



Francis

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER, CONSTANTINOPLE

Sir Horace Rumbold, a Diplomat of the Old School, Advocates an Extremely Uncompromising Policy Toward the Turks

it the Pasha's toy?" By the time members had come to blows, Kemal, followed by his faithful friend, Raouf Bey, advanced slowly from a door at the back. He walked forward, to a point from which he could be well seen by the whole Assembly, turned towards the house and, without speaking a word, looked at the members hard. Dead silence followed, and, like naughty children, they all went back to their places. Kemal left the room, still without uttering a word. Rafet never got his vote of thanks. And yet Kemal is weak with those who are advising him. He has been a soldier all his life, a good soldier undoubtedly, but has never had to do with administrative work. He believes in those who are around him, and he too frequently follows their advice against his better judgment.

When Mustapha Kemal arrived in Smyrna, he, like the rest of the Nationalist government, was still dazzled by the brilliance of the victory. Kemal, however, was slightly uneasy, for he realized that an entirely new and unexpected situation was confronting him. He had finished the Greeks much sooner than he expected, and his next goal was the shore of the Sea of Marmora, where, presumably, Allied troops would oppose him. In August, when the offensive against the Greek front began, he had not thought that four weeks later he would have to decide whether to attack the Allies or not. He believed that, though France had signed a treaty with the Angora government in 1921, the French would make common cause with the British. For this reason he remained undecided in Smyrna for several precious days and only under strong pressure of his chief of staff decided to let some of his troops advance slowly toward the Straits.

This, however, was sufficient to alarm the Allies, who had only a small force at their disposal. The British had almost

six thousand men scattered about in Constantinople and the Straits; the French had a small detachment in Gallipoli, some two thousand men in Constantinople and six thousand at Chatalja; the Italians had two battalions. When the Nationalist battalions were reported to be moving westward, the Allies in the Near East were still united, and at Chatalja, as well as in the Straits, the French, British and Italian flags were flying together as a symbol of Allied unity. The high commissioners and generals held meeting after meeting. They were anxious to talk to Kemal and find out what his next step was to be. His doubt and indecision were interpreted by the Allies as proofs of great skill and careful hiding of his plan of future operations.

The Smyrna fire gave an opportunity to General Pellé, the French high commissioner in Constantinople, officially to discuss with him the steps to be taken to help the refugees and unofficially to find out what he wanted. General Pellé comes of a military family; his great-grandfather, his grandfather and his father were generals. He is clever and refined, but not a politician. A few weeks before the Greek disaster the French troops were in a precarious position at Chatalja. Forty-five thousand Greek troops, well-armed and full of enthusiasm, were ready to break the French resistance and occupy Constantinople. Petté appealed to the British. General Harington, commander-in-chief of the Allied forces, and Neville Henderson, acting high commissioner, one of the most brilliant young British diplomats, without awaiting instructions from London, issued a manifesto announcing to the Greeks that, if they dared cross the neutral zone, they would be faced not by French troops alone but by British as well. Furthermore Harington told the Greeks privately that he had given orders to his battalions to open fire on any army trying to cross the neutral zone. The Greeks understood and regretfully withdrew. Pellé did not forget this and wanted to do all he could to help his allies. In a two hours' conversation with Kemal he pointed out to him that, although France rejoiced over his success, it would not be wise for him to provoke a conflict with the Allies by a too hasty action. He advised him to wait until a conference could meet and suggested that then, with the assistance of France, he would be able to realize all the acceptable points of the National Pact. Mustapha Kemal seemed impressed by Pellé's friendly, but firm, attitude. He said that the Turkish nation, which had suffered so many hardships for the past three years, must have the National Pact fully realized. Smyrna had been reoccupied by the Turkish army; therefore the Allies had nothing more to say. Thrace as far as the Bulgarian frontier had to be restored to Turkey, and at once. The economic questions were what they were willing to discuss at a peace conference. "In order to obtain Thrace, I shall fight anybody I have to," said Kemal in a decided tone, and then added dolefully, as if realizing the difficulties of his task: "It cannot be helped. If I don't do it, somebody else will take my place, and it will be worse for every one."

At this stage, while his troops were still moving toward the Straits, the important factor that decided Kemal to force and even to fight the Allies, if necessary, arrived in the person of Henri Franklin-Bouillon, representative of the French government. M. Franklin-Bouillon had already been in Turkey and had succeeded in concluding with the Nationalist government a treaty by which France renounced all political prestige she still enjoyed in the East for some illusory economic advantages. Franklin-Bouillon arrived at Smyrna greatly delighted by the Turkish victory. He came with an open mind, willing to believe and accept as unquestionable truth everything Kemal and his friends would tell him. He was bursting with enthusiasm when Kemal met him on the pier, and, after almost a year's separation, unable to restrain his joy and admiration for the Nationalist leader, he kissed

CHANCE AND THE CARDS IN NEAR EASTERN DIPLOMACY

By CONSTANTINE BROWN

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WHEN I told my British friends that one of Mustapha Kemal's officers saw me off in Smyrna in September with the words, "*Alors, à bientôt à Constantinople,*" they did not laugh; neither did they label it, as they would have done a few months before, "a clumsy Turkish bluff". They frowned and looked worried. "After all," they said, "he can get here if he wants to pay the price."

The Greek and Armenian inhabitants of Constantinople felt the same; but they knew, perhaps from experience, that whatever the price the Turks would have to pay, it was they, the "minorities", who ultimately would have to foot the bill, and with interest.

Though the Allied authorities tried at first to conceal the fact of the Turkish concentration against Constantinople and the Straits, news travels fast in the East, and, in spite of the tranquilizing Allied *communiqués*, or possibly because of them, people became panic-stricken. The blue-and-white Greek flag, so much in evidence during the time that Greek troops had approached and proposed to occupy Constantinople, gradually disappeared from the Grande rue de Pera. For a few days the shops, which since 1914 had been adorned at various times with German, Austrian, Bulgarian, British, French, Italian or Greek flags, remained bare of these ornaments. Then, shyly, here and there, the red square with the white crescent appeared in the windows where the white flag with the blue cross had held the place of honor for three years. But the Turkish press wrote: "It is useless for you, who have welcomed the enemy of our race, to adorn your windows with our sacred flag. This will not help you; for traitors will have to pay the price of their treachery." The next day big posters were seen in many of the shops in Pera, announcing "greatly reduced prices, owing to owner's departure". The shipping agencies were besieged by frantic men and women offering high premiums for a berth on a boat bound for any part of the world outside Turkish ports, while bribes as high as \$200 were paid to obtain a visé quickly for anywhere West.

The complete victory of the Turks over the Greeks in Asia Minor was, I believe, just as much of a surprise to the Turks as to the onlooking nations. The Greek army simply "downed tools". Entire divisions fled when small Turkish cavalry divisions were reported miles away. Though there were about ten thousand Greek troops in Smyrna and its environs, five hundred Turkish cavalrymen occupied the city without firing a shot. The infantry, some ten thousand men, followed only two days later. In many cases the Greek soldiers preferred to be slaughtered rather than to fight.

Three days after the occupation of Smyrna and four days before its destruction by fire, Kemal and his staff arrived.

Mustapha Kemal, "the Pasha", as the Turks call him, is a modest man. He is honest and sincere, and, unlike his fellow-countrymen, he is a realist, not a dreamer. He knows that the history of his country is a history of base intrigues against successful leaders, and, since he has tasted the nectar of power, he knows also that he will have to make many



PASSPORTS BEING EXAMINED BY THE BRITISH AT CHANAK

In September, Turkish Guards Were Seen Everywhere Near This Advanced British Post in the Neutral Zone, Held by Royal Marines and Royal Sussex and Royal Navy Men

compromises, which, as an honest man, he abhors, and to fight to keep the place which his will and circumstances have given him. He handles masses well, but is powerless against individuals. It is almost two years ago that the first rebellion against the Pasha occurred in the National Assembly. The cause of the disturbance was trivial, in itself, but it involved the desire of the Assembly to prove to their leader that he was not all-powerful. The Assembly wished to give a vote of thanks to Rafet Pasha, who had just resigned his position as commissioner for the interior. This vote of thanks from Parliament brought with it a promotion for Rafet, who was already a lieutenant-general, which would have conferred on him the rank of field-marshal. This did not suit Kemal, and when members moved that "The thanks of the nation should be given to Rafet Pasha for his exceptional services", the chairman said, "The Pasha does not think such a vote necessary." A typical oriental scene ensued. Three hundred members talked and shouted all at once: "Shame!" "Cowards!" "Is this Assembly representing the people or is