

## DECISION OF PRESIDENT WILSON

*Respecting the Frontier Between Turkey and Armenia, Access for Armenia to the Sea, and the Demilitarization of Turkish Territory Adjacent to the Armenian Frontier.*

WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TO WHOM IT SHALL CONCERN,

GREETING:

Whereas, on April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in conference at San Remo, addressed to the President of the United States of America an invitation to act as arbitrator in the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, to be fixed within the four Vilayets of Erzeru:n, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis;

And whereas, on May 17, 1920, my acceptance of this invitation was telegraphed to the American Ambassador in Paris, to be conveyed to the Powers represented on the Supreme Council;

And whereas, on August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Sevres by Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Czecho Slovakia, of the one part; and of Turkey, of the other part, which Treaty contained, among other provisions, the following:

*"ARTICLE 89. Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier";* And whereas, on October 18, 1920, the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference, acting under the instructions of the Allied Powers, transmitted to me, through the Embassy of the United States of America in Paris, an authenticated copy of the above mentioned Treaty, drawing attention to the said Article 89;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, upon whom has thus been conferred the authority of arbitrator, having examined the question in the light of the most trustworthy information available, and with a mind to the highest interests of justice, do hereby declare the following decision:

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The frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, shall be fixed as follows:

1. The initial point\* shall be chosen on the ground at the junction of the Turkish-Persian frontier with the eastern termination of the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Van and Hakkari, of the Vilayet of Van, as this administrative boundary appears upon the Bashkala sheet of the Turkish map, scale 1 :200,000, editions published in the Turkish financial years 1330 and 1331 (1914-15). From this initial point the boundary shall extend southwest- ward to the western peak of Merkezer Dagh, situated about 6 kilometers west ward from point 3350 (10,990 feet), about 2 kilometers southeastward from the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and approximately 76 kilometers southeastward from the city of Van.

*\*It is my understanding that this initial point will lie upon the former Turkish-Persian frontier referred to in the Article 27 II (4) of the Treaty of Sevres; but 40 miles of the said frontier, within which the initial point of the Armenian frontier is included, were left undemarcated by the Turko-Persian Frontier Commission in 1914. The initial point contemplated lies about 1 kilometer southward from the village of Kara Hissa and approximately 25 kilo meters southwestward from the village of Kotur, and may be fixed on the ground as near this location as the Boundary Commission shall determine, provided it lies at the junction of the Van-Hakkari Sandjak boundary with the frontier of Persia.*

The sandjak boundary specified above, then the administrative boundary between the Kazas of Mamuret-ul-Hamid and Elback, then the same sandjak boundary specified above, all modified, where necessary, to follow the main water-parting between the Zap Su (Great Zab River) and the Khoshab Su, and dividing equably the summits of the passes Krdes Gedik and Chokh Gedik; then northward about 28 kilometers to Klesiry Dagh, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings between the Khoshab Su and the streams flowing into the Shatak Su, and traversing the pass south of the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and passing through Shkolans Dagh (3100 meters or 10,170 feet) and the Belereshuk pass; thence southwestward to the junction of an unnamed stream with the Shatak Su at a point about 10 kilometers southward from the village of Shatak, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through Koh Kiran Daghlar, Sari Dagh (3150 meters or 10,335 feet), Kevmetala Tepe (3,500 meters or 11,480 feet, point 3,540 (11,615 feet), in such a way as to leave to Armenia the village of Eyreti, and to Turkey the village of Araz, and to cross the Shatak Su at least 2 kilometers southward from the village of Dir Mouem Kilisa; thence westward to the point where the Bitlis-Van Vilayet boundary reaches the Moks Su from the west, situated about 18 kilometers southward from the village of Moks, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Kachet, Sinpass, and Ozim, passing through Kanisor Tepe (3,245 meters or 10,645 feet), an unnamed peak about 3 kilometers southward from Arnus Dagh (3,550 meters or 11,645 feet), crossing an unnamed stream about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Sinpass, passing through point 3,000 (9,840 feet), following the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis for about 3 kilometers southwestward from this point and continuing southwestward on the same ridge to an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from Moks Su, and then descending to this stream; thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis about 3 kilometers westward from the pass at Mata Gedik, the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis, modified south of Vankin Dagh (3,200 meters or 10,500 feet) to follow the main water-parting; thence westward to the peak Meidan Chenidiani, situated on the boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt about 29 kilometers southeastward from the city of Bitlis, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through Veberhan Dagh (3410 meters or 10,200 feet), crossing the Kesan Dere about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Khoros, leaving to Turkey the villages of Semhaj and Nevaleyn as well as the bridge or ford on the trail between them, and leaving to Armenia the village of Chopans and the trail leading to it from the northeast; thence westward

to the Guzel Dere Su at a point about 23 kilometers southward from the city of Bitlis and about 2 kilometers southward from Nuri Ser peak (2450 meters or 7,050 feet), the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt, and then, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through points 2,750 and 2,700 of Kur Dagh (9,020 and 8,860 feet respectively), Biluki Dagh (2,230 meters or 7,315 feet), and Sihaser Tepe (2,250 meters or 7,380 feet); thence westward to the junction of the Bitlis Su and the unnamed stream near the village of Deshtumi, about 30 kilometers southwestward from the city of Bitlis, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Lered and Daruni, and to Armenia the village of Enbu and all portions of the trail leading northeastward to the Bitlis Su from Mergelu peak (1,850 meters or 6,070 feet), and passing through Mergelu Tepe and Shikh Tabur ridge; thence westward to the Zuk (Gharzan) Su at the point about 11 kilometers northeastward from the village of Hazo and approximately 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Zily, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the village of Deshtumi, passing through the eastern peak of Kalmen Dagh (2,710 meters or 8,890 feet) and continuing in such a manner as to leave to Armenia the upland dolina, or basin of interior drainage, to traverse the pass about 3 kilometers westward from the village of Avesipy, passing through Shelash Dagh (1,944 meters or 6,380 feet); thence westward to the Sassun Dere at a point about 4 kilometers south. westward from the village of Kabil Jeviz and approximately 47 kilometers southward from the city of Mush, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings through Cheyardash peak (2,001 meters or 6,565 feet), Keupeka peak (1,931 meters or 6,335 feet), an unnamed peak on the Sassun Dagh about 4 kilometers south westward from Malato Dagh (2,967 meters or 9,735 feet), point 2,229 (7,310 feet), and leaving to Turkey the village of Gundenu; thence northwestward to the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the village of Kasser and approximately 37 kilometers north. eastward from the village of Seylevan (Farkin), a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings and passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Seyluk, and through point 2,073 (6,800 feet), leaving to Armenia the village of Heyshtirem; thence northwestward to the western tributary of the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Helin and approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from the city of Mush, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through point 2,251 (7,385 feet); thence northwestward to the junction of the Kulp Boghazy (Kulp Sa) and Askar Dere, approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from city of Mush, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings leaving to Turkey the village of Helin and to Armenia the village of Kehirvanik; thence northwestward to a point on the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Mush northeast of Mir Ismail Dagh, and situated about 5 kilometers westward from the village of Pelekoz, and approximately 19 kilometers southward from the village of Ardushin, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through the Komiss Dagh; thence northwestward to the Frat Nehri (Murad Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Dorne and approximately 56 kilometers westward from the city of Mush, the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Mush northward for about 2 kilometers, then a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings westward to an unnamed peak approximately 6 kilometers east of Chutela (Akche Kara) Dagh (2,940 meters or 9,645 feet), then northward passing through Hadije Tepe on Arshik Dagh, leaving to Turkey the village of Kulay and to Armenia the village of Kluhuran; thence northwestward to the Gunik Su at a point about midway between two trails crossing this river about half way between the villages of Elmaly and Chenajki, and approximately 26 kilometers northeastward from the village of Cholik (Chevelik), a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Shanghar, along Solkhan Dagh, and through point 2,200 (7,220 feet), leaving to Turkey the villages of Shanghar and Chenajky, and to Armenia the villages of Kumistan, Lichinak, and Elmaly; thence northwestward to the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis at an unnamed peak near where a straight line between the villages of Erchek and Agha Keui would intersect said vilayet boundary, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through point 2,050 (6,725 feet); thence northward to an unnamed peak on said vilayet boundary about 8 kilometers northwestward from Kartalik Tepe on the Choris Dagh, the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis; thence westward to the Buyuk Su (Kighi Su) at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the junction of the Ghabzu Dere with it, and approximately 11 kilometers northwestward from the village of Kighi, a line to be fixed on the ground,

following the main water-partings of the Sheitan Daghlar, passing through points 2,610 (8565 feet), Sheitan Dagh (2,906 meters or 9,535 feet), Hakstun Dagh, and leaving to Armenia the village of Dinek and the ford or bridge southwest of this village; thence westward to the Dar Boghaz (Kuttu Dere) at a point about 3 kilo meters southward from the village of Chardaklar (Palumor), a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Shorakh and Ferhadin, passing through Ghabarti Dagh (2,550 meters or 8,365 feet), Sian Dagh (2,750 meters or 9,020 feet), the 2450 meter pass on the Palumor-Kighi trail near Mustapha Bey Konaghy, Feziria Tepe (2,530 meters or 8,300 feet), point 2,244 (7,360 feet), and point 2,035 (6,675 feet) thence westward to the point common to the boundaries of the Sandjaks of Erzingan and Erzerum and the Vilayet of Mamuret-ul-Aziz, situated at a sharp angle in the vilayet boundary, approximately 24 kilometers westward from the village of Palumor and 32 kilometers southeastward from the city of Erzingan, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing northwestward through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers southwestward from Palumor, through Silos (Kersinod) Dagh (2,405 meters or 7,890 feet) to an unnamed peak on the southern boundary of the Sandjak of Erzingan, about 8 kilometers southwestward from the Palumor-Erzingan pass, then turning southwestward along said Sandjak boundary for nearly 13 kilometers, passing through Karaja Kaleh (3,100 meters or 10,170 feet) thence westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz about 3 kilometers northeastward from the pass on the trail across the Monzur Silsilesi between Kennakh on the Euphrates and Pelur in the Dersim, the peak being approximately 40 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan, the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret ul-Aziz; modified\*, in case of a majority of the voting members of the Boundary Commission deem it wise, to follow the main water-parting along the ridge between an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers southwest of Merjan Daghlar (3,449 meters or 11,315 feet) and Katar Tepe (3,300 meters or 10,825 feet);

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*\*At the locality named. the vilayet boundary (according to Khozat-Dersim sheet of the Turkish General Staff map, scale 1:200,000) descends the northern slope of the Monzur-Silsilesi for about 7 kilometers. The junction of the boundary between the Kazas of Erzingan and Kemakh in Erzingan Sandjak of Erzerum thence northward to the Frat Nehri (Kara Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 6 kilometers eastward from the village of Kemagh and approximately 35 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the trail from Pelur in the Dersim to Kemakh on the Euphrates, and to Armenia the village of Koja Arbler; thence, northward to the boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Trebizond at a point to be determined about 1 kilometer west of peak 2,930 (2,630 or 8,625 feet) and about 4 kilometers southward from the village of Metkut, or approximately 39 kilometers northwestward from the city of Erzingan, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Chalghy Yady, Toms, and Alamlik, and to Armenia the village of Erkghan and the road and col south of the village of Metkut, passing through Utch Kardash Tepe, Kelek Kiran (Tekke Tash, 2,800 meters or 9,185 feet), Kehnam Dagh (or Kara Dagh, 3,030 meters or 9,940 feet), dividing equably between Armenia and Turkey the summit of the pass about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Zazker and, similarly, the summit of the pass of Kral Kham Boghazy near the village of Chardakli, passing through point 2760 on Kara Dagh (9,055 feet), point 2,740 (8,990 feet), and a point to be determined on the ground, situated near the lky Sivry stream less than 2 kilometers westward from the Chimen Dagh pass, and located in such a manner as to leave to Turkey the junction of the two roads leading westward to the villages of Kuchi Keui and Kara Yayrak, and to Armenia the junction of two other roads leading to the villages of Metkut and Kirmana; the Boundary Commission shall determine in the field the most equitable disposition of the highway between points 2,760 and 2,740; Vilayet with the boundary of Dersim Sandjak of Mamuret-ul-Aziz Vilayet lies within 14 kilometers of the Euphrates River. This leaves to Turkey a military bridgehead north of an 11,000 foot mountain range and only 20 kilometers south of the city of Erzingan. I am not empowered to change the administrative boundary at this point, and these 40 square kilometers of territory lie outside the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres. However, I venture to call the attention of the Boundary Commission to the desirability of consulting the local inhabitants with a view to possible modification of the vilayet boundary at this point. thence*

northwestward to the Kelkit Chai (Kelkit Irmak) at the point where the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas reaches it from the south, the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Erzerum, and then the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas; thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas about 4 kilometers southwestward from Borgha Paya (2,995 meters or 9,825 feet) the latter being situated approximately 38 kilometers southwestward from the city of Gumush-Khana, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Halkit, Sinanli, Kiliktin, and Kirtanos; and to Turkey the villages of Kar Kishla, Sadik, Kara Kia, and Ara, crossing the pass between the western tributaries of the Shiran Chai and the eastern headwaters of the Barsak Dere (Kara Chai) about 43 kilometers eastward from the city of Karahissar Sharki (Shebin Karahissar); thence northeastward, northward, and westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas situated about 7 kilometers northwestward from Yerchi Tepe (2,690 meters or 8,825 feet) and approximately 47 kilometers south southeastward from the city of Kerasun, the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas; thence northward, from the point last mentioned, on the crest of the Pontic Range, to the Black Sea, at a point to be determined on the seacoast about 1 kilometer westward from the village of Keshab, and approximately 9 kilometers eastward from the city of Kerasun, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the fields, pastures, forests, and villages within the drainage basin of the Komit Dere (Ak Su) and its tributaries; and to Armenia the fields, pastures, forest, and villages within the drainage basins of the Yaghaj Dere (Espiya Dere) and the Venazit Dere (Keshab Dere) and their tributaries, and drawn in such a manner as to utilize the boundary between the Kazas of Tripoli (Tireboli) and Kerasun in the 7 kilometers just south of Kara Tepe (1,696 meters or 5,565 feet), and to provide the most convenient relationships between the new frontier and the trails along the ridges, as these relationships may be determined by the Boundary Commission in the field after consultation with the local inhabitants.

2. In case of any discrepancies between the text of this Decision and the maps on the scales of 1:1,000,000 and 1:200,000 annexed, the text will be final.

The limits of the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres are taken as of October 29, 1914.

The frontier, as described above, is drawn in red on an authenticated map on the scale of 1:1,000,000 which is annexed to the present Frontier Decision. The geographical names here mentioned appear upon the maps accompanying this text.

The chief authorities used for the names of Geographical features, and of elevations of mountains, and the location of vilayet, sandjak, and kaza boundaries, are the Turkish General Staff map, scale 1:200,000, and, in part, the British map, scale 1:1,000,000.

The maps on the scale of 1:200,000 are recommended to the Boundary Commission, provided in Article 91, for their use in tracing on the spot the portion of the frontiers of Armenia established by this Decision.



The frontier described above, by assigning the harbor of Trebizond and the valley of Karshut Su to Armenia, precludes the necessity of further provision for access for Armenia to the sea.

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In addition to the general provisions for the limitation of armaments, embodied in the Military, Naval and Air Clauses, Part V of the Treaty of Sevres, the demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the frontier of Armenia as above established shall be effected as follows:

The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization provided for in Articles 196-200 of the Treaty of Sevres shall appoint the superior officers of the gendarmerie stationed in those vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of the state of Armenia exclusively from the officers to be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers according to Article 139 of the said Treaty.

These officers shall, in addition to their other duties, be especially charged with the task of observing and reporting to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization upon any tendencies within these Turkish vilayets toward military aggression against the Armenian frontier, such as building strategic railways and highways, the establishment of depots of military supplies, the creation of military colonies, and the use of propaganda dangerous to the peace and quiet of the adjacent Armenian territory. The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization shall thereupon take such action as is necessary to prevent the concentrations and other aggressive activities enumerated above.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

*Done in duplicate at the city of Washington on the twenty-second day of November, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of (SEAL) the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.*

*By the President:* WOODROW WILSON

**BAINBRIDGE COLBY**

Secretary of State.