

**THE PARALLEL CRIME: THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE
AND THE GREEK GENOCIDE**

Keywords – *Armenian Genocide, Greek Genocide, Ottoman State, Young- Turks, Mustafa Kemal (“Ataturk”), History, Diplomacy, Politics, Denial, Recognition*

Introduction

Alfred de Zayas write that “Genocide is a international crime. Its prosecution and punishment are subject to universal jurisdiction, as are piracy, slave trade and other international crimes”¹. Also Ruben Safrastyan write that the “Genocide is not only a historical phenomenon or a scientific abstraction, but a sever reality of our days, a gravest crime against humanity, which prevention can save millions of human lives”².

The term “Genocide” was firstly expressed in 1944 by the Raphael Lemkin³ and was made known just before the trial of Nuremberg⁴ for the ones responsible for the extermination of the Jews by the Nazi”⁵. In his writings on Genocide, Lemkin is known to have detailed the fate of Armenians and Greeks in Turkey. In August 1946 the *New York Times* reported: “Genocide is no new phenomenon, nor has it been utterly ignored in the past. ... The massacres of Greeks and Armenians by the Turks prompted diplomatic action without punishment. If Professor Lemkin has his way genocide will be established as an international crime...”⁶.

Lemkin described the crime of Genocide as follows:

«Generally speaking, genocide does 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 essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objective 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

¹ **Zayas A. de**, *The Genocide against the Armenians 1915-1923 and the relevance of the 1948 Genocide Convention*, Beirut, 2010, p. 11.

² **Safrastyan R.**, *Ottoman Empire: The genesis of the program of Genocide (1876-1920)*, Yerevan, 2011, p. 7.

³ **Mcdonnell M. A.** and **Dirk Moses A.**, “Raphael Lemkin”. *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 7, Issue 4, December, 2005, pp. 501-529.

⁴ Tribunal Militaire International de Nuremberg, Procès des grands criminels de guerre, Nuremberg, p. 46. Επίσης **Ginsburgs G.-Kudriavtsev V.**, *The Nuremberg Trials and international Law*, Dordrecht, Martunus Nijhoff editions, 1990.

⁵ **Klier J.**, Pogrom, in **Shelton D.** *Genocide and Crimes against humanity*, London, Macmillan, 2004, p. 812-815. Also crime against the humanity is the “Night of Crystals” (Kristallnacht), November, 1938.

⁶ “Genocide”, *New York Times*, 26 August 1946.

of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity but as members of the national group»¹.

Genocide has been the base of the terminology the United Nations have used to make the « Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide» (December 9th 1948) and came into force in January 1951.

At that time the specific crime was coded and there were even set punishments for the criminals, but that hasn't stopped the forcing of violence against a group of people different from their persecutors.

According to the Convention, the term “genocide” is given by the articles as follows:

Article 2

Genocide is whichever of the following actions committed with the intention to completely or partly destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group because of being so

a) homicide of members of the group b) causing severe physical or mental disorder to members of the group c) implementation of such life conditions that lead to their complete or partial destruction d) implementation of measures which aim at preventing birth inside the group e) violent transportation of children from the group to another

Additionally, in the following articles of the treaty the following are mentioned:

Article 3

“The criminal actions below are to be punished:

1. genocide b) conspiracy aiming at genocide c) direct or indirect instigation of committing genocide d) attempt to commit genocide e) taking part in genocide

Article 4

Individuals who conspire and act the above in article 3, no matter if they have acted with constitutionality, under public command or individually are to be punished.

Article 6

The individuals who are responsible for genocide actions or any other action as mentioned in article 3 must be tried in the country where the crime has been committed or in some international penal court which will be recognized by the contracting parties...² Genocide, according to the treaty, has to do with a crime which, by violent means most of the times, aims at the systematic extermination of a whole race or part of it in a particular place. It is a primary crime, which has no connection with war battles. It is the destruction of a nation or of a national group; it is a coordinated plan of several activities that tend to destroy the substantial foundations of life of these national groups, in order to exterminate these groups.

¹ See **Lemkin R.**, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation – Analysis of Government – Proposals for Redress*, Washington, 1944, *idem*: *Le génocide*, *Revue internationale de droit pénal*, 1946. Special issue: Raphael Lemkin: the founder of the United Nations Genocide Convention a historian of mass violence, *Journal of Genocide Studies*, Vol. 7, n° 4, 2005.

² Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG). General Assembly Resolution 260 a (III) of 9/12/1948. UNTS, No 1021, vol. 78, 1951, p. 228, **Jones A.**, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, Routledge, 2 edition (August 1, 2010), **Rubinstein W. D.**, *Genocide: a History*, London, 2004.

The Armenian Genocide

Since 1876, the Ottoman state had been led by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Immediately after the Treaty of Berlin was signed, Abdul Hamid attempted to forestall implementation of its reform provisions by asserting that Armenians did not make up a majority in the provinces and that their reports of abuses were largely exaggerated or false. In 1890, Abdul Hamid created a paramilitary outfit known as the Hamidiye which was made up of Muslims, irregulars who were tasked to “deal with the Armenians as they wished”¹.

On 1 October 1895, 2,000 Armenians assembled in Constantinople to petition for the implementation of the reforms, but Ottoman police units converged on the rally and violently broke it up. Soon, massacres of Armenians broke out in Constantinople and then in Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Harput, Sivas, and Van, as well as Armenian populated regions, as Trabzon.

The German Foreign Ministry operative, Ernst Jackh, estimated that 200,000 Armenians were killed and a further 50,000 expelled from the provinces during the Hamidian unrest. French diplomats placed the figures at 250,000 killed.

On 24 July 1908, Armenians’ hopes for equality in the empire brightened once more when a “coup d’état” staged by officers in the Ottoman Army based in Thessaloniki removed Abdul Hamid II from power and restored the country to a constitutional monarchy. In 1908, elements of the Third Army and the Second Army Corps declared their opposition to the Sultan and threatened to march on the capital to depose him. Some reactionary Ottoman military elements, joined by theological students, aimed to return control of the country to the Sultan and the rule of Islamic Law. Riots and fighting broke out between the reactionary forces and Committee Union and Progress (CUP) forces², until the CUP was able to put down the uprising and court martial the opposition leaders.

While the movement initially targeted the Young Turk government, it spilled over into pogroms against Armenians who were perceived as having supported the restoration of the constitution³. When Ottoman Army troops were called in, many accounts record that instead of trying to quell the violence they actually took part in pillaging Armenian enclaves in Adana province. The number of Armenians killed in the course of the massacres in Cilicia, organized by Young Turks and perpetrated by the help of Hamidian regime, ranged between 25,000 and 30,000 people⁴.

In 1912, the Balkan War I ended with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire as well

¹ **Balakian P.**, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America’s Response*, New York, 2003, pp. 25, 445.

² The Committee Union and Progress founded a “special organization” (*Teşkilat-i Mahsusa*) that participated in the destruction of the Ottoman Armenian community. This organization adopted its name in 1913 and functioned like a special forces outfit. In 1914, the Ottoman government influenced the direction the special organization was to take by releasing criminals from central prisons to be the central elements of this newly formed special organization. **Dadrian V.**, *The Documentation of the World War I. Armenian Massacres in the proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1991, 23 (4), pp. 549-576.

³ **Akçam T.**, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, New York, 2006, p. 24.

⁴ “30,000 killed in massacres: Conservative estimate of victims of Turkish fanaticism in Adana,” *New York Times*, 25 April 1909, **Akçam T.**, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

as the loss of 85% of its European territory. Many in the empire saw their defeat as “Allah’s divine punishment for a society that did not know how to pull itself together”. The Turkish nationalist movement in the country gradually came to view Anatolia as their last refuge. That the Armenian population formed a significant minority in this region would figure prominently in the calculations of the three Pashas who would eventually carry out the Armenian Genocide.

Before entering the war, the Ottoman government had sent representatives to the Armenian congress in Erzurum, to persuade Ottoman Armenians to facilitate its conquest of Transcaucasia by inciting an insurrection of Russian Armenians against the Russian army in the event a Caucasus front was opened.

On 25 February 1915, Enver Pasha sent an order to all military units that Armenians in the active Ottoman forces be demobilized and assigned to the unarmed Labour battalion (*amele taburlari*). He explained this decision as “out of fear that they would collaborate with the Russians”. Traditionally, the Ottoman Army only drafted non-Muslim males between the ages of 20 and 45 into the regular army. The younger (15-20) and older (45-60) non-Muslim soldiers had always been used as logistical support through the labor battalions. Before February, some of the Armenian recruits were utilized as laborers (*hamals*), though they would ultimately be executed¹.

On 19 April 1915, Jevdet Bey demanded that the city of Van immediately furnish him 4,000 soldiers under the pretext of conscription. However, it was clear to the Armenian population that his goal was to massacre the able-bodied men of Van so that there would be no defenders.

The next day, 20 April 1915, the siege of Van began when an Armenian woman was harassed, and the two Armenian men who came to her aid were killed by Ottoman soldiers. The Armenian defenders protected the 30,000 residents and 15,000 refugees living in an area of roughly one square kilometer of the Armenian Quarter and suburb of Aigestan with 1,500 able bodied riflemen who were supplied with 300 rifles and 1,000 pistols and antique weapons.

On the night of 23-24 April 1915, the Ottoman government rounded up and imprisoned the Armenian intellectuals and leaders of the Constantinople and later those in other centers, who were moved to two holding centers near Ankara. Following the passage of Law of Deportation (“Tehcir Law”) on 29 May 1915, the Armenian leaders, except for the few who were able to return to Constantinople, were gradually deported and assassinated.

On 29 May 1915, the CUP Central Committee passed the “Tehcir Law”, giving the Ottoman government and military authorization to deport anyone it “sensed” as a threat to national security.

With the implementation of “Tehcir Law” the confiscation of Armenian property and the slaughter of Armenians that ensued upon its enactment outraged much of the western world. While the Ottoman Empire’s wartime allies offered little protest, a wealth of German and Austrian historical documents has since come to attest to the witnesses horror at the killings and mass starvation of Armenians².

¹ **Toynbee A.**, *Armenian Atrocities: The Murder of a Nation*, London, 1915, pp. 181-182.

² **Fisk R.**, *The Great War for Civilization: The Conquest of the Middle East*, New York, 2005, **Fromkin D.**, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, New York, 1989, pp. 212-213.

A network of 25 concentration camps was set up by the Ottoman government to dispose of the Armenians who had survived the deportations to their ultimate point. This network, situated in the region of Turkey's present-day borders with Iraq and Syria, was directed by Sukru Kaya. Some of the camps were only temporary transit points. Others, such as Radjo, Katma, and Azaz, were briefly used for mass graves and then vacated by autumn 1915. Camps such as Lale, Tefridje, Dipsi, Del-El, and Ra's al-'Ayn were built specifically for those whose life expectancy was just a few days¹.

The Greek Genocide

The first phase of the Greek Genocide is traced in 1908 and lasts until the beginning of World War I, when the Eastern issue, the rise of the Young-Turks in powerful positions in the Ottoman empire, the Balkan Wars and Germany's assistance as a strategic ally of the Ottoman state, created the right conditions for the initiating the expulsions of the Greeks. During that period, there are no longer declarations by the Young-Turks about fair and equal treatment of all in the state, on the contrary the Greeks are to be exterminated. Major part in this extermination as in Armenian Genocide has the "Special Organization" (*Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*)² which, having a paramilitary structure, makes the Greeks and the Armenians a target³.

The second period started in 1914, when the conflicts that arose during World War I, promoted the genocidal policies⁴. The Young-Turk government orders a number of actions taken in order to further continue the extermination of the Greeks, together with the Armenian Genocide⁵.

In December 1916 the majors Enver, Cemal and Talat, leaders of the Young-Turks party, advanced an extermination project against the Greeks, that aimed at the immediate extermination of men only, aged 16-60 years old, and general exile of all men, women and children from the villages in the inner Anatolia. At that time, the Armenian Genocide was already taking place, with 1.500.000 victims. The Ottoman state is at war with the Entente Forces and the realization of the structured genocide plan appears easier than ever.

The period 1919-1923 is the third, last and more intense face of the genocide, as the establishment of Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) in the interior of the Ottoman state which is coincident with the establishment of the Soviet Union and the aid provided

¹ **Kotek J., Pierre R.**, *Le siècle des camps : détention, concentration, extermination*. JC Lattes, 2000.

² **Hull V.**, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*, Ithaca, 2005.

³ **Fotiadis K.**, *The Genocide of Greeks of Pontos*, Thessaloniki, 2004.

⁴ «The anti-Greek persecutions carried out in Turkey since the beginning of the European War are but the continuation of the plan of extermination of Hellenism practiced by the Young Turks, since 1913». **Morgenthau H.**, *The Greatest Horror in History*, Red Cross Magazine, March 1918.

⁵ The reporter of the newspaper "The Morning Post" states that "All crimes committed by Neron, Kalligoula, Attila and Abdoul Hamit, are equal to nothing, compared to the millions of people deliberately murdered in Turkey, during the last four years". Among the victims lie foreign enemies, prisoners of war, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, etc. ". The Morning Post, 6.12.1918.

towards the nationalistic movement of Mustafa Kemal, as well as the change of course in the exterior policy affairs of the great European forces¹.

The Young-Turks, and Kemalist authorities pre-planned and realized the Greek Genocide. The orders for the deportations of the Greek populations, men, women, children, to Kurdistan, Syria and elsewhere, either in the form of governmental decisions, either as a bill of the National Assembly, such as 1041 of the 12th June 1921 and 941 of the 16th June in the same year, had been signed both by the Young-Turks and Mustafa Kemal himself. Also, like the Armenia case in 1921 killed all the Greek leadership in the so-called courts of independence in Amaseia (Pontos).

Consequently until 1923, the Young-Turks and the Kemalists, having taken harsh measures against the Greeks (special in Asia Minor-Smyrna²) through the means of expel, rape, slaughtering, deportations and hangings, exterminated hundreds of thousands of Greeks. Among the victims of the genocide there was a great number of women and children, groups of the Greek population that consisted a particular plan of the extermination plan³. Methods of destruction which caused death indirectly – such as deportations involving death marches, starvation in «labour» camps, concentration camps etc. – were referred to as «white massacres»⁴.

This plan against Greeks can be verified through the reports and documentations of the foreign ambassadors, consuls, embassies, and others, where one can find references on the acts of slaughtering and brutality.

The Greek Genocide forced the surviving Greeks, to abandon their homeland. The final chapter of this mass murder deals with the forcible removal of the survivors from their homeland. With the treaty referring to the population exchange, signed both by Greece and Turkey in 1923, the uprooting of the Thracian Greeks from their land is completed, closing the issue of one of the bloodiest mass murders in the history of mankind.

After 27 centuries of presence, prosperity and contribution of a historical nation, the Greeks of Thrace, Pontos, Asia Minor, Cappadocia, abandoned the land of their ancestors, their homes, churches, graves, a culture of world wide appeal.

The Greeks from former Ottoman Empire, nowadays in Greece, in the U.S.A., in Canada, in Australia, in Europe, and throughout the world wants justice to be attributed in the name of their ancestors that were murdered during the genocide from the Ottoman State. A Genocide that consists part of a greater crime committed against that cost the life of 1.000.000 Greeks⁵ and 1.221.000 Greeks became refugees¹.

¹ **Hofmann T.**, *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und vernichtung der Christen im Osmanischen reich*, 1912-1922, Munster-Hamburg, 2005, **Sarris N.**, *Foreign policy and political developments in the first Turkish Democracy*, Athens, 1992, p. 234, **Charalampidis M.**, *The Pontian question in United Nations*, Athens, 2006 (in Greek).

² **Hatzidimitriou G.**, *American Accounts Documenting the Destruction of Smyrna by the Kemalist Turkish Forces: September 1922*, New Rochelle, New York, 2005, p. 2.

³ **Morgenthau H.**, *Ambassador's Morgenthau Story*, New York, 1918.

⁴ **Rendel G. W.** (20 March 1922). *Foreign Office Memorandum on Turkish Massacres and Persecutions of Minorities since the Armistice*.

⁵ **Kitromolidis P. - Alexandris A.**, «Ethnic survival, nationalism and forced migration», *Bulletin of Asian Minor Centre*, 5 (1983-1984), p. 23. For the numbers of victims see Patriarchate Oecumenique, « Les atrocités kemalistes dans les régions du Pont et dans le reste de l'Anatolie », Constantinople, 1922. *Black book, The Tragedy of Pontos 1914-1922*, Athens, 1922 (in Greek), **Valavanis G.**, *Modern General History of Pontos*, Thessaloniki, 1995, **Zayas A. de**, op. cit., p. 25, "Turks Proclaim Banishment Edict to

The Armenian Genocide and the Greek Genocide and Turkey's denial

“One object of writing this book is to make the truth known concerning the very significant events and to throw the light on an important period during which colossal crimes have been committed against the human race, with Christianity losing ground in Europe and America as well as in Africa and the Near East”.

US Consul-General in Smyrna George Horton².

“The Genocide is the reality. It remains to us, to try to recognize from the international community. It cannot be continued the current situation in Turkey, where the state has changed the humans in slaves. Turkey must recognize the Genocide»

Turkish publisher and writer Ragip Zarakolu³.

All the successive governments of Turkey, from the end of World War I until today⁴, denied the accusation of committing Genocide.

Article 142 of the 1920 Treaty of Sevres prepared after the first World War I, called the Turkish regime “terrorist” and contained provisions to repair so far as possible the wrongs inflicted on individuals in the course of the massacres perpetrated in Turkey during the war. The Treaty of Sevres was never ratified by the Turkish government and ultimately was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne, which was accompanied by a “Declaration of Amnesty”, without containing any provision in respect to punishment of war crimes⁵.

The Turkish government did not stop developing concise efforts to prevent any recognition of the Genocide and any research on the events by international organizations and during scientific meetings. Moreover, the Turkish governments not only refused to learn about these serious accusations concerning their responsibility for the extermination of the Armenians and the Greeks⁶, but also there is evidence to prove that the plan of extermination of the Armenians and the Greeks is still in process with the premeditated destruction, desecration and desertion of the cultural monuments.

Turkey, apart from its tactics of denying the facts, the responsibility of those who took part in them, the methods of disclaiming of history applied by the *servants* of formal history, makes use of the following: selective use, partial description or

1.000.000 Greeks”, The New York Times, 2 December 1922, p. 1, **Tsirkinidis H.**, Finally to them we eradicated. The genocide of Greeks of Pontos, Thrace and M. Asia, through the French files. Thessaloniki, 1995, p. 113.

¹ **Aigidoy D.**, Greece without the refugees. Athens, 1934, p. 18.

² **Horton G.**, The Blight of Asia, Athens, 1928.

³ **Zarakolou R.**, The “Genocide” in: **Zarakolou R. - Cetinoglu S. - Malkidis T.**, The Greek Genocide, Kavala, 2011, p. 45.

⁴ Le Martyre du Pont-Euxin et l'opinion publique internationale, Genève, 1922, p. 74, and “Times”, 27.6.1919.

⁵ **Bassioun M.**, Crimes Against Humanity in International Criminal Law, The Hague, 1999, pp. 62-63.

⁶ The Turkish Courts-Martial of 1919-1920 saw charges brought against a number of leading Turkish officials for their part in ordering massacres against both Greeks and Armenians. **Akçam T.**, Armenien und der Völkermord: Die Istanbul Prozesse und die Türkische Nationalbewegung, Hamburg, 1996, S. 185.

masterly twisted reality, continually improved presentation of projects of academic glamour¹, which will increase credibility when addressing non-experts, scientific radio televised broadcasts etc. This comes from the misinformation of the propaganda on the Turkish population against the Greeks, their role in the past and their feelings².

These measures it develops in order to disclaim the historical truth and to serve the misinformation, can and will probably be intensified in the future: Turkey could do that by rallying their national feelings round facts such as commemorative occasions for the victims of Turkey in the period between 1915-1918 or by assigning days of national memory and honor of the main responsible for the genocide (among which the ministers Talaat, Cemal, and Enver, Mustafa Kemal, Topal Osman, etc.). Abroad, in an external level, they could create new institutes and other “centers of Turkish studies”, etc.

Turkey counts mainly on its international relationships in order to pass an according to its benefits edition of history and its strong denial the Greek and Armenian Genocide comes from political influence. The developed Turkish “arguments” reappear with variations in the formal speeches of politicians and historians. They consider the Greeks to be responsible for the massive crime, their local organizations of self-defense (partisan forces) which caused the Turkish retaliation. Additionally, they blame the Greeks for their act against the Great Powers during Word War I or their behavior during the presence of the Greek army in Smyrna region.

Moreover, they twist the statistic figures in order to present less victims and they selectively use certain evidence, partial lapsing or distorting reality, academic research papers, which are supposed to increase validity and prestige and mainly misinformation and propaganda in the interior of Turkey. In response to the 1998 Greek law on Genocide, the Turkish government released a statement which claimed that describing the events as genocide was “without any historical basis”³. The latest acts⁴ which point out the special role of the Turkish propaganda against the Greek Genocide are the declarations on this issue, made from the Department of Foreign Affairs for the establishment of Greek refugees from USSR in Thrace⁵, made by R.T. Erdogan (May 2006) after the unveiling of the memorial of genocide in Thessaloniki or the participation of the Minister of external affairs at that time and later President of the state A. Gul (January 2007), who actually declared that the Greek-Pontian dances are in fact Turkish. This propaganda which moves against many Greek-speaking populations mainly in Pontos, armed a young man in Trapezunta, who murdered the Catholic priests (2006 and 2010). However, there exist a number of testimonies of fugitives and survivors, foreign eye witnesses, foreign countries records or records

¹ **Uzunoglu N.**, Newspaper Citizen, November 2008.

² See the books, as a part of Turkish propaganda **Yilmaz K.**, Pontus Issue, Ankara, 1995 (in Turkish), **Capa M.**, Pontus Issue. The national fight in the Trapezoynta and in Kerasounta, Ankara, 1993 (in Turkish), **Getikli Y.**, The question of Pontos, Ankara, 1995, **Guler A.**, The question of Pontos and the Greek terrorist organisations, Ankara, 1991 (in Turkish), **Turkdogan B.**, The Pontos Issue and the Policy of Greece, Ankara, 2000.

³ Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information: Turkey Denounces Greek Genocide Resolution (1998).

⁴ See and the statement of Minister of Defence of Turkey for the ethnic cleansing. Vesti Gunul Newspaper Vatan, 10/11/2008.

⁵ Newspaper Agonas, 23/9/1993.

belonging to Turkey itself which ensure the premeditated and massive character of the crime.

These prosecutions have often been accompanied by hate campaigns and threats, as was the case for journalist Hrant Dink who was prosecuted three times for “denigrating Turkishness”, and murdered in 2007. Later, photographs of the assassin being honored as a hero while in police custody, posing in front of the Turkish flag with grinning policemen, gave the academic community still more cause for pause with regard to engaging the Armenian issue. The leading lawyer behind the prosecutions, Kemal Kerincsiz, has been accused of plotting to overthrow the government as a member of the alleged “Ergenekon network”.

The Genocide and the recognition

The presence of Greeks in Thrace, Pontos, Asia Minor, Cappadocia, after the Ottoman domination over this region, the Greek influence and their contribution to various cultural achievements were threatened. The authority system and the government, the discriminations against the Christians, the conditions of the financial and political life threatened the continuity of the Armenians and Greeks in the region.

With the creation of the Young Turks group in the Ottoman state, a nationalistic ideology appeared and consolidated, and with the domination of power in 1908, there was a desire for the Christian populations to become extinct, a dream which came true during Word War I, the Armenians and Greeks were a central target¹.

When the Armenian Genocide was about to end, it was time for the Greeks to be exterminated by the same means: massacres, atrocities, massive violence, arrests of women and children, violent conversions to Islam, marches of death. These facts are confirmed by survivors of the genocide as well as foreign witnesses, whereas lots of people left the region taking refuge in Russia.

The Genocide against Greeks and Armenians continued even after the end of Word War I and systematically after 1919, when on May 19th of the same year Mustafa Kemal arrived at Samsunta. Operations of massive assassinations, deportations, banishments, destruction of cultural and religious places took place as well as burning down villages and cities. Nobody can explain these crimes and this fact is confirmed by the Turks², many foreigners³ and allies of Mustafa Kemal's coup⁴.

Approximately 1.500.000 Armenians and 1.000.000 Greeks were lost due to massacres, deportations and marches of death. This premeditated destruction of the more of 50% of the Armenians and Greeks, constitutes Genocide according to the

¹ **Charalambidis M. - Fotiadis K.**, Pontians: Right to memory, Athens, 1988 (in Greek).

² Speeches, that pronounced Mustafa Kemal in the second concentration of Democratic Popular Party of (15-20 October 1927) for the Pontus question and the attempt of foundation of Democracy of Pontos and the reports of Ottoman are certain sources. **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**, Nutuk, Ankara, 1980. For the proceeding of Turkish National assembly see Proceeding of Secret Meetings of Big National assembly, Türkiye İis Bankası Kültür Yayinlari, vol. 3, Ankara, 1985 (in Turkish).

³ **Fotiadis K.**, The Genocide of Greeks of Pontos, Thessaloniki 2004. Also see certain articles in the newspaper «New York Times» (New York) and in newspaper «The Times» (London).

⁴ See the opinions of Soviet envoy in Turkey. The presence of Frounze in Turkey, Istanbul, 1978.

criteria of U.N. (article 2 of the Convention, paragraphs a, b, c, d and e) and other acts, papers on Genocide¹.

¹ For example see the 8 Stages of Genocide by Gregory H. Stanton. Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The process is not linear. Logically, later stages must be preceded by earlier stages. But all stages continue to operate throughout the process.

1. CLASSIFICATION: All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories, such as Rwanda and Burundi, are the most likely to have genocide. The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions. The Catholic church could have played this role in Rwanda, had it not been given by the same ethnic cleavages as Rwandan society. Promotion of a common language in countries like Tanzania has also promoted transcendent national identity. This search for common ground is vital to early prevention of genocide.

2. SYMBOLIZATION: We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies”, or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups: the yellow star for Jews under Nazi rule, the blue scarf for people from the Eastern Zone in Khmer Rouge Cambodia. To combat symbolization, hate symbols can be legally forbidden (swastikas) as can hate speech. Group marking like gang clothing or tribal scarring can be outlawed, as well. The problem is that legal limitations will fail if unsupported by popular cultural enforcement. Though Hutu and Tutsi were forbidden words in Burundi until the 1980’s, code-words replaced them. If widely supported, however, denial of symbolization can be powerful, as it was in Bulgaria, where the government refused to supply enough yellow badges and at least eighty percent of Jews did not wear them, depriving the yellow star of its significance as a Nazi symbol for Jews.

3. DEHUMANIZATION: One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder. At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group. In combating this dehumanization, incitement to genocide should not be confused with protected speech. Genocidal societies lack constitutional protection for countervailing speech, and should be treated differently than democracies. Local and international leaders should condemn the use of hate speech and make it culturally unacceptable. Leaders who incite genocide should be banned from international travel and have their foreign finances frozen. Hate radio stations should be shut down, and hate propaganda banned. Hate crimes and atrocities should be promptly punished.

4. ORGANIZATION: Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (the Janjaweed in Darfur.) Sometimes organization is informal (Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralized (terrorist groups.) Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings. To combat this stage, membership in these militias should be outlawed. Their leaders should be denied visas for foreign travel. The U.N. should impose arms embargoes on governments and citizens of countries involved in genocidal massacres, and create commissions to investigate violations, as was done in post-genocide Rwanda.

5. POLARIZATION: Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center. Moderates from the perpetrators’ own group are most able to stop genocide, so are the first to be arrested and killed. Prevention may mean security protection for moderate leaders or assistance to human rights groups. Assets of extremists may be seized, and visas for international travel denied to them. Coups d’etat by extremists should be opposed by international sanctions.

6. PREPARATION: Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is expropriated. They are often segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved. At this stage, a Genocide Emergency must be declared. If the political will of the great powers, regional alliances, or the U.N. Security Council can be

The population which survived the Genocide was led to expulsion. Thousands of them took refuge in several countries. The Treaties that were signed between Greece and Turkey in 1923 for the “exchange of populations”¹, as well as the Treaty of Lausanne² did not include the Armenian and Greek survivors, whose great majority was islamized. This is the dimension of the Armenians and Greeks – mainly in Pontos (Black Sea) which remains alive even today, with the existence of large populations who speak the, closest to ancient Greek, spoken dialect nowadays, the Greek-Pontian dialect, which, together with the identity of these people, is threatened by the Turkish regime.

The Armenian and the Greek Genocide is an issue which has remained cut off from the world for many years and is appointed in the late 1980’s and in the early 1990’s, posed pressure grounds and on the issue, which resulted in applying for the issue of the recognition of the Genocide. In 1994 and 1996 the Greek Parliament voted for the declaration «Day of Commemoration of the Greek Genocide»³. (In 1996 the Greek Parliament voted the 24th of April as «Day of Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide»)⁴

mobilized, armed international intervention should be prepared, or heavy assistance provided to the victim group to prepare for its self-defense. Otherwise, at least humanitarian assistance should be organized by the U.N. and private relief groups for the inevitable tide of refugees to come.

7. EXTERMINATION begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called “genocide.” It is “extermination” to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killings by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of bilateral genocide (as in Burundi). At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide. Real safe areas or refugee escape corridors should be established with heavily armed international protection. (An unsafe “safe” area is worse than none at all.) The U.N. Standing High Readiness Brigade, EU Rapid Response Force, or regional forces -- should be authorized to act by the U.N. Security Council if the genocide is small. For larger interventions, a multilateral force authorized by the U.N. should intervene. If the U.N. is paralyzed, regional alliances must act. It is time to recognize that the international responsibility to protect transcends the narrow interests of individual nation states. If strong nations will not provide troops to intervene directly, they should provide the airlift, equipment, and financial means necessary for regional states to intervene.

8. DENIAL is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile. There they remain with impunity, like Pol Pot or Idi Amin, unless they are captured and a tribunal is established to try them. The response to denial is punishment by an international tribunal or national courts. There the evidence can be heard, and the perpetrators punished. Tribunals like the Yugoslav or Rwanda Tribunals, or an international tribunal to try the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, or an International Criminal Court may not deter the worst genocidal killers. But with the political will to arrest and prosecute them, some may be brought to justice. **Stanton G., The 8 Stages of Genocide, Genocide Watch, 1996.**

¹ **Pentzopoulos D.,** The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact on Greece, Paris and the Hague, 1962.

² Treaty of Lausanne, Acts signed in Lausanne of 30 January and 24 July 1923, Athens, 1923 (in Greek).

³ Greek Parliament, 1994 and 1996 (in Greek).

⁴ Nations worldwide (<http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/states.php>), several states of the U.S., and other countries (http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/provincial_governments.php) and international organizations (http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/international_organisations.php), have passed resolutions recognizing the Armenian Genocide.

So far, the Greek Genocide has been recognized, among the others, by the European Parliament, Greek Parliament, Parliament of Representatives of the Cypriot Republic, from the Swedish Parliament, the Parliament of South Australia and South Wales and by several institutional conveyors of the USA. The issue has been introduced in the financial and social council of the U.N. as well as the organization for the Safety and Co-operation in Europe have been occupied with it, the latter after the intervention of non governmental organizations¹.

The question was posed at the Committee of European Affairs of the European Parliament (5th September 2006), by the presentation of the composition of the Dutch European-deputy Camiel Eurlings, in which her notes on the development of Turkey in its course to the European accession were reported².

Parallel the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), recognize the genocide of the Armenians, Greeks and Assyrians (December 2007)³, while for first time actuarial company of USA⁴, gives the possibility in descendants of victims of

For Greek Genocide see resolution of the Parliament of Cyprus (1994), the Parliament of Sweden (2010), the Federal parliament of Southern Australia (2008) and New South Wales (2013), resolutions of several states of the U.S., and international organizations resolutions (European Parliament-2006 paper for Turkey's progress for EU International Association of Genocide Scholars-2007).

¹ **Charalambidis M.**, The Pontian Question in the United Nations, Athens (in Greek), see also **Charalambidis M.**, The Pontian Question Today, Athens, p. 127 (in Greek).

² The Committee of Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament (Brussels 05.09.2006), and European Parliament. Texts Adopted at the sitting of Wednesday 27 September 2006 Provisional Edition. Turkey's progress towards accession, p. 12.

³ The full text of IAGS resolution: "WHEREAS the denial of genocide is widely recognized as the final stage of genocide, enshrining impunity for the perpetrators of genocide, and demonstrably paving the way for future genocides; WHEREAS the Ottoman genocide against minority populations during and following the First World War is usually depicted as a genocide against Armenians alone, with little recognition of the qualitatively similar genocides against other Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire; BE IT RESOLVED that it is the conviction of the International Association of Genocide Scholars that the Ottoman campaign against Christian minorities of the Empire between 1914 and 1923 constituted a genocide against Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greeks. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Association calls upon the government of Turkey to acknowledge the genocides against these populations, to issue a formal apology, and to take prompt and meaningful steps toward restitution". <http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/2007-december.php>

⁴ As weird or unbelievable as it may seem, the recording of an event in history, in other words the wretched attempt of Talaat Pasha, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Young-Turks in 1915, to collect 'on behalf of the Armenians' the compensation money from their death insurance, a death which he himself contributed to via mass extermination, was reason enough for lawyer Vartkes Yeghiayan to begin a 20 year legal struggle in the State of California with a view to claim back in favour of the descendants of these victims of the genocide of 1915, the above money. The defender of the victims of the Greek and Armenian Genocide, Henry Morgenthau, American Ambassador to Constantinople in the period 1914-17, states in his book *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (1918) (in the Greek publication *The Secrets of the Bosphorus*, 1918), that Talaat asked him whether the Ottoman Government could collect the compensation money from the life insurance contracts which were held by many Armenians (Ottoman nationals), while he personally had undertaken the organisation of their extermination. Vartkes Yeghiayan, whose origins are from Asia Minor, whilst reading the lines from the above book, conceived the idea of reclaiming this compensation money for the descendants of the victims of the Armenian Genocide. At first many didn't take his efforts too seriously, however through strong will and hard work the distinguished lawyer was eventually vindicated. Recently the insurance companies New York Life and AXA, after a long and difficult legal battle were ordered to pay to beneficiaries the total sum of 53 million dollars. Apart from life insurance contracts, it is also well known that in that same period in Anatolia, fires destroyed many

genocide of claiming compensations (September 2008). The Genocide against Armenians and Greeks¹ is a political issue and its international extension refers to the commitment of all the institutions of the International community, to the states and the international organizations to recognize the offence of genocide which was committed at the expense of the Armenian and Greeks and to restore, this way, the huge moral damage they suffered. The perspective of building a new Europe and a new peaceful planet which will be more democratic and true depends today on creating a freer, fair, equal, harmonious world. This Europe and the planet on its whole that we anticipate to construct cannot be indifferent, simulated concerning itself and history.

The international crime of Genocide opposes responsibilities not only on the state which committed it, but also to the whole international community:

- a) For not recognizing a situation created by global crime as legal
- b) For not helping the performance of an international crime to maintain the illegal situation and²
- c) To help other countries with the application of the obligations above. That is, it imposes on the international community the obligation not to recognize an illegal situation as a result of genocide³.

A struggle to ask for and point out the truth will find a lot of nations agreed. In order not to repeat the crimes, the responsible and the reasons that led them have to be found out. The truth must be sought and presented to the international public opinion, which knows how to judge and sentence without self-interest. Nowadays, when other nations suffer genocides from racist states, it is time for the first step to be taken to recognize the crime of Armenian⁴ and Greek Genocide. On the other hand, the

buildings and belonging owned by Greeks, so in September 2008, New York Life Launches Voluntary Program to Reach out to Heirs of Greek Policies from 1914.

¹ **Schaller D., Zimmerer J.**, Late Ottoman Genocides: the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Young Turkish population and extermination policies – introduction, *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 10 (1), 2008, pp. 7-14.

² **Shaw M.**, in *International Law*, New York, 2002, p. 481, it marks that the violation of international obligation gives reason for a requirement for the repair.

³ **Lauterpacht H.**, *Recognition in International Law*, Cambridge University Press, 1947, p. 20, **Bassiouni C.**, *Crimes against Humanity in International Criminal Law*, Martinus N., Dordrecht, 1992, **Shelton D.**, *Encyclopaedia of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity*, MacMillan reference, 2004. **Jacques F.**, *Aspects juridiques des crimes contre l'humanité*, in *L'actualité du génocide des Arméniens*, Paris, 1999, pp. 397-404, **Zayas A. de**, op. cit.

⁴ **Akçam T.**, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, New York, 2007, *idem*: *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton, 2012, **Balakian P.**, op. cit., **Bloxham D.**, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, Oxford, 2005, **Dadrian V.**, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, Oxford, 1995, *idem*: *Warrant for Genocide: Key Elements of Turko-Armenian Conflict*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2003, **Kevoorkian R.**, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, London, 2011, **Hovannisian R.**, *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*, Detroit, 1998, *idem*: *The Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2007, **Barton J. L.**, *Turkish Atrocities: Statements of American Missionaries on the Destruction of Christian Communities in Ottoman Turkey, 1915-1917*, Ann Arbor, 1997, **Bryce J.** and **Toynbee A.**, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Falloden*, Uncensored ed. Edited and with an introduction by Ara Sarafian, Princeton, 2000, **Dadrian V.**, *Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in Turkish Sources*, Jerusalem, 1991.

contemporary Turkish state has to answer for the Genocide¹, without making propaganda and pleads inconsistency as a state in order to be exculpated from the charge. This state, as the creation of Mustafa Kemal, and the Young Turks are responsible for the crime of Genocide. Each nation has the right to intensely demand from the authorities of the crimes and offences committed against it to recognize them. The greater the harm and the longer the facts were hidden, the more intense the desire for such recognition becomes. Recognition, which is a substantial way to fight against genocide; Recognition which constitutes the confirmation of a nation's right to the respect of its existence according to the international law and the historic truth.

Genocide is defined as “the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group”². Revisionist attempts to deny or challenge claims of genocides are illegal in some countries. For example, several European countries ban denying the Holocaust, whilst in Turkey it is illegal to refer to mass killings of Armenians and Greeks by the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the World War I as a Genocide.

The historical however period where we cover create favourable conditions in Armenia, in Greece, in Europe and in all the world, even in Turkey becomes henceforth comprehensible that without the knowledge of history and this tragic page that knew the Armenians and the Greeks, without that is to say appointment of genocide, it cannot exist completed comprehension of history. For this and are undertaken initiatives of substance for the appointment of genocide that is moved in a news and more essential frame of operation and activity of collective representations. The time will show the result of this intervention, the first samples however shows that the substance has exceeded the press, the truth has exceeded the lies, light has overcome the darkness³.

¹ **Fotiadis K.**, The Genocide of Greeks of Pontos, Thessaloniki, 2004, **Enepekidis P.**, Genocide in Pontos. Diplomatic documents from Vienna (1909-1918), Thessaloniki, 1996, **Vakalopoulos K.**, Persecutions and Genocide of Thracian Hellenism, Thessaloniki, 1998 (in Greek), **Morgenthau H.**, The murder of a nation, New York, 1974, Ambassador Morgenthau's Story, New York, 1918, *I was sent of Athens*, New York, 1929, *An international drama*, London, 1930. Black Book: *The Tragedy of Pontus 1914-1922*, Athens, 1922 // *Livre Noir : La tragédie du Pont 1914-1922*, Athènes, 1922, *Le martyre du Pont-Euxin et l'opinion publique internationale*, Genève, 1922, **Oeconomus L.**, The Martyrdom of Smyrna and Eastern Christendom; a file of overwhelming evidence, denouncing the misdeeds of the Turks in Asia Minor and showing their responsibility for the horrors of Smyrna, London, 1922. The editions of Patriarchate Oecumenique, The Black Book of the sufferings of the Greek people in Turkey from the armistice to the end of 1920, Constantinople, 1920 and **Les atrocités kemalistes dans les régions du Pont et dans le reste l'Anatolie**, Constantinople, 1922, **Hofmann T.** (ed.), *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Christen im Osmanischen Reich 1912-1922*, Münster, 2004, **Bierstadt E. H.**, The Great Betrayal; A Survey of the Near East Problem, New York, 2001, *Not Even My Name*, New York, **Hofmann T.**, **Bjornlund M.** and **Meichanetsidis V.** (ed.), *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks Studies on the State Sponsored Campaign of Extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor (1912-1922) and its Aftermath: History, Law, Memory*, New York, 2011.

² **Funk T. Marcus**, *Victims' Rights and Advocacy at the International Criminal Court*, Oxford, 2010, p. 1.

³ **Malkidis T.**, “Greek Genocide”, in **Zarakolou R.**, **Cetinoglu S.**, **Malkidis T.**, *The Greek Genocide*, Kavala, 2011, p. 78.

Թեոֆանիս Մալկիդիս – Նույնօրինակ հանցագործություն. հայերի և հույների ցեղասպանությունը

Օսմանյան պետությունում երիտթուրքերի համախմբման և քեմալական շարժման ձևավորմամբ առավել արմատավորվեց ազգայնական գաղափարախոսությունը, և 1908 թ. իշխանության գլուխ անցնելով՝ խնդիր դրեցին բնաջնջելու քրիստոնյա բնակչությանը: Դա հնարավոր եղավ Առաջին համաշխարհային պատերազմի ընթացքում և դրանից հետո: Ցեղասպանության կենտրոնական թիրախը դարձան հայերն ու հույները:

Երբ Հայոց եղեռնն արդեն ավարտին էր մոտենում, հերթը հասավ հույներին: Կիրառվում էին նույն մեթոդները՝ ջարդեր, գազանություններ, զանգվածային բռնություններ, կանանց և երեխաների գերեվարում, բռնի իսլամացում, մահվան քարավաններ:

Հողվածում զուգահեռ է անցկացվում հայերի և հույների ցեղասպանությունների միջև: Երիտթուրքերի և քեմալականների հանցագործությանը զոհ դարձան 1.500.000 հայեր և 1.000.000 հույներ: Հեղինակը նշում է, որ հայ և հույն բնակչության ավելի քան 50%-ի կանխամտածված բնաջնջումը, ըստ ՄԱԿ-ի չափանիշների (Կոնվենցիայի 2-րդ հոդված, ա, բ, գ, դ և ե կետեր) և Ցեղասպանության մասին այլ փաստաթղթերի, պետք է որակվի ցեղասպանություն:

Теофанис Малкидис - Схожее преступление: геноциды армян и греков

В результате объединения младотурок и формирования кемалистского движения в Османском государстве еще более укрепилась националистическая идеология и придя к власти в 1908 г. они поставили цель уничтожить христианское население. Это стало возможным во время Первой мировой войны и после нее. Центральной мишенью ее были армяне и греки.

Когда Геноцид армян уже приближался к завершению, настала очередь греков. Применялись те же методы: погромы, жестокость, массовое насилие, пленение женщин и детей, насильственная исламизации, караваны смерти.

В статье проводится параллель между армянским и греческим народом. Жертвами младотурок и кемалистов стали 1.500.000 армян и 1.000.000 греков. Автор отмечает, что по критериям ООН (2-я статья Конвенции, пункты а, б, в, г и д) и другим документам о геноциде, намеренное уничтожение свыше пятидесяти процентов армян и греков должен быть квалифицирован как геноцид.