CABINET.

THE TURCO-GREEK SITUATION.

CO-OPERATION OF THE DOMINIONS.

Telegrams between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Governors General of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, and Officer administering the Government of Newfoundland.

(Circulated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies).

---

No. 1.

PARAPHRASE of a Telegram sent to the Governors-General of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, 11.30 p.m. 15th Sept. 1922. (Similar telegram sent to C.A.G., Newfoundland, 4.10 p.m. 17th September 1922).

Secret. Following for your Prime Minister from the Prime Minister begins.

Decision taken by Cabinet today to resist aggression upon Europe by the Turks and to make exertions to prevent Mustapha Kemal driving the Allies out of Constantinople and in particular and above all to secure firmly the Gallipoli Peninsula in order to maintain the freedom of the Straits. We have received a notification from the French Government that they are in agreement with us in informing Mustapha Kemal that he must not violate the neutral zone which protects Constantinople and the Straits and that their High Commissioner at Constantinople has been instructed accordingly. The Italians also are acting in general concert with us. We hope to secure the military participation of Greece, Romania and Serbia in the defence of the deep water line between Europe and Asia and we are addressing them accordingly. All the aforesaid Powers are being notified of our intention to make exertions and that British division is to be placed under orders to reinforce the Allied Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Harington. The co-operation of the British Navy will also be forthcoming to the fullest extent necessary.
The object of these arrangements is to cover the period which must elapse before it is possible to secure a stable peace with Turkey. Proposals are being made to hold a Conference for this purpose probably at Venice, but possibly at Paris and the essential point is that we should have sufficient strength to maintain our position round the Straits and in Constantinople until this peace has been achieved. It seems improbable that if a firm front is shown by a large number of Powers acting together, the forces of Mustapha Kemal will attack. His armies, which have so far not had any serious resistance to encounter from the disheartened Greeks, are estimated at between sixty and seventy thousand men. But timely precautions are imperative. Very grave consequences in India and among other Mohammedan populations for which we are responsible might result from a defeat or a humiliating exodus of the Allies from Constantinople.

I should be glad to know whether the Government of the Dominion wish to associate themselves with our action and whether they desire to be represented by a contingent. Not only does the freedom of the Straits for which such immense sacrifices were made in the War involve vital Imperial and world-wide interests, but we cannot forget that there are 20,000 British and Anzac graves in the Gallipoli Peninsula and that it would be an abiding source of grief to the Empire if these were to fall into the ruthless hands of the Kemalists.

The announcement of an offer from all or any of the Dominions to send contingents even of moderate size would undoubtedly exercise in itself a most favourable influence on the situation and might conceivably be a potent factor in preventing actual hostilities.

This telegram has also been sent to the Governors General of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.
Paraphrase of telegram from the Governor General of New Zealand to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dated 16th September.
(Received, Colonial Office, 1:30 p.m., 16th September, 1922).

Your telegram 16th September following from my Prime Minister for Prime Minister begins. Government of New Zealand wish to associate themselves with action which is being taken and will send contingent.

JELLICOE.

Paraphrase telegram from the Governor General of New Zealand to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dated 19th September.
(Received, Colonial Office 10:35 a.m., 19th September, 1922).

Following from my Prime Minister for Prime Minister begins. I should be glad to receive early information as to whether immediate despatch of small contingent is required for sake of moral effect to be followed if necessary by reinforcements.

It would be of assistance if recommendation could be made as to strength and composition of advance contingent and of larger force.

JELLICOE.
(4) Paraphrase telegram from the Governor General of New Zealand to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Dated 20th September.
(Received, Colonial Office 8-0 a.m. 20th September, 1922).

Unanimous resolution was passed last night by House of Representatives endorsing action of Government communicated in my telegram 16th September after amendment of Labour Party to the effect that Parliament and people should have first been consulted had been defeated by fifty-seven to seven. Over five thousand had registered names up to last evening although no volunteers yet called for. Imperial spirit strikingly exhibited throughout the Dominion. Prime Minister would appreciate telegraphic review of the general situation from time to time.

JELLICOE.

(5) Paraphrase telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General of New Zealand.
Dated 19th September.
Sent 10.50 p.m. 19th September, 1922.

Following from me for your Prime Minister begins.
I have referred to War Office your telegram of the 19th September and will send an answer to-morrow. I am also forwarding you a further message on the general situation from the Prime Minister. May I add with what deep emotion this country and especially my colleagues in the Cabinet have received your prompt and generous response and your own stirring words. Ends.

CHURCHILL.
Paraphrase telegram from the Officer Administering the Government of Newfoundland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies,
Dated 18th September.
(Received, Colonial Office 8.45 p.m. 18th September, 1922).

September 18th. Your telegram 17th September following reply sent at the request of the Acting Prime Minister begins:

Ministers appreciate position taken by His Majesty's Government and Allies and are in fullest sympathy therewith. I believe that as in past Newfoundland will be ready to render all assistance available ends.

HORWOOD.

Paraphrase telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Officer Administering the Government of Newfoundland,
(Sent 9.50 p.m. 19th September, 1922).

(Dated 19th September)

Following for your Prime Minister from Prime Minister begins:

Your prompt response to our enquiry regarding troops to resist any thrust against sanctity of Gallipoli Peninsula and freedom of Straits has been received here with enthusiasm. The Empire cannot consent to the results of the gallant struggle and final victory of its sons in the Eastern theatre being sacrificed. Ends.
No. 8.
Paraphrase telegram from the Governor General of the Union of South Africa to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Dated 10th September.
(Received Colonial Office 4.36 p.m. 18th September, 1922).

Clear the line.
Secret. With reference to your telegrams of 15th and 17th September on the subject of the Turkish situation. Following is personal message from Mr. Malan for your Prime Minister begins. General Smuts is not in Pretoria at present but is expected back towards the end of this week. Your secret telegrams are being communicated to him and we hope to send at a later date a further telegram.

ARTHUR FREMORICK.

No. 9.
Paraphrase telegram from the Governor General of the Union of South Africa to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Dated 19th September.
(Received Colonial Office 9.55 p.m. 19th September, 1922).

The absence of the Prime Minister in Zululand is the cause of the delay in replying to your Secret and Personal telegrams of September 15th and September 17th.

ARTHUR FREMORICK.

No. 10.
Telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors-General of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand. Sent 7.20 p.m. 18th September, 1922.

Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister.
Your prompt response to our enquiry regarding troops to resist any thrust against freedom of Straits and sanctity of Gallipoli Peninsula has been received here with enthusiasm. The Empire cannot consent to sacrifice results of gallant struggle and final victory of its sons in the Eastern theatre.
Paraphrase of telegram from the Governor General of Canada.

(Received 3:40 a.m., 18th September, 1922).

Secret. September 17th. Following from my Prime Minister for your Prime Minister begins: Before communication could be sent to myself or other members of the Government of Canada of the contents of your cable sent through Governor General despatches from England appeared in our press announcing the British Government's invitation to Canada to participate in resisting Turkish Forces by despatch of troops. This has caused a most embarrassing situation and Press representatives are enquiring of me if any, and if so what, communication has been received from the British Government. Seeing that your message takes the form of a secret cypher telegram your sanction seems to be necessary before disclosure of its contents. I should be glad to receive immediate reply by telegraph as to your wishes in the matter stating whether I am at liberty to disclose the contents of the communication the British Government desires to have made public as coming from them to Government of Canada.

Parliament will certainly ask for copies of all official correspondence in this matter to be produced and I should be glad therefore if you would clearly indicate if any what communications should be considered as not coming within the return that may be expected.

BY HG.
Paraphrase of telegram from the Governor General of Canada to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(Dated 18th September; received Colonial Office, 7.50 a.m., 19th September, 1922).

September 18th. Secret.

Following for your Prime Minister from Prime Minister begins. Representations contained in your telegram of September 15th have been under consideration of Cabinet. The Government's view is that public opinion of Canada would demand authorisation on the part of Parliament as a necessary preliminary to despatching a contingent to participate in Near East Conflict.

Fullest possible information will be welcomed by us in order that we may decide upon the advisability of summoning Parliament. Message ends.

BY NG.

---

NO. 13.

Telegram from the Governor General of Canada to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Dated 19th September.

(Received Colonial Office 10.18 a.m. 20th September, 1922).

September 19th. Following for you from my Prime Minister message begins. Please accept my best thanks for your two telegrams of yesterday which were duly received. We have arranged daily sittings of the Cabinet and shall await information in accordance with understanding of my cable message in answer to that of Prime Minister of the 15th September message ends.

BY NG.
PARAPHRASE TELEGRAM from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of Canada.
Sent 4.15 p.m. 18th September, 1922.

Clear the line.

Following from me for your Prime Minister.

The message from the Prime Minister which I transmitted to you on the 15th September is not suitable for textual publication. There would be no objection to the substance being given to the public as has been done in Australia, but I send you on behalf of the Prime Minister a further telegram separately in case you want a message the actual text of which can be laid before your parliament.

It was in view of the special associations which they have with Gallipoli that we have communicated with Australia and New Zealand and we felt bound to make the message common to all the Dominions. There is no probability of a serious war, but it is essential to prevent the Kemalists from crossing the Straits and entering Constantinople except in accordance with the decision of a Peace Conference which will, among other things, effectively secure the freedom of the Straits probably under some international arrangement. The main factor on which we rely is of course the British Navy and we think it unlikely that hostilities will occur if the allies continue to act together in forbidding the Kemalists to invade the neutral zone now guarded by allied troops. However, it is extremely important that Great Britain should adopt a firm attitude, and anything that your Government can contribute towards the
sense of Empire solidarity would be of the utmost value. At this juncture a statement to the effect that the Dominion of Canada associates itself with the general position of the Allied Powers in insisting upon the freedom of the Straits and would be represented by a contingent if the need arose, would be quite sufficient. That the actual need for despatching the contingent will arise seems most improbable and in any case it is contemplated that it would be only of a very moderate size. Australia and New Zealand have already replied in a favourable sense.

It is a matter of great regret to me that it was not possible to give you longer notice, but the crisis developed too suddenly. I am sure that you will so handle the matter as to give the utmost moral support at this stage. Message ends.
No. 15.

TELEGRAM from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of Canada.

(Sent 5.0 p.m. 18th September, 1922).

Clear the Line.

Following for your Prime Minister. Following for publication.

In view of the possibility that the Turks under Mustapha Kemal may attempt aggression upon Europe His Majesty's Government in concert with the Governments of France and Italy have decided to resist any such attempt to safeguard for the time being the position of the Allies at Constantinople and above all to maintain the freedom of the Straits by securing their firm hold on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

The Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople have accordingly been instructed to inform Mustapha Kemal that he must not violate the neutral zone which protects the Straits and Constantinople. British reinforcements have been placed under orders to join the Allied Commander-in-Chief at Constantinople Sir Charles Harington and the British Navy will co-operate to the fullest extent. These arrangements are intended to secure the situation pending the meeting of a Conference the aims of which will be to secure a stable peace with Turkey and timely precautions are imperative.

His Majesty's Government trust that in view of the vital Imperial and world-wide interests involved in the freedom of the Straits for which such immense sacrifices were made by the Empire during the war the Dominion of Canada will associate themselves with the proposed action and the evidence of united purpose which would be afforded by the despatch of a contingent should circumstances render it necessary would exercise a most favourable influence upon the situation. Ends.

CHURCHILL.
PARAPHRASED TELEGRAM from the Secretary-of-State for 
the Colonies to the Governor-General of Canada. 
(Sent 10.30 p.m., 19th September, 1922).

Following for your Prime Minister from Prime Minister.

Begins.

The attitude of Canada at this moment is of great 
importance. We do not ask for any immediate decision to 
send troops. We should immediately summon Parliament 
here if large reinforcements were to prove necessary and 
should at once notify you of our decision to do so. Pres­
umably it is not necessary for you to summon parliament 
till then and we hope it may not be necessary at all. A 
definite statement, however, that in the event of the 
terms of the Armistice being broken Canada will stand by 
the Empire will do much to ensure that peace is maintained. 

Ends.

CHURCHILL.
PARAPHRASE telegram from the Governor-General of Commonwealth of Australia dated 20th September, received at the Colonial Office 20th September, at 6.27 a.m.

Following from my Prime Minister for Prime Minister. Begins.

Your telegram was not received till late in the afternoon on Sunday and after arrival in Australia of press messages giving substantially same information given to press by yourself. This in a matter of such grave importance is most unfortunate as it precludes that full and judicial consideration of the position by Commonwealth which is its clear right as a national Government. It is not right that a Dominion should be stampeded into action by premature statements in the press disclosing a position which even admitting its gravity is not set out in detail and upon which no information had been previously received by the Commonwealth Government suggesting the probability of the Empire being involved in hostilities. Foreign Office despatches many weeks old relating to Grecio-Turkish position have no doubt been received from time to time. But no information has come to hand suggesting that the Empire was likely to be involved in hostilities and no telegrams have been communicated to us bearing upon recent developments in the Near East.

Thus your telegram informing us that the British Cabinet had decided to take prompt action against the Kemalists came as a bolt from the blue. And we have not been told even now by what action of the Kemalists this decision has been necessitated. And as it would appear that the press was notified before your telegram reached me of the fact that you contemplated hostilities, and that the Dominions were asked to associate themselves with Britain and send contingents, the Commonwealth Government found/
found itself in most embarrassing position of being asked to
decide not between peace and war, for Britain had already
determined that issue without consultation with the Common-
wealth, but whether after Britain had decided to go to war
and had notified the press that she had asked the Dominions
whether they wished to join her, it was possible for us in
all the circumstances to say that we could not do so. The
point the Commonwealth Government desires to emphasise most
strongly is that consultation with the Dominions ought
to take place before any action is taken or irrecoverable
decision is made by Britain, as then and then only can our
voices be heard and our counsels heeded. Either the Empire
is one and indivisible or it is nothing. If it is only
another name for Britain, and the Dominions are to be told
that things are done after they have been done, and that
Britain has decided upon war, and are then to be asked
whether they wish to be associated with her and to stand by
her side, when they have in fact no other alternative, then,
it is perfectly clear, the relations between the Dominions
and Britain being what they are, that all talk about the
Dominions having a real share in deciding foreign and imperial
policy is empty air.

I feel that I ought to speak quite frankly and say
that the unity of the Empire is gravely imperilled by such
action.

The Australian people are sick of war.
In their view war, except in defence of vital national
interests is not only a blunder but a crime. While they
fully recognise the importance of the freedom of the Straits
and would be grieved and angry if the sanctity of Anzac graves
in Gallipoli were violated, they have no sympathy whatever
with King Constantine's ambitious projects. They do not
understand why the Dominions were not consulted before Britain
took action, and before the situation had developed, and they
do not understand why the Allies did not restrain the Greeks
Greeks long ago from such action as it now appears has led up to
the present deplorable situation. That situation is the natural-
and indeed inevitable result of the policy of action or inaction
which the Allies have pursued in regard to Greece and Turkey.
Australians have seen war raging for many months, great armies
arrayed against one another almost within gunshot of Genova, and
bring war to an end been doing to
they ask themselves what has the League of Nations that was to/
bring about peace. Towards the upkeep of the League Australia
has paid and is paying very large sums of money. For a very
long time war has been raging at its very doors. It now threatens
to spread over the whole world. What is the League doing?
Apparently it is fiddling with unimportant matters while the world
is once more in danger of a general conflagration. Australia
must ask that the League of Nations should actively interfere
in this struggle; it was established to maintain peace, let it
do so; if it cannot or will not, let it acknowledge itself help­
less and make way for some more effective means. In order to
make it clear to the world the position of Australia stands in
this grave matter, her representatives at Assembly now sitting at
Geneva have been requested to urge the League to take immediate
action.

I hope that I have made it clear that believing in the
unity of the Empire as we do, and notwithstanding it has not been
consulted until the Empire was by the declaration of the British
Government committed to action. Australia will associate itself
with Britain in retaining the Gallipoli Peninsula, and in maintain­
ing the freedom of the Straits. But we think that we are clearly
entitled to be told precisely what is the policy of Britain and her
Allies in the Near East and to have set out in most definite terms
just how far Britain desires and intends to go. And we want to
know (corrupt group) what is the policy of France and Italy and
the other powers who are allied with Britain.

First as to the policy of Britain, or rather of the
British Empire, the Commonwealth Government fully recognise
the most important bearing of the situation in the Near East
upon Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, India and upon the Empire as a whole. This being so what we desire to know is what is the policy of Britain towards Turkey in Europe and in Asia, and what it proposes to do towards effecting a

mentioned position in view of a Conference; well, what is to be done there? What are you prepared to concede? Anything? nothing? The Empire is a world in itself composed of many countries peopled with different races holding widely different religious and other opinions. Is Britain's policy satisfactory to the Moslems in Turkey and throughout the British Empire? If not, is any modification compatible with vital Imperial interest possible and contemplated? We are prepared to back Britain in frustrating the ambitious projects of Kemal, with which we have, of course, no sympathy whatever. On the other hand Australia is not prepared to risk one soldier's life in furthering the schemes of Constantine. Aggression leads to counter-aggression; violence to further violence; and unless the cause for which we fight is just and the military objective is laid down in the most precise and definite way we are not prepared to participate actively in a war. We are not for example to be dragged behind the chariot of French intrigues and ambitions in the Near East. Australia will not be a party to treating Turkey unjustly because it is weak. Are we asked for example to associate ourselves in an enterprise whose object is to maintain the status quo under the Sevres Treaty? What we want to know is are we to defend the neutral zone, ensure the inviolability of the Gallipoli Peninsula and the freedom of the Straits, but go no

further no matter how much France, Greece or the Balkan States may urge us to take advantage of the superior naval and military strength of the allied forces? Is it the settled and deliberate conviction of the British Government that the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres are fair to Turkey and to the Islam world and that no /
further concessions can be or ought to be made? If not, then to what extent and in what direction ought Treaty to be modified in order to meet the legitimate demands of Turkey? The Commonwealth Government, while expressing no opinion on the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres relating to Turkey, strongly urges that if it is possible to make any modifications likely to render it more acceptable to Turkey, they ought to be offered now before hostilities commence. Every effort ought to be made to avoid war. In the unsettled state of the world, war is like going with a lighted torch into a powder magazine. The Empire must set an example to the world. It must not go to war to gain more territory for itself or its allies or do anything incompatible with its solemn declarations during the Great War and since the Armistice. It ought not to go to war unless in defence of its clear rights and unless these are vital to Empire. And the League of Nations must be appealed to and be compelled to shoulder its responsibilities and either prove its worth or confess its futility. Australia wants also a plain and detailed statement on the policy of France in regard to Thrace, Smyrna and the Near East generally. To what extent is the Treaty of Sevres or its attitude, or its policy towards Kemal, Gallipoli and the Straits affected or impaired by the Franklin-Bouillon Treaty? Was the Angora Government financed or supported by France against Constantine? Did Britain or any other of her allies support Constantine in his campaign in Thrace and Angora? What is the general policy of France or Italy? What troops if any have they agreed or are they likely to supply?

The Commonwealth Government hopes this frank expression of its views will not be misunderstood by the British Government. Frankness on a matter of such grave importance is imperatively demanded. The Empire ought not to be pushed into a war. The Dominions ought not to be asked whether they will associate themselves with Britain after Britain has in effect committed them.
them. And above all they should not be asked to join in an unnecessary or unjust war. Once the war is begun, no one can say where it will end. We are a peace-loving democracy. We have been through a dreadful ordeal in which we hope that you and the world will agree we played our part worthily. In a good cause we are prepared to venture our all; in a bad one, not a single man. In our own defence and in that of the Empire we are quite ready to fight, but we must know where we are going. Ends.

Governor General.
IRAQ (No. 540).

I send you at the request of the Prime Minister for your information though not for publication or textual quotation the following review of the position to date.

Begins. The following is the situation. The evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks is now complete and what remains to be settled is the future of the Straits and the disposition of European Turkey and Constantinople. The British Government while they are quite prepared to discuss the settlement with every regard for Turkish as well as other interests, consider the following conditions essential to any lasting arrangement.

**First.** The neutrality of Gallipoli and the freedom of the Straits must be guaranteed for all time. **Second.** Any modification of the existing Treaties must be brought about not by force of arms but by conference. **Third.** Mustapha Kemal must in the meantime respect the terms of the Armistice concluded with the Allies by Turkey in 1918. Any breach of the terms of the Armistice which at the moment governs our legal position and any invasion of the Neutral Zone will be resisted if necessary by force. No reply has yet been received to an enquiry addressed to Kemal as to whether he proposes to respect the Armistice pending a Conference or not.

In the meantime we regard it as most important clearly to show the reality of our determination that the Neutral Zone shall be respected and that the solution shall be reached by Conference. From this standpoint two things are specially important. **First.** It is necessary immediately to reinforce our Naval, Military and Air Forces in the Gallipoli area in order to show that
that we can stop any sudden breach of the Armistice. We are doing this with good effect. Second. We must make it absolutely clear that the position of the Empire if challenged will be maintained firmly against any Turkish forces which can be mobilised against us. From this point of view the moral support of the Dominions and the undertaking to send contingents should the necessity arise is of the utmost value not only in impressing the Turks but in keeping our allies sound. Although there is a general tendency to loss of morale among the Christian Powers in regard to the Eastern Question a quiet demonstration of firmness on our part supported by the Dominion Governments should be decisive. We are confident that any immediate attack can be resisted by the forces which we now have on the spot with the assistance of the Navy and the Air Force and the Admiralty has declared its ability to prevent the passage of troops from the Asiatic to the European shore whether in the Bosphorus or the Marmora or the Dardanelles.

From the above it will be seen that there is in our opinion no immediate need for the organisation of Dominion contingents except as a means of showing the solidarity of the Empire in safeguarding the results of the War in the Eastern theatre. At present the French attitude is unsatisfactory but in spite of their fear of standing up to the Turks they are unlikely to leave us in sole control of the Gallipoli Peninsula because it is a standing terror with them that Gallipoli may become another Gibraltar in the East of the Mediterranean. Lord Curzon accompanied by Admiral Beatty has just left for Paris to discuss the position with the French Government, and we are not by any means unhopeful of a satisfactory agreement. In this respect the attitude of the Balkan nations who were all signatories to the Treaty of Sevres is important since France has to consider her obligations
obligations to them as well as her desire to stand well with the Turks. The Balkan allies are naturally opposed to the return of the Turk to Europe since this would make inevitable another Balkan war in the near future. Assistance has been promised by Roumania if necessary at once and the Serb-Great-Slovene Government, although it has as yet come to no decision, is not likely to adopt a very different attitude. We hope therefore to be able to keep the Allies with us in resisting an appeal to force and in demanding a solution by Conference. By no means are we averse to the League of Nations intervening in the settlement when the time comes, but the first necessity is to ensure that the Turks respect the neutral zone just as we insisted on the Greeks respecting it when they threatened Constantinople last month, and that the Peace Conference should meet in confidence that pending a settlement the Armistice will not be broken.

In taking up this attitude we are putting forward no new claims or fresh obstacles in the way of peace. We are on the contrary standing by our engagements and we are absolutely convinced that much trouble will be saved in the future with the whole Mahomadan world by a quiet but decisive demonstration that the British Empire is not to be threatened or bluffed. To be weak, on the contrary, may lead to widespread disorder amongst Mahomadan populations everywhere. There is no question of our ability to deal with Mustapha Kemâl should this become inevitable as he commands only a force of 60,000 rifles but our desire is to prevent hostilities by an immediate show of firmness, and the effect of the promise of Dominion contingents has already been most valuable from this stand point.

CHURCHILL.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.,
26th September, 1922.