



## On the Centenary of the Greek Genocide

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The fall of 2016 will represent the 100th anniversary of the deportation and extermination of many Greek communities of Pontus, a region on the northern coast of Turkey. Insofar as there is ongoing confusion concerning the Greek genocide and the atrocities suffered by Turkish civilians, this anniversary may present a unique opportunity to correct misconceptions and myths, with a review of the historical events and their implications.<sup>1</sup>

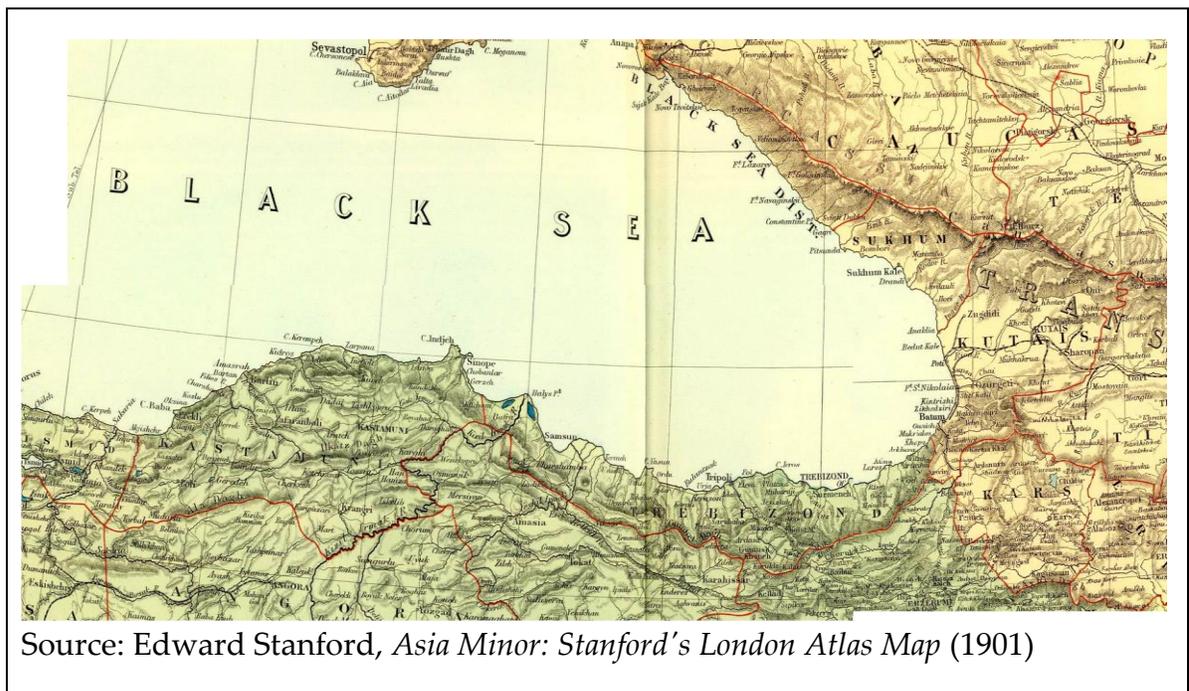
Many contemporary historians emphasize the atrocities suffered by Turkish civilians during the multinational response to the Germano-Ottoman bid for world conquest. For example, Sean McMeekin characterizes Kemalist assaults on Greek communities as the *defense* of the Sultan and the fatherland against the “egregious ... impunity” of the forces guarding the Greek safe zone in 1920.<sup>2</sup> Bruce Clark, similarly, praises Arnold Toynbee for exposing Greek atrocities, but criticizes contemporary Pontian Greeks for taking the “hardest possible line” by remembering the Kemalist genocide of the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> Mark Mazower arguably minimizes the Greek deportations, implying that a small number of Greeks died as a result of them and that these deaths were accidental and in any event justifiable.<sup>4</sup>

Another line of attack is to deny that “Ottoman brutality” was perpetrated against Greeks by pointing out that the Greeks aimed at “carving territory” from “Turkey” and that Greeks serving in the Ottoman military were a “let down.”<sup>5</sup> This theme is being pursued by comparing the Ottoman deportation of the Armenians and Greeks with campaigns of the United States to suppress insurgencies in Cuba and the Philippines.<sup>6</sup> The “relocations” of Greeks with suspect sympathies was the aim, followed by the Greeks being “killed” (passive voice) along with Muslims and Kurds in civil war.<sup>7</sup>

The Greek ambassador wrote that 4.5 million ethnic Greeks lived in Turkey before World War I.<sup>8</sup> Other sources suggested that four to five million Greeks lived in Anatolia and Thrace. At the outset of World War I, the Ottoman Empire deported the Greeks of Thrace and northwestern Anatolia, and allocated their homes and properties to the refugees from the Balkan Wars or Russia's conflicts with Turkic movements.<sup>9</sup> The U.S. ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau wrote that during the war, a "devilish scheme to annihilate the Armenian, Greek and Syrian Christians of Turkey" was carried out.<sup>10</sup> In 1917, the Chairman of the Relief Committee for Greeks of Asia Minor called the policy respecting the Greeks the "same treatment" that the Armenians had received.<sup>11</sup> A report by Near East Relief to the U.S. Secretary of State stated that like Armenians, "Greek deportees are now in a condition worse than slavery."<sup>12</sup>

Greek deportee children went hungry.<sup>13</sup> The Kemalists prohibited the distribution of food or blankets as charity to ethnic Greeks.<sup>14</sup> The rationale was that "the Greeks were enemies of the government and that they should be killed...."<sup>15</sup> In 1922, Nansen noted that the Kemalist Minister of the Interior had announced that contrary to the treaty of peace, Greeks were no longer allowed "on Turkish soil."<sup>16</sup>

Although it is too late to commemorate the occasion properly, July 1916 represents something of a centenary for the deportations from and massacres in the Pontus region.<sup>17</sup> "The entire Greek population of Sinope and the coastal region of the county of Kastanomou has been exiled" and "[e]xile and extermination in Turkish are the same," the German consul in Amisos reported to Berlin in summer 1916.<sup>18</sup> *The New York Times* reported that "in a considerable number of villages" Greeks were being deported "in batches to concentration camps into the interior" where death awaited them due to lack of food, murder and plunder of the deportee caravans, and theft of children from their mothers.<sup>19</sup> In December, with many Greek men having been conscripted into labor battalions and thereby killed, the deportations of Greek women and children from Amisos and Samsun accelerated, with one report being that "large number of women and children were killed, the young girls of the nation outraged, and immediately afterwards driven into the interior" where the "majority of course died on the road."<sup>20</sup>

**Figure 1 - Detail of Sinope to Batum Region**

In March 1917, the Greek Metropolitan of Amisos reported that most of the Greeks deported from his diocese and from the province of Sivas died in or en route to Angora.<sup>21</sup> He counted among these victims the Greeks of Sinope, Karakol, and Tripoli.<sup>22</sup> Abduction of children and women and detention of the deportees without food were the norm.<sup>23</sup> The Metropolitan of Trabzon estimated that more than 90% of the Greeks from Rizé and Tripoli did not survive the deportations.<sup>24</sup> In 1917, Marshal Liman von Sanders confirmed in writing that rather than this being mere chaos, Enver Pasha had planned the deportation of the coastal Greeks.<sup>25</sup> In 1918, a German diplomatic report stated that by the end of 1917, the Ottoman Empire had drafted more than 200,000 Greeks into the army and labor battalions, with many perishing from violent treatment, hunger, disease, and exposure to the cold weather.<sup>26</sup> Along with starvation and imposed homelessness in winter months, 100,000 Greeks died during the deportations from the Mediterranean, Marmora, and Black Sea coasts.<sup>27</sup> With the men gone, Ottoman Turks took Greek boys and girls into slavery, much like ISIS does today.<sup>28</sup> As an American account reported:

On Turkey's entry into the War, a decree was signed and promulgated which rendered all men up to the age of 48 liable for military service. The Christians thus drafted ... were for the most part formed into labor battalions and sent hundreds of miles into the

interior, ... [where t]heir daily ration was half a loaf of black bread, eked out with a little dried fish or olives. Driven like slaves and under-nourished, they died by tens of thousands.... Many thousands were massacred by the inhuman Turkish guards. Of these Greek battalions it is estimated 150,000 died....[In the villages, civilian] deportations, begun in 1915, reached a total of 450,000 during the period of the War. During these tragic pilgrimages the poor, barefooted Greeks, beaten by guards, attacked by brigands, never resting, lacking food and water, ... died by the wayside of fatigue and suffering ... and upwards of 100 Greek villages were destroyed.<sup>29</sup>

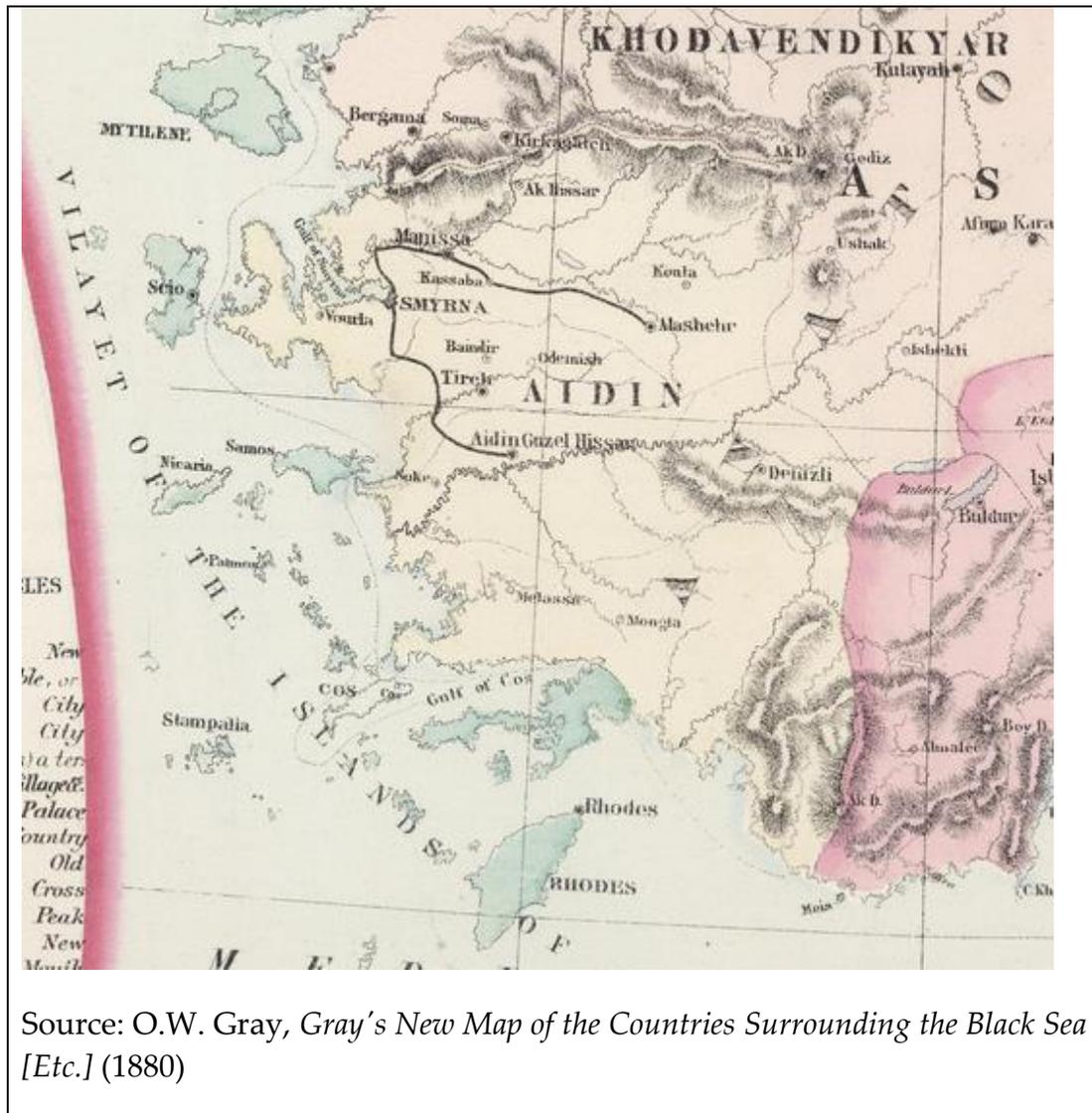
The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (ACASR) reported that more than 500,000 Ottoman Greeks had been deported and that half of the deportees died from attacks and ill-health.<sup>30</sup> In 1918, the Greek Foreign Office announced that 1.5 million Ottoman Greeks had been deported, half of whom would be 750,000, while a French author in 1919 wrote of three-quarters of a million being deported, half of whom would be 375,000.<sup>31</sup> The German government knew by 1918 that the Greeks "will be destroyed as the Armenian element was."<sup>32</sup> Similarly, the US Relief Committee for the Greeks of Asia Minor announced in 1917 that "more than 700,000 Greeks have fallen victim to persecution in the form of death, suffering, or deportation...."<sup>33</sup>

The centenary of the Kemalist Greek genocide could be marked starting in 2019. The year 1919 was an important transition period in the Greek genocide, so that the year 2019 will be another centenary of Greek persecution. In May, persecutions of Greeks were reported, and in June more large massacres.<sup>34</sup> Without an Inter-Allied Force in Sivas, Trabzon, or Konia, further massacres were reported in September.<sup>35</sup> Brigands gained an official role as Kemalist gendarmes, starting in Samsun and proceeding towards Sivas.<sup>36</sup> In November, a British admiral reported that patriotic gangs were using "terrorism" to ensure the Greeks could never return home.<sup>37</sup> "Attacks on Christians, which had become less numerous since the armistice, increased in frequency and ferocity — more particularly with regard to the Greeks — in March 1920, and even more so in June and July 1920, when Greece was preparing to enforce the treaty of peace."<sup>38</sup> In October 1920, an American missionary noted that the Russian Bolsheviks were aiding the Kemalists in the slaughter of Christians in Turkey.<sup>39</sup> Estimates of Greek deaths rose from 360,000-750,000 in 1918 to 900,000 by 1919, and to 1.5 million by 1923.<sup>40</sup>

Mustafa Kemal personally announced new massacres in 1922.<sup>41</sup> The British Foreign Minister believed a few months later that “a million Greeks have been killed, deported or have died.”<sup>42</sup> At the time of the warning, Ambassador Morgenthau asked whether the plan to “annihilate” the Armenian, Greek, and Syrian Christians, including the “well authenticated massacres on the shores of the Black Sea,” would go “unpunished.”<sup>43</sup> It would in the Greek case, although some perpetrators of Armenian massacres were punished. Greek military losses were 70,000 in the failed attempt to enforce the Treaty of Sèvres and to save the Greek race in Anatolia from eradication, as opposed to losses of 13,000 among the Kemalists and Turkish civilians.<sup>44</sup>

The process euphemistically referred to as a Greek-Turkish “population exchange” involved the mass killing of the Greeks. According to a representative of the American humanitarian organization Near East Relief, 250,000 persons, mostly Greeks and Armenians, “were doomed to death by burning, drowning, or worse still, later by starvation” after the Kemalist entry into Smyrna following the departure of the Greek treaty force.<sup>45</sup> According to another report, 100,000 were massacred.<sup>46</sup> In October 1922, British Prime Minister Lloyd George, on the occasion of his resignation, stated that the Turks had “slaughtered in cold blood ... five hundred thousand Greeks,” in addition to 1.5 million Armenians.<sup>47</sup> Using estimates of an original Greek population of 3 or 4 million, as some did, would raise the toll to between 1.3 and 2.8 million Greeks.

Figure 2 - Detail of Smyrna Region



Were the atrocities by the Greek army in 1919-1920 comparable to or even worse than those *against* the Greek communities? Scholars have made much of Greek army's extermination of Turkish civilians and destruction of Turkish villages during the Sakarya campaign and the implementation of the Treaty of Sèvres. However, an examination of their source materials reveals that these instances of extermination were not equivalent to the Greek genocide in scale, and that these instances were more humane than the Allied treatment of German and even of French or Italian civilians during the world wars.

Four of the cases described as establishing the reciprocity of the Orthodox Christian-Turkic Muslim genocide are the most plausible: the northern and western Balkans, Smyrna and western Thrace, Circassia, and northwestern Anatolia. Leaving aside the western Balkans and Circassia as largely involving Slavs as perpetrators rather than Greeks, I will focus on the other two scenes of massacre.

Greeks mentioned hundreds of thousands of deaths and disappearances among their brethren in Smyrna and Thrace.<sup>48</sup> British Intelligence estimated 750,000 Greeks perished as a result.<sup>49</sup> By contrast, Mustafa Kemal did not mention a large number of Turkish victims in his memorandum to the Harbord commission in 1919, five months after the alleged Greek massacres of Turks, to which Kemal alluded.<sup>50</sup> Arnold Toynbee also did not cite a high number of dead in his study of the subject; he mentioned figures of 40 and 200 Turks.<sup>51</sup> The worst incident on the Greek side, he wrote, was after a tense situation possibly including weapons being fired from a crowd on the Greek forces, which opened fire on the persons in the crowd, hitting Christians as well as Muslims.<sup>52</sup> Toynbee mentioned another 315 victims of the Greeks later.<sup>53</sup>

Population estimates confirm contemporary accounts that the Turkish populations in Smyrna and Thrace were not destroyed. The Greek Christian population of Turkey fell to less than 150,000 and to only about 15,000 by 2008.<sup>54</sup> According to the 1965 census, there will still 1.2 million Turkish-speakers in Smyrna province, as opposed to only 898 Greek-speakers and 17 Armenian-speakers.<sup>55</sup> Likewise, according to Turkey's estimates, there were still 129,000 Turks but only 34,000 Greeks in western Thrace in 1923, down from 325,000 Turks in 1910.<sup>56</sup> Western Thrace was excluded from the exchange of populations in 1923-1924.<sup>57</sup> Turks remained

Despite the disparity in casualties, the Greek intervention to save the Christians of Smyrna has been very useful to propagandists over the past nine decades. Consul General Horton observed that due to Turkey's efforts, the atrocities by the Greek army in the Smyrna region became more famous than "the deliberate extermination of whole nations by the Turks, and no consideration seems to have been given to the prompt suppression of the disorders by the Hellenic authorities and the summary punishment of the principal offenders, several of them by death."<sup>58</sup> Alongside the criminal prosecutions to establish order, the Greek administration provided health care and education to the Turkish population of Smyrna.<sup>59</sup> A "war of extermination" only began two years into the treaty force's presence, in April 1921,

according to Toynbee.<sup>60</sup> And it was largely carried out by the Turkish side, as the statistics reviewed above indicate.

An Ottoman leader, Djemal Pasha, cited 1.5 million Muslim deaths, about half the toll among Ottoman Christians even though it included deaths in war against Britain and Russia.<sup>61</sup> Mustafa Kemal signed a long memorandum to the Harbord Commission complaining of Greek atrocities, but did not mention any figures that would compare to those that Greek leaders cited, such as 100,000 or 200,000 Turks being massacred.<sup>62</sup> This is not necessarily proof that no systematic massacres or large-scale reduction of the Muslim population in northwestern Turkey took place, but genocide scholars and the 1965 census also suggest a low death toll for which Greeks could be blamed.<sup>63</sup> Nor does it make much sense how Greeks could inflict equivalent losses while suffering enslavement in chain gangs, mass deportations, and the rout of the Greek treaty force.<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, a comparison of the Greek genocide to the U.S. campaigns in Cuba and the Philippines reveals stark differences suggestive of genocide in the Greek case but not in the Cuban or Filipino one. Comparative data indicate that the analogy between the Ottoman Armenians and the Cubans or Filipinos occupied by the United States does not hold water. The Filipino population rose by a million after the U.S. occupation, or 15%, and the population of Cuba by 0.4 million, or 25%.<sup>65</sup> Had the Ottoman Christian population enjoyed similar trends, it would have been between 4.4 million and eight million in 1927, instead of less than 400,000.<sup>66</sup> Notions of legitimate counterinsurgency warfare, a reciprocal genocide, and a zone of mutual violence are therefore no more persuasive as Ottoman history than as a theory of World War II.

Finally, an understudied aspect of the Greek genocide is the Bolshevik-Kemalist alliance of 1919 onwards. In late 1919, the Bolsheviks began arming the Kemalists.<sup>67</sup> In May 1920, the Soviets started giving the Kemalists large deliveries of gold bullion.<sup>68</sup> The Soviet subsidy of Kemalist operations reached 5-6.5 million gold rubles per year in 1921-1922.<sup>69</sup> British intelligence figures state that the Soviets had loaned 40 million gold rubles to the Kemalists by April 1921.<sup>70</sup> Kurds were sent to concentration camps in both Kemalist Turkey and the Soviet Union in the 1930s and early 1940s.<sup>71</sup> Eventually, Greeks and Jews were rounded up and placed in concentration camps in eastern Turkey during the wealth tax pogrom of the 1940s.<sup>72</sup> High mortality among Greek populations in the Soviet Union reduced their number from up to 700,000 to fewer than 280,000.<sup>73</sup> The Bolsheviks deported the Soviet Greeks to concentration camps in Komi, Siberia, and elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> Contemporary

American commentators referred to the Kemalists as fanatical Bolsheviks, owing to the similarities of their approach to that of Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky.<sup>75</sup> After cleansing the Greeks, the Kemalists established a one-party system for decades.<sup>76</sup>

## Conclusion

Despite ongoing minimization of the crime, the Greek genocide stands out as one of the most effective and destructive campaigns of religious cleansing in history. About 1.5 million to two million Greeks suffered deportations, massacres, persecution, deprivation of wealth and businesses laboriously built up over the decades, and many other abuses. The mental harm and impacts on family ties and children's acculturation process were grave. Turkey became an epicenter of further episodes of ethnic and religious cleansing, occurring in Istanbul, the Aegean islands, the Balkans including Bosnia and Kosovo, and now in Libya and Syria.<sup>77</sup>

The next several years represent an opportunity to commemorate the intentional elimination of Greek populations from the coasts of Turkey, where they had been present for millennia. Late 2016 and 2017 will be the centennial of the deportations from the Pontus region. The year 2018 will be 100 years on from the reports that the death toll among Greeks had reached 700,000, a number comparable to the genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994, which is sometimes viewed by scholars as one of the few attempted "total" genocides of the last century. Finally, the 2019-2022 period will see many events during which the Republic of Turkey and its allies celebrate the *çihad-ı milliye*, an ethnic holy war that completed the Greek genocide, under the rubric of Turkey's "liberation," "independence," and "secularism."<sup>78</sup> Throughout this coming period, the complicity of German, French, Italian, and Soviet elites with the perpetrators of these massacres should not go unremembered.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Taner Akcam, *Textbooks and the Armenian Genocide in Turkey: Heading Towards 2015*, Armenian Weekly, Dec. 2014, [armenianweekly.com/2014/12/04/textbooks/](http://armenianweekly.com/2014/12/04/textbooks/); Thomas De Waal, *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 186; Dennis Papazian, "Misplaced Credulity: Contemporary Turkish Attempts to Refute the Armenian Genocide," *Armenian Review* 45(1-2) (1992 & 2001 rev.), pp. 177-78, [http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/papazian/misplace.html#bN\\_43\\_](http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian/papazian/misplace.html#bN_43_).

<sup>2</sup> Sean McMeekin, *The Ottoman Endgame: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Penguin, 2015), ch. 19, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=DudJBgAAQBAJ>.

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<sup>3</sup> Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions that Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 242, 255.

<sup>4</sup> Mazower's justification is that Anatolian (meaning Turkish) security was threatened by Greeks of suspect loyalty, and that when it came to deportations, "the Russians were doing much the same with Russian Jews in Tsarist Poland, the Habsburgs with their border Serbs." Mark Mazower, "The G-Word," *The London Rev. of Books*, Feb. 8, 2001, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v23/n03/mark-mazower/the-g-word>; Ronald Suny, "The Holocaust Before the Holocaust: Reflections on the Armenian Genocide," in *Armenian Genocide and the Shoah* (Hans-Lukas Kieser & Dominik J. Schaller eds., Zurich: Chronos, 2002), pp. 83-101, 90. Mazower cited, among other works, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*, which however stated that: "The mayor of our city told the American Consular Agent that the Government intended first to get rid of the Armenians, and then of the Greeks, and finally of the foreigners, and so to have Turkey for the Turks." *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Falloden by Viscount Bryce Uncensored Edition by James Bryce and Arnold Toynbee* (Ara Sarafian ed., London: Gomidas Institute, 2000), p. 362. Concerning Mazower's attempts at justification, there were of course millions of Jews and Serbs in Eastern Europe who survived the Russians and Austro-Hungarians, in stark contrast to the number of Greeks living in Anatolia and Thrace after 1922.

<sup>5</sup> Edward J. Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), pp. xvii, 16, 208-11.

<sup>6</sup> Edward J. Erickson, *Ottomans and Armenians: A Study in Counterinsurgency* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 81-187.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 47, 188, 226.

<sup>8</sup>DK / RA UM / Udenrigsministeriet, Akter 1909 et seq, 3 G, trans. Michael Willadsen (Oct. 3, 1916). <http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/ArmGenDE.nsf/AllDocs/1916-10-31-DK-001>.

<sup>9</sup> Speros Vryonis, 'Greek Labor Battalions in Asia Minor,' in Richard Hovannisian (Ed.), *The Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2007), pp. 275-90, 286.

<sup>10</sup> "Morgenthau Calls for Check on Turks; Says Their Devilish Scheme for Annihilation of Other Races Must Not Go on," *The New York Times*, September 5, 1922.

<sup>11</sup> "Turks Slaughter Christian Greeks," *The Lincoln Daily Star*, Oct. 19, 1917, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Herbert Adams Gibbons, "Near East Relief Prevented from Helping Greeks," *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 13, 1922, in *Before the Silence: Archival News Reports of the Christian Holocaust That Began to Be Remembered* (Sofia Kontogeorge Kostos ed., Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), pp. 175, 177.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Nansen Papers, R. 1761, 48/24318/24318 (16 Oct. 1922), quoted in Harry Psomiades, *Fridtjof Nansen and the Greek Refugee Crisis, 1922-1924* (Bloomington, IL: Asia Minor and Hellenic Research Center, 2011), p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Armenia held a commemoration in May with Greek participation, but it was not very well known internationally. "Pontian Greek Genocide Commemorated in Armenia" (May 2016), <http://massispost.com/2016/05/pontian-greek-genocide-commemorated-in-armenia/>.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Thea Halo, *Not Even My Name* (New York: Picador, 2000), p. 127.

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<sup>19</sup> "Turks Deporting Greeks," *New York Times*, 21 August 1916, p. 2, quoted in Tessa Hofmann, "The Genocide Against the Ottoman Armenians: German Diplomatic Correspondence and Eyewitness Testimonies," *Genocide Studies International* 9 (2015): 22-60, 52.

<sup>20</sup> Germanos, Archbishop of Amassia and Samsoun, *The Turkish Atrocities in the Black Sea Territories: Copy of Letter of His Grace Germanos, Lord Archbishop of Amassia and Samsoun* (Manchester: Delegation of the Pan-Pontic Congress, 1919), pp. 3-4, quoted in Meichanetsidis, "The Genocide," p. 181.

<sup>21</sup> *Persecution of the Greeks in Turkey 1914-1918* (Greek Patriarchate ed., 1919), pp. 121-22, [https://archive.org/stream/persecutionofgre00consrich/persecutionofgre00consrich\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/persecutionofgre00consrich/persecutionofgre00consrich_djvu.txt).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> Vahakn Dardrian, *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of ... German Complicity* (Watertown, MA: Blue Crane Books, 1996), p. 230.

<sup>26</sup> Vryonis, "Greek Labor Battalions," p. 287.

<sup>27</sup> R.J. Rummel, *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), pp. 299-30.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story: A Personal Account of the Armenian Genocide* (New York: Cosmo Classics, 2010), pp. 222-23.

<sup>29</sup> William C. King (Ed.), *King's Complete History of the World War* (Springfield, MA: The History Associates, 1922), pp. 436-37.

<sup>30</sup> Hofmann, "The Genocide," p. 52, citing René Puaux, *La déportation et rapatriement des Grecs en Turquie [The deportation and repatriation of the Greeks in Turkey]* (Paris: Éditions du Bulletin Hellénique, 1919), pp. 18-9; "Atrocities: Turks Slaughter Greeks, Sell Women to Slavery," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1918, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Hofmann, "The Genocide," p. 52, citing Puaux, *La déportation*, p. 8. See also, Peterson, "Starving Armenians," p. 124 (Kemalists deported 500,000 Pontian Greeks, killing 360,000 plus); "Governor Pataki Issues Proclamation Recognizing Pontian Genocide of 1915-23," *Hellenic Times*, June 20, 2002, p. 8 (New York governor's proclamation in 2002 stating that "from 1915-1923, Pontian Greeks endured immeasurable cruelty during a Turkish Government-sanctioned campaign to displace them; an estimated 353,000 Pontian Greeks died while being forcibly marched without provisions across the Anatolian plains to the Syrian border").

<sup>32</sup> Wolff-Metternich, quoted in Merrill D. Peterson, "Starving Armenians: America and the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1930 and After" (University of Virginia Press, 2004), p. 124; Hannibal Travis, *Genocide in the Middle East: The Ottoman Empire, Iraq, and Sudan* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010), p. 220.

<sup>33</sup> "Greek Persecution in Turkey," *The Scotsman*, 6 Nov. 1917, p. 7, quoted in Meichanetsidis, "The Genocide," pp. 126. See also, John Williams, "The Ethnic Cleansing of Greeks from Gallipoli, April 1915," *Quadrant* 57 (Apr 2013): 26-33 (500,000 deaths).

<sup>34</sup> Meichanetsidis, "The Genocide," pp. 129-130.

<sup>35</sup> *British Reports on Ethnic Cleansing in Anatolia, 1919-1922: The Armenian-Greek Section* (Vartkes Yeghiayan ed., Glendale, California: Armenian Remembrance Center, 2007), p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 102; Travis, *Genocide*, p. 289, citing F.O. 371/7876 (1922), p.1, F.O. 371/7876, Memorandum by Mr. Rendel on Turkish Massacres and Persecutions of Minorities since the Armistice (20 Mar. 1922), <http://greek-genocide.net/index.php/bibliography/books/280->

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memorandum-by-mr-rendel-on-turkish-massacres-and-persecutions-of-minorities-since-the-armistice & <http://greek-genocide.net/index.php/quotes/testimonies/239-george-william-rendel>.

<sup>37</sup> Meichanetsidis, "The Genocide," pp. 129-130.

<sup>38</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London: Constable and Co., 1922), p. 274.

<sup>39</sup> U.S. National Archives 867.00/1211, Jackson to Washington, D.C., Oct. 11, 1920., quoted in Dinc Yaylalier, "American Perceptions of Turkey, 1919-1927," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1996, p. 170.

<sup>40</sup> Arthur L. Frothingham, et al., *Handbook of War Facts and Peace Problems* (New York: Committee on Organized Education, National Security League, 1919) (900,000); Hofmann, "The Genocide Against the Christians in the Late Ottoman Period," p. 58 (1.5 million by 1923); John Freely, *Children of Achilles: The Greeks in Asia Minor Since the Days of Troy* (I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 206 (700,000 according to 1918 British report); Edwin James, "Turks Proclaim Banishment Edict to 1,000,000 Greeks," *New York Times*, December 2, 1922, <http://greek-genocide.net/index.php/bibliography/newspapers/158-1-dec-1922-turks-proclaim-banishment-edict-to-1-000-000-greeks> (300,000 by 1918).

<sup>41</sup> Edwin James, "Kemal Won't Insure Against Massacres," *New York Times*, September 11, 1922, in *Before the Silence*, 183.

<sup>42</sup> "Turks Proclaim Banishment Edict to 1,000,000 Greeks," *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> "Morgenthau Calls for Check on Turks," *The New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Edward J. Erickson, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* (2013), p. 47.

<sup>45</sup> Mark O. Prentiss, "Eyewitness Story of Smyrna's Horror," *The New York Times*, Sept. 18, 1922, p. 1. See also, Tessa Hofmann, "The Genocide Against the Christians in the Late Ottoman Period, 1912-1922," in *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide* (George Shirinian ed., Bloomington, IL: The Asia Minor and Pontos Hellenic Research Center, 2013), p. 58.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in R.J. Rummel, *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), p. 234.

<sup>47</sup> "Full Text of Premier's Speech," *The New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1922, p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> E.g., Rendel, op cit. ("In the course of these persecutions, it is generally agreed that about 1,500,000 Armenians perished in circumstances of extreme barbarity, and that over 500,000 Greeks were deported, of whom comparatively few survived.... [T]he almost equally horrible Greek persecutions have been dealt with in several Greek official publications (see particularly the proceedings of the third National Assembly in Athens in April 1921). Information regarding the persecutions of the other Christian bodies has not yet been collected."); John Freely, *Children of Achilles: The Greeks in Asia Minor Since the Days of Troy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 206 ("At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 the Greek prime minister Eleftherios Venizelos announced that 300,000 Greeks had been killed in Thrace and Anatolia ...."); Travis, *Genocide*, p. 287; Hannibal Travis, "The Construction of the 'Armenian Genocide': How Genocide Scholars Unremembered the Ottoman Assyrians and Greeks," in *Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, Memory* (Alexander Laban Hinton, Thomas La Pointe, & Douglas Irvin-Erickson eds., Rutgers University Press, 2013), p. 180.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., Freely, *Children of Achilles*, p. 206. See also Travis, *Genocide*, pp. 286-87.

<sup>50</sup> American Military Mission to Armenia (Harbord Commission), *Conditions in the Near East* (1919), pp. 29-38; Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, ch. X.

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<sup>51</sup>Toynbee, *The Western Question*, pp. 35, 106.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 269-271.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 274-289, 297-98.

<sup>54</sup>Cagaptay, *Who Is a Turk?*, p. 138; Sitene Ekle, "Türkiye'deki Kürtlerin sayısı!" *Milliyet*, June 6, 2008, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/turkiye-deki-kurtlerin-sayisi-/yasam/magazindetay/06.06.2008/873452/default.htm>.

<sup>55</sup>Buran, op cit.

<sup>56</sup>Ata Atun, *The Planned Genocide of the Turks of Western Thrace*, Near East University (modified 2008?), pp. 2-3.

<sup>57</sup>Joost Jongerden, *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 183.

<sup>58</sup>Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, pp. 72-73. See also Meichanetsidis, "The Genocide," p. 166.

<sup>59</sup>Horton, *The Blight of Asia*, ch. XI.

<sup>60</sup>Toynbee, *The Western Question*, p. 174.

<sup>61</sup>"Turkey's Case Given Away," *The New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1922, p. 64, citing Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman 1913-1919* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1922).

<sup>62</sup>*Conditions in the Near East*, pp. 29-38.

<sup>63</sup>Buran, op cit.; Rummel, op cit.

<sup>64</sup>In Rwanda, where Tutsi-led forces defeated the Hutu-led extremist government, prosecutors, scholars, and demographers are reluctant even to ask whether Hutus experienced similar losses. E.g., Gerald Caplan, "The Politics of Denialism: The Strange Case of Rwanda [Review of *The Politics of Genocide*], *Pambazuka* No. 486 (June 17, 2010), <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/65265>; Peter Erlinder, "The UN Security Council Ad Hoc Rwanda Tribunal: International Justice or Judicially-Construed 'Victor's Impunity?'" *DePaul Journal for Social Justice* 4 (2010), pp. 131-215, 154-163, 198-214.

<sup>65</sup>U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands* (1905), pp. 14, 18, 48; *Census of the Republic of Cuba* (1919), pp. 264-66.

<sup>66</sup>The figure of 4.4 million is 15% greater than four million, which is the sum of 2 million Greek, 1.5 million Armenian, and 300,000 Assyrian Christians as of 1914. The figure of 8 million is roughly 25% greater (the Cuban model) than the sum of 4 million Greeks, 2 million Armenians, and 600,000 Assyrians.

<sup>67</sup>E.g., Ekavi Athanassopoulou, *Turkey - Anglo-American Security Interests, 1945-1952, The First Enlargement of NATO* (London and Portland: Frank Cass, 1999), p. 2.

<sup>68</sup>E.g., Bulent Gokay, *Soviet Eastern Policy and Turkey, 1920-1991* (Abingdon/London: Routledge, 2006), p. 28.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>71</sup>E.g., Martin van Bruinessen, "Genocide of the Kurds," in *The Widening Circle of Genocide* (Israel Charny ed., Transaction Publishers, 1994), p. 167; Terry Martin, "Stalinist Forced Relocation Policies," in *Demography and National Security* (Myron Weiner & Sharon Stanton Russell eds., New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), p. 321; Bohdan Nahaylo & Victor Swoboda, *Soviet Disunion: A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), pp. 79-80.

<sup>72</sup>E.g., Nick Tamkin, *Britain, Turkey and the Soviet Union, 1940-45* (New York: Springer, 2009) pp. 97ff.

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<sup>73</sup>Stephane Courtois & Jean-Louis Panné, "The Comintern in Action," in *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Stephane Courtois et al eds., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 331.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.; see also, Avraam Shifrin, *The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union* (Stephanus Edition, 1980), pp. 203-7; cf. Mark Janse & Sijmen Tol, *Language Death and Language Maintenance* (Johns Benjamins Publishing Co., 2003), p. 120; USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, Poland (May 23, 2016), <http://libguides.usc.edu/vha/poland>.

<sup>75</sup>E.g., "Turkish Fanaticism "Gone Wild,"" *The Literary Digest*, Volume 75 (Nov. 18, 1922), p. 15.

<sup>76</sup>E.g., Toni Alaranta, *Contemporary Kemalism* (Routledge, 2014), p. 120.

<sup>77</sup>E.g., Lois Whitman, *Denying Human Rights and Ethnic Identity: The Greeks of Turkey* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992), pp. 27-32; Speros Vryonis, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul* (New York: Greekworks.com, 2007), pp. 27-189, 390-456, 546-71; Travis, *Genocide*, pp. 63-84.

<sup>78</sup>Auguste Gauvain, "Five Years of French Policy in the Near East," *Foreign Affairs* 3 (1924): 277-92, 281; Ryan Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 74-75; Hannibal Travis, "Book Review [*Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* by Ryan Gingeras]," *Journal of Genocide Research* 12 (2010): 295-300, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14623528.2010.483062>.

<sup>79</sup>On the German role, see Wolfgang Gust, *The Armenian Genocide: Evidence from the German Foreign Office Archives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 31, 51, 62-65, 91, 95, 104-122, 210, 281, 332, 337, 387, 390, 397, 418, 452, 484, 665-66; Thea Halo, "The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks, 1913-1923: Myths and Facts," in *Genocide in the Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923* (George Shirinian ed., New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), ch. 11; "Kaiser Informs Son of Moslem Holy War," *The New York Times*, Nov. 19 1914, p. 1; *The First World War: The Complete Series - The Ultimate First World War DVD* (2009); Jörn Thielmann, "Islam and Muslims in Germany: An Introductory Exploration," in *Islam and Muslims in Germany* (Ala Al-Hamarneh and Jörn Thielmann eds., Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 13; Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 114-15. On the roles of France, Italy, and the Soviets, see, e.g., "Bishop Would Use Navy Against Turks," *The New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1922, p. 3; "Who Equipped Kemal? The Soviet, One Report," *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1922, p. 2; "Finds Blame for US in Killing by Turks," *The New York Times*, Sept. 18, 1922, p. 3.

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