

DR. SALAHI RAMADAN SONYEL

DR SALAHI R. SONYEL read Economics, Politics and Education at the Queen's University, Belfast, where he was awarded the degrees of B.A. and M.A. in 1959 and 1963 respectively, and the Diploma in Education in 1960.

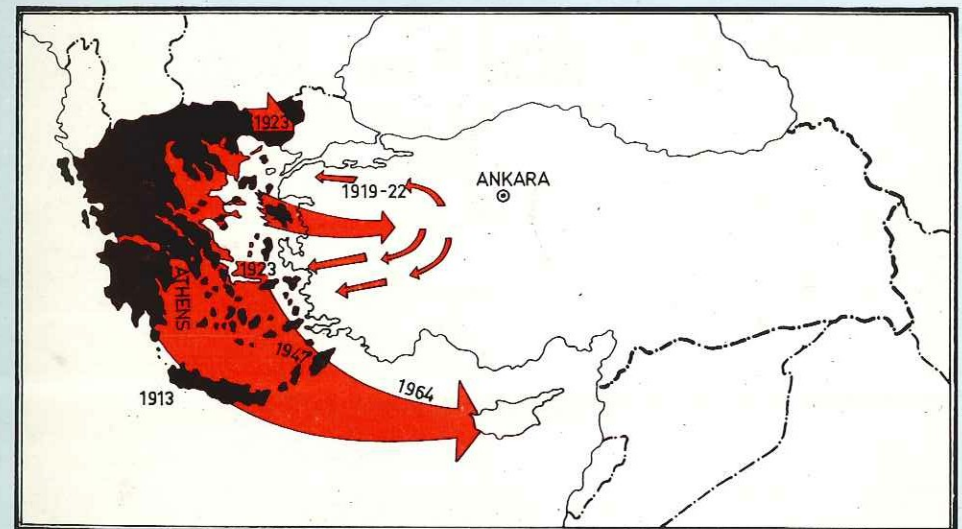
He carried out research at Birkbeck College in Political History and was conferred with the degree of PH.D. by London University in 1971.

Dr Sonyel has a number of publications, mainly *Turkish Diplomacy 1918-1923* published in London by SAGE PUBLICATIONS LTD in 1975 and Volume 1 of *Turkish War of Liberation* in Turkish published by the Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, Turkey, in 1973. The second Volume of his latter work is currently being published in Ankara.

Dr Sonyel has also published many monographs in a number of learned magazines and newspapers in Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and Britain. His works on Armenian relocations have earned him world-wide reputation. He is frequently quoted by eminent Turkish, German, American and other authors as an authority on the History and Politics of the Near East. At present he is Head of Department of social sciences at a London school.

In his present work he tries to shed light upon the causes of the Turco-Greek conflict, by simply introducing documents derived from foreign sources, mainly the British Foreign Office archives, and by not commenting upon them. Although he competently diagnoses the roots of the evil which have time and again brought the Turks and Greeks at loggerheads, he does not endeavour to impose a solution to the conflict; he only makes a few passing remarks leaving the conclusion to the readers. An unbiased and well-documented book, *The Turco-Greek Conflict* gives a realistic picture of the inhuman crimes committed by the Greeks in the name of Megali Idea.

The Turco - Greek Conflict



Greece, having obtained its independence in 1830, has striven against Turkey with a slogan which has sometimes been "Megali Idea", sometimes "Hellenism" and sometimes "self-determination" thus making efforts to encircle Turkish coasts. The attempt to annex Cyprus to Greece is a new example of this.

THE CYPRUS TURKISH CULTURAL ASSOCIATION (HEAD OFFICE)

Scanned / Transcribed by
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm>

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/english/home/index.php>



DR SALAHI R. SONYEL

**THE
TURCO-GREEK
CONFLICT**

Ankara 1985

DR SALAHI R. SONYEL

THE TURCO-GREEK CONFLICT

"...These beautiful towns (Izmir, Manisa, Pergama etc.) are now desolated; these amiable people killed, exiled, ruined, or tormented by the most appalling mental and physical agonies, and this through the wantonness of the Western statesmen who hardened their hearts and stopped their ears against their expert advisers... After causing hundreds of thousands of fellow human beings to lose everything that makes life worth living, they have themselves lost nothing more irretrievable than office and reputation. IT WERE BETTER INDEED FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE THAT THE GREEK ARMY HAD NEVER SET FOOT IN ANATOLIA."

Arnold J. Toynbee (1)

"...the whole attitude of the Peace Conference towards Turkey was so harsh that Right had now changed sides. Justice... had gone over to the opposite camp... That Greeks should conquer Turks was not a decree of fate which any Turk would recognise."

Winston S. Churchill (2)

"Unless this small Turkish community, forming part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism, is expelled (from Cyprus), the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated."

Makarinos
(Speech at Panayia, 4.9.1962)

"The human mind cannot comprehend the Greeks' butchery. Greek N. Guard..... entering Turkish homes, ruthlessly rained bullets on women and children; they cut the throats of many Turks; rounding up the Turkish women they raped them all."

Mrs Ingrid Hebil,
Voice of Germany, 30.7.1974

THE TURCO-GREEK CONFLICT

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of the Turco-Greek relations is a story of conflict. The causes of this conflict must be sought in a number of factors- geographical, ethnic, politico-economic and historical. Geographically both countries are contiguous, with a common frontier, mainly in Thrace. Some of the Greek islands in the Aegean are situated a few miles away from the Turkish mainland. This contiguity has led to a number of frontier disputes and incidents between the two countries, culminating in the present conflict over the Aegean and Cyprus.

Ethnically the Turks and the Greeks belong to different races and different religions, the former being Muslim and the latter Orthodox Christian. They also have different cultures: different values and outlook of life. The Turks have been reconciled to the loss of their Empire (the Ottoman Empire), and have, under the wise guidance of Kemal Ataturk, given up their expansionist ambition of Pan-Turanism or Pan-Turkism- an ambition which aimed at uniting most of the Turks of the world within one homeland, the Turan. The Greeks, however, smarting under the inferiority complex of the necessity of living up to the reputation of ancient Greece, and of seeing their present country be treated as a small and insignificant state with inadequate resources, have been bedevilled by the obsession of self-aggrandisement at the expense of their neighbours. Even a sensible politician like Eleftherios Venizelos did not succeed, as Ataturk did, to save Greece from this obsession of striving recklessly for greatness in the sense of unity, integrity, development and progress within its national boundaries. But more will be said about this Greek obsession later.

Politico-economically Greece, until recently, was a monarchy, based on a peasant economy, with the Orthodox Church pervading every aspect of Greek life, including the political sphere. Dictators have come and gone, but the social substratum of Greece remained the same despite the German occupation during the Second World War. Turkey, however, has had a war of liberation, followed by a social revolution which has completely eradicated the *ancien regime* and has introduced laicism, a new order based on the secularisation of the state. Moreover, Turkey has a larger land area and a much bigger population with greater resources and better scope for development.

Historically the two countries have frequently been at logger-heads, mainly because Greece, before 1830, was ruled

by the Ottoman Empire and had to stage a long, bitter and bloody struggle in order to gain its independence. Once independent, Greece continued its self-aggrandisement by adopting an expansionist policy mainly at the expense of Turkey.

THE PAN-HELLENIC VISION: THE GREAT IDEA (MEGALI IDEA)

The *Megali Idea*, the driving force of Greek expansionism, is described by Andreas C. Michalopoulos, OBE, as the

"Hope that some future day all the Hellenes will unite and the Greek Kingdom will extend from Ionia (Western Anatolia) to the Black Sea and include Thrace, the coastlands of Asia Minor and Constantinople (Istanbul). This is not an arrogant intellectual fancy, not a dream, not a wild ideal to resuscitate the Byzantine Empire, but the voice of the people determined to be free from a foreign race ..."

He thought this would not be immediately realizable; but expansion would take place gradually (3).

Dr Drakoulis, representative of the Greek Labour League, in January 1919 stated very clearly:

"Smyrna (Izmir) and Athens appeared to me like two light-houses of Hellenism... why one of these centres of light should be excluded from Hellenism was a mystery... Macedonia and Constantinople must follow the same course as Thessaly and Crete. Constantinople must become the seat of the Greek Government." (4)

A more recent Greek writer and politician, the late Panayotis Pipinellis, observed:

"...the very raison d'être of its (Greece's) existence compelled it to become the nucleus of a national Commonwealth wherein the whole Greek race could be reassembled and unified... The vision of a resurrected Byzantine Empire was in everybody's mind..." (5)

The Greek press, too, systematically echoed the Greek imperialism by agitating for the cession to Greece not only of Izmir, but also of Thrace, Istanbul and Pontus on the Black Sea coast of Turkey. The *Nea Hellas* of 13th November, 1918, declared:

"No other state but Greece has the courage to claim the inheritance of Constantinople. The sole right solution, or the least harmful one, would be for Greece to extend its boundaries to include Constantinople... Despite the

illegitimate solutions found to the problem by diplomatists, Constantinople belonged to Greece and one day will again belong to Greece..." (6)

The newspaper also demanded that, in addition to Istanbul, Greece should be given Cyprus, Epirus, the Dodecanese, Thrace and Asia Minor.

The *Eleftheros Typos* asserted that Greece would no longer remain as the small state of the past, adding:

"Following the heavy burden imposed on us by the war, if our frontiers are not extended in a way to assemble all the Hellenic people within one Greece, we cannot survive economically."

Whereas the *Eleftheron Vema* was saying: *"Any Greek who thinks Greece is not going to receive Thrace and Asia Minor must be mad."* (7)

With the exception of the leftist newspaper *Rizospastis*, in the 1920's there was not even a single Greek newspaper which did not publicise the Greek territorial demands; and yet, Lord Granville, the British Minister in Athens, observed that Greece, which thitherto had shown no particular aptitude in administering its own territory, could not be expected to show wisdom and altruism in the administration of an additional population numbering millions. He had learnt that at least the wealthy Greek merchants of Izmir and even the Greek *rayahs* (Ottoman Greeks) did not desire to unite with their motherland. (8)

Harold Armstrong, British Army officer and writer, who felt the dangers of Greek expansionism beforehand, observed that Greece was straining upwards to become great; but he added:

"The more I saw, the less I believed in her greatness. She was living on the froth of excitement that is all bubbles that burst easily. The ability to organise and the instinct to rule were not there. Words were more plentiful than efficiency..." (9)

PAN-HELLENISM TRIUMPHANT: EXTERMINATION OF THE TURKS IN THE PELOPONNESUS, CRETE AND MACEDONIA

At the beginning of the 19th Century, the Ottoman Empire, which in its heyday had stretched from the Urals in the East to the gates of Vienna in the West, and from the Indian Ocean to the approaches of the Atlantic in North-West Africa, had passed its zenith and was showing signs of decline. The Great Powers at the time, Britain, France, Austria and Tsarist Russia wished to inherit most of the Ottoman territories; but France and Britain were wary lest the demise of the "Sick Man of Europe" would lead to a power vacuum and ultimately to a war in

Europe. Tsarist Russia, however, reckless as always, strove to bring about the downfall of the Ottoman state as soon as possible in order to inherit part of the Turkish provinces. It began to exploit the various Christian nationalities within the Ottoman Empire, such as the Serbs, Bulgars, Greeks and Armenians, by inciting them to put forward various demands for reform. This would enable Russia to act as their champion and would give it the opportunity to interfere in the domestic affairs of Turkey. (10)

In 1894 a secret political society, the *Ethniki Etaeria* was set up with the blessings of Russia. Its object was to struggle for the establishment of a greater Greek state. In a declaration in 1896, the society specified its aims to be:

"To work unceasingly to ensure the unification, liberation and progress of the Greeks, and when the time comes... to support a weak and tiny Greece; to work for Greater Greece even if this means going against the wishes of the present government. It may be that this will lead to the Greece of today getting into difficulties even to the extent of destruction. This does not matter as long as it ensures that another step has been taken along the road to Greater Greece." (11)

The *Ethniki Etaeria* had much funds, subscribed by wealthy Greeks and Philhellenes which it lavishly used in propagating the Pan-Hellenic vision of the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea)- an obsession which incited many Greeks to struggle deliriously for a Greater Hellas, including Morea (Peloponnesus), Macedonia, Crete, Epirus, the Dodecanese, the Ionian islands, Thrace, Izmir, Istanbul, Pontus, Cyprus and perhaps Alexandria in North Egypt: a combination of the empires of Alexander and Byzantium.

In time the *Ethniki Etaeria* became a terrorist organisation like *Eoka* in Cyprus or the IRA in Britain today, and began to perpetrate all kinds of crimes, including genocide even against its own people in order to force them to toe the line. The most common methods used were incitement to riots, insurrections, terrorism, assassinations and massacres with all the gruesome cruelties which the Hellenic race seems to be capable of. Another method used was to incite the Greek-speaking population outside the boundaries of Greece (the irredentists) to agitate for reforms or self-determination. This would be championed by Greece. A sympathetic Western World would lend its support to "heroic Greece"- the cradle of civilisation, forgetting completely or forgiving the inhuman, cruel and barbarous methods employed by the Greek extremists, and in many instances by "motherland Gre-

ece", whose appetite for territorial aggrandisement has been insatiable for the last 146 years even at the expense of the extermination of millions of people, of Greeks, Turks and other nationalities. (12)

With British sympathy and Russian support a small independent Greece was set up in 1830 after an internecine struggle during which the Turkish population of the Greek mainland was completely eliminated either by massacre or by expulsion. In the words of William St. Clair:

"The Turks of Greece left few traces. They disappeared suddenly and finally in the spring of 1821, unmourned and unnoticed by the rest of the world... It was hard to believe then that Greece had once contained a large population of Turkish descent, living in small communities all over the country, prosperous farmers, merchants and officials, whose families had known no other home for hundreds of years... UPWARDS OF 20,000 TURKISH MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE MURDERED BY THEIR GREEK NEIGHBOURS IN A FEW WEEKS OF SLAUGHTER. THEY WERE KILLED DELIBERATELY, WITHOUT QUALM OR SCRUPPLE, AND THERE WERE NO REGRETS EITHER THEN OR LATER. TURKISH FAMILIES living in single farms or small isolated communities WERE SUMMARILY PUT TO DEATH AND THEIR HOMES BURNED DOWN OVER THEIR CORPSES. Others, when the disturbances began, abandoned home to seek the security of the nearest town, BUT THE DEFENCELESS STREAMS OF REFUGEES WERE OVERWHELMED BY BANDS OF GREEKS. The Turks of Greece paid the penalty for centuries of wrongs, real or imagined, and their inherited religious beliefs... THE ORGY OF GENOCIDE EXHAUSTED ITSELF IN THE PELOPONNESUS ONLY WHEN THERE WERE NO MORE TURKS TO KILL." (13)

Then came the turn of Crete. After years of quiet and painstaking work, the 15,000 Turks living there were quickly and efficiently eliminated following a systematic campaign of agitation, terror and massacre. In 1901 Crete declared union with Greece with the blessings of the Great Powers. Macedonia and Thessaly followed suit during the Balkan Wars when the Turkish-Muslim population was subjected to untold terror and oppression. The result was the cession of Macedonia to Greece together with Thessaloniki, the birth-place of Kemal Ataturk, whose population at the time was 75 per cent Turkish.

Before the First World War broke out, Pan-Hellenism was thus triumphant in securing for Greece the Peloponnesus, Crete, Thessaly and Macedonia. The *Ethniki Etaeria* had succeeded in spreading the Greek vision of "Greater Hellas" by transmitting the Pan-Hellenic ideology from generation to generation

through the mass media, including newspapers and periodicals; through the Greek Orthodox Church and the over-zealous clergy; through the Greek education system and the ultra-chauvinist Greek educationists; through literature, art, music and theatre. The Greek intelligentsia joined the band-waggon to proclaim the glory of *Megali Idea* (Great Idea).

GREEK ASPIRATIONS AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The Ottoman Empire, which had participated in the First World War as an ally of the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria), was defeated by the Entente Powers (Britain, France and Italy), and was forced to sign the Armistice of Mudros on 30th October, 1918. The war and its aftermath "let loose an orgy of imperialist expansion among the victors." (14) Turkey-in-Asia was a rich prize upon which the imperialists in Berlin, Vienna, London, Paris, Rome, Petrograd and Athens had set their hearts. (15) Here was an opportunity for Greece to hit the Turk while he was prostrate and to participate greedily in the Entente schemes of dismembering Turkey. The Pan-Hellenists, as usual, began to provoke the local Greek people of Izmir to agitate against the Ottoman authority, so much that on 14th March, 1919, George Kidston of the British Foreign Office remarked as follows:

"We know from secret sources that the agitation of the Greek element is not altogether spontaneous, but is being fostered and supported from Athens. GREEK MONEY IS BEING SPENT NOT ONLY IN ASIA MINOR BUT ON A PROPAGANDIST CAMPAIGN IN PARIS AND LONDON." (16)

Even Lord Curzon, the acting British Foreign Secretary, in a memorandum on 22nd April, 1919, referred to this agitation, adding:

"As to the Greeks WHO CANNOT KEEP ORDER FIVE MILES OUTSIDE THE GATES OF SALONICA, is it to be believed that they will be allowed contentedly to occupy and administer a great city like Smyrna (Izmir), or a province like Aidin?..." (17)

There were other warnings against allowing the Greeks to invade Western Anatolia. Thus, on 14th February, 1919, the British Chamber of Commerce of Izmir, in a letter to the British High Commission in Istanbul, warned:

"The government of this province by Greece would entail the employment of a large army, and would reproduce Macedonian and Cretan conditions." (18)
(See Document No.1 and 1A).

The following day, an American missionary, Dr Alexander MacLachlan, with five other missionaries, wrote to Dr James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board, Bible House, in Istanbul, that the best interests of Turkey and of the world, would not be furthered by placing that part of Turkey under Greek rule, and adding:

"In this age, no nation with such professedly egoistical aims, and so lacking in tolerance, broadmindedness, and national stability of character as Greece has shown herself to be, is fairly entitled to assume the responsibility in governing a large population of aliens, and many of them age-long enemies... Our firm belief is that a Greek government here at the present time would mean for all but the Greeks, a mocking denial of all the hopes the war has given: and even for the Greeks themselves, in view of the narrow, selfish policy Greece has shown elsewhere..." (19)

H.O. Whittall, a British businessman, resident of Izmir, in a letter to the British Chamber of Commerce of Izmir, dated 22nd February, 1919, observed that the Greeks had put forward "most exaggerated" estimates of their number in that province, whereas the majority of the population was Turkish, adding:

"Unfortunately, as far as concerns the Greeks of this country, they all join their idea of liberty with the idea of becoming masters where they were servants of the Turks, and of proclaiming and enforcing the fact by trampling upon their former masters... Even if justice is evenly handed, they would trample on their feelings, their customs, their usages in such ways as to amount to brutal treatment which could not be brought under the terms of the law..."

Admiral Calthorpe, the British High Commissioner in Istanbul, in submitting Mr Whittall's letter to the British Foreign Secretary A.J.Balfour on 19th March, added the following comments:

"I most unhesitatingly and unreservedly endorse all of Mr Whittall's observations... I fear that they (the Greeks) have taken advantage of this act of benevolent justice to exploit and tyrannize their Moslem neighbours. No more striking example could be imagined than the utter intolerance and overbearing nature of the Greeks... He (Venizelos) has raised the Greek reputation and prestige to a height it has never approached before. But so far as I am aware, this has been the work of that one

great statesman alone. Thus there are no guarantees for the future and there is everything to fear from the experience of the past." (See document No.2 and 2A)

Warnings against letting Greece to invade Izmir were pouring in. Thus, Commander Heathcote-Smith of the British Royal Navy, wrote a memorandum on 4th March, 1919, on "Greek aspirations to the Asia Minor coast-strip," observing:

"My own consular experience in Smyrna and Mitylene, working among all classes of Greeks- an experience identical, I believe, with that of every impartial man who knows these people, is that it would be folly, and worse, to hand the coast-strip uncontrolled to Greece... The history of the Hellenic Kingdom has proved that... they are far from being the ideal rulers that the personality of M. Venizelos would incline one to think..."

On 13th March, in transmitting this report to Foreign Secretary A.J.Balfour, Admiral Richard Webb, acting British High Commissioner in Istanbul, made the following observations thereon:

"I wish to emphasize the extreme undesirability of handing over to Greece, uncontrolled, the Aidin Vilâyet (Province of Aydın)... Past experience amply proves the inability of the Greeks to govern themselves; when, to this national administrative incompetency be added the animosity which they bear towards the Turks, there is no reason to believe that their government of the latter would be anything but disastrous..." (21)

To all these warnings, however, and to others, the great statesmen of the West, President Wilson of USA, and Premiers Lloyd George of the UK and Georges Clemenceau of France, closed their ears and resolved to allow the Greeks to invade Izmir, which ultimately led to one of the greatest disasters in human history, resulting, as the following pages will show, in the death of at least one million innocent people- Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Circassians and other nationalities.

THE RAPE OF ANATOLIA

THE INVASION OF IZMIR BY THE GREEKS AND TURKISH MASSACRES

On 15th May, 1919, a Greek army of invasion, under the protection of American, British, French and Greek warships, began to invade Izmir. The following day, James Morgan, British Consul-General at Izmir, sent this very urgent cypher telegram to Admiral Richard Webb, acting British High Commissioner in occupied Istanbul:

"Greek troops landed yesterday morning... Occupation marked by much lack of discipline. Collision with the Turks occurred.. and isolated fighting in various parts. Christian rabble allowed much license; many Turks unnecessarily arrested and maltreated. Looting of Turkish shops and houses still continues. Greek mob in control of the surrounding villages. Smyrna town now fairly quiet apart from looting and hunting down the Turks. Turkish civilian administration non-existent. Military and civilian casualties: Turkish 300, Christian 100." (22)

On the same day, the British Commander in charge of the Mediterranean Fleet, who was at Izmir, sent the following cypher telegram to the Admiralty:

"There has been a good deal of looting in the town, chiefly by the Greeks... The Turkish Government office has been stripped of its contents by the mob... Situation still serious in the outlying districts with desultory shootings. The Greek zone must be clearly defined for responsibility of law and order." (23)

On 17th May, the Director of British Military Intelligence informed the admiralty that wholesale arrest of Turks by the Greeks was taking place in Izmir. Greek mob was looting houses and shops, and the Turks were being badly treated. In consequence, reprisals by Turks in the interior were feared as no force had yet been sent there. W.S. Edmonds of the British Foreign Office, in commenting on this report,

said:

"The Greeks who are scattered by handfuls all over Anatolia are likely to pay a heavy price for this acquisition of territory." (24)

He was simply forecasting the future.

The invasion of Izmir by the Greeks and the accompanying horrors inflicted upon an unarmed Turkish population have been well depicted in secret reports and eye-witness accounts submitted to the Foreign Offices of Britain, France, Italy, and Turkey. A cursory examination of the British documents reveals that the following atrocities were committed by the Greeks in the name of Pan-Hellenism:

Extracts from the evidence of eye-witnesses which had reached the British Government through official sources, showing the Greek barbarities on unarmed Turkish soldiers who had surrendered to the Greek army and were being escorted to a detention centre: "At a point between the corn exchange and the Orient Bank, I saw six being shot out of one batch within ten yards. At a point higher up, I saw five others succumbing under a fire of Greek rifles. Close to the landing place of the Cordelio boats I saw a lot more shot down. Near Kramer, I witnessed three more cases of shooting. The most horrible cases of brutality I witnessed were the following: a fat Turkish officer shot in the stomach tried, in his agony, to sit up. A Greek soldier at once rushed at him and struck him with the butt end of his rifle. A Turkish officer over fifty years of age, shot in the back, tried to rise into a sitting position. Rifles were at once levelled at him, but before they could fire, he had fallen back dead. A civilian Turk shot and lying on the quay tried to move, Greek soldiers kicked him on the head and face. An officer shot in both legs and chest commenced to groan and ask for mercy. He was jeered at by the soldiery and struck down. A Turkish officer observed to veer slightly out of line, probably slipping on the pavement, one of the Greek troops struck him alongside his head with the butt of a musket, and he went down on his side. He tried to rise and was struck on the other side of the head by another Greek soldier and went down flat, probably unconscious, whereupon a Greek soldier bayoneted him and stuck the muzzle of his gun close to him and blew the top of his head off.

"I walked alongside the prisoners and before reaching the Customs House, I saw a Turkish officer doddering and was struck unmercifully by a soldier with the butt of his rifle. His left eye was bleeding, his right cheek cut out to the bone- an officer then joined in and began lashing

him across the head and face with a whip. Finally another soldier struck him down with his rifle and he was left a pray to the populace. I remonstrated with another officer standing by, and was told in reply 'it is good for those pigs.' By the time the prisoners had passed the Customs House, the mauling was continuous.

"A few yards further on I saw one of them succumbing under the blows rained on him. Opposite the Bourse several were knocked over by blows and one officer who could not rise, was kicked down again by a Greek soldier. A barge moored astern of the ship was used as temporary prison by Greeks into which suspected persons were thrown. A Greek officer was seen on three occasions to throw prisoners head first into the barge, which was a drop of at least seven feet. The military guard in the barge searched the prisoners and confiscated all articles of value. One officer fell just in front of the office; he tried to get up when another fell over him, forcing him down again. Many fell all along and their bodies were left there to be insulted and trampled on and kicked. Some were killed on the spot, others were in agonies for a long time and not one of these men thought of going to put the dead aside or help the wounded, which they should have done as it was quiet for a while. I saw a Turkish Colonel wounded. He seemed to have his leg broken; he was whining with pain. A Greek soldier came along, took his bayonet and simply thrust it through him.

"They had not gone more than twenty steps when a civilian prisoner dropped out. A guard with his bayonet bent, thrust his weapon into the prisoner's back, who fell on the tram lines in a pool of water and in spite of his feeble protests, he received another thrust in the abdominal region. A second guard battered him till he ceased to move. This scene raised the deepest feeling of disgust and shame and I, with others, could not refrain from yelling to the brutal guard to desist. He heard us and slunk away.

"My attention was then diverted to another Turk of the common type of soldier whose shaven crown showed up the ghastly contrast of his face and neck which were covered with blood. He dropped out to some fifteen yards from the railings that project from the Passport Office and on the curb that lines the sea front. He sank to the ground and although his hands were held aloft in the humblest submission, he was attacked by two guards with their bayonets and pushed into the sea. He struggled hopelessly for a few minutes, then turned over, his face in water, and moved no more." (25)

On 21st May, 1919, the *London Moslem League* published an authentic account of the occurrences in Izmir and Aydin dist-

riect from British eye-witnesses, adding: "The Greek troops broke into some of the places where the Turkish officers were gathered (to surrender), killing some immediately, while others were bayoneted by the Greek escort for refusing to shout 'Zeto Venizelos. Some so bayoneted were thrown into the sea to drown... Officers were stripped of their uniforms by Greek soldiers, and left in their shirts and pants. Their boots the soldiers put on themselves. The Governor was dragged along the quay with his hands up and carried as a prisoner on board a Greek ship. His fez was taken off and trampled under foot. His wife (a purdah lady) was hurt and his house riddled with bullets. The Chief of the Turkish staff bayoneted in the face, was thrown into the hold of a Greek cattle ship. The senior doctor of the Turkish Army Corps murdered... so also the chief of artillery. In some cases fingers had been cut to remove rings. The Turks were calling for mercy while the Greek guard prodded them with their bayonets or struck them on the back of the neck with the butt end of their rifles. A crowd gathered round a Turk who had been severely wounded by a thrust from a bayonet, and whose Greek escort bayoneted him again; a Greek soldier put his foot in the crutch of a wounded Turk pulling off his boots. The prisoners were very thirsty. The bodies of the murdered Turks were found in every place in the sea, where some of the severely wounded had been thrown to drown. It seemed quite impossible for some time after to get away from the traces of massacre." (26)

In the British Foreign Office these news led to a number of comments. W.S. Edmonds observed:

"...The Greeks seem to have made the most of this chance of hitting the Turks while they were down... All (Turkish) officers and officials arrested were robbed, mobbed and otherwise ill-treated. Their private houses were ransacked, and women insulted, and in some cases violated. There is no doubt considerable truth in the Turkish statements." (27)

(See document No.3 and 3A)

When Dr Ronald Burrows, in a letter of 11th June, 1919, addressed to Lancelot Oliphant of the Foreign Office, asked for more information on the Greek atrocities at Izmir, N.D. Peterson made the following observations:

"I don't think we want to encourage Dr Burrows to start a public controversy on the behaviour of the Greeks at Smyrna... Admiral Calthorpe has reported that it is beyond doubt that the Turkish military prisoners were shot in cold blood by their Greek escort... In the circum-

stances the less said about the matter the better." (28)
(See document No.4 and 4A)

The Greek atrocities were so horrifying that, on 4th June, 1919, British Member of Parliament Brigadier-General Surtees asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in Parliament, whether his attention had been called to the statements made in the press with regard to Greek atrocities at Izmir that a number of unarmed civilians and old men were massacred by Greek soldiers, and, if so, whether those responsible for these atrocities would be put on trial. Replying on behalf of the Foreign Secretary, Cecil Harmsworth, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, said that he regretted to say that at the landing of Greek troops at Izmir was attended by disorder and rioting, involving numerous casualties. But necessary measures were being taken to punish those responsible for the disturbances, he added. (29)

Nine days later, Cecil Harmsworth drew up a confidential memorandum which makes very interesting reading. He said, *inter alia*:

"Yesterday I had a visit from Reverend Dr MacLachlan, head of the educational mission at Smyrna. He had just come from there. He was himself an eye witness of some of the shameful incidents that marked the landing of the Greek troops of occupation... His report confirms in circumstantial detail the worst impressions we have gained of the deplorable event..."

"...One of the results (of the Greek atrocities) was that officers and men of HMS 'Adventure' decided there and then that no Greek officer should thenceforth set foot on 'Adventure' and that members of the Club at Smyrna have made a like rule in regard to their premises." (30)
(See document No.5 and 5A)

The Greek invasion of Izmir had provoked a storm of protest throughout Anatolia. Moslem/Turkish feeling was agitated all over Turkey, and the Ottoman Government in Istanbul began to be flooded with telegrams from the interior, addressed to the Government, the Sultan, and the High Commissioners, protesting in the strongest terms against the Greek barbarities. There was also mourning in Istanbul, in other big cities, in towns and even in villages.

It was not only the city of Izmir that had suffered from Greek atrocities during the invasion, but the surrounding towns and villages as well. Thus, we learn from a report by Alfred Van Der Zee, Swedish Consul of Izmir that about 20 persons were killed in Goztepe and Kokaryali; 9 men were shot down, 1000 sheep and about 50 horses were lifted at Bornova,

17 persons were killed in Buca; 23 persons were killed in Cordelia, whilst Tahtali villages were ransacked with many of the inhabitants missing. Cim Ovasi and all surrounding villages were sacked with heavy loss of lives, whilst the Turkish people were invading the trains to rush to Izmir. Some women and children were found dead in Kokar Dere. Urla village was partly destroyed.

THE REPORT OF THE ALLIED COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO GREEK ATROCITIES AT IZMIR

The Allied Commission of Inquiry into the Greek Atrocities at Izmir, which was set up immediately after the Greek invasion of Izmir, reported to the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers in October, 1919. The report itself was drawn up in French and was sent to the British acting Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon on 18th October, under cover of a secret despatch by Admiral Richard Webb, acting British High Commissioner in Istanbul. It put all the blame for sending the Greeks into Anatolia squarely on the shoulders of the Entente Powers and accused Greece of carrying out indiscriminate massacres in Turkey.

In the British Foreign Office the report was read with great interest. W.S. Edmonds, a member of the Eastern Department, on 3rd November commented as follows on the report:

"The Greeks come badly out of this. One thing after another is put down on the lack of discipline of their troops and on the inability or unwillingness of their authorities to restrain the local Greek mob..."

N.D. Peterson, another member of the Eastern Department, added the following comments:

It is expressly stated that the landing could not be justified on the ground of danger of massacre of Christians. As regards the subsequent advance of the Greeks into the interior, the blame is more evenly divided, although the balance still inclines against the Greeks... The report suggests that the Greek troops may be withdrawn..."

E. Phipps added the following:

"I do not think it would be advisable to issue any important part of this despatch as a White Paper, at present. The Greeks come out so badly that the less we publish now the better." (31)
(See document No.6 and 6A).

But Admiral Sir John de Robeck, British High Commissioner in Istanbul, and General Milne, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of Occupation in Turkey, were in favour of the publication of the report. When both men learnt that the Supreme Council, meeting in Paris on 8th November, 1919, discussed the report and listened to the pleadings of Venizelos, one of the chief architects of the Greek invasion of Izmir, who, assisted by Sir Eyre Crowe, a Turcophobe member of the British Foreign Office, demanded that the report should be suppressed, and swayed the Council against the report, on 19th November Admiral Sir John de Robeck sent the following urgent cypher telegram to Lord Curzon:

"I think that it is my duty to point out to Your Lordship... that the denial of this justice cannot fail, when it becomes known, to have deplorable reaction against us all, but especially against His Majesty's Government, thus occasioning considerable loss of prestige having the effect of strengthening the resistance by the Turks to the imposition of peace terms... As the greatest Moslem Power, we have the greatest interest in re-establishing order in Anatolia. I repeat once more that I can see no prospect of doing this so long as the Greeks remain at Smyrna."

This telegram received much interest in the Foreign Office where George Kidston, a member of the Eastern Department, made the following comments on 22nd November:

"Both Admiral de Robeck and General Milne are indignant at the action taken by the Supreme Council on the report of the inter-Allied Commission of Enquiry into the Smyrna Atrocities. The Council, it will be remembered, confined themselves to addressing a very mild letter of remonstrance to M. Venizelos, and expressing the hope that the Greeks would behave themselves in future."

Whereas Lord Hardinge, the permanent Under-Secretary of State, agreed entirely with the last sentence of Admiral de Robeck's telegram (32). Moreover, he made the following comments on a despatch sent to Lord Curzon on 12th November by Admiral de Robeck, informing him that anti-British sentiments were developing amongst the Turks:

"It is perfectly true that His Majesty's Government are mainly responsible for the introduction of the Greek forces into Anatolia and Smyrna and we cannot get away from this." (33)

But nobody paid any heed to these warnings. Moreover, on 5th January, 1920, the Paris newspaper *Eclair* published the

text of parts 2 and 3 of the Izmir Commission report, dealing with responsibilities and conclusions.

In the British Foreign Office the news of the publication of the report was received with surprise. W.S. Edmonds commented thereon as follows:

"The Turks will make a lot of capital, both in and outside Turkey, out of this regrettable breach of confidence. Part 2 lays the blame for disorder squarely on the Greeks and part 3 definitely recommends their withdrawal."

W.A. Tilley was more outspoken with his following comment:

"The Quai d'Orsay (French Government) are incorrigible. They hope, I suppose, by this indiscretion to curry favour with the Turks. Lord Derby might be instructed to draw the attention of the French Government to this leakage of confidential information and to point out how regrettable it is."

But it was too late, for the Eclair report was already reproduced in the Turkish press and this dealt a heavy blow to the prestige both of Greece and of Great Britain.

On 23rd November, 1919, P.E. Marrack of the British Navy submitted a secret report to the Admiralty on the situation in Anatolia, saying, *inter alia*:

"The root of all evil in the Turkish situation remains the Greek occupation of Smyrna, which will continue to keep alive, as long as it is maintained, the spirit of Turkish resistance and Turkish resentment against what appears to them, not unnaturally, perhaps, as Allied injustice... The Greek occupation, far from contributing to Peace has partaken the nature of a conquest and a crusade. The consequence of this is that large numbers of Turkish population of Aidin vilâyet (province) are now homeless refugees, diseased and starving. Some 30,000 refugees are in a lamentable position..." (34)

In the area affected by the Aydin troubles there were at least 30,000 refugees in a deplorable condition. Most of them were destitute. The only food supplied to them was half a kilo of coarse flour a day, Most of them had lost everything except what they sood up in, consisting very often of a few rags. They were nearly all sick with malaria, and children had prodruding stomachs due to enlarged spleens. There were 15 families in one room 10 metres square with cement floor. They had hardly any bedding and many of them were living in the open. Captain A. Waterfield,

British liaison officer with the Italian forces, observed on 1st November, 1919, that if nothing was done for these people, the majority of them would die when the autumn rains began (35).

On 15th December, 1919, M.H. Ispahani of London, in a letter to the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, enclosed a memorial submitted to the Prime Minister Lloyd George, signed by English, Muslim, Hindu and Parsee Subjects of H.M. the King. The following passage is noteworthy:

"We have learnt with horror from credible sources that since the Greek invasion (of Izmir), nearly 10,000 Moslems have been killed, large numbers are missing, and over 100,000 are homeless refugees..."

The memorial carried the signatures of eminent persons such as the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Abingdon, the Agha Khan, the Rt. Hon. Lord Ampthill, His Highness Ameer Ali, Lt. Col. E.J. Bridges, Capt. E.N. Bennett, Lady Evelyn Cubbold, Major General J.B. Dickson, Admiral Sir Edmund R. Freemantle, Major General Lord Edward Cleichen, Lord Parmoor, Brigadier General H. Conyers and others (36). See document No. 7 and 7A.

A report prepared on 3rd December by a British Intelligence Officer, on the situation in the Kaymakci area, *inter alia* said:

"What I saw today was deplorable. Barring a complete massacre of Turkish inhabitants, things could not have been worse. Villages of Ayasoulouk, Cherkess Koy, Bujak, Kaimakchi, Eseli and Tchaili have all been forsaken by their inhabitants, who, leaving behind their flocks and herds their horses and donkeys and household goods, fled in terror Eastwards to the country occupied by the (Turkish) Nationalist bands... It is quite obvious what is happening to the possessions of the departed Turkish villagers."

He went on to describe the ransack of Turkish villages by the Greek soldiers and civilians, adding:

"Out of 4000 inhabitants of this area, I saw only one old man and 2 small children who stayed behind and are subsisting on what they can gather from Greek camps. When and if the peasants return, they will find nothing but empty houses and the country-side turned into a desert...." (37)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAIN EVENTS AND GREEK ATROCITIES IN ANATOLIA

The following primary documents uncovered mainly from the British Foreign Office Archives in the Public Record Office, London, relate a story of horror, unparalleled in the annals of mankind up to that time. They stand as a damning indictment of Pan-Hellenism and of those Greek fanatics who have ruthlessly promoted and who still cherish the *Megali Idea*.

IN THE YEAR OF 1919

14.2.1919-Despatch from Admiral Richard Webb (Istanbul) to Foreign Secretary, A.J.Balfour, informing him that the Greeks were stated to have entered Turkish villages, to have taken anything they wished for and to have molested women. On one occasion they were alleged to have amused themselves by shooting at a Muezzin who had ascended a minaret to give the call to prayer. In Istanbul itself the behaviour of the Greeks, according to Admiral Webb, was not at all that could be desired. (38)

29.3.1919-Extract from a private letter of David Forbes (a British merchant of Izmir) to Sir George Riddell. "In Izmir itself there are nasty incidents on both sides, but this is largely due to Greek propaganda which has irritated the Turks. I am of the opinion that it would be

a terrible mistake to give this country, or any part of it, to the Greeks at the present time." (39)

GREEK OCCUPATION OF AYDIN

27.5.1919- Report by British Consul-General James Morgan, Izmir, 30.7.1919: Greek troops occupied Aidin on May 27th without incident... though Moslems were arrested, imprisoned, and their fezes torn off and 48 Moslems were killed by the Greeks at Heybeli and Karabuna stations West of Aidin. (40)

17.6.1919- The Menemen Massacre: After the invasion of Izmir by the Greeks, in the middle of June, James Morgan informed Admiral Calthorpe, the British High Commissioner in Istanbul, that a French officer who had arrived there from Menemen on June 18th reported that the Greeks had murdered 100 Turks at Menemen where the Moslem inhabitants were panic stricken (41). The British Control Officer who happened to be at Menemen on 17th June, 1919, was quite convinced that the Greeks were responsible and his mention of previous talk of a massacre and of white crosses painted on most Greek doors recalled St Bartholomew's Eve. C.E.S. Palmer of the British Foreign Office, commenting on the report of the Menemen massacre on 6th August 1919, made the following observations:

"This is the most damning evidence, as the Turks could not possibly have done this themselves as a 'blind'. No ordinary Turk could know French history so well, or realize British officers would appreciate the parallel. In short this looks like a clear case against the Greeks." (42)-See document No.8-

The massacre had taken place on 17th June. When the Greek troops withdrew to Menemen after having been defeated by the Turks, they killed a Turkish notable who was walking to the railway station. The Kaymakam (Commissioner) was bayoneted by a Greek soldier and killed, his corpse having been left on the staircase of the Konak (Commissioner's official residence). The local Greek rabble fell on their Moslem fellow citizens, reported Admiral Calthorpe, and as in Izmir, there was a great deal of man-hunting, drunkenness, rape and pillaging. It was estimated that about 200 Turks were massacred. (43)

23.6.1919 -The pillage of Emir Koy and Kadi Koy: Lt.-Commander Hadkinson, British Relief Officer, in a report to the High Commissioner early in September, 1919, related that on 23rd June, after a skirmish between Greek troops and Turkish irregulars, the Greeks repulsed the Turks, pillaged and set fire to the Turkish villages of Emir Koy and Kadi Koy.

25.6.1919 -Aydin massacre: Greek troops in Aydin began to fire on the Turkish quarter from three sides. After having plundered and massacred the inhabitants of several Turkish houses, they set fire to them and began bombarding the Turkish quarter with guns. All the Turks who tried to escape from the flames were shot with machine guns and rifles by Greek soldiers and civilians to whom rifles had been distributed. After occupying Aydin, the Greeks began to arrest all Turkish notables. They next began a house-to-house visitation for arms, violating the harems and insulting and robbing the ladies. Greeks used machine guns and mowed down everybody including a number of Christians. They killed every Moslem they could lay their hands on, women and children were shut up in houses, nominally for safety and then the houses were burnt and all the usual horrors attendant on massacres went on. The worst individual act of cruelty, we are told by the London Moslem League, was the fate meted out to four women who defended themselves and their homes with their husbands' guns. They were caught and killed by being impaled on wooden spikes. 9,716 Turks were estimated to have been killed while there was a long list of missing. (44) (See document No.9)

29.6.1919- The Greeks decided to evacuate Aydin as the Turkish fighters were approaching. The Greek population went mad and rushed to beg the Greek Colonel Skinas to be allowed to follow the army. 4-5000 civilians had managed to pass the lines and run for their lives, but the rest were brutally driven back and threatened with bayonets if they advanced. The conduct of the Greek Colonel, according to Lt-Commander Hadkinson, in refusing his help to "these miserable creat-

ures" and still more, his retreat before 1,500 Turkish irregulars at the utmost was incomprehensible as he had a well equipped force of over 3000 men with guns and ammunition. Skinas was later arrested and sentenced to 20 years. 40 Turks were surrounded by a superior number of Greek troops. They were summoned four times to surrender, but they fought like lions until everyone of them was killed, reported Lt. Commander Hadkinson (45). It is interesting to note here a case mentioned by Harold Armstrong: One day M. Canellopoulos, the Greek High Commissioner in Istanbul, went to the British High Commission. The British High Commissioner said that he hoped that the Greek troops would advance no further into Anatolia, for, if they did, he feared that all the Christians might be murdered. M. Canellopoulos replied: "I hope that the massacres begin soon, for we have need to a *raison d'être* for advancing." (46)

July, 1919 -Ottoman Government's complaints to the British High Commission that the Greeks were beginning to mark the doors of houses occupied by Turks at Izmir and that such a procedure at Menemen was followed by a massacre. On 4th July, Admiral Calthorpe brought this to the notice of Consul-General James Morgan who replied two weeks later that various houses in Izmir and district were marked about the time of Menemen affair, and the Moslems had become alarmed. A greek official notice was published stating that such marks were made by boy scouts when out doing their training. On 6th August, this led to the following comments by C.E.S. Palmer of the Foreign Office:

"This is a confirmation of the British Control Officer's report on the Menemen massacre. One now learns a similar action was taken at Smyrna itself about the same time and this looks as if (a) a real general massacre of Turks was intended and then countermanded, or more probably (b) it was hoped to frighten the Turks and cause their more general emigration from Smyrna." (47)- See document No. 10.-

2.7.1919 -Note from Turkish delegation in Paris on Greek atrocities, minuted by C.E.S. Palmer on 12th July: "...Further comment on Greek atrocities seems useless; and presumably they are going on in the interior and will continue as long as there are Greek troops and Moslems to massacre in Asia Minor." (48) -See document No.11.-

4.7.1919 -Report by Lt-Commander Hadkinson, Ayvali (Izmir): There have been Greek atrocities at Kasaba, Izmir and Nazilli. The Turkish gendarmes and police are deprived of their arms, robbed and badly treated. There are numerous reports from Manisa about murders of Turks, thefts, violations, etc. Several mutilated bodies have been found on the outskirts of the town. There are battalions of Evzones in the town. Greeks searched the Turkish houses, beat about a quarter of the men who said they had no arms; they broke into a number of houses, pretending that the doors were not thrown open quickly enough. The Greek armed civilians also took part in searching Turkish houses. All Turkish villages near Ayvali are deserted, the inhabitants having fled in a hurry without taking any of their belongings with them. In Ayazmant about 20 families remain, mostly aged. They were placed in one house and a guard kept watch over them. During the following days systematic lootings took place when most of the valuables were ferried across to Mitylene by boats. The Mitylene crowd with their boats had the first pick, while the natives of Ayvali and Yenizahori were kept off. Later, they too, were allowed to come in for the plunder. 20 families who had surrendered were likewise plundered like the rest. In a number of villages like Boklu Kaya, where the inhabitants of some surrounding villages congregated for refuge, they sent a communication to Ayazmant surrendering their rifles. In spite of this, the Greeks organised bands in khaki, carrying flags and bugles, attacked this village and carried away whatever they could lay their hands on, besides committing abuses on Turkish women. A great number of plough oxen which had fallen into the hands of the Greek regulars were wantonly slaughtered. On the eve of the departure of the 8th Greek Regiment, 200 plough oxen were killed as a sacrifice to Gods who gave them victory, reported Lt-Commander Hadkinson. (49)

11.7.1919 -Report from British Consul-General James Morgan, Izmir: A French officer named Durand, employed on intelligence work, just arrived from Soma and reports that two days ago 700 Greek troops with 2-3 inch guns and machineguns marched from Kinik and attacked Turkish forces. Greeks were forced to retreat to Pergama but before retiring, they set fire

to villages of Chengeller and Hamzali, killing 15-20 Moslems, including women and children, some of corpses having been mutilated. (50)

13.7.1919 -Very urgent cypher telegram from Admiral Calthorpe to the Foreign Office, reporting that the Greeks have burnt the villages of Hamzali and Chengeller, and murdered 15 inhabitants in the latter village. (51)

16.7.1919 -Despatch from Admiral Webb to Lord Curzon, Istanbul: During the occupation of Nazilli by Greeks, they terrorized and insulted the people and officials. Without giving warning to anyone, on the night of 20/21. 6.1919 they withdrew, carrying off with them part of the Greek population and 38 Moslems and officials. Some little distance from the town they set about killing the Moslems one by one. (52)

17.7.1919 -Report from Consul-General James Morgan, Izmir: On 6th July, a Greek column surrounded Yeni Chiftlik and fight started. Some Turks were captured and killed, corpses being atrociously mutilated. Corpse of Halid Pasha picked up and brought to Akhisar. The corpse was found in the following state: head separated from the body, 37 bayonet wounds, nose, ears, lips cut off, eyes torn out. These were verified by Captain Johnson- (53)

25.7.1919 -Minute by C.E.S. Palmer, member of the British Foreign Office: "The Greeks apparently at Narli adopted German and Bolshevik system of hostages... There is no justification of Greek massacres in the peaceable and flourishing Meander valley." (54)

26.7.1919 -Morning Post, London: "Sultan's Statement." It is a mistake to punish thousands of people who had no part in sending the country into war. Why should the faults of the government be expiated by massacring, sacking, raping many peaceful inhabitants in Asia Minor by the Greek troops and Greek bands? The Greeks have behaved and behave still like the most sanguinary barbarians of ancient times. A limit should be set to this. They should not be allowed to go where they will, burning and sacking and killing my people like sheep in a slaughter-house. There will certainly be serious trouble unless the Powers do something to stop it. They (Greeks) have for 150 years tried in every way to mauling the Turks in European eyes, and they have been helped and encouraged a great deal by Russian diplomacy. Now they have turned themselves into butchers." (55) -See document No. 12-

- 2.8.1919 -Report by James Morgan, Izmir: Before fighting occurred at Papazli, the Greeks had burnt five Turkish villages nearby and killed the inhabitants. The Turks were thus exasperated and attacked the Greeks. (56)
- 25.8.1919 -Ernest E. Hunter, Hon-Secretary, Independent Labour Party, (City of London Branch), to the Foreign Office: I am instructed by the City of London Independent Labour Party to forward to you the following resolution: "That this meeting strongly protests against the wholesale devastation and massacre which is being carried out by the Greek (Hellenic) troops in Asia Minor and calls upon the British Government, in consultation with its Allies, to expel these troops and to substitute for the Hellenic occupation some such form of occupation which will safeguard the Turks from murder, robbery and outrage." (57) (See document No.13)
- 23.9.1919 -Report by Lieut-Commander Harry C. Luke: Responsible Greek opinion is aware that Greek prestige has gained nothing, in fact has lost heavily from the occupation. Despite tendentious articles in the Venizelist press of Athens (reproduced in the *Times*, etc.) that the Atrocities Commission is convinced that the Turks alone are responsible for the excesses, and that its report will be brilliant vindication of Greek forbearance and moderation, also that the Greek boy scouts were murdered by the Turks for refusing to salute the Turkish flag, etc. (whereas in point of fact the Greek boy scouts at Aidin and elsewhere signalled themselves by pointing out the leading Turks to the Greek soldiers and having them shot), despite such articles... the Greek officials admit in private that the Greeks have behaved badly and have created an unfortunate impression... Many rayahs (Ottoman Greeks) also are against Greek annexation... With the exception of a chauvinist party headed by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Smyrna, Chrisotomos... few want annexation... Events have shown that, whereas the Greek can live under the Turk, especially if the latter is under the tutelage of a trusted Western Power, preferably Great Britain, the Turk cannot live under the Greek..." (58)
- 30.9.1919 -Report by James Morgan, Izmir: Greeks force Moslems in the zone of Greek occupation to sign memorials stating their joy at the Greek occupation and Greek regime. Such memorials are only exorted by force, said

the Vali of Nazli. (59)

- 4.10.1919 -Report by Captain Silley who visited Tire: Violence to Moslem women on the part of the Greek soldiers appears to have occurred. Robbery also has been practiced against Moslem villages. Many Turkish villages attacked and robbed by Greek soldiers. In June-July, 22 Turks were killed by Greeks in the neighbourhood of Tireh. (60)
- 10.10.1919 -Report by James Morgan, Izmir: A certain number of murders, robberies and cases of injustice against the Moslem population in the Greek zone of occupation occur very frequently. (61)
- 26.11.1919 -Report by James Morgan, Izmir: The Moslem population of Odemish are not allowed to leave the town without a permit which is difficult to obtain and which is not always respected, with the result that their crops are being stolen or destroyed. In two villages in the Kaza of Nif, the Moslem population were collected in mosques by the Greeks, robbed and beaten and their houses raided. (62)

IN THE YEAR OF 1920

- 25.2.1920 - Private letter by Harold Francis to the Foreign Office, saying *inter alia*:

"I am extremely interested in Turkey (not financially) and lived there for years. May I beg you for myself and other Europeans to oppose the Allies committing the cruel and appalling error of handing over the city of Smyrna- by far the most commercially important port either in Asiatic or European Turkey- or any part of Aidin or Broussa Vilâyets to THE TYRANNICAL, EXCLUSIVE AND INTENSELY DISHONEST GREEKS...Greeks, including all Greek rayahs, are not predominant in Smyrna or in the vilâyets of Aidin or Broussa numerically. The population of the province of Aidin is composed of about 1,500,000 Moslems, 500,000 Orthodox rayah Greeks, 150,000 Jews, Armenians, Europeans and others. Therefore the Hellene Greeks have no conceivable right or excuse for attempting to govern where they are cordially despised and hated by the large majority of the population, whether Muslim, Christian or otherwise. When the Greek troops landed in May they immediately committed in Smyrna some 700 murders, at least, chiefly of unarmed Moslems. SINCE THE GREEK TROOPS WERE ALLOWED BY THE ALLIES TO ADVANCE AND OCCUPY THE PROVINCE THEY HAVE

DEVASTATED THE COUNTRY, BURNING THE VILLAGES AND MASSACRING SUCH OF THE MOSLEM INHABITANTS AS WERE UNABLE TO ESCAPE. These Moslems were the most peaceful, law abiding peasantry in the world...

"Much of the land has already gone out of cultivation in consequence. That this magnificent and well cultivated land together with its hardworking and intelligent Moslem and Christian population, because it has been governed grossly stupidly and corruptly by the Turk, should therefore be placed under the Greeks who are equally and more ingeniously corrupt and tyrannical than the Turk, surpasses all comprehension by anyone who knows and loves this unhappy land and its people. Neither the Moslem inhabitants comprising Turks, Circassians and a large number of immigrant Moslem Bulgarians, all fine fighting men, nor other Christian races including Europeans, Levantines and Maltese (British subjects) intend to endure the yoke of the most intolerant and dishonest people in the Levant. Savage insurrection and civil war will be the result until the Hellene Greek government is expelled. GIVING SMYRNA TO THE GREEKS IS LIKE SURRENDERING LIVERPOOL TO RUSSIA AND MARSEILLES OR HAVRE TO GERMANY. P.S. Greece will be our enemy shortly when Germany can bribe again." (63)
-See document No.14-

13.4.1920 -Letter from General Milne, Commander-in-Chief, British Army of Occupation, to the British High Commissioner in Istanbul: Sarikli village was very severely treated by the Greeks and it is now almost deserted. Of 100 houses only one is still inhabited, most of them having been burnt. Kaimakam of Odemish states that on the evening of 14th February, the Greek troops entered the village, violated several women and girls, and wounded one Turk. The Turkish prisoners at Odemish are frequently beaten. On 4th March, Greek troops set fire to the village of Geneve near Odemish on the excuse of having been fired upon from it the day before. (64)

5.10.1920 -Secret telegram from Venizelos to British Premier Lloyd George, suggesting that a new campaign should be started in Turkey with the object of destroying definitely the Turkish Nationalist forces around Ankara and Pontus, and driving the Turks out of Istanbul which would form, together with the zone of Straits, a separate state of existence "to guarantee the

DOC. NO. 1

British High Commission,
Constantinople.
13th March 1919.

52429

4 APR 1919

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a memorandum by Commander Heathcote-Smith R.N.V.R. on Greek aspirations along the coast strip of Western Asia Minor, together with expressions of opinion as to the future of that region by the British Chamber of Commerce of Smyrna and the Greek Archbishop of the same place.

These reports were made at the time of the recent visit to Smyrna on which Commander Heathcote-Smith was sent by me to report generally on conditions there.

While generally endorsing Commander Heathcote-Smith's remarks on the future of Smyrna, I would emphasize the extreme undesirability of handing over to Greece, uncontrolled, the Aidin Vilayet. (See my telegram No. 542 of this day's date). ⁴²⁰³⁹/₆₁₉

Past experience amply proves the inability of the Greeks to govern themselves; when to this national administrative incompetency be added, the animosity which they bear towards the Turks, there is no reason to believe that their Government of the latter would be anything but disastrous.

Further, if, as seems probable and also right and just, the Turks be expelled from Europe, it would seem only fair that Turkey-in-Asia, shorn of Syria and Mesopotamia and those portions which are allotted to the New Armenian State, should be left intact.

Honourable

The....

A.J. Balfour, M. P. O.M. etc. etc.

3.

DOC. NO. 1A.

The presence in its midst and in its most thriving portion of a foreign element could only prove a perpetual source of political disturbance until while the denial to it of the Port of Smyrna could but condemn the new Turkey to a future of commercial stagnation, and that at a time when the Turks' one hope of regeneration would lie in the foundation of an overseas trade.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant.

Richard Smith
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

British High Commission,
CONSTANTINOPLE,
19th March, 1919.

4 APR 1919

353/1575.

Sir:-

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, and to recommend to your special consideration, a letter written by Mr H. O. Whittall of Smyrna, concerning the future administration of the Province of AIDIN.

I most unhesitatingly and unreservedly endorse all Mr Whittall's observations, the more so as he has lived practically all his life in the country, and is on intimate terms with every element of the population. It would be difficult to write a better balanced or more impartial review of the problem as it at present stands, and I think this paper, if it arrives in time, should be of very great use to the delegates at the Peace Conference.

Mr Whittall refers to the apprehension of the Turks at being placed under the domination of any of their immediate neighbours, and he asks are the Hellenes likely to have the strength to repress the probable and not unnatural conduct on the part of the Ottoman Greek towards the Turk? The answer to this enquiry is furnished in no unfair manner by the memorandum which forms my second enclosure, furnished at my request by the Grand Vizier, giving an account of sundry misdeeds committed by the Greek population in the Aidin Vilayet, as well as also in the Gaza of Etilo, just across the Bosphorus, where I recently found it necessary to intervene in order to afford protection to the Christians.

I fear

Yours faithfully,
A. J. Balfour, M.P., O.M.

etc. etc.

DOC. NO. 2A.

-2-

I fear they have undoubtedly taken advantage of this act of benevolent justice to exploit and tyrannize their Hellenic neighbours. No more striking example could be imagined of the utter intolerance and overbearing nature of the Greeks. As Mr Whittall most justly observes, they join their idea of liberty with that of becoming masters when they were before servants, and of enforcing the fact by trampling on their former masters.

The inevitable result is to check enthusiasm for the Greek cause, and to inspire more than doubt - a positive certainty as to their unfitness for government.

There is one more point which I would desire to be permitted to dwell on. The amazing talents of M. Venizelos have purified, renewed and reinvigorated the Hellenic administration to a degree that is hardly credible and he has raised Greek reputation and prestige to a height it has never approached before. But so far as I am aware, this has been the work of that one great Statesman alone. Thus there are no guarantees for the future and there is everything to fear from the experience of the past.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

A. J. Balfour

High Commissioner.

1919.

TURKEY.

85641

7 APR 1919

No. 85641

Received by

Signature

No. 83.

Paper

7639

Signature

Signature

No. 3111

Signature

Signature

Signature

Paper

Occupation of Smyrna
from reports of Turkish
version of incidents following on:

This contains accounts of the Turkish military
Commander - Chief of Administration of the district
of the Turkish authorities by the Greek. The
Greek seem to have made the most of this
charge of killing the Turkish while they were
down. According to the Turkish statement 12
Turks were killed & 30 wounded. All the
Greek's official accounts were cancelled, another
- there is a statement that the Greek have
searched a woman. It is a statement that
violated. There is no doubt considerable truth
in the Turkish statements

Only Para Deleted
J.K.
J.K.
J.K.

British High Commission,
Constantinople,
27th May 1919.

17124.

My Lord,

85641

With reference to my letter to the Admiralty
No. 2275/8505 of 20th May 1919, reporting the
of the occupation of Smyrna by Greek forces, of which I
enclosed an additional copy requesting it might be
forwarded to Your Lordship, I now have the honour to
enclose for Your Lordship's information

- (i) Copies of two reports forwarded to me by the
Commander of the 17th Turkish Army Corps regarding
the events which took place on that occasion.
- (ii) Copies of the reports by the Commandants of the
Turkish Gendarmerie at Smyrna and Denizli.
- (iii) Copy of a letter received from the Turkish
Minister for Foreign Affairs dated 22nd May.

2. These reports represent the Turkish version of
the incidents and they are certainly highly coloured, but
I fear there is no doubt that while the Turkish officers
and men who had surrendered were being taken as prisoners
along the quay to the troop transport which was used as
a temporary prison, they were fired upon from the
windows of houses and were brutally maltreated by the
excited mob and in some instances by their Greek guards.

3. I also enclose a list of Turkish officers
stated to be killed and missing, furnished me by
Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the British Military represent-
ative.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

A. J. Balfour
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Responsible
-i- Officer of Admision, K.O., P.C.,
etc. etc. etc.

DOC. NO. 4.
1919.

65147

13 JUN 1919
Received by F 70100

No. 65147

Greek Occupation of Smyrna

Has been asked to take up the matter of alleged atrocities. Requests information.

M. Delphont (who is away on leave) has asked Captain Diller to deal with this.

I don't think in want to encourage D. Diller to start a public controversy on the behavior of the Greeks at Smyrna. He would do better to go behind, or indirectly, in some form in the H. of C.

Admiral Caldwell has reported that it is beyond doubt the Turkish military authorities were spiteful when they took their final measures. He has also had a graphic account from the Turkish.

DOC. NO. 4A.

Case he is on very slippery ground & that, in the interests of his cause, he had much better leave it alone.

S. K. June 14/19.

I agree. In this case we are watching the Greek navy & the British Navy. My opinion on the subject.

PL 17/16

I have just sent it in, but it hardly applies, as it only speaks of incidents in the streets & streets protected persons.

S. K. June 17/19.

Yes, I had forgotten it was known.

PL 17/16

I have done so.

X S. K. June 19/19.

DOC. NO. 5.

97051

The Greek Landing at Smyrna 2 JUN 1919

Handwritten notes: "I have been asked to take up the matter of alleged atrocities. Requests information." "The Greek Landing at Smyrna 2 JUN 1919"

Yesterday afternoon I had a visit from the Rev. Dr. MacLachlan (a Canadian, I think), the Head of an Educational and Proselytizing Mission at Smyrna. He had just come from there and was brought to me by Mr. Bliss, formerly Liberal M.P. for Corkmouth.

Dr. MacLachlan was himself an eyewitness of some of the shameful incidents that marked the landing of the Greek troops of occupation at Smyrna. We had already here a report of Dr. MacLachlan's experiences, but it was interesting and valuable to have them from the first hand. It suffices to say that his report confirms in circumstantial detail the worst impressions we have gained of a deplorable event.

Two or three points mentioned by Dr. MacLachlan seem to me worthy of special note. In his opinion we are being chiefly misled by the Turkish population of Smyrna, and probably in a wider Turkish circle, for the tragic sequel to the Greek landing. Admiral Oultorpeff H.M.S. "Iron Duke" was present at the occasion and was the senior Naval Commander on the spot. It followed apparently from a Conference held on Board the "Iron Duke," that strict orders were given to the Allied Naval forces not to land men (other than small squads to guard the different Consulates) or to interfere in any way with the Greek landing. One result was that

DOC. NO. 5A.

1919.

June 30

that the officers and men of H.M.S. "Adventure" which was lying right up against the quay, were unwilling, impotent and infuriated spectators of some of the worst Greek outrages. Incidentally, Dr. MacLachlan says that the officers of H.M.S. "Adventure" resolved there and then that no Greek officer should thenceforth set foot on the "Adventure" and that the members of the Club at Smyrna have made a like rule in regard to their premises.

Mr. Bliss, who has lived for many years in Turkish territory and is in general strongly Anti-Turkish in sentiment, voiced no less warmly than Dr. MacLachlan his abhorrence of Greek conduct on this occasion.

Dr. MacLachlan says that not only Turkish but Jewish and Armenian opinion in Smyrna is hostile to the Greek occupation and that even the more influential and independent Greeks of the community are opposed to it. As usual, it British control that everybody wants.

Meanwhile, however, in Dr. MacLachlan's view our reputation in Asia Minor has suffered a severe blow. The Turks say that Allied Naval forces under the Command in Chief of a British Admiral could have prevented the outrages if they had wished to do it. Why, they ask, should the Greeks of all people, their despised inferiors for many generations, be allowed to do such things in view of a British squadron? Dr. MacLachlan apprehends that as a result of these proceedings, our position will be rendered more difficult in the Near East, in India and in Egypt.

June 27th 1919.

Handwritten notes: "I have been asked to take up the matter of alleged atrocities. Requests information." "The Greek Landing at Smyrna 2 JUN 1919"

Handwritten notes: "I have been asked to take up the matter of alleged atrocities. Requests information." "The Greek Landing at Smyrna 2 JUN 1919"

Handwritten notes: "I have been asked to take up the matter of alleged atrocities. Requests information." "The Greek Landing at Smyrna 2 JUN 1919"

Derrière leur responsabilité apparaît celle du Gouvernement turc, qui, jusqu'à ce jour, n'avait aucune autorité sur les chefs du mouvement national.
Les Membres de la Commission :

R. H. HARE
MARK S. BRISTOL

A. DALL'OLLIO
BUNOUST.

Constantinople, le 11 octobre 1919.

(3.)

Conclusions présentées par la Commission.

1. La situation créée à Smyrne et dans le vilayet d'Aidin par l'occupation hellénique est fautive parce que :

(a.) L'occupation, qui n'avait en principe pour but que le maintien de l'ordre, présente en réalité toutes les formes d'une annexion.

Le Haut-Commissaire grec exerce seul une autorité efficace.

Les autorités turques qui sont restées en fonction n'ont plus aucun pouvoir réel. Elles ne reçoivent plus d'ordre de Constantinople et, par suite de la disparition presque complète de la police et de la gendarmerie turques, elles n'ont plus les moyens nécessaires à l'exécution de leurs décisions.

(b.) L'occupation impose à la Grèce des sacrifices militaires considérables, hors de proportion avec la mission à remplir, si cette mission est temporaire et ne doit avoir pour but que le maintien de l'ordre.

(c.) Elle est incompatible, dans sa forme actuelle, avec le retour de l'ordre et de la tranquillité dont les populations, menacées par la famine, ont grand besoin.

2. La Commission estime :

(a.) Que, si l'occupation militaire du pays ne doit avoir pour but que le maintien de la sécurité et de l'ordre public, cette occupation ne doit pas être confiée aux troupes grecques, mais aux troupes alliées sous l'autorité du commandement supérieur allié en Asie Mineure;

(b.) Que l'occupation par les Grecs seuls ne doit être maintenue que si la Conférence de la Paix est résolue à prononcer l'annexion complète et définitive du pays à la Grèce.

Dans ce cas, la liberté d'action devra être laissée au commandement grec vis-à-vis des forces turques.

(c.) Que l'annexion pure et simple, envisagée ci-dessus, serait contraire au principe proclamant le respect des nationalités, car, dans la région occupée, en dehors de la ville même de Smyrne et d'Aivali, la prédominance de l'élément turc sur l'élément grec est incontestable.

Il est du devoir de la Commission de faire remarquer que le sentiment national turc, qui a déjà manifesté sa résistance, n'acceptera pas cette annexion. Il ne cédera qu'à la force, c'est-à-dire devant une expédition militaire, que la Grèce seule ne pourrait conduire avec quelque chance de succès.

3. Dans ces conditions, la Commission propose les mesures suivantes :

(a.) Faire relever, le plus tôt possible, tout ou partie des troupes grecques par des troupes alliées beaucoup moins nombreuses.

(b.) Si, pour sauvegarder l'amour-propre grec, il est décidé qu'une partie des troupes grecques coopéreront à l'occupation, répartir ces troupes à l'intérieur de la région occupée pour leur éviter tout contact direct avec les forces nationales turques.

(c.) Dès que l'occupation par les Alliés sera réalisée, exiger du Gouvernement turc la réorganisation de la gendarmerie, sous la direction et le commandement d'officiers interalliés.

Cette gendarmerie devra être mise, le plus tôt possible, en état d'assurer l'ordre dans toute la région et de remplacer dans ce but les détachements alliés.

(d.) En même temps que la réorganisation de la gendarmerie, le Gouvernement turc devra restaurer l'administration civile.

4. Les chefs du mouvement national ayant affirmé à plusieurs reprises que leur opposition n'est dirigée que contre les Grecs, les mesures proposées doivent leur enlever tout motif de résistance armée et rendre au Gouvernement central de Constantinople l'autorité qu'il n'a plus.

DOC. NO. 6.
(This document is the Property of His Britannic Majesty's Government.)
ARCHIVE

EASTERN. [October 22.]
SECRET. Section 2.

[146629] No. 1.
Vic-Admiral Sir J. de Bock to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 22.)

(No. 1918.) Constantinople, October 18, 1919.
My Lord,
WITH reference to my telegram No. 1465 of the 17th October, I have the honor to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of the report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Enquiry into the Greek occupation of Smyrna and the surrounding districts, under the heading:—
(1.) Established points (statement of incidents which occurred on and after the occupation);
(2.) Responsibilities;
(3.) Conclusions.
The original report has been forwarded by the commission direct to the Peace Conference.
The various enclosures in the copy of the report supplied to me have been retained in this High Commission for reference.
I am sending a copy of this despatch to Sir Eyre Crowe in Paris.
I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 1.
Report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Enquiry into the Greek Occupation of Smyrna and surrounding Districts.

(1.)
Español des Faits survenus depuis l'Occupation, qui ont été établis au cours de l'Enquête entre le 12 Août et le 6 Octobre 1919.
DEPUIS l'arrivée, la sécurité des districts n'était pas menacée dans le vilayet d'Aidin.
Les populations hellènes avaient été incontestablement persécutées en 1914 et au cours de la guerre et traitées sans aucune bienveillance, pendant les premiers mois qui suivirent l'occupation par le Wali Noureddin Facha; mais depuis l'entrée en fonction de Wali actuel, Haki Bey, tous les habitants, sans distinction de race, furent traités avec impartialité.
Malgré la présence de quelques bandes de brigands dans la région, on peut affirmer que la même était revenue.
Les craintes de massacre de chrétiens n'étaient pas justifiées. Des enquêtes prouvent que les persécutions, ayant les musulmans au nombre des Grecs, qui, quelques années avant le déclenchement, sont tombés entre les mains des autorités grecques et ont été envoyés à Athènes, n'ont pas été dirigés par les officiers de gendarmerie turcs dont les signatures figurent sur ces pièces. Ces pièces ne sont pas certainement authentiques.
2. Les conditions de sécurité dans le vilayet d'Aidin et à Smyrne ne justifient point l'occupation des faits de Smyrne par application de l'article 7 des clauses de l'armistice. (Voir au procès-verbal de la 37^e séance les réserves faites à ce sujet par le Général représentant l'Italie.)
La situation intérieure du vilayet ne motivait pas davantage le détachement de troupes alliées à Smyrne.
Au contraire, depuis le déclenchement des C. A., la situation est devenue à cause de l'état de guerre existant entre le C. A. et les Iréglisiers turcs.
(1920 pp-2)

*2 copies
w/br*

18, SLOANE STREET, S.W.1. 422
15th December 1919
DEC 16 1919

To:
The Under-Secretary of State for
Foreign Affairs

Sir;

I have the honour to forward herewith for the information of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs two copies of a Memorial which has been submitted to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, signed by English, Mahomedan, Hindu and Parsee subjects of His Majesty on the question of the peace with Turkey. As the subject is one of the greatest importance to the Empire the signatories to the Memorial venture to hope it will receive the careful consideration of His Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. A. Lepchani

18, Sloane Street
S.W. 1

To
The Right Honourable
THE PRIME MINISTER

Sir,

1. In view of the ferment and general unrest prevailing among the Moslem nations all over the world, we, the undersigned, British and British-Indian subjects of His Majesty, feel it our duty to urge respectfully on His Majesty's Government the imperative necessity of a policy towards Turkey that would lead to appeasement. This ferment, which in some parts has taken a violent form of expression, is mainly due to the universal apprehension that it is proposed to further dismember the Turkish Empire and to completely destroy the free life and political power of the few remaining Moslem states.

2. Although we are not afraid at present of any untoward consequences, we are convinced that the perpetuation of the existing bitterness among our Moslem fellow-subjects in India would seriously retard the peaceful progress and development of the country. And it is for this reason that the efforts of the Indian Mahomedans to urge upon His Majesty's Government the fulfilment, Sir, of your memorable pledge have met with so much sympathy among the Hindoo community.

1919.

TURKEY.

f 70100

*Handwritten
1922*

112194

112194

No.

Received by 5 AUG 1919

(Subject.)

*Greek atrocities at Menemen.
T.M. copy of report from
British Control Officer re: copy.*

*Caithorpe
01258*

1 Paper.

12192

(Print.)

(Minutes.)

Astoria

*The Control Officer accounts for
Athens 8 Turks killed (including the
copy. 1.0. Vice-Governor & 2. gendarmes) & several
wounded. There was also pillaging
& prisoners were made. He is quite convinced
the Greeks were responsible & his mention
of previous talk of a massacre & of white
crosses painted on most Greek doors recalls
St. Bartholomew's Eve. The last is the most
damning piece of evidence, as the Turks
could not possibly have done this themselves
as a "blind". No ordinary Turk could know
what French History so well, or realize British
Officers would appreciate the parallel.*

(disposed of.)

*(He has had
it done
See 112380)*

*In short this looks like a clear case
against the Greeks, & I may therefore be
permitted to say that it is a pity the
Control Officer's name is not given.*

*Most of these - excepting members of
the Levant Levant Service - are connected
with the Smyrna British Colony. The latter
is in a state of panic at the idea of
a permanent Greek settlement - as
evidenced by the letters of the Smyrna
Chamber of Commerce, remarks of C. Whittall
etc. - & with good reason. At the same*

(Index.)

X-X

1 Paper.

	DOC. NO. 9	
<i>sample</i>	TURKEY	110440
<i>ing 21</i>	No. 110440	f 70100
<i>ethorpe</i>	(Subject.) <u>Smyrna Situation</u>	
<i>576</i>	Information received from Mr. Morgan regarding massacres in evacuation & re-occupation of Aidin.	
<i>paper.</i>		
<i>103.</i>		
	(Minutes.) (Military)	
	<p>1. The Greeks burnt Moslem quarters & killed 2000 Turks. (Turkish sources state the Greeks turned on machine-guns!)</p> <p>2. The Turks then murdered 1500 Christians (B. Naval R. says 400.). The above numbers in the telegram are considered exaggerations.</p> <p>3. The Moslems had evacuated Aidin before Greek recapture. The latter spared the 100 still left there.</p> <p>It is difficult to find any excuse for the Greek excesses referred to in 1. Aidin had remained quiet throughout the war, & was one of the few towns where Greeks & Armenians were not seriously molested.</p>	
<i>5354</i>	<p>Copy. D.M.I. ✓ I.O.V. ✓ } with tel 1/8/19. R.E.S.P. P.P.D. ✓ } refers to. *Repeat to Athens</p>	
(Index.)		
<i>4</i>		
<i>per.</i>	<p>be shall not get the real facts until the His. Allied Commission can investigate and report. A.C. August 1. <i>[Signature]</i></p>	

	DOC. NO. 10	
1919.	TURKEY.	f 70100
<i>sample</i>	No. 112206	Received by 5 AUG 1919
<i>ing 24</i>	(Subject.) <u>Smyrna Situation</u>	
<i>Caethorpe</i>	True copy of tel. address with Mr. Morgan regarding working of doors of Moslem houses by Greeks.	
<i>1272</i>		
<i>1 Paper.</i>		
<i>112207</i>		
(Index.)	(Minutes.)	
	<p>This is a confirmation of the British Control Officer's report on the Menemen Massacre. One now learns a similar action was taken at Smyrna itself about the same time, & this looks as if: -</p> <p>(a.) A real general massacre of Turks was intended & then countermanded. or more probably only: -</p> <p>(b.) It was hoped to frighten the Turks & cause their more general emigration from Smyrna. This action combined with the peculiar Menemen affair, which was vastly exaggerated it appears, might be expected to have some such result. And we read elsewhere of the reputation of Greeks to occupy vacant houses etc.</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i> P.P.D. D.M.I.</p> <p>6/8/19. C.I.S.P. <i>[Signature]</i> August 6.</p>	
<i>5325</i>		
<i>ing. 11.</i>		
	(Index.)	
	<i>[Signature]</i>	
<i>1 Paper.</i>		

1919.	DOC. NO. 11.	
Astoria, Paris July 10	No. 10144	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> 101446 F 70100 11 JUL 1919 </div> Received by
H. Balfour No. 1265	Smyrna	P.L. in note for Turkish Delegation
Last Paper. 101427	copy. conduct of Greek troops	
(Print)	(Minutes)	<p>From the enclosure it again becomes noticeable that many of those murdered at Smyrna were connecting with the recruiting Offices. It sounds barbarous to say so, but they probably richly deserved their fate. Further comment on the Greek atrocities seems needless; presumably they are going on in the interior, & will continue as long as there are Greek troops in Asia Minor & Muslims to massacre in Asia Minor.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">12/7/19. R.E.S.P.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">copy. D.H.I.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><u>101446</u></p>
(How disposed of)	July 17.	<p>Then Turkish accounts complete our dossier on the Greek landing at Smyrna. It is claimed that the isolated shots which gave the Greeks their cause for attacking the barracks, came from the crowd under. killed a Turkish policeman.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">c.c. 14/17 del. July 14 R.E.S.P.</p>
From (Index)	Next Paper.	
<small>359276—W.L. 2493/83—25,000—4-10—W. & S. Ltd.—(90).</small>		

DOC. NO. 12
E. M. MORNING POST, SA

SULTAN'S APPEAL
INTERVIEWED AT
YILDIZ KIOSK.
ASKS BRITAIN FOR
JUSTICE.
THE GREEKS INDICTED.

(From Our Special Correspondent.)
CONSTANTINOPLE, July 18
(Continued.)
This afternoon I was received in audience by His Imperial Majesty Sultan Mehmed Vahid-ed-Din. Owing to the extremely interesting position of the Turkish Empire, both from the external and internal points of view, it would be of interest to and for the benefit of all concerned if I could obtain the views of the Sultan on various points.

I was received in Yildiz Palace by His Majesty Sultan Mehmed Vahid-ed-Din, who has reigned since the death of his father, Sultan Abdul Hamid II, in 1909. He is fifty-eight years of age, and is a very capable ruler, although bearing marks of trouble and weariness. He is a very capable ruler, although bearing marks of trouble and weariness. He is a very capable ruler, although bearing marks of trouble and weariness.

THE SULTAN'S PHOENIX.
I asked him to give me his views on the present situation of Turkey as the result of the recent events. He replied: "If I were to describe to you all the events which have led up to the present situation, it would take many hours, as I must be excused, but I must say that the ideas and opinions of the Sultan are very different from those of the Sultan's Ministers on Turkey and the Turk."

THE SULTAN'S PHOENIX.
The Sultan passed for a few minutes here and then recommenced: "It is extremely painful for me to talk of the present. I am father of my people, and I feel for me, and I must be what I can to defend my people. All that is happening in Turkey, and I must say to you that the ideas and opinions of the Sultan are very different from those of the Sultan's Ministers on Turkey and the Turk."

...the consequences of the first...
...that surely it is a mistake to punish...
...thousands of people who had no part in leading...
...the country to war. Why should the facts...
...of the Government be explained through...
...murder, and why should thousands of people...
...be punished for the sins of their rulers?

ALLEGED GREEK HORRORS.
The day will come, if an action, when the whole world will be aware, and the injustice which has been committed will be...
...obviously to be too late. In...
...unavoidable victims and martyrs of the...
...will be able to be recalled to life. I have...
...there are all sorts of instances of war, but...
...never there is justice for both guilty and innocent.

THE GREEKS INDICTED.
The Sultan said that he was very...
...of the Sultan. Before you go I will give...
...to you. Today these words are...
...saying innocent people, and the...
...is very difficult for me. There are...
...of people are killed unjustly, and with the...
...greatest cruelty.

THE SULTAN'S PHOENIX.
I asked him to give me his views on the present situation of Turkey as the result of the recent events. He replied: "If I were to describe to you all the events which have led up to the present situation, it would take many hours, as I must be excused, but I must say that the ideas and opinions of the Sultan are very different from those of the Sultan's Ministers on Turkey and the Turk."

THE SULTAN'S PHOENIX.
The Sultan passed for a few minutes here and then recommenced: "It is extremely painful for me to talk of the present. I am father of my people, and I feel for me, and I must be what I can to defend my people. All that is happening in Turkey, and I must say to you that the ideas and opinions of the Sultan are very different from those of the Sultan's Ministers on Turkey and the Turk."

THE SULTAN'S PHOENIX.
The Sultan passed for a few minutes here and then recommenced: "It is extremely painful for me to talk of the present. I am father of my people, and I feel for me, and I must be what I can to defend my people. All that is happening in Turkey, and I must say to you that the ideas and opinions of the Sultan are very different from those of the Sultan's Ministers on Turkey and the Turk."

...been appointed by M. Vassiliou. But I...
...before in the past of England. If England...
...today "Halt" they would say.
...I asked if his Majesty had formulated...
...any solution for the future of the country.
...He then said, but the Sultan...
...said "Halt," he replied, "and I...
...cannot give an opinion, but I hope...
...and I pray for the best."
...In talking with me the Sultan said:
...When you are writing this for your...
...paper please explain that I speak to...
...you in the title of Father of my people.
...When they suffer I suffer, and I must do...
...what I can to save them. During the war...
...I have been suffering for all, and I know...
...what suffering is."
...So I felt probably the Sultan...
...was not far from the truth. This...
...interview has been passed by the...
...Foreign Office here.

DOC. NO 13 INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.
CITY OF LONDON BRANCH.

Hon. Secy.
ERNEST E. HUNTER,
5, York Buildings,
Adelphi, W.C. 2

5, York Buildings,
Adelphi,
London, W.C.2

August 25th 1919

The Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.
Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.

121512

27 AUG 1919

Dear Sir,

I am instructed by the City of London I.L.P. to
forward you the following resolution:

"That this meeting strongly protests against the
wholesale deportation and massacre which is being
carried out by the Greek (Dionysius) troops in Asia
Minor and calls upon the British Government to
consultation with its Allies to compel these troops
to substitute for the Dionysius occupation some such
form of occupation which will safeguard the Turks from
murder, robbery and outrage."

Yours faithfully
J. Ernest E. Hunter
Hon. Secy.

79

DOC. NO. 14

u. Giving Smyrna to the Greek is like surrendering
Liverpool to Russia and Marseilles or Havre to Germany.

Yours etc.

R. Harold Francis

Northchurch,
Berghamsted.

25/2/20

P.S. Greece will be our enemy shortly when Germany
can bribe again.

DOC. NO. 15

15

E 2993
MAR 8 1921

British High Commission,
Constantinople,
28th. February, 1921.

No:- 219/1768/20.

My Lord,

Enclosures.

I have the honour to forward herewith, for Your
Lordship's information copies of letters received from
the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Army of the Black
Sea, and the Sublime Porte, on the subject of the alleged
desecration of the Turkish cemetery at Bigha by Greek troops.

2. While there is no independent confirmation of
these allegations, the reports from British Officers,
relative to the desecration of Turkish Graves on the
Gallipoli peninsula, copies of which were transmitted to
Your Lordship in my despatch, No. 1610/R/2576 of the 6th.
December 1920, show that they cannot be rejected as intrin-
sically incredible.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His
Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
With the highest respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient
humble Servant,

Horace Rumbold

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Right Honourable,

The Earl Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., P.O.,

etc., etc., etc.

La Délégation de la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie, l'Assemblée de Circuler, d'ordre de son Gouvernement, à l'Assemblée du Gouvernement Royal Britannique, l'un fait suivante:

5000
APR 1 1921

Il résulte d'informations de source authentique que les crimes exceptionnels d'actes de violence perpétrés par le Gouvernement turc, principalement en vue de soumettre les Hellénistes, sont dirigés avec une vigueur systématique contre les musulmans dans les territoires occupés. C'est ainsi que dans les villes et villages de la Thrace et notamment à Kirk-Kilissé, Dinéoké, Tchérhan, Ouzou-Tepour, Rodosto, des notables turcs ont été arrêtés et conduits à Andrinople.

Ordonné à l'enquête effectuée par deux commissions internationales, nullement suspectes de parti pris en faveur des Turcs, (Commission de la dotation Carnegie de 1914 et Commission inter-alliée d'enquête de Smyrne (1919), le monde civilisé a pu se faire déjà une idée de la cruauté des Hellènes ainsi que des sentiments cruels-malins dont ils sont animés envers l'élément musulman.

Cette tendance à exterminer tout ce qui est turc et tout ce qui est musulman a atteint récemment son point culminant. En effet, la décision prise par la Conférence de Londres relativement à la nomination d'une commission internationale d'enquête en vue d'examiner la situation ethnographique en Thrace et à Smyrne a provoqué une nouvelle impulsion aux exploits des Grecs pour éliminer le chiffre de leur population en faveur des Hellènes les Turcs par tous les moyens possibles. Pour atteindre plus exactement le but poursuivi, les méfaits perpétrés jusqu'à présent en grande partie par des voies détournées, sont maintenant commis directement et ouvertement par

les autorités responsables. L'annihilation de la classe intellectuelle, l'assassinat de femmes et d'une grande partie des enfants, l'expulsion des commerçants et l'obtention, par tous les moyens favorables en cas d'une enquête internationale, de la part de ceux qui se résignent à partir sur les lieux, telles sont les grandes lignes du Gouvernement Hellénique.

Le nombre des notables et intellectuels turcs arrêtés, ces derniers jours, s'élève à 1.500. Deux-tiers sont mis à mort et pillés. Des jeunes femmes et des jeunes filles musulmanes se suicident chaque jour pour se soustraire aux ignominieuses atrocités commises. Depuis le 22 Mars les représailles ont pris une proportion énorme et une portée générale. La plupart des personnes arrêtées disparaissent. Dans la région de Louléouza, outre les exactions en nature, la rage destructrice des Grecs va jusqu'à piller et saccager les mosquées et les autres établissements religieux.

La condition des prisonniers turcs à Smyrne et en Grèce est des plus cruelles. Ils sont astreints, à jeun, à des travaux forcés au-dessus de la résistance humaine et sont déçus.

Tout cet état de choses ne menace pas de causer de graves inquiétudes pour toute la Turquie. Il finirait par obliger le Gouvernement Turc à procéder à des représailles si le Gouvernement Hellénique ne met pas immédiatement fin à ces actes inhumains.

La Délégation de la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie, en portant ce qui précède à la connaissance du Gouvernement Royal Britannique ne doute pas que l'attitude observée par le Gouvernement Hellénique sera vue par lui, elle le sera, au contraire, de conférer d'urgence avec les Gouvernements de la République Française et Royal Italien en vue de l'envoi immédiat en Thrace et à Smyrne d'un corps d'inspecteurs militaires internationaux afin de faire cesser et prévenir la répétition de ces atrocités.

Président de la Délégation de la Grande Assemblée Nationale de Turquie

S. Bekir

Acte-Mémoire

La Sublime Porte est informée que les villages musulmans des districts de Yalova et Dokhan Ghazi non loin de Constantinople et en dehors de la zone des opérations militaires, ont été presque totalement détruits par les hellènes, et les villageois exterminés.

Des bandes grecques et arméniennes ont commis dans ces régions des atrocités d'un caractère insou-

En présence de ces faits la Sublime Porte demande l'envoi immédiat d'une force mixte de gendarmerie ainsi que d'une Commission Mixte d'enquête sur les lieux et l'adoption de mesures propres à mettre fin à l'extermination de l'élément Turc.

Londres le 6 Avril 1921

EASTERN (TURKEY).

2364

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 5.

[E 5220/50/44]

No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 408.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of Sir H. Lamb's despatch No. 90/10, dated the 15th April, 1921, respecting Christian and Moslem relations at Smyrna.

Constantinople, April 21, 1921.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Sir H. Lamb to Sir H. Rumbold.

(No. 90/10.)

Sir,

Smyrna, April 15, 1921.

I HAVE had the honour to bring to your Excellency's notice by telegram the regrettable and dangerous exacerbation of feeling between the Christian and Mussulman elements of the population in this district which has manifested itself since the resumption of the Greek offensive in the latter part of last month.

2. This has been mainly due to the attitude and conduct of the troops called under arms as a consequence of their reverses following on the failure of their attack on Eskishehir; but there is some ground for fearing that this was, at least in some measure, provoked by the action of the Greek authorities themselves in permitting, and even encouraging, the circulation of highly exaggerated, if not entirely unfounded, narratives of the persecution to which the Christian population were being subjected in the districts beyond the occupied zone—of massacres at Kaiserlich, Sokin and elsewhere.

3. As instances of the conduct referred to, I may mention the following.

4. The soldiers entraining at the Pasma-Klanc station, the terminus of the Cassaba Railway, amused themselves on several days in succession by firing at the minaret of the adjacent mosque of Telouak-Kapou, the upper portion of which was badly chipped, considerable fragments of masonry falling on the dome of the building and bringing down the plaster from the roof. These bullets which missed their mark showered on a tekke situated behind it, and on the Mussulman quarter covering the slopes of the citadel hill. In other quarters shots were fired at the hill-calling to prayer, at pedestrians traversing open spaces or exposed streets on the hill-side, or merely in the air. Several fatal accidents were the result. On the 6th April, for instance, a Turkish girl traversing the street called Yemish Telarshi was struck by a falling bullet, which pierced her head. She died on reaching the Turkish hospital to which she was carried. On the 5th a Jewish glazier named Mosché Bahar was shot in the side and died almost immediately, whilst a Turkish boy of 15 named Mustafa Khalil was seriously wounded at Dolafli Konyon. A volley fired from the troop train in motion on the Cassaba line mortally wounded a Greek soldier who was on duty on the Aidin Company's pier, and caused a considerable panic in the neighbourhood. Another volley was poured into the Standard Oil Company's tanks, under which the line passes, causing some loss of oil and risking a serious conflagration.

5. As the trains proceeded up the line the soldiers are reported to have fired indiscriminately at any Turk who was visible from their windows. At least twelve such are reported to have been killed. Thus between the villages of Bulatek and Ghermeneljik were found the corpses of Eyoub-oglu Mehmed, Mouhadji Osman, Ali-Mollah-oglu Veli, and Tik-tatek Hadja-oglu Ali, of Slatin. Near Mersinli a shepherd named Mehmed was killed.

6. The numerous protests to which these events gave rise resulted in strict orders being issued that no ammunition should be served out to troops entraining, but as the men loading here were already in possession of supplies these orders were of little effect, and firing continued as before. It was not until the 11th that the military authorities were persuaded to resort to the obvious measure of withdrawing the men's rifles, since which I understand that there have been no complaints on this score.

[6191 d-5]

DOC. NO. 18A.

7. Numerous cases are reported in which Mussulmans, both men and women, have been mistreated, insulted or threatened in the streets of the town, the fezzes of the former or veils of the latter being torn off their heads and trodden on. Even children going to and from school have not escaped insult and ill-treatment. The civil authorities, to do them justice, appeared fully alive to the impolicy of this conduct and its possible dangers, but incapable of restraining the men.

8. The danger of course consists mainly in the bitterness of spirit which these incidents engender, and which will most certainly have its repercussion elsewhere, and lead to reprisals and counter-reprisals of the customary nature. There is no inconsiderable risk, as an old inhabitant expressed it to me, of the present hostilities, which began as a purely political manoeuvre, degenerating into a religious war, with consequences which cannot fail to be disastrous for the country, and which is all the more regrettable when one considers on what terms the two elements managed to exist together up to the commencement of the present century.

I have, &c.

HARRY H. LAMB, Representative of the British High Commissioner, Smyrna.

No. 8.—ARCHIVES.

EASTERN (TURKEY).

335

[May 31.]

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 5.

[E 6204/143/44]

No. 1.

Sir H. Rumbold to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 506.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 20, 1921.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of an interim report furnished by the Commission of Enquiry, presided over by Colonel H. M. Farmer, on termination of its investigations on the Black Sea and Bosphorus coasts of the Ismidt Peninsula.

2. Colonel Farmer informs me, in connection with the recommendations made by the commission, that the words "existing Turkish machinery" were adopted at the request of his French colleague, who would not admit the use of the word "gendarmierie."

I have, &c.

HORACE RUMBOLD,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Commission of Enquiry for the Ismidt Peninsula to Sir H. Rumbold.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

WE have the honour to report that in accordance with your instructions and with the terms of reference for the above-named enquiry the commission left Constantinople on the 12th May in H.M.S. "Centaur" (Captain W. F. French, C.M.G.).

According to instructions, attention was first given to the northern portions of the peninsula. A warning was received from the British General Staff as to the uncertain conditions prevailing about Kandra owing to the withdrawal of Greek troops and to reported advances by Kemalists, and we were given instructions not to risk becoming involved in hostilities.

The necessity for this was borne out at Shile when the commission received a message from one Shevket to the effect that he was representing Mustapha Kemal at Kandra with orders to prevent anyone either coming in or going out.

On arrival at Sirek, witnesses stated that there were very few Nationalist soldiers with Shevket, and the commission proceeded to Kandra.

Shevket, with fifteen alleged Nationalist soldiers, retired and watched proceedings from a neighbouring hill, at which time this party was observed to be signalling.

The commission were of opinion that it would be unwise to take the risk of proceeding further east and south themselves, but had witnesses from the neighbourhood collected and took their depositions.

To report in general terms:—

Credible evidence has been produced as to crimes committed by both Greek officers and soldiers during the last year, and more especially lately, when the troops have been on the march. This is set out in the attached schedule; a few examples in précis only.

During the occupation by regular Greek troops there has been either entire or partial interruption of civilian police jurisdiction.

Civilian control has not been replaced by any capable military organisation. Full advantage has been taken of this by all bad characters, probably including deserters from the Greek army.

The commission is of opinion that the Greek military authorities did not take adequate steps to safeguard the civilian inhabitants from the depredations and acts of violence of outlaws, nor did they make adequate provision for the maintenance of discipline amongst their regular troops.

Turkish officials appear to have done their best to carry out their duties, but have been much handicapped, and charges preferred by them against the Greek soldiers do not appear to have been investigated.

[6191 hh-5]

There appear to be no complaints by Greek civilians of any trouble caused to them by Moslems during the last few months.

The commission recommend that full advantage should be taken at once of existing Turkish machinery for the maintenance of order and that this should be expanded and made more powerful. European officers to be made available to give their assistance as far as this may be practicable.

There is evidence that adjacent villages of different creeds exist side by side in the same districts without trouble when the Greeks are in a minority and the administration Turkish.

It is certain that many people have been prevented from settling on the land owing to the disturbed conditions. Some Greeks have already left and others will try to get away if the Komalst troops come forward, as there is often only a shadowy distinction between brigand bands and groups calling themselves Nationalist soldiers. The Greek civilians are in dread of being made to suffer in their turn and the Moslems are in very genuine fear of the return of the Greek troops.

The countryside is sparsely populated and many villages are in a state of decay.

The members of the commission are of opinion that the displaced population will speedily return when they are assured of protection, and emphasise their opinion that the forces of law and order should be made under Moslem administration.

We beg to submit this half of our report before proceeding south in order to save time, being of opinion that it is necessary for action to be taken at once.

We have, &c.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. M. FARMAR, *President.*
LIEUT.-COLONEL S. VITELLI,
LIEUT.-COLONEL DE WITKOWSKI, } *Members.*
MAJOR O. H. VAN MILLINGEN, }

Constantinople,
May 18, 1921.

SCHEDULE.

Neighbourhood: Bozalfat and Esser Keuy, near Aghva.

During the last nine months parties of regular Greek soldiers with their officers have marched at intervals into these villages.

Katsaros has been a visitor and has behaved badly.

Both Greek regular officers and men have raped women, and robberies and acts of violence have been committed.

About March last the inhabitants lived in the hills for a month to escape further atrocities.

Witnesses, being also sufferers:—

Aieshe, wife of Jemal, raped five times.

Emne, wife of Alledin, raped twice.

Fezze, wife of Temirdjali Mustafa, raped five times.

Karagoutch, an old man of 60, was beaten.

Halil Oglou Edhem, of Aghva, with two other Turks, were in a boat on the 26th-27th March, 1921. They were fired at by Greek regular soldiers, who were the worse for drink. The Turks came to shore and were ordered to take the soldiers to Shileh, and were there beaten. A fresh scar was displayed on the head of Halil.

Halil Ibrahim, of Shuupli, was made to entertain Katsaros on his demand in March last. Katsaros subjected him to ill-treatment.

Evidence, and supporting evidence, was taken on oath.

Neighbourhood: Kandra. Witnesses: Salil Agha and Munir Beg.

No atrocities were committed in Kandra village. The Greek soldiers confined themselves to requisitioning cattle and carts without payment.

The different villages of this area were frequently occupied by Greek detachments under Greek officers or n.c.os.

First occupation was in November 1920, the others during February and March 1921.

record in this respect in recent years.

After full allowance has been made for false witness and exaggerations, there still remains the fact however that deplorable conditions have prevailed in the Northern portion of the ISMIST quadrilateral.

For these horrors a large share of responsibility is directly attributable to the Greek authorities.

In view of the above and of the Turkish desire (3) to hold a protest meeting in London.

? Inform Greek Government that unless measures to the satisfaction of H.M.S. have been taken by the end of June to punish those chiefly responsible, steps will be taken to give the widest publicity to the findings of the Commission.

J. Neatherth
2. VII

I do not like this rather blackmailing method of obtaining justice. I should prefer to report the findings & demand full enquiry & punishment. Reference could also be made to Greek apprehensions.

master financier of Europe, whose influence can sway the policy of statesmen.

At this time of international crisis M. Venizelos, who has been undergoing a "cure" at a French watering place, suddenly decides to take a holiday in England. The reasons for his visit are officially declared by his secretary to be "entirely private. He wishes to play golf and rest." In an extreme hurry for his golfing holiday, M. Venizelos arrives late on Monday at the house of Sir Arthur Crossfield in Highgate. First thing next day the enthusiastic golfer and Greek patriot goes by motor-car to visit Mr. Lloyd George at Cheyenne. By an oversight his golf clubs are left behind. A most pleasant time, however, discussing the problems of the game with the British Prime Minister. There was, of course, no other significance in the meeting. M. Venizelos' secretary states that positively, "M. Venizelos," he said, "may see several people. He has known them for so long that it would not be out of the question if he did not pay visits." Following the interesting golf reminiscences at Cheyenne, M. Venizelos yesterday went holiday-making in the City. He met the heads of an important group of Greek merchants, his secretary being in attendance. Again it was a delightfully informal call, at which the politics of golf as they affect the relationship of European countries were discussed. Today M. Venizelos has another full list of engagements. He will motor around to see a number of people who, perhaps, are golfers. He expects to return to France at the end of the week, thoroughly refreshed by the experiences of his tour of English golfing centres. Meanwhile Sir Basil Zaharoff, in Paris, is receiving full information of the steady improvement in M. Venizelos' game. M. Venizelos, as he is here on holiday, will make no statement on this," said his secretary, "it would not be wise for him to say anything. It might be misunderstood." The British public are not likely to misunderstand the golf of M. Venizelos, for the game has reached the point of national danger.—"Daily Express," June 9, 1921.

AN IMPORTANT STEP.

An important step towards the re-establishment of peace and good relations in the Near East is reported by our correspondent at Constantinople. From an authoritative source he has learnt that the Paris and Angora Governments have arrived at agreement on the economic and frontier questions, a fact which will bear directly on the relations between the Kemalists and the British Government. A second hopeful sign is the release by the Kemalists of ten British prisoners in return for 30 Turks who have been detained at Malta. Angora has further proposed the release of the remaining 20 British in return for the remaining 60 Turkish prisoners.—"Manchester Guardian," June 23, 1921.

A NEW WAR?

The leader of the Anti-Waste Party in the Commons, the Hon. Edmund Harcourt, M.P., is, on Monday, asking the Premier whether the Government have come to a decision actively to support King Constantine of Greece in a war against the Turkish Nationalists, although the French Government have declared they will help neither in men nor money.—"Daily Mirror," June 11, 1921

BRITAIN AND THE KEMALISTS

Uneasiness Among Muslims.

The Indian Muslim Delegation at present here is greatly perturbed by the development of the situation in the Near East. One of its members, Shauki Khlifa of Gadia, maintains that the British attitude towards the controversy is a matter of vital importance not only to the Muslim world, but to the British Empire itself. He has declared to a representative of the "Morning Post" that the policy which the British Government seems to have adopted, namely, of favouring Greece at the expense of Turkey, has already aroused bitterness in India, in Egypt, in Persia, and all over the Near East. The Delegation has, he says, worked hard to create a bridge between Great Britain and the Angora Government, but it has failed in this, partly because the latter considers that its just demands have been deliberately ignored by Great Britain. The Kemalists argue that the Western Powers offered them no assistance in Asia Minor, where they are constantly threatened by the fact that the Greeks have Smyrna as a military base, and offered them the possession of Constantinople on condition that they submitted to all kinds of humiliating control. Furthermore, in Constantinople they would have been perpetually menaced by the guns of Greek battleships, and their best food-producing province would have been in the hands of their enemies. In the view of the Kemalists, safety, freedom, and an independent existence are to be found only through making common cause with the Bolsheviks, and in the view of the Muslim Delegation sheer despair is driving the Angora Government into the arms of the Bolsheviks.

Question of Prisoners.

The Muslim Delegation firmly believes that England can get on with the Nationalist Turks by offering them terms that would meet their minimum requirements, and it is convinced that if an offer of peace and friendship were made to Angora through his Highness the Aga Khan, the head of

the Delegation, an immensely beneficial effect would be produced, both in the Near East and in the whole Muslim world. The Muslim Delegation also feels certain that the Angora Government is labouring under a misapprehension in regard to British policy and intentions, and that a different atmosphere would be quickly produced if Great Britain were officially represented at Angora. In regard to the question of the exchange of prisoners, which is playing such an important role in the present crisis, the Angora version is that Great Britain retained twenty-four of the Turkish prisoners, and that these happened all to be Nationalist Turks. They concluded that England was not keeping faith with them, and refused to give up the twenty-four British subjects in their power. We learn from British official sources that the Angora Government has now promised to release ten of its British prisoners at once, and the rest as soon as England fulfils her part of the bargain. The British Government is demanding firstly that these ten released prisoners shall be sent to Constantinople, and not to Adalia, and, secondly, that before any steps are taken the Angora Government shall carry out all the terms of the agreement.—"Morning Post," June 11, 1921.

AN APPEAL.

It is a crisis in the history of the world. Europe has almost succeeded in asserting her military domination over other continents. It is also trying to dominate morally and intellectually. Struggling weak nations need mutual support. Their cause must be strengthened. Propaganda against them must be counteracted. ISLAMIC NEWS, and "Echo de l'Islam," 21, rue Tait Bout, Paris, have been instituted to help the cause of suffering peoples at the same time that they defend the honour of Islam. Our enemies are spending colossal sums on their propaganda and they have besides the whole of the European Press free at their disposal. We can only counteract their propaganda if these papers are supplied, week by week, with correct information from all parts of the world, either by cables or letters duly authenticated and signed. Signatures will be kept confidential if desired. Early correct news will be welcome, which please communicate to the Editor, ISLAMIC NEWS, 25, Ebury Street, London, S.W.1.

From Muslims we appeal for funds. Nothing can be done without funds. We want money from Muslims to enable us to enlarge our free circulation among non-Muslims. The honour of Islam must be defended not only on the battlefield but also against a most sinister and bitter propaganda in the WEST. We are waiting for funds to start a weekly in America.

All donations should be sent to:—

NAZIMUDDIN HAJI M. H. ISMAYIL,

21, Mincing Lane, London, E.C.A.

Our sole agents in India are the Oudh Khilafat Committee, Kikolung, Lucknow, to whom all applications should be sent by Indian subscribers. Annual subscription, Rs. 12. Funds are most urgently needed at the present time.

A PUBLIC MEETING

to protest against Greek atrocities on Turkish peasants, women and children in the occupied territories will be held in CANTON HALL, on Thursday, the 23rd June, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: Lord Lamington. The Hon. Col. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., and the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P., will be among the speakers.

The London Indian Association.

A MEETING of the Association will be held at CANTON HALL, on Saturday, 18th June, at 3 p.m.

Mr. M. A. JINNAH, Barrister-at-Law, of Bombay, will speak on:

"Deadlock in India. Is there a way out?"

All interested are cordially invited to attend. ADMISSION FREE.

Published by the Islamic Information Bureau, 25, Ebury Street, London, S.W.1.

Printed by THE CHANCERY LANE PRESS, 1, 2 & 3, Rolls Passage, E.C.4; and published by THE ISLAMIC INFORMATION BUREAU, 25, Ebury Street, London, S.W.1.

REPORTS

ON

ATROCITIES IN THE DISTRICTS OF YALOVA AND GUEMLEK

AND IN

THE ISMID PENINSULA.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



LONDON: PRINTED AND SOLD BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE. To be had through any bookseller or directly from: K.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses: Terminal House, Riverside, London, W.C.2, and 20, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.4; 21, Finsbury Square, London, E.C.2; 21, St. James's Court, London, S.W.1; 25, Park Street, Manchester; 25, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.4; 25, St. James's Court, London, S.W.1.

(Cont. 1478.)

Price 2s. 6d.

** You see the number times
has been increased till
Attitude of the hands
Mansion
22/5*

** Refers to the number times
product and the pro-Turkish articles
has been appearing in the Manchester
Guardian? or at the least the paper
tells me that the Manchester Guardian
(by all means) pro-Turk and pro-Anglo
articles and that in the leader is
taken a middle course.*

*Eg. 2/2/21
Apr 26*

[Signature]

(Cont. 1478.)

DOC. NO. 23



IX/1556.

2nd November 1921.

135

Les atrocités commises par les troupes grecques en Asie Mineure obligent le Gouvernement Russe à poser devant tous les Gouvernements la question de leur attitude à cet égard et à attirer leur attention sur les effroyables dévastations et les cruautés barbares auxquelles des provinces entières de Turquie sont soumisees par les troupes grecques intruses. Mais les observateurs et ces agences télégraphiques neutres constatent que toute la partie du territoire turc qui fut occupée par les troupes en un désert. Dans toute la zone de la retraite grecque les villages turcs sont incendiés, la population est exterminée ou emmenée en captivité, les femmes souffrant les plus barbares violences. Sur toute la population turque de ces contrées seules restent saines et saufs ceux, qui se cachent dans les forêts et les montagnes. Il ressort des ordres du commandement grec que le sinisme

DOC. NO. 23A



3.

fait que le pays qui est ainsi soumise par l'armée grecque intruse à une complète et systématique dévastation qui le change en un véritable désert doit voir sa région florissante. Le Gouvernement Russe, outre absolument nécessaire d'invoquer tous les gouvernements à faire auprès du Gouvernement grec des démarches de nature à mettre fin aux égarements intolérables des troupes grecques en Turquie.

Le Commissaire du Peuple aux Affaires Etrangères,
Tchitcherine.

Le 23 Octobre 1921.

137

DOC. NO. 24

24. 07.

Smyrna,

1st March 1922.

Sir,

With reference to Your Excellency's telegram No. 14 of the 26th and to my reply thereto No. 13 of the 27th ultimo concerning certain incidents which are alleged to have taken place near Kioshk, I have the honour to report the following particulars which have been gathered from sources which I consider trustworthy.

2. About 11 o'clock on the night of Tuesday the 14th February a mixed detachment said to have been composed partly of soldiers and partly of "civilian volunteers", entered the hamlet of Kara-Tepe, consisting of some 60 houses, most of the inhabitants of which had fled into the fields or woods on their approach. The inhabitants were however induced to return and assemble in the Mosque on the understanding that an official communication from the authorities was to be made to them. The Mosque was then set on fire and most of the villagers, men, women and children, are declared to have perished in the flames.

3. According to Turkish sources of information the same procedure was followed at the neighbouring hamlets of Affejik (30 houses) and Saka-Yurt (100 houses), which form with Kara-Tepe one village group. It is not however clear, even to my informant, whether there were three separate Mosque incidents or whether the 150 victims, who are reported to have been burnt, were all collected in the Mosque of Kara-Tepe. They assert, in any case, that all three hamlets were destroyed.

4. The pretext for this destruction was the usual one that....

The Right Honourable
Sir Horace Rumbold, K.C.M.G. C.V.O.

DOC. NO. 25

THE TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1922.

ANATOLIA'S FLIGHT.

ALLIED CONTROL.

ESSENTIAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

My only hope that you will publish the enclosed letter is that it will be published in the same and position, but the enclosed will state that it is not to be published.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. regarding the matter of the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ARTHUR J. TOYBEE

14, Colindale Avenue, Colindale, N.W.,

April 2.

of the military was transferred to the hands of the Turkish Government. It is stated that the Turkish Government has agreed to the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea. The evacuation is to be carried out in a systematic and orderly manner. The Turkish Government has agreed to the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea. The evacuation is to be carried out in a systematic and orderly manner. The Turkish Government has agreed to the evacuation of the Greeks from the islands of the Aegean Sea. The evacuation is to be carried out in a systematic and orderly manner.

A178
123

DOC. NO. 26

EASTERN

176

E 3871

126

Parliamentary Question

3216. Sir J. D. Bess. — To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has received any Report, or whether his attention has been called to any Report, to the effect that the Turkish village of Karatepe, near Aidan, was on 14th February surrounded by a Greek force, partly in and partly without uniform, who are alleged to have collected the inhabitants, including women and children, in a mosque, upon which they are alleged to have opened fire and to which they are alleged to have set fire, and to have looted the village, to which also they are alleged to have set fire, so that only 16 or 17 men and women are alleged to have escaped with their lives out of a population believed to have been not less than 400? and whether adequate steps have been taken at the recent Paris Conference to ensure the protection of the Turks in this region and in other regions in the Near East and to put an end to these massacres. [Monday 10th April.]

(E 3562/11/44)

reply written
This question is based on Mr. Teyssie's letter to the "Times" of yesterday (cutting attached - flag A) of which he also sent us a copy privately. It is also meant as a counter-blast to Mr. T.P. O'Gorman's question of April 3rd (E 3611 - flag C), although it seems rather ill-timed after Sir J.D. Bess' outburst on that occasion.
The Karatepe incident, and the policy of the Turkish propagandists here in regard to Greek atrocities, are discussed on the question put down by Lord St. Davids for May 4th in the House of Lords (attached - flag B) 1.
The last part can be answered by a reference to the reply given to Mr. T.P. O'Gorman, though it is difficult to pass over in silence the implication that the Turks alone need protection.
A draft reply is submitted overleaf.

C.W. R. Redd
April 7th 1922.
R. D. Osborne
7/4

Robt
14/4

- 3.3.1921 -British Intelligence Report No.100: On the return of King Constantine to Greece, the Venizelists in Constantinople formed what is known as the "Committee of National Defence," an offspring of the Greek Political Club and is in close touch with the Patriarchate. The President is Alexandros Voutiras, editor of the Greek newspaper *Neologos*, with whom are associated a number of wealthy Greek businessmen and journalists. The committee has a military section consisting of a number of ex-Venizelist officers. It has also formed two secret intelligence sections. The object of the committee is to develop a revolutionary movement against the new regime in Greece. A new scheme for the establishment of a Byzantine Republic was discussed and approved. A moving spirit of the committee is a former colonel in the Greek army, Kondilis.
- On 22nd March, 1921, D.G. Osborne of the British Foreign Office commented on this as follows: "I mistrust this Byzantine Republic idea. I suppose that in the event of the Greek offensive proving complete success, we shall have to meet this claim to Constantinople and Pontus." (69)
- 17.3.1921 -Cypher telegram from James Morgan, Izmir: Complaints of the Turkish government that the Greeks have resorted to subterfuge and intimidation to obtain Moslem notables' written declaration of their satisfaction at the existing regime appear well founded. Towards the end of February, general order seems to have been issued to Greek officials in the interior to obtain Moslem declaration in the same sense (unanimous desire for maintenance of Greek administration). All sorts of means were used to this end. Some Turks were intoxicated to sign the certificate, some were villagers who put seals on blank paper on which later the declaration was written, or tricking villagers that the declaration was for permission to plant tobacco; they also used menaces. In general, Moslems were asked to sign these *Mazbatas* by officials having practically absolute power over them and did so for fear of consequences of refusal. They are certainly not spontaneous. (70)
- 21.3.1921 -Extracts from a letter submitted to the Prime Minister on 12.3.1921 by the London Moslem League about the terrible sufferings of Moslem people in Asia Minor and of the desperate plight of Turkish refugees from Thrace. It gives a harrowing picture of the sufferings of Turkish people under the newly imposed Greek rule. No day

passes without hearing of many arrests of Turkish notables and educated persons upon false allegations. Many people thrown into prisons for indefinite periods without trial and subjected to severe torture. The house of Turks are raided and women violated in the most disgraceful manner. No businessman can leave his house to go to his distant farms without being subjected to dangers... Every day we see and hear of many Turks killed in open day, without attempt of arresting the Greek murderers. Last week I witnessed the corpses of 4 Turkish cabmen killed in Mene-men-Smyrna road and heard of 8 slaughtered in the neighbourhood of Smyrna town. I cannot but say that the Greek administration of which we heard much of praise is nothing of modern government. It can be characterised as an organised campaign sent to kill and exterminate the Turks. It seems the real object of Greece is nothing more than to drive out the Turks of Smyrna... Added to frequent aggression, misery and distress among the Turks, what tears the heart of every Mohammedan is to see Mohammedan Turkish women and girls forced to prostitution by every possible way. The Greek officer instead of looking after his duty, finds pleasure in forcing Turkish ladies to come out openly unveiled... My Committee also feel it their duty to draw your attention to the plight of Moslem refugees from Thrace, who have been driven from their ancient homes and are dying in thousands from want and starvation on the shores of the Bosphorus. (71)

- 1.4.1921 -Letter from Bekir Sami, Foreign Minister of the Ankara Government, to the British Government, calling attention to the policy of oppression against the Mussulman population adopted by Greek authorities in Thrace and Izmir. Asks that the Allied Governments may confer with a view to despatching inter-Allied missions to these areas. On 7th April, 1921, in a letter to A.Rizo Rangabe, the Greek diplomatic representative in London, Lancelot Oliphant of the Foreign Office informed him of Turkish accusations against the Greeks for atrocities and for forcing the people to sign certificates attempting to annihilate the Turks to cause their number to go down. 500 Turkish notables had been arrested in Western Thrace. Their goods had been pillaged. Young Moslem women and girls had committed suicide to escape the persecution of the Greek troops. Mosques were pillaged and sullied. Turkish prisoners were condemned in a starving condition to forced labour resulting in great mortality. (72)-See document Number 16 and 16A).

6.4.1921 -Aide-Memoire by Reshid Pasha, Ottoman diplomatic representative in London, saying that the Turkish Government were informed that the Greeks have massacred many Turks at Yalova and Orkhan Ghazi. A mixed force of gendarmerie and a mixed Commission of Enquiry should be sent there. On 7th April the British Foreign Office asked Sir Horace Rumbold about this (73) (See document No.17)

11.4.1921 -Cypher telegram from Sir Harry Lamb, British Consul-General, Izmir, to Lord Curzon: It is reported that the Greeks have evacuated Afion. Over 10,000 new Greek troops landed here from April 1st to 9th and are being sent towards Ushak at the rate of 1000 daily. Discipline of the troops arriving appears defective and much bad feeling is being excited by their behaviour towards the Mussulman population, firing at the Minarets and molesting the women and children in the streets. Authorities are fully alive to the possible danger but are unable to restrain them.(74)

15.4.1921 -Telegram from Sir Harry Lamb, Izmir, reporting that Greek authorities have permitted, even encouraged, the circulation of highly exaggerated narratives of the persecution to which the Christian population were being subjected in the districts beyond the occupied zone... Soldiers entraining at the Basmakhane station, terminus of the Cassaba railway, amused themselves on several days in succession by firing at the minaret of the adjacent mosque of Tcholak-Kopru, the upper portion of which was badly chipped... Those bullets which missed their mark showered on a Tekke (Muslim Monastery) situated behind it, and on the Mussulman quarter covering the slopes of the citadel hill. In other quarters shots were fired at the müezzin calling to prayer, at pedestrians traversing open spaces or exposed streets on the hillside, or merely in the air. Several fatal accidents were the result. On 6th April, for instance, a Turkish girl traversing the street called Yemish Tcharski was struck by a falling bullet, which pierced her head. She died on reaching the Turkish hospital... A Turkish boy of 15 named Mustafa Khalil was seriously wounded at Dolapli Kuyu. A volley fired from the troop train in motion on the Cassaba line mortally wounded a Greek soldier...and caused considerable panic in the neighbourhood...As trains proceeded up the line, soldiers are reported to have fired indiscriminately at any Turk who was visible from their windows. At least 12 such are re-

ported to have been killed... Numerous cases are reported in which Mussulmans, both men and women, have been mishandled, insulted or threatened in the streets of the town, fezzes of the former or veils of the latter being torn off their heads and trodden on. Even Children going to and from school have not escaped insult and ill-treatment... (75) -See document No.18 and 18A-

30.4.1921 -Private letter from Lord Riddell to R.J.Vansittart of the Foreign Office (dated 18th Ap.1921), enclosing a letter from Mr Forbes of Izmir, who said, *inter alia*:

"I am sorry to say that things within some parts of the Greek occupied territory are far from satisfactory... The Greeks are not the right sort of people to handle a population like the Turks. I do not think that people in England really know what they (Greeks) are. I do not think our politicians realise the situation out here, or how inept the Greeks are to handle a people like the Turks... In the Nazli District flogging has become shooting and there is now a reign of terror throughout all that country. THE LATEST ARRIVED CONTINGENTS FROM GREECE ARE UNDER VERY SLIGHT DISCIPLINE AND CONSIDER IT THEIR DUTY TO SHOOT ANY TURK AT SIGHT AS IF HE WERE A PARIAH DOG. No Turk can now move about with any degree of safety and even the Ottoman Greeks... are terrorised by Greek troops... FROM LITTLE THAT ONE HAS SEEN OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IN ASIA MINOR, THERE IS VERY LITTLE IN IT OF IMPARTIALITY AND JUSTICE. A Greek is supported in everything he does, whereas a Turk has absolutely no consideration, British subjects, too, receive no consideration..." (76)

7.5.1921 -Cypher telegram from Sir Horace Rumbold (Istanbul) to Lord Curzon: There is little doubt in our minds from details the French authorities have received that grave excesses have been committed in Yalova and Orkhan Ghazi districts against Mussulman population and that these outrages are the work of Greek bands. (77)

15.5.1921 -Burning of Turkish villages: report by the Commission of Enquiry, submitted to the Admiralty by Admiral de Robeck on 20.6.1921. Pazar Koy burning. At Catalkoy Greek soldiers were seen removing the fittings from houses. On 15th May, Narli and Karaca Ali were burning. Several corpses on the fore shore: one female, 11 male. Two still alive, taken on board. They said Greek troops did it. Bullet and knife wounds. At Kucuk Kumlar inhabitants very terrified. They slept on shore in sight of the ship

Searchlight focussed to comfort them. Kapakli and Narli burning. Kocadere upper and lower burnt. Population terrified. (78)

18.5.1921

-Interim report by the Commission of Enquiry on Greek atrocities, transmitted to the Foreign Office by Sir Horace Rumbold on 20.5.1921: Neighbourhood of Bozalfat, Esser Koy near Aghva. During the last nine months parties of regular Greek soldiers with their officers and men have raped women; robberies and acts of violence have been committed. About March last, the inhabitants lived in the hills for a month to escape further atrocities. Witnesses: Ayshe, wife of Jemal, raped five times; Emine, wife of Alaeddin, raped twice; Fevziye, wife of Demirci Ali Mustafa, raped five times. Karasogut, old man of 60 was beaten. Neighbourhood of Kandra: Greek soldiers requisitioned cattle and carts without payment. Different villages occupied by Greek soldiers. Soldiers took everything possible such as money, cattle and effects having recourse to torture in all instances where pressure seemed necessary to them. Cases of rape and murder were prevalent. Some villages were totally destroyed: Menter Koy, Lazlar Koy, Armak Koy, Omer Agha Koy, and Sira Koy. At Erekli, 4 men and 2 women were killed- Mustafa Idris, Isa and Fatma and Fethiye. 14 persons were killed in Karadere. Neighbourhood of Kandra, last November regular soldiers of the Greek army took all money they could find in Erekli and drove away cattle. They killed people who they supposed to be hiding money. 15 houses out of 20 burnt. Neighbourhood of Aghva, Greek detachments occupied the villages in the district twice, and passing through others first in Autumn 1920 and second in March 1921. In all villages money and valuables exorted by menaces, threats, beatings and other harsh methods. Everywhere the Greek soldiers behaved savagely. Haci Mustafa village suffered most. 7 men and 1 woman killed there. 6 women raped. Other villages which suffered: Kurfali Aghva where Salih was hanged by his feet, twice for one hour each time. Isaak Koy- Redjep, witness, hanged by his feet. Same at Shuipli, Uza-ir and Cemal Koy. In Haci Mustafa Koy, relatives of Nefsa, Emine and Fatma were killed, uncle Halil Mehmet Hoca killed. Neighbourhood of Shile, a band of 200 men, on their way to Izmit terrorised the countryside. 20 men under Katsaros remained in the district destroying nearly all the villages and

robbing the peasantry of their valuables and cattle. Many of the inhabitants beaten, women hanged by their feet over straw fires, others were killed outright and some women raped. Neighbourhood of Beicos: widespread murder committed by Greek regular troops at Cubuklu. Commission have had bodies exhumed; these had been buried fully clothed and shod, thrown together in all attitudes. Other bodies to be discovered following further evidence. Imprisonment of 18 Turks by orders of Greek regular officers in a dry underground cistern adjoining a Greek camp at Çubuklu. Prisoners kept for ten days, being given food and water only until able to pay money to the Greek guards. The majority of these were finally killed.

In the Foreign Office this report was read with great interest and on 2nd June, 1921, it was minuted by Heathcote-Smith as follows:

"...Disgraceful conditions have prevailed in the Northern portion of Ismid. FOR THESE HORRORS A LARGE SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY IS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO GREEK AUTHORITIES. In view of the above and of the Turkish desire to hold a protest meeting in London, inform the Greek government that unless measures to the satisfaction of His Majesty's Government have been taken by the end of June to punish those chiefly responsible, steps will be taken to give the widest publicity to the findings of the Commission." (79)-See document No.19, 19A and 19B-

19.5.1921-Cypher telegram from Sir Horace Rumbold, Istanbul, to Lord Curzon: I have now seen the interim report from the commission of enquiry in the Ismid peninsula... Credible evidence has been produced of crimes committed by Greek officers and soldiers including murder, rape, looting and torture. These crimes apparently date back some months. Reports of grave excesses by Greek troops at Çubuklu near Beicos were corroborated by exhumations carried out by the commission. Meanwhile, further reports are being received from General Frank of fresh atrocities in the Guemlek area in which Greek irregular troops are implicated. The Allied High Commissioners have authorised the "Red Crescent" to remove the panic-stricken Moslem population of Kumlar since the commission of enquiry was not satisfied that the Greek military authorities would properly protect them.

In the Foreign Office, W.S. Edmonds commented on 24th May as follows:

"The case against the Greeks both in the Ismid area and in Yalova and Orkhan Ghazi looks pretty bad... It seems almost incredible that outrages should have occurred in a suburb on the Bosphorus and not have come to light in the course of several months." (80)

28.5.1921 - Aide-Memoire by Reshid Pasha, London: complaining about Greek atrocities against the Mussulman population in Eastern Thrace, Yalova, Orkhan Ghazi, Gemlik, Shile, etc. Also pillage and massacre of people without distinction of age and sex; violation of females and subjection of children and old men to monstrous torture! These atrocities were personally witnessed by historian A.J. Toynbee and his wife. (82)

8.6.1921 - Cypher telegram from Lord Cranville, British Minister in Athens, to Lord Curzon: I showed Minister of War this morning the telegram in the *Manchester Guardian* of May 27th from its special correspondent at Yalova and told him that the correspondent was a very level-headed, reliable man with strong philhellenic proclivities. The Minister of War told me that there was unfortunately no doubt that terrible excesses had been committed by Greek bands led by Captain Papagrighiou and a corporal Lambros who had both deserted for the purpose. (83)

11.6.1921 - Cypher telegram from Lord Cranville to Lord Curzon, Athens: Official service was held this morning in the cathedral in the presence of the King, the Royal family, Government, Assembly and all high officials to pray for the success of Greek arms. The Minister of Education pointed out that the King would attend this service *"because the Emperors of Constantinople always started from the church to lead their armies."* (84)

13.6.1921 - Despatch from Lord Granville to Lord Curzon, Athens: On leaving the church, H.M. the King was greeted with cries of "To Constantinople." On his departure, the King issued a proclamation to his people which said, *inter alia*: "Trusting to Divine help, to the enthusiasm of my heroic army and to the moral and unshakable power of the Hellenic vision, I am going there with

the supreme will of the Nation calls me". (85)

15.6.1921--Despatch from Lord Granville to Lord Curzon, Athens: According to the press, Constantine reached Smyrna on the afternoon of 12th inst. and received a most enthusiastic welcome. On arrival he addressed this message to his troops: "Soldiers may you be filled with love for our united and indivisible Greece and devoted to the Great and eternal Mission which she has entrusted to us and of which we are all instruments. Advance! to task. Your King is with you. He is leading you thither where the Country's orders call you. May the Almighty bless our just war". (86)

16.6.1921 - Parliamentary Question in the House of Commons: Aubrey Herbert, MP, to ask the Prime Minister if he is aware that *"Greek troops under General Leonardopoulos of the 10th Division have massacred 5,500 out of a population of 7,000 defenceless Turkish men, women and children in the district of Yalova which is on the Sea of Marmora,"* three hours distant from Constantinople and if His Majesty's Government has any information upon this question. Mr. Chamberlain, on behalf of the Prime Minister, said: "The information furnished to HM Government by the Allied Commission appointed to report was to the effect that grave excesses had occurred in the district referred to but we have received no confirmation of actual figures quoted by my Hon. Friend". Mr. Herbert:- "If HM Government was really and sincerely anxious to obtain information, could it not be easily obtainable either from our military or naval authorities or from the Embassy, and is it not very damaging indeed to our reputation that these allegations of massacre of 5,000 unarmed people in a non-combatant zone by a government that was lately an ally of ours should be made in this way?" The Speaker:- "That does not arise out of the question". (87)

- 23.6.1921 -Notice published in the *Islamic News*, London, 16.6.1921: "A public meeting to protest against Greek atrocities on Turkish peasants, women and children in the occupied territories will be held in Caxton Hall, on Thursday, the 23rd June, at 4.30 p.m. Chairman: Lord Lemington. The Hon. Col. Aubrey Herbert MP and the Hon. Walter Guinness MP will be among the speakers. (88) (See document No. 20).
- 28.6.1921 -Coded telegram from Frank Rattigan, acting British High Commissioner, to Lord Curzon, Istanbul: Greeks evacuated Ismid last night. The town is reported to be in flames; fire was probably started by Greeks before they left... A number of Turks reported massacred by Armenians in Ismid itself... both Armenians and neutral Turks terror stricken, all Greeks evacuated by Greek forces. (89)
- 1.7.1921 -Coded telegram from Frank Rattigan to Lord Curzon, Istanbul: General Franks reports that Greek troops retreating towards Yalova are burning all villages in the coastal area. The Commission yesterday examined Izmid, where they were well received by the Nationalists. No evidence of any massacre of Christians. Officials of the American hospital and the French priests speak highly of Kemalist discipline and demeanour. Atrocities of an appalling nature, including murder, torture, and mutilation were verified by exhumation. Statements that these were committed by Christian, Armenian and Circassian brigands assisted by drunken and undisciplined Greek troops whilst the town was in Greek military occupation are supported by American evidence. *The Commission are of the opinion that the behaviour of the Greek army in retreat is deplorable and unworthy of a civilised nation.*
On 5.7.1921 Lord Granville, in code No.204, was asked to inform the Greek government of the above and to protest strongly against the conduct of the Greek troops. (90) (See document No.21).
- 18.8.1921 -Coded telegram from Sir Horace Rumbold to Lord Curzon, Istanbul: Mr Toynbee, correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, has written from Smyrna to a senior British officer here that *the Greek army are carrying out systematic extermination of the Moslem population in the newly occupied area.* Sir Harry Lamb of Smyrna said Toynbee was notoriously anti-Hellenic, but E.G.F. Adam com-

mented on 20.8.21: "Mr Toynbee's information, though probably from Turkish sources, may, it is to be feared, have a substratum of truth in view of Greek action in the Gulelek-Yalova area." (91)

- 23.8.1921 -Private letter from R. de Condolle of the Aidin Railway to Sir Eyre Crowe of the British Foreign Office, Izmir: The fact is that the Greek can live under the Turk, while the Turk won't live under the Greek, e.g. emigration from Crete. Even the Smyrna Greeks were for various reasons far from pleased when the Greek army arrived. Yet I suppose Venizelos persuaded Paris that they were one and all yearning for its arrival. (92)
- 11.9.1921 -Coded telegram from Sir Harry Lamb to Lord Curzon, Izmir: I have received fairly reliable information that some 50 villages were burnt down by troops operating from Tireh and Odemish as far as Aidin whence they have now returned. Most of the inhabitants having fled at their approach no massacres occurred but some murders took place and numbers of cattle were destroyed. (93)
- 20.9.1921 -Note by Mrs Arnold Toynbee, asking that it might be regarded as confidential in view of names. She gives a vivid picture of Greek horrors in the Greek occupied area. In the British Foreign Office the Toynbees were accused of becoming pro-Turkish. (94) (See document No.22)
- 30.9.1921 -Coded telegram from Sir Harry Lamb to Lord Curzon, Izmir: Information received of burning of further villages in the districts of Baidir and Odemish from which fugitives are drifting into the city. For instance, the village of Kizilca was burnt last week apparently to avenge the murder of one gendarme. (95)
- 23.10.1921 -Note from Chicherin, Soviet Foreign Minister, submitted to the British Foreign Office through M. Krassin, the Soviet representative in London; calling attention to Greek atrocities and expressing the view that a protest should be addressed to the Greek government. This was minuted in the British Foreign Office as follows:
"What has Chicherin to do with this? I would return no answer at all. Curzon." (96)
- 6/3/1922 -Despatch from Sir Horace Rumbold to Lord Curzon, Istanbul: The following is an extract from a private letter just received from Sir Harry Lamb and written after an interview with the Greek High Commissioner at Smyrna:
"I have written much the same thing before, but I am anxious there should be no doubt about it. THE GREEKS OUGHT TO REALISE THAT THEY HAVE GOT TO GO BUT THEY ARE

DECIDED TO LEAVE A DESERT BEHIND THEM; NO MATTER WHOSE INTERESTS MAY SUFFER THEREBY. Everything which they have time and means to move will be carried off to Greece; the Turks WILL BE PLUNDERED AND BURNED OUT OF HOUSE AND HOME; the foreigners will be squeezed dry and left to take care of themselves. Hitherto they have always retained a sort of lingering belief that we should come to their assistance and they were therefore inclined to spare British property wherever possible. Today they feel that we too have abandoned them and they are willing to bite us as anyone else."

Sir Harry Lamb spoke to the Greek High Commissioner about the destruction of Turkish villages and the burning of mosques. While he denied knowledge of this, he declared later that such destruction must and would take place; the military would insist on it as unavoidable for the proper protection of the retiring army, and civil authority could not take upon itself the responsibility of imposing a veto based merely on political or humanitarian considerations. Sir Harry Lamb concluded his letter as follows:

"Unless the Allies are prepared to cover the Greek withdrawal, with and adequate force, THE FATE OF ANATOLIA WILL BE SETTLED BY BLOOD AND FIRE ALONE." (98)

6.6.1922 - British Press on Greek atrocities: *Daily Telegraph*: "Greeks in Asia Minor", "Turkish Allegations"; *Westminster Gazette* of 7.6.1922: "The Anatolian War", "Alleged Barbarities by Greeks"; *Manchester Guardian* of 10.6.1922: "Destroyed Villages in Anatolia", "Atrocities by Retreating Greeks", "American Relief Workers' Report." (99) (See document No.27)

25.7.1922 - Letter from M.I. Ispahani, Hon. Secretary of the London Moslem League, to Lord Curzon, London: Transmitting a report by the French architect M. Raymond Aine (in English and French), setting out the damage caused in part of the territory occupied by the Greeks, and estimated value of damage in francs. This was minuted by G.W. Rendel of the British Foreign Office on 27th July as follows:

"Vandalism of the Greeks towards Moslem art is undeniable. I remember once hearing Prince Andrew boast of having paved his quarters at Salonica with Moslem tombstones."

A booklet was attached to the above letter, entitled "Report on the Neo-Hellenic Civilisation in Asia Minor- destruction of mosques, shrines, sepulchres, etc., in Bursa, Ismid." (100)

15.9.1922 - Cypher telegram from the British Commander-in-Chief, Army of Occupation to the War Office, Istanbul British officer sent with the Allied Mission to Broussa to observe the evacuation, has handed in a report which shows the grave demoralisation of and atrocities committed by the Greek troops who were also responsible for firing Greek villages. Their own principal churches were destroyed by the Greeks together with 40 houses. In the British Foreign Office this report was commented on by W.S. Edmonds on 19th September, as follows: "It is hard to believe that Greek troops deliberately destroyed Greek churches and houses." (101)

14.11.1922 - Secret despatch from the Director of British Military Intelligence to the Foreign Office enclosing a "note on Greek and Turkish atrocities subsequent to the burning of Smyrna": the following cases of persecution, murder, incendiarism and looting have been investigated by various inter-Allied missions in Thrace and established as authentic: Burning of Sarlar (on the railway between Muradli and Chorlu); burning of Chakmak, looting and nearly all burnt by villagers from Salufkoy helped by demobilised Greek soldiers. Persecution and murder at and burning of Karish Diren. Murders at Chorlu, Turk Bey, Uzun Kopru; deportations and looting at Mandra. 17 men taken away as hostages. Greeks took away many goods and animals, and raised 15,000 drachmae by threatening to burn the village. Destruction of mosque at Samokoy. Greek soldiers and refugees systematically pillaged Ulaman. On 18th October all men shut in the mosque at Turkmen Chiftlik, beaten and robbed. Same happened at Boztepe. (102)

September 1922 - General devastation of Western Anatolia by the defeated Greek hordes, retreating in post-haste before Mustafa Kemal and the victorious Turkish army.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ANATOLIAN TRAGEDY?

The Anatolian adventure of Greece, which turned into a tragedy for both countries, was first instigated by Eleftheros Venizelos, the Cretan politician, who had visions of Greater Hellas at the expense of the neighbouring states, particularly of the Ottoman Empire. The primary responsibility for the invasion of Izmir by Greek troops must rest squarely on his shoulders, because, as Winston Churchill has revealed, ⁽¹⁰³⁾ Venizelos possessed the means to put into force his vision: that means was the Greek army.

But from this policy of Greek aggrandisement, which was condemned to failure from the very beginning and which ultimately led to the annihilation of millions of innocent, ordinary Turkish, Greek and other people, Venizelos was not the only one responsible. One can very easily lay a great part of the responsibility on the shoulder of the "little Welshman," British Prime Minister Lloyd George, himself frequently accused of having a number of dubious dealings and relationships with certain Greek elements (including certain Greek ladies), such as the Greek magnate Sir Basil Zacharoff and Sir John Stavridi. One has only to glance at the works of eminent writers such as Raglan, Price, Armstrong, Nicolson, Luke, Toynbee, Coppola and others in their respective works ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ in order to see the magnitude of Lloyd George's responsibility for the Anatolian tragedy. He had played a very important part in the landing of Greek troops at Izmir, although some British writers, e.g. Robert Vansittart, claim that he was tricked by Venizelos. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Some historians seem to under-estimate the role of Woodrow Wilson, US President, and of George Clemenceau, the French Premier. Wilson, in a personal letter, had given his blessing to Venizelos to invade Izmir. But Clemenceau was certainly hoodwinked by Venizelos. All these Western leaders did not pay any heed to so many letters, telegrams, despatches and petitions sent by their own nationals living in Anatolia, advising against the cession of Izmir and its hinterland to Greece, simply because the Greeks were not accustomed to ruling subject races. Greece in the words of some of the above-mentioned eminent writers was "a spiteful little nation" which was trying greedily to expand its territory without having the population, the means and the resources necessary for such expansion. The Greek invasion of Anatolia had certainly become the driving force of the Turkish Nationalist Movement under

Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), which reeled back the invading Greek forces to the Aegean Sea within three years, and dealt a heavy blow to the *Megali Idea* of Pan-Hellenism

THE RAPE OF CYPRUS

Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571 until 1878 when Turkey had agreed to let Great Britain administer the island under a special treaty in view of the Russian threat to the Ottoman Empire. When Turkey entered the First World War on the side of Germany, Great Britain annexed the island unilaterally. This annexation was formally recognised by Turkey and Greece at Lausanne in July, 1923, when the outstanding Greco-Turkish disputes were settled.

Today, as ever, the importance of Cyprus to Turkey is beyond any dispute. The island, which is about 45 miles away from the southern shores of Turkey, is in a very sensitive area vis-à-vis Turkey. In hostile hands, it can close all the southern ports of Turkey and together with the rest of the Greek islands in the Aegean, surrounding the Western and South-Western coasts of Turkey, could form a chain round the Turkish mainland. Thus, with Cyprus in hostile hands, Turkey's outlets to the Mediterranean Sea can be effectively sealed off. Hence the annexation of Cyprus to Greece assumes, for Turkey, a strategic and political importance.

As early as 1821 the Greek revolutionaries had sent missionaries to Cyprus to organise the Greek-speaking Cypriots into a national unit; to give them Greek culture and to promote the union of Cyprus with Greece when the time came. Following the annexation of the Peloponnesus, of Macedonia and Crete, the Dodecanese Islands were made a present to Greece after the Second World War. The attempt to extend the Greek boundaries to Izmir and Pontus, however, had failed. But even this calamity did not put an end to the expansionist policy of the Greeks. The turn of Cyprus came in 1955. The EOKA terrorist organisation, the successor of the *Ethniki Etaeria*, began a campaign of terror, murder, arson and massacre in April 1955 with the blessings of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. The head of that church was Makarios who was elected archbishop in May 1950. Makarios took a holy oath that he would fulfil the historic mission of the Church by bringing about the union of Cyprus with Greece during his life-time. He put all the resources of the Church at the disposal of the EOKA terrorist organisation, and authorised the formation of secret armies against the Turks and against his own opponents.

The first stage of the Pan-Hellenic terror in Cyprus

began in 1955 against the British Colonial Administration. This was crowned with some success by the end of 1959 when the Republic of Cyprus was born. The second stage started at the end of 1963, this time directed against the Turkish community, which was almost wiped out had it not been for Turkey's intervention a number of times to forestall the Pan-Hellenic onslaught. The last Turkish intervention was in July, 1974, following the Nicos Sampson coup which had aimed at the complete annihilation of the Turkish community in Cyprus. Thus, the Pan-Hellenist fanatics have, for the second time, burned their fingers in their ruthless drive for the *Megali Idea*.

CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS AND GREEK ATROCITIES IN CYPRUS

- 20.10.1950 -Makarios's oath on his election as the Archbishop of Cyprus: "*I take the holy oath that I shall work for the birth of our national freedom and shall never waiver from our policy of annexing Cyprus to mother Greece.*"
- 1.4.1955 -The terrorist Eoka organisation begins its activities. Between 1955 and 1958 over 400 Greek Cypriots were murdered by this underground organisation for not taking the call for "Enosis" (Union of Cyprus with Greece) as seriously as the Orthodox Church.
- Spring-Summer 1958 -EOKA terrorists forced hundreds of Turks out of mixed villages by armed attacks.
- Early 1961 -The Akritas Plan was conceived by Makarios to dissolve the Republic of Cyprus by pre-determined stages and to annex the island to Greece. It was drawn up in consultation with officers of the Greek army contingent stationed on the island under the Treaty of Guarantee. "Akritas" is the *nom-de-guerre* of the secret commander who was charged with the execution of the plan. That commander was Polycarpos Yorgadjis, the ex-EOKA lieutenant and late Minister of Interior in the Makarios government. The object of the plan was to propagate the idea that the 1960 agreements did not solve the Cyprus question, and that the Constitution was unworkable, and should be amended. The Turks were to be provoked to create incidents and their action would then be presented

as an act of rebellion. They would be crushed within 48 hours. The Cyprus agreements would be abrogated and the United Nations be asked for the application of the principle of self-determination "to the Greek Cypriots only ENOSIS would then materialise by a plebiscite. The Greeks had 10,000 strong underground army ready for action. Lyssarides, Clerides, Yorgadjis, Papadopoulos and Sampson were in charge of "secret armies. The plan was revealed by the Greek paper *Patris* of 21.4.1966.

- 4.9.1962 -In a speech at Panayia, his birth-place, Makarios declared: "*Unless this small Turkish community, forming part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism, is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated.*"
- 5.9.1963 -In a statement to the Stockholm newspaper *Uusi Suomi*, Makarios said: "*It is true that the goal of our struggle is to annex Cyprus to Greece.*"
- 24.12.1963-Greeks began an onslaught on the Turkish community of Cyprus under Akritas Plan. They attacked Turkish homes in Kaimakli, near Nicosia. This was a combined effort of the secret Greek Cypriot armies, the Greek Cypriot police elements and the mainland Greek officers. 103 Turkish villages in all were attacked and devastated, rendering 25,000 Turks homeless within a few weeks. They had to live under tents for many winters (106). Homes, household effects, shops, orchards and farms belonging to these Turks were plundered and destroyed by their Greek neighbours. Losses and damage amounted to hundreds of millions of pounds sterling. Greeks also destroyed schools and mosques. Of 274 mosques, shrines and other places of Muslim worship, 103 were attacked. Damage done to them amounted to about £350,000. Some of these were razed to the ground whilst others were set on fire and severely damaged after they had been stripped of their precious furnishings.
- 24.12.1963-Christmas massacres. Between 21st December and 24th December, armed EOKA bands attacked Turkish homes, villages and hamlets massacring many women, children and old men in cold blood.
- 28.12.1963-Greek atrocities in Cyprus. News report in the *Daily Express*.
- Year 1964 -Greeks launched a massive attack on a Turkish enclave in North-West Cyprus. Erenkoy massacres. Turkish sector

- of Nicosia declared a forbidden zone. Starvation in Cyprus. Turkish refugees flee before the Greek hordes. 24,000 had to abandon their homes (107). Restrictions of free movement of Turks. (108) Greek harassment of Turks in the Greek sector. (109)
- 14.1.1964-From the *Il Giorno*: In Cyprus the terror continues. Right now we are witnessing the exodus of the Turks from their villages. Thousands of people are abandoning homes, lands, herds. *Greek terrorism is relentless. This time the rhetorics of the Hellenes and the busts of Plato do not suffice to cover up their barbaric and ferocious behaviour.* After 4 o'clock this afternoon curfew is imposed on the Turkish villages. Threats, shootings and attempts to arson start as soon as it becomes dark. *After the massacre of Christmas that spared neither women, nor children, it is difficult to put up any resistance.*
- 26.1.1964-Greek atrocities in Cyprus. News report in *Le Figaro*.
- 17.2.1964-*Washington Post*: "Greek Cypriot fanatics appear bent on a policy of genocide."
- 21.8.1964-Makarios's statement to the Greek Cypriot paper *Mahi*: "My ambition is to accomplish union of Cyprus with Greece... I will unite Cyprus integrally with Greece and then the borders of Greece will extend to the shores of North Africa."
- 8.9.1964 -Makarios's statement to the Greek newspaper *Apoyevmatini*: "If I have any ambition, it is to link my name with the union of Cyprus with Greece. The expansion of Greece's boundaries up to the shore of North Africa, through the union of Cyprus- this is my only ambition for the realization of which I shall continue to struggle till death."
- 16.9.1964-*New York Herald Tribune*: "Turkish sector in Nicosia blockaded."
- 7.10.1964-Makarios's statement at a luncheon party in honour of the visiting Greek Minister of Defence: "Greece has become Cyprus and Cyprus is Greece. I firmly believe that the Pan-Hellenic struggle for the union of Cyprus with fatherland Greece will shortly be crowned with success, and its success will serve as the beginning of a new era of Greek grandeur and glory."
- 29.7.1965 -Turkish land grabbed by Greeks on compulsory purchase for military purposes. Turkish MPs prevented from returning to Parliament. (110)
- November 1965-The EOKA terrorists attacked the old-town of Famagusta which was inhabited by Turkish Cypriots.
- November 1966-The EOKA terrorists attacked the Turkish section of Arsos village in the Larnaca district.
- April 1967 -Greeks attacked Mari village.
- November 1967-The EOKA terrorists attacked a number of Turkish villages, especially Ayios Theodoros and Kophinou villages which brought Turkey and Greece to the brink of war.
- June 1968 -An attempt was made to find an agreed solution to the Cyprus problem through direct talks between the two communities. These were to fail after three years of strenuous negotiations, due to the continued agitation of the Greek Cypriot leadership to unite Cyprus with Greece.
- 29.7.1970 -A group of Greek visitors from Rhodes island came to Cyprus. Makarios, in addressing them, said:
"The hearts of Greek Cyprus, of Rhodes and of all the Dodecanese Islands have a common beat. You have achieved your aspirations, but we, beset by difficulties and frustrated by foreign meddlers, are still struggling for ours. But despite all difficulties, Cyprus will march on to Hellenism."
- 19.8.1970 -Makarios's statements to *Eleftheros Kosmos* and *Ta Simerina* of Athens:
"I shall never violate my oath and I shall never deviate from my goal."
- 1970-1974 -Intercommunal talks continue intermittently without any result because of Greek procrastinations.
- 15.7.1974 -*Coup d'etat* by EOKA gangster Nicos Sampson and his Junta supporters against Makarios. Massacre of many pro-Makarios Greeks. Greek victims buried in mass graves, some of them still alive. (111)
- 19.7.1974 -*Evening Standard*: "Eye Witnesses Give Report of Horror": Horrified eye witness reports from Cyprus... dramatic account of events in Famagusta early today when several shiploads of heavily-armed Greek sol-

diers reached the port from the mainland of Greece... Other witnesses said: 'Cyprus has ceased to exist as an independent state, Cyprus flags disappeared and have all been replaced by Greek flags. When we landed in Cyprus late last night we were told clearly 'welcome to Greece' and when we said that this was Cyprus, they replied: 'It is a Greek island now.' One tourist reported that 100 monks were slaughtered at the famous Kykko Monastery, the most important in Cyprus and a Makarios stronghold. There is talk on the island of executions being carried out in large numbers. One eye-witness, who had to call at a police station, now run by the Greek army claims to have seen scores of Greek Cypriot prisoners herded together like pigs; their arms tied behind them and apparently being taken into a courtyard for execution one by one."

23.7.1974 "Greeks shoot many women and children in Limassol. I saw the dead bodies of 20 children in the street, wounded ones were crying. Greek soldiers waited like vultures to enter homes and kill the women." *United Press International.*

24.7.1974 -"I saw with my own eyes the shameful incidents. Greeks burned Turkish mosques and set fire to Turkish homes in villages around Famagusta. Defenceless Turkish villagers, who have no weapons, live in an atmosphere of terror created by Greek marauders... Greeks with their bazookas create total chaos in Turkish villages. Greeks' action is a shame to humanity."

-France Soir-

30.7.1974 -"In Alaminos village near Larnaca, 14 Turks between the ages of 25 and 55 have been killed and buried in the earth by bulldozers... In a Greek raid on a small Turkish village near Limassol, 36 out of 200 killed. Greeks said they had orders to kill the Turks before the Turkish forces arrived."

-Washington Post-

30.7.1974 -Voice of Germany reports an interview with German tourist, Mrs Ingrid Hebil:

"The human mind cannot comprehend the Greeks"

butchery. In villages around Famagusta, the Greek National Guard have displayed unsurpassed examples of savagery. Entering the Turkish homes, they ruthlessly rained bullets on women and children. They cut the throats of many Turks. Rounding up the Turkish women they raped them all."

14.8.1974 -In Murataga, 100 innocent Turks were target of Greek weapons. Among these were also new-born babies, women and elderly people. The Greeks carried out the same butchery in the Sandallar village. The Turks were rounded up, brought to Murataga, massacred, thrown into a ditch opened by a bulldozer, and covered with earth. In Atlilar village the bodies were dismembered, arms, legs, heads were all mixed up.

19.8.1974 -In the small Turkish village of Atlilar 57 innocent Turks have been slaughtered. Only 3 people survived the massacre. One of them, Shepherd Ali Huseyin, had seen and heard everything from his hiding place. The Greek murderers dug a huge ditch and buried the dead there. Then they closed the ditch by bulldozing the earth over it.

3.9.1974 -The Sun: John Akass reports that the Turks of Maratha village were massacred on August the 14th. Most of them were old men, women and children. They were murdered on the day of the second Turkish offensive, by the Greeks from the neighbouring villages who wore no uniforms. "They were digging into a seam of death where the bodies were three feet deep. This is not war at all, this is debasement."

-Greek Cypriot newspaper *Mahi*, writing about what was happening to the Turks during the 1963-67 period, said that this was nothing but "avenging the disaster of Asia Minor," and it was foolish enough to conclude: "After the victory in Cyprus, the Greeks will march on to the Turkish mainland."

-Between 1955-58, Turks lost 100 people dead and 33 villages ruined. Between 1963-67, thousands of Turks were killed and wounded, and 103 villages destroyed.

-For ten years Turkey had been paying the salaries of every single Turk in the Turkish Cypriot administration. Turkish refugees were living

on Turkey's aid and in houses built by Turkey, all because Makarios and Greece thought it wise to strike the Turkish population of Cyprus off their records.

CONCLUSION

After the Turkish victory against the invading Greeks in Anatolia in 1922, Turkey, under the leadership of Kemal (Ataturk), made a great effort to build Turco-Greek friendship; but this was a one-sided effort. The *Megali Idea* was not a mere fantasy which would disappear overnight. Even the friendship created by Ataturk and Venizelos in the 1930's, and the common threat from the North, which brought the two countries together in a military alliance within NATO, did not extinguish this obsession. Nourished by Greek textbooks, fanned by the Orthodox clergy, provoked by the Greek educationalists, the *Megali Idea* has lived and still lingers on in the hearts and minds of many Greeks.

It's a pity that the leaders of the Cyprus Greek Orthodox Church has lost two golden opportunities in bridging the great gap between Greek and Turk, Christian and Muslim, by contributing to the establishment of a strong bridge of cooperation and understanding between not only Greece and Turkey but also between two of the greatest religions on earth. Makarios had two golden opportunities to do so: one in 1960 when the Cyprus Republic was born only to be strangled in December 1963 by himself; and again in 1967, when the Turkish community in Cyprus, with its back to the wall, was prepared to accept a reasonable solution to the intercommunal problems, but again flouted by Makarios, who kept the bilateral communal talks going on for more than seven years, with no positive result.

The independent Republic of Cyprus - which does not exist any more - could have benefitted to the full by being part of Greece and Turkey while keeping its independence and territorial integrity in full. Now it will take a long time and plenty of goodwill and fair play on the part of all parties concerned before Cyprus can come anywhere near normalcy. So many years of bloody struggles which has cost both Turkey and Greece a good many lives and loss in resources should be a lesson to both sides, particularly to Greece, to give up its obsession of seeking to be great in terms of territorial aggrandisement, and to strive, like Turkey is trying

to do, to attain greatness in terms of preserving the human values which all civilised nations cherish, and in promoting good neighbourly relations.

NOTES

1. Arnold J. Toynbee. *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, London, 1923, pp.xi-xii.
2. Winston S. Churchill. *The World Crisis: The Aftermath*, London, 1929, p.368.
3. "Asia Minor and the Dodecanese" in *The Asiatic Review*, V.16, January, 1920, pp.154-155.
4. "Greek Notes" in *The Asiatic Review*, V.XV, January, 1919, pp. 97-98.
5. "The Greco-Turkish Feud Revived" in *Foreign Affairs*, V.37, No.2, January, 1959, p:307.
6. *Nea Hellas*, Athens, 13.11.1918 - "Can Constantinople be an Independent State?"; see also FO/3147/193173, British Minister Lord Granville to Foreign Secretary A.J.Balfour, Athens despatch no.265, 14.11.1918. FO stands for British Foreign Office, London, Political files in the FO 371 series.
7. FO/3147/199026, Lord Granville to A.J. Balfour, Athens despatch No.272, 17.11.1918, enclosing a report on the Greek press.
8. FO/3147/199028, Lord Granville to A.J. Balfour, Athens despatch No. 272, 17.11.1918.
9. *Turkey in Travail*, London, 1925, p.68.
10. Dr Salahi R. Sonyel, *Greco-Armenian Conspiracy Against Turkey Revived*, London, 1975, pp. 3 ff.
11. Prof. Dr. Derviş Manizade, *The Cypriot Question within the context of Greco-Turkish Relations*, University of Istanbul, pp.7-8.
12. See also *Cyprus, Past, Present and Future*, edited by Prof. Suat Bilge, Ankara, pp.68-69.
13. *That Greece Might Still be Free*, Oxford University Press, London, 1972.

14. M. Philip Price. *A History of Turkey from Empire to Republic*, London, 1956, p. 96.
15. Edward Mead Earle. *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway*, New York, 1966, p.280.
16. FO/4166/38918.
17. FO/4180/60671.
18. FO/4165/52429, British acting High Commissioner Admiral Richard Webb to A.J. Balfour, Istanbul despatch, 13.3.1919.
19. FO/4195/50491.
20. FO/4165/52443, British High Commissioner Admiral Calthorpe to A.J. Balfour, Istanbul despatch No.358/1575, 19.3.1919.
21. FO/4165/52429, Admiral Webb to A.J. Balfour, Istanbul despatch No. 1414/344, 13.3.1919.
22. FO/4217/75460.
23. FO/4218/84061.
24. FO/4217/75549.
25. FO/4219/97053, Sir R. Graham to Greek Minister, London letter No. 97053/ME 44, 14.6.1919, including eye-witness accounts by Alfred Van Der Zee, Swedish Consulate, Izmir; H.E.S. Soles; Donald Whittall; George W. Berry of the American YMCA; US Commander R.L. Berry and others.
26. FO/5140/E 1448.
27. FO/4218/85641.
28. FO/4218/88147.
29. FO/4218/85079.
30. FO/4219/97051.
31. FO/4222/146629, Admiral Webb to Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, Istanbul despatch No.1918, 18.11.1919.
32. FO/4223/154189, British High Commissioner to Lord Curzon, cypher telegram, urgent, Istanbul, 19.11.1919.
33. FO/4223/154972.
34. FO/4161/164067, Despatch to the Admiralty, Z 781/6250, dated 23.11.1919.
35. FO/4223/161090.
36. FO/4154/162092.
37. FO/4224/170731.
38. FO/4161/38713.
39. FO/4165/70511.
40. FO/4220/118406.
41. FO/4218/91213, Admiral Calthorpe to Foreign Office, very urgent cypher telegram No.1295, Istanbul, 19.6.1919.
42. FO/4220/112194, Admiral Calthorpe to Lord Curzon, despatch No.1258/M.1913, Istanbul, 22.7.1919.
43. FO/4219/(6969 and 104611, Admiral Calthorpe to Lord Curzon, despatches Nos. 1043/M/1897 and 1151/M/1913, Istanbul, 19.6.1919 and 5.7.1919.
44. FO/5140/E 1448.
45. FO/4221/130729, Admiral Webb to Lord Curzon, despatch No.1630/M/1913, Istanbul, 8.9.1919.
46. *Turkey in Travail*, London, 1925, pp.94-95; see also Sir Harry Luke, *Cities and Men*, V.II, London, 1953, p.58.
47. FO/4220/112206, Admiral Calthorpe to British Consul-General in Izmir, James Morgan, telegram No.88, Istanbul, 4.7.1919 and James Morgan to Admiral Calthorpe, Izmir, 18.7.1919.
48. FO/4219/101446.
49. FO/4221/124447, Admiral Webb to Lord Curzon, despatch No. 1512/M/1913, Istanbul, 24.8.1919.
50. FO/4220/115551, Admiral Calthorpe to Lord Curzon, despatch No.1310/M/1913, Istanbul, 30.7.1919.
51. FO/4219/102096.
52. FO/4233/107198, Admiral Webb to Lord Curzon, despatch no. 1227/M.1913, Istanbul, 16.7.1919.
53. FO/4220/115566.
54. FO/4220/107161.
55. FO/4227/107802.
56. FO/4220/111651.
57. FO/4221/121512.
58. FO/4222/149575.

59. FO/4222/144306.
60. FO/4222/141443.
61. FO/4222/144311.
62. FO/4223/161876.
63. FO/5132/E 626.
64. FO/5133/E 3866.
65. FO/5135/E 12594.
66. FO/6568/E 2993.
67. FO/6551/E 813.
68. FO/6491/E 1301.
69. FO/6507/E 3487.
70. FO/6491/E 3431.
71. FO/6509/E 4442.
72. FO/6491/E 3900.
73. FO/6491/E 4224.
74. FO/6509/E 4340.
75. FO/6492/E 5220.
76. FO/6491/E 3846.
77. FO/6511/E 5375.
78. FO/6523/E 8245.
79. FO/6514/E 6204.
80. FO/6513/E 5848.
81. See also Command 1478, Turkey No.1, 1921, reports on atrocities in the districts of Yalova and Gemlik in the Izmit peninsula, London, 1921, H.M.Stationary Office.
82. Toynbee, op.cit., pp. 259-260.
83. FO/6516/E 6622.
84. FO/6517/E 6703.
85. FO/6519/E 7185.
86. FO/6519/E 7186.
87. FO/6518/E 6959.
88. FO/6526/E 9349.

89. FO/6520/E 7377.
90. FO/6521/E7550.
91. FO/6526/E 9474.
92. FO/6474/E 10078.
93. FO/6529/E 10224.
94. FO/6557/E 10550.
95. FO/6530/E 10923.
96. FO/6534/E 12140.
97. FO/6537/E 13616.
98. FO/7876/E 2591.
99. FO/7879/E 5740.
100. FO/7880/E 7453; see also *Le Monde Illustré* No.3297 of 26.2.1921 for an account of the devastations.
101. FO/7891/E 9649.
102. FO/7858/E 12761.
103. Churchill, op.cit.,p. 365.
104. Raglan , "Government Policy" in *19th Century and After*, V.94, November, 1923, p.686; Price, op.cit.; Armstrong op.cit.; Nicolson: *Curzon's The Last Phase*; Luke, op.cit.; Toynbee, op.cit.
105. *The Mist Procession*, p.217.
106. United Nations Secretary-General U.Thant's report S/8286 of 8.12.1967.
107. Para 126 of U.Thant's report to the Security Council, No. S/8286.
108. Para 35 of Secretary-General's report to the Security Council No. 5/6102.
109. U.Thant's report to the Security Council No. 98446.
110. Report S/6569 to the Security Council.
111. *Vima* newspaper, Athens. See also *Anayennisis* of 24.3.1976.

ADDENDUM

TWO IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS WHICH SHED AMPLE LIGHT ON ON THE DEGREE OF GREEK ATROCITIES IN ANATOLIA

1.3.1922 British Consul-General Sir Harry Lamb's despatch to
Sir Horace Rumbold, Izmir:

With reference to Your Excellency's telegram No.14 of the 26th and to my reply thereto No.13 of the 27th ultimo concerning certain incidents which are alleged to have taken place near Kioshk, I have the honour to report the following particulars which have been gathered from sources which I consider trustworthy.

2. About 11 o'clock on the night of Tuesday the 14th February a mixed detachment said to have been composed partly of soldiers and partly of 'civilian volunteers', entered the hamlet of Kara-Tepe, consisting of some 60 houses, most of the inhabitants of which had fled into the fields, or woods in their approach. The inhabitants were however induced to return and assemble in the Mosque on the understanding that an official communication from the authorities was to be made to them. **THE MOSQUE WAS THEN SET ON FIRE AND MOST OF THE VILLAGERS, MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN, ARE DECLARED TO HAVE PERISHED IN THE FLAMES.**

3. According to Turkish sources of information the same procedure was followed at the neighbouring hamlets of Affedjik (30 houses) and Seke-Yourt (100 houses), which form with Kara-Tepe one village group. It is not however clear, even to my informants, whether there were three separate Mosque incidents or whether the 150 victims, who are reported to have burnt, were all collected in the Mosque of Kara-Tepe. They assert, in any case, that all three hamlets were destroyed..."(See document No.24)

6.3.1922. *The Times*: "Anatolia's Plight", "Allied Control Essential". Letter to the Editor of the Newspaper by the famous historian and war correspondent, Arnold J. Toynbee. He confirms the Kara-Tepe massacres and adds that Turkish villagers in different villages were assembled in the village mosques which were ultimately all burnt. (See document No.25).

These Greek massacres were so horrifying that, on 10th April, 1922. British MP Sir J.D.Rees asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, during Question Time in the House of Commons, whether he had received any report, or whether his attention had been called to any report, that the Turkish village of Kara-Tepe, near Aidin, was on 14th February surrounded by a Greek force, partly in and partly without uniform, who were alleged to have collected the inhabitants, including women and children, in a mosque, upon which they were alleged to have opened fire and to which they were alleged to have set fire, so that on 14 or 15 men and women were alleged to have escaped with their lives out of a population believed to have been not less than 400... (See document No.26).

Printed at Ulus Ofset, 1985

43 Yediler Sokak Lefkoşe

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

Tel. 722959

The Cyprus Turkish Cultural Association

(Head Office)

Halk Sokak No : 17 / 3 Yenisehir - Ankara TURKEY