

ADDITIONS, INTEGRATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE*

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Addition to Part I,
Works by Arnold J. Toynbee

1920

Arnold Joseph Toynbee, *Preface* to Michael D. Volonakis, *Greece on the Eve of Resurrection*, with a Preface by Arnold J. Toynbee, Professor of History at King's College, London University, and an Introductory Letter by His Excellency John Gennadius, London, The Hesperia Press, pp. 5-7.

* *A Bibliography of Arnold J. Toynbee*, compiled by S. Fiona Morton, with a Foreword by Veronica M. Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

PREFACE TO MICHAEL D. VOLONAKIS,
GREECE ON THE EVE OF RESURRECTION (1920)

by Arnold J. Toynbee

The settlement after the European War will be an epoch in the history of Modern Greece, because it will have struck off almost the last shackles that hindered her development. The Greek territories liberated a century ago have been turned by Greek enterprise from Turkish provinces into a European State, but the internal growth of Greece has suffered hitherto by the unsolved problem of national reunion. The nation could not devote its entire energies to the works of peace until this preliminary question – which was unfortunately a question of war – was solved. Now that liberation and unity are substantially accomplished, the whole life of the people will be turned in a positive direction, and the fruits of this should be great.

The treaty presented to Turkey is a draft. It is not yet accepted, still less carried out, but some of the provisions that are most important for Greece do not depend on Turkish action. Cyprus and the Dodecanese, though hitherto formally under Turkish sovereignty, are already in non-Turkish hands, and all Turkey's rights therein are to be transferred respectively to Great Britain and Italy. If this went no further, it would be a flagrant act of imperialism, for in Cyprus self-determination would produce an overwhelming, and in the Dodecanese a practically unanimous declaration from the inhabitants in favour of union with Greece. But Mr. Venizelos' announcement to the Greek Chamber proves that the transfer of Turkey's rights to Britain and Italy is only a stage in a diplomatic process – at least in part. The eleven lesser islands of the Dodecanese are to be transferred by Italy to Greece on the day when the Turkish treaty is signed, and Rhodes on the day when Cyprus is transferred to Greece by Great Britain. England has already contributed to the union of the Greek islands to the mother-country by granting self-determination to the Ionian Islanders in 1864. She has now the opportunity of completing the work by fulfilling the aspirations of the Cypriots and of the Rhodian too. Our declared principles as

well as our interest in the friendship of Greece make our path clear, and there is no reason to suppose that the Government do not intend to follow it, or that they will have to be shown their way by the pressure of public opinion. But a declaration on their part ought not to be too long delayed.

A more difficult problem is presented by Eastern Thrace and Smyrna. The former is still in Turkish hands; the latter is only held against the Turkish nationalists by the maintenance of a military front in the interior, and both districts contain a large Turkish and other Moslem population. The present strength of the Greek and non-Greek elements is of course the result of violence; native Greeks have been expropriated, deported, massacred; Moslem settlers from lost Ottoman provinces have been put in their place by the deliberate policy of the Turkish Government. But though the present composition of the population cannot, for these reasons, be a determining factor in a just settlement, it can and will be a disturbing factor, and the highest qualities of Greek statesmanship must be called into play to deal with it.

It is perhaps worth remarking that the really difficult question is not one of frontiers. When the new frontiers have been effectively established, there will not only be a considerable Moslem population in Greece; there will still be an important Greek population in Anatolia, and it is to be hoped for the sake of both Greece and Turkey that this scattered Greek minority will thrive and increase on the Turkish side of the new frontier. Anatolia is the economic hinterland of the Greek people, as far eastward as the point where the Armenian hinterland begins. More and more, commerce, the professions and even agriculture in this great country will pass into Greek hands, following the course of the railways from Anatolia into the interior. This was happening steadily before the war of 1912, and with the restoration of peace in 1920 the process ought to start again. It is advantageous to Greeks and Turks alike, because it increases the prosperity of a region inhabited by both nations, but it cannot recommence unless Turkey and Greece establish a good understanding with one another. However successful the march of Greek enterprise in Anatolia may be, it must be many generations before there is a Greek majority in the population of the interior, and possibly this may never happen at all. It would be

bad policy to assume that the Turkish race is doomed to extinction. Liberated from the incubus of the Ottoman Empire and released from the burden of military service in Tripoli and the Yemen and in every European war, it may recover vitality and hold its own in legitimate competition with its neighbours. Neither Greece nor Turkey can afford bad relation when Greece rules at Smyrna and Turkey at Afium Kara Hissar. For Greek foreign policy in the immediate future, this will, I believe, be the capital question and it will have a general bearing upon the politics of the East.

I heartily recommend Dr. Volonakis' volume to students of Near Eastern politics in English speaking countries.