

Appendix I

Number 3

(Copy of translation)

**EMBASSY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED STATES**

Washington

March 12, 1920

Mr. Secretary of State:

I have had the honor orally to inform Your Excellency on the 9th of this month that the work of framing the peace treaty with Turkey had progressed far enough in the London Conference to make it possible to think of calling the Turkish delegates at an early date. I told you then how glad my Government would be to know, as soon as possible, whether the Government of the United States, which takes no part in the said conferences, intends to disclaim interest in the Eastern affairs or, on the contrary, proposes, as the President of the Council would much prefer, to claim its share of influence, activities and responsibilities in the final restoration of universal peace.

Upon your alluding to the nature of the contemplated solutions, I telegraphed to my Government, which puts me in position to let you know that they are as follows:

1-Frontier of Turkey in Europe: The Enos-Midia

His Excellency

The Honorable Frank L. Polk,
Acting Secretary of State.

of more likely Tchadalaja line.

2-Frontier of Turkey in Asia: In the North and West, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, the Mediterranean Sea. In the East, the frontier of the Armenian State. In the South, the stream of the Djaihun Irmak (Cilicia) and a line running north of Aintab, Biredjik, Urfa, Mardin and Djesirch-Ibn-Omar.

3-Zone of the Straits: The Turkish Sultan and Government will be maintained at Constantinople, that decision however being conditioned on the execution of the terms of peace and observance of the guarantees thereby stipulated in favor of the minorities. There shall be no Turkish troops, except the Sultans bodyguard, left in Constantinople.

The right of a military occupation of Turkey in Europe and of a zone South of the Straits and of the Sea of Marmora will be reserved to the Allies.

An international Commission will be created, with executive and financial powers to secure the freedom of the Straits that will be guaranteed in peace as in war. The Commission, which shall exercise its powers in the name of and by delegation from the Sultan, will have its own flag and budget, with power to borrow money on its revenues. It will collect taxes levied on the basis of the complete equality of all countries. It will do the works required for navigation and be

vested with naval police rights. France, England, Italy and eventually the United States and Russia will each have a representative on the Commission commanding two votes. Roumania, Greece, and ultimately Bulgaria will have a representative with one vote. None but the representative of one of the Great Powers can hold the office of President. Several other questions, particularly those connected with the passage of warships and the regime of the Straits in wartime are still under advisement. If Greek territory should stretch to the Sea of Marmora, the Greek shore would be under the same regime as the Turkish shore.

4 - Greek sovereignty will be set over such part of Thrace as is not left to the Turks. Special guarantees will be granted to Ottomans at Adrianople. A free port will be set apart for the Bulgarians.

5 - A special arrangement concerning the three great Mediterranean Powers is in preparation for the purpose of reserving to each in a determined region a preferential right in the matter of furnishing advice and instructors.

6 - The independence of Armenia which shall perfect her financial and military organization with the assistance of the League of Nations will be recognized. Special rights over Lazistan will guarantee her outlet

to the sea.

Turkey would relinquish all rights to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria and all the Islands.

7 - Smyrna and a zone not including Aidin would be administered by the Greeks under the Sultan's suzerainty. The port shall be free and one portion specially set apart for the Turks.

8 - In the field of economics many questions have only received preliminary examination and met with difficulties that will have to be solved by the Supreme Council. But an agreement has been reached on the following points: liquidation of German property in Turkey; continuance of the concessions granted to aliens in territories undergoing a change of sovereignty, except that if there be occasion the concessions may be revised or canceled upon payment of an indemnity; creation of a financial commission charged with the supervision of all the revenues and expenditures of Turkey, continuance of the administration of the Ottoman Public Debt and of the privilege of holders of bonds of that debt on the securities that have been pledged to them; reimbursement of the cost of military occupation restricted to the occupation of territories that are to stay Turkish.

These are substantially the points upon which the Powers represented at the London Conferences have reached

a preliminary understanding.

Be pleased to accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurances of my high consideration.

JUSSERAND.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1920

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of March twelfth, relative to the conferences regarding the Peace Treaty with Turkey and the present status of the negotiation between the principal Allied Powers, and in reply to inform you that the President does not deem it advisable in the present circumstances that the United States be represented by a Plenipotentiary at the conference. The President feels, however, that as this Government is vitally interested in the future peace of the world, it should frankly express its views on the proposed solutions of the difficult questions connected with the Turkish Treaty. While it is true that the United States of America was not at war with Turkey, yet it was at war with the principal allies of that country and contributed to the defeat of those allies and, therefore, to the defeat of the Turkish Government. For that reason, too, it is believed that it is the

His Excellency,

J. J. Jusserand,

Ambassador of the French Republic.

duty of this Government to make known its views and urge a solution which will be both just and lasting.

The Government of the United States understands the strength of the arguments for the retention of the Turks at Constantinople, but believes that the arguments against it are far stronger and contain certain imperative elements, which it would not seem possible to ignore. It was the often expressed intention of the Allies that the anomaly of the Turks in Europe should cease, and it cannot be believed that the feelings of the Mohammedan people, who not only witnessed the defeat of the Turkish power without protest, but even materially assisted in the defeat, will now so resent the expulsion of the Turkish Government as to make a complete reversal of policy on the part of the great Powers desirable or necessary.

As to the line given as the southern frontier of Turkey, it is assumed that this boundary is meant to be the ethnological frontier of the Arab people, in which case, it is suggested, certain rectifications would seem necessary. If, however, other considerations entered into the choice of this line, this Government, without any intention to criticize, would appreciate being furnished with the arguments

dictating such a choice.

The Government of the United States notes with pleasure that provision is made for Russian representation on the International Council, which it is proposed shall be established for the Government of Constantinople and the Straits. This Government is convinced that no arrangement that is now made concerning the government and control of Constantinople and the Straits can have any elements of permanency unless the vital interests of Russia in those problems are carefully provided for and protected, and unless it is understood that Russia, when it has a Government recognized by the civilized world, may assert its right to be heard in regard to the decisions now made.

It is noted with pleasure that the questions of passage of war ships and the regime of the Straits in wartime are still under advisement as this Government is convinced that no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia.

As for Thrace, it would seem right that that part of East Thrace, which is outside of the zone reserved for Constantinople, should become part of the Kingdom of Greece with the exception of the northern part of that province. As this, the northern part, is clearly Bulgarian in population, justice and fair dealing

demand that the cities of Adrianople and Kirk Kllissch and the surrounding territory should become part of Bulgaria. Not only is the claim of Bulgaria worthy of most serious consideration on ethnic and historical grounds, but it would also seem that Bulgaria is entitled to have its claim to this territory favorably considered in view of its having been compelled to surrender purely Bulgarian territory and many thousands of Bulgars on its western boundary on no other grounds than the rather doubtful grounds of securing a strategic frontier for Serbia.

In connection with the proposed preferential right of the three great Mediterranean Powers to furnish advisers and instructors in certain zones, this Government feels that it is necessary for it to have more information as to the reason and purpose of such a plan before it can express an intelligent opinion.

There can be no question as to the genuine interest of this Government in the plans for Armenia, and the Government of the United States is convinced that the civilized world demands and expects the most liberal treatment for that unfortunate country. Its boundaries should be drawn in such a way as to recognize all the legitimate claims of the Armenian people and particularly to give them easy and unencumbered access to the sea. While unaware of the considerations governing

decision reached by the Supreme Council, it is felt that special rights over Lazistan would hardly assure to Armenia that access to sea indispensable to its existence. It is hoped that, taking into consideration the fact that Trebizond has always been the terminus of the trade route across Armenia and that Mr. Venizelos, on behalf of the Greeks of that region, has expressed their preference for connection with Armenia rather than Turkey, the Powers will be willing to grant Trebizond to Armenia.

In regard to the relinquishment by Turkey of her rights to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and the Islands, this Government suggests that the method resorted to in the case of Austria be adopted, namely, that Turkey should place these provinces in the hands of the great Powers, to be disposed of as those Powers determine.

In regard to the arrangement for Smyrna, this Government is not in a position to express an opinion as the question is too important to be passed on with the limited information this Government has as to the exact arrangement that is contemplated and the reasons for the same.

The Government of the United States can quite understand the difficulties that have confronted the Supreme Council in dealing with the economic questions

that present themselves for settlement in connection with this Treaty. It is easy to see that the problems are complex and fruitful of misunderstanding because of the conflicting interests involved, but this Government has every confidence that the problems will be dealt with in a spirit of fairness and with scrupulous regard for the commercial interests of victor, vanquished and neutral.

It is evident that there is yet much to be done before a comprehensive plan can be worked out and this Government will welcome further information on the subject of the economic clauses of this Treaty. Incidentally, the plan that has apparently been worked out by the Supreme Council in connection with continuation of concessions granted to aliens and giving the right to revise or cancel concessions on payment of indemnity, referred to in the eighth paragraph of Your Excellency's note, has grave possibilities and would seem to require careful elucidation.

Let me say in conclusion that it is the understanding of the Government of the United States that whatever territorial changes or arrangements may be made in the former Ottoman Empire, such changes or arrangements will in no way place American citizens or corporations, or the citizens or corporations of any other country in a

less favorable situation than the citizens or corporations of any Power party to this Treaty.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Bainbridge Colby

April 23, 1920

No.

Sir:

Referring to communications heretofore received from you on the subject of the proposed recognition of your Government by the Government of the United States, I am pleased to inform you, and through you, your Government, that, by direction of the President, the Government of the United States recognizes, as of this date, the de facto Government of the Armenian Republic.

This action is taken, however, with the understanding that this recognition in no way predetermines the territorial frontiers, which, it is understood, are matters for later delimitation.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Bainbridge Colby,
Secretary of State.

Dr. G. Pasdermadjian,
Representative of the Armenian Republic,
Congress Hall Hotel,
Washington, D. C.

Appendix I

Number 6

(Extract Paraphrased)

San Remo

24 April 1920

Johnson to Colby:

File № 763.72119/9728

This afternoon when I entered the Conference I found that the question of mandates was being considered. The agenda included:

- (1) Boundaries of Armenia
- (2) Mandates
- (3) Hedjas
- (4) Report of the Drafting Committee
- (5) Russia

Point (1) had already been discussed. I am informed that, on Lloyd George's suggestion, I shall tonight be asked to submit the Council's decision to the President. It would appear that Armenia is to have an outlet to the sea via Batum---

Appendix I

Number 7

(Extract Paraphrased)

San Remo

25 April 1920

Johnson to Colby:

File № 763.72119/9726

These points were considered at today's meeting of eleven A. M.: (1) Mandates, (2) Armenia, (3) Hejas, (4) Russia...

(2) While Armenia did not figure on the Agenda, a Resolution previously proposed was brought up again and passed. The gist of this resolution was, first, to request the United States to take over the Armenian mandate, and, second, to invite the President - in case America refuses the mandate - to settle the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia. The Council agreed that I. rather than Nitti, the Chairman, should forward this paper. I shall see Curzon about it tomorrow morning and report by telegraph as promptly as may be. As the Treaty is to be handed the Turks on May 10th. Lloyd George said that it would be highly advantageous to have a reply regarding the mandate before that date. He said further that he had received reports of additional massacres in Cilicia and of the withdrawal of the French. Millerand taxed the Armenians with exaggeration and declared that there might be military

movements in Cilicia but that there was no question of evacuating...

Appendix I

Number 8

(Paraphrase)

San Remo

26 April 1920

Johnson to Colby:

File № 763.72119/9746

In confidential conversation with an important personage, I have just heard the story of what has been happening with regard to Armenia. The drafting of the Turkish treaty was referred, at a meeting of the Supreme Council held in London in January, to a conference of Ambassadors under the Chairmanship of Lord Curzon. Thus was the ground prepared for San Remo. An expert commission submitted to the conference of Ambassadors a report on frontiers, etc., which has not been made public. Van, Bitlis, Mush, the province of Erzerum, and Lazistan, were to be added to Armenia. Trebizond was not included for fear the Armenians would be unable to hold it, but a demilitarized zone was recommended in order to provide access to the sea through Trebizond.

These proposals were transmitted to San Remo by the London Conference of Ambassadors. They were supported by Curzon, by the French, and, naturally, by the Armenians. Lloyd George and Nitti attacked them,

however, on the following grounds:

1. Very few Armenians are left in this territory, which is now predominantly Turkish.

2. The Turks will not give it up without fierce fighting.

3. The Armenians are not strong enough to take it by force.

4. As France and England are already preoccupied in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, the Allies are in no position to aid the Armenians.

5. Who else can furnish this aid?

In the circumstances, it was agreed not to indicate in the Turkish Treaty the frontier with Armenia, and to invite Mr. Wilson to settle the question. According to my informant, there will be an outcry among the Armenians and their friends in America when the Treaty is handed to the Turks and it transpires that San Remo has evaded the Armenian problem. In this respect, the Conference will be judged a fiasco. I replied that in view of the hopelessness of the Armenians a couple of days ago, they were well out of the difficulty for the moment, and that my informant perhaps took too dark a view of the case.

Curzon will lay three documents before the Conference this afternoon: (1) A despatch to the League of Nations in reply to a communication from the latter declining the

Armenian mandate; (2) A replay to the American Note on the proposed Treaty with Turkey; (3) A request to Washington in the matter of Armenia. This will be in three sections: first, an appeal to America to assume the mandate; second, an invitation to the President to draw the Western frontier; third, a statement as to American assistance needed, both military and financial.

Two maps of Armenia and a copy of the London sub-commission's report are being forwarded by pouch.

Appendix I

Number 9

(Extract Paraphrased)

San Remo

27 April 1920

Johnson to Colby:

File № 763.72119/9747

At the Monday afternoon meeting of the Supreme Council a reply to the Washington despatch on the proposed Turkish Treaty was approved as follows. It was agreed that this reply should be signed by Nitti and transmitted by myself.

"While the Governments of the Allied Powers attach importance to the frankness of the views expressed by the Government of the United States, they have perforce postponed their answer to Mr. Colby's Note until the clauses of the proposed Treaty with Turkey should have reached the point where they could be laid before the San Remo Conference.

"The Supreme Council takes note of the fact that Washington does not intend to be represented at the Conference otherwise than by an observer. Whence it appears that America does not propose to be party to the Turkish Treaty.

"The Council is happy to be assured by the presence of Mr. Johnson, however, that his Government relaxes none

of its interest in the conditions of peace to be offered Turkey, and take pleasure in hereby extending further information as to details passed upon before the arrival of the American Ambassador at Rome. The wish of his Government to be kept informed is not interpreted as signifying that the conclusion of the Treaty should be postponed for an exhaustive discussion of each point in the American Note and for a final agreement between the parties concerned. In the circumstances, such a course would have precluded the possibility of conducting negotiations to any profitable end.

"The Governments of the Allied Powers have made no secret of their desire that America should take part in drawing up and signing the instrument which is to reconstitute Turkey on just and permanent foundations. This desire caused them to postpone the Turkish negotiations, not without risk of a renewal of the war. They entirely comprehend the reasons, which have prevented the United States from becoming signatory to the Treaty. The task of negotiating it has not been simplified, however, by this postponement, and in the circumstances it has fallen to the Allied Governments alone. They have not evaded this burdensome duty, and have attempted to discharge it as best they could. They are

assured that the terms which they are soon to offer the Constantinople Government will not be found inharmonious with the spirit shared by the United States and themselves in carrying on the war and in drawing up the other treaties of peace.

"The Allied Governments are at one with United States in its desire that the present Treaty be just and impartial to all the parties concerned. It cannot be justice, however, to grant the same consideration to the Turks, who made common cause with the Germans and the Austro-Hungarians in their attack upon the peace of Europe, as to their former subjects who have been freed from Turkish tyranny at immense cost to the Allies of treasure and blood.

"The Supreme Council will now consider the particular points mentioned in the Note of the American Government...

"7" The Supreme Council fully participates in the concern expressed by America with regard to Armenian independence. The Allies have every wish to grant Armenia such territory as she may within reason desire for the necessities of the present and of the future. No question of the entire treaty has been more baffling of solution, and the Supreme Council has been faced by the most discouraging difficulties. Another Note will present the problem in full to the American Government.*

*See Johnson to Colby; San Remo, April 27. File № 763.72119/9749. Appendix I, No. 10.

Appendix I

Number 10

(Paraphrase)

San Remo

27 April 1920

Johnson to Colby:

File № 763.72119/9749

See my cables of 25 and 26 April.

At its Monday afternoon meeting the Supreme Council accepted Curzon's proposed note to the President with reference to Armenia. Agreed that Nitti should sign the Note and I forward it. Text follows:

"Merely cursory reference to the Armenian question is made in today's despatch to the American Government, replying to the communication of March 26th from the Secretary of State, with the additional statement that this subject will be dealt with separately. The Supreme Council now wishes, accordingly, to lay the following consideration before the Government of the United States.

"An inquiry was addressed, early in the course of the negotiations in London and Paris with regard to the terms of peace with Turkey, to the Council of the League of Nations, as to the degree in which that body, interested as it was known to be in Armenia's destiny, might be disposed to assist in assuring to the future state

her safety and independence.

"In the circumstances, since the League of Nations is not itself a state and lacks the forces or the resources to assume a mandate, the Supreme Council had no intention of requesting the League to undertake the responsibilities of a mandatory. In replying, however, the Council of that body stated that although the League sympathized fully with the aim, which the Principal Allied Powers had in view, that aim would be most successfully attained through the cooperation, as mandatory, of a member of the League or of some outside Power.

"While examining this answer, the Supreme Council was immediately put in mind of a belief which it has long held that the United States is the sole Great Power qualified both by her sympathies and by her resources to assume on behalf of humanity the duty of a mandate. The Note of the American Secretary of State truly describes this duty as "the demand and expectation of the civilized world". The Supreme Council has at no time forgotten that nowhere than in the speeches of Mr. Wilson has the aim of a free Armenia, among the various aims for which the Allies and America carried on the war to a successful conclusion, been more eloquently presented.

"The Supreme Council therefore takes this occasion to invite the United States to assume a mandate for Armenia. In so doing, the Supreme Council has no wish whatever to escape its natural responsibilities. It does so because the resources of the Allies will be strained to the last degree by obligations already incurred in reorganizing the Turkish Empire as it existed in 1914, as well as because the Supreme Council believes that a Power untrammelled by the alliances and preoccupations of Europe will command greater confidence and offer stronger guarantees of stability than a cis-Atlantic government.

"Questions as to the extent of the responsibility which Washington is requested to undertake, involving as it does the area and confines of the new Armenia, may well be asked in America. It lies in the power of the American Government to answer those questions in its own terms.

"No point of the negotiations which have been taking place has been more seriously discussed or has been found thornier than that of the frontiers of Armenia. The plea for a larger Armenia has been consistently upheld by President Wilson; but circumstances with which he is acquainted made it necessary to curtail these hopes in part, while the idea of a state stretching to the Mediterranean

and including Cilicia has long been given up.

"It remained to decide what parts of the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum and Trebizond, which the Turks still hold, might be added without danger or impropriety to Russian Armenia, and in what way the new State might be rendered self-sufficient by means of access to the sea. In short, the precise western and southern frontiers of Armenia to be indicated in the Turkish Treaty had yet to be drawn. It is hoped that the frontiers with Azerbaijan and Georgia will be delimited by common accord, and at all events, there is no necessity of considering them now.

"Neither is it necessary to refer to the arguments presented, bearing on both sides of the question at issue. It is enough to say that the Supreme Council agreed upon an appeal to a disinterested and entirely impartial arbiter as being the best of the possible solutions. The Supreme Council therefore decided to add a request in this sense to its invitation to the President. The Supreme Council hopes that, however the American Government may reply in the wider matter of the Mandate, the President will undertake this honorable duty not only for the sake of the country chiefly concerned but for that of the peace of the Near East. The Supreme Council has accordingly decided:

"(a) To communicate to President Wilson a request

that the United States assume, within the limits stated in Section 5* of the first printed draft of the Turkish Treaty, a mandate over Armenia;

"(b) To invite the President, whatever be the reply of the American Government with regard to the mandate, to arbitrate the frontiers of Armenia as described in the draft article;

"(c) To insert in the Treaty an article on Armenia in sense as follows: The high contracting parties consent to refer the question of the frontier between Turkey and Armenia, in the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum and Trebizond, to the President of the United States and to abide by his arbitration, as by any condition he may lay down providing for Armenia's access to the sea. Until the President's decision has been handed down, the boundaries of Armenia and Turkey will remain as they are now. As for the northern and eastern frontiers of Armenia, in case the three Caucasian Republics fail to reach an agreement on this subject, the Supreme Council will delimit the disputed boundaries at the time when the Armeno-Turkish boundary is given out.

"Aside from these questions, there are other phases of the situation which the Supreme Council feels it important to bring to the sympathetic notice of the Govern-

*Apparently Section VI of the first draft of the Turkish Treaty.

ment at Washington. After the reestablishment of peace with Turkey, there must unavoidably supervene, in whose hands soever the guidance of Armenian affairs may lie, a period of transition during which, unless the new state be able to count on help from outside, its safety and even its existence will hang in the balance. Armenia will find herself in instant need of two things: military forces adequate to ward off aggression from without, and financial resources sufficient for the internal organization of the country and for the development of its economic possibilities. These needs may both, in the last resort, be regarded as of a financial order.

"The Supreme Council is of the opinion that the military problem is less formidable than might at first be thought. The forces of the existing Armenian Government have until the present time been chiefly engaged in unfortunate clashes with those of Georgia and Azerbaijan. An agreement has recently been made between the three republics, however, and it is hoped that with the settlement of these disputes Armenia will be able to concentrate her forces on her new frontiers. The Allies have thoroughly considered the possibility of enforcing the territorial clauses of the Turkish Treaty in this quarter by means of their own military aid. While ammunition and arms are already being supplied, neither the Armenians nor their friends in other countries should delude them-

selves with the hope that Allied troops can be spared for this purpose. Not only have the Principal Allied Powers already assumed very heavy responsibilities in Europe and elsewhere, but the necessity of occupying and administering regions which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire and the possibility that they may be compelled to enforce the Treaty in parts of Turkey itself, will make it impossible for them to undertake further military burdens. Armenia will therefore be compelled to rely on her own resources, eked out by Allied supplies and instructors, unless she succeeds in obtaining immediate aid from some outside Power. Volunteers from America or from some other country would undoubtedly be gratefully received and employed to the greatest advantage. But still more advantageous, enabling Armenia to apply her man power in the most effective manner to her own defense, would be an offer, by a great civilized state, on an organized scale, of material assistance and technical specialists. The Supreme Council considers it of great importance to learn whether the Government or the people of the United States find in themselves any willingness to be of service in this degree to Armenia.

"Still more urgent, however, is the matter of credits. We understand that the Council of the League of Nations

has under consideration a proposal to the Assembly of that body to recommend an Armenian loan, underwritten by all the countries belonging to the League. What response might be made to such an appeal, if issued, the Supreme Council naturally has no means of knowing. But even if the response were favorable, it could not be acted upon without a further lapse of time. The loan might not, furthermore, be sufficient to meet the necessities of Armenia; and, for obvious reasons, the American Government could not in any case be included in an appeal to members of the League of Nations. Thus in the very country where the consequences of the war are believed to be less burdensome than among any of the recent belligerents, where the drain upon the resources of a powerful and wealthy people has been least serious, and where sympathy for Armenia is most active and sincere, help might fall to be forthcoming.

"It is not for the Supreme Council to point out to America how the Armenian cause could best be furthered - whether by act of Government or by public or private contributions. A loan of a few millions sterling by the United States might suffice to put Armenia upon her feet at once. It is believed, on the other hand, that there are in America numerous private bodies, which would willingly subscribe to a cause so deserving. The Armenians themselves, moreover, would hardly hesitate at such a crisis in the affairs of their country to put their hands in

their pockets. They would not expect or desire to be wholly dependent upon the alms or the impulse of foreigners. We are convinced that well-to-do Armenians will donate generously toward that rehabilitation of their homeland, which they have awaited with such patience, with suffering so protracted and so cruel. Indeed few worthier appeals have been addressed to the conscience and to the heart of humanity, and mankind might well vie in responding to it.

"The Supreme Council has no wish to press the American Government in the matter of reaching decisions so momentous. But it goes without saying that Armenia will be in extreme anxiety, and the return of peace to the Near East may be unhappily or even disastrously retarded, while these questions remain in suspense. The various countries concerned would therefore be greatly relieved if the United States found it possible to express as soon as may be convenient its views on any or all of the above questions. And in conclusion we venture to voice our very sincere hope that the response may be of a favourable nature."

(Signed) Nitti.

Appendix I

Number 11

(Paraphrase)

Washington

17 May 1920

Colby to Wallace:

Nº 949

See Johnson's cable of 25 April from San Remo, regarding Armenia (763.72119/9749).

Having studied the question of the invitation tendered by the Principal Allied Powers that he consent to delimit the southern and western frontiers of Armenia, the President wishes his acceptance to be conveyed to those Powers. He is happy to be able to serve the Armenians in this manner. You are requested to transmit this reply to the members of the Supreme Council.