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THE MOSLEMS OF CHAMURIA AND THE EXCHANGE OF
POPULATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY

An important question related to the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey is that of the Moslems of Chamuria. The question arose during the Lausanne Conference, on January 19, 1923, when in a session of the sub-commission for the exchange of populations, the Italian delegate Giulio Cesare Montagna remarked that the "Albanians of Greece" ought to be excluded. Following Montagna's remarks, the Greek delegate Demetrius Caclamanos pointed out that the "Albanians", although sharing the same faith with the Turks, were not compatriots of the Turks and therefore Greece had no intention in including in the exchange of populations the "Moslems of Albanian origin"¹. Riza Nur Bey, the Turkish delegate had no objection². Moreover, a few months later, Eleutherios Venizelos himself assured the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that he had cabled to his government to bring to her attention the status of the Moslem Greeks who were descendants of the Albanian race, who should in no way be equated with the Turks in the implementation phase of the agreement governing the exchange of populations³.

What led the Italian delegate to intervene in favor of the "Albanians of Greece" and Caclamanos, as well as Venizelos, to espouse the Montagna position? It seems that Italy's interest arose following the "encouragement" of the Albanian delegate at the Conference, Mehdi Frashëri⁴. According to

1. Conférence de Lausanne sur les affaires du Proche-Orient (1922-1923), *Recueil des actes de la conférence*, première série, tome Ier, protocoles des séances plénières et procès-verbaux et rapports de la Ière commission (questions territoriales et militaires) (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1923), Sous-commission pour l'échange des populations, procès-verbal No 8 (séance du 19 janvier 1923), p. 604.

2. *Ibidem*.

3. League of Nations, Document C. 752.1923. VII, III. Letter from M. Venizelos to the Secretary-General (August 6, 1923).

4. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 6th year, No. 2 (February 1925), Annex 717a (C. 399.1924.VII), Appendix 2, Letter from the Italian delegation at the Lausanne Conference to the Albanian delegate (Lausanne, January 20, 1923), p. 238.

the testimony provided later by Caclamanos, the Montagna's position had also been adopted by "delegates of other powers". In order to show the conciliatory spirit of the Greek government and their desire to exclude from the populations exchange those Moslems who were denying their Turkish origin, Caclamanos and Venizelos accepted the exclusion of the Albanians⁵.

What was the number and where was the residence of the Moslem Greeks who were descendants of the Albanian race? The answers to the above-mentioned questions are quite simple: these people were, generally speaking, the Moslems of Chamuria, that is the Chams. Chamuria is the area of Epirus extended between Butrinto and the mouth of Acheron and, eastward, till the foot of Mount Olytsika⁶. This area, besides the little parcel which became Albanian, is more or less equated with Thesprotia⁷; it was the only area—together with some cities beyond its boundary—of Epirus where Moslems resided⁸. They numbered 20,319 people in 1923 (33% of the Chamuria population⁹ and 16,661 people in 1940¹⁰. The question that surrounded these Albanian-speaking Moslems, who were descendants of Christian inhabitants of Thesprotia and who had been converted to the Muslim religion and had lost contact with the Greek language¹¹ during the Ottoman rule, was inordinately proportional to their number.

The Albanian concern for the Moslems of Chamuria was manifested before Montagna's appeal. On December 16, 1922, Benoît Blinishti, director of the permanent Albanian secretariat to the League of Nations, announced to the Secretary-General of the international organization the content of a telegram sent by the Albanian minister of Foreign Affairs Pandeli Evangjeli.

5. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 5th year, No. 2 (February 1924), Minutes of the twenty-seventh session of the Council, tenth meeting (December 17th, 1923), p. 166.

6. Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens (hereafter: AYE), 1926, Γ/68/X, memorandum by N. I. Anagnostopoulos entitled "The Chamuria religious minorities", enclosed to the document No. 33878 (Athens, March 26, 1925) of the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

7. Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, memorandum entitled "The Chams" by George Papadopoulos (Athens, April 3, 1969). A copy of this memorandum has been given to me by Mr. G. Papadopoulos in person.

8. AYE, 1926, Γ/68/X, memorandum by N. I. Anagnostopoulos entitled "The Chamuria religious minorities", *op. cit.*

9. *Ibidem*.

10. John Archimandritis, *Τσάμηδες. Οδύνη και δάκρυα της Θεσπρωτίας* (no place given, undated), p. 38

11. *Ibidem*, pp. 23-30.

The telegram stated that the Greek authorities were forcing the "Albanians of Chamuria" to abandon their homes and were housing Greek refugees from "Anatolia and Thrace" in their place¹². An effort originated in London, in January 1923, intended to mobilize world public opinion concerning the fate of Moslems expelled from Epirus "against their will"¹³. Towards the end of the same year, Albania initiated a diplomatic campaign against Greece: on December 6, 1923, B. Blinishti denounced before the Secretary-General of the League of Nations the Greek government's efforts to escape its obligations "as outlined in Caclamanos's remarks in the Lausanne Conference and in Venizelos' assurances", since, according to the Greek view, Albanians were only those who were born in Albania, excluding therefore from consideration the Greek-born Albanian Moslems who were equated with the Turks¹⁴.

This question was discussed in the 27th session of the Council of the League of Nations (10-20 December 1923) which decided to forward it for further consideration to the Mixed Commission which, in accordance with the Convention for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations signed in Lausanne on January 30, 1923, was responsible for settling such issues¹⁵. In March 1924, the Mixed Commission decided that Greek subjects who were Moslems and of Albanian origin—and more specifically those residing in Epirus—had to be excluded from the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. They further decided that if a need emerged for detailed investigation, a special committee could be formed which would "collect on the spot" information that would facilitate the Commission's work to decide who were the members of the group excluded from the exchange¹⁶.

Indeed, in accordance with the above-mentioned decision, a "special delegation" headed by the Swede Eric Einar Ekstrand, visited Epirus (and

12. AYE, 1925, A/5(3), Blinishti to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, No. A. 340, Lausanne, December 16, 1923 (copy).

13. AYE, 1923, A/5(3), letter of the President of the "Near and Middle East Association" to the editor of *Near East*; copy enclosed to a despatch from Eleutherios Venizelos to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unnumbered, Lausanne, January 16/29, 1923.

14. League of Nations, Document C. 752.1923.VII, Letter from the Permanent Albanian Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations, No. D. 396, Geneva, December 6, 1923.

15. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 5th year, No. 2 (February 1924), Minutes of the twenty-seventh session of the Council, tenth meeting (December 17th, 1923), p. 368.

16. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 5th year, No. 5 (May 1924), Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations: Moslems of Albanian origin in Greece (C.160.1924.I), Telegram to the Council of the League of Nations from the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations (Athens, March 14, 1924), p. 764.

Macedonia) to collect information pertaining to people of Albanian origin. The members of the delegation concluded that the great majority of Moslems who were Greek subjects thought of Turkey as their country of origin and were willing to be included to the exchange of populations¹⁷. On June 12, 1924, moreover, the Mixed Commission met in Phalerum, the suburb of Athens, and upon consideration of the report submitted by the "special delegation" decided to provide instructions specifying the eligibility of people excluded from the exchange to regional sub-commissions overlooking areas where people claiming Albanian origin were located. According to these instructions, the place of origin was the main criterion of eligibility; the fact that the place of origin was Turkey was sufficient for somebody to be included in the exchange. Another basic criterion was language whereas national consciousness was considered a "factor of great importance" provided that there was clear evidence of its manifestation¹⁸; customs and type of clothes were termed factors of "secondary importance"¹⁹.

Naturally, the Albanian government was not satisfied with the conclusions of the Mixed Commission and, concentrating its efforts in the "rescue" of the Chamuria Moslems, brought for one more time the question to the attention of the League of Nations, claiming that the criterion of the place of origin was applicable to those "Albanians" residing in Macedonia but not to those residing in Epirus who undoubtedly belonged—as the Albanian government claimed—to the "Albanian nation"²⁰. The Council discussed this matter during its 30th session (29 August — 3 October 1924); the Albanian position, as exemplified in the remarks of the then prime minister Fan Noli, maintained that the Greek authorities were encouraging the "Albanians of Epirus" to consider mass migration by calling them "Greeks of Turkish origin" and convincing them to adopt the second identity in their public pronouncements²¹.

17. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 5th year, No. 8 (August 1924), Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. Question of the exemption of Moslems of Albanian origin in Greece (C.345.1924.I), Annex II, General report of the delegation of the Mixed Commission entrusted with the investigation of the Albanian question (Athens, June 2, 1924), p. 1068.

18. *Ibidem*, Annex I, Instructions issued to the competent sub-commissions for the exchange of Moslem Greek subjects of Albanian origin (Athens, June 17, 1924), p. 1066.

19. League of Nations, Document C. 434.M.160.1925.I, Annex II, Decision adopted by the Mixed Commission at Athens on June 12th, 1924.

20. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 5th year, No. 10 (October 1924), Annex 686 (C.431.1924.I), Memorandum by the Secretary-General submitted to the Council on September 29th, 1924, p. 1601.

21. *Ibidem*, Minutes of the thirtieth session of the Council, sixteenth meeting (September 29th, 1924), p. 1353.

The Council finally decided to 1) handle this matter as a problem concerning the "implementation" of the Greek treaty for the protection of minorities (the treaty was signed in Sèvres on August 10, 1920)²², 2) to proceed with the collection of more information and 3) demand that the Greek government take precautionary measures to avert a *de facto* solution of the problem²³. During its 32nd session (8-13 December 1924), the Council went even further and decided to appoint the neutral members of the Mixed Commission as its "mandatories" charged with the responsibility to protect the "Moslem minority of Albanian origin" residing in Greece. The neutral members were the following: Don Manuel Manrique de Lara (Spaniard), Eric Einar Ekstrand (Swede) and Karl Marius Widding (Dane)²⁴.

Initially, it was the belief of the local authorities that the Chamuria Moslems desired to be included in the exchange²⁵ but, witnessing the operations of the "foreign propaganda organs", they abandoned their initial position and became reluctant to leave Greece²⁶. These "foreign propaganda" operations were mainly Albanian with the Italian and Turkish reinforcing the efforts of the first²⁷. The Greek reaction to the change of attitude of the Chams was immediately expressed in the following way. In February 1925, the General Administration of Epirus decided to send a delegation of "appropriate persons" to Chamuria with the purpose to 1) persuade the Moslems to leave and 2) activate those of the muftis who were willing to "work for the exchange"²⁸. In their attempt to counter this effort, the organs of the "Alba-

22. See the text of the treaty in: Société des Nations, *Recueil des traités et des engagements internationaux enregistrés par le secrétariat de la Société des Nations*, vol. XXVIII (1924), p. 244 ff.

23. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 5th year, No. 10 (October 1924), Minutes of the thirtieth session of the Council, eighteenth meeting (September 30th, 1924), pp. 1367-1368.

24. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 6th year, No. 2 (February 1925), Annex 717 (C. 816 [I] 1924.VII), Report by M. Quiñones de León adopted by the Council on December 11th, 1924, p. 235. *Ibidem*, Minutes of the thirty-second session of the Council, ninth meeting (December 11th, 1924), p. 145.

25. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, the General Administrator of Epirus to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 200 (confidential), Yannina, February 27, 1925.

26. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, the General Administrator of Epirus to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 70, Yannina, January 26, 1925.

27. AYE, 1925, A/2/E, The Police Administration of Corfu to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 440, Corfu, June 15, 1925; No. 477, Corfu, July 6, 1925.

28. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, the General Administrator of Epirus to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 161, Yannina, February 26, 1925.

nian propaganda" committed acts of violence: in the first days of April 1925, the murder of Hysein Rustan, president of the Varfani community and active supporter of the exchange of populations, was announced in Yannina. The two instigators of the crime were known to the Greek authorities; they had spent large sums of money for propaganda purposes against the exchange. One of them had just arrived, in March, to Greece from Konispolis²⁹.

The situation was beginning to worsen. On May 28, 1925, the mandates of the Council of the League of Nations informed the Secretary-General of their intention to visit Epirus in order to investigate the undertakings of the local Mixed Sub-commission and collect needed information. The visit took place during the period 4-28 June 1925. Despite the expressed desire of a large portion of the Moslem population not to be included in the exchange of populations, the mandates realized that the "persons concerned did not have any idea of their origin" aside from their Moslem faith. In the report submitted to the Secretary-General, the neutral members of the Mixed Commission emphasized that conclusions concerning the origin of the Chamuria Moslems could not be reached unless based on cross-reference and exhaustive investigations³⁰.

Naturally, these developments worried the Greek government given of course the prevailing view of the Ministry of War which underscored the fact that the problem concerning the departure of the Chamuria Moslems was directly linked to the defense of the borders³¹. Given the fact that the local authorities of Epirus believed that if a small number of Chams migrated, the rest would follow³², the Greek government decided to create the necessary conditions for the migration in Turkey of those Moslems of Epirus who had expressed the desire to leave (the neutral members of the Mixed Commission had previously recommended this measure)³³. Initially Ankara was unwilling to allow the settlement of Chamuria Moslems on Turkish soil³⁴, but

29. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, the General Administrator of Epirus to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, telegram No. 404, Yannina, April 6, 1925.

30. League of Nations, document C.434.M.160.1925.I, Fifth report by the mandates of the Council of the League of Nations (Constantinople, August 3, 1925).

31. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, the Ministry of War to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 2495/1245, Athens, May 4, 1925.

32. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, Alexander Pallis (Assistant General Administrator of Epirus) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, telegram No. 651, Yannina, June 7, 1925.

33. *Ibidem*.

34. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, the General Administrator of Epirus to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, telegram No. 185, Yannina, March 3, 1925.

following the diplomatic efforts of the Greek government the Turks agreed to allow the settlement of 5,000 Chams. Turkey's intent to accept the settlers was communicated on July 6, 1925, to the Greek chargé d'affaires at Ankara John Politis by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tefvik Rüştü³⁵. In the meantime, however, there was a coup in Athens bringing to power the general Theodore Pangalos. The views of the new Prime-Minister concerning Greek-Albanian relations were clear-cut: he believed that "for Greece, Albania constituted a natural fortress against any attack emanating from the North"³⁶ and he regarded the development of good, friendly relations between the two countries one of his primary foreign policy goals. For the development of friendly relations to take place, a number of obstacles had to be overcome and, as far as the Albanian side was concerned, the problem of the Chamuria Moslems was the major obstacle. In December 1925, during the 37th session of the Council of the League of Nations, the Albanian representative Mehdi Frashëri referred to an "agreement" between Athens and Ankara concerning the settlement of "5,000 Albanians of Epirus" to Turkey and demanded the definitive exclusion of the Moslems of Chamuria from the exchange of populations³⁷. Soon thereafter, in January 1926, talks were held in Athens intended to solve issues which were blocking the way for improvement of Greek-Albanian relations. The Albanian side was represented by the deputy of Argyrocastro Vasil Bamiha³⁸, who, in the course of his stay in the Greek capital (he returned to Albania on March 6) met with Pangalos and Foreign Minister Luke Kanakaris-Roufos³⁹. As a result of these talks the Greek government agreed to the exclusion of the Moslems of Chamuria from the exchange of populations⁴⁰. Indeed, on March 16, 1926, the President of the Council of the League of Nations Viscount Kikujiro Ishii (the representative of Japan) announced that, in accordance with the information provided by the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Greek government regarded that the exchange of populations had come to an end in Epirus and no more Moslems would

35. AYE, 1925, Γ/68/X, John Politis to the ministry of Foreign Affairs, telegram No. 2618, Ankara, July 7, 1925.

36. See an article by Theodore Pangalos in the newspaper *Ακρόπολις* (Athens), August 7, 1949, p. 5.

37. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 7th year, No. 2 (February 1926), Minutes of the thirty-seventh session of the Council, seventh meeting (December 10th, 1925), p. 154.

38. T. Selenica, *Shipria më 1927. L'Albanie en 1927* (Tirana, 1928), p. XXI, table A.

39. Public Record Office (London), FO 421/310, No. 79 (3684/380/90), Robert Parr (Durazzo) to Foreign Office, No. 54, Durazzo, March 10, 1926.

40. *Ibidem*.

leave Epirus to settle in Turkey⁴¹. Definitely the Chams were not exchangeable.

Nevertheless, by the end of 1926, the likelihood of escalations of tensions between Greece and Albania had created on the Greek side, despite the agreement reached on this issue, fears that the "question of the Moslems of Chamuria" might be a fertile ground for a new Albanian diplomatic offensive. Moreover, the increased Italian influence on Albania (the signature of the Italian-Albanian pact of "friendship and security" took place on November 27, 1926)⁴² was another source of anxiety for Athens. Indeed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had serious reservations because the "interest of the Albanians for their 'brothers' had the backing of a more important power whose territorial ambitions extended to the territories washed by the Adriatic sea, not to mention the Ionian sea; this power could not but benefit from the existence of the Cham minority either because it was favored by this minority, which was hostile to the Greek State, or because it [the 'important power', i.e. Italy] could always use the Chams...as a counterweight to the [Greek] efforts in Northern Epirus"⁴³.

These concerns led the Greek government to initiate a series of convulsive efforts for the settlement of the dispute: since there were some among the Moslems of Chamuria who wanted to leave for Turkey, the possibilities of creating a "migration current" among them were still considerable⁴⁴. For such a movement to take place, the approval of the Turkish government was required. The necessary contact took place in January 1927, but Ankara's reaction was negative: it was impossible for Moslem of Epirus to be welcomed in Turkey, since the Albanian government, using the pretext that such a thing was contrary to the decisions of the League of Nations, had already expressed its opposition. Furthermore, another subject that preoccupied then the rulers of Ankara was the settling of the Turks from Russia⁴⁵.

In the meantime, the Albanian charges directed against Greece con-

41. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 7th year, No. 4 (April 1926), Minutes of the thirty-ninth session of the Council, fourth meeting (March 16th, 1926), pp. 510-511.

42. Pietro Pastorelli, *Italia e Albania, 1924-1927. Origini diplomatiche del trattato di Tirana del 22 Novembre 1927* (Florence, 1967), pp. 359-360.

43. AYE, 1928, A/21/I, "Memorandum on the Chams", October 13, 1927 (without signature).

44. AYE, 1926-1927-1928, B/68/6, the General Administrator of Epirus to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 41 (confidential), Yannina, December 9, 1926.

45. AYE, 1926-1927-1928, B/68/6, Michael Tsamados, Greek minister in Ankara, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 40, Ankara, January 14, 1927.

cerning the Moslems of Chamuria gradually increased and reached their climax during the first half of 1928. Indeed, on February 3 of that year, the Albanian legation at Athens issued a "confidential memorandum" to the Greek government which 1) emphasized that the "Albanian minority in Greece" enjoyed none of the rights granted by the constitution and the laws of the country and 2) expressed the concern that in the absence of any change the Chams would have to abandon their "ancestral homes" and seek refuge in Albania, which in turn would put the government of that country in a "very difficult position"⁴⁶. In the same month the Albanian government initiated steps to persuade the Greek authorities to grant permission for the duty free importation of 200 quintals of corn in Greece for the "Albanians of Chamuria" who "were starving to death"⁴⁷. Finally, although this effort did not materialize due to the reaction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens, the attempt to create a negative impression on the international scene for the Greek government was evident⁴⁸. In March, the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered to the Greek chargé d'affaires at Tirana a memorandum reiterating the Albanian charges for the "austere measures" exercised by the local authorities against the Chams and expressing a formal protest for the Greek government did not recognize them as a "national minority"⁴⁹. Finally, upon the request of the Albanian government, the question was reported for discussion in the agenda of the 50th session (4-9 June 1928) of the Council of the League of Nations. The main element of the Albanian position consisted of the charge that the local authorities were making life "unbearable" for the Moslems of Chamuria to force them out of the country⁵⁰. The Greek side, represented by Nicholas Politis, argued that the Albanian government had no right to get involved in the domestic affairs of another country: the Chams were Greek citizens and the projection of Albania as a protector state constituted disregard of the basic elements of Greek sovereign

46. League of Nations, document C.200.1928.VII, Confidential memorandum addressed by the Albanian Legation at Athens to the Greek Government (Athens, February 3, 1928).

47. AYE, 1928, A/21/1, John Kokotakis, Greek chargé d'affaires at Tirana, to the ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 215, Tirana, February 12, 1928.

48. *Ibidem*.

49. Archivio Storico e Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Rome (hereafter: ASMAE), *Grecia*, pacco 1237, fascicolo 5113, "Aide-mémoire remis à la date du 21 mars 1928 par le ministère des Affaires Etrangères d'Albanie à monsieur le chargé d'affaires de Grèce à Tirana".

50. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, IXth year, No. 7 (July 1928), Minutes of the fiftieth session of the Council, second meeting (June 5th, 1928), pp. 868-873.

rights⁵¹. Finally, the Council agreed with the Greek position⁵². Although Albania had managed to exclude the Moslems of Chamuria from the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, she could no longer raise the question of their treatment by the Greek authorities—in order to cover up the mistreatment of the Greek inhabitants in Northern Epirus⁵³.

As part of the propaganda campaign initiated by fascist Italy against Greece, efforts were made in 1940 to rekindle the question⁵⁴. The Chams, moreover, from the beginning of the Greek-Italian war, were not only harboring feelings of sympathy toward the invaders⁵⁵ but also collaborated, during the occupation of Greece by the Axis powers, first with the Italians and then with the Germans⁵⁶. It seems that they were seeking to change the ethnographic composition of the Thesprotia population in order to annex this area to Albania⁵⁷. In 1944, however, despite the assurances of the leadership of the "National Republican Greek League" (EDES) guerillas, who liberated Thesprotia, and in particular the position of Napoleon Zervas who guaranteed that life, personal worth and wealth would be honored⁵⁸, the Chams decided to follow the Germans and settle on Albanian soil⁵⁹. In short, the position advocated by the Moslems of Chamuria during the occupation of Greece resulted in a "radical" solution of the problem those Moslems constituted.

If the basic cause leading to the raising of the question of the Moslems of Chamuria could be located in the compliance of the Greek side which accepted their exclusion from the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, Albania, which sought to transform this insignificant Moslem minority into "a centre of Albanian irredentism on Greek soil"⁶⁰ bears full

51. *Ibidem*, pp. 873-877.

52. *Ibidem*, eighth meeting (June 9th, 1928), pp. 942-943.

53. ASMAE, *Grecia*, pacco 1237, fascicolo 5113, "Aide-mémoire remis par le chargé d'affaires de Grèce à S.E. le ministre des Affaires Etrangères le 7 mars 1928".

54. Mario Cervi, *Storia della guerra di Grecia* (Milan, 1965, second edition), pp. 35-38, 40, 45.

55. J. Archimandritis, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-58.

56. *Ibidem*, p. 58 f.

57. *Ibidem*, p. 61.

58. *Ibidem*, pp. 116-117. See also newspaper *Θεσπρωτικά Νέα* (Athens), June 15, 1947, p. 3.

59. See newspaper *Θεσπρωτικά Νέα*, June 15, 1947, p. 3.

60. ASMAE, *Grecia*, pacco 1237, fascicolo 5113, "Aide-mémoire remis par le chargé d'affaires de Grèce à S.E. le ministre des Affaires Etrangères le 7 mars 1928".

responsibility for the way the question was resolved. The position advocated by the Chams during the occupation years 1941-1944 was, in effect, the outcome of this policy which resulted in the withdrawal of these Moslems from the Chamuria area, not in the annexation of Chamuria to Albania.