σε Τουρκικό έδαφος *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 27 Απριλίου 1995, 27
- 592 Citizens' Association, 71
- 593 *ibid*, 71-72
- 594 Looijen, S. *International Herald Tribune* 26 December 1986
- 595 Κοτρώτου, Ν. Τουρκία '94: Η περιουσία σας μας ανήκει! *Νέα Πατρίδα* 5 Μαρτίου 1994
- 596 ____, Δεσμευμένες παραμένουν οι περιουσίες των Ελλήνων της Πόλης *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 3 Φεβρουαρίου 1994
- 597 ____, Στο Ευρωπαϊκό Δικαστήριο η Υπόθεση της Πολ. Φωκά *Ο Κόσμος* 7 Φεβρουαρίου 1995, 5

- ⁵⁹⁸ ____, Μιά στο Καρφι και Μιά στο Πέταλο. *Απίθανα Ο Κόσμος* 26 Μαΐου 1995
- ⁵⁹⁹ Helsinki Watch, 3
- ⁶⁰⁰ ____, Καταληστεύουν τις περιουσίες των Ελλήνων της Πόλης *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 8 Αυγούστου 1996, 11
- ⁶⁰¹ Violation of Articles 14, 38 and 39 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Μαγκριώτης, Γ.Δ. Οι Κυριότερες Παραβιάσεις της Συνθήκης της Λωζάννης απο την Τουρκία *Ελλοπία* 1994 Τεύχος 21, 45-46
- ⁶⁰² Helsinki Human Rights Watch, 28
- ⁶⁰³ *ibid*, 29
- ⁶⁰⁴ Γιαννιέρη, Ν. Ο Ελληνισμός της Ίμβρου δεν θα σβήσει *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 19 Μαρτίου 1993
- ⁶⁰⁵ ____, Ο κυβερνητικός εκπρόσωπος για το πρόβλημα στην Ίμβρο *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 27 Νοεμβρίου 1990; Σηφουράκης, Ν. Μια σύγκριση θα τους πείσει *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 30 Δεκεμβρίου 1992, 18
- ⁶⁰⁶ Violation of Articles 38 paragraph 1 and 39 paragraph 1 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Μαγκριώτης, Γ.Δ. Οι Κυριότερες Παραβιάσεις της Συνθήκης της Λωζάννης απο την Τουρκία *Ελλοπία* 1994, 45-46
- ⁶⁰⁷ Routouridou, M. *Dire Straits Odyssey* May/June 1996, 44; ____, The Tragedy of Imvros *Ο Κόσμος* 23 March 1993
- ⁶⁰⁸ Αργαλιώτης, Κ. Ίμβρος: 400 γέροντες αντιστέκονται *Ο Κόσμος* 23 Νοεμβρίου 1990, 19
- ⁶⁰⁹ Routouridou, M. *Dire Straits Odyssey* May-June 1996, 44; ____, Ερώτημα στην Ευρωβουλή για Ίμβρο και Τένεδο *Νέα Πατρίδα* 2 Μαρτίου 1996
- ⁶¹⁰ Helsinki Human Rights Watch, 31
- ⁶¹¹ (ΑΠΕ) Πατριάρχης: Ίμβριοι, γυρίστε στο νησί σας *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 16 Ιουνίου 1992
- ⁶¹² Citizens' Association, 72
- ⁶¹³ ____, Ίμβρος: Ελληνική Βουλή *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 6 Ιουνίου 1996, 16; Ποντίδας, Χ. Οι 300 που αντιστέκονται στην Ίμβρο *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 29 Αυγούστου 1996, 23
- ⁶¹⁴ Κοκκινίδης, Γ. Οι Τρακόσοι της Ίμβρου *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 30 Ιουνίου 1992, 16-17
- ⁶¹⁵ Γιαννιέρη, Ν. Ο Ελληνισμός της Ίμβρου δεν θα σβήσει *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 19 Μαρτίου 1993
- ⁶¹⁶ Routouridou, M. *Dire Straits Odyssey* May-June 1996, 43
- ⁶¹⁷ Γιαννιέρη, Ν. Ζητούν αυτόχθονα Έλληνα διοικητή για την Ίμβρο *Το Βήμα* (Σύδνεϋ) 23 Μαρτίου 1993
- ⁶¹⁸ ____, Δύο χρόνια χωρίς γιατρό οι Έλληνες της Ίμβρου και της Τενέδου *Ο Ελληνικός Κήρυκας* 9 Απριλίου 1997, 31
- ⁶¹⁹ Helsinki Watch, 31
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The remark attributed to Hitler is contained in a summary of Hitler's speech to his generals about his plans to wage a ruthless war against Poland on August 22, 1939. Within days, Louis P. Lochner of the Associated Press in Berlin received from an "informant" a copy of the document, which is based on notes taken by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of Hitler's military intelligence. Lochner immediately brought the account to the attention of the American and British embassies. He subsequently published the document in translation in his book *What About Germany?* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1942), 1-4.
The important issue is less the authenticity of the remark than what lessons Hitler drew from the Armenian case, and how these affected his actions in Poland, and subsequently the decisions to annihilate the Jews and Gypsies. Bardakjian provides evidence (pp. 25-35) that Hitler was familiar with the Armenian genocide, believed that the Armenians, like the Jews, were a "degenerate race", and was aware that Turkey had been able to exterminate a people with impunity. The lessons he drew were even more pointed in his 1931 interview with Richard Breiting of the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*. Here he invoked the destruction of the Armenians within a context of deportation, resettlement, and massacre as a means to providing "living space" for Germany and the Aryan race. "Think of the biblical deportations and the massacres of the Middle Ages . . . and remember the extermination of the Armenians." Hitler added: "One eventually reaches the conclusion that masses of men are mere biological plasticine." Quoted in Bardakjian, 28, from Edouard Calie, *Unmasked*, trans. Richard Barry (1971) Chatto & Windus London, 81" endnote 21 in Smith *et al*, 19-20.
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- ⁸⁴¹ For example Taner Akcam has been described as "a traitor" on numerous occasions. Ridvan Akar was described as an "Armenian propagandist" by "Institute for Armenian Research" Director Omer Lutem in Acemoglu.
- ⁸⁴² Demirel (1998), 8
- ⁸⁴³ *ibid*, 3

⁸⁴⁴ COUNCIL OF EUROPE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS Interim Resolution ResDH(2001)80 concerning the judgment of the European Court of Human Rights of 28 July 1998 in the case of Loizidou against Turkey (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 26 June 2001 at the 757th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies)

⁸⁴⁵ Oktem, 3

⁸⁴⁶ Smith *et al*,

⁸⁴⁷ *ibid*, 6

⁸⁴⁸ Immediately afterwards a under the leadership of the Catholicos, the Supreme Patriarch of all Armenians, a delegation was formed to travel to Europe and to "plead the case for Armenian reforms in conjunction with the impending peace negotiations on the future shape of the Balkans". A new reform accord was agreed to on 8 February 1914. For the first time in history the Empire "was impelled, if not compelled, to acquiesce . . . to European control and supervision in the task of implementing the stipulated reforms". According to Dadrian, this was "disastrous for the Armenians", as was the "major role" played by the Russians. *ibid*, 64-65

⁸⁴⁹ D'Bait (1920), 66-67

⁸⁵⁰ A few weeks later Enver Pasha personally led the disastrous Sarikamysh offensive against Czarist Russia, Enver's foolish mid-winter assault on the Russian Caucasus ended with the loss of 90,000 Ottoman troops, mostly to the freezing cold. As in the case of eastern Thrace two years earlier, blame for the disaster was laid on the Armenian and Hellene Christians who inhabited the region.

⁸⁵¹ Dadrian, 66

⁸⁵² *ibid*, 67. Writing in 1916, Lord Kitchener, British Secretary of State for War, stated that "[t]he Turco-German influence with the religious chief of the Senussi, on the western flank of Egypt, has succeeded in inducing the Arabs of Cyrenaica and Tripoli to assume a hostile attitude toward us in Egypt." Lord Kitchener Review of Military Events *Current History* April 1916, 100 Sultan Mohammed Aga Khan, "the spiritual head of many millions Moslems in India" proclaimed "that the attempts by German gold to stir up religious ill-feeling among the Indian Moslems have been perfectly fruitless". ____, The Indian Moslems and the Holy War *Current History* May 1916, 215

⁸⁵³ Dadrian, V. A Textual Analysis of the Key Indictment of the Turkish Military Tribunal Investigating the Armenian Genocide *Armenian Review*, 44:1 (Spring 1991), 26-27

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⁸⁵⁵ *ibid*, 68

⁸⁵⁶ *ibid*, 67

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⁸⁵⁸ Macdonald, J.B. The Russian Campaign In Turkey *Current History* August 1916, 1086

⁸⁵⁹ *ibid*, 1088

⁸⁶⁰ Ward, M. *Current History* 1921,

⁸⁶¹ Dündar (2000), 18 in Oktem, 6

⁸⁶² Rubinstein, W. (2004) *Genocide* Pearson Education Ltd Great Britain. In this book, he devotes much of the chapter on 'Genocide in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914-79' (pages 127-146) to the Armenian Genocide – with some reference to the Hellenes, but none to the Assyrians.

⁸⁶³ Dadrian, V. The Armenian Question and the Wartime Fate of the Armenians as Documented by the Officials of the Ottoman Empire's World War I Allies: Germany and Austria-Hungary *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Volume 34 Number 1 February 2002, 62-63

- ⁸⁶⁴ *ibid*, 62
- ⁸⁶⁵ *ibid*, 62
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- ⁸⁶⁷ Dundar, 82 in Oktem, 9
- ⁸⁶⁸ Akar, Ridvan (1999) *Askale Yolculari—Varlık Vergisi ve Ccedil;alisma Kamplari* (Passengers to Askale—Capital Tax and forced labour camps, Belge Uluslararası Yayincılık Istanbul in Kouyoumdjian
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- ⁸⁷⁰ *ibid*, 6
- ⁸⁷¹ *ibid*, 10
- ⁸⁷² Morgenthau, H. (1918), 309
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<http://www.hairenik.com/armenianweekly/october/history003.html>
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- ⁸⁷⁷ Oktem, 4
- ⁸⁷⁸ Zurcher 1993, 136 in Mills, A., 7
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- ⁸⁸⁵ (Associated Press) Human-rights rules of EU rankle Turkey. Multiculturalism not an acceptable idea in country of 'unity' *Winston-Salem Journal* (South Carolina USA) 28 November 2004
- ⁸⁸⁶ ____, Minorities comment on 'Report on Minorities' Bianet.org 5 November 2004
<http://www.kurdmedia.com/news.asp?id=5723>
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National Archives of Australia – National Office

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Allen, C.F. (Letters and Article of experiences in Persia and Mesopotamia) (1918) Control symbol 2DRL/0008
Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Australian Red Cross Society (1915-1919) *Australian Red Cross Society (ARCS): 1. Prisoners of War Department; 2. Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau* [789 boxes of Australian Red Cross Society's administrative files and POW listings received from the German Red Cross (58 boxes); alphabetically arranged lists of Australian personnel reported as 'wounded or missing' with details obtained by ARCS searchers (369 boxes); and complementary POW (Department) files where assistance was given to AIF personnel held in Germany and Turkey (362 boxes)] File Number 1DRL/0428 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Bean, C.E.W. *Official History, 1914-18 War: Records of Charles E W Bean, Official Historian: Papers, n.d.; comprise miscellaneous typescript and manuscript material covering subjects such as POW statements and battle casualties of the British empire* Series number AWM38 Control symbol 3DRL 6673/344 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Brackenbury, Noel (1983) *BRACKENBURY, Noel* [Summary: Thesis "Becoming guests of the unspeakable". A study of the pre internment experiences of Australian servicemen captured by the Turks during the 1914-1918 war. Covers the circumstances and characteristics of capture, experiences behind the frontlines, the journey, learning Turkish ways and internment. Also includes the statistics of those captured. BA (Hons), Macquarie University] File Number MSS0975

Cahir, Keith Joseph and Lushington, Reginald (1915) *1. Cahir, Keith Joseph (Lance Corporal), 2. Lushington, Reginald (Private)* [Cahir - postcard, photograph, and paper currency. Sketchbook kept by Lushington with images of Australian life, POW experiences, and Gallipoli campaign] Control symbol PR00185 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Creedon, D.B. (1915-1916) *Creedon, Daniel B (Private, 9th Bn, AIF d: 1916)* [Summary: Narrative of experiences as POW] Control symbol 1DRL 223 Australian War Memorial Record Centre, Canberra

Davie, R J (*Private, NZEF and POW, Turkey*) [Summary: Typescript account of Davie's experiences on Gallipoli and in captivity; letter; newspaper article] Control symbol 3DRL/6753

Delpratt, M G (1915-1918) [letters written by MG Delpratt from Gallipoli and from POW camps] Control symbol 3DRL/2153 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Dolci, Monseigneur Letter dated 16 March 1917 Monseigneur Dolci active in London re prisoner relief. Colonial Office file 693/3

Ertas, D. (ed.) (2000) *Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade: Australia's Efforts to Promote and Protect Freedom of Religion and Belief by the Syrian Orthodox Federation of Australia*

Frew, Dr. Ron Letter signed by Dr Ron Frew "Chairman of the British Relief Committee" in Constantinople in March 1917. CO693/3

Hancock, Frederick (*Lieutenant, 1st Aust LH Regt and No. 1 Sqn AFC and POW, Turkey b: 1890 d: 1930*) [Summary: Letters home regarding experiences as POW] Control symbol 2DRL/0530 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Hilton, Rita; Luscombe, L H (1917-1918) *Hilton (nee Duffy) Rita; Luscombe, L. H. (Lieutenant)* [Summary: Essay (4pp, typescript, produced in 1936) by Mrs Rita Hilton (nee Duffy) titled 'Hands Across the Sea', summarising her letter writing scheme to Australian prisoners of war held in Turkish POW camps (Afion-kara-hissar and Hadjikin) during the First World War. Included are responses to Miss Duffy's letters from: Lieutenant Leslie H Luscombe (14 Battalion), a short note and postcard from M J Troy (16 Battalion), two postcards from Keith Cahir (14 Battalion) and a card from G E Kerr (14 Battalion). Also held is a letter by Lieutenant Leslie H Luscombe to J W Eustace (dated 20 May 1917) detailing how Miss Duffy's letter was forwarded from Angora to other Australian POWs at Achangri and a Turkish 'Postal Censorship' leaflet.] File Number PR01552 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

- Hudson, K.L. (1919) *Hudson, Keith L (Air Mechanic, AFC and POW, Turkey)* [Summary: Detailed report on treatment of Kut POWs] Control symbol 3DRL/3325 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Jeffrey, C.P. *Jeffrey, Charles P (Private, 2nd Dorsetshire Regt, British Army, 6th Poona Div, Indian Exp Force and POW, d: 1917)* (1915-1917) [Papers] File Number 3DRL/6695 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Judge, C.G.K. *From Baghdad to Baku: An account of Some of the Operations of 'Dunsterforce'* (unpublished manuscript) Control symbol 3DRL/6114 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Keeling, E.H. Treatment of British P. of W. in Turkey. Report of Capt. Keeling late P. of W. 14 February 1918 CO 693/7
- Kerrigan, R. (commemorative scroll of Kerrigan. Memorial cards giving date of death) (1917) Control symbol 3DRL/6112 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Knaggs, A E (1914-1916) Diary and documents regarding experiences aboard the AE2 and as a POW Control symbol PR85/096 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Luscombe, L.H. Collection of six original Prisoner of War postcards; Personal letters (1917-1918) Control symbol PRO1552 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
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- Randall, Ernest and William [Letters and poem regarding experiences as soldiers and POWs] (1915-1918) Control symbol 3DRL/7847 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
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- Smith, L H (Lieutenant, No. 1 Sqn AFC b: 1896)* [Summary: Account of capture and experiences as POW] Control symbol 2DRL/0229 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Sorrell, J. (1918-1919) *Sorrell, J (Lieutenant, MM, 45th Bn b: 1889)* [Summary: Diary of Sorrell's time with the Dunsterforce] Control symbol 2DRL/0427 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Stormonth, S.L. *Statement by repatriated prisoner of war* (1918) Series number AWM30 Control symbol B1.30 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
- Suckling, Charles [Personal account of experiences aboard HMAS AE2 and as POW] Control Symbol 3DRL/6226 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
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manuscript also contains a register for the French cemetery at Morto Bay on the Gallipoli Peninsula.] File Number MSS1503 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

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White, Thomas Walter (Captain) DFC, VD, AFC (1915-1919) [Handwritten diary and typescript of same, POW statements and letters] Control symbol 2DRL/0766 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

White, T.W. (Captain, AFC and POW of Turkey) [Account given by Capt White of the circumstances surrounding his escape from a POW camp in Turkey] Control symbol PR00754 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

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Appendix One:

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the U.N. General Assembly on 9 December 1948.

Entry into force: 12 January 1951.

Preamble

Art. I: Crime under International Law

Art. II: Genocide defined

Art. III: Punishable acts

Art. IV: Responsible individuals

Art. V: National legislation

Art. VI: Tribunals Art. VII: Extradition

Art. VIII: Prevention and Suppression

Art. IX: Disputes submitted to the Int'l Court of Justice

Art. X: Languages

Art. XI: Signature, ratification and accession

Art. XII: Territories

Art. XIII: Entry into force

Art. XIV: Time period in effect

Art. XV: Denunciations

Art. XVI: Revision

Art. XVII: Notification

Art. XVIII: Deposit and transmittal

Art. XIX: Registration

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world,

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and
Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required,

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article I: The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article II: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III: The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article IV: Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article V: The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention, and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article VI: Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article VII: Genocide and the other acts enumerated in article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article VIII: Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article IX: Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article X: The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article XI: The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid. Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XII: Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article XIII: On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a process-verbal and transmit a copy thereof to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected, subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article XIV: The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XV: If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article XVI: A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article XVII: The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in article XI of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with article XI;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with article XII;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with article XIII;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with article XIV;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with article XV;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with article XVI.

Article XVIII: The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

Article XIX: The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

Source: U.N.T.S. (United Nations Treaty Series), No. 1021, vol. 78 (1951), p. 277
<http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm>

Appendix Two: Origins and Ancient Hatreds

The origins of Hellenic ties to Asia Minor are lost in pre-recorded history. *Pontos* is a Hellenic word that means “sea”. In the context of this thesis ‘Pontos’ refers to the southern littoral of the *Euxinos Pontos*, the Friendly Sea, or in English, the Black Sea (*Karadeniz* to the Turks); the northern coast of Asia Minor . Indeed it is worthy noting that the Hellenes are the only people that do not refer to this body of water as ‘black’ or ‘dark’, but as ‘friendly’ or ‘welcoming’. In our context, Pontos refers to. The region’s connection with Hellenism stretches back to the times of Jason and the Argonauts’ quest for the Golden Fleece.

A2.1 Children of Hellen

Recent archaeological discoveries have brought to light Hellenic trading settlements on the Aegean and Pontian coasts of Asia Minor, dating back to circa 2000 BCE. The Hellenes of Asia Minor were, at this time, divided into three tribal groups, each with its own distinct, but mutually intelligible, dialect: Ionian (concentrated in the southern part of Asia Minor’s Aegean coastal region and along the Pontian coast), Aeolian (central coast) and Dorian (north coast).

Following the Dorian conquest of the plains of central Hellas¹ in the 1100s BCE, the Aeolians left central Hellas¹ to settle on the islands of the north-eastern Aegean and in north-west Asia Minor. Their twelve principal cities in the region later formed the Aeolian League. Early in the 1000s BCE, as the Dorians continued their southward

sweep, the Ionians crossed 'the Wine-Dark Sea' to the central coast of Asia Minor, led by a son of King Codros of Athens.

Hellenic cities were soon founded up the Maeander (now Buyuk Menderes), Hermos (Gediz Cayi) and Xanthos River valleys, as well as all along the Mediterranean coast. The territory was by no means unpopulated. The native peoples (Mysians, Phrygians, Lydians, Carians, Lycians, Pisidians and Cilicians amongst others) were however all thoroughly Hellenised by the time of the Roman conquest in the 1st century BCE. By the time of the geographer Strabon, it was difficult to distinguish Hellenes from non-Hellenes.

By the mid-900s BCE, all the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor were flourishing; to the point that they began establishing colonies of their own all around the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas. Miletos alone founded 80, including Sinope (785BCE), Trapezounta (756BCE) and the numerous other cities along the Euxine (Black) Sea coast from Herakleia (Eregli) in Asia Minor to Chersonesos Herakleotika in Crimea.

As John Freely wrote of the Ionian cities,

produced many of the first and greatest Greek poets, philosophers, physicists, physicians, mathematicians, astronomers, geographers, historians (such as Herodotus, who was born at Halicarnassus c.484 BC), sculptors, painters, architects, and city planners, most of whom have won enduring fame.²

Conflict between the Hellenic *poleis* (city-states) and their inland neighbours began about 665BCE, with the invasion of Ionia by King Gyges of Lydia. Over the next century, the Lydians came to dominate the Hellenic states. King Croesus, a great admirer of Hellenic civilisation, lost his fight with King Cyrus of Persia in 546BCE and so the

Ionian, Aeolian and Dorian cities came under Persian rule. The Ionian Revolt (499-494 BCE) was crushed, ending with the burning of Miletos, the leading Ionian city. Independence returned in 479BCE with the victories of the Hellenes at the battles of Plataea and Cape Mykale ending the Persian Wars. The Persians however regained control of the coastal region following the conclusion of the so-called "King's Peace", when Sparte abandoned the Asia Minor Hellenes after defeating Athens in the Peloponnesian War in return for Persian gold.

Persian rule in Ionia was finally ended in 334BCE, with the campaign of Alexander the Great to conquer the greatest power of the time. After the death of Alexander the Great in June 323BCE, his generals could not decide on a successor and began battling each other for control of the empire created by the great Macedonian leader. Mithridates I, known as the Builder, took advantage of their civil wars and established the Kingdom of Pontos in 301BCE. Under the Mithridatid Dynasty, Pontos blossomed into a great commercial and educational centre of Hellenism. Mithridates VI Eupator was one of the last Hellenistic rulers to submit to Rome in 1BCE. The Hellenistic Kingdom of Kommagene in east-central Asia Minor, best known today for the mountain-top tomb-sanctuary on Nemrut Dagh, was the last independent kingdom in Asia Minor, annexed by the Emperor Vespasian in 72CE.

When the Emperor Diocletian retired (305CE), the Roman Empire was subdivided into four regions, each ruled by one member of the Tetrarchy. This was meant to strengthen the state against enemies without as well as within. In fact, it almost destroyed the Empire. For the next 21 years, the four co-Emperors fought one another for total

control. When the fighting ended in 324CE, Constantine of Gaul, later to become St. Konstantinos the Great, was the last man standing.

A2.2 Byzantion to Constantinople

Having established himself as Emperor, Constantine made the ancient Megarian colony of Byzantion (founded in 658BCE), the capital of the new Roman Empire on 11 May 330CE. The new capital needed a new name: so Byzantion became Constantinople. With the division of the Roman Empire between Arkadios (who was given the eastern half) and Honorius (who got the western half), sons and successors of the Emperor Theodosios the Great in 395CE, Pontos, Thrace and Asia Minor became part of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. The Western Roman Empire survived until the fall of Rome to the Goths in 476CE. The Eastern Empire would continue until the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks 1,058 years later.

It was during the period of Roman rule that the Apostles Andrew and Paul brought Christianity to Asia Minor. Not until the period of the Tetrarchy however was the official persecution of Christianity ended, with the Edicts of Nikomedia and Milan (311CE) declaring such persecution to be illegal. Two years later, Christianity was officially recognised as a religion. These were important events for eastern Thrace, Asia Minor and Armenia as these were the regions where Christians were strongest, but not yet a majority. Many Christians served in the army and Constantine's mother, Helena, was herself a devout Christian from an important family. These events combined to lay the groundwork for Christianity to be proclaimed the Empire's state religion and all

ancient religions to be banned (by edicts issued in February and November 392CE) during the reign of Theodosios (379-395 CE).

The term “Byzantine” for the state ruled from Constantinople is a modern one, invented by Western scholars to distinguish it from the Western, Latin, Empire. The inhabitants and their rulers saw themselves as the continuation of the Roman Empire; not as a new imperial state. However, more than just the capital city changed.

Territorial losses in North Africa, the East (Armenia and Mesopotamia) and western Europe homogenised the Empire during the 400s and 500s CE, Hellenic replaced Latin as the official language. Orthodoxy³ became dominant, a version of Christianity essentially Hellenic in character. Eastern Orthodox Christianity was – apart from its Biblical tradition - essentially Hellenic. Despite the emerging dominance of Hellenism in the Empire in the early Middle Ages, it was not until the early 1200s that the Empire began adopting an official Hellenic identity, while retaining the Roman name: Roman in substance; Hellenic in civilisation. The authors and scribes of Byzantium are those who preserved the texts and knowledge of the ancient Hellenes by copying and studying their work. The Eastern Roman Empire was the heir of the great Hellenistic tradition begun by Alexander the Great, an immense fusion of Hellenic and Oriental.

This fusion was not, however, always peaceful. The last Latin-speaking Emperor, Justinian I, and the Sassanid King of Persia, Chosroes I, spent 30 years fighting each other for dominance in the East. This struggle against Christendom was inherited by the Islamic Arabs, and later still, by the Seljuk Turks. Eastern Asia Minor and Armenia were the trophies and constantly changed rulers. The incessant warfare ravaged Syria and eastern Asia Minor, the Eastern Roman Empire’s traditional grain growing regions,

triggering depopulation, the mass migrations of the inhabitants and the disruption of economic activity.

A2.3 Islam

The year 622CE was the year of the *Hegira* (the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina), traditionally marked as the birth of Islam. The newly Islamised Arabs, with the passion of all religious converts, set out to spread the word of Allah across the world. In 635CE, General Khalid Ibn Walid captured Damascus. In February 638CE, the Arabs took Jerusalem by treaty. The following year they completed the conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia and invaded Egypt. With the fall of Alexandria on 17 September 642CE, the Islamic conquest of Egypt was complete, and the Eastern Roman Empire lost another major source of revenue and grain.⁴

A2.4 Eastern Roman Empire

The period between 717CE and 867CE was a period of great reform in the Eastern Roman Empire. During the late-600s CE, independent guilds called *logothesia* took hold of the Empire's economic life, each one run by a *logothetes*. The *theme* system of administration was developed by which the Empire was sub-divided into small administrative regions called *themes*. The position of small landowners, the backbone of the Imperial Army, was reinforced. To assist in general mobilisation, the men of each theme were given free parcels of land, under very generous tax conditions. The land would be inherited by the male heirs on the condition that they provide military service when required. This created an army dedicated to the Empire and to their own lands.

These free landholders lived in *komes* (villages), constituting a self-governing community: the grazing pastures of the community belonged to that community, while that community's shepherds looked after the herds. The same applied to the mills and the workshops. The community collected its own taxes, calculated on the total land holdings of the community. Hence all the members of the community were responsible for the community's tax burden. The collapse of this system in the late-1000s, due to the Seljuk conquest of central Asia Minor, set-off the final decline of the Empire.

Bubonic plague was brought to the Empire by the Arabs from Egypt in 746CE. Peloponnesos in particular was ravaged before the epidemic moved on to Constantinople. By the time the plague had run its course in 748CE, the capital had been nearly completely depopulated. Emperor Konstantinos V was forced to transfer populations to these regions to repopulate them. Thousands of Paulicians, adherents of a heresy that had emerged in Armenia in 660CE, known as fierce warriors, moved from Armenia and south-east Asia Minor to eastern Thrace. Thousands of Slavs moved into depopulated Peloponnesos. Emperor Nikephoros (802-811CE) re-Hellenised the region by later transferring Hellenes from Asia Minor.

It was estimated that some eight million from a myriad of peoples lived in Asia Minor by the 900s CE. The Empire was incredibly complex: polyglot, multi-ethnic (Hellenes, Latins, Slavs, Copts, Assyrians, Armenians, Georgians, Lazes, Albanians, Patzinaks, Cumans, Jews, Romany (Gypsies), Berbers, Arabs) and multi-sectarian (Christians (Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Monophysite), Muslims, Jews and their assorted sects, animists/shamanists). Hellenes formed the largest bloc, but whether they formed a majority is uncertain - and largely irrelevant. They were however, indisputably dominant

politically, economically, linguistically and culturally. Nearly all the Emperors were Hellenes, Orthodox Christianity was the state religion, Hellenic the common tongue.⁵

Constant Arab raids seriously depopulated central and eastern Asia Minor throughout the 8th and 9th centuries. The population of the Empire overall began however, increasing from the mid-9th century, partly fuelled by an influx of Armenians. There are references to large and prosperous cities and an increase in the number of episcopal sees in various Byzantine texts.

The role of Armenians in the Empire in the 800s-900s CE was so great that the period could be called Greco-Armenian. The Armenians were by far the most numerous non-Hellenic group of Asia Minor and played key roles in the political and military life of the Empire between the 800s and the mid-1000s; there were even Armenian Eastern Roman Emperors. Changing the policy that had kept an independent Armenian state as a buffer between it and Persia, the Empire began annexing Armenian lands in the late-800s CE. Armenian princes and nobles were transferred elsewhere as Seljuk raids on Byzantine territory began in earnest. In the 900s CE a series of towns in south-east Asia Minor including Melitene (modern Malatya), Tarsus and Antioch (modern Antakya) were devastated by Turkic and Arab raids, then repopulated by Armenians and Syrian Jacobites (Syriac Orthodox Assyrians) brought in by the Empire. Forced population transfers by Eastern Roman Emperors were frequent, on a large scale and for various reasons: Thrace had Armenians, Monophysites, Assyrians and Turks; Goths and Vandals were settled by Justinian in Asia Minor; Bithynia had many Slavs, settled there to end their depredations in Hellas. Given the massive demographic changes in Asia Minor triggered by a combination of warfare and climate change, what was ethnic picture by the

1000s CE? The Hellenic-speaking population dominated in the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, Kappadokia, eastern Thrace and Asia Minor's Pontine coast. Bulgars and Slavs settled in Asia Minor by the Empire, pockets of whom retained their identity until the 1000s. Mauroi, Mardaites and Saracens were settled in south-western Asia Minor. Although their precise origin is uncertain, the Mauroi⁶ were possibly North Africans who served in the navy.

Following the death of Vasileios II in 1025, the incompetent Konstantinos VIII ruled for three years, before in turn being succeeded by his daughters Zoe and Theodora. For the next 28 years, the sisters installed a series of weak emperors who did their bidding. The first of these, Romanos II Argyros (1028-1034) rescinded the "Solidarity" tax. The last one, Konstantinos IX the Gladiator (1042-1055) began dismantling the theme military system that had served the Empire so well.

During this period of weak rule, the ongoing power struggle between the wealthy landed gentry (the military leaders admired by the people for their victories on the battlefield) and the learned scholars and bureaucrats in Constantinople reached fever pitch. According to Ostrogorsky, "the insatiable drive of the landed aristocracy for more land presupposes a certain degree of abundance of agricultural labour". With the bureaucrats of the Imperial Court in the ascendancy, they reversed many of the reforms introduced by the Macedonian Dynasty that had strengthened the Byzantine military. They resisted any opportunity that would give their opponents victories on the battlefield, which in turn would boost their prestige amongst the populace. The system of *theme* (province)-based armies was dissolved by the end of the 11th century. The power of the civilian regional governors was boosted. The ancient practice of paying-off

military service was reintroduced across the Empire; forcing the armies to rely to on mercenaries. The most destructive administrative change of all was the introduction of granting *pronoia*: the state rewarded its notable citizens by granting them what amounted to fiefdoms for a certain period. Later, these 'estates' became lifetime holdings and ultimately hereditary. The first recipient was Konstantinos Leihoudes, one of the most powerful civilians at the court of Konstantinos IX.

The most tragi-comic event that resulted from this all-out assault on the power of the military by the bureaucracy was the battle of Malazgirt (modern Mantzikert; a small town north of Lake Van in western Armenia). Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes sought to assemble an army to meet the invading Seljuk Turks. The bureaucrats did their best to sabotage this effort and ultimately succeeded. Romanos arrived at the battlefield much weaker than anticipated and subsequently lost the battle and Asia Minor. When the Seljuk leader Alp-Arslan released him and the defeated Emperor returned to his capital, the bureaucrats had him arrested, blinded and exiled to Prote, an island in the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), where he died soon afterward.

A2.5 Children of the Grey Wolf

Despite the idea, originated by Kemal Ataturk, that all Turks are descended from the Seljuk Turks, the Turks (of today), in fact have developed from a variety of stocks. In Anatolia (Asia Minor) there are undoubtedly descendants of the Seljuks, but the blood has been diluted, and around the Aegean coast the predominant blood factor is still Levantine.⁷

The Turks had never had a country of their own - not even in the far off days when the first raiders had come from beyond the Aral Sea. They were conquerors wherever they went, living on borrowed time and land. They invaded and pillaged.⁸

A Chinese chronicle from 545CE recorded the *Tu-Kiue* as a tribe of the *Hiong-nu* (rebel slaves). They were nomadic herders who had been pushed southwards by the stronger Mongol tribes into the deserts and the marginal lands of modern-day southern Mongolia and the Chinese province of Inner Mongolia; the territory bounded by the Oxus, the Ili and the Hwang-Ho Rivers.

In 121BCE, the Chinese formulated a policy to break the mass of nomads united under the *Tchen-yu* (also known as *Tengri-Kat*, Power of God), a kind of emperor, living north of the Hwang-Ho river. They were collectively known as '*Hiong-nu*' to the Chinese and 'Turanians' to the Persians. The Chinese sought to do this by splitting the barbarians into two groups, those for assimilation and those for expulsion. A series of Chinese colonies would be planted in the frontier districts, permanently physically separating the two groups. The northern marches ran along the Great Wall. The southern ones were the Hami and Turfan districts.

In 112BCE, the Chinese set their grand scheme into motion.⁹ Four years later, the southern marches of Hami and Turfan had been conquered. The nomads who settled around the new Chinese military outposts in the region became subjects of the Emperor, who came to be known as the Uighurs. In 51BCE, the *Tchen-yu* accepted defeat and asked to be adopted by the Chinese Emperor. The sovereigns of the *Hiong-nu* adopted Chinese names to be used alongside their Turkic ones and became warriors of the Chinese Empire. When these mercenaries went unpaid, they went on the rampage.¹⁰

Emperor Ming-ti decided to end this practice in 72CE. He sent General Pan-Tchao to kill the most rebellious Uighurs and get rid of the rest in distant wars. Four years later, Nan-lu (modern Kashgar) was conquered. When a new Emperor ascended the throne, Pan-Tchao was recalled. In his memoirs, he disclosed his master plan: the peoples of the marches and the petty kings of the west would be welded into one federation under Imperial protection. They would then provide the men and the money for a westward war of conquest. As Chinese frontiers were pushed ever westward, the Chinese heartland would build wealth in peace. In 92CE, Pan-Tchao led his Turkic, Getic and Afghan warriors westwards, reaching the Caspian Sea before being recalled. A lieutenant of his then implemented Pan-Tchao's grand plan. As a Chinese army closed the outlet of the Pe-lu (modern Erkene-Kum) at the sources of the Irtush River, the Hiong-nu were driven eastwards into the Altai mountain gorges. One fragment of these refugees sheltered in obscurity in the Altai, later emerging as the Tu-Kiue. They were the distant ancestors of the modern Turks. Some tribes broke through the blockade, taking to the Central Asian steppes, joining the established Kiptchak tribes or becoming fugitives like the Kazaks and Kyrgyz. These fugitives later appeared in the Ural Mountains and on the Volga River, then on the Kuban, then on the River Don, then on the Danube. They became known as the Hunnigures, Avars, Magyars, Petchenegs, Kumani and Turkomen (Turks of the Terek).¹¹

The Turkic tribes called their land north of the Tian Shan Mountains, bounded by the Oxus, Ili and Hwang-ho rivers "*Tchete*" (the frontier). In the 500s CE, the Eastern Roman Empire gained knowledge of these *Tourkoi*, sending an embassy to them in 569CE.¹² With Han China continually pushing westward, the Hiong-nu came up against

Sassanid Iran. The Iranian national epic, the *Shahnameh* (Book of Kings) records the wars between the Iranians and the Turkic tribes for control of the lands between the Oxus (Amu Darya) and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) rivers. The Turkic refugee tribes eventually won. Soon afterwards, the Altai Turkic mercenaries of the Chinese Emperors attacked and conquered these independent Turkic tribal states. The Islamic Arabic revolution however destroyed the order of the Sassanid Empire and allowed the Turkic migrations to come across Iran, Mesopotamia and Syria, ultimately into Asia Minor and Europe.

In 552CE, Tu-men, king of the Tu-Kiue, crushed the White Huns¹³ – the *Tie-le* of the water bank (the Caspian Sea's eastern shores). This victory earned him the title *Il-Khan*. His second successor extended these conquests, earning the titles Mokan-Khan and Tekine. By 562CE, Mokan ruled from the Chinese marches to the Oxus river to the north Caucasus and along the Volga River. To keep these vast territories united, he needed the assistance of both Imperial China and the Eastern Roman Empire.¹⁴

A2.6 Christianity and Islam

Christianity reached Khorasan and the frontiers of Transoxiana in the 300s CE, brought to Central Asia by Assyrian missionaries. In 635CE, the year that the Gospel reached China, the Arabs defeated the Iranians at the Battle of Kadeseeyah and brought Islam to Iran. Three decades later, Iran was Islamised and Arab adventurers crossed the Oxus (Amu Darya) River into Turkic lands. The Singan Fu inscription (dating to 781CE and written in Chinese and Syriac) mentions Metropolitan Ning-chu, Patriarch Mar Hanan Ishua, and Bishop Adam, Pope of Tzinista (China). About 1000CE, the Kerait Turkic tribe, right up to the heart of the Gobi Desert, adopted Nestorian Christianity.¹⁵

Between “800 and 1000 (CE), the Seljuks changed their religion three times, passing from Shamanism to Nestorian Christianity ... to the faith of Islam; but they did not change their speech”.¹⁶ At this time, different Turkic tribes professed their original animist/shamanist beliefs, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, as well as Nestorian and Manichaen Christianity. It was, however, the adoption of Sunni Islam that finally unified the disparate Turkic tribes.

In 712CE, Arab Muslims built the first mosque in Bokhara. For a long time afterwards, the faithful could only go to pray in armed groups. The service was conducted in Farsi, not Arabic. Islam adapted to the traditions of each region: it became apostolic in Kiptchak, mystic in Transoxania, political and literary in Iran and the frontier districts.

By the mid-1200s, there were three major commercial routes between East and West: a) through the Pe-lu, plagued by constant warfare; b) through the Nan-lu, interrupted by the whims of the Khans of Transoxania; and c) by sea from Canton to the Persian Gulf ports. Rivalry between Kiptchak and Persian was re-awakened over trade and prosperity. Christianity in Central Asia declined, as did the prosperity of Almalik and Pentapolis (the cities of Meshhed, Nishapur, Merv, Herat and Khorasan), its spiritual and military centres.

Nestorian Christianity was deep-rooted and native in Central Asia. The Christians of Sogdiana, being led by Assyrian clerics, offered no resistance to the Islamic influx, for Semitic Christianity made no opposition to Semitic Islam.¹⁷ It was the Roman Catholic “invasion” of Nestorian Central Asia led to the effective destruction of Christianity there in 1342, with Islam filled in the gap.¹⁸ It was during the struggle against the *Tchetes*, that

the last Christian Turks disappeared, though the Kerait and the Naiman retained their clan seals (*tanga*), reminders of the Christian heritage.¹⁹

By the 900s CE, most of the Turks of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) valley were Muslim. The tide of migration was then reversed as Turks began infiltrating Arab lands in great numbers. The Abbasid revolution in Iran in the 800s CE re-directed the Turkic migration from a north-westerly to a south-westerly direction, towards Azerbaijan, Transcaucasia, Syria and Asia Minor. As the Turkic nomads entered the service of the Sunni Arab caliphs, they adopted Islam as part of their oath of obedience. They were settled along the borders with the Eastern Roman Empire. The more Turkic soldiers migrated west, the more of them that came out of Central Asia. The Turkic mercenaries:

understood absolutely nothing of it (Islam); it was to them merely a part of their military discipline, and as such demanded obedience. The Turks entered the orthodox Sunnite Moslem church, not as catechumen neophytes, but as military recruits, without bowing their heads.²⁰

The servants soon became the masters, as these warriors began overthrowing their rulers and installing leaders from amongst their own ranks. Ahmad ibn Tulun, the son of a Turkish slave, ruled Egypt from 868 to 884CE, refusing to obey the Caliph's summons to give up his official position of deputy governor. He and his successors ruled Egypt until 905CE when they were conquered by an Abbasid army. The Ikhshidids, another Turkic dynasty, then ruled Egypt from 935 to 969CE.

The powerlessness of the Caliphs to keep their regional governors under control was primarily a military problem. To lessen their dependence on Arab draftees, the

Caliphs recruited non-Arab mercenaries (generally Central Asian or Caspian Turkic tribesmen) or kept armies of slave soldiers.

Contemporary writers concurred in the belief that Turkish troops, whether slaves or mercenaries, displayed qualities which made them militarily superior to all other groups. They revelled in war for its own sake, fought like lions, were reckoned tolerably obedient and produced resourceful and skilful leaders. But they were also ambitious and grasping, and whether bond or free they displayed a cohesive strength and a sense of racial pride that, added to their other formidable qualities, made them potentially dangerous to their masters.²¹

The Abbasid Caliphs found themselves prisoners of their own bodyguards. Even the desperate move of capital from Baghdad to Samarra by Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861CE), in an attempt to get away from his Turkic troops proved futile. In desperation, the Caliphs attempted to play off their Daylami against their Central Asian mercenaries. The result was the founding of the Shiite Daylami Buyid Dynasty in 945CE. They went on to conquer all the western and southern parts of the Iranian plateau. The Buyids claimed they were descended from the Sassanid Dynasty and were the first Muslim rulers to use the pre-Islamic Iranian title of *Shahanshab* (King of Kings).

To the east was the Samanid dynasty that ruled in the Mawarannahr region, centred on Bukhara, between 819CE and 1005. The Samanids brought about the 'New Iranian Renaissance', fusing the pre-Islamic social system and cultural traditions of eastern Iran with the Islam. Lying on the border of the Islamic and Turkic worlds, Samanid Mawarannahr drew the Turks across the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) river into the sphere of Islamic civilisation for the first time. Iranians, eastern and western Turks thus came to share the cultural inheritance of the Samanids. The Arab caliphs proceeded to send these

terrible adventurers to the western marches, setting them up with fiefdoms along the Byzantine border, on territory captured from the Christian Rum. In this way northern Syria and eastern Asia Minor fell.²²

The Seljuks began as the clan chieftains in the Oghuz confederacy on the steppes north of the Caspian and Aral Seas. In the first decades of the 1000s, they gradually infiltrated into Khwarazm and Mawarannahr. The Seljuk leader, Tugrul, son of Seljuk (1038-1063), proclaimed himself Sultan in Nishapur in eastern Iran in 1038. When Baghdad fell to Tugrul in 1055, the Caliph recognised this title. The Turkic revival of the Islamic Empire came at precisely the time when the Christian Eastern Roman state was being wracked by internal strife. Togrul quickly captured Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, depriving the Byzantines of these wealthy provinces once and for all. The division of the Imperial Army, the depopulation of eastern Asia Minor and western Armenia caused by the destruction of local villages and frontier outposts and the general maladministration of the Empire meant that there was little organised resistance to the Turkic raids.

A2.7 Mantzikert

As mentioned earlier, the first major pitched battle between Byzantine and Seljuk was at the Battle of Malazgirt (Mantzikert) in 1071. Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes wanted to repel the Turkic invaders before they became settled in eastern Asia Minor, sending two columns of Imperial troops (mostly mercenaries) marched from Theodosiupolis (Erzerum): one column under Romanos directly to Malazgirt; the other under Rouselios to Hliat and then to Malazgirt. The Imperial Army commanded by Romanos himself was

however defeated and scattered by Alp-Arslan's men on the plain east of the town itself. The wounded Emperor was captured but later released unharmed as were all the Eastern Roman prisoners upon payment of a large ransom.

Over the next decade, the Seljuks roamed around Asia Minor as far as the Bosphoros itself. When Sultan Malik-Shah divided his vast empire into smaller feudal states in 1080, one of his relatives, Suleyman ibn Qutulmish, was given Asia Minor. So was born the Sultanate of Rum with its capital at Nikaia (Iznik), the first Turkic state in the region.

A2.8 Crusades

The capture of Nikaia by Latin Crusaders during the reign of Kilic Arslan I, son of Suleyman, forced the Seljuks southwards. They re-established their state around Ikonion (Konya) and commenced a war of attrition against the Crusaders, who were headed for the Holy Lands. Togrul and his successors Alp-Arslan (1063-1072) and Malik-Shah (1072-1092) made the Seljuk Sultanate the most powerful state in the Islamic East. At one stage, its borders were Kashgar in the east and the Mediterranean Sea in the west. Despite their political and military might, the Seljuks retained the spiritual authority of the Caliph, partly to preserve the office and partly because both Caliph and Sultan were threatened by the spread of non-Sunni Islamic sects like the Nizari Ismail'i movement.

After Malik-Shah's death, the dynasty was torn apart by internal divisions, to which pressures from the Latin Crusaders only added. Despite assuming the military and administrative structures of Islamic Iran, the Seljuks

failed to emancipate themselves sufficiently from their tribal Central Asian past, especially in the matter of patrimonial concepts regarding the succession and the sovereign claims of the various princes of the royal house.

The result was the effective partition of the Seljuk state into autonomous sultanates like that of Rum in western Asia Minor, owing only nominal allegiance to the main line of Sultans in Khurasan. Seljuk princes traditionally had *Atabegs* (guardians), experienced Turkic slave commanders, attached to them. As the Empire disintegrated, the more ambitious *Atabegs* established dynasties of their own in various regions.

Out of the chaos that engulfed the Byzantine Empire between 1078 and 1081 emerged the Komnenos Dynasty founded by Alexios I Komnenos.²³ Alexios set about resurrecting central power by surrounding himself with many members of the landed gentry, bringing them to live in Constantinople. The major goal of his life was to save the European territories of the Empire from the Normans and the remaining Byzantine regions of Asia Minor from the Turks. Apart from these threats there were also the problems created by the Serbs and the First (Latin) Crusade.

On 27 November of the following year, Roman Catholic Pope Urban II called on all Christians in western Europe to take up arms, become 'soldiers of the Cross' (hence the term Crusaders) and 'liberate' the Holy Land from the Islamic 'hordes'. This quasi-religious fervour united western Christianity like nothing else before or since. The Crusades were quasi-religious because while many of the Crusaders fought for the glory of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in the first three Crusades, many other Crusades, particularly from the 4th Crusade onwards, were clearly political and economic in character.

The First Crusade (1095-1099) is also known as the Barons' Crusade. Four armies converged on Constantinople between autumn 1096 and spring 1097, some 100,000 men in all. Alexios was in a very difficult position: this army was neither friend nor foe to the Eastern Roman Empire. So Alexios called on them to pledge their loyalty to him as their feudal lord, an oath the knights gave willingly. This meant that these Western knights were now vassals of the Eastern Emperor. Any lands they conquered ultimately belonged to him. Not everyone kept faith with their oaths though.

The combined Eastern Roman-Crusader armies besieged and recaptured Nikaia (Iznik), capital of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, a major victory for Alexios, whose forces went on to liberate most of western Asia Minor, while the Crusaders continued on to Jerusalem. They were nearly wiped out in another major battle with the Turks, but managed to carry the day, opening the road to Jerusalem, which fell on 15 July 1099.

The twin pressures of the growing Italian merchant fleets and the capture of Eastern Roman ports by the Arabs and Turks, progressively curtailed Eastern Roman economic clout and by extension, political and military power. Resentment of the increasingly wealthy and powerful foreigners shook the belief of the Empire's citizens in its power and reinforced their hostility towards the West. The economic subjugation of the Eastern Roman state was followed by its political subjugation as Constantinople lost its economic and political dominance of the eastern Mediterranean.

Alexios was succeeded by his son Ioannes II Komnenos (1118-1143), a good and noble ruler with a direct character and excellent martial capabilities. He disliked luxury and lived in military camps. His campaigns against the Seljuks in Asia Minor and the Normans in Syria were markedly successful but he died shortly after being wounded in a

wild boar hunt in Cilicia. Before he could consolidate his early gains, power passed to his fourth son, who happened to be with him at the time.

Manuel I (1143-1180) was the most dynamic ruler of the Komnenos Dynasty. A skilled military, political and diplomatic leader, he chased his dreams with dexterity. He was dedicated to restoring the Byzantine Empire to the status of superpower and rebuild the ancient Roman Empire and he believed that the Pope in Rome could help achieve this goal. The stumbling block was that often these dreams were beyond the Empire's capacity to fulfil.

The Turkic Emir of Mosul captured Edessa (modern Urfa) in 1144, only to lose it again the following year. In 1146, his son, Nureddin, recaptured the city and treated its predominantly Christian inhabitants very harshly. This was the trigger for the utterly ineffective Second Crusade, led by King Ludwig VII of France and Konrad III of Germany. Manuel's primary military and diplomatic objective was to gain from the Second Crusade and fulfil the dream of a consolidated Eastern Roman state. Through adroit use of diplomacy, he kept the consequences of the passage of the Crusaders through his realm to a minimum. On the battlefield, Manuel defeated the Seljuks at Ikonion (Konya), the Armenians in Cilicia, and the Sultan of Aleppo, Nureddin. In a second campaign against the Sultanate of Rum, he forced Sultan Kilic Arslan II to become his vassal.

Having re-subjugated the Serbs in south-eastern Europe, Manuel prepared a great expedition, with many mercenaries and allied troops. Manuel's focus on the Empire's northern and western borders did not permit him to devote adequate diplomatic and military resources to Asia Minor, the geographic and ethnographic backbone of the

Eastern Roman Empire. The result was the crushing defeat of the Byzantine Army at the battle of Myriokephalo, near ancient Kelaines on 17 September 1176.²⁴

The defeat at Malazgirt gave the Turks control of eastern and central Asia Minor. The defeat at Myriokephalo gave them the west also. Turkic raiders now roamed at will as far as the Aegean coast. Constantinople gave up all attempts to expel the invaders from this most vital region. It was from then, only a matter of time before the Eastern Roman Empire was extinguished.

Dorylaion (modern Eski-Shehir), once a city of some size, was a complete ruin by the end of the reign of Manuel I (1180), as were Sublaeum, Attaleia (modern Antalya), Ephesos, Nikomedia (modern Ismid) and perhaps Tralleis (modern Aydin) and Pergamon (modern Bergama). It is said that even the monks left the malarial desert that became the Meander (Menderes) region. The Cayster, Hermos, Caicos and Sangarios (Sakarya) river valleys were not much better. Smyrne was in ruins by the early 1300s. Although many Christians fled these regions for Europe as the Turks pushed towards the coast, substantial Christian populations remained under Osmanli rule.

The Fourth Crusade began in 1202, launched by Pope Innocent III. Led by Baldwin of Flanders and Boniface Momferatikos from northern Italy, it counted no monarchs in its ranks: only feudal lords from France, Flanders and Italy. This Crusade was different because (i) its target was not the Holy Land directly, but Egypt, then headquarters of the Islamic World; (ii) of the major role played by the Venetians under Doge Dandolo. When Alexios Angelos sought the Crusaders help to re-take the Eastern Roman throne, it was the Venetians who persuaded the Crusaders to go to Egypt, via Constantinople. The taxes the restored Emperor Alexios IV imposed on the populace in

order to fulfil his financial obligations to the Crusaders proved too heavy for them to bear. In any event, the new taxes raised less than half the sums Alexios had promised to pay. A revolt (perhaps inevitably) ensued and Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos emerged as Emperor. The blinded co-Emperor Isaakios Angelos had passed away during the revolt.

Mourtzouphlos refused to recognise the treaty between his predecessor and the Crusaders and so they attacked. Constantinople fell on 13 April 1204, the first time since 330CE that the City had been taken by an enemy force. Three days of looting followed. Tens of thousands of religious relics, monuments and works of art were stolen and sent to the West. Their value was inestimable. Amongst the most prominent of these are the four bronze horses that still adorn the Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice. Indeed, much of the Cathedral's decorations had been stripped from Constantinople. This marked the end of a unified Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire in any practical sense.

The remaining Eastern Roman emperors governed very little territory, which had very little cohesion; the Empire was a patchwork of disparate territories. It lacked economic resources and therefore an army of its own. Nikaia was where the Imperial Court found refuge after the loss of the capital, with the support of the Seljuk Sultan of Ikonion. The rulers of this state believed that they were the legitimate heirs to the Eastern Roman throne. The ecclesiastical and political leadership of the Empire followed him there. Theodoros I Laskares (1204-1222) was officially crowned Emperor by the new Patriarch in the cathedral at Nikaia. In a formal encyclical to all Hellenes, Laskares was presented as the continuation of the Byzantine imperial tradition. When he died, he left his state the strongest in Asia Minor and the natural successor of the united Eastern

Roman Empire. The Nikaia Emperors then built up solid foundations for their state. Protecting the peasants, they strengthened the free rural class, and organised handicraft industries which very quickly brought rewards. Emperor Vatatzes issued a law banning the import of foreign goods (except primary products) in order to encourage domestic production.

The Seljuk and Turkomen emirs took advantage of the inter-Christian fighting to carve out little states for themselves from the Empire's remaining territory. The majority of these lasted but a short time. Matters were further complicated by the Mongol invasions of Asia Minor. The Ottoman Turks came to Asia Minor with Chingiz Khan in the early 1200s. The Mongol-Turkic force was on the verge of completely destroying the power of both the Islamic and the Seljuk Empires. Only the death of the Khan gave them and Europe the breathing space they needed. The Mongols returned a few decades later. In 1243, following the Battle of Kosedag, the Mongols destroyed the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and reached the Aegean coast. According to Halil Inalcik, the first result of the Mongol invasions were the migrations westward of the Turkomen nomads.

Following his victory over his Byzantine rivals, Mihael then set about preparing to re-take Constantinople. In 1261, he sent Kaesar Alexios Strategopoulos with 800 men to the Bulgarian frontier. On his own initiative, Strategopoulos instead approached Constantinople. Upon learning how weak its defences were, his small force attacked and re-captured the City on 25 July. On 15 August, feast day of the Dormition of Our Lady, Mihael entered the Eastern Roman capital in triumph and was crowned Emperor in the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia. The last Latin Emperor, Baldwin II, fled to the West, seeking assistance in re-taking Constantinople, assistance which was not forthcoming.

In the mid-1200s, a group of Turkic *yuruks* (nomads) led by Ertugrul, settled in the Soyout (Sogud) region of Asia Minor, south-east of Prousa. They were given winter pastures along the Eastern Roman border by their Seljuk overlords and summer ones in the mountains to the east. Converts to Islam, the *gazis* (conquerors)²⁵ were fanatical fighters of every form of 'infidel' and 'heretic'. These fierce warriors with the 'Holy War' mentality and strict moral code were sent by the Seljuk Sultan to battle with the Christian frontiersmen (*akrites*).

An Islamic revolt broke out in eastern Asia Minor against the rule of the shamanist Mongols in 1277, assisted by the Turkic Mamluks of Egypt. Although this uprising was crushed, numerous others broke out over the next five decades for similar reasons. Refugees and migrants continued congregating in the hills overlooking the Christian-ruled plains of western Asia Minor. Turkic raids on these wealthy, fertile lowlands increased to the point where by the 1290s, they resembled a general invasion.

The Palaeologan Emperors set their hopes for salvation from the rapidly expanding Ottoman state on the West. But the obstacle of the Great Schism prevented any real assistance being offered. The Royal House and many of the clerical and intellectual elite were derisively called "Uniates" due to their acceptance of the submission of the Eastern Church to Rome.

A2.9 Osmanli

Emperor Andronikos II (1282-1330), son and successor of Mihael, had employed the *Catalan Company*²⁶ to fight against the Ottoman Turks. At first very effective, they began rampaging through southern Hellas in 1303. This is but one in a long list of examples

where the Emperors' use of mercenaries backfired with disastrous consequences. A Turkic tribal leader named Osman (1289-1326), converted to Islam and founded the Ottoman²⁷ dynasty which ruled uninterrupted until 1923. He struck at the Eastern Roman Empire's coastal provinces at a time when the Emperors were rapidly losing interest in protecting them. The first pitched battle between the Ottoman and Eastern Roman armies was at Nikomedia in 1301, a battle the Christians lost. In 1302, Osman besieged Nikaia. Emperor Andronikos sent 2,000 mercenaries to repel the invader, only to be ambushed and defeated at Baphaeon in the summer of that year. As news of Osman's victory over an Imperial force spread, so *gazis* from across Asia Minor flocked to his banner. Osman was killed during the capture of Prousa by his army in 1326. His son, Orhan (1326-1362) completed the conquest of this important Eastern Roman centre and made it the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Nikaia and Nikomedia fell soon after. The following year, Orhan struck his own coins, thereby declaring his independence from the Islamised Mongol Ilkhanid Dynasty based in Iran. He also reformed the Ottoman military, organising it into a standing army with regular infantry and cavalry wings.

The ideas of a continuous *jihad* and the continual expansion of Islamic territory until it covered the whole world were the foundations of this frontier society. Turkish became the administrative and literary language of the state for the first time. The *gazi* principalities across Asia Minor soon adopted the traditions and institutions of the Seljuks. Sultan Orhan established a *medresse* (Islamic school) in Nikaia in 1331 and a trading centre at Prousa, with an open-air bazaar and an enclosed market for more valuable goods) in 1340. The similarities of frontier life lead some *akritai/gazis* to change

camps: Christians converting to Islam and non-Muslim Ottomans to Orthodoxy. The Holy War was fought to subdue, not to destroy. Christians and Jews could live according to their own religious laws on the condition that they obeyed the Sultan and paid their taxes.

During the early years of the empire the Ottomans pursued a policy of attempting to secure the voluntary submission and confidence of the Christians before resorting to warfare.²⁸

A2.10 Ottoman Europe

Southeastern Europe lay exhausted and virtually unprotected from the ambitious Ottoman Turks. As Karl Roth, said the landed gentry “undermined and disbanded the unity of the state and with their short-sighted egoism brought about its destruction”. “As the Turkish tribes advanced (securing all the territory south of the Maenander River, then pushing northwards), the Byzantine subjects were driven out, killed or taken captive”. By 1350 the greater part of Asia Minor was under Turkic domination but the overwhelming majority of the population were Christians. In the few parts of Asia Minor not under Turkic rule, war, hunger and disease devastated the rural communities. The lands that the peasantry could no longer hold on to passed to the landed gentry or to the numerous monasteries and convents. The chasm between rich and poor grew and grew, as the impoverished peasants migrated to the urban centres and the powerful large landowners amassed ever larger fortunes. The practice of usury added to the burden of the urban and rural poor, bringing the situation to crisis point.

Ioannes Kantakouzenos, a senior Court official and pretender to the Imperial throne, invited Ottoman troops into the battle in 1345, but Thessalonike repelled his forces as well as an attempt by the nobles to overthrow the Zealots the same year. The city was organised as an autonomous state, a situation that continued even after Kantakouzenos was reconciled with Empress Anna, mother of the young Emperor Ioannes V. In 1349, after Kantakouzenos finally gained the throne he so coveted, Thessalonike fell to another counter-revolt by the nobles.

The Ottoman state had two major advantages at this time: it was cut off from the larger, stronger Turkic states further east, which could easily absorb it; and it was the only Turkic state that bordered the Eastern Roman. The fact that to the west lay the lands of the 'infidels' only whet the appetites of the Ottoman *gazis* for conquest and plunder. Their rule was autocratic and the military constituted the aristocracy. The new state gave the impression of being a large, well-disciplined military coup. Until 1352, the Ottoman state was just one of many Turkic principalities in Asia Minor. Within three decades, all the others had become vassals of the Ottomans.

The key that unlocked this power was to gain a foothold in Europe. As the Hellespont was in Christian hands, any Muslim force attempting to invade Europe would be cut off and annihilated. A power struggle developed in the Turkic state of Karesi (on the Asian shore of the Hellespont) in 1345. Orhan seized his opportunity and annexed it. The following year, Orhan allied himself with Kantakouzenos, an alliance sealed by the wedding of Orhan to Kantakouzenos' daughter, Princess Theodora.

In 1352, Orhan's son Suleyman went to Adrianoupole to help Kantakouzenos against the Serbs and Bulgars. He seized Tzympe (on the Propontic shore of the

Kallipole peninsula) and refused to evacuate it, despite repeated requests to do so by Kantakouzenos. Suleyman brought more troops across from Asia Minor and laid siege to the city of Kallipole itself, the peninsula's largest fortress. During the night of 1-2 March 1354, an earthquake destroyed all the fortifications in the entire peninsula. The Turks moved in and secured their foothold in Europe. The same colonisation techniques that had won Asia Minor for the Turks were employed again: Muslim nomads were brought across, settled in the frontier districts and urged to expand at the expense of the Christians. *Gazi* raids forced the Christian inhabitants of Thrace off the land and into the citadels. If the forts surrendered voluntarily, they were allowed to go about their business. If they resisted, they were enslaved or expelled and Turks were settled in their place. Dervish hospices mushroomed everywhere, often becoming the nuclei of Turkish villages.

1357 was not a good year for Sultan Orhan. Suleyman died suddenly and Orhan's youngest son, Halil, was captured by the Eastern Romans. Orhan was forced to sue for peace. When Halil was released two years later, another of Orhan's sons, Murad, the commander of Kallipole, went on the offensive. Geographical conditions determined the pattern of the Ottoman conquest of the southeastern Europe. The Ottomans quickly captured the fortresses along the Evros river valley, securing the entire valley by 1365 and those along the Constantinople-Adrianople road, cutting off the Imperial capital from a major source of supplies. Adrianople itself fell in 1361. Following the Via Egnatia, they took Serres, Monastiri (modern Bitola) and Ahrida (modern Ohrid), reaching the Adriatic Sea in 1385. A third force followed the Constantinople-Belgrade road, entering the Morava river valley the same year after taking Sophia and Nish. The

following year, the Serb kingdom became an Ottoman vassal state. Moving along the course of the Tundzha valley, part of the Ottoman army crossed the Aimos Mountains via the Karnobad Pass. In 1371 they routed a group of Serb princes at the battle of Chermanon and the following year, the Despot of the Dobrudja and the Czar of Bulgaria were made Ottoman vassals. Yet another part of the invasion force took Thessalonike in 1387 and moved into Thessaly.

The basic reason for the ease of the Ottomans' conquest of the Aimos Peninsula was the lack of unity amongst the region's Christian kingdoms. Between 1356 and 1366, Ottoman troops helped the Bulgar Czar against the Eastern Romans, Hungarians and Wallachians. Amadeo VI of Savoy captured Kallipole in 1366, handing it over to the Eastern Roman Emperor the following year. The Ottomans nightmare scenario was realised: the Christians had cut off the two halves of their state from each other. However Emperor Andronikos IV in turn handed over the strategic fortress-town to Sultan Murad I in October 1376, in return for his earlier support in regaining the Imperial throne. Emperor Ioannes V attempted to form an anti-Turkish Christian coalition during two trips he made in 1366, to Hungary and to Italy. Three years later, he personally visited the Pope and officially acknowledged his primacy as well as the Latin dogma. Emperor Ioannes VIII (1425-1448) did the same on two trips he made to Rome in 1423 and 1438, accompanied by many of the City's wisest clerics and intellectuals, making this the most important of all such visits to the Vatican. The populace and the majority of the clergy were opposed to the union and fought this policy of the State at every opportunity.

The Palaeologan Emperors were so focussed on securing aid from the West that they ignored the coalition of Christian southeast European peoples the anti-Uniate Orthodox Church leaders were attempting to create. Patriarch Philotheos eagerly accepted the proposal of the leader of Serbian Christianity, Jovan Ugliesa, to form an Orthodox Crusade against the Muslim Turks. The proposal came to naught because the various regions of southeastern Europe were so exhausted and their lords had such deep differences amongst themselves. Ugliesa led a Christian force against the Turks at Jernomian (modern Ormenion, Hellas) on the Evros River (1371), the first organised resistance the Turks met in Europe, but to no avail.

Ottoman administration returned central administration to the lands they took from the Byzantines. General regulations, especially in taxation affairs, replaced the arbitrary nature of the feudal system. For example while Serbian King Stefan Dusan's law code required that the peasant work on his lord's lands two days per week, Ottoman regulations required the same service only three days per year.²⁹

Official recognition of the Orthodox Church and (the in principle) suppression of the Roman Catholic one by the Ottoman Sultans, brought the Orthodox clergy onside - at least in part. Christian nobles who did not openly resist were absorbed into the Ottoman military. Thousands of Christians who served in the Ottoman army were rewarded with land and exempted from taxation. The nomadic Vlachs were likewise exempted in return for service as frontier guards and raiders. Conversion to Islam was not yet a prerequisite for the retention of lands and titles by Christian nobles. Even as late as 1500, there were still some Christian lords who served in the Ottoman military.

A2.11 *devshirme*

Orhan's successor as Sultan, Murad I (1362-1389), was faced with a great problem when he assumed the Ottoman throne. The Empire by then covered much of south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor and required a large army and bureaucracy to maintain. Yet the Muslims were still a small minority in the Ottoman state. There was also the matter of how to deal with the huge numbers of Christian prisoners-of-war. An Islamic theologian from Karamania, Kara Rustem, gave Murad the opinion that the *Qu'ran* did not forbid the use of one-fifth of the younger prisoners (fifteen to 20-year-olds) for the needs of the Empire. These youths, known as *penchik-oglan* or *atzem-oglan*, were forcibly converted to Islam and made to serve in the Ottoman army. Initially they were called *kapi kullari* (slaves of the Porte). This corps grew to become the Janissaries, the Christians' nightmare.

Why introduce forced Islamisation of Christian subjects? Firstly, free Muslims were reluctant to serve in the infantry, preferring the traditional cavalry. Secondly, the Sultan wanted to create an army that was disciplined and completely dedicated to him and not to another warlord. Thirdly, there was the utter lack of qualified administrators amongst the (until recently nomadic) Turks. Children six to ten years of age (*ic-oglan*) were taken and trained to serve at court or in the bureaucracy. Despite the Sultan laying down rules governing the practice of child-gathering, violations of these were frequent. Christian families regularly resorted to bribery to save their children from abduction. According to the Hellene historian, Konstantinos Paparegopoulos, the number of these abductees in the 500-odd years the practice endured came to about one million boys and youths.

On 15 June 1389, an army of Serbs, Croats, Poles, Magyars and Vlachs faced the Ottomans on *Kosovo Polje* (the Field of the Blackbirds). The night before the battle, a Serb knight feigned surrender, was taken to the Sultan's tent and killed the Ottoman ruler. Murad's assassination was kept secret until after the battle was won. Murad's son, Beyazit I Yildirim (Lightning Bolt; 1389-1402), defeated a 60,000-strong Crusader army at Nikopolis-on-Aimos (Nigbolu in Turkish), on the Bulgarian shore of the Danube River, seven years later. King Sigismund of Hungary was amongst the dead of this battle. At the same time, a Turkic force raided Christian-held Peloponnesos and returned.

Constantinople was left with next to no territory in Asia Minor and only a few isolated pockets in south-eastern Europe. When Emperor Ioannes V died, his son and heir, Manuel, was a hostage, living at Beyazit's court. He managed to escape and assumed his father's throne. It was the throne of an Empire that existed in name only. The shores of the Bosphoros were Turkish. The people of Constantinople were so poor and the City so depopulated that a chronicler of the time recorded that people were tearing abandoned buildings apart for firewood.

A2.12 Christian (Dis)Unity

Manuel was so desperate that he left his nephew to administer the City and travelled to the West. He visited most of the major centres, even reaching London. Everyone he met expressed sympathy and understanding, but no real assistance was promised or delivered. Venice and Genoa had much at stake in saving Constantinople from the Turks, but their rivalry was so intense that any co-operation between them proved impossible. England and France were again on the brink of war and had no time for other people's problems

(the Hundred Years' War ran from 1337 to 1453). Even at the popular level, the general belief was that it was not worth bothering with those 'schismatic Greeks'.

Although Islam condones war only against unbelievers, this did not stop the Ottoman Sultans fighting other Muslims as well in order to expand their territories. Ottoman Sultans used Islamic doctrine selectively, when and how they chose. Beyazit conquered the other Turkic states in Asia Minor to extend his realm from the Danube River to the Caspian Sea. The Ottoman Sultans were very careful to avoid fighting wars on two fronts. Advance on one front followed advance on another. Their main rivals in Asia Minor were the principality of Eretna, based at Sevasteia (Sivas) and that of Karaman, based at Ikonion. Angyra (held by Eretna) fell to the Ottomans in 1354, only to be lost and re-captured again eight years later. Murad then seized parts of the principality of Germiyan (based at Kioutaheia/Kutahya) and of Hamidili, further south.

Only the advance of a more terrible enemy from the East stopped Beyazit's advance into central Europe and saved Constantinople: Timurlane, an Islamised Mongol, and heir to the Ilkhanid Empire. Beyazit faced the descendant of Chingiz Khan on the battlefield but his much smaller army was no match for that of the Mongol and was annihilated in the Battle of Angyra (Ankara) in 1402. The Sultan himself was captured and died a prisoner the following year. As Beyazit left no clear successor, civil war ensued. The defeat outside Ankara left the Ottoman Empire in disarray but the Christian peoples were themselves in no position to exploit the chaos the Mongols left behind. Manuel went on the offensive and was able to re-capture a great part of Macedonia, including Thessalonike, but was unable to hold the territory. He soon gave up

Thessalonike to the Venetians. The chaos left by Timurlane's death opened the way for the *gazis* to take control of the wider region.

Mehmed I (1413-1421), the youngest of the Sultan's sons, defeated Beyazit's other sons and became Sultan. He was succeeded by his son, Murad II (1421-1451). Both father and son constantly fought the Venetians and the Hungarians, as well as those feudal lords opposed to a centralized Ottoman state. Both gave new lands to the cavalry in return for their loyalty. Like the Janissaries, there were about 6,000 in this period. Murad immediately besieged Constantinople, using cannon for the first time in a siege of the City in 1422, but persistent internal problems forced him to retire. He later sent an army to loot Peloponnesos instead. In March 1430, he captured Thessalonike. The Empire's second city resisted the Ottoman Sultan and suffered by having much of its population sold into slavery. The north-western city of Ioannina fell without a fight a few months later. The Ottoman army reached the Isthmus of Korinth by year's end.

Independently of the Emperor's overtures to the West, the Despot of Mistras, Konstantinos Palaeologos, was discussing with Georgio Kastriote (also known as Skenderbeg; Prince Alexander in Albanian), the Orthodox lord of Kruja who had been successfully resisting the Ottoman onslaught for years. The future Emperor planned a co-ordinated assault on the Ottomans. Konstantinos had reached as far as the southern parts of the Pindos mountain range, while Kastriote's strongholds were in southern Albania. The negotiations proved fruitless when Kastriote died in Italy, on his way home from yet another visit to Rome, to seek aid against the Islamic Turks. The knights of central Europe assembled once again and attacked the Ottomans near Varna, on 10 November 1444. Although they fought valiantly, they were defeated, losing King

Ladislaw of Hungary and Poland, amongst many others. This was the last time the West seriously attempted to relieve the Byzantine Empire and sealed Constantinople's fate.

The Synod began in Ferrara in 1438 but was concluded in Florence the following year. Ioannes was looking for a rapid union so that the western Europeans would immediately help save his empire. But the hardline stance of the West resembled that of the victor dictating to the vanquished. In the end, the union was imposed on the Pope's terms. Only the Bishop of Ephesos, Markos the Noble, resisted all the pressures to accept the agreement. He was deposed by the Church hierarchy but honoured as a hero by the people. As soon as the results of the Synod became known in Constantinople, the greater part of the populace and the clergy revolted. The strongest supporter of the union in the City, Bishop Vessarion, was forced to flee to Italy, where he later became a Cardinal. The Russians deposed their Bishop and the various Eastern Patriarchs refused to ratify the votes of their representatives at Florence. The opponents of the union believed their opposition was in support of the faith of their fathers, of Orthodoxy and the heritage of Byzantium.

Georgios Scholarios (who later became a monk with the name of Gennadios) attended the Synod of Florence but upon his return to Constantinople, denounced his signature on the agreement of union, saying that he had been forced to do so by his superiors. Scholarios became the leader of the anti-Uniates. Those in favour of the agreement with Rome were led by the Emperor himself and included the greater part of the intelligentsia, many clergymen and all those who harked back to classical Hellas. Riots and civil disturbances rocked Constantinople at the time when unity was what was needed most.

The last Byzantine emperor, Konstantinos IX Palaeologos, brother of Ioannes VIII, was crowned in the Cathedral of Mistras in 1449. Two years later, 21-year-old Mehmet II (1451-1481) became Sultan. The young ruler came to be known as Mehmet the Conqueror, one of the greatest leaders of his time on and off the field of battle. Konstantinos was a strong and noble personality, characterised by a dignity and an idealism that knew no bounds. He followed the policy of the "Uniates" and waited for assistance from the West.

According to one tradition, Mehmet had received the order to take the City from his father. He immediately set about fulfilling this order since only Christian Constantinople stood between the Anatolian (Asian) and Rumelian (European) halves of the Ottoman Empire. Between April and August 1452, he built the Rumeli Hissar, a massive fortress on the European shore of the Bosphoros, to control all passing shipping. This convinced Konstantinos that the end was nigh. He prepared for the coming siege by storing as much grain as he could find in the state granaries and repairing the City's walls as best as possible. He sent more emissaries to the West once again, requesting assistance. This caused the rabid reaction of the anti-Uniates, led by Abbot Gennadios Scholarios. To neutralise them and to emphasise his conviction in the policy of Unity, the Emperor officially announced the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, by personally attending a joint Orthodox-Roman Catholic Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia on 12 December 1452. Although no formal pronouncement was made, by attending the service in the company of the Pope's personal envoy, Cardinal Isidoros (an ethnic Hellene), the Eastern Roman Emperor expressed his submission to Rome.

A2.13 The Fall

On 6 April 1453, the Sultan began sending his troops up the walls of the City. The final siege had begun. Some 160,000 regular and irregular troops, 70 cannon (including the world's largest cannon at 26 feet long) and a fully equipped navy, faced some 8,000 Hellene and foreign defenders (including the 3,000-strong volunteer corps led by the Genoese Captain Longo Giustiniani). The Pope finally sent a small naval force to help, but it arrived after Constantinople had fallen. The Imperial Fleet was a mere shadow of its former self, but still fought hard under Commander Phlantanelas. On 20 April he led three Genoese ships as well as his own vessel through the Ottoman blockade and into the Golden Horn, raising the spirits of the defenders. Mehmet then ordered 72 Ottoman ships were dragged overland behind Galata into the Golden Horn, bypassing the metal chain that blocked the harbour's entrance. Cannon blasted the City's walls while moles (tunnelling mechanisms) undermined them. Wooden towers covered in skins filled with archers reached the walls as the moats outside were filled in and made passable.

In accordance with custom, Mehmet sent an emissary on 23 May, requesting the surrender of Constantinople, offering honourable terms. The Emperor replied in the negative. The final assault began in the early hours of Tuesday, 29 May 1453. In the first phase, the Ottoman assault was repulsed. Mid-morning, the renewed attack focussed on the Ayios Romanos Gate, with cannon blasting the walls on either side. Still the resistance held. In the early afternoon, 12,000 Janissaries were thrown at the points in the walls where the breaches were widest and they poured inside. Their entry seems to have been assisted by a small portal being left open and unattended. When the Janissaries appeared atop the City's walls, resistance was broken. Near the Ayios Romanos Gate

(about halfway between the Golden Horn and the Propontis), Konstantinos and his immediate circle fell to the swords of the Janissaries. Some say his body was never found, only his empty armour and that he will return to re-take his City. Others say that his body was identified by the embroidered golden eagles on his uniform. Three days of pillage and destruction followed. Then Mehmet entered, restored order and converted Ayia Sophia into a mosque.

No sooner had Constantinople fallen, than the people were talking about the day it would be resurrected. The populace believed unswervingly in its ultimate liberation from Turkish rule. This sentiment was best expressed in folk song. This is the last part of a traditional Pontian folk-song, lamenting the loss of Constantinople.

«Αἰλί εμάς, και βᾶί εμάς πάρθεν' η Ρωμανία.»

Μοιρολογούν τα εκκλησᾶς, κλαίγ' νε τα μοναστήρια

κι αἶ Γιάννες ο Χρυσόστομου κλαίει δερνοκοπάται.

«Μη κλαις, μη κλαις Ἀἶ Γιάννε μου, δερνοκοπισκάσαι.»

Η Ρωμανία 'πέρασεν, η Ρωμανία 'πάρθεν.

Η Ρωμανία κι αν 'πέρασεν, ανθεί και φέρει κι ἄλλο.

“Woe is us and woe is us Romania has been taken”.

The churches are mourning, the monasteries are weeping
and Ayios Ioannes Chrysostomos is crying, beating himself.

“Do not cry, do not cry my Ayie Yianne, and beat yourself.”

Romania has passed, Romania has been taken.

Even if Romania has passed, it blooms and will bring another.

A2.14 Ottoman Constantinople

The Turks popularly called Constantinople, Istanbul, a Turkified derivation of the Hellenic phrase *Eis Ten Polen* (To The City). The City's official name remained Constantinople until 1930. Depopulated by war, famine and emigration, the queen of cities was repopulated by Mehmet and made the new Ottoman capital. As heir to the Imperial throne, Mehmet adopted the title *Rum Kayseri* (Roman Caesar - Emperor). The Turks began assimilating into the European power system, as they now controlled trade between the Black and Mediterranean Seas, as well as between Europe and Asia Minor. A conquered principality or region would be made a tributary, supplying troops and money to the Sultan. Later on, usually after a rebellion, it would come under direct rule from the capital. Some Hellenes and other Christians voluntarily joined the Ottomans and were given posts in the administration and fief lands.

“The modern Turkish State springs directly and inevitably from the roots laid down in 1453”. Although Mehmet had captured of the city of Constantinople, taking therefore “the glory of Byzantium”, the lost Empire and its civilisation had

set her own seal upon him, upon his State and the people who would come after him. The rule of imperial Rome was to shape the character of his Empire until the end of its days and pave the way, nearly five centuries later, for the Revolution that would shake off the mantle of Byzantium for ever.

The Ottomans adopted the Byzantine system of administration. The self-administered colonies Genoa, Venice, Amalfi, Pisa, Ancona and Narbonne all had in Constantinople, were disarmed and then largely ignored. As long as the taxes were paid and the Christian officials were responsible for the good behaviour of their subjects, Sultan Mehmet and

most of the rest of the dynasty cared nothing more. Most of commerce and medicine remained in Christian hands. Architecturally, Constantinople took on the face of Asia but the impress of Byzantium remained clearly visible. Indeed, numerous scholars have commented that in the early days of the Ottoman Empire, religious persecution was rare as the ruling minority preferred to focus on the stability and strength of Islam.

By 1460, the only parts of the Byzantine Empire still in Hellenic hands were a few isolated pockets in Peloponnesos and Central Hellas, and the Empire of Trapezounta. In the spring of 1461, Mehmet set off to conquer the Komnenos' state. After forcing Sinope to surrender, the Ottoman fleet began disembarking troops at Trapezounta in early July. By early August, the entire Ottoman army had arrived. Emperor David Megalokomnenos had tried to strengthen his defences by allying his state with neighbouring peoples. When the battle began, his non-Ottoman Turkic allies deserted him, the Georgians were hesitant, and the West could not get through the Straits. On 15 August 1461, Trapezounta fell and the final vestiges of the Christian Imperial East swept away.

A2.15 Ottoman State

The Ottoman Empire continued expanding throughout the 1400s and 1500s in south-eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. After the Battle of Caldiran (1514), the Empire's frontier was set at modern-day Diyarbekir. Two years later, he invaded Mamluk-ruled Syria. After a four year campaign, Selim took all of Syria. In the meantime, another Ottoman army had defeated the Mamluks near Cairo in 1517, giving Selim Egypt and the Hijaz. Suleyman I (1520-1566) captured Belgrade and then Rhodes from

the Knights of St John. Following the Battle of Mohacs (1526), Hungary too became Ottoman territory. After the Habsburgs re-took the Hungarian plain, the Ottomans reconquered Hungary up to the gates of Vienna (1529). The first siege of Vienna was raised at the autumnal equinox. This was the Empire's first major defeat since the Mongol invasions, two centuries earlier.

The Habsburg Emperor Charles V sent his fleet against the Ottoman-held Balkans. Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, conqueror of Algiers, was appointed Grand Admiral and sent against the Christian fleet. A number of North African ports were seized from Habsburg Spain. It was during this maritime war of attrition that the Ottoman Empire suffered another major defeat, the failed siege of Malta (1565). The Venetian fleet made life very difficult for the Ottomans in the Aegean Sea and it was a great struggle before they all fell. Rodos was not taken until 1522. The last Aegean island to fall to the Turks, Chios, did so in 1566. In 1571, the Ottomans completed the conquest of Cyprus, the Ottoman Empire's last major victory.¹ The Venetians (who had lost Cyprus) persuaded the Pope to form an alliance of Christian forces that ultimately checked Turkish expansion at the battle of Naupaktos (Lepanto).

Selim II's Grand Vizier, Sokolla Mehmet Pasha, joined the Crimean Tatars in cutting a canal from the River Don to the River Volga, so that Ottoman ships could join land forces against Russian Astrakhan and into the Caspian Sea. The 1568-69 expedition failed. It fell to Murad III (1574-1595) to complete the conquest of Georgia and other southern Caucasus and Caspian Iranian provinces, accomplished by 1590.

The Empire's population reached approximately 30 million at its peak, divided into ethno-religious groups called *millets*: Islamic, Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic, and Jewish.

Each *millet* was governed by its own body of civil law in matters of personal status (marriage, divorce, property etc), church property, worship, education, charity. Religious leaders were confirmed by Mehmet II as civil heads of their communities (the Orthodox Patriarch, the Armenian Catholicos, the Grand Rabbi).

The Sultan was accountable to no one but Allah. He retained the *orf*, the pre-Islamic Turkish right of the ruler to legislate, in addition to *Seriat* (Islamic Law). The Empire was ruled by the Sultan, the Grand Vizier and the *Divan* (Council), which met in the *Kubbealti* (Under-Dome) several days a week. The Sultan was assisted/advised by the Chancellor, two chief treasurers and two chief judges, those of Europe and of Asia. The Governor-General of Rumelia also had a seat in the *Divan*, representing the “men of the sword”. He commanded the provincial governors and the cavalrymen with their local fiefs.

Under Sultan Murad II, the *devshirme* (*paedomazoma* in Hellenic, child-gathering) became regularised. The abducted children were screened and trained in Constantinople. The strong ones of lesser intelligence became jannissaries. The most intelligent and able were trained in the Palace School and given Palace posts, provincial governorships and military commands. The slave administrators became dominant from the time of Mehmet II onwards. Seljuk rulers and early Ottoman Sultans had personal slaves, usually prisoners-of-war or men bought in the slave markets. As no man born a Muslim could be enslaved, all slaves were non-Muslims. Until the mid-1600s, these men dominated the central government. They were totally reliant on the Sultan for their wealth and power, but their sons, as free-born Muslims, could not inherit their positions.

Newly-conquered Ottoman lands were carefully surveyed. Population and economic production were recorded in *defters* (registers). *Timars* (fiefs) were assigned to cavalrymen according to expected production and tax revenue. *Sipahi* (horsemen) lived on the fief, kept order, carried out the Sultan's regulations (*kanuns*) and served on military campaigns. "Men of the pen", "of religion" and "of the sword" were the aristocracy, the *askeriye* (military class), all paid no taxes. The rest were *reaya* (populace): peasants, nomad herdsmen, artisans, merchants. Transfer between these socio-economic classes was possible, but infrequent. Each person had his designated place and it was for the good of society that he stayed there.

In the urban centres, *enaf* (trade guild) conferred economic status, regulated employment, purchased and apportioned raw materials, oversaw standards of production and fairness of prices. Constantinople had about 150 major guilds. Guilds of small merchants also existed, as international trade flourished, controlled by great merchants who were overwhelmingly Christian and Jewish. They were the big investors, the lenders, the accumulators of capital.

Vakif (charitable institutions) supported *medresses* (religious schools), libraries, hospitals, hospices, soup kitchens for the poor, public water fountains, even roads and bridges. Property (buildings and agricultural land) was given in perpetuity to charity, to do God's work.

The first "man of the pen" (free-born Muslim; not a slave) became Grand Vizier in 1703. As the sultans spent more and more time pleasure-seeking, the power of government passed to the Sublime Porte (*Bab-i Ali*), the official residence of the Grand Vizier. Festivities celebrating the circumcision of the Sultan's son or the wedding of a

daughter were common. Poetry flourished with the educated Ottoman wrote in a complex style in a meld of Turkish, Farsi and Arabic, where subtle style of expression was the goal, not comprehension. The average Muslim on the other hand was uneducated, illiterate, peasant-like, spoke common Turkish, illiterate, enjoyed the mystical poetry of the dervishes, the love poetry of the wandering minstrels, the professional storyteller and the shadow puppet play (*karagoz*).

Serious economic, social and military problems began setting in the 1590s. The Spanish conquest of the silver mines of Peru a few decades earlier had flooded Europe and the Ottoman Empire with the precious metal, triggering hyperinflation. The prices of staples rose but the incomes of the upper classes were fixed. Some Sultans debased their coinage, which only made prices rise higher and faster. Revenues failed to meet needs even when taxes were sharply increased.

The Empire's income fell further when the sea route to India and China via the Cape of Good Hope was proven faster and cheaper than the overland route through the Empire. Ottoman manufactured goods could not compete with western European goods that were allowed into Ottoman markets by the treaties of privilege granted by the Sultans to the West. These concessions also set tariffs on European products in the Empire, while the states of western Europe imposed high tariffs on Ottoman imports.

The Sultans needed more money to pay for a new full-time infantry armed with muskets, as the cavalry were more expensive and less effective. Some fiefs were confiscated and made into tax-farms. Others were given to Palace favourites or to private ownership. The *timar* system began breaking down as fewer and fewer cavalryman could afford to go into battle. Local order subsequently broke down and rural unrest grew.

The jannissaries were then used as police at a time when they were in decline, despite as the corps were being increased in number. Firstly, they were given permission to marry (something forbidden to them until then). Then their sons were given permission to join the corps, again something previously banned. Then Turks were allowed to join. As personal loyalty to the Sultan was eroded, the search for more money entered the picture. Threats of revolt resulted in pay increases. Many jannissaries took second jobs. In the provinces, for example, they joined local lords and become *de facto* independent (running the region like personal fiefdoms).

The complete breakdown of the slave official system was imminent. The *devsirme* went on but fewer and fewer recruits were coming in. More and more sons of slave officials entered the bureaucracy. Favouritism and corruption replaced promotion by merit. Buying and selling of offices became widespread as salaries failed to keep pace with inflation. The judicial system was a favourite target of reformers as it had become so corrupt.

Two very important changes occurred in the early 1600s. Firstly, the practice of sending princes into the provinces so that they could obtain practical military and administrative experience was abandoned in favour of raising them in *bafes* (literally cage/lattice); secondly, the brothers of new Sultans were immediately killed to avoid civil wars over the succession. Mehmet III (1595-1603) had 19 younger brothers murdered. Ahmed I (1603-1617) however allowed his brother to live in the *bafes*. This then became the practice. The oldest surviving male (uncle, brother, son) then succeeded to the throne. Power came to be exercised by the court officials and the palace cliques rather than by the Sultans themselves. Many *ulema* and poor *medrese* students became

increasingly vocal against the introduction of new innovations, blaming these for the Ottoman Empire's socio-economic problems. Pride in Islamic achievement and a strict interpretation of the Koran meant the borrowing of concepts or techniques from the Christian West was deemed blasphemous. Ottoman Islam became increasingly insular and less open to new ideas, at the time of the Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution in western Europe.

The gap between Europe and the Ottomans became excruciatingly obvious in warfare. Sultan Ahmed I fought Shah Abbas I of Iran and Habsburg Austria simultaneously. The first was a losing proposition from day one; the second ended in the Treaty of Zsitvatorek (1606), in which the Habsburg ruler was recognised as an Emperor, an equal. The Barbary Corsairs began operating independently, ignoring the Sultan's orders. Small Cossack ships from the rivers of southern Russia began raiding on the Black Sea, burning Sinope (Sinop) in 1614. They were later defeated at the mouth of the River Don. Osman II's Polish campaign against Cossack raiders in 1621 added no new territory or booty. There was no enthusiasm for these campaigns from the troops or the population. The only 'highlights' were the conquest of Podolia from Poland and Krete from Venice. The second siege of Vienna (1683) ended in failure, just like the first. Venice and Russia then joined the growing anti-Ottoman coalition. The Empire had reached its high-water mark.

By the terms of the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottomans surrendered Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs. The Danube River was set as the border. Peter the Great of Russia took Azov and Venice seized Peloponnesos - the first great loss of Christian lands by the Empire. The Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) ceded Belgrade to

Austria, only for it to be retaken in 1739. Unsuccessful wars were also fought with Shi'ite Iran in the 1700s.

The Phanare Hellenes and Islamised Europeans served as a conduit for Western ideas into the Empire. Yirmisekiz Mehmet Celebi was sent to Paris to investigate French institutions that might be useful for the Ottoman state. In 1724 Ibrahim Muteferrika, an Islamised Hungarian, established the first printing press. The *ulema* (assembly of high-ranking Islamic clerics) sanctioned the press on condition that only secular works were published. Despite this condition, it was closed in 1742. An Islamised Frenchman organised a fire-brigade. Count Bonneval, who became Ahmed Pasha, helped organise the bombardiers in the 1730s.

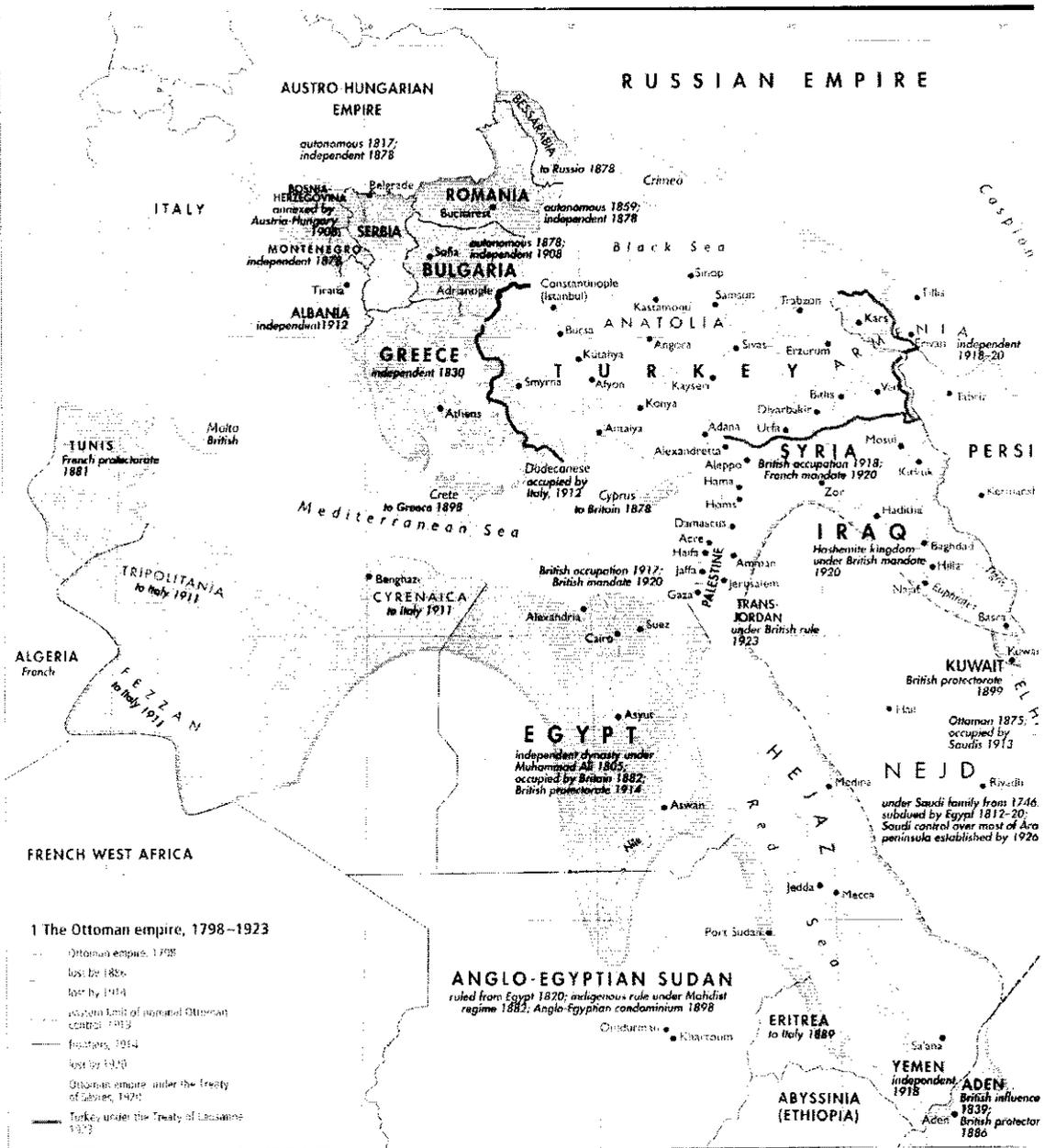
Patrona Halil (a junk dealer and associate of the Jannissaries) led a revolt in Constantinople, leading Grand Vizier Ibrahim to be sacrificed to the mob and the Sultan to abdicate. In the 'tranquil' years of 1739-1768, North Africa became virtually independent, while Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and many tribal areas came to be ruled by local warlords. Even in Asia Minor and the Balkans, *ayans* (local notables) occasionally defied the Sultan and survived, something unthinkable previously.

Another RussoTurkish War (1768-1774) resulted in the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca (July 1774). Under the terms of this agreement, Crimea became independent under Tatar rule; Russia gained a strip of north Black Sea coastline; Russian ships could freely trade in the Black Sea, through the Straits and in all Ottoman ports; a permanent Russian embassy in Constantinople; Russian consulates were opened wherever Moscow wanted. Catherine the Great simply annexed Crimea and more of the Black Sea coastline. After

another lost war, the Porte recognised these fresh Russian gains in 1792. Only then was true reform of the Ottoman Empire was attempted for the first time.

Appendix Three:

Map of the retreat of the Ottoman Empire 1807-1924



Appendix Four:

Territorial Disputes in Europe and Asia Minor

Current History March 1919, 414

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THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY



DISPUTED BOUNDARIES AND TERRITORIES IN EUROPE WHICH THE PEACE CONFERENCE MUST APPORTION

Appendix Five:

Territorial Disputes in Asia Minor and Caucasus

Current History March 1919, 415

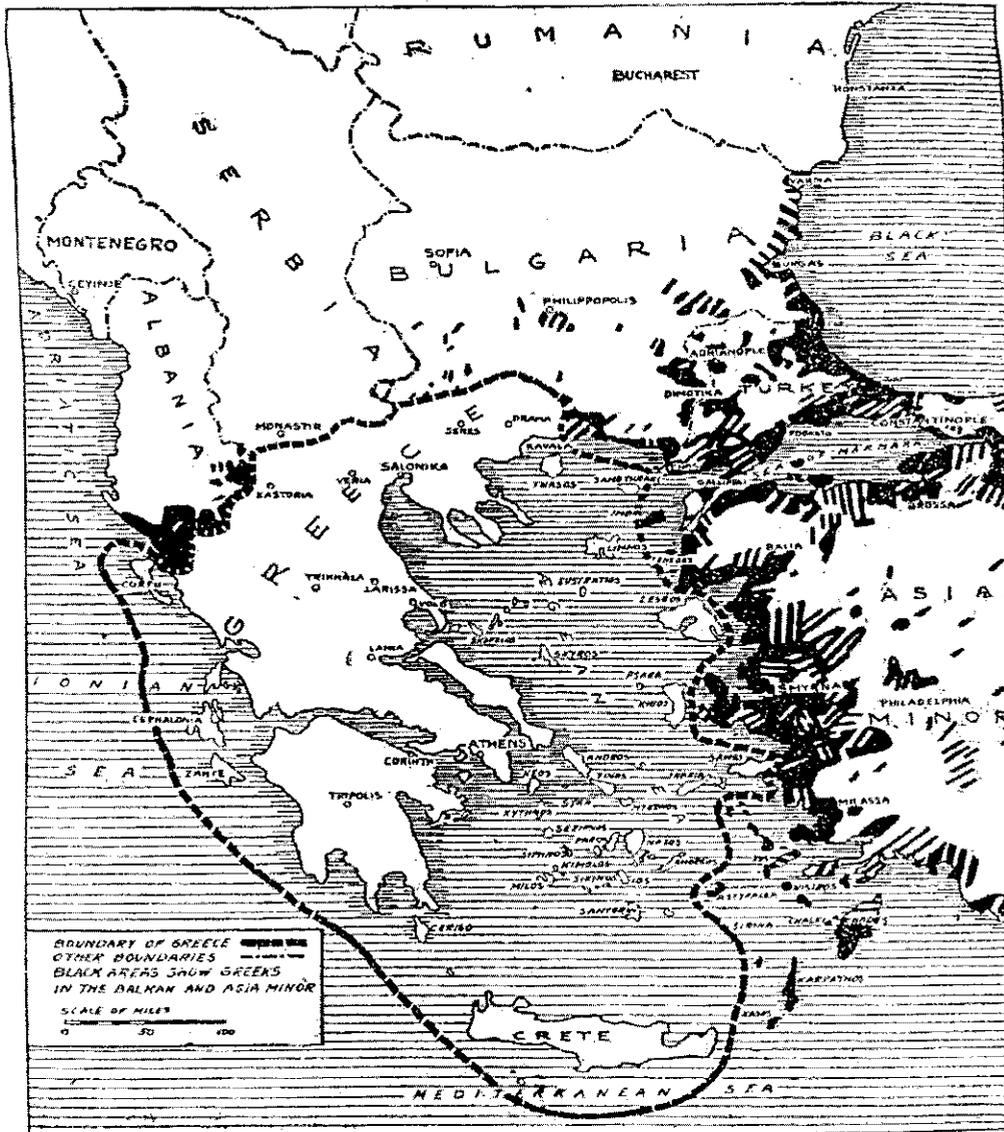


REGIONS IN ASIA MINOR AND THE CAUCASUS CLAIMED BY MORE THAN ONE NATION

Appendix Six:

Ethnographic Hellas

Current History June 1919, 504



MAP OF GREECE SHOWING—IN THE BLACK AREAS—THE REGIONS DOMINATED BY GREEK POPULATION IN THE BALKANS AND IN ASIA MINOR

'Greater' Hellas

Current History June 1919, 504

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THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY



MAP OF GREECE, INCLUDING EPIRUS—AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER. THE BLACK AREA INDICATES THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY M. VENIZELOS AT PARIS, AND THE SHADED AREA THE REGION WHERE THE GREEK AND FRENCH CLAIMS CONFLICT

Appendix Seven:

Cartoon: "Deportation"

Current History July 1917,

[Cartoon from the American Jewish Chronicle]



Appendix Eight:

Cartoon: "Civilizing Armenia"

Current History April 1917, 178

[Italian Cartoon]

Civilizing Armenia

"In Armenia two trenches of murdered Armenians were discovered."—Cable dispatch.



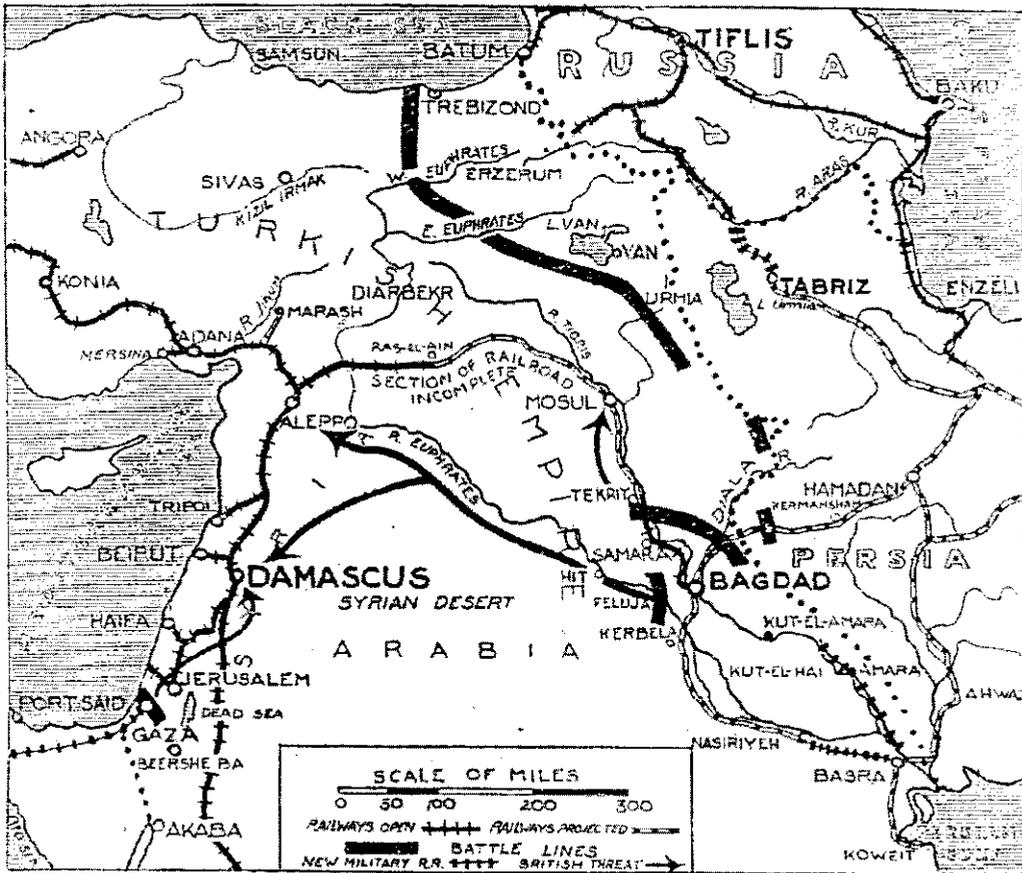
—From *Il 300*, Florence.

Under the protection of German "Kultur" the Turk is making every effort to civilize the Armenian people.

Appendix Ten:

Allied Operations in Western Asia

Current History July 1917, 158



SCENE OF BRITISH AND RUSSIAN OPERATIONS IN WESTERN ASIA

Appendix Eleven:

Sydney Morning Herald 22 October 1918 p.8

PRISONERS IN TURKEY.

MELBOURNE, Monday.

The Defence Department has received a despatch from London stating that very little information was forthcoming regarding prisoners of war interned in Turkey.

"An agreement was ratified last year for the exchange of prisoners, said the Minister of Defence (Senator Pearce) to-day, but, unfortunately, owing to the difficulty in obtaining from the Turkish Government a guarantee of immunity from attack for the hospital ship which it was proposed to utilise the first batch was held up. Clothing was issued to British prisoners of war in Turkey by the British Government or by the Netherlands Minister at Constantinople on its behalf. Officers received a relief allowance from the British Government through the Netherlands Legation up to a maximum of £18/4/ per month, and other prisoners up to £9 per month, but no pay, except when working. The Turkish Government had stated that British prisoners, other than officers, received the same rations as Turkish soldiers, consisting, according to locality and season, of meat, vegetables, hulled wheat, bean oil, etc. It, however, appeared from the statements of prisoners that the rations were not sufficient. Officers did not receive rations.

Appendix Twelve:

Extracts from transcript of

Diary by Able-Seaman John Harrison Wheat AE2

Transcript of Diary by Able-Seaman John Harrison Wheat

53.

About September 1916 a sick party of 140 who couldn't work were sent from Belamedik to Angora, but soon after their arrival instead of being allowed to rest they were put to work again on a light railway between Angora and Ezeroum. Typhus fever broke out among these invalids. The worst cases were put into tents in spite of the bitter cold and wet. There was snow on the ground 2 and 3 feet deep. No wood for fires or cooking. In about six weeks 75 out of the 140 of these prisoners died, or rather were killed, because when they became delirious and a nuisance to the orderlies and guards they were murdered by an injection of some poison by means of a needle.

It was truly pathetic to see brave chaps, in this and other places, where typhus raged, hand over their keepsakes to pals when they felt themselves "going off a bit", before they were left to the tender mercies of their guards whom they knew had no bowels of compassion for helpless men. In no case did any prisoner hear of any Court of Enquiry or investigations being made by the medical authorities as to the fate of those who thus became separated from the protection of their fellow prisoners. They simply "passed out". In ordinary cases of typhus injections were customary but when the patient became delirious he naturally was quite helpless and didn't know what was being done to him.

The health and safety of the British - and in fact all prisoners became more secure about the end of 1916 with the advent of a few English doctors from General Townsend's force. They were stationed along the line wherever the English prisoners were and in spite of much opposition from the authorities, scarcity of material, medicines etc., they saved many lives and restored the courage and hope of the prisoners.

At Afion-Kara-hissar about 300 of General Townsend's men were quartered in this area in an Armenian church and school. Their officers had houses to live in. The owners of these houses had been taken away "somewhere", murdered, driven into the desert, and were numbered amongst the victims of the Armenian Atrocities, which have made the Turks infamously famous. These officers had to provide themselves with everything they needed except the houses to live in and it was a wonder they were not charged rent for these.

The men received two meals per diem of crushed wheat, mixed with olive oil, and one small loaf of bread.

The American Ambassador gave the officers all £12:0:0 per month and the men £2:0:0. This was very helpful but didn't go very far because the cost of living was as high as the Turks could make it, viz: butter £2:0:0 a lb., sugar 25/-, eggs 6d each, scraggy meat 3/6 per lb. Tea couldn't be purchased, vegetables rather cheap except in winter. However the allowance allowed the men to have one fair meal a day.

About this time some of the men were the thankful recipients of a few Red Cross parcels. This was the first occasion we had received any such articles since the end of 1916 - nearly 2 years. No doubt many other parcels were sent regularly but the "infidels" profited thereby. The Turkish Commandant was the chief offender and guinea. I believe, had it not been for the good work of the American Ambassador none would have reached us. The few they were forced to disgorge made us very suspicious as to the fate of others we didn't get. When we were allowed into the town to buy a few things we naturally kept our eyes opened and one of our chaps saw a packet of smokes sent from his mother up for sale in a shop. It was little use reporting the matter to the Turkish Commandant. It only irritated him and he "got one back on us" by enforcing the strictest discipline.

Conditions became very bad. Floggings for the most trivial offences were daily happenings and many men suffered even to unconsciousness to satisfy his revenge for our complaints. He and other senior Turkish officers would send for the youngest prisoners to have secret and private interviews with him on the excuse of cross examination for some trivial cause and when alone and quite at his mercy his conduct and morality was so bestial and unnatural that at length a revolt throughout the camp seemed imminent. The evils of Sodom and Gomorrah found very apt pupils amongst these Turkish officers and especially the O. C. The English officers tried to get complaint to the American Ambassador at Constantinople but for a long while this rotter was successful in defeating all such efforts. The climax was reached when he had suspicions, no actual proof that three of our officers were planning to escape. Lieut. Baggard of the AE 2 was one he suspected. He never questioned the officers themselves to give them a chance of proving his suspicions true or false but without trial he sentenced them to nine months close confinement in a building which was very strictly guarded and cut them off from all outside communication. During this harsh treatment they were allowed 1 hour exercise per 24 hours under guard, also their own English orderly. Finally news of his conduct did leak out and a Board of enquiry consisting only of Turkish officers took place and he was quietly removed from this area, but whether he was punished or not we could not find out. The new Commandant was more humane and British in his treatment of us. I have since heard that he was hanged at Constantinople.

BOR - On the 21st March 1917 the first batch of 100 prisoners - Russian, French, English, was despatched to "Haven of Rest". This camp was 39 miles from Nigdeh, which is the nearest big town and the military centre of that district. Bor is on the main military road to Sivas (on the Russian front). This road was built by Germans for conveyance of munitions v. the Russians. Position on plain - 2000 feet up. Population, 7,8000 chiefly Greeks and Armenians. Industry farming, and also a lot of wine made, fruit growing etc. The conditions here were very good, whilst there for six months I was quar-

tered in a Greek College quite free from vermin and we enjoyed the luxury of plenty of baths, and had good water from a creek near by for washing our clothes. Greeks and Armenians were forced to do all the hard work. The Turkish Commandant who had been thrown from a horse on the Gallipoli Peninsular was fair and just and did what he could to help us, treating us as honorable men, and worthy foes.

Mails and Red Cross parcels were very frequent, and another concession granted was to allow us to organise shopping parties every day to the bazaar; also went for walks two days a week under guard. Money came regularly through the Dutch Ambassador. But I think, speaking personally at the chief factor in our quick recovery to health was due to a fellow prisoner, Captain Murphy, I.M.S. (Indian Medical Service) whose attention and care of us was unremitting. Many hours of rest and recreation he willingly gave up. He was an ornament to a noble profession.

When I was nearly convalescent a new batch of English prisoners coming from a typhus infected area brought this dread scourge into our clean rest camp. Within a few days of their arrival 15 of us were stricken down. When I went before Captain Murphy he was very sympathetic but when he saw the tell-tale black and red spots showing on my body he ordered me away with the first batch of typhus victims. We were sent to the nearest military hospital at Nigdeh, 39 miles away, under guard of two Turkish soldiers. We were placed on donkeys without saddles or bridles, which might have been to stop us trying to escape, and these donkeys often strayed from the road in search of fodder. This was the main military road which we speak of as running to the Russian front at Sivas.

The two sentries, feeling aggrieved at the possibility of contact no doubt, gave the donkeys and riders a rough time. One soldier had just received news of his brothers death on the Bagdad front and he was especially bitter towards us. He cursed and struck us in a most impartial and brutal fashion. Those of us, sick though we were, who knew a little Turkish language cursed him back again and threatened to report him when we reached Nigdeh. Two Russian prisoners who were quite alright and not sick, walked and talked with the two guards and incited them in their hatred against the British. Upon arrival we were too much done up to report the Guards and let the matter lapse.

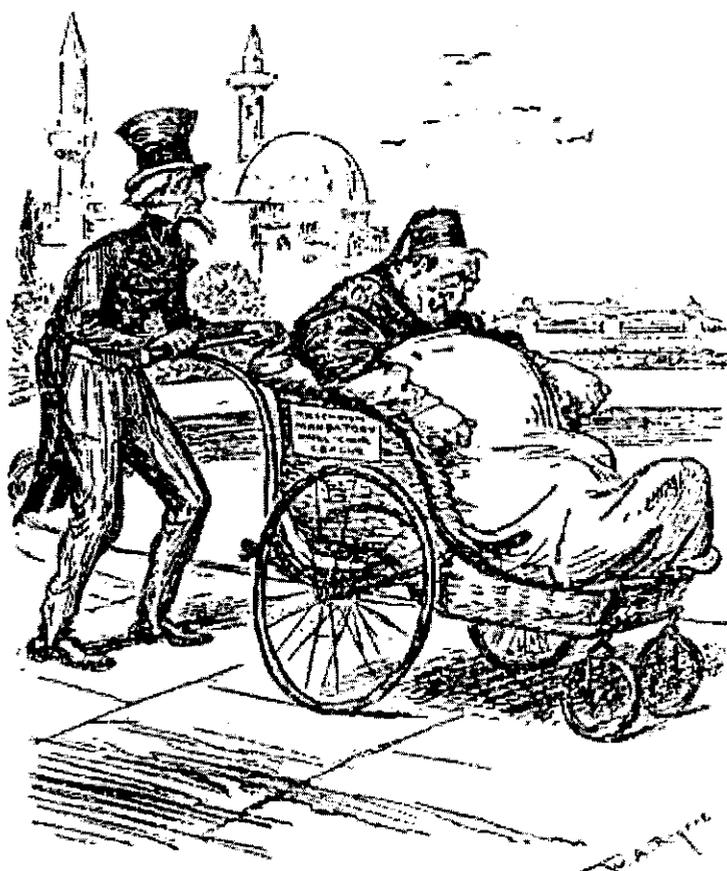
The method of the Armenian doctor in charge was in striking contrast to Captain Murphy. We were immediately bathed in warm water. No towels provided, and then forced us into rough hospital garments, whilst we were wet and shivering. We were kept waiting about until we passed into the hands of a barber who gave us a very close shave and hair cut, and then we were put to bed. Blood tests were taken and injections given every few hours. The hospital orderlies didn't try any low down tricks here like they were guilty of at Angora by trying to poison the delirious, and generally

Appendix Thirteen:

Cartoon: "If We Took the Mandate for Turkey"

Current History July 1919, 190

" If We Took the Mandate for
Turkey



—*New York Herald*

The Sick Man of the East—and the Sicker
Man of the West.

Appendix Fourteen:

Cartoons: "Prohibition's Greatest Martyr", "Can Eliza Save the Child?", "Looking for a New Nest", "Do We Want to Raise Another Kid?"

Current History October 1919, 190

Current History October 1919



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Appendix Fifteen:

Cartoon: "Keep or Carve?"

Current History July 1919, 189

Current History July 1919

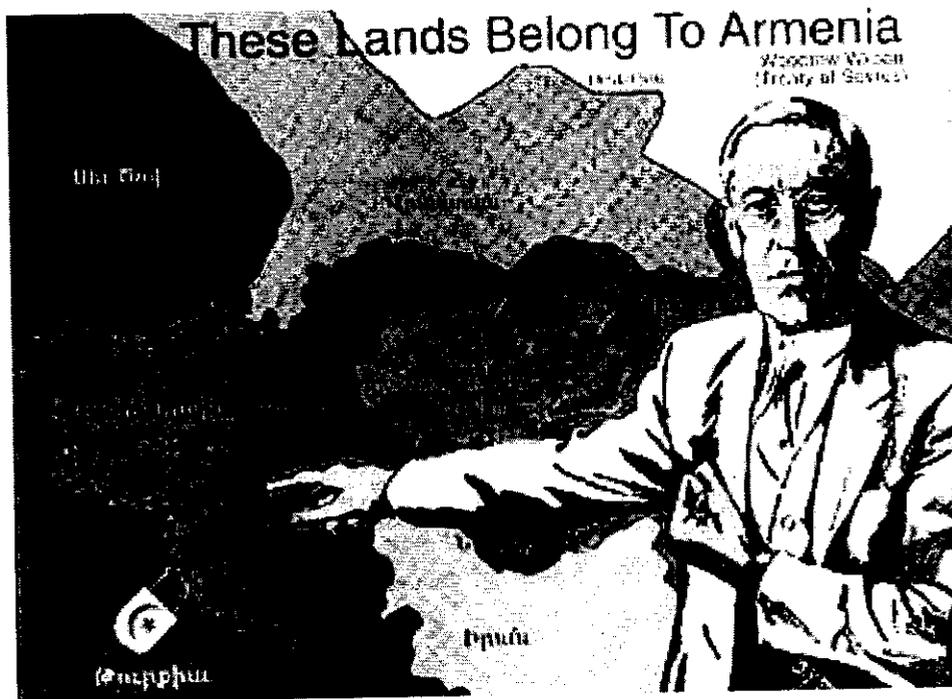


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Appendix Sixteen:

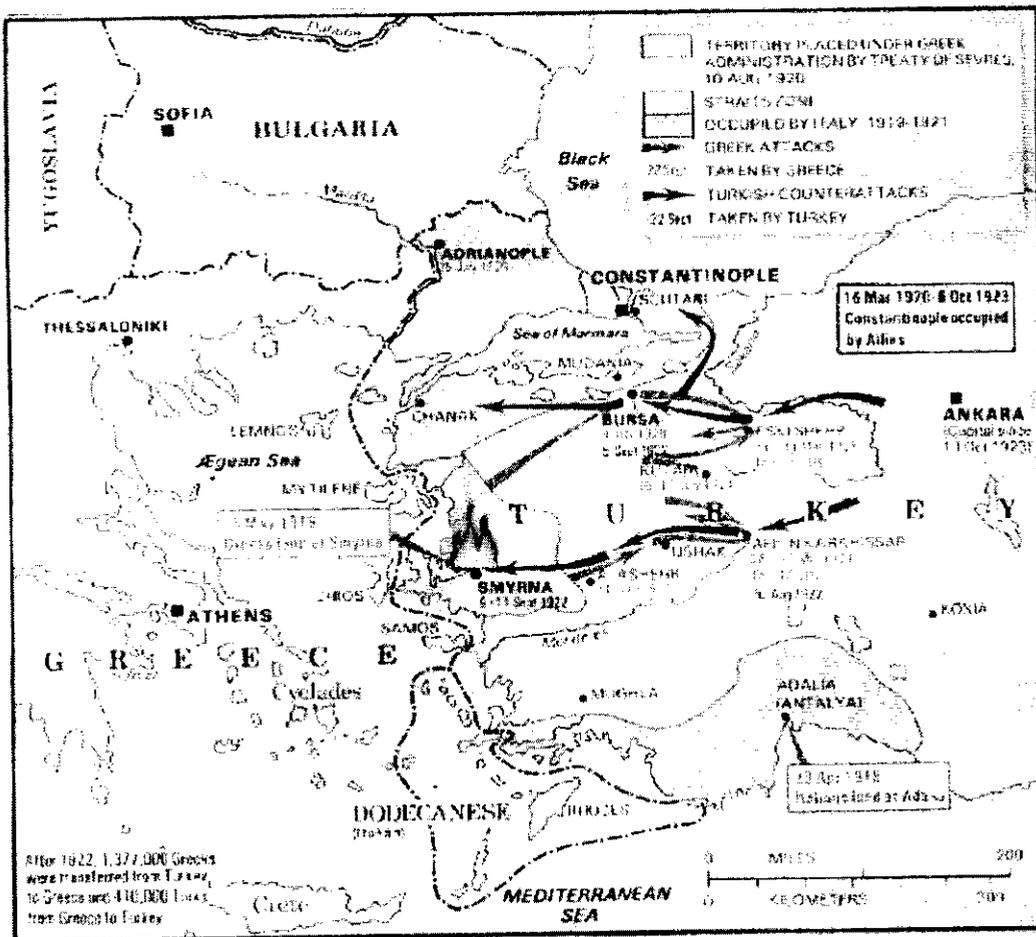
The Republic of Armenia

according to United States' President Wilson



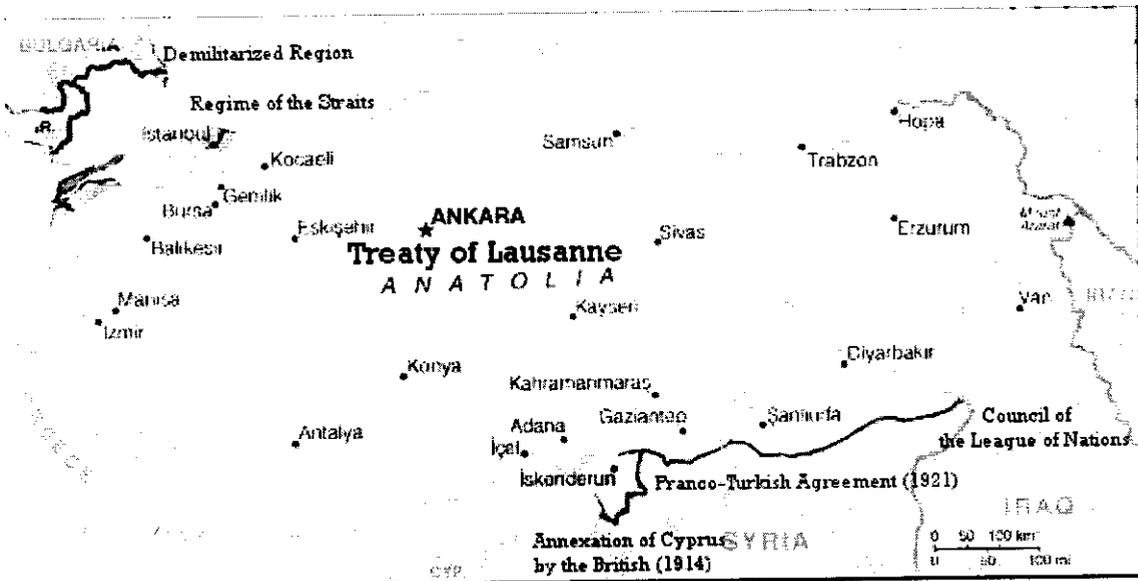
Appendix Seventeen:

Asia Minor Campaign 1919-1922



Appendix Eighteen:

Treaty of Lausanne



Appendix Nineteen:

Imvros, Tenedos and Samothrace



Appendix 20:

Front page of *Istanbul Ekspres* 6 September 1955



September 6, 1955: A Turkish collage of false news. The extra edition of the newspaper *Istanbul Express* gives the signal for the pogrom against native Greeks in Constantinople. The news reads: "Our father Atatürk's house was destroyed by a bomb". A lie to ignite fanaticism in the Turkish rabble.

The BBC transmitted the news at 1 p.m., 5 whole hours before the bomb exploded!

ENDNOTES

¹ The regions of Thessaly, Phokis, Lokris and Boeotia.

² Freely (1990), 3

³ The English word comes from the Hellenic phrase ορθή δόξα complete/true faith/worship.

⁴ Byzantium was not the only 'superpower' to lose territory and power to the newly-Islamised Arab horsemen. Persia had been exhausted by its long struggle against Byzantium (in the west) and the Turks (in the north; more on this point later in the prologue), woes that added to existing internal strife. The ancient kingdom was thus easy prey for the Arab warriors.

⁵ In 1071, Edessa (modern Urfa) had a population of 35,000 people, Prousa (Bursa) 30,000, Nikaia 25,000 to 30,000 and Tralleis (Aydin) over 36,000 people. According to Vryonis, there are two main obstacles to the study of Byzantine demography by modern scholars: (a) the use of nationalism of history, where each group clamours to prove its contribution to the glory of Byzantium; and (b) the use of de Gobineau's theories about the purity of blood. "And when I have shown by examples that great peoples, at the moment of their death, have only a very small and insignificant share in the blood of the founders, into whose inheritance they come, I shall thereby have explained clearly enough how it is possible for civilisations to fall - the reason being that they are no longer in the same hands". R. Jenkins echoed these sentiments in relation to the Hellenes more than a century later.

⁶ The name "Mauroi" is a nickname meaning "Blacks" or "Negroes" in Hellenic.

⁷ Described as workers of leather and weavers of wool, they were rough, brutal, esteemed strength and despised age. They kept their hair uncut and untied. They buttoned their robes in the uncivilised way, from right to left. To them, civilisation was obedience. The (unwritten) law of the state (yassak) was military command. They had no written law or regular procedure. The king is proclaimed by being raised on a carpet of felt. Justice was rendered according to the dictates of custom. Plot and rebellion as well as the violation of a married woman was punished by death. Amends and marriage the penalty for seducing a girl. Compensation was required for blows and wounds. Restitution of stolen goods to tenfold the number or value was enforced. The youngest son inherited the father's lands. The eldest inherited the mobile possessions. He is the tekine (keeper of the hearth). Princely families also owned bands of warriors which were inherited in whole or divided amongst sons and daughters. A disinherited son could leave and seek a new father. He finds someone suitable, asks them to be his parents and then asks them to give him a name. The adventurer is characteristically without name, Ad-siz. An Alp was a battle-tested young man or woman with a noble, distinguished character. A 'Tekin/Tigin' was a prince of the Turks. 'Tarhan' is a title denoting a member of the ruling elite. These tribes of late-antiquity venerated five personified elements: earth, wood, metal, fire and water. Iron (timur) was the most venerated metal. In the Centre was the yellow emperor, to the South, the red emperor, to the West, the white emperor, to the North, the black emperor and to the East, the blue emperor. This animist belief system was 'replaced' by the dualistic shamanist cult of tangri (heaven) and earth. p.261-262

⁸ The names Kirghiz "wandering" and Kazak "one separated from the flock" date from this time. p.260-261

⁹ Things did not always go to plan however. In 104 BCE, an entire Chinese army lost in the Kyrgyz steppe.

¹⁰ In 46 BCE, the Tchen-yu and his elder brother quarreled over the succession and further split the Uighurs. The pretender was recognised by the Emperor as ruler and settled along the Great Wall, in the northern marches. p.263-264

¹¹ According to a Mongol and Turkic legend that dates to the 1200s, the Il-Khan (King of Peoples) was conquered in battle and all his people were killed. Except his youngest son Kian (Avalanche), his nephew Nokuz and two girls. They fled their country, crossed great mountains and came to a beautiful, hidden land. For 400 years, their descendants multiplied there. When they eventually wanted to come out, they could not find a way. A blacksmith then discovered a mountain of iron, which they melted and hollowed out a path. After seven generations in Erkene-Kum (Old Homeland), the descendants of Kian and Nokuz emerged. Burte-

Tchene (Grey Wolf) led the tribe out of Erkene-Kum, an exodus usually placed at the end of the 400s CE. From him was descended Alan Goa, a virgin who conceived and gave birth to a miraculous son, whose descendant in the 10th generation was Chinghiz (Genghis) Khan. p.262-263 and p.265-

¹² p.259

¹³ Also known as Ephthalites or Khazars.

¹⁴ The Orhun Inscriptions are the earliest Turkic writings we know of. They are monuments erected to Bilge (716-734), son of Kul-Tigin (685-731), the sons of Kutlugh Ilteris Kaghan (661/2-690/1) of the 2nd Eastern Gokturk Kaghan. There is also an inscription to Tonyukuk, the vizier of these two sons. It is "a trilingual inscription, written in honour of a prince in Paleo-Turkic and Uigur characters, with a Chinese translation, ... found in the valley of the Orkhan." It was written in 732CE, by which time Turkic writing was already at least 160 years old. (p.263) The Eastern face of the Kul-Tigin inscription reads like so: When the blue sky was made above and the dark earth below, man was set between them. Over man sat Bunun Kaghan and Istemi Kaghan my ancestors, and gave shape to the Turkish people's homeland and their way. On all sides there were enemies; he sent the army against them and subjected the people on all sides. Those with the heads bowed their heads, those with the knees knelt down to him. Thus it was as far as the Kadirkan Forest on the east, and the Iron Gate on the west. Between them dwelt the Gok Turks, poorly organised. There was a wise, bold kaghan. Of course his command was wise and bold. His chieftains and his people were right thus had he maintained his homeland. He had maintained the homeland giving the people a way. Then he died. Mourners came from the place of the dawn, the people of Bokli Desert, of China, Tibet, Avars, Byzantium, Khirgiz, the Three Kurikans, the Thirty Tartars, Cathay and Tatabi; all these peoples came to weep and mourn, such was this kaghan's fame. Then of course his younger brother became kaghan and his sons of course became kaghans. But the younger brother must not have been made like the older brother, the son must not have been made like the father. An unwise kaghan ruled, a bad kaghan ruled, and of course his command was bad, it was unwise. Because his chieftains and his people lost their harmony, because the Chinese were treacherous and false and deceiving, because they set brother against brother, and because chieftain and people were at strife the Turkic people lost the control of their homeland, the kaghan has lost the kaghan he had made. The sons that should have been the chieftains became the slaves, the girls that should have been ladies became concubines to the Chinese. The Turkic Chieftains left off the name of the Turk, the Chinese chieftains took up the name Chinese and bowed to the Chinese kaghan. For fifty years he strove. On the east he sent an army as far as the Bokli Kaghan, and on the west as far as the Iron Gate. He took the homeland and the way for the Chinese Kaghan." The message is clear: in times of difficulty, a good Turk looks to the great Turks of old for solutions.

¹⁵ p.268

¹⁶ p.258

¹⁷ p.269

¹⁸ p.292-293

¹⁹ p.300

²⁰ p.270

²¹

²² Turkomen nomads made forays into Asia Minor as far as Kaesareia (modern Kayseri), fighting predominantly for booty than for Islam. In 1049 Turks seized Theodosiopolis (modern Erzerum) in eastern Asia Minor and massacred 140,000 people. p.270 "Hordes of religious fanatics, irregular warriors whose only livelihood was to make war on non-Muslims, carried the Seljuks to victory. Perhaps the lure of plunder, rather than religious enthusiasm, led these hordes to carry on the fight, to expand the frontiers of the Seljuks ever westwards, and force the creed of Islam on the vanquished".

²⁴ Manuel made the mistake of shutting himself up in the Phrygian mountains, became trapped at Myriokephalo and was crushed by Kilic Arslan's nomads.

²⁵ Gazis were leaders of small bands of warrior nomads.

²⁶ The Catalan Company of comprised 6,500 Catalan and Aragonese mercenaries.

²⁷ Osmanli, followers of Osman in Turkish, became Othman/Uthman in Arabic and then Ottoman in English.

²⁸ "... the protection of the peasantry as a source of tax revenue was a traditional policy of the near-eastern state, and one which encouraged an attitude of tolerance. Income from the poll-tax (haratch) formed a large portion of Ottoman state revenue, just as it had constituted an important part of the revenue of the early Islamic caliphate."

²⁹ Turkish Cypriot history begins with the settlement of 20,000 Muslim peasants, transferred to the island from Asia Minor.

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____, *Middle Eastern Division Turkey. Political situation (Press cuttings)* (1946-1947) Series Number A1068 Control Symbol M47/27/3/1 National Archives of Australia – National Office

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____, *Ernest Linos – Naturalisation* (1944-1949) Series Number A435 Control Symbol 1949/4/930 National Archives of Australia – National Office

____, *War Memorials – Unveiling of a Memorial in Turkey, August 1954* Series Number A462 Control Symbol 827/2/34 National Archives of Australia – National Office

____, *Turkey - Political minorities (1960-1982)* Series number A1838 Control symbol 209/2/5 Part 1 National Archives of Australia – National Office

Allen, C.F. (Letters and Article of experiences in Persia and Mesopotamia) (1918) Control symbol 2DRL/0008 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Australian Red Cross Society (1915-1919) *Australian Red Cross Society (ARCS)*: 1. Prisoners of War Department; 2. Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau [789 boxes of Australian Red Cross Society's administrative files and POW listings received from the German Red Cross (58 boxes); alphabetically arranged lists of Australian personnel reported as 'wounded or missing' with details obtained by ARCS searchers (369 boxes); and complementary POW (Department) files where assistance was given to AIF personnel held in Germany and Turkey (362 boxes)] File Number 1DRL/0428 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Bean, C.E.W. *Official History, 1914-18 War: Records of Charles E W Bean, Official Historian: Papers, n.d.; comprise miscellaneous typescript and manuscript material covering subjects such as POW statements and battle casualties of the British empire* Series number AWM38 Control symbol 3DRL 6673/344 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Brackenbury, Noel (1983) *BRACKENBURY, Noel* [Summary: Thesis "Becoming guests of the unspeakable". A study of the pre internment experiences of Australian servicemen captured by the Turks during the 1914-1918 war. Covers the circumstances and characteristics of capture, experiences behind the frontlines, the journey, learning Turkish ways and internment. Also includes the statistics of those captured. BA (Hons), Macquarie University] File Number MSS0975

Cahir, Keith Joseph and Lushington, Reginald (1915) 1. *Cahir, Keith Joseph (Lance Corporal)*, 2. *Lushington, Reginald (Private)* [Cahir - postcard, photograph, and paper currency. Sketchbook kept by Lushington with images of Australian life, POW experiences, and Gallipoli campaign] Control symbol PR00185 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Creedon, D.B. (1915-1916) *Creedon, Daniel B (Private, 9th Bn, AIF d: 1916)* [Summary: Narrative of experiences as POW] Control symbol 1DRL 223 Australian War Memorial Record Centre, Canberra

Davie, R J (*Private, NZEF and POW, Turkey*) [Summary: Typescript account of Davie's experiences on Gallipoli and in captivity; letter; newspaper article] Control symbol 3DRL/6753

Delpratt, M G (1915-1918) [letters written by MG Delpratt from Gallipoli and from POW camps] Control symbol 3DRL/2153 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Dolci, Monseigneur Letter dated 16 March 1917 Monseigneur Dolci active in London re prisoner relief. Colonial Office file 693/3

Ertas, D. (ed.) (2000) *Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade: Australia's Efforts to Promote and Protect Freedom of Religion and Belief by the Syrian Orthodox Federation of Australia*

Frew, Dr. Ron Letter signed by Dr Ron Frew "Chairman of the British Relief Committee" in Constantinople in March 1917. CO693/3

Hancock, Frederick (*Lieutenant, 1st Aust LH Regt and No. 1 Sqn AFC and POW, Turkey b: 1890 d: 1930*) [Summary: Letters home regarding experiences as POW] Control symbol 2DRL/0530 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Hilton, Rita; Luscombe, L H (1917-1918) *Hilton (nee Duffy) Rita; Luscombe, L. H. (Lieutenant)* [Summary: Essay (4pp, typescript, produced in 1936) by Mrs Rita Hilton (nee Duffy) titled 'Hands Across the Sea', summarising her letter writing scheme to Australian prisoners of war held in Turkish POW camps (Afion-kara-hissar and Hadjilkiri) during the First World War. Included are responses to Miss Duffy's letters from: Lieutenant Leslie H Luscombe (14 Battalion), a short note and postcard from M J Troy (16 Battalion), two postcards from Keith Cahir (14 Battalion) and a card from G E Kerr (14 Battalion). Also held is a letter by Lieutenant Leslie H Luscombe to J W Eustace (dated 20 May 1917) detailing how Miss Duffy's letter was forwarded from Angora to other Australian POWs at Achangri and a Turkish 'Postal Censorship' leaflet.] File Number PR01552 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Hudson, K.L. (1919) *Hudson, Keith L. (Air Mechanic, AFC and POW, Turkey)* [Summary: Detailed report on treatment of Kut POWs] Control symbol 3DRL/3325 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Jeffrey, C.P. *Jeffrey, Charles P (Private, 2nd Dorsetshire Regt, British Army, 6th Poona Div, Indian Exp Force and POW, d: 1917)* (1915-1917) [Papers] File Number 3DRL/6695 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Judge, C.G.K. *From Baghdad to Baku: An account of Some of the Operations of 'Dunsterforce'* (unpublished manuscript) Control symbol 3DRL/6114 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Keeling, E.H. Treatment of British P. of W. in Turkey. Report of Capt. Keeling late P. of W. 14 February 1918 CO 693/7

Kerrigan, R. (commemorative scroll of Kerrigan. Memorial cards giving date of death) (1917) Control symbol 3DRL/6112 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Knaggs, A E (1914-1916) Diary and documents regarding experiences aboard the AE2 and as a POW Control symbol PR85/096 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

Luscombe, L.H. Collection of six original Prisoner of War postcards; Personal letters (1917-1918) Control symbol PRO1552 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT

MacClean, John F. *P of W in Turkey. Report by Dr Mac Clean* 7 August 1918 Colonial Office File CO693/8

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- Randall, Ernest and William [Letters and poem regarding experiences as soldiers and POWs] (1915-1918) Control symbol 3DRL/7847 Australian War Memorial Canberra ACT
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