

**ECONOMIC POSITION OF PORTS
IN THE TREBIZOND VILAYET**

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The leading ports in the Vilayet of Trebizond, east to west, - Rize, Trebizond, Tireboli, Kerasun and Ordu- are open roadsteads lacking natural or artificial harbors and frequently subject to violent westerly winds making landings impossible. Their only water connections with European countries (except those bordering on the Black Sea) are (a) via the Bosphorus, Sea of Marmora, and Dardanelles, and (b) via the Danube. A third route being actively considered now is the construction of a canal at the junction of the Danube and Morava rivers following down the Vardor Valley emptying at Salonica on the Aegean Sea, and capable of accommodating ships of 1000 tons.

The five ports mentioned above do not possess navigable rivers, nor interior railway connections. The principal highway is the ancient Teheran-Tabriz-Erzerum route terminating at Trebizond. This alone is responsible for the predominant position of Trebizond which handles approximately 70% of the total imports and 60% of the total exports of these five ports - percentages, moreover, which correspond closely with

the situation thirty years ago, with respect to the five ports. Riza has the double disadvantage of proximity to the former Russian border and practical isolation by reason of the very mountainous back country. Kerasun and Ordu present no special advantages, are flanked by the Pontic ranges, and serve a hinterland which will probably lie outside the Armenian State. The choice of the chief port of the future is limited, therefore, to Trebizond and Tireboli.

As between Trebizond and Tireboli, the most vital consideration is the development of transportation routes to the interior vilayets of Erzerum, Van and Bitlis. At the present time the advantage belongs to Trebizond on account of the well-established caravan route usable for motor trucks, while Tireboli has no road worthy the name. Still, it is evident that a railway of some description must be built. Competent engineers and Turkish government officials have suggested that a railway to either port should properly pass through Baiburt and Gomush-khana. The question remaining is the relative merits of the Gumush-khana-Trebizond and Gumush-khana-Tireboli routes, a question which must be decided in favor of the latter due to the position of the Karshut Valley. In 1911-12 a French company, Régie Générale des Chemin de Fer

made surveys of the Trebizond route, but no definite action was taken. Previously, in 1909, the Turkish Minister of Public Works stated that a broad gauge railway could not be constructed to Trebizond, therefore Tireboli should be selected. The cost of construction he estimated would exceed 16,000 Turkish pounds (\$70,400) per kilometer, a figure which should be compared with the estimate of 8,500 Turkish pounds (\$37,400) per kilometer for the Samsun-Sivas project, and the most expensive per kilometer construction of any proposed railway in all Turkey. These estimates are based on costs then prevailing, much below the present levels. Neither the physical features of the country nor the prospective traffic would warrant standard gauge construction for many years to come. A 2'6" (1, 07 meter) gauge would effect a saving of approximately 20% to 25% over the estimates for standard gauge. Possibly a narrow gauge line would suffice, resulting in still lower costs. Careful surveys are necessary, with proper attention to political conditions, before this important decision could be definitely taken.

There is little choice with respect to port and harbor facilities. Trebizond and Tireboli are located not far distant from each other, and are subject in the main to like climatic influences. The Turkish Minister of Public Works recommended in 1909 the construction of

a port at Tireboli, providing the railway to Trebizond was finally considered too difficult. The needed improvements at either port were reckoned to cost 350,000 Turkish pounds (\$1,540,000). British interests, through the National Bank of Turkey (a British institution) concluded with the Turkish Government at August 21, 1911, an agreement for the construction and working of the ports of Samsun and Trebizond. The amount of capital involved for both exceeded 2,000,000 Turkish pounds (\$8,800,000), which compared with the Turkish Minister's estimate of 1,250,000 Turkish pounds (\$5,500,000) two years previously. The well-known British firm, Sir John Jackson Company, Ltd., had already commenced the erection of a breakwater at Trebizond when work was stopped in the late summer of 1914.

Trebizond offers the following advantages, - (a) established trading and shipping houses; (b) established banks including Imperial Ottoman Bank and Banque de Salonique; (c) established caravan routes; (d) location further distant from Turkish provinces, therefore easier to defend from Turkish aggression; (e) port works started and railway surveys partially made.

Tireboli offers these advantages, - (a) railway construction more feasible; (b) more centrally

located with respect to competitive ports of Batum and Samsun; (c) located nearer to Turkish provinces, affording greater commercial advantages; (d) not subject to the same opposition from the Greek Government or the Anatolian Greeks; (e) apparently preferred by the Armenians themselves.

Neither Trebizond nor Tireboli were highly regarded by the Turkish Minister of Public Works in 1909. In fact judging by the estimates for the various port projects, he seemed to consider either Trebizond or Tireboli as relatively unimportant. While it is possible that the determining fact in this case was the desire not to favor Turkish Armenia, undoubtedly the future of either port would not compare economically with some of the other ports considered, such as Samsun and Mersina. Considering the whole Turkish Empire, the Turkish Minister regarded the proposed railway as only thirteenth in importance and in his third grouping.

Trebizond has lost most of its old Persian transit trade because of the Transcaucasian railways and Russian-Persian tariffs, freight rates, and commercial treaties. Despite Persia's increased prosperity and the higher scale of prices, her exports to Trebizond declined from \$5,237,000 for the five-year period 1861-5 to \$675,000 for the five-year period 1906-10; Persia's

imports from Trebizond dropped from \$6,560,000 to \$1,580,000, contrasting these two periods. It is doubtful if this port can regain much of the trade even with railway connections to the Black Sea coast. An important factor is the question of customs tariffs and regulations at the various frontiers. A mutual agreement between Armenia and Turkey allowing goods in transit to move freely and not subjected to burdensome export or import duties will accrue to the benefit of Tireboli because this seaport is nearer the productive regions of Kerasun and Ordu, and in fact, all of Anatolian Turkey. It is not reasonable to expect that Turkish Armenia can depend on much transit trade from the countries eastward.

Eliot Grinnell Mears

American Trade Commissioner,
U.S. Department of Commerce;
Industrial and Commercial Expert,
Harbord Mission to Armenia and
Transcaucasia.

**RAILROAD PROJECTS FOR TURKISH-ARMENIA
BEFORE THE WAR**

In 1908 when, as the representative from the Vilayet of Erzerum in the Ottoman Parliament, I became acquainted with the railroad projects for Turkish-Armenia, it became evident to me that Russia and Germany had agreed not to allow any railroad construction in Turkish-Armenia. France, on the other hand, in order to please her powerful ally, had adopted a policy of disinterestedness in this matter.

In the face of this situation, I undertook to interest American capitalists in the railroad construction in Armenia and I was meeting with considerable success when German interests stepped in and, by virtue of their diplomatic influence with the officials of the Turkish Government, attempted to block the way of American capitalists. From 1909 to 1911, two American companies pursued the proposed plan of building about 2,000 kilometers of railroads in Armenian Vilayets, but finally, due to German intrigues, dropped the matter in disgust.

In 1911-1912 lengthy negotiations took place between French capitalists and the Turkish Government, on the one hand, and between French capitalists and the

Russian Government on the other. As the outcome of these negotiations, Russia agreed to yield in favor of the French capitalists in this railroad project, with the understanding that the above-mentioned roads were to be built on account of the Turkish Government and not as an exclusive concession to French capitalists, so that Russian capital would also participate in the project.

On the part of French capitalists, these negotiations were conducted by the Regie Generale des Chemins-de-fer. In the summer of 1911 two separate expeditions were started for the survey of the proposed railroad lines: (a) Samsun-Sivas-Kharput; (b) Trebizond-Erzerum; one by the French capitalists and the other by the Turkish Ministry of Public Works.

These two separate investigations concurred in their conclusions that the line running from Trebizond or Riza to Erzerum would incur an exorbitant and prohibitive expense, and concluded that the railroad leading from the Black Sea to the highlands of Erzerum could be more economically built from Tripolis (Tireboli) by way of the Karshut Valley to Erzerum.

When the result of this survey expedition became known in 1912, the Ministry of Public Works undertook

to start a survey of the Tripolis (Tireboli) Harbor. Then the representatives from Trebizond in Parliament protested against the Ministry and demanded that preference be given to the Harbor of Trebizond in this matter of railroad development, and succeeded in compelling the Ministry to abandon the survey of the Harbor of Tripolis.

By an ex-Member of
the Ottoman Parliament.

**STATEMENT OF PREMIER VENIZELOS ON
TREBIZOND BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF TEN**

Secretary's Notes of a Conversation held in M. Pichon's room at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, on Tuesday 4 February, 1919, at 11:00 o'clock A. M.

The United States of America was represented at this meeting by President Wilson, Mr. Lansing, Mr. Frazier, Mr. Harrison, Lieutenant Burden, Mr. Day, and Mr. Westermann.

Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Greece, were represented by Messrs. Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, Makino, Venizelos, and a number of others for each of the countries concerned.

M. Venizelos had been asked the previous day by M. Clemenceau to explain the territorial claims of Greece. On this day he continued his explanation and spoke, *inter alia*, regarding Trebizond as stated below:

"In reply to an enquiry which had been addressed to him by President Wilson, he explained that Trebizond, containing a population of 360, 000 Greeks, had claimed to be formed into a small Republic. He did not favour this proposal as he thought it would be very undesirable to create a

large number of small States, especially as the country surrounding the town comprised a very large number of Turks. In his opinion, the vilayet of Trebizond should form part of the State of Armenia.

"MR. LLOYD GEORGE enquired whether M. Venizelos had any idea as to what should constitute the Armenian State.

"M. VENIZELOS said that in his opinion the Armenian State should include the six Armenian vilayets, together with Russian Armenia and the vilayets of Trebizond and Adana.

"MR. LLOYD GEORGE enquired whether Cilicia would be included in the Armenian State.

"M. VENIZELOS replied in the affirmative and said that Armenia would contain all the territories around Mount Ararat.

"PRESIDENT WILSON remarked that the whole question was mixed up with humane considerations. The American missionaries had said that the Turks had also treated the Turks very badly at the time they were ill-

treating the Armenians. He enquired if M. Venizelos could throw any light on this report.

"M. VENIZELOS said that no Turks had been ill-treated; but Mahomedans, such as Arabs, Kurds, etc., had certainly been persecuted, and that was quite natural."

Appendix V

Number 4

(Paraphrase)

Athens

14 May 1920.

Frazier to Colby.

File No. 763.72119/9863

The terms of the Turkish Treaty were read before the Boule yesterday by the Prime Minister. During the course of his ensuing speech M. Venizelos gave voice to the hope that the Armenia to be constituted by President Wilson might be as large as practicable. The Premier expressed a belief that the President would not grant Armenia access to the sea through Trebizond and thus divide the Vilayet of Trebizond. When the question was first discussed M. Venizelos was of the opinion that Armenia and Pontus might be placed under the jurisdiction of mandatories, and that the territorial divisions might be manipulated in such a way as to constitute a federation of the two regions, the populations concerned had, whether happily or unhappily he could not say, disapproved of this solution. But he would not be disturbed if the whole province of Trebizond were detached from Turkey and made a part of Armenia. The Hellenism of that region was too strong for cooperation

with another Christian people to be feared. He thought it impracticable to partition Pontus by severing a portion of it in order to add it to another country. The Armenian representatives at the Peace Conference fully agreed with him on this point. He stated in conclusion that he had thus expressed his views at length on account of the allusion to access to the Black Sea for Armenia made in a note of President Wilson.

As for the Balkan Peninsula, M. Venizelos denied emphatically that Greece entertained an ambition to be the paramount Power in that part of the world. Both Rumania and Serbia had expanded territorially more than Greece, who welcomed this widening of their frontiers. Greece, aside from the unsettled question of Northern Epirus, wished no further territory northward or in the direction of Bulgaria. As the spokesman of the Liberal Party, he also stated that Greece did not desire, either, to expand eastward. She would even be pleased to enter into relations with Turkey after the terms of the Treaty of Peace had been fulfilled. The Greek people nevertheless had cause for pride in that, after having survived centuries of tribulation, they had been enabled to rise once more and to effect their unity as a nation in the very countries where for three thousand years they had maintained an unbroken foothold.

Appendix V

Number 5

Right Honourable Sir,

Now that the Ottoman Delegation is discussing at Paris with the Allied Governments the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty, we deem it our imperative duty to respectfully draw the attention of the Conference to the situation of the unredeemed Greeks of the Euxine Pontus.

On several occasions we ventured to submit various memoranda to the Conference asking for the liberation of our fellow-countrymen by the establishment of an Independent Pontian Republic on the southern shores of the Black Sea stretching from the town of Rizeh to the west of Sinope. Although this suggestion was based upon the principle of the right of each people to self-determination of which the victory of the Allies was to consecrate the triumph, it did not receive the support of the Conference; we therefore asked in our memorandum of last March, addressed to the Peace Conference in London, for the establishment in Pontus of at least an autonomous form of government similar to that in force in the Lebanon before the war. We were answered that our desiderata had been under examination by the Supreme Council.

To the Right Honourable Woodrow Wilson,

President of the United States of America,

WASHINGTON.

However, the Peace treaty handed to the Turkish Delegates contains no special clause concerning the Pontus which is only to enjoy the general guarantees relating to minority rights. Yet Pontus constitutes a geographical and economic unit entirely separate from the rest of Asia Minor. It is inhabited by a population which although having different religious opinions, forms nevertheless a homogenous whole ethnically seeing that the bulk of this population is beyond all doubt a pure Greek descent, for even a great number of Mussulmans numbering more than 200,000 have retained their Greek speech and are conscious of their origin.

To these arguments which strengthen our claims, must be added the sufferings which our fellow-countrymen have endured during the war and are still enduring. More than 160,000 of them were brutally deported from their hearths and homes by the Turks and more than 60,000 of them died during this cruel exile.

About a quarter of a million others fled into Russia to escape Turkish persecutions. After the armistice, they began to return, trusting to be able to take up again their peaceful occupations and live without fear of being disturbed by their savage oppressors.

Not only has their legitimate hope not been realized but many of these refugees, natives of in-

land villages, have not even caught a glimpse of their homes, owing to the constant danger of travelling arising from the bands of Turkish brigands and irregulars with whom the country is infested.

After having dragged out a miserable existence during a long time in the towns along the coast, where they lived on the charity of our fellow-countrymen who had bitterly suffered from the war themselves, they resigned themselves to the idea of returning into exile in Russia, a country now become inhospitable for them owing to the Greeks participation in the expedition against the Bolsheviks, and where they had just lost excellent situations gained by long years of work and patient frugality. They preferred however Russian anarchy to Turkish oppression and brutality.

From reliable news which has been reaching us from several months, the situation in Pontus grows steadily worse. Bands of Turkish irregulars created and supported with money stolen from the Greeks unceasingly terrorize them, unarmed and defenceless as they are, while the Turkish population have been provided with arms by the authorities.

The aim of all these measures is to take away from this region its clearly Greek character, which it has preserved after five centuries under a foreign yoke,

and to make it appear Turkish by rendering life there intolerable to the Greeks.

In short, since their coming, the Turks have done nothing but spread poverty, ruin and desolation in this country which being abundantly blessed with all sorts of natural wealth, was worthy to have a better fate.

We therefore venture to appeal once again to the feelings of justice and equity of the Allied Governments, imploring them in the name of the most elementary principles of humanity to take urgent steps to put an end to this deplorable situation in which a whole population is threatened with extinction.

We ask for nothing more than a decent existence for three quarters of a million human beings, nothing but a modicum of security for their lives, honour and property, so that they may live by honest work in peace and harmony with their neighbours.

These rights have been recognised to every nation, however small they may be, and we fail to imagine how the democratic Powers of the Entente, who have proclaimed and accomplished the liberation of so many oppressed peoples, who have encouraged and helped the establishment of free states in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Armenia, etc., can think of refusing us rights which they are said to be ready to grant to the Kurds, since

there is talk of creating an independent Kurdish state. Moreover an independent Pontian State situated on the confines of Armenia and living on friendly terms with it, would render the existence of this latter more easier.

The fact must not be lost sight of that this is not the first time of a trial of self-government being made in Pontus. Just before the occupation of Trebizond by the Russian Army in 1916, the Governor General of the Province of Trebizond handed over the civil administration of the region to a Provisional Government composed of members belonging to the Greek nationality under the leadership of the Metropolitan and said: "We took this country from the Greeks, it is to them that we hand it back to-day."

This Greek Government, which was also recognised by the Russian authorities, continued to assume the responsibilities of civil administration to the general satisfaction of the whole population without any distinction of nationality or creed during the whole time the Russian occupation lasted, and during the critical days from the Russian retreat until the Turkish re-occupation.

It was a just and equitable government, desirous above all of assuring the interests of each and every inhabitant and which showed itself capable of safe-

guarding order and discipline. It was thanked even by the Turkish authorities themselves, represented by General Vehib Pasha, commanding the 3rd Turkish Army.

We venture to hope that the Entente Powers who have at heart the establishment of peace and order in the Near East will take into account our legitimate national aspirations in the settlement of the Turkish problem and consider the urgent steps to be taken in order to save the Pontian population from utter destruction.

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient Servants.

Paris, July 10th, 1920.

Congrès des originaires du Pont-Euxin

Le Président

(Signed) C. J. G. Constantinidès,

Signed: Constantin-Jason G. Constantinidès,
President of the Pan-Pontic Congress.

(Signed) S. OEconomos, (SEAL)

Signed: Socrates OEconomos,
President of the National League
of the Euxine Pontus at Paris,
28, rue Serpent, PARIS VI.

THE GREEKS OF PONTUS

1. (a) The Vilayet of Trebizond, according to the Turkish estimates, contained 1,122,947 persons in 1914, with the following ethnic-religious distribution:

<u>Moslems</u>	<u>Greeks</u>	<u>Armenians</u>	<u>Various</u>
921,128	161,574	40,237	8

(b) Greek estimates suggest that the Greek population of Trebizond may have been as much as 300,000 to 360,000 before the war and that the Armenians numbered 50,000. The Pontic Greeks claim that only 340,000 of Trebizond Moslems are true Turks, the remainder including Surmenites, Circassians, Oflis, and Stavriotes.

(c) The estimates made for American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris are as follows:

Sandjak	Moslems		Greeks		Armenians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Trebizond	568,000	77.1	138,000	18.8	30,000	4.1
Gumush-khana	100,000	65	52,000	39	2,000	1
Lazistan	180,000	98	2,000	1	1,000	0.6
	Moslems		Greeks		Armenians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
	848,000	79	192,000	17.9	33,000	3

2. The Permanent Bureau of the Congress of Greeks originating from Pontus Euxinus, in a memorandum to the President of the United States dated February 14, 1919,

and signed by the Bishops and other notables of various territories in Pontus, sets forth the national claims of the unredeemed Greeks of these regions. The memorandum urges that Pontus be restored to Greece, or else that it be declared an autonomous Greek state under a Greek commissioner, and under the direct protection of Greece.

3. Mgr. Chryzanthos, Archbishop of Trebizond, submitted a memorandum to the Peace Conference on May 2, 1919, urging that Pontus be constituted an autonomous Greek state, and concluding:

"The near neighborhood of the future Armenian state, and the commercial relations and common sufferings of the two peoples constitute bonds between them which we would gladly bind still closer. For these reasons we are ready to welcome the creation of bonds of close cooperation between the two States, but on the express condition that each Autonomous State shall possess absolute independence."

4. M. Venizelos, explaining the territorial claims of Greece at the Peace Conference on February 4, 1919, said that he did not favor the proposal of a small republic of Trebizond, and that, in his opinion "the vilayet of Trebizond should form part of the State of Armenia."

Speaking in the Greek Chamber upon the Turkish Treaty on May 14, 1920, Premier Venizelos gave it as his

desire that President Wilson would give as much territory as possible to Armenia, but that he should not grant a part of Trebizond vilayet to the Armenian state. He stated that he would not view with displeasure a decision which would grant all of Trebizond vilayet to Armenia, but though that the Pontic Greeks ought not to be divided between Turkey and Armenia.

5. On July 10th, 1920, representatives located in Paris of several organizations of the Pontic Greeks sent to President Wilson a petition, which was a copy of a similar one previously submitted to the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers. They claim that Pontus is a geographical and economic unit entirely separate from the rest of Asia Minor and protest that the Pontic Greeks should be granted either independence or at least autonomy.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ARMENIA'S ACCESS TO THE SEA

The note addressed to the President from San Remo by the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied Powers, inviting him to undertake the responsibility of fixing the frontier between Turkey and Armenia, stated that a clause would be inserted in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey to that effect, farther binding the High Contracting Parties to accept his decision as well as any stipulation he might make with regard to access for Armenia to the sea. Such a clause, in fact, appeared in the Draft Treaty handed to the Turks before the President had accepted the invitation of the Supreme Council, and reappeared without material change in the final form of the Treaty as signed at Sèvres on August 10.

In virtue of the authority thus conferred upon and accepted by him, it has been recommended to the President by the Committee making this report that he attribute to Armenia the eastern part of the Vilayet of Trebizond, with its sea coast, from the Georgian frontier to a point between Tireboli and Kerasun. In case this recommendation be accepted, the Armenian Republic will be given direct access to the sea and full sovereignty over a number of undeveloped ports and their hinterland.

In view of the fact, however, that access to this coastal area from the tableland of Armenia proper has been rendered by nature exceptionally difficult, that it contains at present a comparatively small percentage of Armenians - practically all of whom, furthermore, inhabit the western end of the area - and that the Turkish, Las and Greek elements of the indigenous population may make difficulties for the Armenians in the work of developing their new ports and the communications of the latter with the interior, it has been thought advisable to draw particular attention to those clauses of the Treaty of Sèvres which, independently of the President's decision, provide Armenia with access to the sea.

Trebizond

In Article 335 of the Treaty the City of Trebizond is declared a Port of International Concern and placed under the régime prescribed in Articles 336-345 for eight Eastern ports. (In a separate convention between the Principal Allied Powers and Greece, Dedeagatch is also declared a Port of International Concern, subject to the same régime.) The nature of this régime is described in Article 336 as follows:

"In the ports declared of international concern the nationals, goods and flags of all States Members of the League of Nations shall enjoy complete freedom in the use of the port.

In this and all other respects they shall be treated on a footing of perfect equality, particularly as regards all port and quay facilities and charges, including facilities for berthing, loading and discharging, tonnage dues and charges, quay, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine and all similar dues and charges of whatsoever nature, levied in the name of or for the profit of the Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of every kind, no distinction being made between the nationals, goods and flags of the different States and those of the State under whose sovereignty or authority the port is placed.

"There shall be no impediment to the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising from regulations concerning customs, police, sanitation, emigration and immigration and those relating to the import and export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not impede traffic unnecessarily."

There are further stipulations with regard to equality of dues and charges (Articles 337-8), to the responsibilities

of the State under whose sovereignty the port is placed as to works maintaining and improving the port and approaches thereto (Articles 339-40), to free zones in the port (Articles 341-44), and to the settlement by the League of Nations of differences with regard to the interpretation or application of the foregoing Articles (Article 345).

Farther reference to Trebizond is made in Article 352, in the following terms:

"Subject to the decision provided for in Article 89, Part III (Political Clauses), free access to the Black Sea by the port of Trebizond is accorded to Armenia. This right of access will be exercised in the conditions laid down in Article 349.

"In that event Armenia will be accorded a lease in perpetuity, subject to determination by the League of Nations, of an area in the said port which shall be placed under the general régime of free zones laid down in Articles 341 to 344, and shall be used for the direct transit of goods coming from or going to that State.

"The delimitation of the area referred to in the preceding paragraph, its connection with existing railways, its equipment and ex-

ploitation, and in general all the conditions of its utilization, including the amount of the rental, shall be decided by a Commission consisting of one delegate of Armenia, one delegate of Turkey, and one delegate appointed by the League of Nations. These conditions shall be susceptible of revision every ten years in the same manner."

Special attention is drawn to the first phrase of the above article.

BATUM

The Treaty of Sèvres also grants Armenia access to the sea through the port of Batum, which Article 335 includes in the list of ports declared to be of international concern, "subject to conditions to be subsequently fixed", and placed under the régime defined in Articles 336-345. This right might have been considered as implicit, in view of the facts that Batum is the natural outlet of northern Armenia, that the Treaty of Berlin had already made an eventually unsuccessful attempt to convert Batum into a free port (Article LIX), and that Armenia will presumably become a member of the League of Nations. But Armenian rights in Batum are explicitly recognized in Article 351, as follows:

"Free access to the Black Sea by the port of Batum is accorded to Georgia, Azerbaijan and Persia, as well as Armenia. This right of

access will be exercised in the conditions laid down in Article 349."

Georgia, it is true, is not a party to the Treaty of Sèvres; and on May 7th of this year she signed a Treaty with Soviet Russia, which recognized her absolute possession of Batum. But the Department of State is informed, both from Tiflis (Cable No. 69 of August 23) and from London (Cable No. 1383 of September 14), that before evacuating Batum in July the British exacted as the chief condition of their withdrawal a formal promise that Georgia would grant to Armenia and Azerbaijan free transit to and free use of the port of Batum.

ALEXANDRETTA AND OTHER PORTS

Other ports which by implication will be free to Armenia are Haidar Pasha (Constantinople), Smyrna, Alexandretta, Haifa and Basra. Article 335 of the Turkish Treaty declares them ports of international concern, open on equal terms to all members of the League of Nations, while Articles 328 and 353 assure freedom of transit across Turkish territory to the goods and conveyances of the Allied Powers, without individual discrimination in charges or treatment.

For this reason, and in spite of the fact that certain friends of Armenia have urged the creation of an economic corridor to the Mediterranean and the designation of Ayas,

on the Gulf of Alexandretta, as an Armenian port, it has not been considered necessary to recommend special measures providing the new Republic with an outlet to the south. If it had been possible to include Kharput in Armenia the case might have worn a different aspect, since the economic currents of that province run westward or into the Mediterranean. But in the circumstances the claim falls away of itself. The Black Sea is the natural outlet of the Armenian highlands, no point of which lies within 300 miles of Alexandretta, the nearest southern port, and none of whose trade has hitherto reached the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, since the attribution to Armenia, for purely economic reasons, of a considerable Black Sea littoral, will tax to the utmost the administrative resources of the young state and the patience of her neighbors, it has been felt that neither for the Armenians of Armenia nor for those of Turkey would it be just to lend even so slender encouragement to the disturbing dream of a Greater Armenia as might seem to be implied by the stipulation of special rights in some Cilician port. If at any future time railways should pierce the barrier of the Eastern Taurus, connecting Erzerum or Bitlis with Kharput and Cilicia or Diarbekir and the Mesopotamian

system, and traffic should begin to flow back and forth between the Armenian plateau and the Mediterranean Sea, it will in all probability be found that the existing provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres are in this direction adequate for the economic necessities of Armenia.

Appendix V

Number 8

**TEXT
OF THE
ARMENIAN MINORITIES TREATY**

T R E A T Y

BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED POWERS AND ARMENIA

SIGNED AUGUST 10, 1920

AT SÈVRES

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY AND JAPAN, the
Principal Allied Powers,

on the one hand;

And ARMENIA,

on the other hand;

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have recognized
Armenia as a sovereign and independent State,

And Whereas Armenia is desirous of conforming her
institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and
of giving a sure guarantee to all the inhabitants of the
territories over which she has assumed or may assume
sovereignty;

The High Contracting Parties, anxious to assure the
exception of Article 93 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey,

Have for this purpose appointed as their Plenipoten-
tiaries:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA:

The Right Honourable Edward George Villiers, Earl of Derby, K. G., P. C., K. C. V. O., C. B., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty at Paris;

And

for the DOMINION of CANADA:

The Honourable Sir George Halsey Parley, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom;

for the COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA:

The Right Honourable Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner for Australia in the United Kingdom;

for the DOMINION of NEW ZEALAND:

The Honourable Sir James Allen, K. C. B., High Commissioner for New Zealand in the United Kingdom;

for the UNION of SOUTH AFRICA:

Mr. Reginald Andrew Blankenberg, O. B. E., Acting High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in the United Kingdom;

for INDIA:

Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K. C. B., Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC:

Mr. Alexandre Millerand, President of the Council,
Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Mr. Frédéric François-Marsal, Minister of Finance;

Mr. Auguste Paul-Louis Isaac, Minister of Commerce
and Industry;

Mr. Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;

Mr. Georges Maurice Paléologue, Ambassador of France,
Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY:

Count Lelio Bonin Lelio Longare, Senator of the
Kingdom, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.
M. the King of Italy at Paris;

Mr. Carlo Galli, Consul;

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN:

Viscount Chinda, Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at London;

Mr. K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

ARMENIA:

Mr. Avetis Aharonian, President of the Delegation of
the Armenian Republic;

Mr. Boghos Nubar, Representative of the Joint Armenian Council at Constantinople;

WHO having communicated their full powers found in good and due form HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

CHAPTER 1.

ARTICLE 1.

Armenia undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.

Armenia undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Armenia without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Armenia shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

The penalties for any interference with the free exercise of religion will be the same whatever the religion concerned.

ARTICLE 3.

Armenia undertakes to recognize such provisions as the Principal Allied Powers may consider opportune with respect to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities.

ARTICLE 4.

All Armenian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

The Armenian Government will within two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty present to the Principal Allied Powers a draft electoral system giving due consideration to the rights of racial minorities.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Armenian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Armenian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Armenian Government of an official language, adequate faculties shall be given to Armenian nationals of non-Armenian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 5.

Armenian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Armenian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 6.

Armenia will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Armenian nationals of other than Armenian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Armenian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Armenian Government from making the teaching of the Armenian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Armenian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 7.

Armenia agrees to take all necessary measures in relation to Moslems to enable questions of family law and personal status to be regulated in accordance with Moslem usage.

Armenia undertakes to afford protection to the mosques cemeteries and other Moslem religious establishments. Full recognition and all facilities shall be assured to pious foundations (wakfs) and Moslem religious and charitable establishments now existing, and Armenia shall not refuse to the creation of new religious and charitable establishments any of the necessary facilities guaranteed to other private establishments of this nature.

ARTICLE 8.

Armenia agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the

CHAPTER 11

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ARTICLE 9.

Each of the Principal Allied Powers on the one part and Armenia on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular agents to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and Consular agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to consular officers of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE 10.

Armenia undertakes to make no Treaty, Convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general Convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Armenia also undertakes to extend to all the Allied Powers any favours or privileges in Customs matters which she may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August, 1914, the Allied Powers have been at war, or to any State which in vurtue of Article 222 of the Treaty of Peace with Austria has special Customs arrangements with such States.

ARTICLE 11.

Pending the conclusion of the general Convention referred to above, Armenia undertakes to treat on the sane footing as national vessels or vessels of the most favoured nation the vessels of all the Allied Powers who accord similar treatment to Armenian vessels.

As an exception to this provision the right of any Allied Power to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 12.

Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general Convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Armenia undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit to or from any Allied State over Armenian territory, and to treat them at least as favourably as the

persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Armenian or of any other more favoured nationality, origin, importation or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions and all other matters.

Tariffs for transit traffic across Armenia and tariffs between Armenia and any Allied Power involving through tickets or waybills shall be established at the request of the Allied Power concerned.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic and telephonic services.

Provided that no Allied Power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded in respect of the same subject-matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Armenia shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate the obligations of the present Article.

ARTICLE 13.

All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing Articles to the Allied Powers shall be accorded equally to all States, Members of the League of Nations.

The Present Treaty, in French, in English and in Italian, of which in case of divergence the French text shall prevail, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A prosès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the prosès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

DONE at Sèvres, the tenth day of August one thousand nine hundred and twenty, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic,

and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory Powers.

(L. S.) DERBY.
(L. S.) GEORGE H. PERLEY.
(L. S.) ANDREW FISHER.
(L. S.) JAMES ALLEN.
(L. S.) R. A. BLANKENBERG.
(L. S.) ARTHUR HIRTZEL.
(L. S.) A. MILLERAND.
(L. S.) F. FRANCOIS-MARSAL.
(L. S.) JULES CAMBON.
(L. S.) PALÉOLOGUE.
(L. S.) BONIN.
(L. S.) K. MATSUI.
(L. S.) A. AHARONIAN.

Appendix V

Number 9

**ARMENIAN PETITION TO PRESIDENT WILSON
REGARDING TO BOUNDARY DECISION**

(a) Despatch from the Embassy at Paris.

No. 1537

Paris, August 20th, 1920

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington

Sir:

Referring to the Embassy's telegram No. 1533, August 11, 6 p. m., transmitting a message from Mr. A. Aharonian, President of the Armenian Peace Delegation, I have the honor to enclose herewith a communication addressed to the President under date of July 22nd, and signed by Mr. Aharonian and by Boghos Nubar Pasha, President of the Armenian National Delegation, relative to the arbitration of the western frontier of Armenia in accordance with the provisions of Article 89 of the Turkish Treaty. The documents accompanying this communication are transmitted under separate cover.

At the time of presenting these papers, Mr. Aharonian called attention to the map of Armenia (No. 10)

and explained that the Armenian Government was prepared to renounce its claim to the western part of the Vilayet of Trebizond and the southern part of the Vilayets of Bitlis and Van which are marked in green oblique lines on the map in question - although these territories are included in the four provinces mentioned in Article 89 of the Turkish Treaty. While the Armenian Government hoped that the western portion of the Vilayet of Trebizond might of its own volition federalize itself with the Armenian Republic, it did not desire to seek the forcible inclusion of this territory within the boundaries of Armenia. On the other hand, the Armenian Government asked that the coast from a point east of Trebizond to a point west and south of Batum should be given to Armenia in order to ensure to her free access to the sea.

Finally: Mr. Aharonian called attention to the portion of the Vilayet of Kharpout marked in red oblique lines on the map. Although not included in the four Vilayets mentioned in Article 89, this territory was claimed by Armenia for two reasons, first, as it formed part of the Central Plateau, and, second, as the majority of the population was unquestionably Armenian.

There is also transmitted under separate cover a map composed of four sheets of the 1:1,000,000 map

with the boundaries of the proposed Armenian State clearly indicated, which was furnished me by Mr. Aharonian.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Enclosure:-

Original letter to the President.

For the Ambassador:

(Sgd) Leland Harrison

Accompaniment

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(b) The Armenian Petition.

(Extracts only)

FRONTIERS OF ARMENIA.

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Determining the area within which the President of the United States of America will fix the frontiers of Armenia, the Turkish Peace Treaty designates the four provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Bitlis and Van.

Even if the President of the United States, while adhering to the letter of the Treaty, were to attribute to Armenia the whole of these four provinces, the resulting frontiers would have none of the characteristics of a geographical unity.

The present boundaries of the above mentioned provinces were fixed by the Turkish Government in pursuance of a political object, and took into account neither geographical necessities nor local requirements, much less the ethnical unity of their populations. The project, on the contrary, aimed at the "denationalization" of the Armenian provinces by changing their boundaries, by attaching portions of an Armenian province, arbitrarily mutilated, to other adjoining provinces inhabited by mussulmans, so as to prevent the formation of an Armenian Majority in regions essentially Armenian.

For more than half a century this system has been so often applied that at the present day no two maps, official or non-official, will be found to agree in regard to the administrative limits of the Ottoman provinces. ...

We find that, in the time of Suleyman, the geographical unity of Armenia was preserved within the limits of the first Ottoman administrative provinces, under the name of one province, the "Eyalet of Erzerum" (Principality).

The boundaries of this province, corresponding to the natural lines of the soil, are, on all the maps of the speech, identical with the ancient delimitations of

Armenia Major, the territories of which constitute a perfect geographical unity, and which, in the science of Statigraphy, is known as the Central Plateau of Armenia.

It is bounded on the west by the river Euphrates, on the South by the Armenian Taurus, on the East and North East by the Turco-Persian frontier and the Russo-Turkish frontier as it was before 1878; on the North by the province of Trebizond.

The province of Erzerum, thus delimited, was called by the Turks Ermenistan (Armenia) and retained its boundaries from the time of the first administrative code of the 16th century till the Salnames (Official Almanachs of the Ottoman Government) of the 19th century.

Heliographical fac-similes of the best maps of Asiatic Turkey before 1878 are annexed to this memorandum. The President of the United States will see by these documents the extent and administrative limits of the province of Erzerum (Levassieur's map).

Comparing the administrative divisions of the British map accompanying the Treaty, with those of the former "Eyalet" of Erzerum it will be noticed that different portions of one and the same orographically indivisible unity have been detached artificially from the province of Erzerum.

These divisions were operated more particularly in the south. ...

The Taurus, has always been the frontier, not of a province, but entirely of two different countries.

In regard to the Euphrates, this river constitutes the historical line of demarcation between Greater and Little Armenia.

When the first Ottoman administrative delimitations were effected the Euphrates was taken as the natural western boundary of the Eyalet of Erzerum. The geographical and statigraphical maps annexed hereto show the strength of this line.

The Armenian Delegation ventures to insist on this point more particularly because, apart from administrative, statigraphical and ethnical considerations it should not be forgotten that, from an economic point of view, as explained in the Armenian note handed to General HARBORD on September 4, 1919, the mineral riches of the country can only be reached where sismic upheavals have broken the immense sheet of lava covering the Central Plateau. It is in the water-course depressions around the Plateau that the Armenian wealth is accessible.

The mineralogical map of Armenia (See Annex) indicates nine minefields of different descriptions in the depression of Kharput alone.

The Armenian Delegation, although aware that the scope of the present arbitration is limited to the four

provinces of Trebizond, Erzerum, Bitlis and Van, begs leave to submit to President Wilson's judgment the foregoing historical, economic and (particularly) geographical considerations relative to Kharput, which is not included in the four provinces mentioned in the Treaty.

The Delegation trusts that these considerations, in view of their great importance, will be taken into account; more particularly as it has deemed desirable to abandon all claim to certain non-Armenian regions such as Hakkiari, and the greater portion of the Vilayet of Trebizond, which, nevertheless, are comprised within the four provinces the attribution of which is submitted to arbitration.

The Armenian Delegation begs therefore to express the following hopes:

I. That the western and southern frontiers of Armenia will be drawn to correspond with the boundaries of the former province of Erzerum, as indicated on the map annexed hereto (see Annex). It should be particularly remarked that this province represents Ancient Armenia Major and, scientifically, the Central Plateau of Armenia, one and rationally indivisible.

II. That the northern frontier will be delimited so as to include the Black Sea coast-from Off-Surméné to the former Russo-Turkish frontier on the mountains sloping to the river Chorok, thus giving Armenia means of com-

munication between the interior and the sea.

These conditions being observed, the frontier line desired by Armenia would start at a point west of Off, on the shores of the Black Sea, ascend towards the Pontic Chain, past westward along the crests of the latter to Gumuch-Khané in Armenian territory, and thence descend Southwards, following the Western Administrative limits of Erzerum as far as the Euphrates, which would thence form the frontier, as far as the great barrier of the Armenian Taurus stretching Eastward from Teleck to Bache Kalé, South-East of Van, to meet the Persian frontier.

TOPOGRAPHICAL PARTICULARITIES
OF ARMENIAN LAND COMMUNICATIONS.

-:-:-:-:-

The rivers Kelkid and Chorok mark an arc-shaped longitudinal depression running from East to West, parallel with the Coast.

The whole stretch of the narrow band of territory between the mouth of the Chorok and that of the Yeshil-Irmak is occupied by the Pontic Chain, which the well-known English geologist Oswald described as the coast-chain of the Armenian Plateau (See Annex). Its greatest width is in the middle of the arc, South of Trebizond, at the Source of the two rivers. The width of the chain here,

from Cape Yeres, west of Trebizond, to the source of the Velkid and Chorok, is about 100 kilometres; while at the two extremities of the arc it is only 60 kilometres. Its greatest altitudes are in the Eastern portion of the Chain, where the summits rise to 3000 and 3.500 metres, and even (South of Rizeh) 3.700 m. In the centre, South of Trebizond and Kirassoude, there are also a few peaks of 3.000 metres. The western portion is comparatively low, the summits not exceeding 2.000 metres.

The littoral thus delimited was the northern rampart of the kingdom of Armenia before becoming, under the Byzantine Empire, the Kingdom of the Pont-Euxine.

No attempt has ever been made by the Ottoman Government to build roads connecting the interior with the Coast and taking advantage of the topographical features of the country. Of those that exist only the Trebizond road is more or less fit for carriage traffic; the Rizeh, Off and Atinch roads are more mule tracks.

The variations of altitude of these four roads compared with those of a possible route descending southward of Rizeh along the river Kalepontamos are such that the advantages of the latter route are incontestable. For, whereas all the other routes traverse all four zones of the Chain the Kalepontamos road would not rise even to the third zone.

Whatever its advantages, however, this road does not yet exist, and for the present and for some time to come, the only practicable communications between the interior of Armenia and the Black Sea are the two valleys traversing the central and eastern fractions of the Pontic Chain: on the west, the valley of Kershut, which is utilized by the Trebizond road from Ardassa, in the heart of western Armenia; on the East, the valley of the Chorok, the main artery of Eastern Armenia.

Armenia cannot be reconstituted and prosper if these two main arteries be detached from her geographical unity.

The first, the Trebizond road, is suitable for carriage traffic, and is the only practicable route. From Trebizond to Ardassa it belongs to the region of Trebizond, but on leaving Ardassa it enters the heart of the Armenian Plateau.

The Erzinghian carriage road joins it at Tekkeh. The Armenian Delegation respectfully begs President WILSON to consider the desirability of including this junction of Tekkeh in Armenian territory.

In regard to the valley of the Chorok it represents incontestably the whole economic future of Armenia. ...

The mouth of the Chorok is the natural line of demarcation between two young republics. It is navigable, and the valley of the Chorok constitutes the sole route

providing access to the interior of Eastern Armenia.

Trebizond being attributed to Turkey, Batum to Georgia, the only site meeting the requirements of a maritime debouché for the Armenian Plateau is the Bay of Rizeh. Until a railway is built the Trebizond-Rizeh and Rizeh-Chorok roads must continue to be the only means of communication between that port and the interior of the country.

As indicated on the Topographical map (Annex I, No 9) it is indispensable that, on the west, the mouth of the Surmené and the cross-roads of Tekkeh; and on the East the mouth of the Chorok be comprised within the frontiers of Armenia.

The Armenian Republic has unfortunately already experienced the bitter disadvantages and perils of a state encircled and deprived of an outlet to the sea. This lack of communication with the world is responsible for the death of 180,000 Armenians from famine.

The reports presented by Colonel Haskell, the indefatigable American Commissioner, indicate the extraordinary difficulties encountered in the despatch of American wheat to Armenia.

These difficulties are due solely to the lack of a port and direct communication between the interior

of Armenia and the sea.

The Armenian Delegation confidently trusts, therefore, that the President of the United States, will attribute to Armenia a suitable outlet to the Sea with adequate means of communications with the interior.