

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA ÉCOLE DES GRADUÉS

THE TERRITORIAL EVOLUTION OF ARMENIA SINCE 1639

A STUDY IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

By

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INTRODUCTION

Armenia is that part of the world which is presently occupied mainly by eastern Turkey and the Armenian S.S.R., and partly by northern Iran, the Georgian S.S.R. and the Azerbaijani S.S.R. Of all these political units, the Armenian S.S.R. is the sole remnant and representative of this vast area which is now known as historic Armenia.

Armenia is a highly mountainous area dissected by streams, rich in volcanic and earthquake activities and a region of severe and diverse climatic conditions. Xenophon, the famous Greek historian, soldier, and geographer of the late 5th century B.C., was one of the earliest persons to experience the topographic and climatic cruelties of the Armenian environment. He is one of the few early dependable sources who provides us with a first hand account concerning the geography of this region.

From a geographical point of view, the territory of Armenia was considered an extremely important strategic location and the link in east-west trade routes. The combination of these two advantageous factors caused Armenia to be the stage where numerous wars took place. Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, just to name a few, all sought the occupation of Armenia. The western powers wanted the region for it provided a natural stronghold overlooking the lowlands of Mesopotamia and Arabia, thus giving access to Near and Middle East. For the eastern powers, the same region, if occupied, could have served as a natural wall against the political aggressions of western powers.

Thus, the location of Armenia, while advantageous in times of peace, was the contrary most of the times in so far as its political, demographic, and socio-economic aspects were concerned.

This study deals with only a small period of the history of Armenia, from the 17th century A.D. to the present, and tries to point out certain geographic interrelationships amongst the political (mainly territorial), demographic, and economic aspects of Armenia. The main emphasis is on the discussion of the territorial changes which took place between the first half of the 17th century to the present day. These territorial changes will be discussed in the light of political events and their consequences on the land and people of Armenia.

One of the main difficulties in this study has been the securing of official documents, scientific works, and similar items regarding Armenia. The lack of accurate cartographic material has been also a major problem. However, this burden was partly released by the politico-geographic section of the "Atlas of Armenia" concerning mainly recent territorial developments.

Due to the fact that most political and historical works tend to present a subjective viewpoint, an attempt has been made to utilize only those works which have relevance for the topic of this research and certain, as far as possible, first hand information.

Finally, writings by Hartshorne, Jones, Pounds, and others have assisted in formulating the approach adopted throughout this study.

CHAPTER I

ARMENIAN LANDSCAPES

The primary purpose of this chapter is to give a brief description of the natural environment of the Armenian Highlands and indicate its significant role in certain aspects of Armenia's political geography. It also introduces some features of the cultural landscape since they have influenced the political history of Armenia .

The Natural Environment

The Armenian Highlands cover an area of approximately 187,500 square miles with an elevation of 3,500 to 4,500 feet above sea level. Because of its higher elevation in relation to the surrounding area, the Armenian Highlands are often referred to as a mountainous island. The boundaries of this region to the north are marked by the Pontic mountains to the northeast and east, by the mountain ranges of the Little Caucasus; to the south and southwest, by the Armenian Taurus and the Gortvatz mountain ranges; and to the west, by the western section of the Pontic mountains and the valley of the Euphrates river (Fig. 1).

The relief of the Armenian Highlands is mainly the product of Tertiary folding accompanied by large scale volcanic activity. Although there are no active volcanoes at present, earthquakes of different intensity occur very often. Although physiographically the Armenian Highlands may be generally described as a basin and range country, it is possible to divide the area into certain physical regions. The Lake Van depression, the northern volcanic plateau, and the plain of Alashgerd are some of the

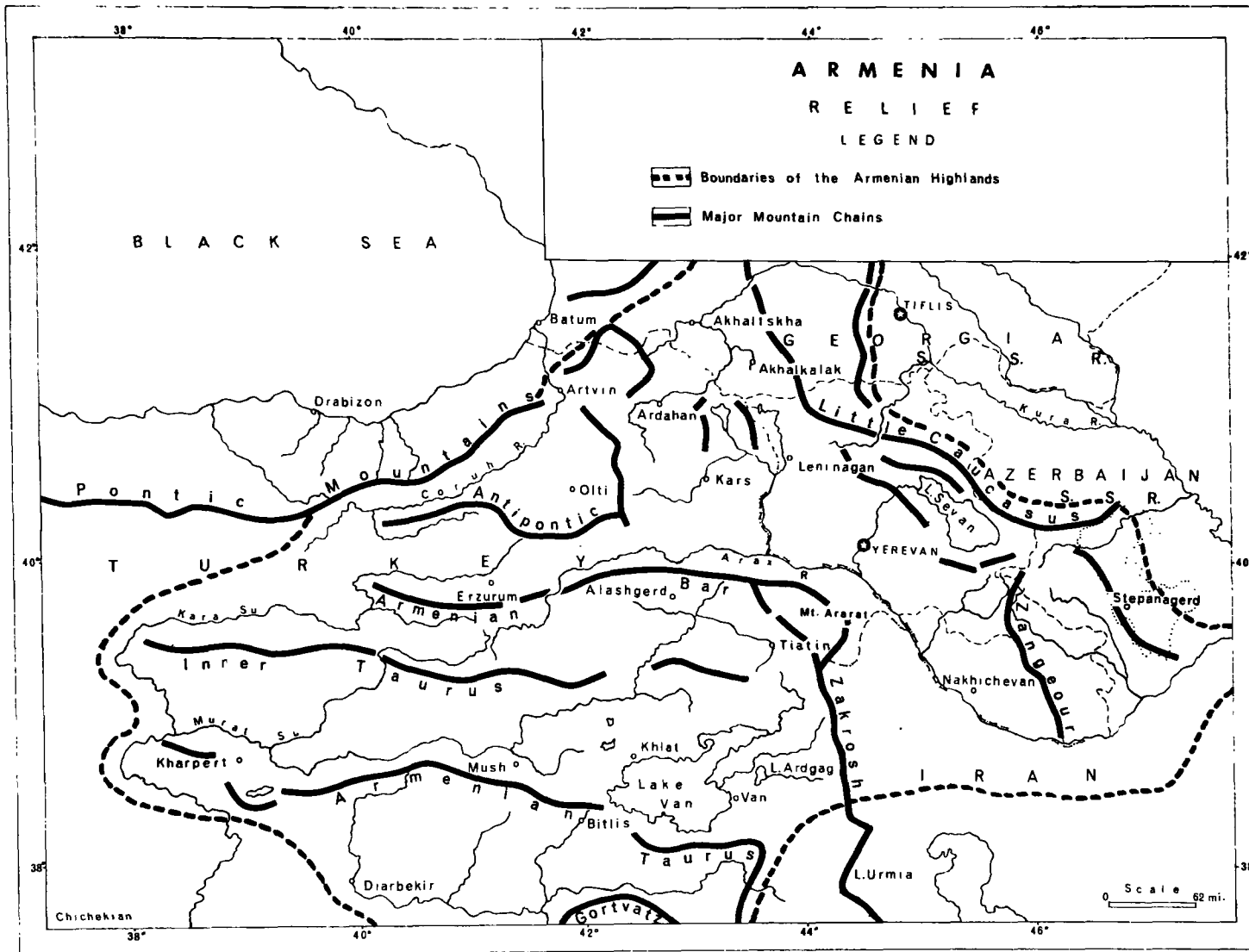


FIG. 1
Compiled from various sources

more important regions.

Due to the mountainous nature of the Armenian Highlands, elevation, slope, and interior location are the most important factors which influence the climate of this region. In general, average temperatures range from 10°F in the winter to 80°F in the summer. Annual precipitation, mainly of cyclonic and partly of convectional type, ranges from 10 to 35 inches. Both temperatures and precipitation are influenced by the moderating effects of the Black and Caspian seas.

The soils of the Armenian Highlands are classified either alluvial or that of complex mountain type, while the natural vegetation varies according to elevation from xerophytic plants to Tundra.

The Natural Environment and the Armenian Nation

The rugged terrain of the Armenian Highlands played a significant role in the development of a number of Armenian political units which had their effects on the Armenian people. Typical of any small nation, subject to attack from the outside, very often the Armenian nobility found refuge and security in the higher and inaccessible mountainous sections where they established small principalities and defied foreign rule. The creation of such political units aided greatly the development of a strong national feeling which persisted and has survived up to the present. On the other hand, it made unification of all Armenia extremely difficult, even by force.

Transportation and Trade

There is no doubt that the rugged terrain of the Armenian Highlands played a major role in developing, from the earliest times to the present

the transportation patterns in this region. A comparative map study, supported by texts, indicates that the major roads of the Armenian Highlands followed very closely the river valleys, lake basins, and other lowlands.

The significance of the favourable physocal features of the Armenian Highlands for the routes of transportation and communications, is still valid and is realized by the Turkish government. A comparative study of maps shows clearly that the major roads and railroads of eastern Turkey still use the same natural routes which were used 2,500 years ago.

The absence of natural corridors in the Armenian Highlands had a twofold effect on Armenia. Firstly, the lowlands favourable to transportation, were the main sites of east-west and northwest-southeast trade routes, which helped Armenia's economy by means of tariffs, depots and development of trade centres. Secondly, the same trade routes provided the numerous invaders of the Armenian Highlands with an easy access to the interior of the region.

Strategic Location

The mountainous environment of Armenia with its rugged landscape and high elevation has made the region to be considered a natural fortress, the conquest of which was desired by both the western and eastern powers. The conquest of the Armenian Highlands by western powers provided the latter with a stronghold overlooking the lowlands of Mesopotamia and Arabia, On the other hand, when the area was occupied by the eastern powers provided the latter with a sort of natural wall

to defend the area against western attacks.

The attractive location of the Armenian Highlands had disastrous consequences. This is easy to understand if we consider the fact that when two contending powers desire the occupation of the Highlands, Armenia had to fight both of them in order to maintain her independence. Independence was seldom achieved since the Armenians were always overwhelmed by their enemies.

Boundaries

The role of the natural environment of Armenia is also very much evident in the history of Armenia's political boundaries. Throughout its history physical features have been used for marking the boundaries between Armenia and her neighbours. At the present time, for example, a large section of the boundary between Turkey and the Armenian S.S.R. is demarkated by the Arax river, whereas, the boundary between the Armenian S.S.R. and the Nakhichevan A.S.S.R. is marked by a series of extinct volcanic chains.

CHAPTER II

A SUMMARY OF ARMENIAN'S HISTORICAL-POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1555 A.D.

Various hypotheses have been presented in the past regarding the origin of the Armenian nation. Until the beginning of this century, the most plausible hypothesis was the one suggesting that the Armenians were a section of the Phrygians who lived in central eastern Anatolia. This viewpoint suggests that the Armenians were related to the Greeks who had invaded the Balkan peninsula some 1200 years B.C.

Jacques de Morgan,¹ the famous French historian and ethnographer, besides supporting the above hypothesis, goes one step beyond and suggests that the route followed by the Armenians was across the Bosphorus and then to the east, following mainly the river valleys and other lowlands. The same author states, and others support, that the main reason for not having any early records regarding the eastward movement of the Armenians was the nature of their economy and mode of life, which caused these people not to be engaged in any major warfares. The validity of this statement is debatable, for in the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries B.C. the Armenian tribes were involved in considerable warfare activities, and rather major ones to be recorded by the historians.

Thanks to intensive research, mainly by the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian S.S.R., regarding the origin of the Armenian nation,

¹Jacques de Morgan, History of the Armenian People (Boston: Hairenik, 1950), p. 25.

scientists have formulated a new hypothesis which places the Armenians within the Indo-European ethnolinguistic group. Furthermore, it has been accepted that the Armenian language is not either Iranian or Aryan but rather an independent branch of the Indo-European group.

Referring to the question whether the Armenians were part of the Phrygians, new evidence, archeological and linguistic, suggests that the Armenian tribes had long established themselves along the northwestern, western, and southwestern borders of the kingdom of Urartu which was then occupying most of the area now known as the "Armenian Highlands".

Until lately, there was much controversy as to the origin of the Armenians and how this particular group was formed. One thing is certain, that there is still no definite and satisfying answer to this question. However, there is a viewpoint which is the most probable and based upon more scientific data than any other theory. According to this theory, it is accepted that the Indo-Iranians, as one group, occupied central and eastern Europe as early as 3000 B.C. The breakdown of the Indo-European group into numerous ethno-linguistic subgroups occurred about 2500 B.C. One of the largest groups, known as the Thracians, moved towards the south and east and occupied an extensive area stretching from north central Greece to the north of the Black Sea.

It is thought that branches of the Thracians may have moved into eastern Anatolia by approximately 2000 to 1800 B.C. and by intermingling with the local population, believed to be of Asiatic origin, created new groups of which Armenians were one. If we accept the

validity of this theory, it becomes apparent that the Armenians inherited the racial characteristics of the local population and dominated them linguistically.

The race to which most of the Armenians belong is the Armenoid characterized by medium height, dark complexion, a prominent nose, and a narrow triangular-like skull.¹

Of all the Armenian tribes, which were formed as the result of Thracian and Asianitic intermingling, the Armens and the Hayassa were the strongest and the most important ones. At present, there are written records testifying to the existence of these tribes as early as 1500 to 1400 B.C.² This chronology ties in a logical way with the coming of the Threacian groups into Armenia. It is also noteworthy that the name Armen corresponds to the word Armenian, while Hayassa to the word Hay which is the Armenian equivalent of the word Armenian. The ending assa indicates location of "place of" and it is equivalent to the present day dan or tan ending which also means the place of. In the Armenian language, Armenia is known as Hayasdan (the place of Hays).

The amalgamation of the Armenian tribes, into a single unit, started in the 6th century B.C. and the process was completed in the 5th century B.C.

The above coincided with the military weakening of the kingdom of

¹A. C. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1948), p. 143.

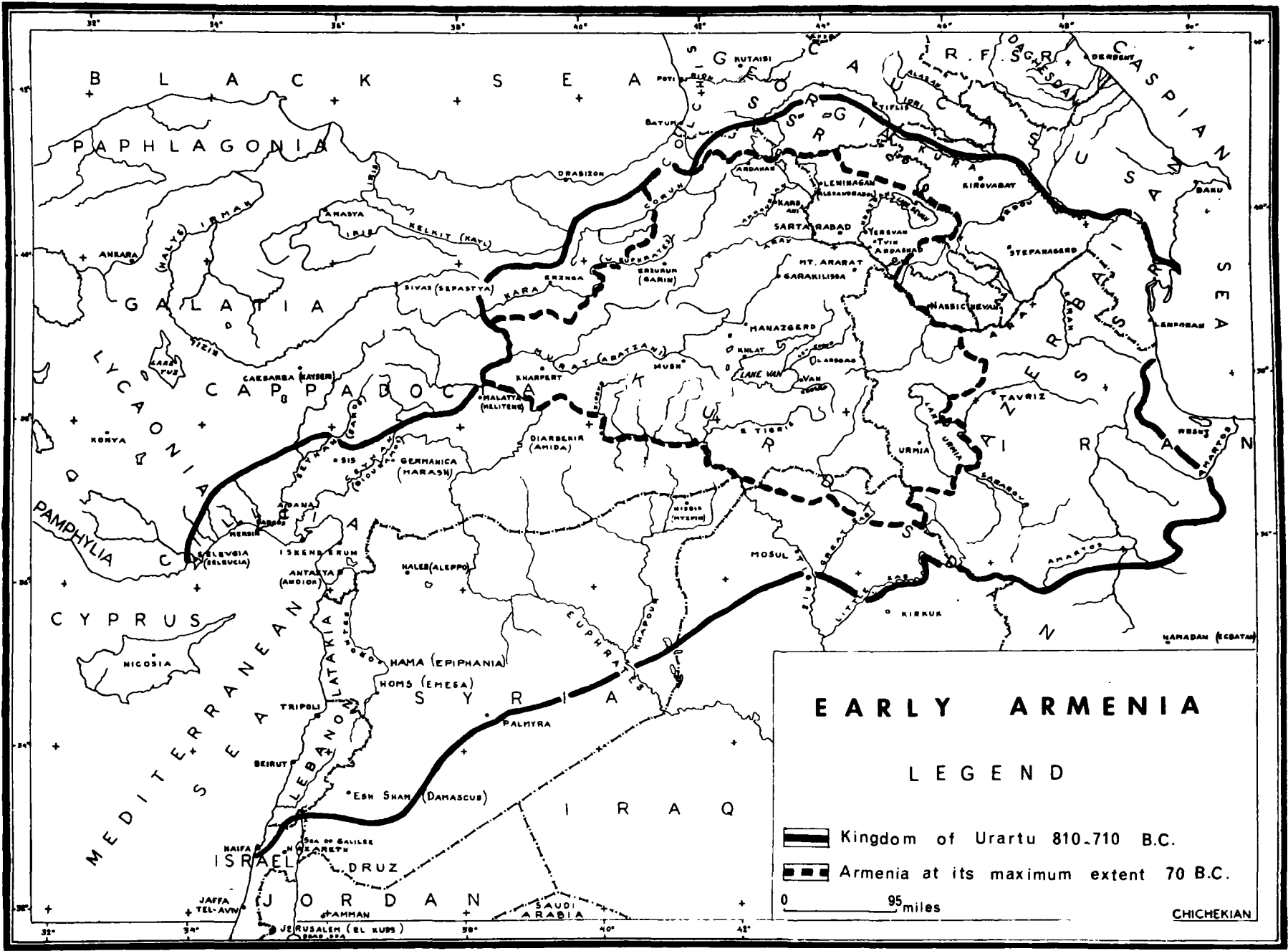
²V. A. Barsamian, History of the Armenian People (Yerevan: State Publications, 1962), p. 65.

Urartu (Fig. 2) which was soon occupied by the Armenians. Since then, the political geography of Armenia has been continuously influenced by warfare activities between the eastern and western powers, fighting for the possession of the Armenian Highlands. As a result, Armenia was always occupied either by a western or by an eastern power. Very often she was divided between the two contending empires.

However, there was a very short period of time when Armenia enjoyed complete independence and she also created an empire of her own. The dominating figure during this time was Tigranes the Great who by 70 B.C. had succeeded in conquering not only the entire territory of the Armenian Highlands, but also present day northern Iran, northern Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, northern Israel, and southeastern Turkey (Fig. 2). Personal ambitions, however, brought Tigranes against the mighty Roman legions. Consequently, with the Roman victory there came an end to this short period of independence.

Following the defeat of Tigranes, Armenia became the scene of Roman-Parthian warfares, each power seeking to establish its own rule in Armenia and surrounding territories. The only other period when Armenia enjoyed a more prolonged period of peace and independence was from 885 A.D. to 1045 A.D. during the reign of the Pakradite dynasty, which freed Armenia from Arab rule and fell victim by Byzantine politics.

The period of Tigranes the Great is of particular interest, especially from a demogeographic point of view, for it was during this time when large masses of people were forcibly transferred from one section of the empire to the other. For example, there were thousands



of Jews who were resettled in the southern sections of the Armenian Highlands.

The following table is a brief chronological resume of the political and socio-economic conditions which prevailed in Armenia from the earliest times to 1555 A.D.

TABLE 1

A ~~Brief~~ Resume of the Main Political Conditions Prevailing in Armenia from the Earliest Times to 1555 A.D.^a

Date	Political Conditions
6th to 4th cent. B.C.	Armenia becomes an administrative unit of the Persian Empire under Darius I.
Late 4th to early 2nd century B.C.	Northern Armenia remains free, southern Armenia stays under Persian rule.
190 B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Armenia enjoys internal independence. The creation of the Armenian Empire under Tigranes the Great (95-55 B.C.)
66 A.D. - 429 A.D.	Armenia becomes the battlefield of Persian and Roman ambitions. First partition of Armenia in 387 A.D.
430 A.D. - 640 A.D.	Armenia under the rule of the eastern Roman Empire and Sassanid Persia.
654 A.D. - 885 A.D.	The Arab rule in Armenia. Armenia constitutes a vice-royalty of the Arab Khalifa.
885 A.D. - 1045 A.D.	The rule of the Pakradite dynast in Armenia. Armenia enjoys complete independence.
1045 A.D. - 1639 A.D.	Armenia at the mercy of Mongolo-Tartaric and Turkik invasions and rule.

^aJacques de Morgan, History of the Armenian People; V. A. Barsemian, History of the Armenian People; T. H. Hagopyan, Outlines of Armenia's Historical Geography.

CHAPTER III

THE GEOGRAPHIC EFFECTS OF THE
PERSO-TURKISH WAR ON ARMENIAThe Division of Armenia in to Western (Turkish)
and Eastern (Persian) Regions 1639

The Perso-Turkish War, which started in the beginning of the 16th century, was first halted in 1555. As a result of the treaty signed between the two empires, Armenia was partitioned into western (Turkish) and eastern (Persian) sections.

The boundary which separated the Persian and the Turkish Empires was at the same time the boundary between western and eastern Armenia. It ran through Armenia following the Akhourian river (Western Arpa Chai), Armenian Bar (Aghri) mountain range, and Godour and Zakrosh mountains.¹

This boundary line left, by far, the largest part of Armenia in the hands of the Ottoman Turks. Renewed political conflicts between Persia and Turkey in the 1570's lasted until the year 1639 when a peace treaty was signed by which Armenia was finally divided and its territory incorporated into the Ottoman and Persian Empires respectively.

The treaty of 1639 verified the decisions of the 1555 treaty and established a definite boundary, almost identical with that of 1555, between the two empires. The new boundary line² ran through Armenia in

¹T. H. Hagopyan, Outlines of Armenia's Historical Geography (Yerevan: University of Yerevan, 1960), p. 348.

²Ibid.

the following manner:

By the Akhourian River until its lower section where the village of Hadgipayramlou was located (not far from Yervantashad, one of the main cities of early Armenia); then, it turned towards the west and after 17 to 18 kms. it crossed the Arax River and reached the Armenian Bar mountain range, south west of the town of Goghpa. From here, followed the latter mountain range, reached Mount Ararat, and then, continued along the series of high hills, north to south, which connect Mount Ararat with the mountain ranges of Godour and Zakrosh, the boundary took a southward direction following the two latter mountain ranges.¹

The above delimitation remained unchanged until the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1856, after the Crimean War.

The year 1639 A.D. marks the beginning of what has come to be known in historical and political literature as eastern and western Armenia. It should be understood that when reference is made to eastern or western Armenia, we are concerned with two cultural regions rather than political. Both sections formed part of historic Armenia, and represented an area of predominantly Armenian culture.²

In general, the boundaries of western Armenia (Fig. 1) to the north were the Pontic mountains; to the south, roughly the 37° north latitude; to the east, the present day boundary line between Turkey and the Soviet republics of Georgia and Armenia, and the state of Iran; and to the west roughly the 37° east longitude.

The region known as eastern Armenia was bounded (Fig. 1) to the west by the Akhourian river; to the east, by the upper limit of the

¹Ibid.

²While this is still true for eastern Armenia, it does not hold true for western Armenia (eastern Turkey), due to a number of political events to be discussed later on.

Kura river lowlands; to the south and southwest, by the eastern part of the Armenian Bar mountain range and the middle section of the Arax river; and to the north, roughly by the 41° north latitude.

In referenece to eastern Armenia, it must be mentioned that the Kars-Ardahan district, the northeastern section of western Armenia, constituted part of eastern Armenia for 42 years, 1878-1920. This is the main reason some authors consider the Kars-Ardahan district part of the territory of eastern Armenia. However, the period from 1878 to 1920 constitutes only 13 per cent of the period from 1639 to the present day. After the partition of 1639 the following territorial and administrative arrangements took in eastern Armenia.

The Political-Administrative Structure of
Eastern and Western Armenia from 1639 to 1828

The Khanates of Eastern Armenia

Khanate was the name of the politico-administrative devision which formed the territory of eastern Armenia, as well as the other sections of the Persian Empire. The khanate was ruled by the Khan who was the highest authority in all political, economic, military, and judicial matters. Under his command there were a number of civil servants whose main function was to carry out the Khan's orders. The most important of these civil servants were the following:

- (a) The treasurer
- (b) The military commander in chief
- (c) The executive, carrying out the orders of the Khan and the court

- (d) The chief of the police
- (e) The executive for the expenses of the khanate
- (f) The executive responsible for the food supplies of the khanate

The title of the Khan was hereditary, but his appointment as a ruler was effected by the Shah, ruler of the Persian empire. All administrators within the subdivisions of the khanate were appointed by the khan. The entire region of eastern Armenia fell within the territory of the following three khanates (Fig. 3):

- (a) Yerevan
- (b) Nakhichevan
- (c) Karapagh

From a cultural and economic point of view the khanate of Yerevan was the best developed. Culturally it occupied the heart of eastern Armenia where the Armenian population comprised the majority and it contained most of eastern Armenia's towns and cities.

As far as the economic development of this khanate was concerned, it occupied the fertile lowlands on both sides of the Arax river which provided the region with good agricultural land, and it was the centre of trade routes coming from the north, east, and southeast, which met at the city of Yerevan the capital of the khanate.

The Melikates of Eastern Armenia

These were small administrative units located within the territory of the khanate. They enjoyed internal political and socio-economic autonomy. The melikates were formed of the old Armenian princely houses which occupied, most of the time, highland areas and resisted foreign

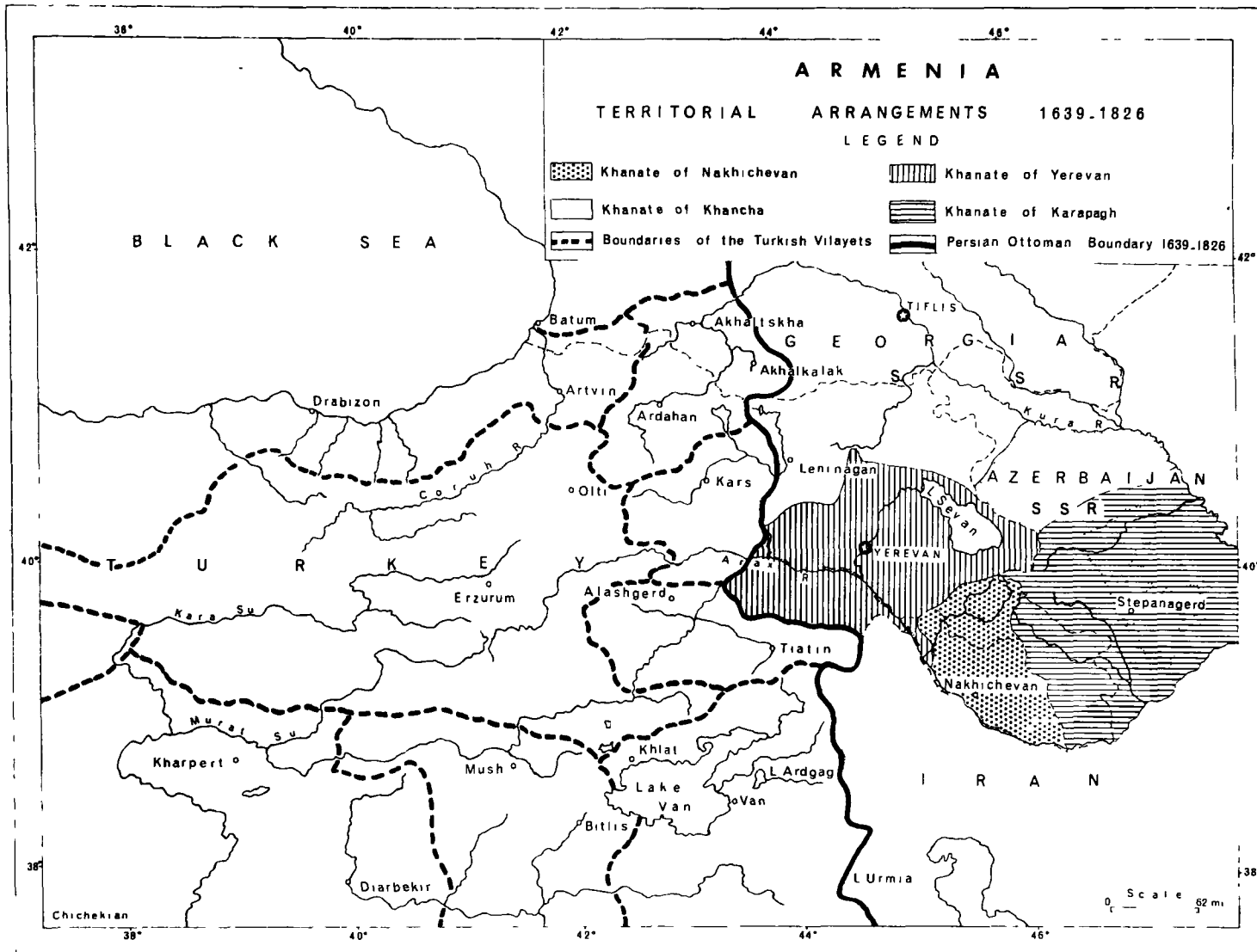


FIG 3

After Atlas of Armenia p 107

aggression. The ruler of the melikate was called melik. His title was hereditary but his appointment was given either by the Shah or by the khan of the Khanate of Yerevan.

The political role played by the melikates in the Persian Empire could be compared to that of the autonomous sections of the Danubian frontier of the Roman Empire. In other words, the melikates, being fringe areas of the Persian Empire and having a highly nationalistic population were granted certain rights, especially administrative, by the Shah in order to serve mainly two purposes. First, to ensure political stabilization within the Empire, and second, to have the melikates protect the frontier against the possible enemy attack.

Of all the melikates the ones known as khamsa (meaning five) were the most important, both from a strategic and demogeographic point of view. Strategically they were important, for they occupied a mountainous area difficult to be reached and attacked by the enemy. As far as the ethnic composition was concerned, the Armenian element constituted by far the largest and most dominant. Thus, the physical landscape on the one hand, and the rather homogeneous population on the other, acted as centripetal forces in this political unit known as the "Khamsa Melikates."

The territory of the Khamsa melikates was located within the area and in the eastern section of the khanate of Karapagh. However, because of internal conflicts the Khamsa melikates gradually became weaker during the second half of the 18th century, and finally disappeared from history. The history of the Khamsa melikates depicts in its best the existing interrelationship between the natural environment population, strategic location, and political administration.

The Principalities of Eastern Armenia

Like the melikates, the principalities were also located within the territory of the khanates, usually in mountainous areas, and defied the Persian rule.

Of all the Armenian principalities of eastern Armenia, the one formed in 1722 under the leadership of Tavit Pék was the most famous. Its territory was composed of four melikates which occupied the present day southern tip of the Armenian S.S.R. This principality lasted for nine years 1722 - 1730, until the region was finally occupied first by the Turkish army and then by the Persians.¹

The greatest contribution of the melikates and principalities was in the preservation of the Armenian nation-hood.

The Vilayets of Western Armenia

Western Armenia, like all the other countries constituting part of the Ottoman Empire, was divided into a number of political-administrative units which were called vilayets (provinces). The vilayets in turn, were subdivided into a number of administrative divisions known as sanchags. The latter, however, were entirely responsible to the administration of the vilayet.

¹In the period between 1639 and 1828 there were times when sections of eastern Armenia came under Turkish occupation. However, these were of very short duration, and did not cause any serious and notable changes either in the Perso-Turkish boundary of 1639 or in the politico-administrative structure of the khanates.

Prior to the division of western Armenia into vilayets, the entire region, during the first years after the treaty of 1639, was organized into one political unit known as Ermenistan Ealet, meaning a region of Armenian population.¹ The division of eastern Turkey into vilayets took place in the second half of the 17th century.

Unlike the khans of eastern Armenia, the administrators of the vilayets, the Pashas, were not appointed by the Sultan, the ruler of the Ottoman Empire. They obtain their position as a result of the highest pay during a public auction, the main objective of which was to determine who would be the ruler of each vilayet. To help the administrative work of the pasha, the latter had a three member advisory committee who also obtained their position the same way as their superior did.

Between the years 1639 and 1828 the region of western Armenia was shared by the territory of the following vilayets:

- (a) The Southern section of the Alhaltskha vilayet
- (b) The vilayet of Kars
- (c) The vilayet of Bayazit
- (d) The vilayet of Erzurum
- (e) The northern half of the vilayet of Van
- (f) The eastern half of the vilayet of Iblatya (formerly part of the vilayet of Sivas and later known under the name Kharpert)
- (g) The vilayet of Bitlis
- (h) The northern section of the vilayet of Diarbekir

¹The word Ermeni is the Turkish equivalent for the word Armenian.

Kurdish Administrative Sections of Western Armenia

Southeastern Turkey, together with northern Iraq and the section of Iran south of Lake Urmia constituted, as still do, the homeland of the Kursih nation. However due to various causes, mainly political, Kurdish settlements can be also found in eastern Turkey as well as within the territory of present day Armenian S.S.R.

The Ottoman rulers of the 16th and 17th centuries had well realized that in order to obtain political stability in the Ottoman territories in the vicinity of Lake Van, a fringe area, they must co-operate and respect the feelings of the Kurdish tribes regarding their political, administrative, and socio-economic affairs; something that the Persian Shahs failed to understand. That is why the Ottoman expansion on the expense of Persian territories was facilitated by the co-operation and assistance of the Kurds. Later on, the Kurdish tribes were used by the Ottomans to guard the fringe areas of the Empire against Persian aggression.

In western Armenia the Kurdish administrative centres were mainly located in the northern section of Lake Van, the southern section of the vilayet of Van, in the vicinity of the cities of Alashgerd west of Mt. Ararat and north of Lake Sevan, and in the central and northern sections of the vilayet of Bitlis (Fig. 4).

During the second and third quarters of the 19th century practically all of the Kurdish administrative centres were abolished and ceased to exist as separate administrative units. This arrangement was carried out by force rather than by peaceful means on the part of the Ottoman rulers.

Remnants of the Old Armenian Principalities of Western Armenia

These were mountainous regions populated mainly by Armenians which, like the Kurdish centres, defied Turkish rule and as a result were granted some kind of internal independence. However, the type of autonomy varied from region to region. Among the noteworthy principalities the following self-ruled prevailed:

The Principality of Sassoun

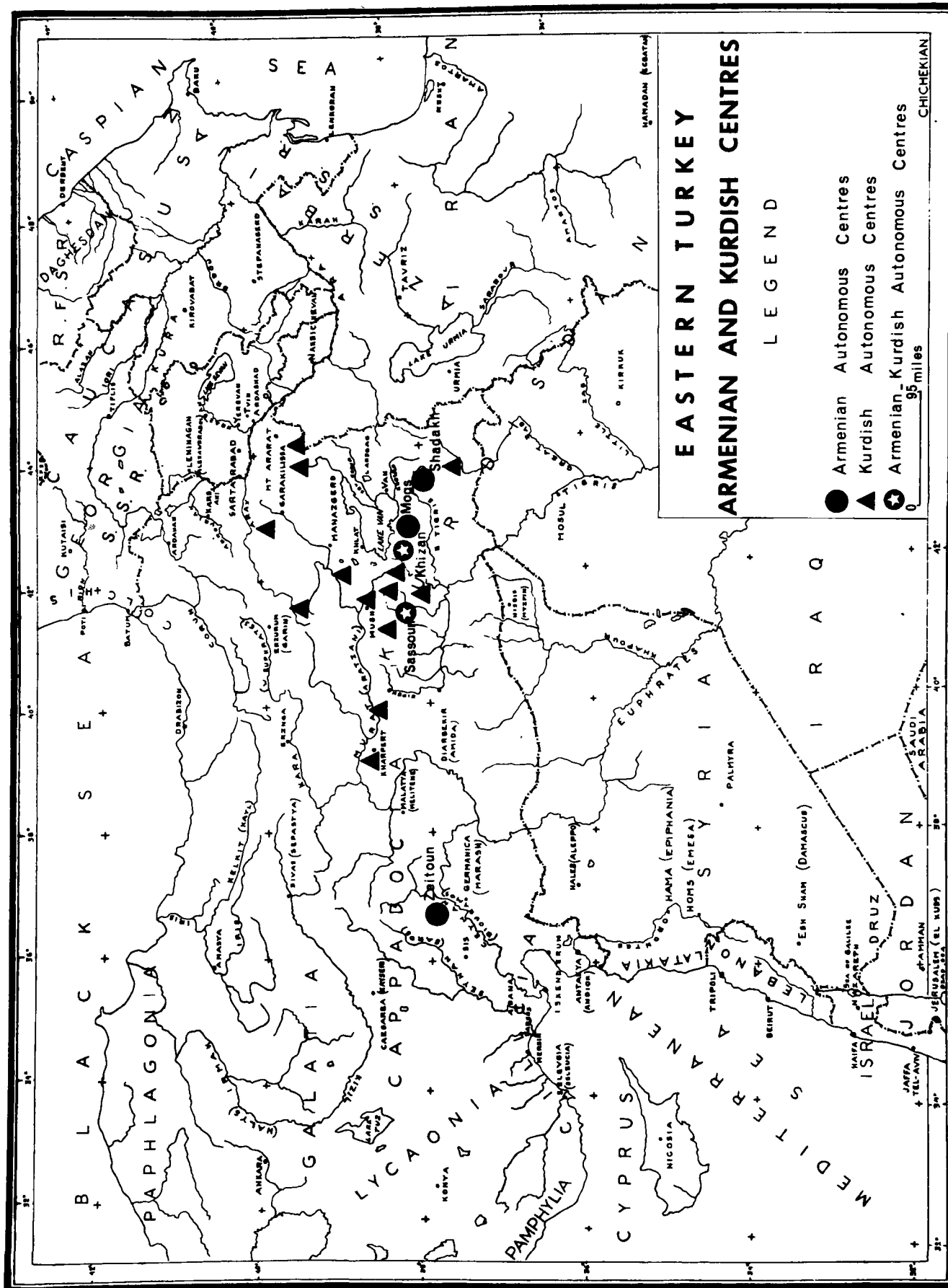
It was included within the territory of the Kurdish autonomous section of Sassoun. The principality of Sassoun kept its internal political-administrative independence until 1894 when the population was subjected to massacres by the Turkish military.

The Principalities of Mogs, Shadakh, and Khizan

The first of these principalities was located south of Lake Van and constituted an Armenian centre outside the sphere of Kurdish agglomerations. The principality of Shadakh was located in the upper sections of the eastern Tigris river, while the principality of Khizan was included within the Kurdish section of Khizan. All these political units, though free in their social and cultural affairs, were administered by the Kurdish ruler of the Khizan section.

The Principality of Zeitoun

It was located in former Cilician Armenia (Fig. 4) and had a status of a "firmanly city". Centres carrying this title were exempted from certain taxes.



The role played by the Armenian principalities in the political life of the Armenians was two-fold. The first part of this role may be summarized as centripetal and the second as centrifugal. Both the centrifugal and centripetal roles were closely related to the natural and cultural environment of the Armenian principalities.

The rugged nature of the terrain of the principalities had long contributed to the continuous existence of autonomous Armenian sectors within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Such conditions, coupled by the completely different type of people, socially and culturally, residing in the vicinity of the Armenian principalities, had aided to the development of a strong national feeling which never ceased to exist. This is also true of the present. The consequent results of such a feeling were the continuous preservation of the Armenian language, religion, traditions and history, which are still the main uniting factors of the Armenian nation.

The autonomy that the Armenian principalities enjoyed within the Ottoman rule, did also contribute to the gradual development of an extremely individualistic feeling which, in turn, became a hazard and hindered the unification of Armenians within their homeland. The history of Armenia is rich with such examples.

Economic Life in Eastern and Western Armenia

From the second half of the seventeenth century till the first quarter of the nineteenth century the economic conditions of Armenia were almost unbearable. The continuous wars between Persia and Turkey had reduced considerably the labour force of the country. The farmlands

of Armenia with their inadequate rainfall were heavily dependent upon irrigation systems which were also destroyed during the Perso-Turkish Wars, thus leaving the rural economy of the region in a very poor condition. In addition, numerous and very heavy taxes imposed on the inhabitants created impossible living conditions for the rural Armenian population.

After the division of Armenia in 1639 into western and eastern sections, the rural areas were subjected to certain economic rearrangements. First, all arable lands were appropriated either by the Shah or the Sultan. In the Persian Empire the land was divided and assigned to civil servants, religious institutions, and princely houses. Similar divisions existed also in the Ottoman Empire.

In western Armenia the rural Armenian population was permitted to own only houses, any portable personal belongings, and small vineyard fields. Furthermore, each rural section had a legal right to its water source which was considered the property of those cultivating that specific section. However, very often this law was overlooked by the inhabitants and the consequences were severe conflicts between two rural sections, very often claiming human lives. Such events were a constant handicap for local administrators having centripetal effects as far as the entire administrative region was concerned.

Low productivity was another characteristic of the rural economy of Armenia. During 1639 and 1828 only one ninth of the total arable land of western Armenia was cultivated. The net result of such economic conditions was the shortage of food which led to occasional famines.

The urban dwellers of Armenia were not less unfortunate. They, too,

were subjected to heavy taxes and discrimination. The craftsmen, or professionals, comprised the bulk of the urban population both in eastern and western Armenia. Hagopyan¹ states that the craftsmen of eastern Armenia were less oppressed than those in western Armenia. Furthermore, the professionals in Persian Armenia had some kind of a union which aimed in providing economic security for the labourer and his dependents in case of a mishap. Unfortunately, Hagopyan does not give any reference from which he obtained the above information. In contrast to eastern Armenia, the craftsmen of western Armenia did not have any union-like organizations or anything similar to that. The cities of Yerevan, Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Mush, Kars, Payazit, and Khat, were among the important centres where craftsmanship was most predominant.

Trade and Commerce was perhaps the most developed, as well as profitable, of all the enterprises in Armenia. During the 17th and 18th centuries trade developed mainly in two directions with the Russian Empire and Europe (Fig. 5). The trade with Russia was taking place over the trade route which came from Tavriz (Persia) to Nakhichevan, Yerevan, Tiflis, and then to the north by means of the Volga river. The second route, which joined India and Iran with Europe, passed through western Armenia by the cities of Bayazit, Tiatin, Alashgerd, Erzurum, and Drabizond.

The development of trade with Russia was mainly the result of two political events. Firstly, it was the territorial expansion of Russia and the formation of a single Russian political unit and secondly, the

¹ T. H. Hagopyan, op. cit., p. 377.

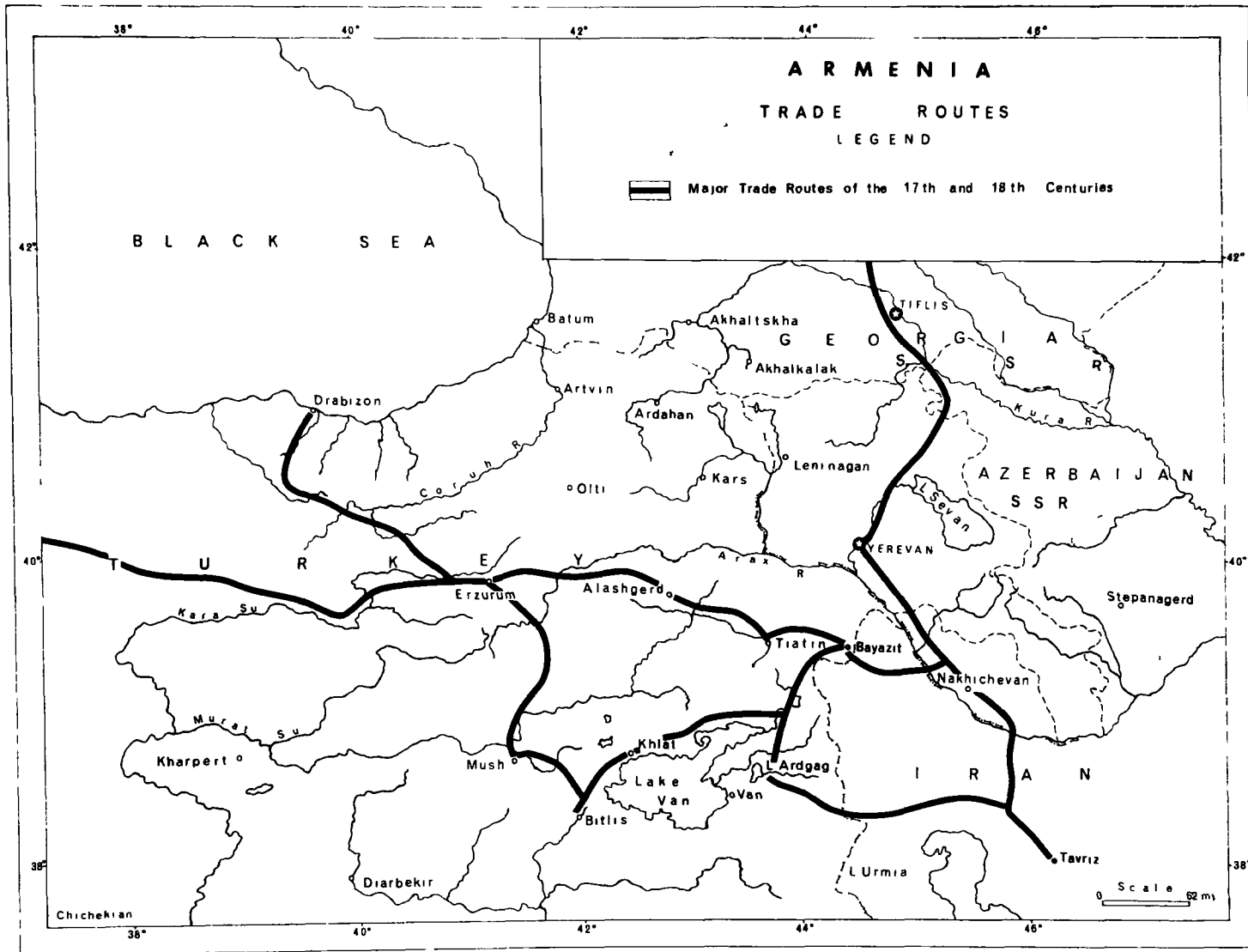


FIG 5
Compiled from various sources

treaty of 1639 between Persia and Turkey which brought some kind of peace and enabled economic recuperation.

The second trade route, connecting India and Europe, existed for a long time. The amount of traffic over this route once again depended mainly on the political conditions prevailing over eastern Turkey and Persia. In connection with this trade route, the city of Erzurum was the important centre. The famous French traveller Tournefort wrote at the beginning of the 18th century: "The town is the warehouse of all merchandise coming from India and Iran, such as silk, cotton, spices, and printed cloth."¹ This trade route became also of great importance to the British which had to play a delicate political game in 1878 in order to maintain their authority and security over this route.

During this time Armenian merchants were also active outside Armenia. Pasdermadjian states that (a) East India Company was in fact the successor of an Armenian Company, (b) Jacques Coeur of France, one of the famous builders of French economic power, sought the cooperation of the Armenians to revive the French foreign trade, and (c) Colbert, controller general of the finances of France from 1662 to 1683 stresses the importance of the Armenians for the development of French commerce in terms of imports and exports in a report which is still in the archives of the French Ministry of Marine.²

¹H. Pasdermadjian, An Outline of the Economic History of Armenia (Boston: Hairenik, 1950), p. 11.

²Ibid.

In Poland Armenians were also known for their trade. The trade route from Caffa, the main town in the Crimea in the 17th and 18th centuries, to Lemberg-(L'vov)-Cracow-Nuremberg-Bruges, was mainly developed and operated by Armenians.¹

Despite the developments in trade and commerce and the practice of some craftsmanship, Armenia was still under-developed, poor, and with a low standard of living. These conditions were the sole result of the wars of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries between Turkey and Persia.

Population

Unfortunately, due to lack of adequate and precise information, the geographic interrelationship between the Armenian population and political events can only be dealt in a rather general manner.

Prior to the first quarter of the 17th century the geography of the population of both eastern and western Armenia may be best described under the general heading of "forced population movement". During the Perso-Turkish War, and until the signing of the treaty of 1639, thousands of Armenians were forced to migrate to various parts of the Persian and Turkish Empires. The reign of Shah-Apas is of particular interest, for during his expedition into eastern and section of western Armenia, in 1603 - 1604, he forced approximately 350,000 Armenians² to emigrate and settle in the Isfahan area of present day Iran. Pasdermadjian in

¹Ibid., 13.

²T. H. Hagopyan, op. cit., p. 383.

his two volume History of Armenia boosts this figure to 50,000.¹

The Ottoman rulers were also treating the Armenian population in a similar manner. Turkish expeditions in Transcaucasia always resulted in some kind of forced population movement. Large number of Armenians were, in particular, transferred to western sections of Asia Minor and Egypt. Perhaps, one of the most notable examples of such forced emigration was during the Turkish military expeditions over Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, in 1578, when some 60,000 Armenians from the plain of Ararat and the district of Yerevan were taken into the western parts of Turkey.

In both cases, Turkish and Persian, the main idea behind this mass movement of Armenians was the same. The main purpose behind the Persian aggression was that by depopulating eastern Armenia it would be possible to check the Ottoman advance towards these territories. On the other hand, the Ottoman Sultans also believed that the solidification of Turkish rule in eastern Turkey, as well as in eastern Armenia, will directly depend on the depopulation of Persian ruled areas of Armenia. Thus, they too forced the Armenian population to move out of their homeland and drove them in various sections of their empire.

According to Barsamian, the chief areas of historic Armenia subject to this process of depopulation were mainly the regions immediately east, north, and northeast of Lake Van of present day eastern Turkey.²

¹H. Pasdermadjian, History of Armenia (Beirut: Hamazkayn, 1954), I, p. 22.

²Barsamian, op. cit., p. 91.

By the 1610's the policy of this forced population movement changed. The Persian Rulers, realizing that the security of their rule in Eastern Armenia depended on the co-operation of the local population, they permitted the Armenians of Persia to return to Armenia, they did not encourage further emigration, and by taking military action against sections of Turkish Armenia, forced large number of Armenians to migrate and settle in eastern Armenia. The plain of Ararat was the site of this main settlement.

The Ottoman Sultans in order to secure their authority in Eastern Turkey sought to populate these areas with Kurdish tribes and drive the Armenians into various sections of the Ottoman Empire. Kurdish tribes were brought from northern Mesopotamia and the surrounding areas, and settled mainly in the sections of Bayazid, Alashgerd, and the regions north of Lake Van. A small part of this Kurdish population moved into present day eastern Soviet Armenia.

In the time between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries the distribution and mobility of the Armenian population experienced almost exactly the same situation. The causes of the continuous out-migration may be grouped under the general headings of force and invitation. These new emigrations were first directed towards the neighbouring countries of Georgia and Azerbaidjan, and second, mainly towards northern Caucasia, Crimea, Ukraine, Poland, Italy, India, Syria, and towards northern and central Iran.

During the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries the main ethnic minorities in Armenia were the Azerbaydjani and Kurds. Other small ethnic minorities included mainly the Greeks

and Assyrians, whose numbers were rather negligible.¹

In Western Armenia Armenians comprised the majority of the population in the vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Kars, and Diarbekir.² The Kurds occupied second place and Turks the third. As expected, the largest section of the Kurdish population was located in the vilayets of Van and Bayazid.

¹This is also true for the present.

²Satisfactory maps indicating distribution (spatial or percentage-wise) by nationality are not available.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL-POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EASTERN AND
WESTERN ARMENIA AFTER THE PERSO-RUSSIAN WAR
1826-1877

The Annexation of Eastern Armenia to Russia
and its Political Organization under the
Czarist Rule

Eastern Armenia became part of the Russian Empire as a consequence of the Perso-Russian war of 1826-28, while western Armenia remained in the hands of the Ottoman Turks. From 1826, until the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, eastern Armenia went through a number of administrative and territorial changes.

On October 6, 1827, after the Russian Army had occupied the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan, the territories of the two latter political units were joined, on a temporary basis, to form one unit under a temporary administration of three men -- two military and one civilian. This status continued until the end of the Perso-Turkish War.

At the end of 1827, although there had been no territorial changes, the administration of eastern Armenia was due for reforms under the direction of Czar Nicolas I. The new plan, drafted by Nicolas I, aimed to replace the temporary government of eastern Armenia, as well as that of other occupied regions, with permanent ones. Thus, on March 21, 1828, just one day after the signing of the Treaty of Turkmencha, the territories of the previous khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan were officially joined to form the Armenian Sector with a new government

composed of five members.¹ The head of the government was the military Commander-in-General of the Armenian Sector; the other four members consisted of two Russian officials, one for problems concerning police and the other for economic problems, and two civil representatives, one Armenian and one Azerbaijani, as advisors.

The government of the Armenian Sector was responsible to the Commander-in-General of the entire Caucasian region. This newly created administrative system, however, did not prove to be effective. This was mainly due to the existence of various minor local administrative systems, remnants of the past Persian Rule, which still operated throughout the Armenian Sector. This was a serious problem not only to the internal political unification of the Armenian Sector itself, but it also created a serious problem for the future integration of the Armenian Sector in the Russian Empire.

In order to heal this political chaos, the rulers of the Russian Empire introduced a new politico-administrative system, in 1833, which had as its main objective the establishment of an Armenian Sector, with an administrative system similar to the other sections throughout the Empire. Under the new administrative system the powers of the head of the government were enlarged. On the other hand, instead of the previous four members, there were now separate offices in the government, each with its own committee looking after executive, financial and judicial problems.

¹The treaty of Turkmencha concluded the Russo-Persian War which had started in 1826.

Although the new administrative system, introduced in 1833, healed some of the wounds caused by the past Persian administration, it did not satisfy the Czar, who wanted the entire region of Transcaucasia to be integrated and assimilated into the Russian empire. To accomplish this task, by an order on April 10, 1840, Transcaucasia was constituted as a single province of the Russian Empire under the name "Vira-Imerit". Its internal politico-administrative structure and territorial arrangements were as follows:

- (1) It consisted of eleven administrative divisions (sections) two of which were the territories of the previous khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan.
- (2) The administration of the sections of the Transcaucasian Province were in the hands of the Russian officials. Administrators in small localities within each section were elected by the people of those localities.
- (3) The judicial powers of the Moslem courts, existing within each section, were limited only to marital affairs.

Although, by this new system, the original regions of the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan did not suffer any territorial loss, the Armenian Sector, formed in 1828, was now partitioned. The political units of Yerevan and Nakhichevan formed two of the administrative sections of the province of Transcaucasia. The loss was of a national importance rather than a political one. It was national for the following reasons: First, the Russian administrators were seeking for methods which would serve the goals of the Russian Empire rather than those of the local administrative sections; secondly, the nobility of the national groups

was restricted to any office; thirdly, the partitioning of the Armenian Sector deprived the Armenians of Transcaucasia, as well as those of western Armenia, from a kind of "homeland".

It is mainly due to the above reasons that the newly inaugurated politico-administrative system did not produce the expected results. Thus, in the middle of the year 1840 the Czarist regime introduced certain reforms. The most significant of these reforms was to allow members of the nobility to be eligible for official positions in the administration of each section.

Six years after the 1840 politico-administrative reforms, Transcaucasia received the status of vice-royalty in the Russian empire. However, because of local dissatisfaction and personal political interests of the vice-royalty's administrator, the internal administrative divisional structure of Transcaucasia was changed once more. In 1846 the vice-royalty of Transcaucasia was divided into the provinces of Tiflis, Koutassi, Shanaklou, and Terpentî.

The previous administrative sections of Yerevan and Nakhichevan, without any territorial loss, were now included in the province of Tiflis. However, this new arrangement was shortlived. On June 9, 1849, by the Czar's command, the administrative sections of Yerevan, Nakhichevan, and Alexandropol (without its Akhalkalak sub-section) of the Province of Tiflis were separated from the latter political unit and formed a separate province known as the province of Yerevan (Fig. 6). This new political unit came in to force on January 1, 1850.

Between the years 1856 and 1862 the territorial extent of the province of Yerevan suffered two important losses (Fig. 6). The Russo-

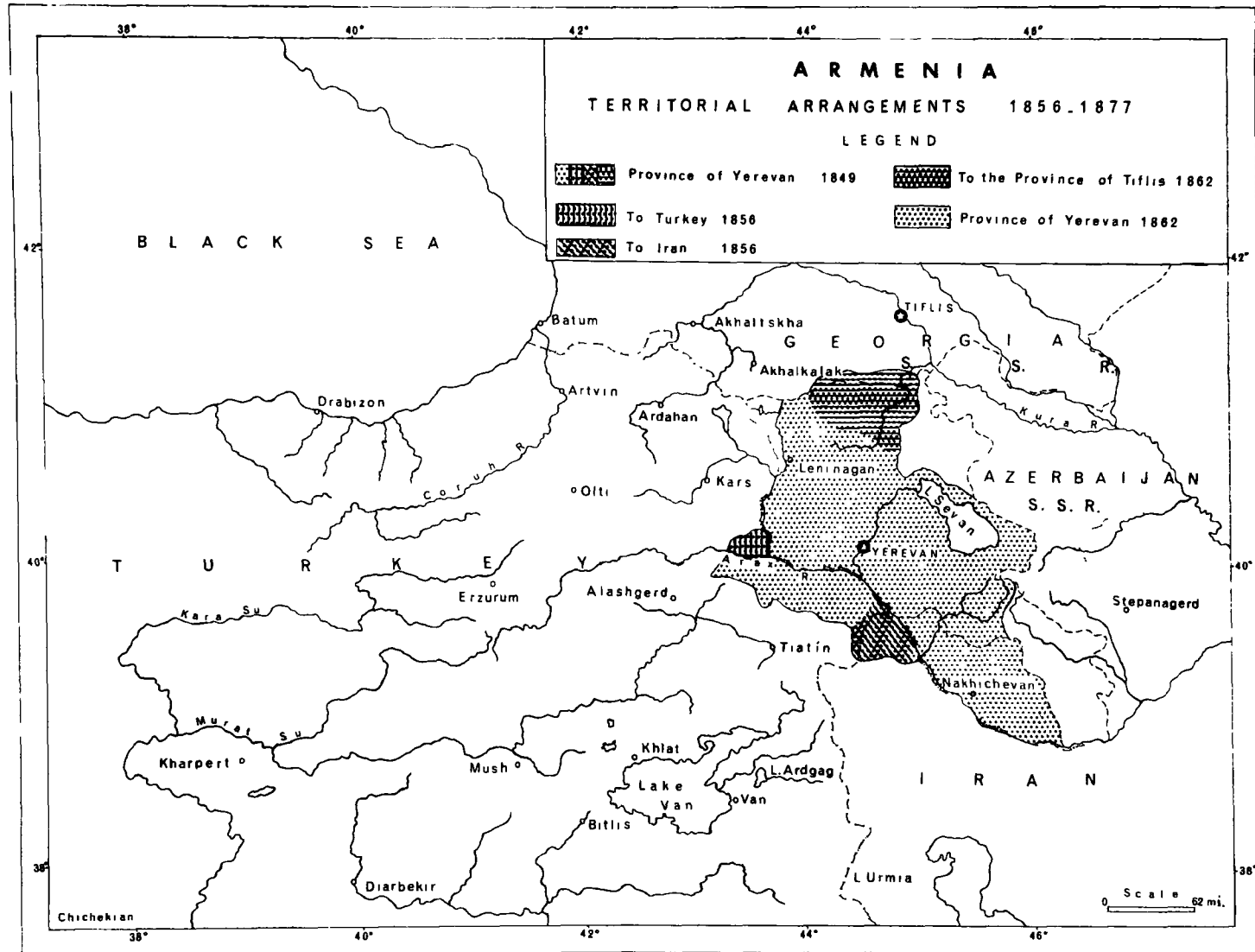


FIG. 6
From Atlas of Armenia and other sources

Turkish boundary of 1856 (after the Crimean War) left the Sahatapos and Dampad areas to Turkey and Iran respectively. In 1862, the area of Lori of the section of Alexandropol was separated from the Province of Yerevan and joined to the Province of Tiflis.

With few minor changes in the internal administrative divisions, the territory of the province of Yerevan remained unchanged until the First World War.

TABLE 2

A General Outline of the Structure of the Government in the Province of Yerevan in 1874^a

Head	Institutions
Provincial Administrator	Office of the Provincial Administrator Provincial Executive Provincial Census Committee Provincial Committee for Village Affairs
Vice Administrator	Provincial Military Court Provincial Justice Courts Sectional Administrators

^aCompiled from various sources.

The Political Life of Turkish Armenia

While the administrative and territorial organization of eastern Armenia may be compared to a mosaic, the situation in western Armenia remained almost the same in comparison with the 1639-1828 period. There were two territorial changes in the entire region (Fig. 5). First, the 1856 Russo-Turkish boundary (after the Crimean War) deprived Turkey from that section of the Akhalkskha vilayet which was located north of the present day Russo-Turkish boundary. Secondly, the Sahatapos section of the Province of Yerevan was annexed to Turkey and included in the vilayet of Kars.

The Economic Life of Eastern and Western Armenia

The general picture of Armenia's economic conditions, compared to those of the period between seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had greatly improved. This was mainly due to a relatively peaceful period since 1639, and the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia and the peace treaty of 1828.

Although Armenia improved economically, it must be specified that the degree of this development was much greater in eastern Armenia than in western. Eastern Armenia, after the political events of 1828 between Russia and Persia, witnessed tremendous improvements regarding its transportation and communication network. New roads were built and the old ones improved. Railway lines were also constructed. While these developments greatly aided the quick transportation of economic products, the rural economy of eastern Armenia was hindered in some ways. First, the Russian administration permitted the existence of large feudal

estates which meant limited number of land owners and a large amount of tenants. Secondly, the nomadic type of economy which existed among the Tartars, especially of the Karapagh region of eastern Armenia, and the location of the Armenian agriculturalists gave way to a number of conflicts. The Armenian farms in this region were located between the low plain to the east and mountain pastures to the west. The nomadic Tartars had to cross the Armenian farmlands at least twice a year which was enough to cause misunderstandings, dislike, and give rise to more severe conflicts.

Although trade in eastern Armenia did not decline, certain sections and centres along the trade routes lost their importance, like the region of Yerevan. This was mainly due to the Russian Czarist economic scheme which sought to make Transcaucasia a large market for Russian products. Thus, an enormous tax burden was imposed upon any product coming to Armenia from abroad.

In the past the region of Yerevan had derived part of its prosperity from the fact that it was located on two important trade routes, one linking Tabriz (Persia) with Tiflis (Georgia), and the other linking Tabriz with the Black Sea through Yerevan, Erzerum and Drabizon (Fig. 5).

The first of these routes was materially affected by the high customs duties levied by the Russian commercial policy in order to reserve the Transcaucasian market for the production of Russian industry. As to the second of these trade movements, it switched to the route Tabriz-Bayazid-Erzerum-Drabizon, so as to establish a direct connection between Persia and Turkey, thus avoiding Russian territory.

Mining and manufacturing were also developed in eastern Armenia

after the Perso-Russian treaty of 1828. Sodium chloride, copper, and some silver were the principal minerals at this time, whereas in the late 1800's the manufacturing of cognac in eastern Armenia achieved great importance and fame.¹ Despite all these developments and progress, eastern Armenia was still economically backwards, especially from a technological point of view.

Western Armenia, compared to eastern Armenia, was way behind. Appalling working conditions and corrupt and incompetent government were the main reasons for this underdevelopment. However, few years of peace and helped to better the socio-economic conditions of western Armenia.

Population

During the period from 1828 to 1877 there were three major political events which had their effect on the Armenian population of eastern Turkey, Persia, and Transcaucasia. These events were the Perso-Russian War of 1828, the Russo-Turkish War of 1829, and the Crimean War, 1856.

The Perso-Russian War was concluded by the Treaty of Turkmencha. Article 17 of this treaty gave the right to the Armenians of present day northern Persia to migrate to eastern Armenia. Immediately after the signing of the treaty approximately 45,000 Armenians emigrated from northern Persia and immigrated mainly to southern Armenia, especially in the districts of Nakhichevan and Ortoupert. The city of Yerevan, located in central-west Armenia, was an exception to this general rule.

¹This is still true at present.

A larger scale emigration of Armenians from eastern Turkey to Czarist Armenia took place after the signing of the Treaty of Adrianopol which concluded the Russo-Turkish War of 1829. Article 13 of this treaty gave the right to every person to stay or emigrate either to Russia or Turkey during the time of 18 months following the signing of the treaty. As a result, 90,000 Armenians from eastern Turkey, especially from the vilayets of Kars, Erzerum, and Bayazit, emigrated into eastern Armenia and nearby regions.

Special attention was paid to settle the newcomers in such areas where the physical characteristics of the natural environment would correspond, more or less, to those of their previous habitats. The districts of Lori, Shirag, Akhatskha, Akhalkalak, the foothills of Mt. Arakads, the lowlands of Lake Sevan, and the district of Sourmalou were the main areas where the emigrating Armenian population from eastern Turkey was settled.¹

This influx caused certain districts like Akhalskha, Lori and Alchalkalak to sustain a large majority of Armenians, which, became the main reason for territorial conflicts between Armenia and Georgia. After the conclusion of the Crimean War of 1856 small numbers of Armenians also established permanent settlements in eastern Armenia.

¹There was also a very small number of Greeks who migrated to eastern Armenia. This may explain the two minor centres of Greek population in present day Armenian S.S.R.

CHAPTER V

THE GEOGRAPHIC EFFECTS OF THE RUSSO-TURKISH AND
THE FIRST WORLD WARS ON ARMENIA
FROM 1877 TO THE PRESENTThe San Stefano and Berlin Treaties of 1878

The Treaty of San Stefano, signed on March 3, 1878, between Turkey and Russia, ended the war between them which had started in 1877. Had it not been for Britain's interests, it was almost certain that the Russian army would have captured the city of Constantinople and advanced to the west from their second front in eastern Anatolia. It was Great Britain's interference, mainly because of her interests in the Straits, which forced the Russians to settle for an agreement for peace with the Ottoman Empire. According to article XIX of the Treaty of San Stefano, the boundary between Turkey and Russian on Armenian territory was delimited (Fig. 7) in such a way that it favoured the Armenian and Russian interests not only from a territorial point of view but also economically and demographically.¹

It should be mentioned that parts of the above territory encircled by the demarcated boundary line were ceded to Russia in consideration of payment in cash. This is clearly stated in the second part and section (b) of Article XIX of the treaty which reads as follows:

¹For the full description of the boundary, see Appendix I.

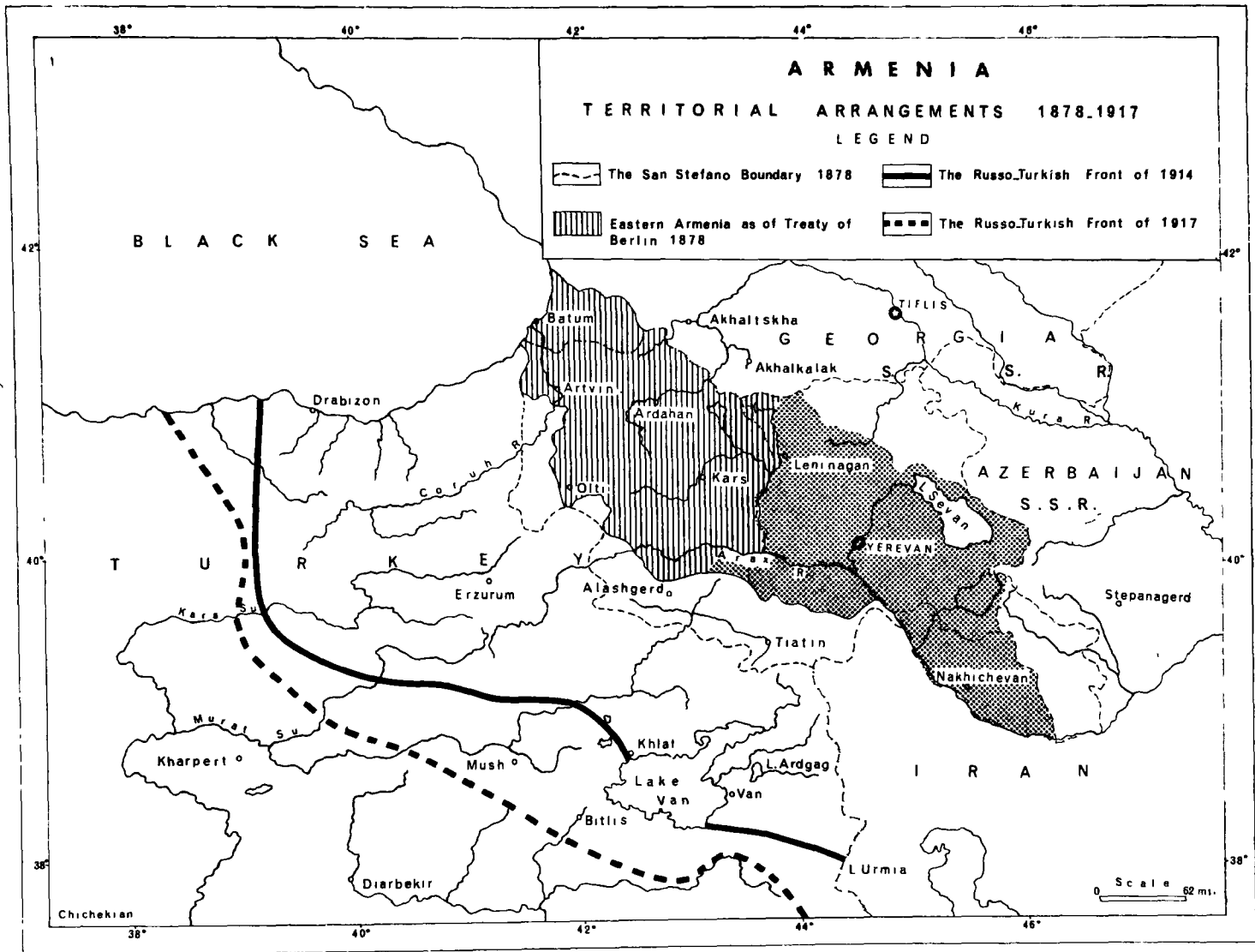


FIG. 7
compiled from various sources

Taking into consideration the financial embarrassments of Turkey, and in accordance with the wishes of his majesty the Sultan, the Emperor of Russia consents to substitute for the payment of the greater part of the moneys enumerated in the above paragraph, the following territorial cessions: section (b), Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazit, and the territory as far as the Saganlough.¹

The territory ceded to Russia included an area with a large Armenian population. It also included the plain of Alashgerd and the city of Bayazit, which were important economically and strategically.

The inclusion of the above area in Russian territory, together with Russia's successes in the Balkans, there arose considerable fear among the British political circles, who tried and succeeded in revising the articles of the Treaty of San Stefano according to their interests at the Berlin Congress on July 13, 1878. Britain's interests were greatly helped by the Emperor of Austria-Hungary because of the latter's interests in the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina of Yugoslavia.

Referring particularly to the area of eastern Turkey, the Russians, by the Treaty of San Stefano, had obtained the plain of Alashgerd which was of particular interest to the British because, together with adjacent areas, it included a large portion of the trade route which connected the ports of the Black Sea with Persia and India. This trade route

¹A. Oaks and R. B. Mowat, The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), p. 386.

is known in history as the Route to India. It was also a strategic location in order to extend control over the Middle East.

Being under continuous British pressure and because of the fact that she was considerably weakened by the continuous wars with Turkey in Europe and Asia, Russia had no other choice but to accept the meeting in Berlin. Before discussing the final shape of the new Russo-Turkish boundary delimited at the Conference of Berlin, it will be helpful to enlist certain facts which will allow us to understand the ways in which the final territorial arrangements of western Armenia (eastern Turkey) were made.

Prior to signing of the Treaty of Berlin there was a secret agreement signed between Russia and Britain on May 30, 1878. This memorandum was composed of twelve paragraphs. By this agreement Russia was going to return to Turkey the plain of Alashgerd together with the city of Bayazit. As a matter of fact, Salisbury, the British Minister of External Affairs, had openly expressed his fear about the above plain being part of western Armenia under Russian occupation. He said: "It is the Armenian danger which is to be guarded against."¹ In return for these large territorial sacrifices Britain agreed, by the eleventh paragraph of the above memorandum, to let Russia have the cities of Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan with their adjacent territories.²

It is noteworthy that Britain, in order to secure the areas which

¹A. J. Grant and H. Temperley, Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Longman's, 1947), p. 382.

²Kh. Patalyan, The "Armenian Question" in the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin (Yerevan: University of Yerevan Press, 1955), p. 95.

were to be ceded to Turkey by Russia, proposed to sign an agreement with Turkey by which Britain promised to return to Turkey large territories of western Armenia which were occupied by the Russians. Britain also promised to defend these territories by means of arms. In exchange for this protection Britain asked from Turkey a naval base in the eastern Mediterranean. Turkey consented and the agreement was signed in Constantinople on June 4, 1878. Turkey ceded to Britain the island of Cyprus in exchange for her protections.¹ Thus, when the Congress of Berlin met for the examination of the articles of the San Stefano Treaty, Britain had secured her Route to India against possible Russian and Armenian threats. She had also obtained the island of Cyprus which would facilitate her control over Near and Middle East.

The 1878 Russo-Turkish boundary, delimited by the Congress of Berlin, was considerably different and encircled a smaller area than that drawn at San Stefano (Fig. 7). The new frontier was indicated by Article LVIII of the Treaty of Berlin.² From 1878 until the First World War there were no changes in boundaries on Armenian territory.

The Formation and the Contributions of the Armenian Political Parties

The formation of the Armenian political parties and organizations was the direct result of the political and economic oppressions imposed

¹Ibid., p. 96.

²For the full description of the boundary, see Appendix II.

upon the Armenian population of Turkey by the rulers of the Ottoman Empire. The urge for forming such political organizations and parties was always alive among the Armenians of Turkey. However, the real spark came after the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, when the hopes for socio-economic reforms particularly for the Armenians of eastern Turkey, fell into pieces. The main reason was the replacement of the Russian supervision for that of Great Britain.

The Armenians realized that if there was to be any foreign help in the realization of their aspirations, they had first to show that they themselves could fight and defend their own beliefs. The example of the Balkan states was still fresh. Greece, Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria had been insured the aid of the civilized world, and had achieved their freedom only after they had resorted to very costly and bloody revolutionary struggles.

The first Armenian revolutionary organization, called Defenders of the Fatherland, was inaugurated in 1880 in Erzerum. Participating members in this organization were middle class people and peasants whose aim was to organize the self-defence of the Armenian people and to seek the solution of the Armenian question through the introduction of reforms in Turkish Armenia. After two years, this organization came to its end when seventy two of its members were arrested by Turkish officials.¹

In 1885 a second Armenian political organization was founded in the

¹S. Vratzian, Armenia and the Armenian Question (Boston: Hairenik, 1943), p. 17.

city of Van under the name of Armenakan. Its primary purpose was to prepare the Armenians for the forthcoming revolutionary struggle through cultural and political development and by organizing the forces of self-defence and militant fight. This organization, although contributing a great deal to the development of the idea of revolutionary movement among Armenians, never expanded beyond being a mere local organization.

The first Armenian political party came into existence in 1887. It was known as the Hunchagian Party. The aim of this party was to free the Armenians from the Russian and Turkish yokes and to found an Armenian independent socialist republic, a political plan which was largely inspired by the ideas of Russian and German social democrats. They sought the achievement of their aim in the organizations of Armenian communities in Turkey and abroad and in the formation of militant bands. Although their ideas were dynamic, the party failed to attract the interest of European countries.

The Hunchagian Party, which grew very well until 1896, unfortunately broke down as the result of various internal antagonistic factions. The main contribution of the Hunchagian Party to the Armenian emancipatory movement was its role in promoting the revolutionary consciousness and organized resistance.

The second, and the most important and up-to-date, active Armenian political party, was formed in 1890 under the name Dashnaktzoutun-Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The aim of the founders of this party was the amalgamation of all existing revolutionary units into one national organization whose chief mission was the constant prosecution of the solution of the Armenian question through revolutionary and

diplomatic activities. At present the Armenian Revolutionary Federation has branches in almost every corner of the world where an Armenian community, of considerable size, exists. Their headquarters in North America is located in the city of Boston, an important center where extensive political and cultural literature is available regarding Armenians all over the world.

A third Armenian political party was formed between the first and second decades of the 20th century under the name Rangavars. Their aim is yet unknown primarily because this party has not yet formulated a definite line of political thought. Its contribution lies chiefly in the fact that it endeavours to preserve mainly the cultural and partly the historical traditions of the Armenians. Today, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, together with the Rangavar Party, are the two most important Armenian political parties among the Armenian communities of the world.

To summarize, the contribution of the Armenian political parties was the continuous resistance against foreign, mainly Turkish and partly Russian, rule. The result of their aim was the creation of an independent Armenian political unit known as the Independent Republic of Armenia which was officially recognized by Turkey and the Allied Powers in the Treaty of Sevres, Article 88, signed on August 10, 1920.¹

¹Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Treaties of Peace, 1919-1923 (New York: Carnegie, 1924), p. 814. Article 88 of the Treaty of Sevres reads as follows: "Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognizes Armenia as a free and independent State."

Armenia and the Russo-Turkish Front

With the opening of the First World War, the Russian armed forces advanced into eastern Turkey and by November, 1914, they had already occupied a territory which included half of the vilayet of Drabizon together with the important port of Drabizon, four-fifths of the vilayet of Erzerum, and the region north, east, and southeast of Lake Van. This military frontier was further advanced by December, 1917, especially along its southern and southwestern sections (Fig. 7).

Insofar as the politico-geographical implications of the Russian advances were concerned, they were mainly the recovery of Armenian territories and hope for social and economic freedom from Turkish rule, and finally, an end to physical extermination. As to the right of the Armenians to expect the realization of the above objective, there should be no doubt that historically and geographically these occupied territories were parts of the Armenian Heartland, and until 1914 contained a very large number of Armenians.¹

While Armenians had high hopes for some kind of restoration, on June 16, 1916, the Russian Government passed a law according to which the occupied vilayets (provinces) of Turkish Armenia were to become a permanent part of Russia, to be appropriated for Russian immigrants under the administrative form called "Euphratian Kozaks". By the same law, the Armenian inhabitants were to have ecclesiastical and educational autonomy.

¹This point is illustrated and described in the following sub-chapter dealing with the population of eastern and western Armenia during post 1877 period.

The geographical significance of the above plan was the fact that Armenia would have been partitioned not only territorially but also demographically, since the planned intrusion of foreign stock, in great quantities, was in view.

The Russian Revolution of 1917

The downfall of the Tzarist regime, on April 27, 1917, prevented the Russian settlement plan of "Euphratian Kozaks" from taking place. Instead, the provisional government nullified the former decision of the Czarist government and created an autonomous administration for Turkish Armenia until the signing of the peace treaty with Turkey.

The next political event, which may have been the beginning of the demarcation of the boundaries of an independent Armenia, was the Bolshevik revolution of November 7, 1917. Two months later the Russian army was ordered by the new Soviet government to desert the Transcaucasian front. As a result, the peoples of Georgia, Azerbaidjan, and Armenia formed a separate political-administrative unit known as the Transcaucasian Seyn. This new political unit did not accept the Soviet rule.

It is impossible to say what were the boundaries of Armenia under this new administration in Transcaucasia and the general chaos in eastern Turkey.¹ This is mainly due to the fact that there was no

¹At this point it will be safe to accept the boundaries of Armenia as those of the Province of Yerevan of the Russian Empire. However, this boundary line meant also nothing due to Turkish military advances of 1918 and the political and administrative chaos in Transcaucasia.

treaty signed, and the armistice which was concluded on December 5, 1917, between the Selym and Turkey, was broken by the latter. Furthermore, by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, signed between Soviet Russia and Germany, the vilayets of Batum and Kars were ceded to Turkey.¹ The full content of the latter statement appears in the 4th article, second and third paragraphs, of the above treaty. It reads as follows:

Russia will do all within her power to ensure the immediate evacuation of the provinces of Eastern Anatolia and their lawful return to Turkey.

The districts of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum will likewise and without delay be cleared by Russian troops. Russia will not interfere in the reorganization of the national and international relations of these districts, but leave it to the population of these districts to carry out this reorganization in agreement with the neighbouring States, especially with Turkey.²

The main importance of these ceded territories were of economic and strategic nature. Furthermore, the areas had a large number of Armenians who, once more, came under Turkish authority with disastrous results.

The Transcaucasian Selym refused the decision of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Consequently, soon after the Russian evacuation, the Turkish military forces started their eastward advance. The city of Kars fell on April 25, 1918. Several attempts for negotiations were

¹S. Vratzian, op. cit., p. 37.

²W. Wheeler-Bennett, Brest-Litovsk: A Forgotten Treaty (London: MacMillan, 1956), p. 405.

fruitless. The city of Alexandropol (Leninakan) fell on May 20, and the Turks were advancing with little serious resistance from the Armenians. While hostilities were continuing, the Turkish Delegation, on May 26, 1918, presented to the Transcaucasian Delegation an ultimatum demanding immediate acceptance of the unconditional terms that "Turkish Army operations in southern Caucasus shall meet with no armed resistance."¹ The same day in Tiflis the Transcaucasian Sejm was dissolved and Georgia and Azerbaijan declared their independence. Armenia followed suit on May 28, 1918. Meanwhile, the Turks had advanced and entered Armenia from the north and south but were severely defeated at the two decisive battles of Bash-Aparan (north) and Sardarabad, 30 to 40 klms. west of Yerevan, the capital city.

The Turkish defeat was not only the result of approximately equal forces, 30,000 Turkish and 20,000 Armenian, but mainly the type of war, and, more than anything else, the natural environment of the area where the battles took place. These two factors are pointed out well by Allen and Muratoff.²

¹S. Vratzian, op. cit., p. 40.

²W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, Caucasian Battlefields (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), p. 470-471. "The numerical relation of the opposing armies and the particular character of the elements making up the Armenian force, who were in great part volunteers, with experience of irregular war and perfect knowledge of the terrain over which operations were to take place, might have suggested the adoption of the strategy and tactics of partisan war. The Armenian terrain favoured a partisan strategy, since both railways and main roads - which the Turks were obliged to use - ran along valleys which were flanked by great mountain massifs easily defensible by small and active detachments and offering at the same time a refuge to the Armenian peasants and their livestock from the plains."

The Treaty of Batum

The politico-geographical chaotic conditions were partly settled by the Treaty of Batum which was signed on June 4, 1918, between the Transcaucasian republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, and Turkey. The second article of the above treaty was concerned with the boundary line between the Transcaucasian republics and Turkey.¹ The boundary remained only at the stage of delimitation. It was agreed that the demarcation was to take place later on by a boundary commission composed of members of the countries involved.

Articles three and thirteen of the Treaty of Batum sought the gradual establishment of the boundaries among the Transcaucasian republics and the gradual withdrawal of the Turkish forces from Armenian Territories respectively.

After the signing of the Treaty of Batum, Armenia was left with a territory of only 11,000 to 12,000 square miles, and with no definite boundaries as such to the north, south, and east. This territorial arrangement was very temporary. Thus, with the withdrawal of the Turkish forces, once more a politico-geographical chaos followed, which resulted in a very complicated and confusing territorial arrangement. Boundary problems in this particular period can only be studied by sections in the light of the political events.

Between the Treaty of Batum and the closing months of 1918, after the Turkish withdrawal the newly created republic of Armenia had re-

¹For the full description of the boundary see Appendix III.

covered most of the territories included within the previous boundary of the Russian province of Yerevan.

Territorial Losses of Independent Armenia (1918-1919)

Territories which were causing a number of political disputes between Armenia and other Transcaucasian republics, were the Borchalou and Akhalkalak districts in the north, the Nakhichevan, Zangezour and Karapagh districts in the south and east, and the Kars and Ardahan districts in the west. The district of Akhalkalak was occupied by the Georgians as early as December 1918. Having failed to settle this dispute by peaceful means the Armeno-Georgian War broke out in the middle of December 1918 and lasted until December 25, 1918, when an agreement was signed by the intervention of the Allied Powers in Tiflis. This war was not only confined to the district of Akhalkalak, but also involved the district of Borchalou, both of which were heavily populated by Armenians.

This temporary agreement was followed by a peace conference between Armenia and Georgia which opened in the middle of January 1919, and lasted approximately three months.¹ The result of this conference was that the Akhalkalak district was annexed to Georgia, whereas the district of Borchalou was established as a neutral zone (Fig. 8) and it remained so until the Bolshevik occupation of December 2, 1920, when the southern half of the Borchalou district went to Armenia and the

¹J. G. Mandalian, The Transcaucasian Armenian Irredenta (Boston: Hairenik, 1961), p. 16.

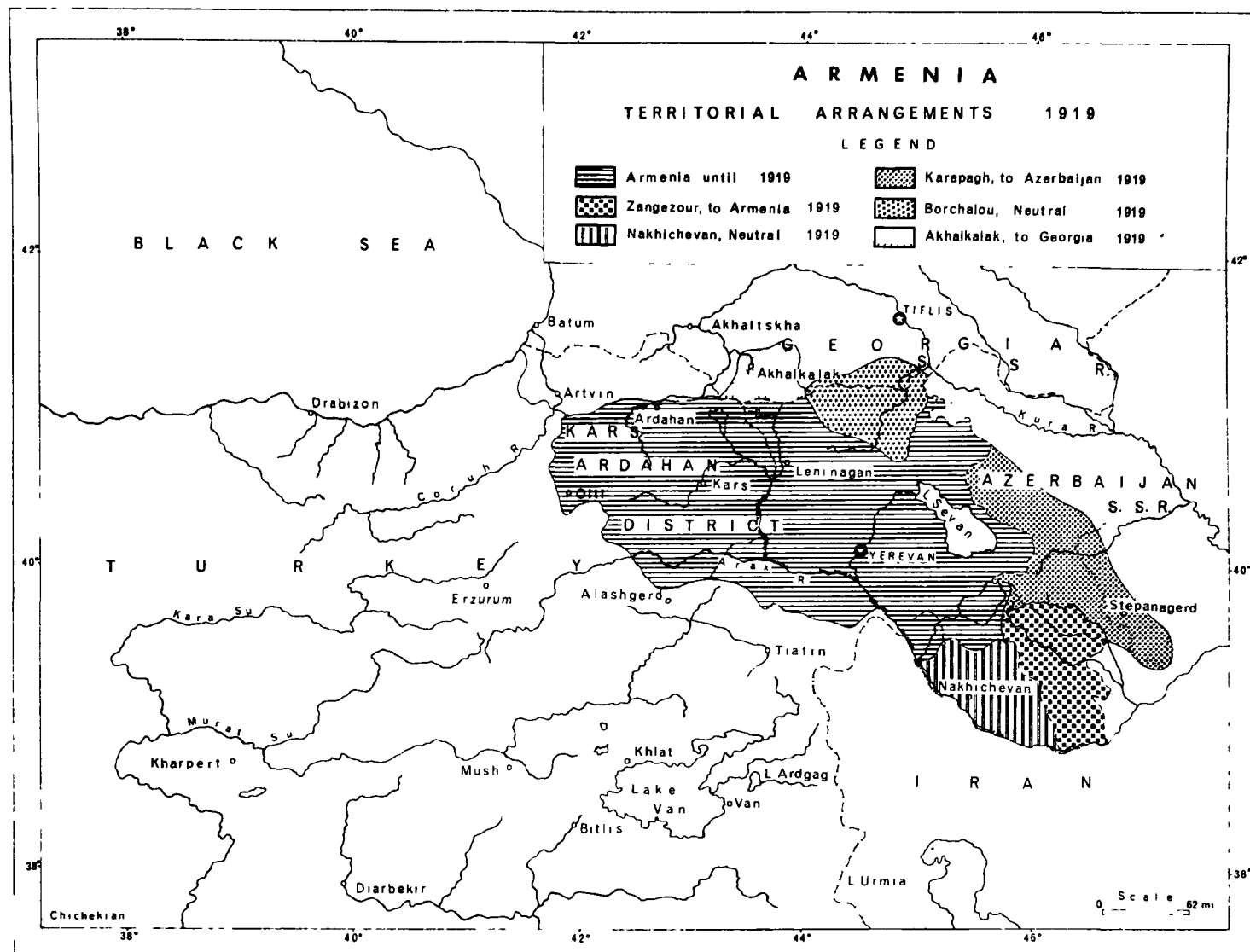


FIG 8
Compiled from various sources

northern section to Georgia.

During the peace conference of January 1919, another boundary line was also delimited between Armenia and Georgia (Fig. 8). This line was concerned with the Province of Kars of the Russian empire which was to be evacuated by the Turks and restored to Armenia. The Armenian and the Georgian representatives agreed on the following line:

Following the southern and southeastern boundary of the previous province of Batum of the Russian empire, the boundary line joined the Kura River and following the latter just north of the city of Ardahan, it took a direction corresponding to the present day boundary line between the Georgian S.S.R. and Turkey.¹

The occupation of the province of Kars by the Armenians was completed by April, 1919. Thus, the northernmost section of the Ardahan district was left to Georgia which had also under her authority the province of Batum, thus sharing with Armenia the 1878 boundary between the Turkish and Russian Empires.

It is noteworthy that all territories lost and gained by Armenia were regions where the Armenians constituted the majority of the population, except those regions which had experienced depopulation as a result of massacres, or emigration. The political and ethnic (numerical) map prepared by the Armenian delegation to the preliminary peace conference of Paris, 1919, provides a statistical presentation (see Table 3) of the ethnic groups who inhabited the regions under dispute between

¹A. Khadissian, The Origin and the Development of the Armenian Republic (Athens: Nor Or, 1930), p. 132. Mr. Khadissian was for a short time the president of independent Armenia and a member of the Armenian delegation to the Treaty of Versailles.

Georgia and Armenia.

TABLE 3.

The Distribution of Ethnic Groups in the Districts Under Dispute
Between Georgia and Armenia^a

District	Akhalkalak	Borchalou	Ardahan	Kars	Olti	Kaghizman
Armenians	82,275	64,000	15,470	80,752	4,953	34,721
Georgians	7,428	1,150	-	-	4,035	-
Turks	-	-	-	-	330	-
Tartars	8,308	9,600	15,550	51,659	-	5,782
Kurds	904	-	8,100	10,911	5,189	20,677
Iesids	-	-	4,000	5,123	21,779	6,032
Greeks and Russians	779	20,500	8,920	5,598	3,655	15,596
Gypsies	-	-	-	23,504	-	-
Others	-	-	700	-	206	-

^aThe Armenian Question Before the Paris Conference, a Memorandum prepared by the government of independent Armenia and presented by the Representatives of Armenia to the Peace Conference at Versailles, on February 26, 1919.

Like the occupation of the Province of Kars, the addition of the Nakhichevan area on the territorial extent of Armenia was aided by the British High Command.

The district of Nakhichevan, a former territory of the Russian Empire, ~~Comprises~~ a triangular strip to the southwest of present day

Armenia S.S.R., bordered by the Arax River to the west, southwest and south, whereas the southeastern and eastern boundary is marked by a number of high volcanic mountains.

The occupation and inclusion of Nakhichevan took place between May 12 and May 20, 1919, after General Devi of the British forces demanded of the non-Armenia population of the region to accept the authority of Armenia.¹ However, this territorial arrangement regarding the district of Nakhichevan (Fig. 8) was temporary. After the withdrawal of the British forces, the Muslim population of this region, encouraged by Turkish and Azerbaijani agents, engaged in a continuous revolt against the Armenian authorities until August, 1919, when Colonel Haskell, the High Commissioner to Armenia appointed by the Council of Five of the Paris Peace Conference, arrived at Yerevan. On August 29, 1919, Colonel Haskell signed an agreement with the Azerbaijani government establishing a neutral Nakhichevan district, which remained so until the Treaty of Sevres and finally the Treaty of Kars, which will be discussed later.

As far as the territorial arrangement of the districts of Zangezour, east of Nakhichevan, and Karapagh, east and northeast of Zangezour are concerned, the politico-geographical picture is even more complicated and more confusing. For the sake of clarity, only the highlights of the mosaic of these territorial arrangements will be discussed.

After the signing of the Treaty of Batum and the decision of Colonel Haskell regarding the district of Nakhichevan, there were

¹Mandalian, op. cit., p. 14.

continuous military conflicts as to who would occupy the districts of Zangezour and Karapagh. After numerous conflicts and by the end of 1919 the district of Zangezour remained in the hands of the Armenians and that of Karapagh in the hands of the Azerbaijani (Fig. 8). It should be mentioned that the majority of the population of both these regions was comprised of Armenians. This is still true at the present time. Peace was never achieved and the situation remained the same until the Soviet and Turkish invasions of 1920.

In view of the final peace conference at Paris, and for reasons of security, the Government of Armenia signed a treaty of friendship with Russia on April 20, 1920.¹ The Soviet government agreed to respect Armenia's independence and help the latter to settle her problems with Turkey. However, this treaty was not respected by the Russians because Turkey proposed a similar treaty very shortly after the Armenian one. Obviously, preference was given to the Turkish proposal mainly on the basis of future strategic plans.

The Treaty of Sevres (1920)

The next important phase in the changes of the Armenian boundaries, especially with that of Turkey, took place as the result of the Treaty of Sevres, August 10, 1920. By the 88th Article of the sixth section of this treaty, Turkey recognized Armenia as a free and independent State.

The question of frontier between Turkey and Armenia was left to the arbitration of President Wilson. The allied powers did agree to free the

¹S. Vratzian, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

four important vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, and Drabizon. Together, they had an area of 75,000 square miles and a reduced Armenian population of 30,000. The decisions about the Armenian-Turkish frontier are included in article 89 and 90 of the Treaty of Sevres. They read as follows:¹

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, Drabizon, 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.

Article 90 - In the event of the determination of the frontier under the Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The settlement of the boundaries between the Transcaucasian republics was taken care of by Article 92 of the Treaty of Sevres which reads as follows:²

The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in

¹ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, op. cit., p. 815.

² Ibid.

Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

Three months after the signing of the Treaty of Sevres, President Wilson in a twenty-two page lengthy letter, accompanied by a map, to the president of the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers sent his delimitation (Fig. 9) of the Turkish-Armenian boundary, which may be summarized as follows:¹

From the Black Sea, less than ten miles from the city of Kerasun, south to the boundary of the Drabizon vilayet. Following the latter boundary line, it crossed the Kelkit Chai at the junction of the Drabizon-Erzerum vilayets' boundary. From here it took a southerly direction, and after crossing the Kara Su some twenty miles west of the town of Erzingan, it met the boundary of the Erzerum vilayet; then, Wilson's boundary turned first to the east and then to the southeast to meet the eastern boundary of the Bitlis vilayet south of Lake Van. From here the boundary followed an east-northeastward direction joining the Perso-Turkish boundary some twenty miles southwest of the town of Khatour.

While President Wilson's delimitation did not correspond to the claims (Fig. 9) of the Armenian delegation, it, however, gave Armenia most of its historic territories and it definitely freed the sections

¹Woodrow Wilson, Decision of President Wilson (Report presented to the Boundary Commission of the Treaty of Versailles on November 22, 1920), p. 1-25.

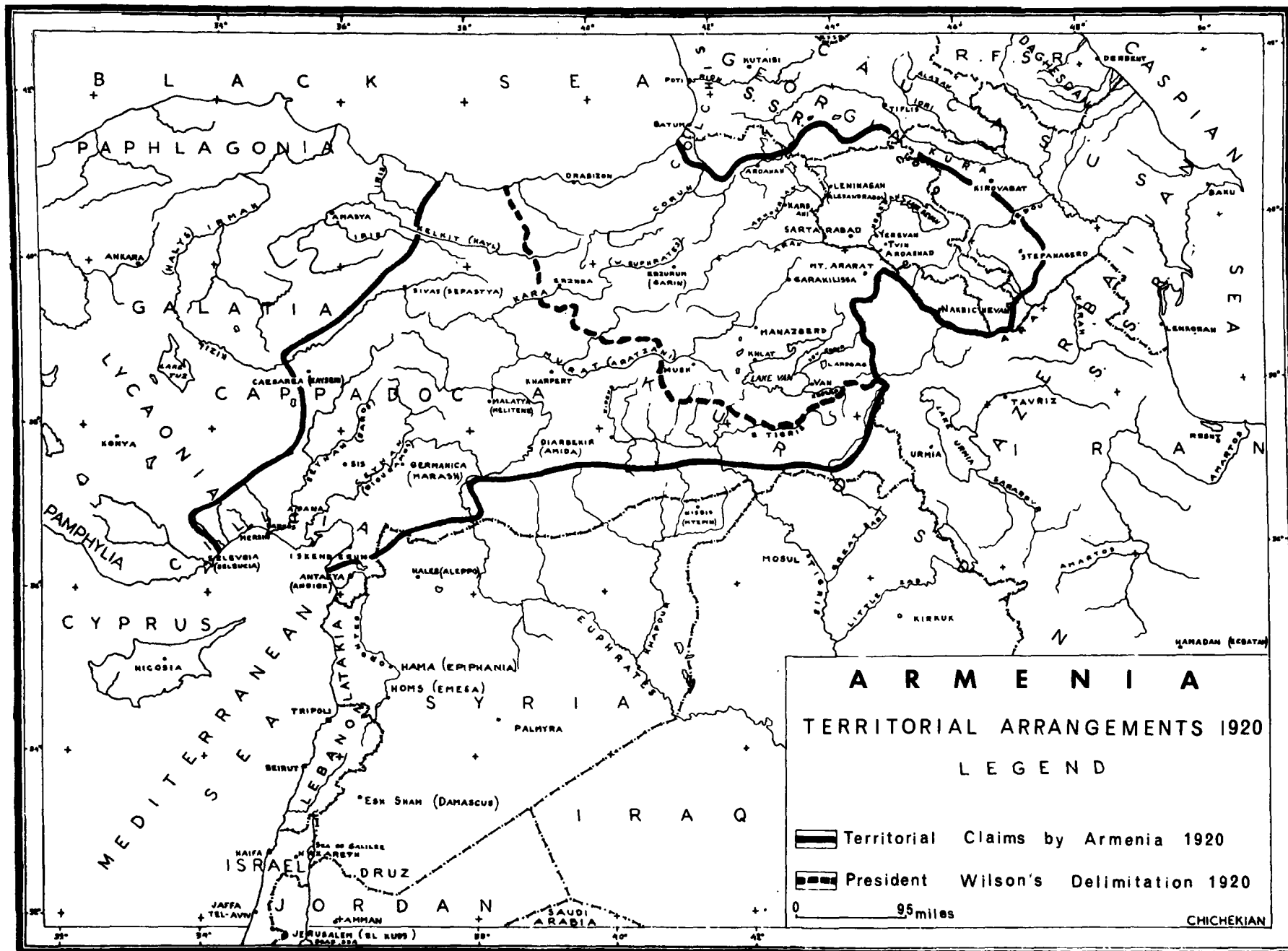


FIG. 9

Compiled from various sources

of eastern Turkey, populated mostly by Armenians.¹ The boundary line left out the cities of Diarbekir and Kharpert, with their surrounding areas, which have always been important Armenian centres, both historically and demographically. Another advantage of Wilson's boundary line was that it gave Armenia access to the Black Sea by the very important port of Drabizon; it also gave Armenia the basin of Lake Van, the plain of Alashgerd, which together with other smaller lowlands were of utmost importance to Armenia both from an agricultural and commercial point of view.

The territorial arrangements, however, as defined by the Treaty of Sevres, were not ratified. The political events which contributed to this fact were the formation of a revolutionary Turkish government under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, who did not recognize the terms set out by the above treaty, and the Bolshevik campaigns in Transcaucasia.

Three months later Armenia was attacked by both Turkey and Soviet Russia. Under these circumstances the Armenian government could do nothing but to accept the Turkish terms at the Treaty of Alexandropol

¹The Armenian Delegation at the preliminary Peace Conference of Paris had asked for a territory of approximately 125,000 sq. miles. Its western boundary stretched from the Black Sea, following the boundary of the vilayet of Drabizon, down to the western side of the Gulf of Alexandreta. To the south, it extended from the eastern side of the above gulf to the Euphrates River, to the eastern Tigris, and joined the Persian boundary west of the northern section of Lake Urmia. From here it followed the Persian boundary until the Arax River, and following the latter until the eastern and southern boundary of the district of Zangezour, it took a northerly direction and met with the Kura River which it followed until the region just north of the city of Ardahan and then, following a westerly direction, reached the coast of the Black Sea south of the city of Batum.

on December 2, 1920, and also sign the Legran agreement with Soviet Russia on the same day.

By the Treaty of Alexandropol the district of Akhalkalak (Fig. 8) was annexed to Georgia. Thus, the southern boundary of this district formed the north and northwestern boundary of Armenia. Secondly, all the area of the Armenian section of the Kars-Ardahan region (Fig. 10) was annexed to Turkey. Article 3 of this treaty gave the region of Zangezour (Fig. 10) to Armenia and by Article 14 the region of Nakhichevan was to remain an autonomous territory under the protectorate of Turkey until it would be possible for the region to determine its fate on the principle of self-determination.¹

The Legran Agreement specifically acknowledged the inclusion of Zangezour within the boundary of Armenia, but which tacitly accepted the fait accompli in Karapagh and Nakhivhevan. This agreement may be considered the start of the complete Sovietization of Armenia. The final phase of the formation of the present day Armenian S.S.R. took place between 1920-1923.

The Treaties of Moscow and Kars (1921)

Soon after the Treaty of Alexandropol and the Legran Agreement, Soviet Russia and Turkey signed two, more or less, similar treaties which have been the final step towards the settlement of the boundary between Georgian S.S.R., Armenian S.S.R., Nakhichevan A.S.S.R., and Turkey. The first of these treaties was signed at Moscow on March 16,

¹Mandalian, op. cit., p. 23.

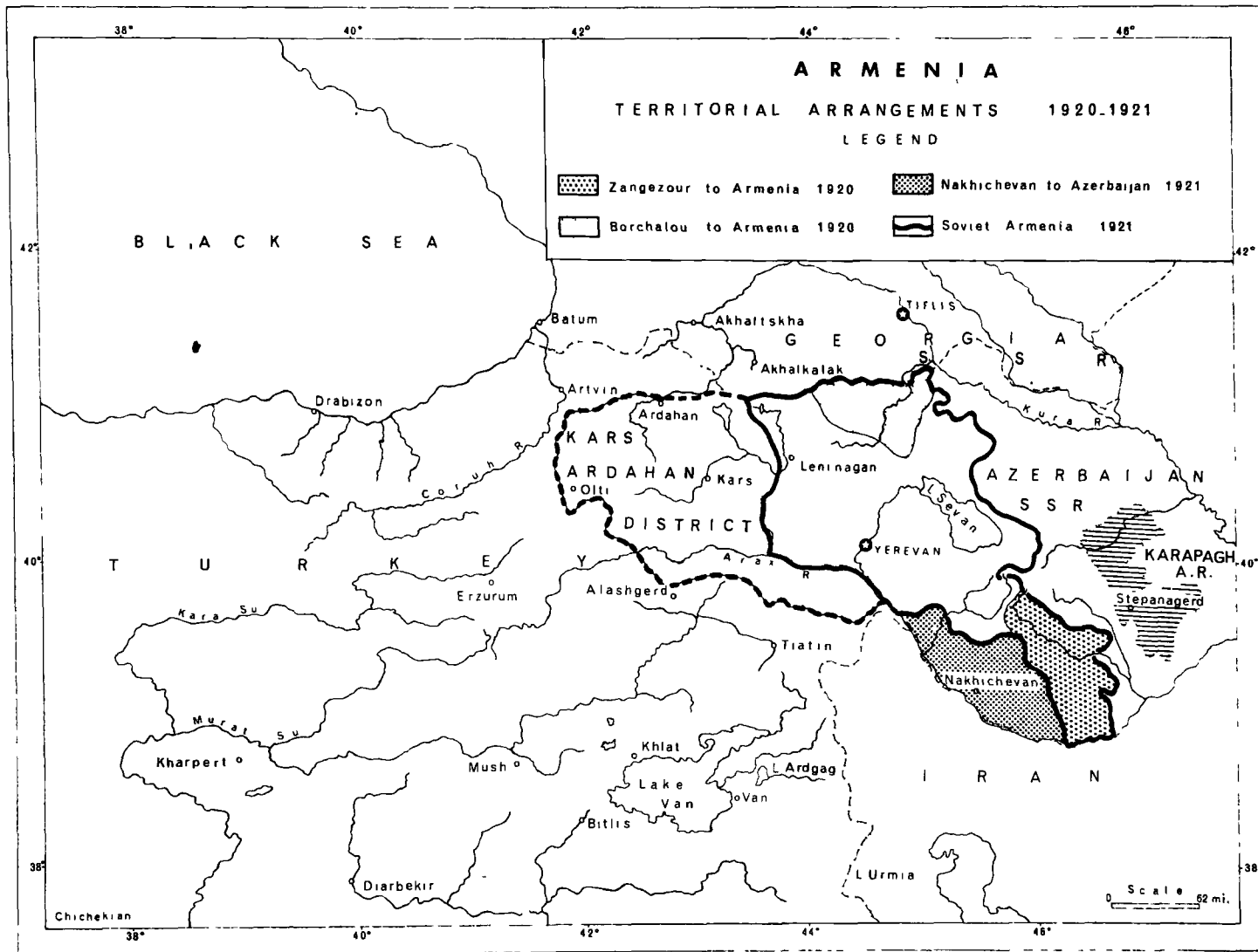


FIG 10
Compiled from various sources

1921, and the second one at Kars on October 13, 1921.

The Treaty of Kars ratified generally the provisions of the Moscow Treaty, repeating almost word by word the territorial clauses regarding the northeastern boundary of Turkey. The Treaty of Kars reaffirmed the establishment of the autonomous territory of Nakhichevan (Fig. 10) under the sovereignty of Azerbaijan, and definitely delimited its boundaries, a small portion of which had been left undecided by the Moscow Treaty. Appendix I of the Treaty of Kars describes in detail the boundary line between Soviet Georgia, Soviet Armenia, the Nakhichevan autonomous section, and Turkey.¹

The territory of Nakhichevan became officially an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic under the protectorate of Azerbaijan S.S.R. on July 21, 1923. This act has been in force ever since. The Armenian region of mountainous Karapagh (Fig. 10), like the region of Nakhichevan was also constituted as an autonomous region under the protectorate of Azerbaijan in July, 1923.

From a geographical point of view, the treaties between Turkey, Russia, and the small Transcaucasian republics are of great importance. The Turkish and Caucasian treaty-makers have succeeded in defining boundaries across one of the wildest and most rugged tracts of the world. They appeared to have shared the penchant of their prototypes at Paris for "thalwegs" and watersheds, but were probably right in showing a preference for well marked physical features in a region where population is sparse, and international rights have to be enforced

¹For the full description of the boundary see Appendix IV.

by round-and-ready methods.¹

Thus by the Treaty of Alexandropol, the Legran Agreement, and the Treaty of Kars, the present day boundaries of the Armenian S.S.R. were established.

This political unit today occupies only one-fifth, or perhaps one-fourth, of the territory of the Armenian Highlands, or even Armenian Heartland. While the boundaries of Armenia were established by 1921, her political status and position within the Soviet system was not definite.

The Legran Agreement recognized Armenia as an independent Soviet republic with a Bolshevik government. This status, however, lasted only one year. On December 13, 1922, by an agreement with Moscow, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia formed a Confederated Republic of Transcaucasia, which, in turn, on December 30, 1922, was merged into the Soviet Union.²

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

The final attempt to create a free Armenia was taken up at the Conference of Lausanne which lasted approximately nine months from November 1922 to July 1923. On November 15, 1922, the Armenian Delegation was present at Lausanne as a creditor nation representing Armenia. The Delegation had the following three proposals which were

¹J. H. M. Cornwall, "The Russo-Turkish Boundary and the Territory of Nakhichevan," in the Geographical Journal, LXXI, no. 6 (June, 1923), p. 447.

²S. Vratzian, op. cit., p. 58.

presented during the 12th meeting of the Lausanne Conference.¹ First, to create an Armenian Homeland with an outlet to the sea. Secondly, if the above will not be accepted, to return to the 1920 agreement, by adding a section from the Turkish Armenia. As a third alternative, to take into consideration the formation of an Armenian Homeland in Cilicia.

Lord Curzon of Great Britain, the chairman of the Commission for National Minorities, constantly insisted in the creation of an Armenian Homeland near the northern boundary of Syria, the final location of which was to be determined at a later date. The discussions, concerning the Armenian Homeland, among the British, French, Italian, and Turkish representatives is described in detail by Lazyan.²

Although there was a great deal of sympathy towards the "Armenian Question" the suggestions of the Armenian Delegation were heard unofficially and after violent protests from the Turkish delegate, the matter was shelved and never discussed again. The Peace Treaty of Lausanne signed on July 24, 1923, makes no reference to any kind of territorial arrangements regarding a free Armenia.

The only gain to the Armenians, especially those living in Turkey, from the Lausanne Conference were Turkish promises of respect for social and religious freedom. The value, sincerity, and validity of such promises became apparent right after the signing of the treaty. The newspaper "Ileri", the Kemalist official organ, stated it very

¹Ibid., p. 55.

²K. Lazyan, Armenia and the Armenian Question According to Affidavits (Cairo: Nor Asdgh, 1946), p. 317-22.

clearly by writing that "the Greeks and Armenians must forget their own language and become Turks or they get out."¹ And "Ikdam", another Turkish newspaper, commented that "the Armenians in Turkey are to enjoy two privileges only, namely, to pray to their God and to bury their dead."²

Thus, by 1923 all attempts to have an independent Armenia had failed. This, however, has not hindered a large number of Armenians using every legal channel to indicate that the "Armenian Question" has not yet been solved and that there will always be a struggle in achieving the final settlement. The major, and perhaps the only, proponent of this belief is the Armenian political party, with branches in every Armenian community of the world, which is called the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and which was created in 1890 in Tiflis, Georgia.

In 1936, by the provisions of a new constitution in the Soviet Union, and again at the dictate of Moscow, the Confederation was dissolved and Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia entered the Soviet Union as separate Union republics. The irony was that according to article 17 of this constitution "each Union republic reserves to itself the right to secede from the Soviet Union."³ The content of this statement also appears in Article 13 of the present day constitution of the Soviet Union, which states that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a

¹S. Vratzian, op. cit., p. 58.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 56.

federal state, formed on the basis of voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics.¹

Population from 1878 to the Present

Perhaps the word "suppression" can be used to describe, in general, the socio-economic picture of the Armenians in eastern Turkey from the end of the Perso-Russian war (1828) to 1878. This is clearly shown by the outmigration, on a large scale, of the Armenian population from eastern Turkey to the Russian section of Armenia. For example, on September 2, 1829, 90,000 (approximately 5 per cent of the total of 1,900,000) Armenians migrated to eastern Armenia.²

In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 the Armenian population participated and helped the Russians not only by providing fighting men but also economically. For example, the district of Yerevan in eastern Armenia sent 700 camels, 200 horses, and plenty of ammunition. The Armenian population of eastern Turkey also fulfilled its share by helping the advancing Russian army. The main purpose behind this co-operation and help was to achieve better living conditions and some political autonomy not only for the Armenian population of eastern Armenia but also for the Armenian sections of eastern Turkey.

It has been estimated that in 1878 the Armenian population of the

¹Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960), p. 23.

²Kh. Patalyan, Armenia and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 (Yerevan: Armenian State Publications, 1959), p. 68.

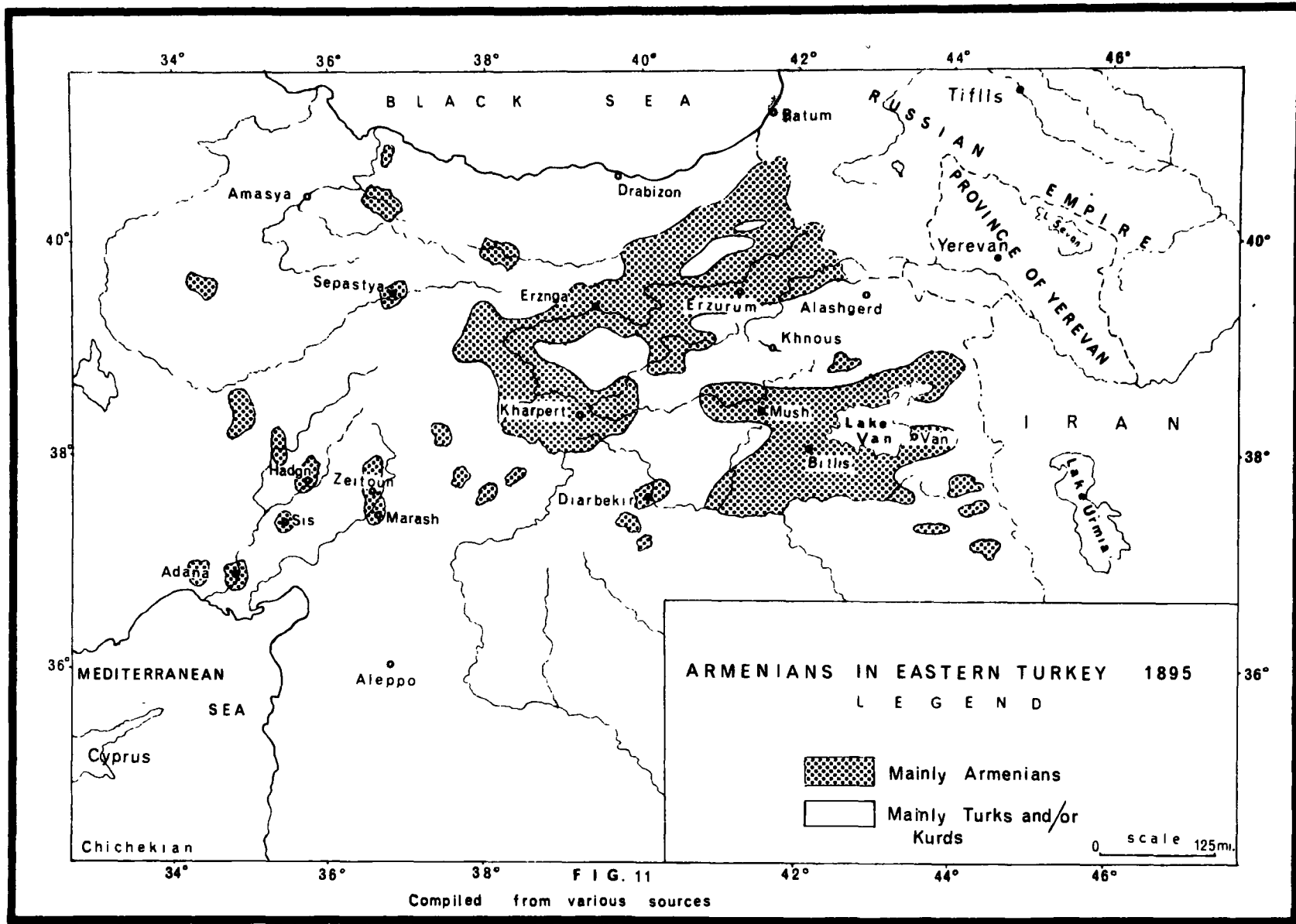
Ottoman Empire was about 1,900,000.¹ There is no doubt that most of them lived in eastern Turkey. Unfortunately, there are no official and accurate population statistics for the year 1878. However, for that year it has been estimated that the Armenian population of the vilayet of Erzurum was about 530,000. This figure represented more than 50 per cent of the total population of this vilayet. Moreover, if we take into consideration that in 1914, after the massacres of 1894-1896, which claimed some 200,000 Armenians and caused the outmigration of approximately 130,000, the eastern Turkish vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Erzerum, Drabizon, and Kharpert contained some 725,000 Armenians. Thus, by examining the given figures, one may positively state that the bulk of the Armenians in Ottoman Asia did reside in eastern Turkey (Fig. 11).

By the demarcation of the boundary between the Ottoman and Russian Empires in eastern Turkey, and by the 16th Article of the Treaty of San Stefano of 1878, a large portion of the Armenian sections of eastern Turkey were included in Russian territory. Furthermore, the Sublime Port agreed to introduce reforms and improvements in those sections of eastern Turkey which were occupied by the Russians but were to be returned to the Ottoman Empire. It was also agreed that these reforms were to be carried out under the supervision of the Russians.²

As already indicated, the articles of the Treaty of San Stefano

¹Faiz El-Ghsein, Martyred Armenia (London: Arthur Pearson, 1917), p. 8.

²Oaks and Mowat, op. cit., p. 385.



were drastically changed by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. As a result of these changes the welfare of the Armenian population of eastern Turkey was also affected. This was due to the fact that Russian supervision for the realization of the reforms promised by the Ottoman Empire was nullified, and replaced by that of Great Britain. Also, the re-delimitation of the Ottoman-Russian boundary left in Turkish hands the plain of Alashgerd, together with other smaller sections, all of them being centres of the Armenian population in western Armenia. Moreover, the Armenian population of eastern Turkey became the victim of British politics. Every time Great Britain required more territories or some other thing from the Ottoman Empire, she threatened the latter by pointing out that in case of refusal she would bring up the "Armenian Question", something which was a real headache to the Ottoman empire.

Demographically, the period between 1914-1916 may be perhaps considered the most dynamic, and, in the case of Armenia, the most tragic one. It was during this time that the Armenian population of Turkey experienced depopulation, a reduction in great scale due to massacres, deportations, and consequently, famines, disease, etc. As a result, it affected the demogeography not only of western and eastern Armenia, but also changed the entire picture of the Armenian population throughout the world.

According to information compiled from the Atlas of Armenia, the Armenian population of eastern Turkey amounted to 1,228,000 which counted for more than 50 per cent of the total Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire (2,026,000) for the year 1914, just before the massacres

which took place in the following year.¹ In 1914, the population of eastern Armenian province of Yerevan, at the time being a part of the Russian Empire, was 598,000. If one adds to this figure the number of Armenians living in the district of Kars and Ardahan, the total Armenian population of eastern Armenia may be summed up to be 712,000 or 35 per cent of the total Armenian population of the Russian Empire (2,054,000).

The political events of the nineteenth century, especially those concerning the "Armenian Question" in the treaties of San Stefano and Congress of Berlin, had greatly increased the hatred of the Ottomans towards its Christian subjects, especially towards the Armenians of Turkey. Another fundamental reason for this Turkish hatred was the economic superiority of the Armenians over the Turks. Thus, the Ottoman administration, in order to end this problem once and for all, adopted a policy of extermination of all the Armenians who lived in Turkey. According to Kazarian, as early as October 11, 1914, the decree for the "Djihad" (the extermination of Christians) had been passed, and with supplementary written directives a religious duty was imposed on the Turks, as a God-pleasing work, to organize genocidal humanitarian societies making it obligatory on each Turk to kill three or four Armenians either openly or in secret.² The resolution to exterminate all the Armenians was passed most probably in December 1914,

¹Atlas of Armenia (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences-Cartographic Division, 1961), p. 18.

²H. Kazarian, Minutes of Secret Meetings Organizing the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians (Boston: Hairenik, 1965), p. 7.

during a meeting of the Turkish high officials whose chairman was Talaat Pasha, Minister of Internal Affairs, and the main director of this disastrous plan.¹

The right time of this "extermination plan" appeared to be the period during the First World War. At this time, when Turkey was, in a way, isolated from the eyes of the European powers, more than a million Armenians were massacred or exiled by order of the Turkish government (Fig. 12). This was the largest reduction that the Armenian population of Turkey had ever experienced. Prior to the massacres of 1915, a number of small scale killings of Armenians had taken place in various sections of central and eastern Turkey. Between 1850-1909, the number of victims was about 230,000, and brought the grand total to near the one and a half million mark. Since complete and accurate figures are lacking, the figure of one and a half million may be subject to fluctuation.

The following table indicates the year, place, and number of massacred Armenians from 1850-to 1909. This information is mainly compiled from the works of Horton, and Tashjian.

¹The exact date is not available. The given date may be off by a month or two.

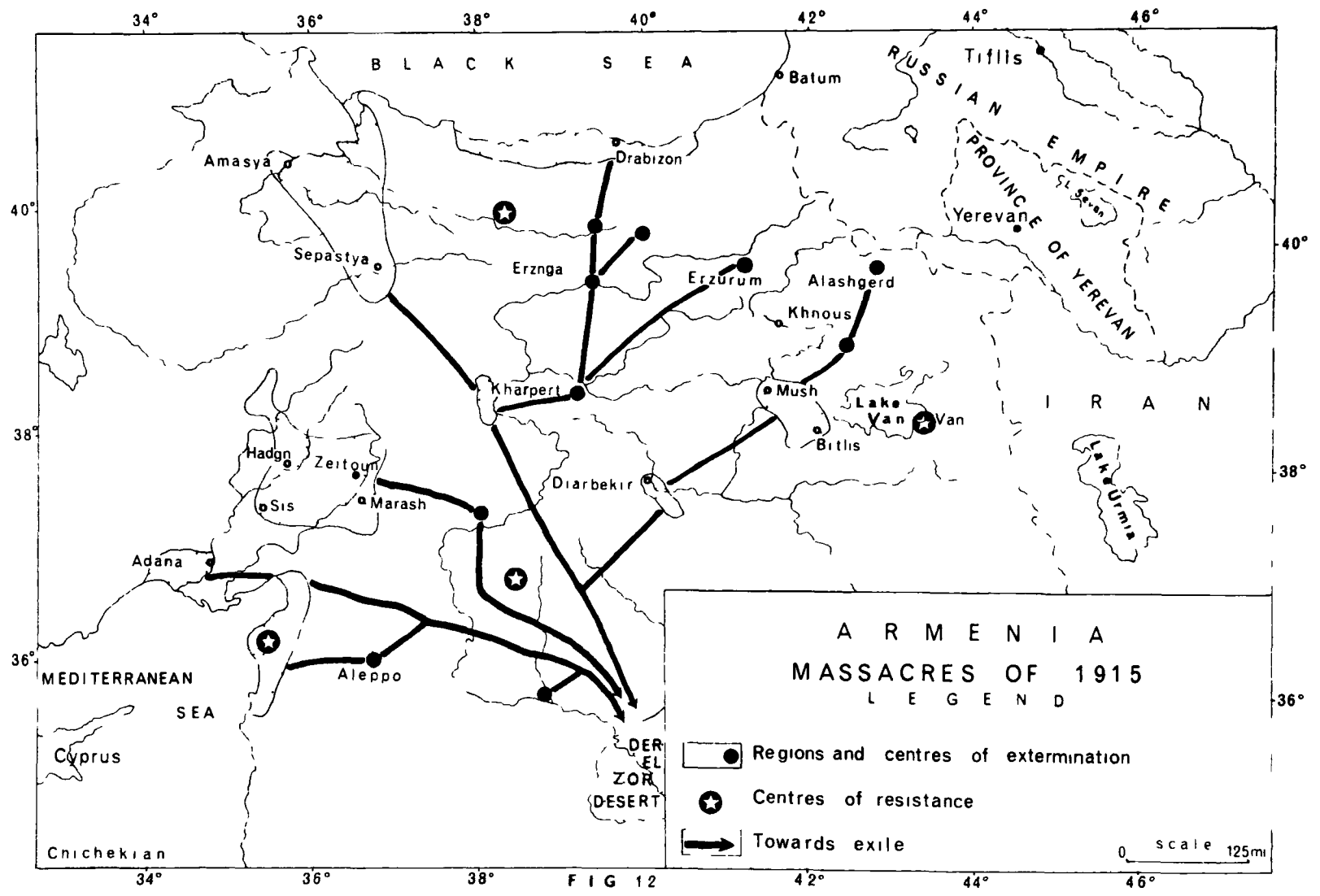


FIG 12
Compiled from various sources

TABLE 4

Location, Date, and Number of Armenians Massacred 1850-1909^a

1850	Armenians and Nestorians in Kurdistan	12,000
1877	District of Bayazid	1,400
1879	District of Alashgerd	1,250
1894	Mainly in the area of Sassoun	12,000
1895-6	Mainly in central and eastern Turkey	150,000
1896	Constantinople	9,570
1896	District of Van	8,000
1904	Mainly in the area of Sassoun	5,640
1909	At Adana and environs	30,000
	Total	229,860

^aGeorge Horton, The Blight of Asia, Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1953, p. 292. (The author has spent 30 years in the Middle East with diplomatic responsibilities. His statements and statistics have derived from personal observation of events, eye-witness testimonies, and the literature of the time - newspapers, official documents, etc.)

James H. Tashjian, Turkey: Author of Genocide (Boston: Hairenik, 1965), p. 30.

TABLE 5

Armenian Massacres of 1915-1922^a

Date	Place	Number
1915	The great Armenian Massacres in the whole of Turkey	1,000,000
1920	Baku	30,000

TABLE 5 -- Continued

1920-21	Armenians, during General Kemal-ist massacres throughout Turkey	30,000
1922	At Smyrna - Armenians and Greeks	50,000

^aCompiled from the same sources as for Table 4.

The numerical reduction and change in the patterns of the distribution of the Armenian population were the main results of the massacres of 1915. On the eve of the Armenian massacres, the total Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was numbering 2,026,000, or 45.4 per cent of the total Armenian population of the world (4,470,000), of whom the great majority lived in eastern and central Turkey. They definitely comprised the bulk of the population in this region of Turkey. Speaking particularly of the vilayets of eastern Turkey, the statistical picture of the major ethnic groups was as follows:

TABLE 6

The Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in the Vilayets of Eastern Turkey Prior to 1915^a (in thousands)

Vilayet	Armenians	Turks	Kurds	Others	Total Population of the vilayet
Erzerum	215	240	75	100	630
Van	197	47	72	36	350
Bitlis	198	40	77	67	382

TABLE 6 _ Continued

Kharpert (This is the northern half of Malatia)	168	103	95	84	450
Diarbekir (only the nor- thern half)	105	45	55	91	296
Sepastya (Svar) without its western and northwestern sections	165	192	50	100	507

^aAtlas of Armenia, p. 58.

K. Lazyan, Armenia and the Armenian Question According to Treaties and Agreements (Cairo: Housaper, 1942), p. 256.

The corresponding picture for Transcaucasia in the same period was as follows:

TABLE 7

Distribution of Armenians in Transcaucasia^a

Political Units	Number of Armenians
Province of Yerevan	598,000
Province of Tiflis	395,000
Province of Azerbaydjan	397,000
Province of Baku	1114,000
Province of Kars	114,000
District of Batum	21,000

TABLE 7 -- Continued

District of Zakotola	3,000
District of Koutaisi	8,000
District of Sokhoumi	18,000
Total	<u>1,769,000</u>

^aAtlas of Armenia, p. 58.

At this time, the total number of Armenians in the Russian Empire is given as 2,054,000 or 45.9 per cent of the entire Armenian population of the world. It may be concluded, from table 8, that the greatest concentration of Armenians was to be found in Transcaucasia. This is still true at the present time. The number of Armenians outside the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire in 1914 comprised only 817 per cent of the grand total of 4,470,000.

TABLE 8

The Distribution of the Armenians in the World 1914^a

Areas	Total Armenian Population	Per Cent of World Armenian Population
World	4,470,000	
Russian empire	2,054,000	45.9
<u>Transcaucasia</u>		
Russian province of Armenia	598,000	13.4

TABLE 8 -- Continued

Province of Kars and Ardahan	114,000	
Province of Azerbaijan	397,000	
Province of Tiflis	395,000	
Province of Baku	114,000	
Total for Transcaucasia	1,639,000	36.7
Ottoman empire (including eastern Turkey)	2,026,000	45.4
<u>Eastern Turkey</u>		
Vilayet of Trabizond	65,000	
Erzurum	215,000	
Van	197,000	
Bitlis	198,000	
Kharpert	204,000	
Diarbekir	124,000	
Sepastya	225,000	
Total for eastern Turkey	1,228,000	27.5
Other Parts of the World	399,000	8.7

^aAtlas of Armenia, p. 58.

As a result of the massacres, the establishment of an independent Armenian Republic in 1918-1920, and finally the Sovietization of Armenia, there was a great flow of Armenians from western Armenia to various

parts of the world. According to the Armenian Academy of Sciences, the Armenian population of the world for 1926 is given as 2,900,000. It is estimated that of this total Turkey as a whole contained approximately 100 to 150 thousand Armenians. However, this figure is debatable. Bowman in his book, "The New World", while discussing the territorial gains by Armenia by the Treaty of Sevres indicates that the Armenian population of the four Turkish vilayets (Van, Erzurum, Bitlis, and Trabizond) which were to be restored to Armenia, numbered 300,000 inhabitants at the most.¹ The latter figure seems rather too high.

The Atlas of Armenia also indicates no Armenian population in the eastern Turkish vilayets in 1926. This, however, is not true, for recent literature definitely proves the existence of a small number of Armenians dispersed throughout eastern Turkey.

Eastern Armenia, under Russian rule since 1915 except for a short independent period of two years from 1918 to 1920, was the closest and safest shelter for the massacred Armenian population of eastern Turkey. This favourable location caused eastern Armenia to experience over-population to a much greater extent than prior to the massacres. In 1914, eastern Armenia had an Armenian population of 498,000; in 1920, 720,000; and in 1926, 743,000 or 25.6 per cent of the Armenian population of the world. The latter figure changed greatly as a result of repatriation schemes undertaken by the Soviet Government, for Armenians abroad and due to the net population increase which averaged

¹Isaiah Bowman, The New World (New York: World Book, 1921), p. 528.

approximately 1.4 per cent per year.

The following table shows the statistical distribution of Armenians in 1926.

TABLE 9

The Distribution of the Armenians in the World 1926^a

Areas	Total Armenian Population	Percentage of World Armenian Population
World	2,900,000	
Soviet Union	1,568,900	54.1
<u>Transcaucasia</u>		
Soviet Armenia	743,600	25.6
Soviet Azerbaijan (including Nakhichevan A.S.S.R.)	282,000	
Soviet Georgia	271,000	
Azar A.S.S.R.	10,500	
Total for Transcaucasia	1,307,100	45.0
Total for Turkey	124,700 ¹	4.3
<u>Eastern Turkey</u>		
Vilayet of Drabizon	300	
Erzerum	nil	
Van	nil	
Kharpert	5,000	

¹This figure is doubtful, for I. Bowman in his, The New World, p. 528, points out that the Armenian population of the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, and Drabizon was approximately 300,000.

TABLE 9 -- Continued

Vilayet of Diarbekir	500	
Sepastya	5,100	
Total for eastern Turkey	10,900	
Other Parts of the World	1,206,400	41.6

^aAtlas of Armenia, p. 59.

Until recently there were two major endeavours, mostly by the Soviets, to repatriate the Armenians from abroad. In the literature dealing with the history of Armenia and the Armenians, these two schemes are known as "caravans".

The first caravan was organized and took place during 1930-36 when approximately 30,000 Armenians returned to their homeland. The countries of Greece, Syria, Lebanon, Iran, and Turkey were the greatest contributors to this first movement.

The second caravan was organized after the end of the Second World War, when some 60,000 Armenians returned home. Once more, Greece, Syria, Lebanon and Iran were the main contributing countries. The main reason for this duplication was that these countries contained large numbers of Armenians, who had escaped prior, during, and after the great massacres, and were under the immediate influence of the repatriation propaganda. The following table shows the statistical picture of the first and second caravans.

TABLE 10

The Repatriation of Armenians^a

Country	First Caravan	Second Caravan	Total
France	1,500	4,500	6,000
Rumania	nil	3,000	3,000
Bulgaria	nil	3,500	3,500
Greece	10,000	15,000	25,000
Turkey	5,000	nil	5,000
Egypt	nil	4,000	4,000
Syria-Lebanon	6,000	13,500	19,500
Jordan	nil	2,000	2,000
Iraq	1,500	1,500	3,000
Iran	6,000	10,000	16,000
U.S.A., Argentina, China, Uruguay			2,000
Total			89,000

^aBy no means these figures are the most complete and accurate. They are approximate numbers based on some carto-graphic information provided by the Armenian Academy of Sciences, and as a result of some interviews with individuals involved in these schemes.

Recently, a third caravan has been organized. It started in 1961-62 and it still continues. Definite results are not yet available; however, according to certain interviews, it appears that it is on a

very small scale. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and the other countries of the Middle East seem to be the main contributors.¹

With minor exceptions, the present day world distribution of the Armenians was established during the first quarter of the twentieth century. At this time the total number of Armenians in the world, according to the Armenian Academy of Sciences, was approximately 2,900,000 which shows a decrease of 1,570,000 in 12 years from 1914 to 1926. This is, of course, the result of massacres, wars, epidemics, and famines.

In 1926 Soviet Armenia included 743,000, or 25.6 per cent of the total Armenians in the world; the Soviet Union (excluding Soviet Armenia), 825,000 or 28.5 per cent; Turkey, 124,000 or 4.3 per cent; and the rest of the world, with the majority in Europe and Middle East, 1,208,000 or 41.6 per cent of the total. The present day statistical and spatial picture of the world distribution of the Armenian people is the result of the repatriation schemes, net population increase, and minor voluntary migrations. The Soviet Census of 1959-60 showed that the total number of Armenians in the world was 4,250,000, distributed as follows:

¹Compiled from various texts and eye-witness account.

TABLE 11

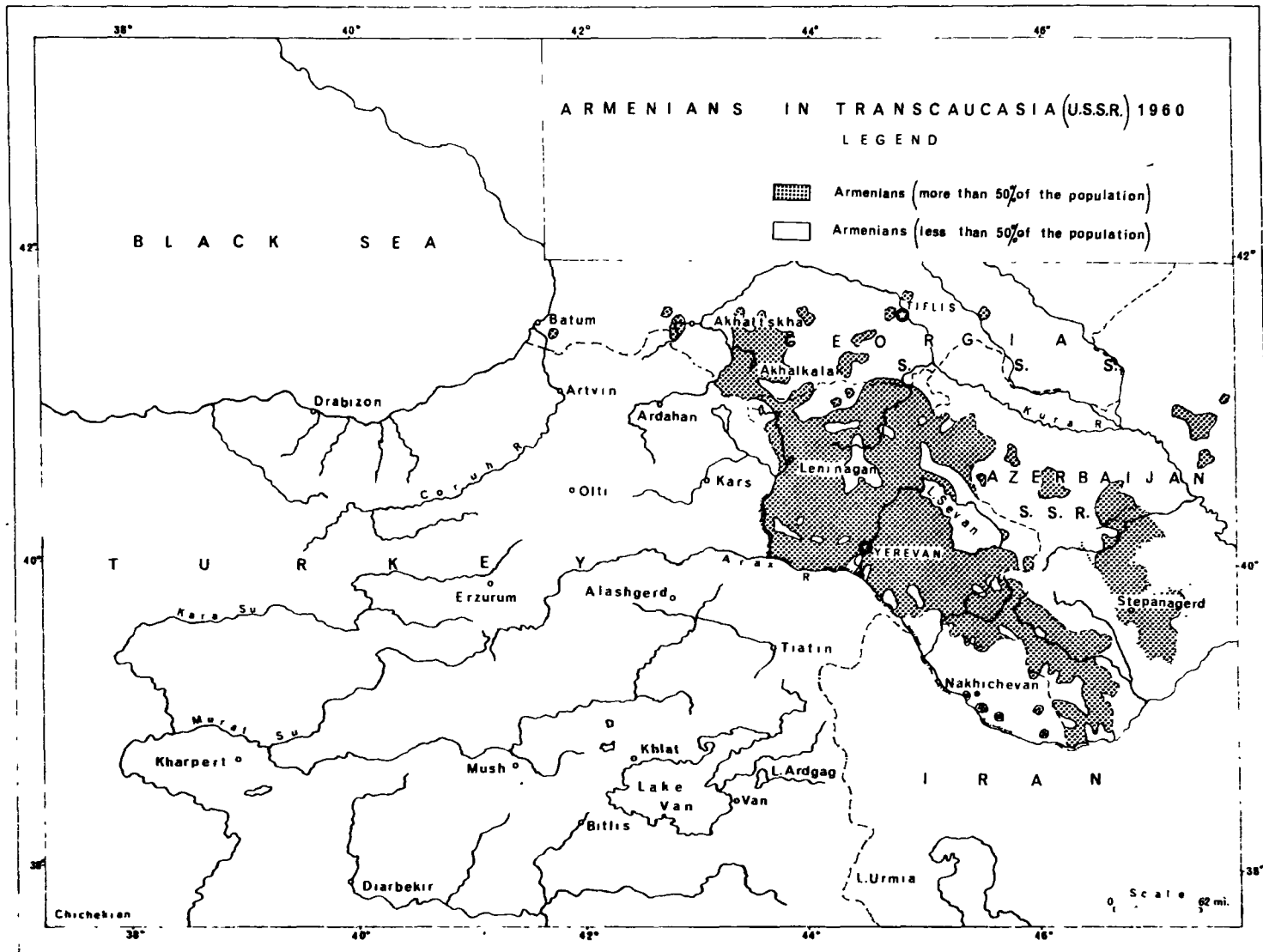
Present Day World Distribution of Armenians^a

Location	Armenians
Armenian S.S.R.	1,551,610
Georgian S.S.R.	442,916
Azerbaijan S.S.R.	442,089
R.S.F.S.R.	256,000
(Other sections of the Soviet Union excluding the three Transcaucasian Republics and R.S.F.S.R.)	94,385
(Other parts of the World including Soviet Eastern Europe and excluding Turkey)	1,363,000
Turkey	100,000
Total	<u>4,250,000</u>

^aThe Voice of Fatherland (Yerevan), September 12, 1965, p. 6.
For a detailed statistical breakdown see Appendix V and VI.

The figure of 4,250,000 indicates an increase of 1,350,000 Armenians over the figure for 1926 which was 2,900,000. It also points out a net increase of 46 per cent over 34 years, 1926-1960, or 1.4 per cent per year.

At present, Transcaucasia has the largest number of Armenian population of the world (Fig. 13). Of the three transcaucasian republics the **Armenian S.S.R.** is the chief centre with 88 per cent of its total population consisting of Armenians (Table 11). In the Soviet Socialist



Republic of Georgia, the Armenian population numbers approximately 443,000 and are mainly distributed in the southern half of the republic. The main section of the Georgian S.S.R. populated by Armenians is the district of Akhalkalak (Fig. 13) where Armenians constitute 90.8 per cent of the total population. Other major areas populated by Armenians in the Georgian S.S.R. are to be found in the rural districts of Poktanovga (84.5 per cent), Akhaltskha (51.3 per cent), Tzalka (27.9 per cent), Marneoul (20.7 per cent), and Tetri-tzkaro (17.6 per cent).¹ Large numbers of Armenians also live within the territory of the Abkhaz A.S.S.R., in the city of Batum, and in Tiflis, the capital city of the Georgian S.S.R. (Fig. 13).

The largest number of Armenians in the Azerbaijan S.S.R. live in the Karabagh A.S.S.R. where they constitute 80 per cent of the total population. Other important centres of Armenian population are to be found in the districts of Khanlari (51.7 per cent), Dashkessan (47.2 per cent), Shemakha (21.2 per cent), and Vartashen (12.1 per cent).

Minor centres of Armenian population are also located east and west of the city of Baku, within and to the north of the city of Geochay, within the city of Kirovabad, and to the northeast of the Karabagh A.S.S.R.

The Krasnodar district of the R.S.F.S.R., east of the Sea of Azov, and the areas near Isfahan and Lake Urmia, Iran, are the only main sections inhabited by Armenians outside Transcaucasia.

¹The numbers in the brackets indicate the percentage of the Armenian population in relation to the total population of the district.

CHAPTER VI

A BRIEF REGIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT
OF THE ARMENIAN S.S.R.

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the final result, in geographic terms, of all the political and socio-economic upheavals which took place during the time that this paper is concerned with. This is a brief regional-geographical survey of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, the sole official remainder of historic Armenia.

The territorial arrangements of present day Armenian S.S.R. took their final shape by 1923 when the area of Nakhichevan, south of present day Armenian S.S.R., was proclaimed as Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic under the administration of the Azerbaijani S.S.R. in 1921, and by making the Karapagh section an Autonomous Region again under the administration of the Azerbaijani S.S.R. At present, the Armenian S.S.R. has a territory of 11,500 square miles with a population of more than 2,000,000.

As already mentioned, Armenia became a member of the U.S.S.R. in 1936. Article 13 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. has this to say regarding this matter:

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state, formed on the basis of a voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely: The Russian Federative Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic...¹

The Armenian S.S.R. has common boundaries to the north, with the

¹Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., op. cit., p. 25.

Georgian S.S.R.; to the south, with Iran and the Nakhichevan S.S.R.; to the east, with the Azerbaijani S.S.R.; and to the west, with Turkey (Fig. 10).

The function of the boundaries of the Armenian S.S.R. are twofold. Firstly, they are as dividing lines between Union Republics, and secondly, they serve as international boundaries between the U.S.S.R. and other countries. According to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the territory of any Union Republic cannot be altered without the consent of the Union Republic.¹ While the external boundaries of the Armenian S.S.R. may not be changed without the consent of the latter, the organization of the internal territorial arrangement is entirely under the jurisdiction of the Union Republic. By this it is meant that the Armenian S.S.R. has the authority to unite existing regions and districts, to abolish them, or to set up new ones.

At present the Armenian S.S.R. is divided into 33 administrative sections which range in size from 241 square miles to 1075 square miles, and in population from 11,750 to 63,000. The structure of the government of the Armenian S.S.R. represents a miniature picture of that of U.S.S.R. The highest organ within the government is the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, which has its own president and council of ministers. Nominally, the Armenian government has the authority to draw or alter its own constitution and enter into direct relations with foreign

¹Ibid., 29.

countries regarding diplomatic exchange.¹

The Government of the Armenian S.S.R. has no jurisdiction over matters regarding foreign trade, monetary system, organization of defence, and direction of armed forces. These limitations are well defined by Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.²

Population

According to the 1959-60 Census of the Soviet Union, the total population of the Armenian S.S.R. was given as 1,787,000 which is divided as follows:

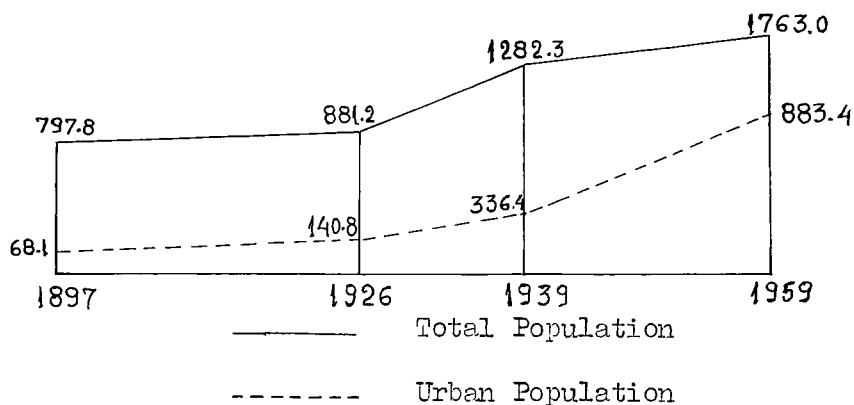
Armenians	.....	88	per cent
Azerbaijani	.....	6.1	per cent
Russians	.....	3.2	per cent
Greeks			
Assyrians	.....	1.2	per cent
Kurds	.....	1.5	per cent

¹D. Zlatopolsky, State System of the U.S.S.R. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962), p. 104.

²Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., op. cit., p. 24-28.

Figure 14

Population Growth of the Armenian S.S.R.
According to Census Readings (in thousands)^a



^aAfter: Armenian Academy of Sciences, Atlas of Armenia (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences-Cartographic Division, 1961), p. 62.

The only other republics, besides the Armenian S.S.R., which contain a considerable number of Armenians are the Soviet Republics of Georgia with 443,000, and Azerbaijan with 442,000. Thus, of the total Armenian population of 2,437,000 in the Transcaucasia (Armenian S.S.R., Georgian S.S.R., and Azerbaijani S.S.R.), the Armenian S.S.R. contains 63.5 per cent, Georgian S.S.R. 18.3 per cent, and Azerbaijani S.S.R. 18.2 per cent.

The existence of ethnic minorities in the Armenian S.S.R., especially in pre-Soviet times, was of great importance to the political life of Armenia. The province of Yerevan, and later independent Armenia, were faced with minority problems which hindered the achievement of political stability. For example, in 1919 the territories of Karapagh (presently an autonomous section within the territory and under

the general administration of the Azorbaijani S.S.R.) and Zangerour (present day southern and southeastern Armenian S.S.R.) were involved in continuous political conflicts as to who will finally own these regions. The main reason for these wars was that the region of Zangerour having a considerable number of Azerbaijanis and Karapagh with a large majority of Armenians. The final territorial arrangement and political status of these two regions materialized on the basis of the distribution and national feeling of the above two main ethnic groups.

The population of the Armenian S.S.R. is very unevenly distributed. This is the direct result of the mountainous nature of the country. At present there are extensive areas in the Armenian S.S.R. which may be classified as unpopulated or sparsely populated. Such areas include the Panbag Mts. in the north, Mt. Arakadz region in the west, the Keghama range to the west of Lake Sevan, the Vartanis region to the south and southeast of Lake Sevan, the Zangerour range in south and southeast of the Armenian S.S.R., and the westward extension of the highlands of Karapagh in southeastern and east central Armenian S.S.R. The existence of such areas results in rather low density of population, 95 people per square mile, which is still very high in comparison to the corresponding figure for the U.S.S.R. which is 16 per square mile.

In physiographic terms, the most densely populated section in Armenia is located within the Soviet Armenian portion of the Ararat plain, south, southeast, and west of the city of Yerevan (including the latter) where one finds 42 per cent of the present day population of the Armenian S.S.R. with a density of approximately 200 people per square mile. Other densely populated areas include the immediate

northern and western sections of Lake Sevan, and the region northwest of Mt. Arakadz, both with approximately 160 people per square mile (Fig. 15).

Presently, the trend towards urbanization (Fig. 16) is well reflected by the urban-rural ratio of the population of the Armenian S.S.R. While prior to the early 1910's the number of urban centres and urban population was very low, at present the urban population constitutes the majority (53 per cent) of the total population of the Armenian S.S.R.¹ There are various reasons to explain this change which took place only during the last forty years. Political stability, which was achieved within the republic after the establishment of Soviet Rule in 1921, may be considered the most important one. It was after 1921 that Armenia, even though under foreign political rule, saw no more physical decimation similar to those of 1895-96, and 1915. Security against physical reduction and developments in economic and health conditions helped the natural growth of the Armenian population as well as that of the ethnic minorities within the republic's territory and the return to a normal and rather constant rate of growth.

In the pre-1913 period the rate of the natural growth per annum for the population of the province of Yerevan was 1.2 per cent, and continued to be the same until the Sovietization of Armenia. The contribution of the factor of "political stability" is well indicated through the post 1920's period, because the population of the Armenian S.S.R. has

¹H. E. Tovmosian, "Reproduction of Armenia's Population", in Historico-Geographic Quarterly, vol. 25, no. 2 (1964), p. 31-41.

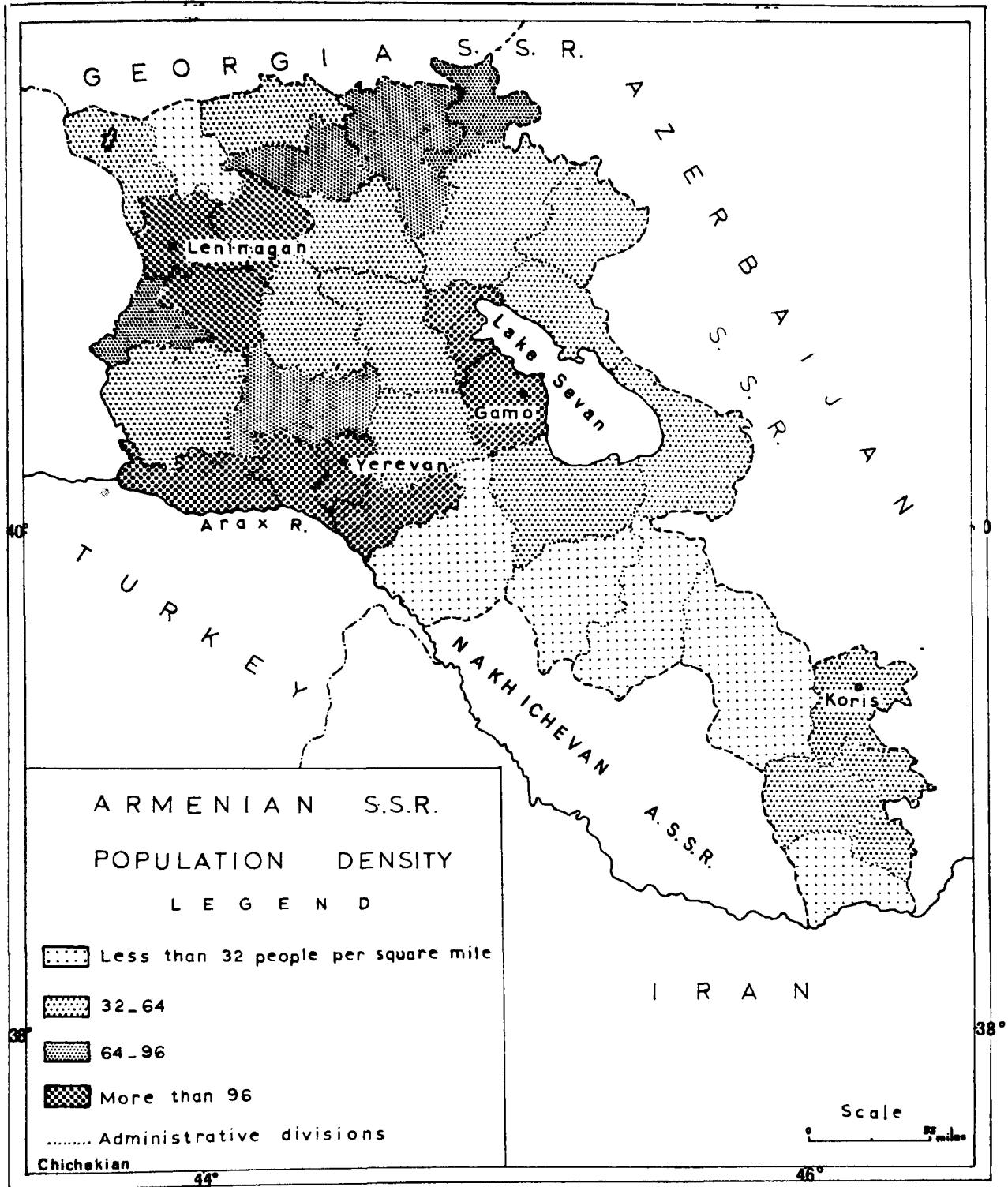


FIG. 15

Modified from Atlas of Armenia p.62

achieved a rate of natural growth equal to 3.0 per cent per annum.¹

The constant natural growth of the population of the Armenian S.S.R., the Soviet Repatriation Schemes of 1926, 1945-48, and 1960-63, and the availability of little agricultural land within the republic have been the main causes for the large degree of urbanization which has taken place in the Armenian S.S.R. during the past forty years. The largest urban centre in Armenia is the city of Yerevan with a population of 560,000 (1961). This corresponds approximately to 25 per cent of the total population of the Armenian S.S.R. Other large urban centres include the cities of Leninakan with 110,000, Girovagan with 50-52,000, and Tilichan with 12,000 (Fig. 16). The above four cities contain 36 per cent of the total population and 70 per cent of the total urban population of the Armenian S.S.R.

Economy

Like any other republic of the Soviet Union, the economy of the Armenian S.S.R. is also controlled by the Government of the Republic in full co-operation with the requirements of the government of the Soviet Union. The administrative picture of the Armenian S.S.R. was basically formulated in 1936 when Soviet Armenia became a member of the U.S.S.R. By joining the Soviet Union as an equal member, Armenia lost its sovereignty as far as the control of the country's foreign trade, direction of the monetary and credit system, and of related economic

¹Ibid., 41.



FIG. 16

Compiled from various sources

affairs are concerned.¹

Although not substantial, but certain modifications have been introduced in the economic life of the Armenian S.S.R.

Some of the most noticeable changes are the economic management mainly of industries and transport, which were transferred from Union to Republican jurisdiction.

Economic regionalization is characteristic of the economic organization and administration of the Armenian S.S.R. The 11,500 square miles territory of the Armenian Soviet Republic is divided into six major economic regions (Fig. 16).

The Central Economic Region

Located west of Lake Sevan it embraces an area which is part of the important plain of Ararat which also extends into eastern Turkey. Industrially, as well as agriculturally, this is the best developed and most diversified of all the six economic regions of the Armenian S.S.R.

The Central Economic Region is the largest section of hydro-power production in Armenia. It is also, the principal centre for machine building, chemical industries, and manufacturing of cognac; and is an important region for vineyards and other fruit cultivations.

¹Zlatopolsky, op. cit., p. 95.

Shirag

Situated in the northwestern section of the Armenian S.S.R., it occupies a mountainous area with extreme climatic conditions.

The most important economic activities of this region include branches of textile industry, building materials, grains, livestock and sugar beets.

Lori-Pampag

Sandwiched between the Shirag and Northeastern Economic Region, the Lori-Pampag area occupies an elevated plateau-like area which is highly dissected by streams.

Copper mining and smelting, chemical industries, and livestock are the major economic activities of this region.

The Northeastern Economic Region

An area of rugged relief has most of its economy limited to agriculture, of which tobacco growing, livestock (mainly swines), and forestry are the main activities.

Sevan

Named after Lake Sevan, this economic region occupies a rather narrow area around Lake Sevan. It is a rather lowland region, especially to the north, west, and south, which is surrounded by mountain chains averaging more than 9,000 feet in elevation.

The economic activities of this region are limited to small scale

mixed farming and tobacco and potato growing. This particular economic region is also important for its fishing industry which is carried out at a highly technical level. As a matter of fact, this is the only section in the Armenian S.S.R. where there is fishing industry.

Zangezour

Occupying an extremely rugged mountainous area, this region is located in southern Armenia. There are two major economic activities which dominate the economic life of this area -- copper mining and smelting, and small scale mixed farming. Potentially, the Zangezour region of the Armenian S.S.R. is considered by scientists to be the republic's hydro-power depot.

Although the economic regions of Armenia may occupy different types of natural environment gifted by a variety of natural resources, there are a few economic factors which are common in all the economic regions. Perhaps, the factor of transportation is the most important of all. A careful examination of the maps dealing with the economic regions of the Armenian S.S.R. will reveal the fact that transportation, especially railway, is not well developed. Roads are also not numerous. Water transportation is lacking almost completely. The rather poorly developed transportation of the republic is mostly the result of the harsh natural environment of the region. This is particularly true for southern and northern Soviet Armenia.

Hydro-electric power is the second factor to be taken into consideration. Due to the lack of fuels and the favourable conditions of the physical environment for hydro-power production, the latter has

been well developed. At present, in every one of the economic regions of the republic, one can see major or minor hydro-power stations which are the main motive power utilized by the industry.

In the agricultural activities of the economic regions, valleys and irrigation are the main factors to be taken into consideration. Abundant rivers provide plenty of water for irrigation purposes and the protected valleys, especially along the south facing slopes, enable the cultivation of a variety of crops which in capitalist countries would be classified as "crops with high value per acre". Grapes, fruit, beets, and tobacco are some of the products produced in the Armenian S.S.R.

The highly developed and diversified industry of the Armenian S.S.R. is well illustrated by the republic's exports not only to every political unit of the Soviet Union (including the Soviet Satelites), but also to a number of other countries outside of the Russian sphere. Electrical equipment, cotton textiles, chemicals, aluminum, cognac, and other products of light industry constitute some of the important exports of the Armenian S.S.R. The following non-Soviet countries also import goods produced in Armenia: Chile, Argentine, Uruguay, Libya, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Aden, Iran, Afganistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, New Zealand, Finland, and Iceland.

While industry in Soviet Armenia has witnessed a tremendous boom, and perhaps satisfied at least the local needs, the development of agriculture, especially farming, has not produced the same results. According to the treasurer's report of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Armenian S.S.R. during its 21st meeting, the

main problem with the development of agriculture in the republic rested on inefficient administration rather than environmental conditions.¹

Referring specifically to the Kolldhoz and Sovkhoz , the report states that the future directors of collective and state farms must be carefully selected not only on the basis of academic education but also on the basis of their ability to organize quantitative and qualitative production; their knowledge of the fundamentals of production economy and advanced technology; and on the basis of their abilities regarding leadership, decreasing general costs without lowering the expected standards, and to introduce complex mechanization and effective administration.

In general, the structure of the economy of the Armenian S.S.R. is a miniature picture reflecting the economic system of the Soviet Union.

¹A. H. Tovmassian, The Treasurer's Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Armenian S.S.R. (Yerevan: State Publications, 1960), p. 56.

CONCLUSIONS

I must acknowledge the rather incomplete presentation of certain sections of this paper due to the lack of documentary data which is either censored or destroyed and not available.

On the basis of what I have been able to obtain, the political geography of Armenia from 1639 to the present day may be divided into three general phases, each based primarily on territorial partitions, amount of authority and say on the part of the Armenians regarding these divisions, and consequences.

In the first phase, from 1639 to 1917, the territory of Armenia was mainly shared by the Ottoman and Russian Empires, and partly the Persian Empire. In each case the Armenians had to accept the fate assigned to them, and comfort themselves within the newly created political and socio-economic ecological conditions.

In the period which started with the Bolshevik Revolution, 1917, until 1936, desire of the Armenians to control their political and economic environment assumed a stronger status. This was the consequence of the continuous political restrictions, socio-economic restrictions, and persecutions exercised upon the Armenian population by the Ottomans and Russians. It was also the result of the nationalistic movement which was inaugurated by a number of Armenian political organizations and parties in late 1800's. The major accomplishment of the Armenians during this second period of political upheaval was the creation of an independent Armenian republic in 1918 which lasted until 1920 when it was finally demolished as the result of the combined Turkish and Bolshevik invasions.

The end of independent Armenia in 1920 left a number of territorial claims and disputes, on the part of the Armenians, unsettled. Unwise and geographically illogical solutions were undertaken by the Bolshevik government immediately following the 1920 conquest of Armenia. For example, the territory of Nakhichevan, Karapagh, and Akhalkalak remained outside the borders of the Armenian S.S.R. in the hands of the Azerbaijani and Georgians respectively (Fig. 8). A quick look at the population map of Transcaucasia in 1960 (Fig. 13) will reveal the Armenian demographic and ethnographic majority in the regions of Akhalkalak and Karapagh. The region of Nakhichevan, which also included a large number of Armenians during and after the conquest of independent Armenia, does not reveal at the present time the same picture as do the regions of Akhalkalak and Karapagh. This is the result of large scale voluntary and forced emigration of Armenians from the Nakhichevan region to the Armenian S.S.R. and other sections of the Soviet Union. However, from a historical point of view all the above regions form part of historic Armenia. Their separation from the fatherland in the past and present has been always materialized by the use of force and against the wishes of the local Armenian population.

The third phase of Armenia's political geography covers the period from 1936 to the present day. It is mainly centered around two basic aspects of Armenia's political geography. First, the "Armenian Question" which, at present, is primarily concerned with the final settlement of not too distant territorial disputes and claims of Armenia with Turkey and the Soviet Union. Second, the preservation of the Armenian nation especially outside the Armenian S.S.R. The latter,

although strongly subjected to foreign, mainly Russian, cultural and political intrusions it is quite safe from losing its identity, because the majority of the political, social, and cultural life in Soviet Armenia is still directed in the Armenian language. The Armenians of abroad try to preserve their nationality by supporting primary and secondary schools, and cultural and religious institutions where the Armenian youngster learns, hears, and speaks his mother tongue. However, due to a number of social and economic reasons some Armenians are losing their nationality and can not be classified under the Armenian ethnic group.

In conclusion, the enviable location of Armenia in the past and the political ambitions of various powers at present resulted in the repeated territorial and demographic partitions of Armenia. These various divisions gave rise to a number of centrifugal phenomena such as population diaspora, religious differences, and extremes in political thought, which have hindered the unification of the social, cultural, and political life of the Armenians abroad. However, whatever the case may be, the large majority of the total Armenian population of the world has preserved its national identity and wishes to establish a free Armenia over a territory which will correspond to the core areas of historic Armenia.

APPENDIX I

TREATY OF SAN STEFANO, 1878

ARTICLE XIX

The Boundary Between Turkey and Russia
on Armenian Territory¹

In its general outline, the frontier line, leaving the Black Sea coast, will follow the crests of the mountains which separate the affluents of the river Hopa from those of the river Tcharokh, and the chains of the mountains to the south of the town of Artwin up to the river Tcharokh, near the villages of Alat and Bechaget; then the frontier will pass by the peaks of Mounts Dervenikghek, Hotchezar, and Bedjiguidagh, by the crest which separates the affluents of the rivers Tortountchai and the Tcharokh by the heights near Saily-Vihine, coming down at the village Vahine-Kilissa to the river Tortountchai; thence it will follow the Sirridagh Cahin to the pass (col) of the same name, passing south of the villages of Noriman; then it would turn to the southeast and go to Zivine, whence the frontier, passing west of the road which leads from Zivine to the villages of Ardost and Horassan, will turn south of Gilitchman; then by the crest of Charian-Dagh it will arrive, ten versts south of Horassan, at Horassan, at the Mourad-tchai defile; then the line will follow the crest of the Alla-Dagh and the summits of the Hori and Tandourek, and, passing south of the Bayasot Valley, will proceed to join the Turco-Persian frontier to the south of the lake of Kazli-gueul.

¹T. E. Holland, The European Concept of the Eastern Question (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 344.

APPENDIX II

TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878

ARTICLE LVIII

The Renewed Turkish-Russian Boundary
on Armenian Territory¹

The Sublime Port cedes to the Russian Empire in Asia the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, together with the latter port, as well as the territories comprised between the former Russo-Turkish frontier and the following line:

The new frontier starting from the Black Sea, and coinciding with the line laid down by the Treaty of San Stefano as far as a point to the north-west of Khorta, and to the south of Arrvin, continuous in a straight line as far as the River Coruh, crosses the river and passes to the east of Aschmichen, going in a straight line to the south so as to rejoin the Russian frontier indicated in the Treaty of San Stefano, at a point to the south of Nariman, leaving the town of Olti to Russia. From the point indicated near Nariman the frontier turns to the east, passes by Tebreneç, which remains to Russia, and continues as far as Bardouz, then turns toward the south, leaving Bardouz and Jonikiou to Russia. From a point west of the village of Karaougan, the frontier takes the direction of Medjingert, continues in a straight line towards the summit of the Mountain Kassadagh, and follows the line of the watershed between the affluents of the Araxes on the north and those of the Murat-Sou on the south, as far as the former frontier of Russia.

¹Oaks and Mowat, The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century, p. 14.

APPENDIX III

TREATY OF BATUM, 1918

ARTICLE II

The Boundary Between Turkey and the
Independent Transcaucasian Republics¹

The boundary starts at that point where the Cholak River flows in the Black Sea and it corresponds with the pre-1877 starting point of the Russo-Turkish boundary. From here until the Shavnabar mountain and, following mountain crests, reaches the Halhama and Mepsikaro mountains (thus corresponding to the 1956 boundary line). Then, it turns south, crosses the peak of Mt. Pirsagad and, two kilometers south of the city of Apas-Touman turns towards northeast and reaches the crest of Karhoul mountain. From here, following first a northeast direction and then a southeast direction, it reaches the town of Gourkel, crosses the Kura River and by following the crests of the Kayabash, Ortatov, and Karakaya mountains reaches the lake of Tapiskorska, which it crosses on the northern section and reaches the mountain of Tavkoteli; then, it takes a southward direction and by following the crests of Shavnabad, Karakouzou and Samsar mountains, and by taking an eastward direction reaches the Tevekirian mountain range; then, taking a southward direction and by following the crests of Aghrikar, Beshkiran, and Mourrahman mountains, it continues its southward direction always following the mountain peaks and meets the Alexandropol-Tiflis railway five kilometers following the crests of the mountains, it reaches the town of Khanvali from where, almost by a straight line, reaches the highest peak of Mt. Alagoz; then, again by a straight line, it crosses the Etchmiadzin-Sardarabad road, seven kilometers west of the city of Etchmiadzin; then, encircling the latter city in a radius of seven kilometers, it follows the Alexandropol-Coulfa railway line in a horizontal direction and at a

¹S. Vratzian, The Republic of Armenia (Beirut: Mshag, 1958), p. 596-97.

distance of six kilometers; then, sixteen kilometers southwest of the town of Pashkeran crosses the road which joins the latter town with the railway line; then, it turns southeast, goes by the towns of Ashaghi-Karapaklar, one kilometer to the west of it, also by the towns of Shagablou, Karakhach and Ashaghi-Chanakchi, and it reaches the Elpinchai River which it follows until the town of Arpa; then, following the valley of the Arpachai River reaches the town of Kayalou and by following the Kayd River it reaches the peak of Mt. Aktapan. From here following the latter it reaches the town of Alidgini which was located on the Arax River, the boundary between Russia and Persia.

APPENDIX IV

TREATY OF KARS, 1921

ARTICLE I

The Boundary Between Soviet Georgia,
Soviet Armenia, the Nakhichevan A.S.S.R., and Turkey¹

Sarp village on the Black Sea to v.u. north of Maradidi village - along the watershed of Qara Shalvar Dagh (5014) and crossing the river Chorokh north of Maradidi village. From there north to Spaor Villate - Kediz Meta Dagh (7052), Qva Kibe Dagh-Qavtareti village - the watershed of Medizibna Dagh - Great Kasun Dagh (6468) - following the watershed of Qorda Dagh (7910), and reaches the former administrative boundary of the old Artvin qaza on the west slope of Shevsheteski Dagh.

By the watershed of the Shavshateski Dagh and Sari Chai to Qara Issali Dagh (8478). Qioraliski Pass - thence to Qanni Dagh along the former administrative boundary of the old Ardahan qaza.

Thence turning north to Telil (Garnani) Dagh (8308). Following the same boundary of Ardahan qaza, to the Posqof Chai, northeast of Badel village, and follows this river due south to the hill of Chanjaq village.

Thence leaving this river it follows the watershed and reaches Edilian Bashi Dagh (8512).

Past the mountains of Kelle Tepe (8463) and Kharman Tepe (9709) to Wasris Serai Dagh (9681).

Thence as far as the Qura River it follows the Qalasamet Chai. Thence following the "thalweg" of the Qura River to east of the village of Qartanake.

¹J. H.M. Cornwall, "The Russo-Turkish Boundary and the Territory of Nakhichevan," in the Geographical Journal, LXI, no. 6 (June, 1923), p. 449.

Thence passing the watershed of Qara Oghlu Dagh (7259) it leaves the Qura River.

Thence bisecting Qozapin Lake to the hill marked 7580 and 7560, and thence reaching Geuk Dagh (9152). Thence to "Three Hills" (9783) where the Georgian boundary ends and the Armenian boundary begins.

Taba Qale (9716) to the peak marked 9065, and there, leaving the old boundary of the Ardahan qaza passes the mountains Bul Aq Baba (9973) or (9963) and 8828 or 8827 and 7602.

Thence in a straight line to the peak marked 7518, and then east of Ibish village, then by Qizil Tash Dagh (7439 or 7440 or 7490). Passing Novi Qizil Tash village.

Thence passing Quizil Tash, as far as the river band situated northwest of Qara Mehmed, and following the watershed to the Jamush Bu Chai River, which is to the east of the villages of Delavers, B. Kimli, Vitknis.

Continuing to following the above-mentioned river by the villages of Vartanl and Bash Chura Gel, reaches the Arba Chai north of Kialala (or Qaleli).

Thence continuing to follow the "thalweg" of the Arpa Chai, it reaches the Aras.

Thence following the "Thalweg" of the Aras as far as the village of Urmiya, where the boundary of Armenia ends and that of Azerbaijan begins.

Then it follows the "thalweg" of the Aras to the mouth of the Lower Qara Su where the Azerbaijan boundary ends.¹

Note: It is here agreed that the boundary follows the watershed of the heights described above.

Appendix 3 of the same treaty describes the boundary line between Nakhichevan and Soviet Armenia. It reads as follows:

¹The last sentence obviously means "where the boundary of Turkey with Azerbaijan ends."

"Urmiya village - thence in a straight line to Arazdayan Station (this station will remain to the Socialist Republic of Armenia). Then in a straight line to West Tash Burun Dagh (3142) - along the watershed to East Tash Vurun Dagh (4108) - crossed the Jehennem valley, following the watershed of Bagharsik Dagh (6607) or 6587), and passes south of Rovne (Bulaq).

Thence following the former administrative boundary between Caucasian Erivan and "Sharur Valagoz" by the mountain marked 6629 to Kumurlu Dagh (6839 or 6930), and thence to the mountain marked 3080, to Sayat Dagh (7868) and to Kurd Qulaq village.

Gamsur Dagh (8160) - Mountain marked 8022 and Kuk Dagh (10,282) and the old eastern administrative boundary of the Nakhchevan qaza."

APPENDIX V

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION

AREA	POPULATION
Transcaucasia	2,436,615
Armenian S.S.R.	1,551,610
<u>Major Centres</u>	
Yerevan	473,742
Leninakan	100,960
Girovagan	45,137
Georgian S.S.R.	442,916
<u>Major Centres</u>	149,916
Tiflis	4,367
Kori	2,844
Abkhaza A.S.S.R. (Sukhumi)	64,425 (6,783)
Adjar A.S.S.R. (Batum)	15,830 (12,743)
South Ossetin A.R. (Tsinandali)	1,555 (860)
Azerbaydjan S.S.R.	442,089
<u>Major Centres</u>	
Baku	137,114
Kirovabad	32,371
Sungait	6,865
Mingechaur	3,779
Nakhichevan A.S.S.R. (Nakhichevan)	9,519 1,504

APPENDIX V -- Continued

AREA	POPULATION
Karapagh S.R. (Stepanagerd)	110,053 17,640
R.S.F.S.R.	256,000
<u>Major Districts</u>	(in thousands)
Krasnodar	78.2
Stavropol	26.6
Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.	13.2
Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R.	12.0
Daghestan A.S.S.R.	6.5
Rostov	49.3
Moscow	18.3
Leningrad	4.5
Other Soviet Socialist Republics	94.3
Ukraine	28.0
Moldavia	1.2
White Russia	1.8
Baltic S.S. Republics	2.2
Uzbek (Tashkent) (Samarkand)	27.4 (10.5) (7.7)
Turkmen (Ashkhabad) (Mary)	19.7 (9.1) (5.1)
Kazakh	9.3

APPENDIX V -- Continued

AREA	POPULATION
Tajikstan	2.9
Kirghiz	1.9

Compiled from: Atlas of Armenia. (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences-Cartographic Division, 1961); Central Statistical Board of the U.S.S.R., U.S.S.R. in Figures for 1959 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960); S. Vratzian, Armenia and the Armenian Question, 1943; The Voice of Fatherland (Yerevan) September 12, 1965, p. 6.

APPENDIX VI

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTHER CONTINENTS

AREA	POPULATION
<u>North America</u>	
U.S.A.	350,000
Canada	6,000
Mexico	1,000
<u>Central and South America</u>	
Cuba	500
Brazil	8,000
Uruguay	7,000
Argentina	35,000
Chile	1,000
Venezuela	500
<u>Africa</u>	
Ethiopia	1,000
Egypt	30,000
Libya	1,000
Algeria	1,000
Morocco	1,000
Sudan	800
<u>Asia (excluding U.S.S.R.)</u>	
India	5,000
China-Manchuria	1,000
Burma	100

APPENDIX VI -- Continued

AREA	POPULATION
Jordon	6,000
Iran	120,000
Syria	50,000
Lebanon	150,000
Iraq	20,000
Israel	1,000
Turkey	100,000
<u>Australasia</u>	
Australia	300
Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, etc.)	300
<u>Europe</u>	
Cyprus	4,000
Greece	9,000
Yugoslavia	500
Bulgaria	30,000
Rumania	40,000
Hungary	1,000
Czechoslovakia	500
Italy	1,000
Switzerland	500
West and East Germany	1,000
Netherlands	1,000
Belgium	1,000

APPENDIX VI -- Continued

AREA	POPULATION
Poland	1,000
France	120,000
Great Britain	5,000
Portugal	100
Austria	200

Compiled from: Atlas of Armenia (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences-Cartographic Division, 1961); Central Statistical Board of the U.S.S.R., U.S.S.R. in Figures for 1959 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960); Immigration 1964 (Ottawa: Dept. of Immigration and Citizenship), 1965; S. Vratzian, Armenian and the Armenian Question, 1943; The Voice of Fatherland (Yerevan), September 12, 1965, p. 6.

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