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# THE NEWS ABOUT THE POPULATION EXCHANGE ACCORDING TO THE ENGLISH PUBLIC

Ömer Oğuzhan DOSTİ\*

## Abstract

After the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the first World War, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk led the war of independence and the new Turkish state which passed from the reign of Sultanate to the Republic faced a major problem in the Treaty of Lausanne with the Entente States. This problem was the "Population Exchange" which dated on January 30, 1923. A new debate has begun with The "Prisoner and population exchange" agreement signed by the Turkish and Greek sides on this date, and the public opinion of the other foreign states, especially for the United States, it has been examined day by day. Many reports were shared in the world press, claiming that the exchange decision was a violation of human rights and criticisms.

The main theme that we will take into consideration in this study will be the opinions and news that are discussed in the UK public opinion on exchange in the English press. The main sources of inquiry are the Guardian, The Observer, Daily Herald, Leeds Mercury, Northern Whig, Sheffield Daily Telegraph, etc. And the main aim of our study is to show what reactions the British public had in the days of Lausanne, when the exchange rate and the decision to exchange rate emerged.

**Keywords:** English Public, Population Exchange, The Treaty Of Lousanne, Governments of Turks and Greece

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\* Dokuz Eylül University, The Institute Of Principals and Revolutional History Of Atatürk, PHD Student, devilkin123@gmail.com, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-6903-3279.

## İNGİLİZ BASININDA MÜBADELEYE DAİR GÖRÜŞLER VE KAMUOYUNDA YANSIMALARI

### Öz

Kuruluşundan itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu çok uluslu bir devlet olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çok uluslu yapının Osmanlı Devleti'ne birçok katkısı olurken, Balkanların fethiyle birlikte, bu fetihlerin olumsuz sonuçları Fransız Devrimi'nden sonra ortaya çıkan azınlık isyanları olarak kendini göstermiştir. Bu çok uluslu azınlıklar, 30 Ocak 1923'te Lousanne Antlaşması'nda tarihlenen bir "nüfus değişimi" gibi büyük sorunlara neden olmuştur. Bağımsızlık Savaşı'ndan bu yana, Türk ve Yunan taraflarının bu tarihte imzaladığı "mahkûm ve nüfus değişimi" Anlaşması ile yeni bir tartışma başlamış ve diğer yabancı devletlerin, özellikle de İngiliz kamuoyu her geçen gün bu konu hakkında incelemelerde bulunulmuştur. Dünya basınında ise, değişim kararının insan hakları ihlali olduğunu iddia eden birçok rapor paylaşılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada dikkate alacağımız ana tema, İngiltere kamuoyunda İngiliz basınında nüfus değişimi konusunda tartışılan görüş ve haberler olacaktır. Yararlandığımız ana kaynaklarda Guardian, Observer, Daily Herald, Leeds Mercury, Northern Whig, Sheffield Daily Telegraph vb. gazeteler yer almıştır. Çalışmamızın temel amacı, İngiliz halkının Lozan döneminde, mübadele ve mübadeleye dair kararlara karşı İngiliz kamuoyundaki tepkileri ölçmektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İngiliz Kamuoyu, Nüfus Mübadelesi, Lozan Antlaşması, Türk ve Yunan Hükümetleri

### Introduction

On 30 January 1923, one of the main issues discussed during the Lausanne Treaty was the exchange conflict between the Turkish and Greek sides. The two sides, under the name of "prisoner and population exchange", have announced the exchange for groups outside the borders after the treaty under the leadership of other Allied powers such as the United States and Britain and France, and have consistently expressed criticism in the press about the fact that exchange of exchange is a violation of human rights.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, the exchange problem was not an issue that emerged for the first time in the Lausanne Treaty. This issue was realized after the "Istanbul treaty" which has been signed between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria on September 29, 1913. According to the Treaty, 48,750 Muslims and

<sup>1</sup> Bruce Clark, "İki Kere Yabancı, Kitlesele İnsan İhracı Modern Türkiye'yi ve Yunanistan'ı Nasıl Biçimlendirdi?", İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay. , İstanbul, 2008, p.61

46,764 Bulgarians from Eastern Thrace were displaced by an act planned on Edirne.<sup>2</sup>

Our main sources were the British press, and in particular, in the interpretation of the exchange, based on the emergence of this problem, the newspaper "The Guardian" shared a lot of content through special correspondents on the Lausanne Treaty. First of all, this content manifests itself in the copy dated February 1, 1923. The Guardian stated that the parties, sub-committees had reached the end of their work for 10 weeks, that within 3 days they had presented a text of the peace treaty to the members of the conference and that this text consisting of 160 articles had been taken a step towards a preferred solution.<sup>3</sup>

In the news, Lord Curzon announced to the public with the headline of "Mosul and minorities", that they have produced solutions for Thrace problems for Turkey and Greece, and that they have created a region in military regions for Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey far from war, and that they have been examined by the commission formed by the minority problems itself., He stressed that the Turkish delegation had been advised to be more generous in the content presented by the allies and that the problem of population change should be solved within 8 reciprocity clauses in the terms given to the Turks in terms of religion and military duty.<sup>4</sup>

As a matter of fact, Ismet Pasha could not estimate the statements of Curzon, "*Ismet Pasha in the articles of the treaty in terms of the end of the theoretical hostility to both parties in* " as he predicted that the exchange and additional statements on minorities were also included in the newspapers.

When the general progress of the exchange negotiations before the start of the negotiations, both Turkish and Greek governments reached an agreement was not possible in the world and British public opinion, which led to the fact that the British followed a disruptive approach to Ankara as "accept or go" and the exchange negotiations also faced some difficult obstacles.<sup>5</sup>

On 3 January 1923, in another title, The Guardian newspaper declared that a few steps could be taken in the title of "patriarchalism in Istanbul" despite the speeches made by Lord Curzon in Turkish and Greek relations, and that the Sub-Commission on population exchange in the title of the next "unjustified declarations of the Greek side" had begun talks on the same It has been observed that "the British have stated that the Ecumenical patriarchism will never be

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<sup>2</sup> Kemal Arı, "*Büyük Mübadele Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*", 6.Baskı, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay. , İstanbul, 2012, p.15

<sup>3</sup> The Guardian, February 1, 1923, p.8

<sup>4</sup> A.g.g, s.9

<sup>5</sup> Salahi R.Sonyel, "*Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı ve Dış Politika II*", Second Edition, Publishing Of The Turkish History Association. , Angora, 1991, p.315

removed from Istanbul in any way", "the spiritual rights and trials which are included in the Greek side's requests still bear an uncompromising character", and "the demands of Reza Nur Bey regarding the patriarchalism and population change are not acceptable".<sup>6</sup>

In addition, the British origin has also been shown in this paper that "the insistence of the Greeks is very difficult to defend and that the patriarchal and Exchange conditions in Istanbul are still risky and challenging for both sides." The Turkish side's defence against Greek demands in these articles has also been another striking attempt.<sup>7</sup>

On January 11, The Guardian newspaper, which tried to convey the demands and talks of Turkish and Greek sides to its readers as much as possible, started taking as good or bad steps as possible in case of Change, titled "The Patriarchate who will stay in Istanbul".<sup>8</sup>

As a matter of fact, The Guardian stated that the Greek Cypriot side would be subject to a compulsory migration, other than Western Thrace, about the status of The Foreign Exchange in Istanbul and around the Istanbul, and that the Turkish Cypriot side living under Greek rule would be subject to a periodical crime, and The Guardian described it as a crime of history.<sup>9</sup>

During the population exchange, it was observed that the delegates worked for a long time and that during the extension of the exchange process, the uncompromising attitudes of the Turks were tried to be brought forward in public. Lord Curzon's portrayal of a politician who tried to hold the issue seriously and who tried to agree with the Ankara government under the guise of a serious politician during these disagreements has consistently shown himself in the content of the English press. Tamworth Herald, another newspaper, has consistently shared that the Turks have pursued an acceptable stance against the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul, but have suggested a number of items that include restrictions on their political and religious activities.<sup>10</sup>

In the headline given on January 13, " next week can be presented to Turks." it has been stated that the Turkish and Greek sides must supervise the changes that will begin in May with an international Control Commission meeting in the afternoon, and that the Greek men who live in small groups in

<sup>6</sup> Seydi Vakkas Toprak, "1.Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Nüfus Mübadelesi Kapsamında Türkiye'ye göçenlere karşı Yunanistan'ın tutumunun İstanbul'a Yansıması", Journal Of The Turkish Researches, c.25, Issue.1, 2015, p.253

<sup>7</sup> The Guardian, January 3, 1923, p.6

<sup>8</sup> Onur Yıldırım, "Türk-Yunan Mübadelesi'nin Öteki Yüzü: Diplomasi Ve Göç", Publishing Of The Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul, 2016, p.76

<sup>9</sup> The Guardian, January 11, 1923, p.8

<sup>10</sup> Tamworth Herald, January 13, 1923, p.4

Anatolia and who are old enough to go to the military can return as soon as the peace treaty is signed. “

It was also noted that the allies offered to the Turkish side many proposals for a solution on this issue, and that the British delegation was not sure if there were any ingredients that Turks could accept in other content, such as capitulation. The fact that the Allies wanted to reach a solution with the Turks was one of the information that was wanted to be conveyed to the public in the newspaper. The statement by The Guardian on the exchange issue, especially on the situation of Greece on January 15, has also been one of the most striking points. “*If Britain had to give 10 million people food, shelter, clothes and jobs at a time, their resources would have been reduced.*” The newspaper pointed out that he made an entrance in the form of and for Greece he made statements about the exchange as follows:

*“Greece is always a poor country, and because of military disasters, it has become a part of the ruins. This state, which is prepared to confront 44 million native and 1 million refugees, has workers who are forced to run by Turks in Anatolia, and many of them are strong men and women. During the refugee camp visits, you are constantly watching old men, women and young children. All of them belong to the communities that migrated from Anatolia. Thanks to external foundations and Red Cross aid, the situation of refugees is getting better.”<sup>11</sup>*

One of the points taken into consideration in the Turkish-Greek population exchange in the British public opinion is that Lord Curzon has a determined politician who wants to get quick results in the near future. Before going to Paris, Bompard agreed to speed up the conference with Curzon's request, thus ensuring that the Near East will be secured for both states in the future.

As it can be understood from this explanation, The Guardian states that Greece would be under great difficulties in exchange and that the state could solve even the needs of Greek citizens with external assistance, and that Greece's economic situation would be exchanged. can't handle that reveals. The general view in the British public opinion is that both governments can not afford the exchange.<sup>12</sup>

Considering the general public opinion, the Turkish side is still exposed to foreign foreign and domestic intrigues in the future, even though it is in administrative difficulties, and despite a large number of difficult situations such as population and loss of capital, it is not doubted by the allies. <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The Guardian, January 15, 1923, p.14

<sup>12</sup> Taner Baytok, “İngiliz Belgeleriyle Sevr'den Lozan'a Düünden Bugün'e Değişen Ne Var?”, Doğan Bookstore, Istanbul, 2007, p.241-242

<sup>13</sup> The Observer, January 14, 1923, p.13

One of the points noted in the newspaper's January 17 issue was one of the information shared under the "foreign" headline. The Guardian briefly mentioned the exchange in the British public opinion through the reporters in Lausanne, and it was stated that the negotiations on the problem of population exchange had been successful at the commission meeting one day before the date mentioned and that the prisoner exchange had begun.<sup>14</sup>

In the Treaty of Lausanne, especially the lack of financial experts perceived as a major deficiency and this situation led to an extension of the negotiations almost a week, the newspaper, the single committee created on the basis of a conclusion on the exchange of population outside the economy, however, the issue of the exchange of the allies in all the All conversation. The expected results as soon as possible transfers that can be reached from the discussions in this paper, the major exchange during the negotiations of objections could appear naturally, a million people moving from Anatolia and Macedonia, this forced the Allied forces of inevitable change on migration is still this estimate of the consequences of this great state in the very near future reported that they couldn't be revealed.

As a matter of fact, the newspaper, who wants to reach a conclusion from these statements, has stated that in the future, the league of nations will consider the protection and supervision of these communities in the new minority problems and new conditions. The British press said that the Turkish and Greek sides had the same rights in Lausanne and that they had signed the exchange agreement, which included the same conditions as the allies.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from The Guardian, another series of publications related to the content of the subject has been seen in the newspaper "*The Observer*". The newspaper described the Turkish diplomacy's attitude at the peace conference under the headline "Political Notes" as "undisclosed debaters who are in an intelligent approach, who follow attitudes close to the chain of solutions, who are passionate about peace, who have withdrawn their eyes from the imagination, and who conveyed that the Turkish and Greek sides ' ' unprecedented efforts "to resolve the exchange dispute.

Following The Observer, the Northern Whig Press's statements on Lausanne on January 17 were a point of attention and the Northern Whig, who entered with the headline "a quick result is required", explained that the lower commission on the prisoner and the population exchange, which has long been able to accept the exchange of Turkish citizens as a result of their attempts. The Turkish side wants to sign this Agreement at once, but the allies have taken a

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<sup>14</sup> The Guardian, January 17, 1923, p.6

<sup>15</sup> The Guardian, January 20, 1923, p.10

denial attitude with the idea that it would be more accurate to sign the Turkish civil population when the end of the Turkish population is complete.

The newspaper said that the Turks accepted four of these six articles, and that two of them were not acceptable by the Ankara government. In the same way, the impression that the Turkish side has prolonged the negotiations has been one of the most prominent content in the British public opinion.<sup>16</sup>

On 23 January, Northern Whig, which continued its publication, gave an impression that the Turkish Cypriot side had prolonged exchange talks and underlined that the commission on population exchange of the Greek and Turkish governments has not yet completed exchange transactions during this settlement period, and in addition, it will open a new session on 24 January due to the disagreement. In this regard, the two sides also tried to act in accordance with the criteria set by the Allies during the arrangement process, and they have yet to agree on the property of the exchange.<sup>17</sup>

In general, the perception of an uncompromising Turkish government continued. As a matter of fact, the number of January 30 has been in the public opinion as a continuation of this perception. On the last day of the Lausanne conference, the newspaper, which started to write with its headline, shared that the Turkish and Greek sides were discussing the conditions under which the prisoners and immigrants would be returned, and declared that the Ismet Pasha, Venizelos, caclamano and Rıza Nur Bey had started to take steps in the peace phase by signing three documents. It was noted that the third of these signed documents was specifically mentioned, which is about men who have already left the borders of the country and whose families have already left the borders of Turkey and Greece. It was also observed that the Red Cross Society was involved in any threat to exchange between the two governments that are going to begin exchange operations with the people mentioned as of 1 May.<sup>18</sup>

It has been seen that the exchange owner cannot fully assess all the rights of the Turkish, Greek and League of Nations for exchange customers and that the governments are trying to ensure that the allies are providing sufficient compensation for these groups, and that the rhetoric of this social transformation process is a burden on the shoulders of all three sides.

In addition to these statements, The Guardian, who started his remarks with the introduction of "Lausanne decision week" when the information shared in public opinion was taken into consideration, has shown that the population found in Greece after 1920 in the issue of exchange, which is a difficult problem, is very guiding for the solution of the problem.

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<sup>16</sup> Northern Whig, January 17, 1923, p.6

<sup>17</sup> Northern Whig, January 23, 1923, p.10

<sup>18</sup> Northern Whig, January 31, 1923, p.5

This press organ mentioned that the Turkish population in Central Macedonia was about 80.000, and reported that there were 264.000 Muslim population, including 72.000 in western Macedonia and Thracia and 112.000 in Struma and around, and that the remaining 30,000 Muslims in Greece were added to the future of 1.300.000 Greek correspondents from Turkey. For this reason, it was stated that Greece could renounce the necessity of change and it was shared that these exchanges could return to their homes in Anatolia.<sup>19</sup>

Exchange of exchange began with the above mentioned steps and there were reports in the British press that some 90,000 settlers had arrived in Thrace. The Ministry of Interior, Fethi Bey, drew attention to the fact that he made a number of consultations with the Ankara government regarding the exchange to be implemented and the Commissions of the Ministry discussed the matter on 30 January 1923.

The decision of the exchange was taken to leave the theatre, Kavala and Macedonia. It was noted that the exchange of foreign exchange from these regions had been seen to settle in the vicinity of Samsun and Izmir regions and that Adana, which was designed as the first settlement area of the immigrants from Macedonia, had been removed from the exchange area.<sup>20</sup> In addition to this shared information, when a small anecdote was shared information about the exchange issue in the British government, one of the news that drew attention was conveyed to the reader with the headline "*Turkish-Greek Exchange*". On October 13, according to this news, as of today, about 400,000 Muslims have been released by ships, Mithylene, Kios, Thessaloniki and Crete, and Exchange will be in their homes before the winter season. Almost half a million Muslims in Greece will be sent back to their country by setting the best conditions in the British public opinion of the Guardian the government has given the impression of a good looking Muslims.<sup>21</sup>

President of the American Near East Committee under observer status of Turkish-Greek exchange operations, which started systematically after October, A process of exchange began with the support of Jaquith, accompanied by thousands of Muslims from Midilli to Ayvalik. In the public opinion, the Turkish authorities are actively engaged in exchange operations, and some information is shared in English publications, such as welcomed by the Turks by the migrants who have been on the ground. In particular, the interesting point is that in British observations, the Turkish counterparts have achieved a great success in bringing all of their movable belongings to Anatolia during this migration.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The Guardian, January 22, 1923, p.9

<sup>20</sup> The Guardian, September 8, 1923, p.8

<sup>21</sup> The Guardian, October 13, 1923, p.12

<sup>22</sup> The Guardian, October 16, 1923, p.8



500 houses were opened to Turkish exchange customers from Ayvalık and around, and 1,800 people were placed daily for up to 8,000 immigrants from Midilli. it was noted that he opened. At the same time, the Turks completed these exchange stages, while in Samsun there were about 1,000 Greek exchange ships waiting for them.

Another important point in the UK is the negotiations between Admiral Bristol and Adnan Bey from the United States, was the citizens during the war between two states. The fact that the British government caught the public attention to this issue between the Turkish government and Continental America during these negotiations was one of the critical points in the research. By November 22nd, a number of Delegates from the Turkish and Greek governments visited Istanbul, Angora and Athens. The British headlines, especially mentioning this news, talked about the fact that there was still a negative atmosphere in Ankara during the change process, and the Greek government representatives Politis reported to Adnan Bey, one of the representatives of the Turkish government, that he could not come to Ankara without sufficient documents and documents, and that Nebil Bey, another Turkish member, would go to Athens from Angora.<sup>23</sup>

As it can be understood from these statements, although the stages of change have started to be applied between the two governments, a provision has come to mind that the peace atmosphere has not yet emerged in full sense. As a matter of fact, the presence of the headlines that convey this provision on November 24 has shown itself. According to the British public opinion that the environment of peace in the Near East is far away, the Turks claimed that the Greeks acted against the law of change and some information was shared as they took it to the league of Nations.<sup>24</sup>

The issue of the British content is that the Turkish government is trying to draw attention to the fact that all the exchange Muslims have confiscated their property and that this foreclosure process has not been reached in Turkey yet. In addition to these statements, the Greek government began to place its citizens in thousands of Turkish houses, while the Muslims in Thessaloniki and its environs began to wait for their return to their homes.<sup>25</sup>

When the dates showed on November 9, 1923, Greek Foreign Correspondents started to emerge from Anatolia and it was seen that the news on this subject was shared. The Guardian reported that approximately 7.545

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<sup>23</sup> The Guardian, November 22, 1923, p.8

<sup>24</sup> The Guardian, November 23, 1923, p.10

<sup>25</sup> A.g.g, s.10

Greek refugees were departing from Samsun and Trabzon with two steamships in their headlines titled "migrants from Anatolia to Greece".<sup>26</sup>

Considering the British public opinion on this issue, it was mentioned that the US Near East observation committee will help the refugees in a number of issues such as bread and water aid, and that the Turks organized settlements for the refugees who came together with the United States commissions.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to this information 1,500 Greek soldiers still expect to leave Samsun in very bad conditions, the British people were shared information. In this regard, Greek and Turkish the exchange phase of the commissions carried out together is a government criticism for the refugees waiting in Turkey in the UK.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to the information transmitted in the UK public opinion, his general opinion on the Lausanne Treaty and subsequent exchange practices is that the Venizelos government faces many difficulties in July. Before the exchange in Greece, there was a three-time rebellion against the administration during the treaty process, and the beginning of these revolts was evident before the struggle with the Turks. In the British newspapers, especially when attention was paid to the Venizelos government and the monarchy against the comments that the government survived this issue thanks to the prime minister, the exchange period, Greece had a negative impression on diplomacy has caused.

As a matter of fact, after the signing of Lausanne, these negative internal developments were seen as the reason for the Greek government to experience some negativity with the Turks. Greece was divided into two camps in this historic treaty; the British separated these camps as "Kings" and "Republicans".<sup>29</sup>

In this letter, Miller stated that he expects that the work he has done for the exchange will be sufficient at the basic level, and even that he has chosen the commission representative for the collection of loans for refugees. Morgenthau reported that he was on the move. Unfortunately, this breakthrough of Morgenthau, which hastened the work of the Bank of England, also underlined that the other world States were not sure about lending because of the Greek government's inability to draw a stable path, and therefore the credit collection process has not yet reached a larger level.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The Guardian, November 9, 1923, p. 10

<sup>27</sup> Sevtap Demirci, "Belgelerle Lozan, Taktik-Strateji-Diplomatik Mücadele 1922-1923" , Translation by Mehmet Morali, 2.Publishing, Alfa Edition. , İstanbul, 2013, s.128.

<sup>28</sup> A.g.g, s.10

<sup>29</sup> The Observer, November 25, 1923, p.13

<sup>30</sup> A.g.g, s.14

In his letter to Miller, who expressed his critical point of view of the Greek government, some statements were made for Turkish families. There was a semi-political crisis in population change, the British did not assume any responsibility for the Turks who left Greece, and the Ankara government had to bear this responsibility, so some discourses were shared so that they could not accept the exchange. He also stated that the Turkish government could not send fast enough ships for 35,000 refugees in Macedonia and neighboring camps, and that Muslim families should remain in their seats because of the fact that Thessaloniki has a large population of refugees.<sup>31</sup>

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In the British public opinion that the population Exchange Agreement and Lausanne conference should be convened and decided quickly, Lord Curzon's statements and statements have been made stating that in the near future they will try to reach a common point about the change of the population with the Turks. The Turkish government accepted the protocol of population exchange with the Greeks after a long period of time, according to the English public statements. According to the principles determined by the allies, the exchange of civilian and prisoners of war will be carried out. A soldier and an officer exchange on prisoner exchange was agreed between the two governments.<sup>33</sup>

The French government was very pleased with the principles of the agreement on Turkey. In terms of economic agreements, he drew attention to the research in which the Ankara government adopts more optimistic approaches against France. While these statements were made about France, the number of Turks in Central Macedonia was shared in the public opinion, and after 1920, it was stated that the Turks fell to 80.000 in the Greek census. If the Turks continue to live their lives settled around the Mesta and Struma rivers, the future of the population change is between 300,000 Muslims and 1.300.000

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<sup>31</sup> A.g.g, s.14

<sup>32</sup> A.g.g, s. 14

<sup>33</sup> Sheffield Daily Telegraph, January 17, 1923, p.7

Greeks, while the future of the population is among the shared information in the UK public opinion.<sup>34</sup>

In another publication, Freeman's Journal, it was seen that he made a statement about the exchange on 23 January. "*Still No Progress Has Been Made.*" the Freeman's Journal, which has published its headline, has stated that "*the difficulties in Lausanne continue until the end of negotiations*", "*the Sub-Commission on Population change is still unable to find a solution according to Rueter's transmissions*".<sup>35</sup>

The Freeman's Journal, which shared the information provided by the Press Association during a meeting with a person in the Turkish delegation, reported that the Turkish side could not understand why it was still in Lausanne for more than a few days, that there could still be difficulties with the issue of Mosul, and that the exchange telegraphs between Ankara and Athens.

As a matter of fact, according to the so-called Athens reports, 'Kemalists' in Izmit St. It was observed that during the conference he had made an attack on Basile church with dynamite, as well as following a movement that wanted to play in favor of the allies. During this conference, the Greek government followed a political line leading to the dispute over the exchange and capitulation issues.

The Guardian also mentioned that the Turks followed a very stubborn attitude during the Lausanne Treaty, and even though Curzon talked about the issue of Mosul, the Turks, who entered into a good agreement with the Greeks, still did not enter into a sign of remorse, and despite Ismet Pasha, who approached Curzon's suggestions moderately, informed that Riza Nur Bey was still abstained. In another text, it was seen that the Turkish and Greek committees would convene a special congress and declare that they would sign a treaty in a short period of time.

The rupture of the negotiations, the status quo in Congress bartpe collected completely advantageous for the Turkish side to transfer the Guardian, the negotiations in the aftermath of this exchange, the Greek-Turkish dispute, a development that could lead to a solution, he also emphasizes that it wouldn't be.<sup>36</sup>

The Northern wig newspaper, which again noted the issue on 25 June, reported that the Turkish side had entered into an agreement with the Turks regarding the exchange in these transfers with the headline of "*treaty in*

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<sup>34</sup> Aberdeen Press journal, January 22, 1923, p.7

<sup>35</sup> The Freeman's Journal, January 23, 1923, p.5

<sup>36</sup> The Guardian, January 25, 1923, p.5

*Lausanne*”, and declared that the Ankara government did not follow any more insistence on expulsion from Turkey.<sup>37</sup>

In response to this statement made by the British newspaper, he did not forget that he had made some comments in the Greek government, and he conveyed that the Greek delegation had created a balancing policy within its own sides about the change of the Turkish groups remaining from the Ottoman Empire. With this change policy, which the Greeks have explained in terms of balancing the population, it is obvious that the Turkish side understands it and in addition, it is reflected in this press, and the Northern Wigg has been trying to resolve the political social incompatibility with the fact that the Greek government has developed a solution-oriented attitude.<sup>38</sup>

There are also great concerns about the fact that the 300,000 Greeks in and around Istanbul and around the minorities did not change within the exchange rate decision, that the Ecumenical Patriarchate could remain in Istanbul, but that their rights, such as political and advisory functions, would be left to the Turkish government.<sup>39</sup>

A letter to the Manchester Guardian's editorial has been received from the British public. In a letter written by a person named “Gerald Miller”, who is in charge of the British imperial Ministry of war, the Lausanne Treaty and the exchange process were mentioned, Miller long as they were quoted in the article, Greek politics in the newspapers in a period of more exciting continues, political developments and the main reasons behind the British workers in Greece in As a matter of fact, Gerald Miller, who did not remain with these statements, entered the criticisms section and continued his collaborationist attitude during the Greek government's Lausanne period, both in Athens and in other local areas, in a continuous hesitation.<sup>40</sup>

Apart from this letter, it has been seen that the British reflected their concerns about the Mediterranean and islands in certain times, taking into account the working groups working in Greece. Indeed, on January 31, this concern manifested itself through minorities. In the exchange decisions of the Turkish government, it was shared that it would respect the rights of the settled people and that it would in no way protect all their lives regardless of race, religion or language, and it was noted that the British had some expectations that Muslims and non-Muslims should be kept equal. As an example, the British exchange of minorities with the Turkish government in particular on education after that, the British government shared some unfounded concerns about the

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<sup>37</sup> Abilene Daily News, January 25, 1923 p.5

<sup>38</sup> Northern Whig, January 25 1923, p.2

<sup>39</sup> The Guardian, January 31, 1923, p.8

<sup>40</sup> The Guardian, January 31, 1923, p.14

fact that the Turkish government had made Turkish education compulsory in every field.<sup>41</sup>

During the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, Lord Curzon, one of the British representatives, insisted that the Patriarchate remain in Istanbul, and if the Turkish government was deprived of all its rights, he did not mind staying in the Greek church. Speaking at the commission on this issue, Lord Curzon underlined that the patriarchal, who lost its political power around the world, would now assume a spiritual role and conveyed that a complete solution could be reached in this sense.<sup>42</sup>

While the allied states constantly repeated their propaganda of “Al or go” against the Turks in the early days of the Lausanne Treaty, they also underlined that if the Turkish delegation asked for a longer explanation of the exchange after the Treaty, an official official would be expected to make a presentation on the treaty clauses. According to the British, apart from the treaty texts, some problems remained unsolved. As a matter of fact, in addition to exchange, one of them will face both Britain and the Ankara government in later times. In the same way, the Greek soldiers who would come out of the Anatolian borders and Ankara was one of the biggest problems of the government.<sup>43</sup>

In the process of exchange, some British newspapers stated that the Turks had given up their insistence on the removal of their Greek families from Anatolia, and that they had not even begun to withdraw from the decision to expand their exchange borders in the Struma region. It was shared with the public through these attitudes, in which Western Thrace remained as a frontier, and the Greek government found an echo in the public where it proposed the formula of compensation for the Turkish families remaining within its territory. It was announced that a special convention would be formed and decisions would be taken in a process that was not included in the Lausanne Treaty.<sup>44</sup>

As of July 24, 1923, the Allies started to leave Istanbul and, according to the British public opinion, only the Meric River between Turkey and Greece and the exchange rate remained. With the exchange of prisoners of war, the British expressed some ideas that they would be able to fix the concessions they had received since 1914, and within 6 weeks, the Allies began to make their way out of Turkey. In the border conventions, allied states' ships were free of transit and

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<sup>41</sup> Eyüp Kaptan, “Lozan Konferansı’nda Azınlıklar Sorunu”, Publishing Of The General Staff Collage, Yenilevent, Istanbul, 2002, p.120

<sup>42</sup> Lincolnshire Echo, June 10, 1923, p.2

<sup>43</sup> Daily Herald, June 23, 1923, p.3

<sup>44</sup> Belfast News Letter, June 25, 1923, p.5

the torpedo ships of England, France, Italy were one of the issues discussed in public outside the exchange.<sup>45</sup>

One of the Allied information shared with the public during the departure from Istanbul was the participation of Delegates from Denmark, Spain and Sweden in the commissions. Immediately after the exchange agreement, according to the calculations of the Near East Relief Committee, it was revealed that approximately 7,500 Muslims and as many as Greek refugees were waiting in the Black Sea. Athens, however, he continuously tried to inform the British public that the Lausanne Treaty articles would be put in jeopardy by Ankara by declaring that the Turks would not comply with the exchange agreement.

It was among the public debates that the committee was waiting for the allies to come up with an opinion on the issue, and that it was waiting for a conclusion from this review to examine the processes of Greek exchange from the Black Sea. While such exchanges are being made in public about the exchange process, British politics also approach mutually insecure agreements within Lausanne. It is seen that the mentality of the entente has lost its power, and if the Turks show an attitude against the Lausanne articles, France decided to hold a one-way meeting with the Turkish government, but it was noted that the hope of the British was still continuing, as there was no statement from Ankara regarding the rejection of the articles. If the Turkish government came into agreement with France, it was shared with the public in a closed way that British politics would react to it.<sup>46</sup>

While this positive attitude was put forward to the Greek government, Britain did not hesitate to criticize Turks on March 9th. According to the Guardian newspaper's Greek semi-official sources and the International Red Cross Society, Turks have acted against the spirit of the convention on Population Change. The reason for this opposite Movement is that the Turkish government has delayed the return of Muslim prisoners to their country under inhuman conditions, where Turkish depositors from Greece to Anatolia were living by the way they were transferred to England.<sup>47</sup>

This is the case with the British public opinion, of course, as a reflection of the political and military failure of the Greek government to the exchange process and the discomfort of the British public in the fields of Mosul and Iraq in the following period also deepens with the negative reflection of the exchange news. The Treaty, which will be signed in Lausanne on 24 July, has gained considerable importance on the UK's agenda. A copy of the document will be shared at the same time in London immediately after the signature of the agreement. In the sharing of information on the treaty, Britain was hastened to

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<sup>45</sup> Londonderry Sentinel, July 24, 1923, p.5

<sup>46</sup> Western Morning News, February 2, 1923, p.4

<sup>47</sup> The Guardian, March 9, 1923, p. 6

sign the text with France without spending a long period of time with the French delegate, despite the protests of the absence of the convention on the delimitation of the Bolsheviks. He tried to take part in an agreement with Poincare.<sup>48</sup>

In Lausanne, the British public opinion, in general, the idea that France and Lord Curzon are represented by the allies with success, taking care of the interests of the two states in close proximity. However, the Turkish delegation and Ismet Pasha's different attitudes and Bolshevik influence that came to Ankara in the Middle East again in a conflict with British policy will be a problem that has been constantly disturbed by the British government.<sup>49</sup>

As a result, the basic assessment of the British public opinion of the Turkish-Greek exchange process, as the British lost in the national struggle, the political and economic superiority over the Greeks want to continue over the world public opinion, the Lausanne Treaty indifferent to even a Turkish government wanted to be regarded as a pro-war. They have created a perception like that. It is claimed that the Turks did not comply with the exchange in a healthy way with its failed ally Greece in the exchange with Britain, Due to the constant antithesis of the British government, the exchange process was tried to be transformed into a one-sided propaganda and the Turkish and Greek exchange of population was tried to face the difficulties that the Venizelos government has caused during its departure from Greece. This ambitious attitude of the British will show itself as a one-sided right approach to the solution of the issues left by Lausanne, and an anti-Turkish impression will be put forward by Curzon and his cabinet, and the political failures of these politicians will be covered up in Lausanne.

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<sup>48</sup> Gloucester Citizen, July 24, 1923, p.1

<sup>49</sup> The Scotsman, June 25, 1923, p.7



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