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Appendix III

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Appendix IV

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APPENDIX X

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M A P S

Number

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Appendix 1

Number 1

(Extract Paraphrased)

ALLIED RECOGNITION OF ARMENIA

Paris,

19 January 1920

Wallace to Lansing:

File No. 763.72119/8740 conf.

A meeting of the Supreme Council was held this morning, with Clemanceau presiding. Marshal Foch was also present; and, for Great Britain, Field Marshal Wilson, Admiral Beatty, Lord Curzon, Winston Churchill and Long...

The representatives of Azerbaidjan and Georgia were heard with regard to the situation in the Caucasus. Tseretelli advised that Daghestan and Armenia be accorded de facto recognition.

The Georgian and Azerbaidjani representatives having withdrawn, and after further discussion, the Council decided as follows:

"It is agreed: (1) that the government of the Armenian State shall be recognized as a de facto government on the condition that this recognition in no way prejudices the question of the eventual frontier. (2), that the allied governments are not prepared to send to the Trans-

caucasian states the three divisions contemplated by the Inter-Allied committee. (3) (a) to accept the principle of sending to the Caucasian States arms munitions and it possible food. (b) Marshal Foch and Field Marshal Wilson are invited to consider of what these supplies shall consist and the means for their despatch.

The American and Japanese representatives will refer these decisions to their respective Governments."

Appendix I

Number 2

REPORT AND PROPORSALS OF THE COMMISSION  
FOR THE DELIMITATION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF ARMENIA.

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Composition of the Commission

BRITISH EMPIRE

Mr. R. Vansittart, M. V. O.

Colonel W. H. Gribben, C. M. G., C. B. E.

FRANCE

M. Kammerer.

Colonel Chardigny.

ITALY

M. Galli.

Colonel Castoldi.

JAPAN

Lieutenant Commander Anno.

Commission for the Delimitation  
of the Boundaries of Armenia.

London.

24th February, 1920.

After having heard the statements of the Georgian and Armenian Delegations, the Commission has drawn up the present report on the boundaries of the future State of Armenia.

I.

In fixing the extent of territory to be allotted to Armenia three factors must be taken into account:-

(1) The number of Armenians that it will be possible to bring back into Turkish Armenia. According to the data at present available, this number does not exceed 500,000 of whom 150,000 are refugees in Russian Armenia, while the rest are in Turkey or would come from Persia, Bulgaria or America. The Armenian territory must therefore not be too extensive in order that the American element may rapidly obtain preponderance. The proposed boundaries make allowance for the possibilities of the expansion of the race. Armenia, as delimited below by the Commission, exceeds its present possibilities. At

the time of its creation it would have a population of approximately 1,200,000 Armenians in Russian Armenia and 500,000 in Turkish Armenia, in all less than 2 million persons.

2)Strategical reasons.

The frontier of the new state ought not to be too extensive in proportion to its population and should be easily capable of defence. From this point of view it would have been desirable to include Trebizond and Ersinjan within Armenian territory, both forming advantageous point for the concentration of enemy forces, while their approaches are easy of defence, on the one side on the road from the coast, on the other side in the defiles traversed by the two roads which lead from Ersinjan to Kemak and Enderes. The Commission has, however, considered that it is not expedient, for ethnographical and political reasons, to deprive the Turks of a district in which they have always been greatly in the majority, and where the Armenians only represent a small fraction of the population. Finally the existence on the eastern frontier of Armenia of the Tartar State of Azerbaijan, which as a matter of fact, has always been hostile to it, is a further reason for not unduly extending the boundary of Armenia

towards the West, so that the length of her principal line of communication from West to East may be diminished, and too many non-Armenian elements may not be introduced into the territory which the Armenians may be called upon to defend.

3) The necessity for ensuring Armenia an outlet to the sea.

From this point of view, Armenia is in a very unfavorable situation, since before the war the Armenian population did not extend as far as the Sea.

It is therefore necessary that this difficulty should be overcome by the expedients suggested below.

## II

Notwithstanding the desire of the Commission to give Trebizond to Armenia in order that she may be ensured her own outlet to the Sea, the considerations set forth in paragraphs 1 and 2 have induced the Commission to propose that Trebizond and Erzinjan should be left to Turkey, as well as the road by which they are connected.

The Commission has considered the possibility of incorporating the mining district of Gumush Khaneh with Armenia, but as this district is crossed by the road from Erzinjan to Trebizond, which constitutes the outlet of the region of Erzinjan to the sea, the

incorporation of the district of Gumush Khaneh with Armenia appeared to be incompatible with the maintenance of the region a of Erzinjan and Trebizond under Turkish rule.

The boundary between Armenia and the free State of Batum must be determined on the spot by an Interallied Commission, on the principle that the State of Batum shall be as small as possible and that the Kars-Ardahan-Batum road shall belong to Armenia as far as the frontier of that state. The attached map indicates two possible line.

As regards the boundary between the State of Armenia and Georgia and Azerbaijan, the Commission considers that, it is advisable for the present to await the results of the agreement, provided for in the treaties existing between the three Republics, in regard to the delimitation of their respective frontiers by the States themselves.

In the event of these Republics not arriving at an agreement respecting their frontiers, resort must be had to arbitration by the League of Nations, which would appoint an Interallied Commission to settle on the spot the frontiers referred to above, taking into account, in principle, of ethnographical data.

The proposed boundaries on the North, South and West are given in the annex hereto.

In order to give Armenia an outlet to the sea, and since it appears necessary that Trebizond should remain Turkish, the Commission submits the following propositions:

(1) Creation of a Free State of Batum, with which Armenia would be in direct contact through the Valley of Chorek, through which the railway to be constructed between Kars and Batum is eventually to pass.

On the other hand, the frontier between Georgia and Armenia would be fixed in such a way that the present road from Kars to Batum via Ardahan and Artvin would remain in Armenian territory, as far as the Free State of Batum, with a sufficient zone of protection on the north.

Batum would thus be the free port of Trans-Caucasia, of Armenia and of the eastern portion of Lazistan (see below).

It has since been decided to drop the prevision of autonomy for Lazistan. The people are not really in a fit state to exercise it: and Armenia has moreover agreed to sign the treaty drafted by us, giving very ample assurance for the protection of the interests of minorities. This fully covers Lazistan and there is no reason why the Lazes should

have any special regime of their own as compared with the other minorities elsewhere in Armenia who are certainly much more advanced than the Lazes.

(2) Creation of an autonomous State of Lazistan under the nominal suzerainty of Armenia, who may in future convert into carriage roads the bad roads from Baiburt to Surmenek and Of (which latter was constructed by the Russian Army during the war). These roads are included in the zone which would be allotted to the autonomous State of Lazistan.

Lazistan is a mountainous country, inhabited by a primitive, uncultivated Moslem population, of Georgian origin, it is true, (Lazes to the west, Ajars to the East) but with no Georgians sympathies, as was proved by the events of 1914 and 1918. These people, whose leanings are if anything Turkish, were as a matter of fact not very submissive to Turkish rule before the war. Their chief desire is to live as independently as possible.

(3) Right for Armenia to the free use of the road from Erzerum and Baiburt to Trebizond, which, with Platana, would be a port in which would enjoy special privileges for her import and export trade.

In the Hinterland of Trebizond between Tereboli, Ardasa and Surmench (1) the Turks would not

(1) see attached map.

be entitled either to maintain troops or to keep stores of munitions; the present fortifications of Trebizond would have to be demolished.

#### IV.

The Commission wishes to lay stress on the fact that, in its opinion, the creation of an Armenian State including territory formerly Turkish would appear possible only under the two following conditions:

(1) Turkish troops to be withdrawn from the zone allotted to Armenia within a period to be determined by the Allies.

The Turks will not in present conditions withdraw their troops unless very strong pressure is brought to bear. It is beyond the functions of the Commission to indicate the means to be adopted for exercising such pressure, but it is its duty to call attention to this point, in order that the necessary steps may be considered.

(2) Even if the Turkish troops evacuate the formerly Turkish zone allotted to Armenia, the Commission feels bound to point out that the formation of an Armenian State will be extremely difficult without the presence of European troops. Should none of the powers be willing to furnish these troops, the only solution would be to supply Armenia

with all the officers and material necessary for the creation of a solid national army, stiffened, if possible, by volunteers recruited from among the Allied and Associated Powers.

(3) In any event, the protection of the League of Nations should be assured to Armenia, in order that she may be supplied with all material aids to continued existence and economic development.

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Appended hereto is (1) a map showing the boundaries of Armenia on the territory that was Turkish in 1914 (the proposal of the Commission);

(2) map showing approximate boundaries between Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, and the territory in dispute between them;

(3) A map showing the two solutions suggested for the area of the Free State of Batum.