AM 1947 GREEN WOOD



BOSTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE MONTREUX CONVENTION AND THE REGIME OF THE STRAITS
SINCE 1936

by

Sabrena Grace Greenwood
(A.B., Bryn Mawr College, 1943)
submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1947

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2016 with funding from Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries

BO AM 1947

Approved

by

First Reader Robert P. Benedict

Bedond besder. ... Tabasar of Government

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NTRODUCTION	5
HAPTER	
I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND UP TO 1918	10
Early period	
1453 to the 17th century	
Russia's entrance Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji	
Treaties of London and Paris	
Treaty of Berlin	
Russian diplomacy before the World War	
The Straits during the World War	
Secret understanding among the Allies	
II. THE TREATY OF SEVRES AND THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE	21
Armistice of Mudros	
Wilson's Twelfth Point	
Treaty of Sevres	
Greco-Turkish War	
Lausanne Conference	
Lausanne Straits Convention	
Operation of the Straits Convention	
III. TURKISH REQUESTS FOR REVISION OF THE STRAITS	
CONVENTION	31
World Conditions	
Increase in Turkey's prestige	
Early informal requests for revision	

PARIS OF CONTENTS

C	
STORICAL HACKGROUND UP TO 1918 LO	EE .I
1455 to the 17th century	
Russia's entranceTreaty of Kutchult-Kainardji	
Procedics of London and Paris	
Treaty of Berlin	
The Straits during the World War	
IS EDIARDY OF SEVERS AND THE THEATY OF INCRAINES EL	HTII
Vilson's Trelith Loint	
	T .EEE
EE	
Thorose in Turkey's restige	

CHAPTE:		
(111	T)	Note of April 10, 1936
		Reception of the Turkish note
IV	. TF	E MONTREUX CONVENTION OF 1936 43
		The Turkish draft
		The British draft
		The Montreux Convention
		Reaction to the Convention
V	. TH	E STRAITS DURING WORLD WAR II
		Treaty of Mutual Assiatance
		The Straits during 1939 and 1940
		Passage Incidents during 1941 and 1942
		Tehran Conference
		Turkish cooperation with the Allies
VI	. DE	EVELOPMENTS SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II 92
		Russian denunciation of the 1925 pact and her demands on the Straits, spring, 1945
		Potsdam Agreement
		American proposals for revision of the Convention, November, 1945
		Russian proposals of August, 1946, and American, British, and Turkish answers
		Second Russian proposals of September, 1946
		Status of the Straits problem at the end of 1946
VI	I. S	UMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
AN	ABST	TRACT 123
API	PENDI	x
вп	BLIOG	RAPHY

Note of .pril 10, 1936	
THE LOWERCON CONVENTION OF 1986 48	.VI
The Dritish draft	
The Lontreux Gouver Flor	
Resetten to the Convention	
THE SHALLS DURING WILL II IT HAVE THE	. V -
aonadalas/ Lauter to visari	
Tehran Conference	
Purktish copperation with the allies:	
Se II he amore to one and interest sayour	
Nussian denumeistion of the 1076 prot and nor demands on the Streits, apring, 1045	
erican proposils for revision of the Convertion	
Rugeist properts of turnet, 1946, and American,	
Second Russian promosals of september, 1946	
Status of The Straits problem at the and of LR45	
BLE AND CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTOR	.TIV
8"f	
284	
SST	

Today, even more than in the says of the Woolan Nor and
the querrals between the Rallan etty states, the Christs of th
fordanelles and the Southerns are a danger to world, peans. The
Etraits are important non only to the states bordering the Class
Use day whom, in most cases, their Slack See ports are their on
by assecutions and to all nations who ship their products down
the Danabe, the Brimper, the Don, or the Dalester Clyere into-

Tith the growth of mulional states and clarge-scale some course politics, the instruction of the Straits anguired attribute articles.

INTRODUCTION

while We control the Straits. Today, with airpower and more commitable weapons when ever before, it is questionable how errective such control of the Straits would be. Morever, no such that some before and possession of the fortifies—times of the Straits is still convend by interested powers, ever though it pay he chesists in a military sease. Straits inside.

too, the Straits are no learne and seases, he can be the fallows at the control of the control of the strains of the fallows in the time of the Greaks, but one, therefore with the fallows the object of the control of the control of the control of the strains and the fallows into the black iss or wait to the Maditorranear Sea da part of attracts going on between the Thurstiant" and the "periphery" states for political suprement in the Maditorranear Sea da part of attracts going on between the Thurstiant" and the "periphery" states for political suprement in the Maditorranear sea of the Testiment and T



Today, even more than in the days of the Trojan War and the quarrels between the Italian city states, the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus are a danger to world peace. The Straits are important not only to the states bordering the Black Sea for whom, in most cases, their Black Sea ports are their only sea-outlets and to all nations who ship their products down the Danube, the Dnieper, the Don, or the Dniester Rivers into the Black Sea, but also to outside powers who ship their goods into the Black Sea from the Mediterranean.

With the growth of national states and large-scale power power politics, the control of the Straits acquired strategic importance. After the invention of mines and long-range artillery, it was comparatively easy for the country ruling Constantinople to control the Straits. Today, with airpower and more formidable weapons than ever before, it is questionable how effective such control of the Straits would be. However, no such test has yet taken place, and possession of the fortifications of the Straits is still coveted by interested powers, even though it may be obsolete in a military sense. Strategically, too, the Straits are no longer two separate problems, as they were in the time of the Greeks, but one, together with the islands of the Aegean Sea. The question of the control of the entrance into the Black Sea or exit to the Mediterranean Sea is part of a struggle going on between the "heartland" and the "periphery" states for political supremacy in the Middle East and the Mediterranean and the routes to east and west centered there.

Today, even more than in the days of the Project War and the quarrels between the Italian odty states, the Attaits of the Dardanelles and the Posyhorus are a danger to world peace. The Straits are important not only to the states bordering the Black Bea for whom, in most cases, their Flack Bea ports are their only sea-outlets and to all nations who ship their products down the Danube, the Dailoper, the Don, or the Uniester Rivers into the Black Bes, but also to outside powers who ship their roods into the Black Bes, but also to outside powers who ship their roods

power politics, the control of the Straigs acquired strateric -Ilius spart-paol bus semin to notineval ent resta . engarogui lory, it was comparatively easy for the country ruling Vonstentinople to control the Straits. Today, with airrover and nore roundeble wespons than ever before, it is questionable how effective such control of the Straits would be. however, no such test his yet taken place, and possession of the fortifications of the Straits is still coveted by interested powers, even though it may be obsolete in a military name. . Burn te danod; too, the Straits are no longer two separate problems, as they were in the time of the breeks, but one, together with the islands of the egen see. The question of the control of the entrance . Trend leredung damy has dene of meduct and has meanered

The question of the Straits, as one of the issues which may lead to a third world war if not successfully dealt with, has become an international concern. It cannot be ignored as too minor for attention. The solution in itself will certainly not prevent war, but a peaceful compromise for one of the differences between the major powers might well lead toward others.

A study of the present regime of the Straits, how it came about, how it has and is functioning, its applicability to the future world situation, is necessary to understand just where the danger lies. This paper tries to present a comprehensive picture of the main issues since 1936 -- a brief historical survey points out the place of the Dardanelles in earlier struggles for power, the seeds of the present rivalry. The settlement after the first World War and its ultimate inappropriateness, while not a close parallel to the present situation, do show the dynamic state of a political balance of power. The Montreux Conference itself depicts the making of compromises, the intense feeling between interested powers, the type of dispute, the delicate balance between a successful and a discordant conference. The operation of the Montreux Convention during World War II and the real reasons for its successful function are also examined in detail. The growth of the new Soviet move to control the Straits, with its international repercussions, indicates the tension which now exists -- the outcome of which has not yet been determined.

The sources for this paper have been wherever possible

The question of the Straits, as one of the issues which may lead to a third world war if not successfully dealt with, has become an international concern. It cannot be ignored as ton minor for attention. The solution in itself will certainly not prayent war, but a peaceful compromise for one of the differences between the major powers might well lead toward others.

A stroky of the present regime of the Straits, now it came add of willideallogs att and is functioning, its applicability to the future world situation, is necessary to understand just where the dancer lies. This paper tries to present a comprehensive releg for no mer, the sends of the present rivalry. The settledynamic state of a political balance of power. The contreux feeling between interested powers, the type of dispute, the delicare halance between a mucesaful and a discordant ocaleronce. ad leading of even tolved were and to divers adl . listab of be day for ead doldw to amortuo odd -- affiles won doldw gotens. been determined.

The sources for this gamer have been wherever consible

official or semi-official documents, but, in the more recent sections, newspapers and periodicals have been the source for both diplomatic correspondence and general public opinion. Finally, the conclusions which seem to follow from the facts have been presented, including possibilities for settlement of the issue their estimated chance of success.

oritical or semi-official doomsense, but, in the nore recent sections, neverpagers and perjodicels have been the source for both diplosetic courses, ondered and reneral sublic opinion. Finally, the conclusions which seem to follow from the facts have been presented, including possibilities for semilerate of the issue that estimated chance of success.

The question of the Strains has shown its twofold aspent, commercial and attaingle, from the very beginning. — The early drooks collected tolls on passing merchant using, and one of the important parts of their expension was through the Strains to the shores of the Slack See. Then the Poissa took ever the control of the Strains, there was little concern over control for straining hurpones since Rome ruled the ancient world, but trade was still serviced on through the strains. When the political centur of gravity moved to Constantinople, the wore modern obtain of Strains nistory began. Outside nations vied with such other and with the Grants for trading privileges. The develop-

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND UP TOLLIEB

the Straits.

become Turkish property. In 1670, with the capture of Azov and the Crimes, the Plack See itself became a Turkish lake. It was the commished policy of the Ottoman Covernment to exclude all foreign ships from the Black See by elseing the Straits of the Coephorus. A series of treaties between the Vestern Powers and the Ottoman Covire began in 1885 and, by the close of the sign-teenth century, through capitulations, nearly all the Christian sountries of Europe had gained recognition for the rights of their divisors engaged in lesiness with the Turks. Although

I STILL I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND UF TOLLINE

The question of the Straits has shown its twofold aspect, commercial and strategic, from the very beginning. The early Greeks collected tolls on passing merchant ships, and one of the important parts of their expansion was through the Straits to the shores of the Black Sea. When the Romans took over the control of the Straits, there was little concern over control for strategic purposes since Rome ruled the ancient world, but trade was still carried on through the Straits. When the political center of gravity moved to Constantinople, the more modern phase of Straits history began. Outside nations vied with each other and with the Greeks for trading privileges. The development of Italy and, with it of Europe as whole, is said to have been retarded for centuries by the struggle of jealous Mediterranean states to gain a monopoly of the markets and control of the Straits.

Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, and the Straits became Turkish property. In 1475, with the capture of Azov and the Crimea, the Black Sea itself became a Turkish lake. It was the established policy of the Ottoman Government to exclude all foreign ships from the Black Sea by closing the Straits of the Bosphorus. A series of treaties between the Western Powers and the Ottoman Empire began in 1535 and, by the close of the eighteenth century, through capitulations, nearly all the Christian countries of Europe had gained recognition for the rights of their citizens engaged in business with the Turks. Although

The question of the Straits has shown its twofold aspect, commercial and strategic, from the very beginning. The early crosks collected tolls on passing merchant ships, and one of the important parts of their expension was through the Straits to the the control of the Straits, there was little ecocorn over the control of the Straits, there was little ecocorn over control for strategic jurgoses since home ruled the anotent world, but trade was still certical on through the Ctraits. Then the political center of gravity goved to Constantinople, the more modern these of Straits history began. Outside metions vied with each other and with the Greeks for trading privileges. The development of stally and, with it of Europe as whole, is said to have been retarded for centuries by the structe of jeulous leathermanes states to gain a monopoly of the markets and control of the Straits.

Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1455, and the Straits became Turkish property. In 1475, with the cupture of inov and the Grimes, the Black See itself became a Turkish lake. It was the established policy of the Ottoman Government to exclude all foreign ships from the Black See by closing the Straits of the Posphorus. A series of tranties between the Vestern Powers and the Ottoman Empire began in 1555 and, by the close of the eight tenth century, through capituletions, nearly all the Christian countries of Europe had gained recornition for the rights of their citizens engaged in business with the Turks. Although

none of these treaties granted passage through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea, the merchants of Europe did find their way into the Black Sea, either by chaptering Turkish shipping or merely by evading the restrictions.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Russia began to show an interest in the Black Sea trade. Peter the Great's demand for freedom of navigation on the Black Sea was refused by the Turks. Under Catherine the Great, Russia established her power along the Black Sea coast; the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji of 1774 permitted for the first time free and unimpeded navigation officially for merchant ships of Russia in the Black Sea and the Straits and possibly into the Mediterranean. This treaty opened the modern phase of the Straits question, and was the basis for all further treaties intil the Crimean War. After 1774, the Ottoman Empire and then Turkey were never again permitted to control the Straits without interference from other powers. The power most interested in this control was and still is Russia. From the eighteenth century on, the history of the Straits shows Russia's constant efforts to control them frustrated first by one power and then another. Her aim was to build a Black Sea fleet which should have complete freedom of mavigation through the Straits. In order to gain this, she wished to have effective political domination over Constantinople by direct conquest of the Ottoman Empire, by establishing an exclusive protectorate over the Sultanate, or by peaceful partition of Turkey. During the

none of these treaties granted passage through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea, the werehants of Europe did find their way into the Black Sea, either by chaptering Turkish shipping or merely by evading the restrictions.

At the end of the seventeerth century, Russia bearn to abow an interest in the Plack Sea trade. Peter the Great's dethe Turks. Under Catherine the Great, Russia established her nower along the Flack See coast; the Treaty of Kulchuk-Kaimardii and the Etraits and possibly into the Hediterranean. This breaty opened the modern phase of the Straits overtion, and was the ba-.AVVI resta . re" meaming and flight selfment restaut alls rot sie eff' .arewow radio wort encertraint junifie a latte ell forface . sissuit at Ifite bue and fortuon and the betsevent them rever From the eighbength century on, the history of the Straits shows power and them another. Her aim was to build a Flank Sea fleet raite. In order to gelm this, she wished to have effective polirevo efforte evis faxs na anidal fate y eright nemotic the Sultanate, or by peaceful partition of Turkey, During the

nineteenth century, the duel was chiefly between the Russian
Bear and the British Lion, While the Sultan looked helplessly
on, there were numerous Russo-Turkish wars, and the Straits themselves became the subject of innumerable treaties, conventions,
and protocols, which were torn up as soon as they were signed.

England's attention was first drawn to the strategic importance of the Straits during Napoleon's Egyptian expedition when the Russian fleet emerged at Turkey's request. In 1807, Alexander of Russia tried to work out a partition scheme with Napoleon, but the two leaders were unable to agree on the matter of Constantinople and the Straits. Meanwhile, by the Peace of the Dardanelles of 1809, Britain recognized the principle of closing the Straits to ships of war in peacetime, the "ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire", and in so doing became the guardian of the Straits almost as much as Turkey.

Russia succeeded in strengthening her influence by forcing Turkey, during the chaos of the Greek Wars for Independence, to sign the Treaty of Ackerman in 1826, by which Russia was granted complete freedom "in all the seas and waters of the Ottoman Empire without any exception" for its merchant shipping. A final settlement was made by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, which gave complete freedom to all Russian commercial vessels with the additional and unique proviso that no visit or search was to be

^{1.} James T. Shotwell and Francis Deak, Turkey at the Straits, New York, 1940, p. 26

^{2.} Toid., p.29

nimeteenth century, the duel was chiefly between the Bussian Bear and the Pritish Lion, While the Sultan looked helplessly on, there were numerous Husso-Turkish wars, and the Straits themeselves became the subject of innumerable treaties, contentions, and protocols, which were torn up as coon as they were signed.

England's ettention was lirst drawn to the strategic importance of the Straits during Espoleon's Espptian expedition whom the sussian fleet energed at Turkey's recuest. In 1807, Alexander of Russia tried to work out a partition scheme with Napoleon, but the two leaders were unable to agree on the matter of Constantinople and the Straits. Meanwhile, by the Pesco of the Dardanelles of 1809, Erltain recognized the principle of closing the Straits to ships of war in pescetime, the "encient rule of the Ottomen Empire", and in so doing became the restrict of the Straits almost as much as Turkey.

Rusels succeeded in strengtheoring her influence by forcing furkey, during the chaos of the Greek Mars for Independence, to sign the Greety of Ackerman in 18th, by which Eussia was granted complete freedom "in all the cess and waters of the Ottowan Empire without any exception" for its merchent ahloping. A final settlement was rade by the Greaty of Adrianople in 1859, which save complete freedom to all burstan commercial vessels with the additional and unique provise that no visit or search was to be

^{1.} James T. Shotvell and Francis Deek, Turkey at the Streice,

es.g., blat .s

exercised over these vessels passing through the Straits and any act interfering with this freedom by the Turkish Government would be met by reprisals from the Russian Government. These two Russian triumphs, however, were eclipsed by the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi of 1833, which contained a secret clause stating that the Ottoman Empire was termit its actions in favor of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Straits of the Dardanelles, that is to say, not to permit any foreign ship of war to enter (3) therein under any pretext whatever."

However, this virtual protectorate over Turkey was liquidated by the Treaty of London in 1840, which, theoretically, was drawn up by the four powers Russia, Britain, Prussia, and Austria to protect Turkey and which restated the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire that no ships of war were to be permitted to pass through the Straits. For the first time a rule formerly recognized only through bilateral treaties with the Ottoman Empire became a part of a general treaty; a year later France joined the other powers in signing the Convention of the Straits, which made the principle a part of European international law. The Treaty of Paris in 1856, following the Crimean War in which England and France defeated Russia, reaffirmed the Straits Convention of 1841, but added the clause that each of the powers might send two light warships through the Straits for service at the mouth of the Danube. It also added the new conception that a

^{3.} Ibid., p.32

The new termination of the contract of Covernment. The or the at line transfer out od boardles early quested themselves eat a To animate or the order a benishmen worth, what to translate the Seas . The charge areas the Mandad With a say Think a season to the said district of the contract of the said in the contract of the contract of and the state of t STITE TO LEGISLATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PR - Revinou addition and the safe and a stenning formers become for Equi will admin to the admin to the admin of the admin to the first and a state of the administration of the admini

sea could be called "neutral", a term formerly applied only to land in international law. This treaty was a decisive defeat in Russia's aim to use the Straits for her own protection, because in case of war, the Sultan was permitted to allow non-Black Sea Powers entry through the Straits.

Russia did not intend to follow the Treaty of Paris any longer than necessary; in 1870, she formally circulated a note that she was no longer bound in respect to her sovereign rights in the Black Sea. Her complaint resulted in the Treaty of London in 1871, signed by Great Britain, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, which left the Straits closed but enlarged the Sultan's power to open them in peacetime to friendly powers and allowed the Russians a fleet in the Black Sea.

The Russians, still not satisfied, were again at war with Turkey by 1877. However, they were again blocked in their effort to open the Straits for their warships by the preliminary treaty of San Stefano between Turkey and Russia and by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 for the settlement of the affairs of the East signed by the Western Powers. The latter reaffirmed the status quo ante as determined by the treaties of 1856 and 1871.

Russia ostensibly accepted her diplomatic defeat, but did not forget. In 1881, she made a secret agreement with Austria-Hungary and Germany that the three powers would "take care in common that Turkey (should) make no exception to this rule (closure of the Straits) in the favor of the interests of any govern-

ST

sex could be called "neutral", a term formerly amplied only to land in international law. This treaty was a decisive defeat it massis's sim to use the Strits for her orn protection, because in case of war, the bultan was permitted to allow non-falack Sea Fowers entry through the Straits.

Russia, and the Sultan's votes the Treaty of Laris any longer than necessary; in 1870, one formally circulated a note that she was no longer bound in renpect to her sovereign rights in the Flack Sea. Her occapiaint resulted in the Treaty of London in 1871, signed by Great Britain, Austria, France, Jermany, Italy, Sussia, and the Ottoman Eugire, which left the Straits closed but enlarged the Sultan's power to open them in peacetime to first only powers and allowed the Sussians a fleet in the black Sea.

The mussians, still not satisfied, were again at wer with Iurkey by 1877. However, they were again blocked in their creaty to open the Struits for their werships by the preliminary treaty of San Stefano between Turkey and Bussis and by the Iresty of Berlin of 1878 for the resilement of the effects of the Stefan Sast signed by the estern Powers. The latter resilinged the etakus ago sate as determined by the the treather the latter resilinged the etakus

Austin of the Strains (chould) make no exception to this rule (closs common that Turkey (chould) make no exception to this rule (closs common that Turkey (chould) make no exception to this rule (closs cure of the Strains) in the favor of the interests of any covern-

ment whatsoever by lending to the warlike operations of a belligerent power" the Straits, and that if Turkey did so, she would be informed she was "putting herself in a state of war towards (4) the injured party." After 1890, however, German influence in Turkey began to increase, and there was, therefore, a trend toward anti-Russian feelings in the German Government.

After her war with Japan, Russia decided she needed an ally to support her claims for opening the Straits, and, therefore, settled her difficulties with Great Britain, making possible the Triple Entente of England, Russia, and France of 1907. Russia did not hesitate to reopen the question of the Straits to her new ally. Sir Edward Grey finally stated that "England must no longer make it a settled object of her policy to maintain the existing arrangement with regard to the passage of the Darda-(5) nelles." Russia was encouraged by this statement; she felt that it marked "a great evolution in the relations of the two (6) countries." Great Britain seemed willing in principle to discuss a change, but she made no attempt to obtain the permission of the other powers.

In 1908, Russia used the tension that existed between Austria-Hungary and Russia over the Sandjak Railway plan to bring about a meeting between the two powers in Buchlau. There she

^{4. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 67

^{5.} Ibid., p. 75

^{6.} Loc. cit., p.

ment whotsoever by lending to the warlike operations of a belligerent power" the Streits, and that if Turkey did so, she would
be informed she was "butting herself in a state of war towards
the injured party."

After 1890, however, German influence
in Turkey began to increase, and there was, therefore, a trend
toward anti-Kussian feelings in the German Government.

After her war with Japan. Russia decided she needed an ally to support her daims for opening the Straits, and, therefore, settled her difficulties with Great Britain, making cossible the Triple Entents of England, Russia, and France of 1907. Hussia did not hestiate to reopen the question of the Straite to her new ally. Wir laward Grey Tinally stated that "Rusland must no longer waits it a metiled object of her policy to maintain mine longer waits it a metiled object of her policy to maintain mine existing arrangement with regard to the passage of the Carden calles." Russia was succurated by this statement; the Carden countries." Great Britain seemed willing an orinciple to discountries." Great Britain seemed willing an orinciple to discuss a charge, but she cade no attempt to obtain the permission of the other powers.

In 1908, Russia used the tension that evisted between ustria-Huncory and Aussia over the Sandjek Realway plan to bring about a meeting bowless the awa parers in Inchieu. There she

^{4.} Ibid. p. 67

av .c .bid .c .

C. Loc. oft.

agreed to acquiesce in Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on condition that Austria support Russia in her efforts the have the Straits opened. However, Austria-Hungary annexed the two provinces much sooner than Russia had expected and before she was ready to present her Straits demand to the other powers. When Russia then hurried to bring up the issue, she was met by a negative attitude on the part of the British Russia's frustration caused a definite coldness in her relations with Austria-Hungary and has been cited as one of the factors leading to World War I. Russia's active Foreign Minister, Izvolski, did not give up, however, for he made secret treaties with both Italy and Bulgaria to guarantee a benevolent attitude on their part toward his request. The war over Tripoli in September of 1911 appeared to be a good opportunity for presenting Russian wishes, because she had agreed two years earlier to acquiesce in Italian claims to Tripoli. However, at that time, Turkey was reluctant to change what she felt was a satisfactory Straits regime; France was traditionally friendly to Turkey and was not anxious to increase Russia's power; Germany had abandoned her sympathetic attitude toward Russia: Great Britain was still unwilling to take the iniative.

During the Balkan Wars, Great Britain proposed informally the internationalization and neutralization of Constantinople, but the suggestion was unfavorably received by both Russia and France. At the peace negotiations, although not mentioned spe-

sereed to acquiesce in Austria-Hungary's ameration of Posnia efforts the have the Straits opened. However, Austria-Hungary other powers. Then knest than harried to bring up the laste, she was new by a negative similarde ou the purt of the British, leading to world for I. Russia a subject foreign dinister, Isvolski, did not give ug, however, for he nede secret trenties with -marge at ilouit tovo yew off . deauger ain braves free rieds of retires error out because one had earned two wears earlier to agoriteene in Itelian claims to dripoll, However, at thet time. and was not unrious to increase kussis's power; Cermany had wes still untilling to take the inlative.

Ouring the Baltan Ters, dress Brissin proposed informally the international description and neutralization of donatantinople, but the suggestion was unfavorably received by both Mussia and Jurance. It the peace negotiations, although not mentioned age-

cifically, mundoubtedly influenced the Russian attitude. She not wanted to be certain that Turkey itself was intact, but also insisted that the strategic islands near the Dardanekles be kept under Turkish sovereignty and consented, finally, to their annexation by Greece only on condition of their being neutralized.

At the beginning of the World War, interest in the Straits was still as intense as it had ever been. Rumania had no door upon any other sea; Serbia and Hungary both had access to the Black Sea through the Danube River. Even Bulgaris, given the two mediocre ports of Dedeagatch and Port Lagos on the Aegean by the Balkans Wars (she did not retain these ports after 1918), was still interested in being able to use the Straits.

The World War made the Black Sea powers even more anxious to control their waterway. Throughout most of the war, Turkey was fighting against the Allies, and the Straits were closed to all warships, including those of the Black Sea powers. However, in August, 1914, two German warships passed through the Dardanelles, thus violating the treaties of 1856 and 1871, and anchored in Constantinople, where they stayed more than twenty-four hours without being requested to leave or being interned as international law demands. When the Allies protested, Turkey purchased these vessels for their own fleet in what was obviously a fictitious transaction. Rebaptized and recommissioned, they remained under German control and kept watch over the Straits. In September, 1914, a Turkish warship was stopped outside the

officelly, undoubtedly influenced the Fusaiss stitute. The not wented to be certain that further lurkey itself was intact, but also is instructed to be certained that the strategic releads near the implantion be kept under Turkish sovereignty and sonsented, finally, to their ameration by Greece only on condition of their being neutralized.

At the beginning of the World Mar, luterest in the Straits was still as intense as it had ever been. Immenia had no loor upon any other ses; Serbin and numberly both hed access to the Black des through the Danube River. Even Hulgarin, eiven the two medicare ports of Dedesgatch and Fort Legas on the Lopean by the Halkens Hers (she did not retain those ports efter 1918), was still interested in being able to use the Straits.

The World 'er rede the Black Sea powers even more envious to control their waterway. Throughout wort of the war, Turkey was righting against the Allies, and the Straits were closed to all wishing against the Allies, and the Straits were closed to all wiships, including those of the Black Sea powers. Nowever, dh August, 1914, two German warships passed through the Dardsnelles, thus violeting the treaties of 1836 and 1871, and anchored in Constructuople, where they ateved more than treaty-four hours without being resuested to leave or being interned as internetional law demands. Then the Allies protested, Turkey purchased these vessels for their own fleet in what was obviously a finitious transaction. Reduction and maps watch over the Straits.

Dardanelles and forced to turn back; the next day Turkey closed the Straits completely, thus cutting a vital line of communication between the Western Allies and Russia. After a skirmish with the Turkish fleet, Russia declared war on November 4th. This breaking of communication through the Straits between the Allies is believed to have prolonged the war for a year or more.

Early in 1915, Russia suggested a campaign against the Dardanelles from the Aegean side to fistract the Turks, but the British developed the plan to include actual occupation of the Straits and reestablishment of communications between the Allies. Suspicious of ultimate British aims, Russia presented England and France with a memorandum requesting their consent to her outright annexation of Constantinople, the European coast of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora with its islands, and the Dardanelles together with the islands of Imbros and Tenedros, southern Thrace up to the Enos-Midia line and a small strip of the Agiatic shores along the Ismid peninsula. Great Britain and France agreed to this request reluctantly and on condition that Russia in turn would consent to the satisfaction of British, French, and Italian claims and the recognition of their spheres of interest in the Near East.

The campaign was a colossal failure; British and French warships were unable to force the narrow Dardanelles. Six weeks later Allied landing parties on the shores of Gallipoli were slaughtered; 36,000 British troops were buried there. The

Derdamelles and forced to turn hack; the next day lurkey olesed the Straits completely, thus outting a vital line of communication between the "estern Allies and Russia. After a simulah with the Furkish fleet, Russia declared war on November 4th. This breaking of communication through the Straits between the Allies is believed to have prolonged the war for a year or more.

Mariy in 1915, Russis surgested a datage on appint the bardenelles from the Aegesh side to distract the Trais, but the pritish developed the plan to include satual occupation of the Straits and resetablishment of communications between the Allies. Suspicious of ultimate Brittish aims, Russis presented England and Frence with a memorandum requesting their consent to her outright anuexation of Constantinople, the European coast of the Hosphorus, the Sea of Margore with its islands, and the Dardanelles together with the islands of Indron and Temedros, soundles together with the Islands of Indron and Temedros, sounded there along the Inne-Widis line and a small strip of the Frence agreed to this request reluctantly and on condition that Russia in turn would consent to the satisfaction of British, Frence, and Italian claims and the recognition of their spheres of interest in the Rear Seat.

The campaign was a colossal failure; Eritich and French wardwips were unable to force the narrow Derdenelles. Eir weeks later Allied landing parties on the aboves of Gallipoli were slaughtered; 36,000 Fritish troops were buried there. The

failure to break Turkish resistance prevented an early end to the war; not long after this Russia withdrew from the conflict.

The outcome of the secret understanding among the Allies concerning the Straits was complete embarrassment for them.

The new Bolshevik Government of Russia renounced any claims to the Straits; moreover, it published and denounced the treaties it had made with the Allies, and declared that Constantinople and the Straits ought to remain under Turkish sovereignty. This gesture began a friendship between Turkey and Russia which was much strengthened in the years that followed.

Thus, at the end of the World War, the most interested Black Sea power was much too busy with her internal affairs to worry about the Straits, while Turkey, under whose sovereignty the Straits remained, was much weakened by the war. The Western powers had an opportunity to do exactly as they wished with the Straits.

failure to breek Turkish resistance prevented an early end to the war; not long after this Russla withdrew from the conflict.

The outcome of the Secret understanding among the Allies

concerning the Straits was complete e herrassment for them.
The new Holehevik Government of Museis renounced any claims to
the Straits; moreover, it published and denounced the treaties
it had made with the Allies, and declared that Constantinople
and the Straits ought to remain under Turkich sovereignty. This
gesture began a triandship between Turkich sovereignty. This

Thus, at the end of the World War, the most interested Black Sea power was much too busy with her internal affairs to worry about the Straits, while Turkey, under woose sovereignty the Straits remained, was which weakened by the war. The Western powers had an opportunity to do exactly as they wished with the Straits.

my forming the surrander of all Turkish military and naval force . THE TREATY OF SEVRES AND THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE

CHAPTER II

THE SOLE TO PRESENT HE THE TO YEART OF

The first step in the settlement of the Straits problem after the World War was peace with Turkey, and, on October 30, 1918, the Armistice of Mudros was signed, opening the Straits by forcing the surrender of all Turkish military and naval forces. An Allied force of occupation, made up chiefly of British troops, was sent to strategic points controlling the Straits until a definite settlement could be made.

In January, 1918, President Wilson had declared in Point
Twelve of his Fourteen Points that "the Dardanelles should be
permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce
(1)
of all nations under international guarantees." The first plan
suggested for applying this principle would have given the United
States a mandate over Constantinople and the Straits, but President Wilson refused to accept the mandate. Annexation by any
one of the European Allies was out of the question because of
jealousies among them; Turkey would have to maintain nominal
sovereignty.

The result of Allied efforts at practical application of Wilson's Twelfth Point was the Treaty of Sevres, August, 1920, which left Constantinople in Turkish control, subject to modification of its status by the Allies if Turkey did not live up to the provisions of the treaty. These provisions were as follows: (1) The Straits were to be open both in peace and war to merchant vessels, and the aircraft of all nations; (2) no act of

^{1.} James T. Shotwell and Francis Deak. Turkey at the Straits, New York, 1940, p.105

The first step in the settlement of the Straits problem after the World War was peace with Turkey, and, on October 30, 1918, the Armistice of Mudros was signed, opening the Straits by foreing the surrender of all Turkish military and navel forces. An Allied force of occupation, made up chiefly of British troops, was sent to strategic points controlling the Straits until a definite settlement could be made.

In January, 1818, Freedent Wilson had declared in Foint Twelve of his Fourteen Points that "the Pardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all astions under international guarantees." The first plan suggested for applying this principle would have given the United States a mandate over Constantinople and the Streits, but Freeldent Tileon refused to accept the mandate. Armexation by any one of the European Allies was out of the guaranteen results and the restant constants of the surples and the restant remains of the surples and the restant remains of severetenty.

The result of Allied efforts at practical application of Valson's Twentth Point was the Treaty of Savies, August, 1920. Which left denstantinople in Turkish control, subject to sedification of its status by the Allies if Turkey sid not live un to the provisions of the treaty. These provisions were as follows: (1) The Straits were to be open both in pasce and sar to serobent vessels, and the sirensftoff all metions: (2) no set of

^{1.} James 1. Show all and Junets Deak. Tinter at the Streits.

hostility (unless under a decision of the League of Nations) could be committed in the Straits nor could the area be blockaded; (3) a Commission was to be set up composed of the Allied and Associated Powers plus Greece and Rumania, and, in addition, The U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, and Turkey, as soon as they were admitted to the League. The Commission was to have broad powers and was to be independent of the local authorities; at any time it could call for the assistance of the Allied troops maintained in the region in assuring freedom of passage.

Thus <u>de facto</u> control of the area by the Turks wouldo be nullified directly by the creation of the Allied Commission and also indirectly by the Greek control of the European shores of the Dardanelles. Demilitarization of the Straits zone was provided so as to remove Turkish military influence, but since Constantinople had to made safe from hostile attack, and a general international guarantee would be too slow and ineffective in an emergency, joint Allied occupation was provided for.

The Treaty of Sevres was never ratified by Turkey; in consideration of the balance of power in the Mediterranean, the treaty was a satisfactory solution. However, the balance of power was completely altered within the next two years. The Soviet Union emerged as a united nation ready to repair whatever damage had been done to her international prestige, ready to renew her efforts to control the Straits. On the other hand, Turkey was rapidly becoming a modern nation, first, under the leadership of the Young Turks, and, later, Kemal Ataturk; she was strong

nestility (unless under a decision of the league of Mations)
could be committed in the atraits nor could the area be blockeded;
(3) a Commission was to be set up couposed of the allied and
Associated Fowers plus Greece and Rumania, and, in addition,
The U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, and Turkey, as soon as they were admitted
to the League. The Commission was to have broad powers and was
to be independent of the local suthorities; at any time it could
call for the assistance of the allied troops maintained in the
region in assuring freedom of passage.

Thus de l'acto control of the area by the Turks woulds be nullified directly by the creation of the allied Commission and also indirectly by the Greek control of the Inroyean shores of the Dardwelles. Demilitarization of the Iterita zone was provided so as to remove Turkish military influence, but since Constantinople had to made safe from hostile attack, and a general international guarantee would be too slow and instructive in an emergency, joint allied occupation was provided for.

The Tracky of Sevres was never in the Mediterranean, the treaty was a satisficatory solution. However, the belance of power was a satisficatory solution. However, the belance of power was completely altered within the next two years. The Soviet union energed as a united sation ready to repair whetever desegned bed been done to her international prestine, ready to renew her efforts to control the Straits. On the other hand, Turkey was afforts to control the Straits. On the other hand, Turkey was rayidly becoming a modern metion, first, under the Leadership of the Tours Turks, and, 1 test, demai ataturk; she was strong of the Tours Turks, and, 1 test, demai ataturk; she was strong

enough to object effectively to the humiliating Treaty of Sevres.

In 1919, Greek troops landed in Smyrna with the permission of Great Britain and France (granted partly to forestall Italy in the Near East). The Greco-Turkish war thus begun caused a strong nationalist movement in Turkey. When France and Italy realized that Turkey was not only defeating the Greeks but was strong enough even to challenge the Allies, they made separate agreements with the new Turkish Government. Great Britain alone clung stubbornly to her support of Greece; she rushed troops to reinforce the defenses of Constantinople and to prevent the Turks from regaining control over the Straits. Her appeals to France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece, who had been forced out of the area by that time, and even to her own Dominions in vain. Conversely, France and Italy became so annoyed as to recall their troops stationed nearby, leaving Britain to hold off the Turks alone. Italy felt Greek ambitions might be a threat to her own designs in Anatolia and was suspicious of too much British interest in the Greeks. On the other hand, France had become bitter after realizing that a three-power guarantee of the Straits meant that Britain, as the largest naval power, would have control. An Armistice was signed on October 11, 1922, by which Turkey agreed not to move against the neutral zone of Chanak and the Straits.

During the war, the Soviet Union laid the foundations for friendship with Turkey. In March, 1921, she signed a Treaty of Alliance, recognizing the integrity of Turkey as defined by the

enough to object effectively to the huniliating Treaty of Sevres.

a beenen moned suit tow dailfurl-coord off . (fara real off the wist bur somer and worker it interested and the another spreaments with the new Turkish 'overnment, Great Britain alone grow regaining control over the Straits. Her appeals to France. To Juo beprot meed bad one , spessed , singly , sivelegary , vist the eren by that bime, and even to her own Dominions in vain. of feerid a en faith enoid ins meand dier vielt . onois signi interest in the Greeks, un the other hand, Wrance had hecome fords an invisting was singed on Detober 11, 1912, by which and fine Straits.

During the var, the doviet Union leid the foundations for friendship with Furkey. In Merch, 1921, one signed a Fresty of Alliance, reaccalaing the integrity of Indoor se defined by the

the Angora National Pact, April, 1920, and voluntarily denouncing the Trans-Caucasian territories she had acquired earlier. Moreover, the Soviet Union gave arms and money to help Turkey in the war against the Greeks. In addition, Allied intervention in Russia made the new Soviet government equally hostile to the Allies, drawing the two countries together naturally. The main source of contention between them, the question of Armenia, was solved by a compromise agreement.

It was obvious that the Treaty of Sevres was not satisfactory for the new conditions; on November 20, 1922, a conference to draw up a final settlement was opened at Lausanne with representatives from Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia, the United States, Turkey, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Belgium, and Portugal. The chief antagonists were Great Britain and the Soviet Union; their historic rales had been reversed for the Soviet Union wanted the Straits closed while Great Britain wanted them open. The Soviet Union had discovered that the free passage of Allied transports into the Black Sea allowed unwelcome interference in her internal affairs. Moreover, her fleet was disorganized and small: It was safer simply to close the Straits. Great Britain, on the other hand, saw that it would be most convenient if she or her allies could send ships into the Black Sea in case of trouble; formerly, Great Britain, on the other hand, had been opposed to opening them for egress only. Now she was anxious to have them opened for

the Argora National Pact, April, 1920, and voluntarily denouncing the Trans-Caucasian territories and had soquired earlier. Noted over, the Soviet Union gave arms and momen to help furkey in the war against the Greeks. In addition, Allied intervention on Aussia made the new Soviet government equally hostile to the Allies, drawing the two countries together naturally. The main source of contention between them, the question of Armenia, was source of contention between them, the question of Armenia, was solved by a compromise agreement.

representatives from Great British, France, Italy, Japan, Greace, Rumania, Yuroslavia, the United States, Turkey, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Belgium, and Portugal. The chief sutagonists sed while Great Britain wanted them open. The Soviet Union had Black sea allowed unvelcome interference in her interest erraire. Telen day of : Ifama bus hestuspined he aw feelt red . Tovostoll simply to close the Straits. Great Britain, on the other band, send snips into the Black Ses in case of trouble; formerly, Great ritain, on the other hand, had been opposed to opening them for enress only. Now she was surfous to have them opened for ingress, even if the Soviet Union should demand special privileges.

A special Straits Convention was attached to the Lausanne Treaty under Article 23, based on a draft drawn up by Lord Curzon. the British Foreign Minister, and the Turkish delegate. It represented a compromise between the two antagonists. In time of peace, there was to be "complete freedom of navigation and passage by day and by night under any flag and with any kind of cargo" for "merchant vessels, including hospital ships, yachts and fishing vessels, and non-military aircraft." If Turkey was neutral during the war, there was also to be freedom of passage: "the duties and rights of Turkey as a neutral power cannot authorize her to take any measures liable to interfere with navigation through the Straits." If Turkey was a belligerent, she was to have "full power to take such measures as she (might) consider necessary to prevent enemy vessels from using the Straits.' These measures were "not to be of such a nature as to prevent the free passage of neutral vessels" provided they were not assisting the enemy "by carrying contraband, troops, or enemy nationals." This principle had been fairly well established in the previous century.

(4)

^{2.} Treaty Series No. 16, London, 1923, p.113

^{3.} Ibid., p.114

^{4.} Ibid., p.115

^{5.} Loc. cit.

ingress, oven if the Soviet Union should densind special privi-

son, the British Poreign Minister, and the Turkish delegate. It represented a compromise between the two antegorists. In time and fishing vessels, and non-milliery alreraft." was neutral during the war, there was also to be treedom of pas--man yawon fertuen a as yoursel' to sin it bus saitub edi" : sass (3) navigation through the Straits." If Turkey was a belifferent. consider necessary to prevent enemy vesnels from ucina the Straits." stating the enemy "by carrying contraband, troops, on onemy nathe previous century.

^{2.} Treaty Series No. 16, London, 1988, p.113

alleg . blot. 8

^{4.} Ibid., p.115

^{5.} Log. . ogl .

Freedom of passage for warships was a more difficult matter; the British view was accepted with modifications in order to mollify the Russians. In peacetime, warships were to be permitted freedom of passage without distinction of flag, but "the maximum force which any one power..(might)..send through the Straits into the Black Sea..(was)..not to be greater than that of the most powerful fleet of the littoral powers of the Black Sea.existing in that sea at the time of passage; but with provision that the powers reserve to themselves the right to send into the Black Sea, at all times and under all circumstances, a force of not more than three ships, of which no individual ship shall exceed 10,000 tons."

Warships of both neutral and belligerent countries were to have freedom of passage during a war if Turkey was neutral, but belligerent warships might not commit hostilities, or exercise the right of visit, search, and capture in the Straits, although these limitations did not apply to the detriment of belligerent rights in the Black Sea. If Turkey was belligerent, neutral vessels only were to have the right of freedom of passage, and measures taken by Turkey to prevent the passage of exenemy forces were not to prejudice neutral rights.

The Straits Convention also provided for demilitarization of both the European and Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. However, Turkey was allowed to maintain a garrison

^{6.} Loc. cit.

Treedom of passage for warships was a more difficult matter: the Emitish view was accepted with modifications in order
to mollify the Kussiams. In peacetime, warships were to be
permitted freedom of passage without distinction of flag, but
the maximum force which any one power. (right). send through
the Straits into the Flack Sea. (was). not to be greater than
that of the most powerful fleet of the littoral powers of the
Hlack Sea. cristing in that sea at the littoral powers of the
with provision that the powers reserve to themselves the right
to send into the Black Sea, at all times and under all oircunstances, a force of not more than three ships, of which no
thirdividual ship shall exceed 10,000 tons."

Warehips of both neutral and belligerent countries were to have freedom of passage during a war if Turkey was neutral, but belligerent warships might not commit hostilities, or exercise the right of virit, search, and capture in the atruits, although these limitations did not apply to the detriment of belligerent mights in the Black Sea. If Turkey was belligerent, neutral vessels only were to have the right of freedom of our cape, and measures taken by Turkey or prevent the passage of enemy forces were not to prejudice neutral rights.

The Strett of Convention also provided for demilitarization of both the horogonesed Asiable whores of the Desphorus and the Derdanelles, nowever, Thirtey was allowed to maintain a garrison

^{8.} Dac. offs.

not exceeding 12,000 men, an arsenal, and a naval base in Constantinople, and, in addition, Turkey had the right to transport her armed forces through the demilitarized zones. The islands in the Sea of Marmora and the Greek and Turkish islands in the Aegean Sea (Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros, Tenedos, and the Rabbit Islands) were also demilitarized. Turkey and Greece could remilitarize these zones provided they motified the signatories and restored the status quo at the end of the war.

The regime of the Straits was to be supervised and controlled by the International Straits Commission, comprised of one representative of each signatory power (the United States would also be entitled to a seat upon agreement to the Convention). The Commission was under permanent presidency of Turkey and was required to send an annual report to the League of Nations. In order to offset the "unjustifiable danger" which the demilitarization of areas concerned might make to the safety of Turkey. as well as to the freedom of the Straits, the signatory powers agreed that "should the freedom of navigation of the Straits or the security of the demilitarized zones be imperiled by a violation of the provision relating to freedom of passage or by a surprise attack or some act of war or threat of war," they, "acting in conjunction, will meet such violation, attack or other act of war or threat of war, by all means that the Council of the League of Nations may decide for this purpose."

^{7.} Ibid., p.121

not exceeding 10,000 man, an'araenal, and a naval base in Conatentinople, and, in addition, Tarkey had the right to transport her armed forces through the demilitarised zones. The islands in the see of Marmora and the Greek and Turkish islands
in the segmen Sea (Sanothrace, Demnos, introc, Turkey and the
Rabbit Islands) were also demilitarized. Turkey and traces could
remilitarize these zones provided they nothined the signstories
and restored the status and at the and of the signstories

led by the international Straits Commission, commissed of one realso be entitled to a seat unon spreement to the Convention). required to send an annual report to the Leasure of Lations. In . various to whotes out of exam inche betreenen seems to notier es well as to the freedom of the Stratta, the stematory powers surerise street or some set of ver to terment of wer," they, "seting in conjunction, will meet such violation, attack or other the Langue of Hatlane new decide for title purpose."

ISI. o . bidi . v

Turkey was better satisfied with this treaty than with the Treaty of Sevres. The security of Constantinople was much better safeguarded, and her demands for prestige were adequately satisfied by her presidency of the Commission in contrast to the Treaty of Sevres provision that the Commission was to be completely independent of the local authorities.

The Soviet Union was the only power dissatisfied with the compromise; the Soviet delegate was alone in maintaining that the Straits should be closed to warships both in peace and war. Turkey, although a close friend of the U.S.S.R., did not support her view. She may still have been a little afraid of giving the Russians too much power and, at the same time, have felt that she was strong enough not to have to seek out Russian favor. The Soviet delegate, Monsieur Chicherin, signed under protest, and later, the Soviet Government refused to ratify the treaty.

The lack of Turkish support of Russian wishes did not, however, destroy Soviet-Turkish friendship. The Soviet Union, feeling herself to be in a weak position, decided there was less chance of Turkish exploitation of it if the friendship continued. Turkey, on her part, wanted a friendly Soviet to support her in any changes in the Straits regime later on. A treaty of neutrality and non-aggression, to be renewable every ten years, was signed by the two countries in December, 1925, in which each agreed to maintain her neutrality if the other was attacked by a third power and not to make any political or military alliance directed against the other signatory.

development of continuent mentioned to reflect out often and the sylve on writing and The state of the s The man water or all but by degree of he into the following the course of the course o troumer don Fig. . The Apeleda to be the Albana Albana American in the grant and mining of planter and the man are the contract of the for ten autoria de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya de The transfer of the state of th introduce and other of last their and compared their and inches windows for of dad the sand the for aminor matter of and all according to . Wind its in soil of side from the death of

This regime of the Straits worked satisfactorily for several years. The annual reports made no mention of any difficulties of importance; freedom of navigation was proving beneficial to growing international trade. Even the demilitarization clauses did not worry Turkey since a general disarmament was expected. Two incidents, however, indicated the Soviet attitude clearly to alert observers. In February, 1924, at the Rome Naval Conference, Admiral Berens, representing the Soviet Union, claimed a maximum of 400,000 tons total tonnage for Soviet capital ships in opposition to the British suggestion of 110,000 tons unless the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea were closed to the fleets of non-littoral powers. This indirect complaint about the Straits regime had no effect other than to contribute to the general failure of the Naval Conference.

In January, 1930, two Russian warships passed the Straits supposedly unobserved by the Turkish officials, but obviously with their connivance. This demonstrated how difficult it would be to prevent Soviet violation of the convention if the Turco-Soviet friendship became too close, especially since the Straits Commission was pronounced powerless in such a case by the British government.

This regime of the Geralts worker estimisation of any difficyel years. The annual reports wade, no mention of any difficulties of importance; fraudom of asvigation was proving beneducted to proving interactional trade. Even the demilitarization
stances did not worry further sings a general disermanent and
otherted. Two incidents, however, indicated the Soviet attitude
objected. Two incidents, however, indicated the Soviet attitude
alexally to alert observers. In February, 19 4, at the Rome Natal Conference, tawiral Herons, representing the fortest Union,
olsings in exposition to the British augmention of 110,000 tons
unless the Black Ser and the British augmention of 110,000 tons
of non-litroral powers. This indirect complaint about the Strafes
of non-litroral powers. This indirect complaint about the Strafes
recime has no effect other than to contribute to the general

In Jamesry, 1938, two Russian variables acceed the Straits automosaly automosally unobserved by the Trovish officials, but obviously the months that demonstrated how difficult it would not their concivence. This demonstrated how difficult it would be to prevent Soviet Violation of the convention if the Throng-coviet Intendent he because too close, sepachally since the Straits downlession was pronounced to critical access to the His.

CHAPTER III TURKISH REQUESTS FOR REVISION OF THE STRAITS CONVENTION IN HEPLES

TURELLAR REQUESTE FOR DEVISION OF MET STELLING CONVENTION

World conditions ten years after the signing of the Straits Convention were not so rosy as the treaty makers had hoped they would be. There had been a series of treaty repudiations and undeclared wars. The Disarmament and World Economic Conferences had failed; rearmament was widespread. Germany, Japan, Italy, and other states were in the grip of the increasingly dynamic foreign policies of their authoritarian governments. The League had proved incapable of coping with major difficulties such as the Italo-Ethiopian affair and the Manchurian conflict. Even though sanctions could be passed, collective guarantees were slow in offering protection, slow in functioning, and ineffective in any case. Small powers, among them Turkey, no longer felt secure against aggression.

It is not surprising that Turkey now viewed as obsolete the Straits Convention of the Lausanne Treaty, which compensated for the demilitarization clauses with a collective guarantee. In addition to the inefficiency to be expected in the operation of any such guarantee, one of the four powers in this specific guarantee, Italy, was in conflict with the remaining two, Great Britain and France. The fourth, Japan, had already withdrawn from the League. Moreover, there was no clause in the Straits Convention which permitted Turkey to take measures before war broke out, and measures taken afterwards, as Ethiopis's case showed, would be too late.

Turkey, although obviously still a small power, had en-

Convention were not so rocy as the treaty makers had hoped they would be. There had been a series of treaty repudiations and would be. There had been a series of treaty repudiations and undeclared wars. The Disargment and World Boundaic Conferences had Tailed; reursument was pidespread. Germany, Japan, Italy, and other states were in the grip of the increasingly dynamic foreign policies of their authoritarian fovernments. The Beague had proved incapable of coping with major difficulties such as the Italo-Ethiopian affair and the Manchurian conflict. Even the though sanctions could be passed, collective marantees were slow in offering protection, slow in functioning, and ineffective slow in offering protection, slow in functioning, and ineffective search against aggression, should be grant them Turkey, no longer felt in any case, Eacil powers, among them Turkey, no longer felt

It is not surpristed that Turkey now viewed as obsolete
the Streits Convention of the Lemanne Treaty, which compensated
for the demilitarization clauses with a collective maranue. In
shortion to the institutionary to be expected in the operation of
any such quarentee, one of the four powers in this specific rusrantee, Italy, was in conflict with the remaining two, Creet
Entain and rance. The fourth, apon, had already withdrawn
from the Langue. Moreover, there was no clause in the Streits
convention raish permitted Turkey to raise research before war
broke out, and assences taken afterwards, as Striopis's one
broke out, and assences taken afterwards, as Striopis's one

Turkey, although obviously atill a small power, bud en-

hanced her prestige enormously since 1920. She was becoming modern in every way -- in customs, in education, in government, in a military sense. She had signed treaties of friendship with all the Western powers; she had been admitted to the League in 1932, and, in 1934, she was on the Council of the League. It was Turkey who had been largely instrumental in forming the Balkan Entente, and, at the same time, she had maintained her friendship with her Asiatic neighbors and with the Soviet Union. With her new importance as a full-fledged member of the family of nations she resented even more the fact that she did not have absolute sovereignty over the Straits zone, part of her own territory. One author suggested that the prestige motive was the mainone, that it is "tempting to suppose that Turkey's complaints concerning the immediate menace to her security were deliberately somewhat exaggerated, and that she merely seized a long-awaited opportunity to take a step which, though based in part on considerations of long-time security, was very largely inspired by considerations of national prestige." At any rate, prestige, coupled with her justified concern over the dangers of a demilitarized zone at the Straits, a concern which she could at least diminish by fortifying the area to the best of her ability, led Turkey to seek revision of the Straits Convention.

As early as March, 1933, the Turkish representative mentioned the possible revision of the Straits regime to Sir John

^{1.} D.A.Routh, "The Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Black Sea Straits", Survey of International Affairs, London, 1937, p. 605

hanced ner prestine enormously since 1920. She may becoming modern in every way -- in cuetous, in education, in coveragent, In a military sense. She had signed trackies of friendship with 1958, and, in 1934, she was on the Council of the League. It was furkey who ned been largely inclumental in foreign the bal-Men Motente, and, et the same time, she had weinteined her friendship with her asiatic neighbors and with the Soriet Union. "ith -an to vitual and to reduce beabelt-flut a be sometrousi wer rad soluta sovered and the Stratts some, part of her own terratory. Une author suckested that the greatine motive was the mulhoone, that It is "tempting to suppose that Turkey's complet his opportunity to take a step which, though hased in part on oursiderations of leng-time security, was very largely insufred by considerations of national prestime." At any rate, prestice, limiter to seek revision of the streits Convention.

As early as march, 1955, the Maskish representative men-

^{1.} D.A. Routh, "The Montreux Convention Regarding the Menimo of the Black Sea Straits", Snovey of Intermetional affects, Condon, 1937,

Simon unofficially. At the meeting of the General Commission of the Conference in May of the same year, Monsieur Aras, the Turkish representative at Geneva, brought up the matter during a discussion of the British draft proposals for the limitation of heavy artillery. M. Aras pointed out that the limitations proposed would increase the insecurity of the Straits in case of attack by naval forces, and suggested that, rather than make a special exception in favor of Turkey, the members permit her to remilitarize the area. He said, too, that this would be more in line with the equalitarian treatment suggested for ex-enemy powers in the same British draft, intended to replace certain military provisions of the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly. M. Aras also proposed that a committee of the Conference, made up of the representatives of the riverain powers of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and the representatives of Japan and the United States consider the matter. This proposal for revision was received with interest by the British representative and several other members of the General Commission, but no action was taken. The French delegate, M. Paul Boncour, however, viewed it with suspicion, remarking that proposals for treaty revisions were out of place at a disarmament conference. The matter was postponed.

Turkey again brought up the question during the bilateral Greco-Turkish negotiations in Rome, July, 1933, leading to the Balkan Pact. Turkey suggested a "Euxine Pact" by which permision for the remilitarization of the Straits zone might be ob-

Turing again brought un the question during the bilateral ireco-Turkish menotiations in Some, July, 1935, leading to the Salkan Feot. Turkey suggested a "Eurine Luct" by which permission for the remilitariantics of the Straits come mints be ob-

tained. However, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia ruined this plan by their suspicions of Greece and Turkey, who, they felt, were aiming at hegemony of the Balkans.

In May. 1934, the Turkish Government decided to inaugurate a seven year rearmament plan. She felt that the recent close friendship between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia offered a threat to her Thracian border. Moreover, Mussolini's declaration that "Italy's historic objectives are in Asia and Africa" had alarmed her, and his statement that he regarded Turkey as European power (2) didnnot allay her fears.for Anatolis. M. Aras repeated his request for revision and questioned the efficacy of the guarantee clause of the Lausanne Straits Convention, since the League had been weakened by Japan's leaving and Italy's hostility. He and Sir John Simon had a lively correspondence on the matter with the result that M. Aras withdrew his request, assuring the British Government that "in the present circumstances the Turkish Government" did "not intend to pursue the matter."

However, Turkey was not permanently discouraged, for, in April, 1935, during a discussion of M. Laval's draft resolution concerning sanctions, Aras remarked that Turkey considered the demilitarization clauses to be of a discriminatory nature. He proceeded to threaten that, if there should be any change in the

^{2.} Ibid., p. 601

^{3.} Loc. cit.

In tay, 1974, the Turkish Covernment Scoted to insururate a seven vear recreament plan. She felt that the recent olore friendship between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia offered a threat to her Threetan border, Greever, Greevill's desiration that "It-ly's historic objectives are in asia and Irrica" bud alarmed ber, and his statement that be required Turkey as Burnpash power didenot allow her fears for matelies. M. area repeated his required to the quarantee of the Laurena and quastioned the efficient of the materials of the Laurena Straits Convention, since the Leanus and clause of the Laurena Straits Convention, since the Leanus and the results that he leaves and the results that I. area withdrew his request, assuring the Fritter results that I. area withdrew his request, assuring the Fritter results that I. area withdrew his request, assuring the Fritter results that I. area withdrew his request, assuring the Fritter results that I. area withdrew his request, assuring the Fritter results that I are results that that the matter of the matter."

However, Turing was not permanently discourance, for, in April, 1935, law no discouration of M. Loval's desit resolution concerning expections, Area remarked that Turing considered the decilitarization clauses to be of a discouldingtory noture. Be proceeded to threaten that, if there should be any change in the

F. Didd. . D. 001

[.]sto .oom .d

conditions as fixed by existing treaties, Turkey herself would feel she should, in consideration of her own security and the principle of equality, modify the Straits regime. He was, of course, referring to the military clauses of the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly then on the agenda for the Stresa Conference. This was the bluntest mention of the subject so far and gained the declared support of the Soviet delegate and the promise from the British that the question would be on the agenda at the Rome Conference, to be held in the early part of 1935. However, no such conference was held, and Turkey's chance, if the powers really meant to carry out their promise, was gone for the time being.

The matter was mentioned briefly at the annual meeting of the Balkan Entente at Bucarest and again at the plenary meeting of the League Assembly in Geneva September 14, 1935. Turkey was becoming more amd more obsessed with the idea of remilitarization. During the session in November, when the imposing of sanctions on Italy was being discussed, the deputy Foreign Minister warned that "Turkey will not hesitate to take the necessary steps" to make the Straits secure "in case of unforseen (4) occurrences." There were such widespread rumors of the imminent closing of the Straits that no commercial shipping ventured through them for three days for fear of being stranded. However, Turkey did not close them, and her threat proved ineffective in the face of opposition from the Western powers.

4. Ibid., p.603

conditions as rived by existing treaties, Turkey herself would real she should, in consideration of her was security and the principle of equality, woultry the Straits retime. He was, or ucurse, referring to the miditary eleuses of the freaties of st. Cernsin, Trianon, and Menilly then on the spends for the Stress Conference. This was the bluntest mention of the subject as far and rined the declared support of the Soviet delegate and the profise from the Eristish that the question would be on the agenda at the Rome Conference, to be held in the serly part of 1955. However, no such conference was held, and Turkey's of lesse, if the covers really meant to carry out their promise, was gone for the time being.

The matter was mentioned bristly at the unnual meeting the fullent Entente at Bugarest and again at the planary meeting of the League Assembly in Geneva September 14, 1955. Tunyay was becoming more and were obsessed with the idea of remilitarication. During the session in November, when the important sanctions on Italy was being discussed, the Leguty Foreign windster warned that "Tunkey will not desitate to take the necessary store" to make the Straits sagme "in case of unforecental convermees." There were such videspress runors of the imminent closure of the Straits that no convercial shipping ventured closure of the Straits that no convercial shipping ventured closure of opposition from the Western powers.

A. Ibid., p. 603

March. 1936, Germany reoccupied the Rhineland, and rumors were even more prevalent that Turkey was going to follow her example by seizing the Straits and refortifying them. During the special meeting of the League Council held in London to discuss the situation, the Turkish Foreign Minster raised the problem of the Straits informally with the representatives of the Western powers. It is certain that Turkey was tempted to confront the world with the accomplished fact as Germany had done. On the advice of the British Ambassador, Sir Percy Loraine, she decided to request the League for permission to refortify the Straits.

Turkey determined not to take direct action not so much because of any moral obligation or any genuine respect for international treaties, but because peaceful change was more advantageous to her. Turkey, while much stronger than before, was still a small power, and small states, especially at that time, depended on the large nations for protection. She "could obtain full datisfaction for her claims without undermining further either the Geneva system, to which she was now deeply committed, or the system of international law" she depended on, and, "in addition, she would earn for herself all the moral prestige of being, in contrast with Germany, Austria, and Italy, (5) the 'good boy of Europe.'"

On April 10, 1936, M. Aras announced at a meeting of the Republican People's Party (the Turkish Government Party) that

^{5.} Ibid., p.585

Merch. 1936, Carrany recovered the Bineland, and rumors were even more prevalent that Trikey was going to rollow her example by seiting the Straits and refortifying them. Juring the special meeting of the league Council held in London to discuss the situation, the Turkish Poreign Lineter raised the problem of the Straits informally with the recrementatives of the Vestern powers. It is sertifue that Turkey was tempted to confront the vorld with the necomplished rate as Cerminy and done. On the savice of the British unbassedor, Sir Percy Londone, she decided to request the League for persission to re-

Purity determined not to take direct action not so much because of any moral obligation or any genuine respect for international treation, but because peaceful change was more advantageous to her. Turkey, while much stronger than before, wastageous to her. Turkey, while much stronger than before, one still a small never, and small states, especially at that time, depended on the large mations for protection. She "could obtain full entiat of on for her claims without undermining further althor the Geneva system, to which she was now deeply compited, or the system of moral law" she desended on, and, "in addition, she would seem for herself all the moral presting of being, in contrast with deveny, sustain, and Italy, the 'cood bot of armore, in

On april 10, 1936, . Area amounced at a meeting of the sopulation Feople's Earty (the Furthish Covernment Farty) that

The state of

a formal request for revisionhof the Straits Convention in regard to the remilitarization problem had been decided upon. Identical notes were sent to the representatives of the signatory powers in Angora, to Jugoslavia (who had not signed because of difficulties with Turkey over the Ottoman public debt), and to the Sectetary-General of the League.

The note explained in detail why Turkey felt that a change was necessary and emphasized the good faith in which the request was made to ensure "the security of Turkey and the inviolability of Turkish territory" as well as "the development in a helpful spirit of commercial navigation between the Mediterranean and (6) the Black Sea." It also reminded the powers of her record of loyalty to her international agreements. Turkey requested an early discussion for revision and suggested May 11 as a suitable date. She again warned the signatory powers that if her request was not granted, she might "be led to take upon herself the responsibility" of carrying out the necessary measures. She mentioned recent fortification of the Dodecanese Islands as a direct Italian threat to her own security at its most vulnerable point.

The reaction to the Turkish note was immediate and generally favorable. The Soviet Government was the most enthusiastic, writing, April 16, 1936, that the principle of full Turkish sovereignty had been afirmed in the Soviet-Turkish treaties and had been supported at the time of the Lausanne Treaty, and the Soviet

^{6.} Tbid.,p.604

^{7.} Ibid., p.605

to the remiliter zation problem had been decided upon. Identical to the remiliter zation problem had been decided upon. Identical notes were sent to the representatives of the simulary powers in angore, to Jugoslavia (who had not rigned because of difficulties with furley over the Ottomen oublic debt), and to the Secret.

The rote explained in detail why broken to the consequent was necessary and emphasized the good ratts in which the request year made to ensure "the security of Furkey and the inviolebility of Turkish tentitory" as well as "the development in a helmful apirit of communicial newigetion between the Mediterranean and the black Sea." It also reminded the powers of her record of loyalty to her intermetional agreements. Turkey requested an loyalty to her intermetional agreements. Turkey requested an early discussion for revision and suggested may it as a suitable date. She again writed the signatory powers that if her request was not granted, she might "be led to take upon herself the recessary measures. She mentioned recessary measures. She mentioned recessary measures to her own security at its most vulnorable point.

estimated at the time of the Lausenne Treaty, and the Soviet been supported at the time of the Lausenne treaty, and the Soviet Correction to Soviet Correction of the Correction Creaty, and the Soviet Correction of the Correction Creaty, and the Soviet Creaty, and the Soviet

^{108.} C. Bidl . 3

^{7.} Date. p. 605

Government had seen no reason to change its attitude.

Great Britain, too, sent a note April 16 saying that she was willing to deal with the matter without delay. This ready agreement meant, of course, a change in the British attitude; one reason was the non-applicability of the former objection that such a move would encourage similar German action concerning the Rhineland. More important was the British wish to find a new ally in the Mediterranean since the Italian upsetting of the earlier balance of power. Britain hoped that Turkey might still be kept from too close a friendship with the Soviet Union.

The French Government also sent its immediate approval of the Turkish note. Although she was opposed, in general, to treaty regision, she was anxious to see an increase in the influence of her ally, the U.S.S.R.

The Balkan states were not so enthusiastic in their aneswers; they were inclined to be suspicious and jealous of Turkey's acquiring too much power. Greece looked forward to the remilitarization of the Straits area because, since the Greco-Turkish Pact, Turkey and she had been friendly and also because it would justify Greek plans to refortify the islands of Lemnos (8) and Samothrace. Jugoslavia also approved the proposal on the grounds that any reinforcement of the security of a member of the Balkan Entente would be of advantage to the others. Neither

^{8.} The Greek islands of Chios, Samos, Mytilene and Icaria were demilitarized under a different heading in the Treaty of Lausanne and were therefore not affected by the Turkish proposal.

formation and market of meaning of the first transfer the first state of the so left to the fail and the samples to the same and the same and entire restricted and the control of ter, a or far a distribute the semi-semi-semily though section . The far telline a grid the transfer that the service of the contract of the transfer that the em vitte and programate an area directed for the contract - the last the said t rest of the first being Total . This can be a set to be a set to be the state of the second of detail menedia is company with the area land of object to make and

Bulgaria nor Rumania liked the idea of a Soviet-Turkish lake.

However, Bulgaria felt that, if this revision succeeded, it

would give her an opportunity to press the proposed revision of

the arms clause of the Treaty of Neuilly and the article concer
ning her right to an outlet on the Aegean Sea. Rumania, who had

more to lose than any other European state because she had no

outlet on the Aegean Sea, felt that she must approve of the

Turkish suggestion or lose an ally.

The Turkish Government, realizing that the Balkan states might be reluctant to approve her suggestion, sent the Secretary of the Foreign Office on a tour of the Balkan capitals during the last part of April. The Balkan states, probably convinced by threats of Italian preponderance in the Mediterranean, sent their answers by the end of April, Bulgaria on the 24th, Greece on the 22nd, Jugoslavia on the 28th, and Rumania on the 29th. They reaffirmed their positions at the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente on May 4th, and all agreed to support Turkey on condition that Turkey always advise them before closing the Straits in time of war, and that then they should meet to decide on the common measures to be taken innsuch a case.

Japan acknowledged the note and notified Turkey of her acceptance in principle of the request; Italy did not condescend to answer the note. The only indication she gave of her opinion on the matter appeared in the official press, that the Straits question was one affecting the situation in the Mediterranean as a whole and not merely the security of Turkey. Such an attitude

Sulcaria nor Augunia liked the idea of a Coviet-Turkish lake.

However, Euleuria felt that, it this revision accoused, it

rould give ber en opportunity to press the provoced revision of the sums clause of the Tresty of Heufily and the article concertine but right to mother on the Legean Hes. Eugenic, who had not right to lose then any other lurgean state because the test no could not cutiet on the legean state because the test no could not cutiet on the legean at the most on the seams of the

The reluctuat to opprove her surjest on, sent the Beoreaucy of the Foreign uffice on a tour of the hollan capitals during the Lest part of pril. The helican states, probably convinced by threads of 'slian prepandarance in the Mediterranesh, sent their shewers by the end of thil, hulgaris on the fath, Greece on the Stat, Jugost on the Stat, Greece on the Stat, Jugost on the Fallan Entente on the meeting of the France to sugnite on the Fallan Entente on the meeting of the France of the France of the Jugost to sugnite the Fallan Entente on the Jugost of the France of the Jugost of the France of the Jugost of the State of t

depart animotople of the request; italy did not condescend constant in this test or descend consistent in the test of the request; italy did not condescend to animotople of the only indication and not test the department of the interest of the department of the contract of the contract

on Italy's part was embarrassing to the Turkish Government and the other Lausanne signatories, because Italy, for several years, had had the largest tonnage passing through the Straits annually. Italy was probably suspicious of British and French motives for accepting the Turkish request, and, perhaps, even felt that she could bargain with the other powers concerning Ethiopia or the Mediterranean naval arrangements between Great Britain, France, Turkey, Greece, and Jugoslavia, which had been annoying her. The Italian press did hint that perhaps Italy would cooperate on the Straits issue after the raising of sanctions at the League Council Meeting in June.

Germany's reaction, as an interested but uninvited ptate, was favorable. Her own interests were, as a naval power, in her increasingly frequent use of the Danube River. Turkey's move constituted, Germany said, a continuation of her own policy of rejecting certain ideas of security. However, she was annoyed with Soviet support of the Turkish desire when the Soviet Government would not do the same for her under similar circumstances. Another interested state, Hungary, approved wholeheartedly because it was to set a useful precedent for treaty revision.

Although the necessary approval had been won by the end of April, the signatory nations showed no great haste in setting a date. A rumor that the Turkish Government had already begun refortification of the Straits reminded them that Turkey was not to be satisfied with mere promises. The date was ginally set as June 22nd, four days before the League Council Meeting

on Italy's part was embarasasing to the Turkish Covernment and
the other Lausenne Signatories, because Italy, for neveral years,
ned had the largest tennage passing through the Straits annually.

Italy was probably suspicious of British and French motives for
accepting the Turkish request, and, perhaps, even felt that she
could be reain with the other powers concerning Thicopis or the
Mediterranean newel arrangements between Larest British, France,
Turkey, creece, and Jugoslavia, which had been annoying her.
The italian press did hint that perhaps Italy would cooperate
on the Straits issue after the raising of sanctions at the League Council Breting in Time.

Germany's reaction, as an interested but uninvited stite, was feveralle. Ber own interests were, as a moved power, in her increasingly frequent use of the benube Miver. Nunkeyla cove constituted, Germany Said, a continuation of her own policy of rejecting certain ideas of security. Morever, she was annoyed with Soviet support of the Univer desire when the Soviet Dovernment would not do the same for ner under similar circumstances. Another, attended state, Hungary, Supposed wholehearteally another, attended state, Hungary, Supposed wholehearteally because it was to see a useful precedent for treaty revision.

Although the becessary approved had been won by the end of April, the almostory nations showed no great hasto in setting a date. A runor that the Turkish Covernment had already be undereductionation of the Straits reminded them that Turkiey was not to be estimited with more promises. The date was ginally set as June Cand, four days leave the loague Commeil Heating

at Geneva; it was hoped that by the time the Conference resumed its plenary meetings at the beginning of July after the Geneva meetings that an Italian representative would be sitting with them.

at Geneva; it was hoped that by the time the Conference resumed its plemery meetings at the beginning of July after the Geneva meetings that on Italian representative would be altitudy with them.

CHAPTER IV THE MONTREUX CONFERENCE OF 1936 CHIPPER IV

asel to HOMEREMOD MURETUOL DAT

The Montreux Conference opened on June 22, 1936 in the Salle des Fetes of the Montreux Palace Hotel with M. Motta, serving as president, welcoming the delegates on the behalf of the Swiss Government. The chief delegates were Mr. Bruce, representing Australia, Dr. Nicolaev, representing Bulgaria, M. Paul-Boncour, France, Lord Stanhope, Great Britain, M. Politis, Greece, Mr. Sato, Japan, M. Titulescu, Rumania, M. Litvinov, the U.S.S.R., M. Rustu Aras, Turkey, and M. Subotic, representing Jugoslavia. The Dominions of India, South Africa, New Zealand, Irish Free State, and Canada sent letters stating that, although they would not send delegates, they would be willing to accept the decisions of the conference. Mr. Bruce of Australia was elected president as being the most impartial representative present because his country's interest in the Straits was obviously indirect. M. Aghnides, of the League Secretariat, was elected Secretary-General.

The Conference itself was divided into two main periods.

During the first, a Turkish draft, prepared by the Turkish Government earlier in June, was adopted as the basis for discussion.

The first reading was completed by June 26the, and the plenary meetings were adjourned to permit the chief delegated to participate in the Geneva Council and Assembly meetings. The drafting and technical committees, however, remained in session during this adjournment. On July 6, plenary sessions were resumed, with a British draft drawn up during the interim as the basis

. adde Total of the Montreux Falace Hotal with h. lotta. serving as president, welcoming the delegates on the behalf of the Sides Covernment. The chief delegates were Ir. bruce, representing Australia, Dr. Hicolaev, representing Bulleria. I. Paul-Honcour, France, Lord Stephope, Great Pritain, M. Felitis, Oregon, Mr. Sato, Japan, M. Tituleson, Rumania, M. Litvinov. the U.S.S.H., I. Husty ore, "Inder, end . du otio. representing Jugoslavia. The Dominions of India, Louth Africa, New Zealand, brish Pree State, and Camado cent letters stating that, to ancept the decisions of the conference, it. Pruce of the--or Intersect year ont unied as inchicary taiosis asy silari was obviously indirect. II. Ashaides, of the Learne Secretariat. Mis olected Secretary-Caneral.

The Conference itself wer divided into two cells periods.

During the first, a Turkish dusit, prepared by the Turkish Government earlier in Tune, was adopted as the basis for disquesion. The first residing was commisted by June 26the, and the plansry meetings were adjourned to permit the chief delegated to partially dipate in the Geneva Council and Assembly moetings. The drafting and technical committees, nowever, remained in session during this adjournment. On July 6, plansry sessions were resumed, with a British draft drawn up during the interim as the basis

for discussion. On July 18, a compromise was finally reached, and, on July 20, the Montreux Convention was officially signed.

The Turkish draft provided for changes more drastic than had been anticipated by the signatory powers. The preliminary negotiations had been concerned only with the demilitarization clauses of the Lausanne Straits Convention. In May, the British Government had received assurances through M.Aras that only these clauses and those immediately related were to be dealt with and then only on the basis of strict reciprocity between Black Sea and non-Black Sea powers. It is believed, therefore, that the Soviet Union, obviously stronger than she had been at the time of the Lausanne Conference, had brought pressure to bear on the Turkish Government between May and the beginning of the Montreux Conference. The Turkish draft was, probably, the result of Turco-Soviet collaboration.

The preamble, to "regulate the passage and navigation of the Straits in such a way as to safeguard international commerce within the framework of the security of Turkey," made no mention whatever of the principle of freedom of the Straits, (1) as had the Lausanne Treaty. Articles 3-9, providing for the demilitarization of the Straits area was left out entirely, along with Articles 10-16, dealing with the composition and functions of the International Commission. Turkey was satisfied with the general principles for passage of commercial ships in peacetime, making no important changes there.

^{1.} D.A.Routh. "The Montreux ConventionRegarding the Regime of the Black Sea Straits," Survey of International Affairs, London, 1937, p.614

M.S.

for discussion. On July 18, a compromise was finally resoined, and, on July 20, the Montreum Convention was officially signed,

The Turkish draft provided for changes one drustic than had been enticipated by the signatory powers. The preliminary negotiations had been concerned only with the demildrarization clauses of the Lauranne Straits Convention. In May, the British Covernment had received assurances through Laras that only these clauses and those immediately related were to be dealt with and then only on the basis of strict reciprosity between that and the Soviet Union, obviously atronger than she had been at the time of the Lauranne Conference, and brought presence to hear on the Turkish Conference. The Turkish draft as, orcheming the result of Turce-Soviet collaboration.

The prescript, to "regulate the manages and mayination of the Straits in auth a way as to safeguard intermational connerce within the framework of the sequity of Turkey," made no mention whatever of the principle of freedom of the Straits, as had the Lausenne Treaty. Articles 3-9, providing for the demilitarization of the Straits orea was left out entirely, slong with Articles 10-16, dealing with the composition and functions of the International Commission. Turkey was satisfied with the memeral principles for pagenge of commercial chips in with the memeral principles for pagenge of commercial chips in possestine, making no important changes there.

^{1. 2. .} Loubia. "The Montreux Convents cullegerading the raidue of the fine of

Two changes were suggested concerning rights of merchant ships during war. The Turkish draft included a paragraph in Article 3 reiterating what the Lausanne Convention had mentioned only incidentally that these rights should be conditioned by Turkey's obligations under the Covenanttof the League. This addition was an indication that Turkey wanted to be sure she could legally stop or hold the aggressor's merchant ships. Also, when Turkey was belligerent, merchant ships were not to pass by day or by night, but only by day and along a route approved by the Turkish authorities.

In the section dealing with warships, the Turkish draft also contained changes; in Article 6, was the statement that, in time of peace, warships were to pass by day only and then just for the purpose of paying courtesy visits. Moreover, they must give one month's notice before doing so. The maximum force was to be limited to 14,000 tons although riverain powers might send up to 25,000 tons through the Straits, with the special permission of the Turkish Government, on condition of going through the Straits singly. None of these restrictions had appeared in the Lausanne Convention. Also, total tonnage of all non-riverain powers was not to exceed 28,000 tons, and no non-riverain warship might remain more than fifteen days. In wartime, if Turkey was neutral, the same regulations were to be in force with the additional provision that no warship was permitted to commit an act of hostility within the Straits. If, on the

The clause were suggested concerning rights of merchant ships during war. The Turkish dreft included a paragraph in article 3 reiterating what the Lausenne Convention had mentioned only incidentally that these rights should be conditioned by Turkey's obligations under the Covananties the League. This addition was an indication that Turkey wanted to be sure she could legally stop or hold the aggressor's merchant ships. Also, when Turkey was belligerent, merchant ships also, day or by night, but only by day and slong a route approved by the furkish authorities.

In the section dealing with verships, the Turkish draft also contained chance; in article 6, was the statement that, in the of pase, wirehips were to pase by day only and then just for the nuriose of paying courtesy visits. Horeover, they must give one conthis notice before doing so. The maximum force was to be limited to 14,000 tons although riversin powers might send up to 25,000 tons through the Straits, with the special permission of the furnish Government, on condition of going through the Straits singly. Home of these restrictions had appeared in the Laurenne Convention. Also, total tonnace of all riversin powers was not to exceed 28,000 tons, and no non-riversin powers was neutral, the same regulations were to be in time, if Turkey was neutral, the same regulations were to be in tonce with the additional provision that no warship was permitted to covait an act of nestility within the Straits. If, on the

other hand, Turkey was belligerent, no warship could pass the Straits without obtaining the special permission of the Turkish Government; in contrast, the Lausanne Convention allowed neutral warships to pass the Straits on their own responsibility. By this provision, the Turkish Government gained practically complete control over the Straits during a war in which she was belligerent. By the Turkish draft, submarines were not to be permitted to pass, and both civil and military aircraft was required to fly along a route indicated by the Turkish authorities.

Article 9 of the Turkish draft provided that if Turkey felt herself faced with a general of special threat of war, she would have the right to apply the provisions of Article 8, provided she informed the signatories and the Secretary-General of the League. This was an innovation, for the Lausanne Convention had contained no provision for action before war actually began, and, as mentioned earlier, this was one of the Turkish objections to the Lausanne Straits Convention.

In this draft convention, Turkey had increased her security and her strategic strength. The threat to Constantinople had been lessened not only by the refortification allowed but by the limitation on the size of ships permitted to pass through the Straits. The latter was planned so that there would never be a naval force in the Straits whose total tonnage exceeded one-half of the effective Turkish. The draft was also favorable to the Soviet Union since it put further limits on the non-riverain powers with only one limitation affecting the Soviet Union, that

other hand, Turkey was believered, no varship could pase the Straits without obtaining the special permission of the Turkish Covernment; in contrast, the Lausanne Convention allowed neutral warships to pass the Straits on their own responsibility. By this provision, the Turkish Government sained procioally complete control over the Straits during a war in which she was beligarent. By the Turkish draft, submarines were not to be permitted to pass, and both civil and military alreaft was required to fly along a route indicated by the Turkish authorities.

felt berself faced with a ceneral of special threat of war, she would have the right to apply the provisions of Article 8, provided she informed the signatories and the Secretary-General of the League. This as an innovation, for the Lausanne Convention had contained no provision for action before war socially began, and, as mentioned earlier, this was one of the Turkish objections to the Lausanne Straits Convention.

In this draft convention, furter had increased her ascurity and her strategic strength. The threat to Constantinople had been lessened not only by the refortification allowed but hy the limitation on the size of ships permitted to pass through the Strairs. The latter was planned so that there would never be a navel force in the Straits whore total tonnage eroseded one half of the effective Turkish. The draft was also favorable to the Soviet Union since it put further limits on the non-riverein powers with only one limitation effecting the Soviet Union, that

limiting the size and form of ships which might pass through at any one time. There was to be no limit whatsoever on the the total tonnage the Soviet Union might send into the Mediterranean; in other words, the Soviet Union had almost gained the complete freedom of egress she had always wanted.

In spite of her violent objections, there was nothing for Great Britain to do but accept the Turkish draft as the basis for discussion. However, this put the British delegation on the defensive, and almost led to the failure of the convention. Probably Turkish reminders that she intended to protect the Straits eventually anyway was the force which prevented breakdown of the conference. According to the British Government, the Turkish draft was far too favorable to the Soviet Union; she felt that the Black Sea's becoming a Soviet lake with practically unlimited egress for the Russian fleet, in upsetting the balance of power in the Mediterranean, might precipitate a general race in armaments. Britain had a lurking mistrust of Soviet intentions, and favored returning to the nineteenth century policy of close collaboration with Turkey. England had no desire to join the Franco-Soviet bloc, but at the same time, she did not wish to see Europe divided into two opposing groups. She was also anxious to see that tother powers, such as Germany, were pleased by the Convention.

The general Soviet attitude, of course, was that the Straits be wide open to her own warships but as near shut as possible to warships of non-riverain powers. The Soviet delegate

limiting the size and form of ships which might pass through at any one time. There was to be no limit whatsoever on the the total tormage the Soviet Union wight and into the Mediterranean; in other words, the Soviet Union had almost gained the complete freedom of exress she had always wanted.

In spite of her violent objections, there was action for for discussion. However, this out the British delegation on the defensive, and almost led to the failure of the convention. irobably Turkish routeders that she intended to protect the Straits the conference. . ecording to the British Government, the Turunlimited ogress for the Imasian fleet, in appenting the balance of power in the Mediterraneon, wight precisitate a general race on and to to target and a language of Boylot intentions, and favored raturning to the mineteenth century policy of ericat on had burlant . yearn't ddiw neitaredallos esole to which to see Furone divided into two opposing enough on of hely elso anxious to see that other powers, such as Cornany, were . Reidneygol ada vd bassalu

The general Soviet attitude, of course, was that the Straits to wide open to her own warships hat as near shut as mossille to marchips of non-riverein powers. The Soviet delegate

made this feeling clear on the second day of the Conference:

"we all know that these Straits ... have a special character character and that they are not comparable with certain international canals and other Straits, in this, that they do not lead anywhere else than into the Black Sea, which is a closed sea; they cannot be utilized for transit to a destination of other countries. It is in taking into consideration these circumstances that numerous European statesmen, including, for example, Lord Palmerston, the Duke of Wellington, pronounced themselves on numerous occasions in favor of the closure of the Straits. Closure of these Straits is of very great importance for the security, not only of Turkey, but of all the States of the Black Sea. Doubtless the best way to guarantee the security would be to close completely the Straits to warships of non-riverain States. Nevertheless, my Government does not insist on this closure and is ready to support the Turkish proposition tendingto keep the Straits open for certain ends and under certain limitations to the ships of all nations, with full freedom of passage by the Straits for commercial vessels." (2)

Another statement made by M. Litvinov on June 24th will make this fundamental attitude even clearer:

"I wish to emphasize that we cannot neglect the fact the there exists no other sea which is in the same geographical situation as the Black Sea. If the Mediter-ranean Sea or the Baltic Sea were in the same geographical situation..., I should not oppose equality of rights between the Black Sea States and those of the rest of the world; but...the Mediterranean is not a closed sea. you can penetrate it through its two extremities...If, to the contrary, you wish to penetrate the Black Sea, it is for a definite end. This may be either to pay a visit of to offer your assistance to a state in difficulty, in application of a decision of the League of Nations. For my part, I cannot imagine another legitimate aim for which foreign vessels would enter the Black Sea." (3)

From a practical point of view, it was absolutely necessary, on

^{2. &}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, p.642 3. <u>Tbid.</u>, p.643

made this realing older on the second day of the lonference:

The all mon that there are not comparable with obstacted and that they are not comparable with contacted and that they are not comparable with the shie, that they do not lead anywhere alse than into the place as they are then the shie, that they also not lead anywhere alse than into the shie that the sample as the stands of other committee. It is in teking into consideration those circumstances that numerous auropearation those circumstances that numerous auropearation the oute of wellington, for erample, bord releaselves on numerous cocasions in favor of the slow selves of the Straits. Closure of these straits is selves on numerous occasions in favor of the slow. It would be to also the straits as the very great importance for the straits of the security would be to alose completely the straits of curity would be to alose completely the straits of the security that is near the straits of the

another statement made by ... Litvinov on Jume 24th will make

there exists no other sea which is we have same second there exists no other sea which is we have same second of an aituation as the Black Sec. I the seditor.

Taken as the Black Sec. I the sea cooperation of the same cooperations of the season of the se

no , viscacion yledeleads asw it , weiv to other feetings, on

^{8. 1011.} n. 602 8. Indd., p. 648

the other hand, that the Straits be open to Russian warships; a sudden threat of war might make it necessary to transfer the Black Sea fleet to the Baltic of the Pacific. Moreover, the Soviet Union needed a safe dockyard for naval construction, one that was not ice-bound, as in the Baltic, or open to attack, as would one in Vladivostok; however, if such a dockyard in the Black Sea was to be of any use, the Soviet Union had to have the right to transfer this fleet to other seas through the Straits. Another factor in her attitude was her newly won membership in the League and her alliance with France; she wanted to be sertain that the new convention should not hinder the working of either the League Covenant or the France-Soviet Pact.

France was in agreement with the Soviet Union for similar reasons, and, in addition, wanted to protect her treaty with Rumania, an indispensable factor in the French Alliance system east of the Alps, from interference of any kind. The Rumanian, Jugoslav, Greek, and Bulgarian delegates were all also in favor of the Soviet point of view and the Franco-Soviet bloc.

Japan was the only power present to uphold the British view that the Turkish draft was too favorable to the Soviet Union. Probably Japan was thinking of her advantage in 1905 when the Straits were closed; it would be preferable to prevent the Soviet Union from transferring her fleet from one sea to the other.

Turkey watched this dispute between the Soviet Union and Great Britain impatiently; she showed her great anxiety by in-

the other head, that the birdits he open to sussish warships; a sudden threat of var night make it necessary to transfer the black has fleet to the Paltic of the Facilie. Moreover, the Soviet Union meeded a safe dockyard for naval construct on, one that was not ine-bound, as in the Faltic, or open to stack, as would one in Vladivostok; however, if such a dockyard in the Plack les was to be of any use, the Soviet Union had to have the right to transfer this flect to other seas through the Strafts.

Inother factor in her attitude was her newly won membership do the League and her altitude was her newly won membership do the League and her altitude was her navely won membership do the League and her altitude of the France; she wanted to be contain that the bosous convention should not anader the working of cither the League convention should not anader the working of

Fromce was in greement with the Soviet Union for a milar reasons, and, in addition, wanted to protect her treaty with Humania, an indispensable factor in the eronch illiance system east of the alps, from interference of any kind. The Rumanian, Jugoslav, Greek, and subgarian delegates were all also in favor of the Soviet foint of view and the Franco-Soviet bloc.

depen we the only nower precent to unhold the states to very year offer the further the further the further the further the further the first the first the first the first the first very offer the first the

Turier attached this dispute between the Poviet Value of the United by the Care the training by the theory by the theory by the theory by the theory and the training the theory of the training training the training the training training the training the training training the training training the training training the training t

serting a clause in her draft that the convention should come into force from the date of its signature, a most unusual provision.

On June 27, M. Litvinov and M. Paul Boncour had an informal discussion with Mr. Eden in which a compromise was reached in principle. However, during the period when the delegates were at Geneva, a British draft was drawn up, bringing forward points Britain had hitherto been unable to bring out. These new issues made the conflict between the Soviet Union and Great Britain even more acute than before the Eden-Litvinov conversations.

The British draft, called a "new version" of the Turkish draft, was circulated on July 4; hit reaffirmed the principle of freedom of passage left out in the Turkish draft, and added (4) that it should "remain in vigor without limit of time." In Section 1, Turkey was to make no charges for the sanitary inspection of ships not calling at Turkish ports. Turkey had wished to change these dues. According to the Section concerning warships, ships designed for the transport of inflammable liquids was excluded from the definitions of auxiliary warships.

Most of the innovations of the British draft dealt with the passage of warships through the Straits. It shortened the notice required for visits from non-riverain warships from one month to fifteen days. The maximum tonnage was limited to one-half the tonnage of the Turkish fleet or to 15,000 tons, if the latter should be greater. The clause permitting littoral powers

^{4.} Ibid., p.627

estime a cluve in nor draft that the convention should come in-

On June 27, ii. Litvinov and W. Isul-Boneour had an informal discussion with Mr. Eden in which a compromise was reached in principle. However, during the period when the delegates were at Geneve, a British draft was drawn up, bringing forward points Britain had hitherto been mable to bring out. These new issues made the conflict between the Soviet Union and Great Britain even wore scute than before the Eden-Litvinov conversations.

The Pritish draft, called a "new version" of the Turkish draft, was circulated on July 41% it reaffirmed the principle of reedom of pareage left out in the Turkish draft, and added that themould "remain in vigor without limit of time." In Section 1, Turkey was to make no charges for the sanitary inapcotion of ships not calling at Turkish ports. Turkey had wished to charge these dues. Coording to the Section concerning warships, ships designed for the transport of inflammable liquids was excluded from the definitions of sufflammable liquids.

Most of the innovations of the British draft dealt with the passage of warships through the straits. It shortened the contact required for visits from non-riversin warships from one nonth to fifteen days. The maximum tonnage was limited to one helf the tonnage of the Curkish fleet or to 15,000 tens, if the litter should be greater. The plane permitting litteral powers

V. 5. C . . D. 6.2V

to send out single ships up to 25,000 tons with Turkish permission was completely omitted. Moreover, limitations on non-riverain warships should not prevent the visit of a fleet of any size to a Turkish port on the invitation of the Turkish Government, provided it left the Straits by the way it entered.

The British added, too, the escalator clause, providing that the tonnage of non-riverain powers was not to exceed 30,000 (28,000 was the figure in the Turkish draft) tons unless the tonnage of the largest riverain fleet in the Black Sea should come to exceed that of the largest fleet in that sea at the time of the signing of the Convention by more than 10,000 tons. After this point, the total allowed to any non-riverain power was to be increased by a quantity equal to the excess up to 45,000 tons. Any one non-riverain power was to be limited to three-quarters of the total permitted all non-riverain powers together. In addition, any power, having no force or one of less than 10,000 tons in the Black Sea, would have the right to send a naval force for "humanitarian purposes" up to 10,000 tons, subject, of course, to the special permission of the Turkish Government. If a naval force is sent for a humani tarian purpose, it might remain without time limit, if not, the time limit was one month.

In Wartime, with Turkey neutral, the regualtions were to be the same as in peacetime. As in the Lausanne Convention, the British draft stated that these conditions should not be appli-

^{5.} Ibid., p.629

to send out single ships up to 25,860 tens with Turkish permission was completely emitted. Moreover, limitations on nonriversin warships should not prevent the visit of a fleet of
eny size to a Turkish port on the invitation of the Turkish Govermment, provided it left the Straits by the way it entered.

The British edded, too, the escalator clause, providing

EO,000 (28,000 was the figure in the Turkish dust) tons unless tons. After this point, the total allowed to thy non-riverein to 45,000 tons. iny one non-riversin power was to be limited wers together. In addition, any power, having no force or one tone, subject, of course, to the apecial permission of the Turpurpose, it maybe comein without time limit, if not, the time Limit was one admit.

In Wartime, with Turkey noutral, the remalkions were to the the same as in percetime. As in the Lemanne Convention, the british draft stated that there conditions should not be appli-

b. mid., p.629

cable to a belligerent power to the detriment of its belligerent rights. In case of war, in which Turkey was belligerent, decisions were to be entirely in the hands of the Turkish Government. In reference to Turkey's provision in case of a threat of war, the British draft coincided, but also stated that Turkey must not only notify the signatories of the Convention and the League Council, but must agree to cancel any measures it was planning to take, if the League Council decided they were not justified by a two-thirds majority. British restrictions on civil aircraft were not so strict as the Turkish. Moreover, it provided that the International Commission of the Straits should continue its functions of collecting statistics and providing information necessary for applying the limiting clauses. In conclusion, the British wished the new Convention to remain in force for fifty years.

The British draft, then, was nearly as favorable to Turkey as the Turkish draft with the exception of more power's being given to the League and the retaining of the International Commission for some purposes. The draft was aimed chiefly at limiting Soviet gains and trying to make the passage limitations more reciprocal. In stating that regulations were not to be to the detriment of belligerent rights, the draft excluded the possibility of the Soviet's fleet emerging into the Mediterranean to attack a hostile fleet and then retiring unpursued into the Black Sea. With its provisions concerning the tonnage permitted each non-riverain power and the escalator clause, the draft

rights. In case of war, in which Turkey was beligerent, decisions were to be entirely in the hards of the Turkish Government. In reference to Turkey's provision in case of a threat
of war, the British draft quincided, but also stated that Furkey must not only notify the directories of the Convention and
the beague Conneil, but must area to cancel any measures it
not justified by a two-thirds majority. Pritish restrictions
on civil stratet were not so atrios as the Turkish. Moreover,
it provided that the intermetional Commission of the Straits
should continue its functions of collecting statistics and providing information necessary for applying the limiting alsuges.
In conclusion, the British wished the new Convention to remain

The Hritish draft with the exception of core power's being given to the League and the retaining of the international Commiss on for some purposes. The draft was simed outsily at limiting Soviet mains and trying to reike the passes limitations note reciproc 1. In stating that regulations were not to be to the draft encluded the possiblity of the Soviet's fleet emerging into the analysis the possibility of the Soviet's fleet emerging into the additional to attack a notable fleet and then retiring important into the Albertanean to attack a notation fleet and then retiring important into the sections concerning the towns permitted each non-riversin owner and the escalator states the dears.

made certain that a large naval force could be collected in the Black Sea on case of a coalition by the non-riverain powers.

The British draft was the basis for discussion in the last part of the Montreux Conference, and, since a brief description of the main differenced between the Turkish draft and the British draft has been given, it was thought best to study the way in which the compromises were reached on the basis of the final Montreux Convention.

The first six articles of the British draft were accepted by the conference. Article l"recognized and affirmed the principle of freedom of transit and navigation by sea in the Straits."

Articles 2 through 6 deal with merchant ships; no important change was made from the Lausanne Straits Convention. In peacetime and in time of war with Turkey neutral, there was to be complete freedom of passage, while, in time of war when Turkey was belligerent, merchant ships belonging to a power at war with Turkey would have freedom of passage provided they entered by day and followed a route indicated by the Turkish authorities anddid not, in any way, assist the enemy.

Section II was concerned with warships; many controversial issues were brought up in the discussion of this section. Article 9 provided that "naval auxiliary vessels specifically designed for the carriage of fuel, liquid or non-liquid" would not as do warships, be required to notify the Turkish Government in advance of their passage or be counted in the calculation for 5. James T. Shotwellaand Francis Deak. Turkey at the Straits New York, 1940, p.154

(6)

and of that a large naval force could be collected in the

The British draft was the backs for discussion in the last part of the Montreux Conference, and, since a brief description of the main differenced between the Nurkish draft and the British tip has been given, it was thought best to study the way in which the compromises were reached on the busis of the final Montreux Convention.

The Tirst bix articles of the British draft were accepted by the conference. Article larecoemized and Artirned the principle of freedom of transit and navigation by sea in the Straits." Articles 2 tarough 6 deal with acroment skips; no important change was made from the Lausanne Straits Convention. In pascetime and in time of war with Turkey neutral, there was to be complete freedom of passage, while, in thus of war then furkey was belligarent, merchant saips belonging to a cover at war with fur ey would have freedom of passage provided they entered by day and followed a noute industed by the Turkish authorities and did not, in any way, testet the enemy.

issues ere brought up in the discussion of this section. egations of provided that "naval suxiliary vessels apecifically designed for the carriage of fuel, liquid or non-legistering not see in wranips, he required to notify the Turkish Covernment in advance of their passes or be counted in the calculation for the Vertes 1. Shotwell and Francis Deal. Turkey at the Stratts

total tonnage, but would be subjected to all other rules laid
(7)
down for warships. The French Government had tried to have
such fuel-ships taken off the list of vessels of war completely
so that she could import oil from Soviet and Rumanian oil-fields
in sufficient quantities even in wartime.

Articles 10,11,12, and 13 embodied concessions to the Russian desires: Article 10 provides that in peacetime, light surface vessels, minor war vessels and auxiliary vessels, whether belonging to Black Sea or non-Black Sea powers, and whatever their flag, shall enjoy freedom of transit through the Straits.. provided that such transit is begun during daylight." Article 11 states that "Black Sea powers may send through the Straits capital ships of a tonnage greater than that laid down in the first paragraph of Article 14, on condition that these vessels pass through the Straits singly, escorted by not more than two destroyers." Put together these two articles mean that while the non-riverain powers are restricted from sending other than "light vessels" through the Straits without adhering to limitation rules, the Soviet Union can send through any number of ships of any size, with the permission of the Turkish Government. The term "light surface vessel" was designed to exclude all types of heavily armed vessels, including the German "pocket battleship" which the 10,000 ton limit of the British draft would not have covered.

^{7.} Ibid,, p.157 8. Loc. cit. 9. Ibid.,p.158

total tonnage, but would be subjected to all other rules laid

down for warships. The French Covernment had tried to have

such fuel-ships taken our too list of vessels of war completely

so that she could import oil from Howiet and Rumanian oil-fields
in sufficient quantities even in wantime.

articles 10,11,12, and 13 educated noncessions to the Eusface vessels, winds was vessels and audiliary vessels, whether their flar, shall enjoy freedom of the mait through the Straits.. provided that such transit is begun during daylight." Article first paragraph of triele lA. on condition that those vessels out meds eron ton to bestones , vinds stingly sat more than two destroyers." Int torether these to erticion wean'thet while to Terion Tules, the lowiet Union can send through any medier of ships of any size, with the permission of the furtish Covernment. . berevos

^{7.} Ibid., p.157 5. Loc. cit. 9. Ibid., p.158

Article 12 was also a concession to the Soviet delegation in that "Black Sea powers .. (were)..to have the right to send through the Straits...submarines constructed or purchased out— (10) R side the Black Sea." France had wanted treatment of submarines on the same basis as warships, but both Britain and the Soviet Union opposed this suggestion. The Soviet Union main—tained that the only exception to total exclusion should be made in favor of the Black Sea powers becasue of the absence of facilities for the construction of submarines in Black Sea dock—yards.

Articles 13 concerned the number of days' notice required by the Turkish Government from warships passing through the Straits. As noted before, the Turkish draft had asked for a notification of one month while the British draft suggested fifteen days. The Soviet delegate suggested a fifteenn day notification period for non-riverain powers and a three-day notification for Black Sea powers.

The question of maximum tonnage to be allowed passage through the Straits was one of the problems causing much discussion. The Turkish draft provided for a maximum of 14,000 tons, that is, one-half of the Turkish fleet, while the British wanted a 16,000 ton limit so that two light cruisers with sixinch guns might be allowed to pass through. When 15,000 was was decided on as the compromise, Mr. Litvinov suggested an amendment: "If we limit passage to 15,000 tons, it will be im-

10. Loc. cit.

Article 12 was also a concession to the soviet delecation in that "Black Ses powers .. (rere).. to have the right to send through the Straits.. submarines constructed or surchased out— (10) side the Black Ses." France had wanted treatment of submarines on the same basis as warships, but both Britein and the Soviet Union opposed this suggestion. The Soviet Union maintained that the only exception to total exclusion should be made in favor of the Flack Ses newers because of the scheme of indiction for the construction of submarines in Eleck Sea dock— vards.

Articles 13 concorned the number of days' potice required by the Turkish dovernment from warships passing through the Straits. As noted before, the Turkish draft had asked for a notification of one month while the Brittsh traft suggested fifteen days. The Soviet delegate suggested a fifteen day notification period for non-riverain powers and a three-day notification for black See powers.

The question of earland tonnage to be allowed passage through the Stroits was one of the problems osusing much discussion. The Turkish draft provided for a maximum of 14,000 tons, that is, one-half of the Turkish fleet, while the Fritish wanted a 16,000 ton limit so that two light eruisers with sixual half guns might be allowed to pass through. Then 15,000 was was decided on as the compromise, in. Librinov surgested an amendment: "If we limit passage to 15,000 tons, it will be im-

[.]dio .cod .Ol

possible for us to send greater units through the Straits from one port to another, and I shall be obliged to make an exception in this regard. One cannot divide units; one must even send t them at a single time and, even, in case of need, with an es-The Turkish delegate brought forth an amendment tsatisfying Soviet desires for special privileges for Black Sea powers, and caused Lord Stanley of the British delegation to say "if this clause is to give reciprocity and if the non-riverain powers of the Black Sea are to have the same advantage, we are prepared to accept the amendment immediately because it represents a step toward complete freedom of the seas: but if this advantage is only to be accorded to the riverain powers of the Black Sea, that would go entirely against the principle of reciprocity which we have always had in view." However. in spite of British objections, Article 11, already noted, gaves the Soviet Union the special consideration she wanted.

Article 15 states that no vessel of war in transit shall make use of any aircraft, and Article 16, that no warship shall remain longer within the Straits than is necessary. Article 17 provided for the courtesy visits suggested in the British draft.

Article 18 settled the aggregate tonnage which non-riverain powers may have in the Black Sea in peacetime. This was
one of the most controversial issues of the conference and was
not finally agreed upon until shortly before the close of the

Conference. As mentioned before, the Turkish draft suggested ll. Harry N. Howard."The Montreux Convention of the Straits,1936" Dept. of State Bulletin,vol.XV,No. 375, p.440. 12. Loc.cit.

in this regard. One casmob dayide units: one must even send t them at a single time and, even, in case of need, with an es-The Turkish delegate brought forth an acendachtisaty. versin covers of the Flack Sea are to have the same advantage. . wely at bed avewin eved ow dain wilnorgious to in spite of British objections, Article 11, already noted, gaves the Soviet union the strongle consideration she wasted.

article 15 states that no vessel of war in themsit shall make use of any alreadt, and article 16, that no saranip shall read a longer within the Straits than is necessary. Article 17 provided for the courtesy risits surgested in the British draft.

versin powers may have in the black best in pascatime. This was one of the most controversial issues of the conference and was not rinally served upon until shortly before the close of the

Conference. Is dentioned before, the Thekish dreit suggested 11. derry i. 10 and the montreur Convention of the Straits, 1988 dept. of Caste Lullerin, vol. 17, no. 175, p.440. 13. Loc. oit.

the maximum tonnage should be 28,000 while the British raised this to 30,000 and added the "escalator" clause permitting up to 45.000 tons if at a given moment the tonnage in the Black Sea of the strongest fleet of a riverain power exceeds by more than 10% the tonnage of the largest fleet in the Black Sea at the time of the signature of the Convention. M.Litvinov proposed that "the increase (in tonnage from 30,000 tons for nonriverain powers) begin only after the Black Sea fleet shall have been increased by 30% in place of 10%." Also, he felt that the tonnage of any one state should be limited to one-half the global tonnage and that the stay of non-riverain warships might not be more than fifteenndays rather than the month mentioned by the British delegation. The British delegation did not see how it could accept the Soviet proposition, for "an increase of 10% would be equivalent to a cruiser, and it seems to us that if a cruiser is added to the fleet of the Black Sea, it is only just to admit that the ships of non-riverain powers of the Black Sea should have an equivalent increase." The British did not approve of the Soviet suggestion that the largest nonriverain fleets be no more than one-half the total, but would compromise between its suggestion of three-quarters and the Soviet one of two-thirds. This compromise was accepted along with a stay limit of twenty-one days for non-riverain warships. The "escalator" clause was incorporated into the Convention with the change of 10% to 10,000 tons.

13. Ibid., p.443 14. Loc. cit.

beging detting out alide 000, ES ad bloods sanget musican edt this to 30,000 and added the "escalator" clause permitting up to 45,000 tons if t a wiven moment the tonnege in the Eleck posed that "the increase (in tonnage from 50,000 tens for nonbaye been increased by 50% in place of 10%." tioned by the British delenation. The british delegation did not see now it could accept the Soviet acceptation, for den of areas of 10% would be equivalent to a cruiser, and it seems to the Block Ses should bave at contralent inorese." The Fritish did not approve of the Soviet suggestion and the larrest nonriversin fleets be no more than one-tul' the total, but would . Eqidatew pigravir-non for arab and-vinewit to simil vare a ditiv with the change of 10% to 10,000 tons.

.dio .noi . 51 CAN. q . DEd . CI

The provision in the British draft for a force of 15,000 tons to enter for "humanitarian purposes" also caused much discussion. M. Litvinov doubted the utility and the purpose of humanitarian visits in the Black Sea, since there had not been such a visit since 1923, and, he felt that if the British figure of 15,000 tons were accepted "we might find ourselves in the (7.5)Black Sea in the presence of naval forces superior to our own." A Soviet delegate offered the following amendment: "Nevertheless, if in exceptional cases such an earthquake or other calamity caused by the elements of nature, one of the non-riverain powers desires to send into this sea, for humanitarian purposes, one of its light surface warships and if, at the same time, the global tonnage... is entirely utilized by other non-riverain powers, the entrance of the said ship may take place with the consent of all the riverain states of the Black Sea, on the condition that any later entrance of naval forces of non-riverain powers will be effected only within the limit of the global tonnage." The Bulgarian delegate finally suggested the compromise which finally became part of Article 18. Article 18 allows no more than 8,000 tons to enter and then only if either the global tonnage limit has not been reached or, if it has or will be by the additional 8,000 tons, when the Black Sea Powers have been informed and made no objection.

The question concerning passage of warships through the

^{15.} Ibid., p. 444

1000, of to soro's a ret fresh destinate and hi more ivery and tone to enter for homentarian curroses" also caused much disto ecoque out one will by end bedduck vonivitid . I . more our Black Ses in the presence of wavel forces superior to our num. caused by the elements of meture, one of the non-riversin co era desires to send into this sea, dor howen larrian purposes, our of tradight surface warships and if, at the same time, the -or microvit-non remits of begining viertime et ... onemos forein to men di li, to bedoseu meed dom sen dimil enemnod ledels end have been informed and made no objection.

The question concerning passage of warships through the

^{15.} Ibid., p. A&A

Straits in time of war, when Turkey was neutral, caused more difficulty than anything other issue during the conference and neraly resulted in the breakdown of the conference. The first Soviet objection was to the use of the Word "neutral"; it was felt that since the Kellogg-Briand Pact the category "neutral", in the sense of favoring neither one side or the other during a war, no longer existed. The term"non-belligerent" was thought to be more appropriate, as expressing a state of non-war but not implying duties of a "neutral." In the British draft was the provision that the limitations on the passage of warships were not to interfere with belligerent rights, as mentioned before. Naturally, the Soviet Union vehemently disapproved of this provision, for it would take away her immunity from large scale attacks after she had retreated back into the Black Sea. She claimed that it was directly contrary to the preferential treatment the Black Sea powers deserved; secondly, it was in conflict with the principles of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which made an end to "belligerent rights". On June 29, the Soviet delegation offered an amendment: "In time of war, none of the riverain states of the Black Sea being belligerent, warships and naval auxiliaries will enjou free passage in the Straits" as provided for earlier, and "when a riverain state of the Black Sea other than Turkey is belligerent, passage through the Straits toward the Black Sea will be forbidden to all warships of nonriverain powers."(17)

^{17.} Ibid., p. 440

ne ely resulted in the breshdown of the conference. The first Soviet objection was to the use of the Word Thantiel": it was "Lastwan" yrogates and Jost Chalad-gaolfel ent conta Jail Jiet a war, no longer existed. The three notice terent cas thought to be nove appropriate, as expressing a state of non-war but new flesh delting and of ". Israben" a To selful privided don to beverquests vitnementer noted felvok ent villengtal .stoled this provision, for it would take away her immunity from large soule attacks after she had retreated back into the illack ses. treatment the Flack Cos powers deserved; secondly, it was in confilet with the principles of the Kellogg-Friend Feet, which made an and to "belligerent rights", On June 29, the Soylet riversin states of the Black Sea being belicerent, warships (17) m. srawoo mlarevin

^{17. 034,} p. 440

The British delegation suggested a new amendment on July 8. that if Turkey felt herself menaced by the passage of a belligerent fleet, she might close the Straits to all powers without discrimination and, if no Black Sea power was belligerent, she could close the Straits to all belligerent vessels. M. Litvinov thought that this amendment gave Turkey too much responsibility and suggested a further amendment that "in a war in which Turkey is neutral, the Straits shall be closed to all belligerent powers" except in cases envisaged in Article 23. Furthermore, this "shall not ... limit in any way the eventual putting into effect of the measures envisaged by the Covenant in regard to an aggressor state, nor... obstruct the passage through the Straits of warships in execution of engagements of assistance assumed or to be assumed in the future by states signatory of the present convention by reason of the terms of agreementd supplementary to the Covenant as well as the passage of the warships of the state to whom that assistance is due." The latter was, of course, a reference to the Franco-Soviet Pact. Litvinov said the British draft provision represented an attitude of friendliness toward the Soviet Union and a lukewarm attitude toward the League itself.

Regonal pacts such as the Franco-Soviet pact, retorted the British delegate, were framed in such a way as to act in advance of the Covenant. Thus, if the League failed to reach unanimity in naming the aggressor, Turkey might be placed in the 18. Routh, op. cit., p.632 19. Loc. cit.

8, that if furteev felt herealf renneed by the passage of a bellimerent fleet, she might close the Straits to all nowers without discrimination and, if no Plack Sea power was belligerent, she could close the Straits to all hellicerent vessels. M. in which Turkey is neutral, the Straits shall be closed to all belligerent gowers' except in cases enviseded in Article 25. Landanve old yew you al dimit. . . ton flade" sidd . swomtadaug -sia codeie vo e-undua edd ni bomises ad od to bemises somereise. ". and at consistent and the state of others and to address and The letter vas, of course, a reference to the Franco-Soviet ne bedreserner moistvore fresh desting ent bise veniveld . Jack . Tiestl sunsed the League shutitie

Responsition delegate, when transcondered pact, retorted
the British delegate, when transc in such a way as to set in advance of the Covenant. Thus, if the League Tailed to reach onanimity in randon the appressor, Turkey might be placed in the

^{18.} Routh, op. oit., r. 838 19. Los. oat.

position of having to discriminate between two sets of belligerents in virtue of some pact to which she was not a party, or of having to close the Straits against a power whose designation as an aggressor she had refused to accept. The reaction of the other delegates to this view was unfavorable. Bothe France and the Balkan states were suspicious of British intentions. M. Titulescu of Rumania accused Great Britain of pursuing one policy at Geneva and another at Montreux. They felt that Great Britain wanted to oppose the Soviet's League policy with an anti-League policy of her own.

On July 8 and 9, private conversations between M. Paul-Boncour, Lord Stanley and M. Litvinov brought no compromise.

Mr. Rendel of the British delegation went back to England for instructions but returned with no change in the official British attitude. Britain still objected to the idea of Turkey's being a "non-belligerent ally" of France and the Soviet Union and asked why, if Turkey really wanted to be on such intimate terms with the two states, she didnot join the Franco-Soviet (20)

Pact outright. Finally, the British delegation agreed to abandon their claims that warships be able to pass the Straits in pursuit of their "belligerent rights" on condition that the Franch and Soviet delegations agree not to continue their attempt to subordinate the Convention to the Franco-Soviet system of alliance.

On July 15, a compromise was reached; "vessels of war

^{20.} Ibid.,p.635

position of maying to discriminate netween two asks of belligerence in virtue of some pact to which the was not a party.

Or of raving to close the Straits against a power whose designation as an aggressor and had refused to scoret. The resolution of the other delegates to this view was unfavorable. Bother are the salient states were suspictous of Arctical incentfrance and the Salienn states were suspictous of Arctical or pursuing ions. N. Titulescu of Augents accused frank Eritain of pursuing the policy of deneve and another at Contract. They felt that

Great Britain wanted to oppose the Soylet's League policy with the anti-League policy of her own.

concept, Lord Stanley and M. Litvinor brought no compromise.

IT. Sendel of the Eritaini delemention went back to ringland for instructions but returned when no object to the official Printeriors but returned when no object to the official Printlesh artitude. Fritain still objected to the idea of Turicey's being a "non-belligerent ally of Trince and the worlet union being a "non-belligerent ally sended to be on such intimate and asked why, if furthey really sended to be on such intimate terms with the training states, she didnot join the Frights und to show that outlets at a such intimate and such such interesting the first claim that the strain that the straining of their "bullicevent frights" on condition that the france for their "bullicevent frights" on condition that the

on loll lot alessave ; hades or acr ac morning s . El Tipl no

- .eoneille

and . . . Didle . O.

belonging to belligerent powers shall not, however, pass through the Straits except on cases arising out of the application of Article 25 of the present convention, and inccases of assistance rendered to a State victim of aggression in virtue of a treaty of mutual assistance binding Turkey, concluded within the frame—

(21)

work of the Convenant of the League of Nations."

The settlement was looked on as a rather sudden retreat on the part of Great Britain. There was much speculation as to its real cause. A French newspaper maintained that it had to do with the signing of a German-Italian agreement of July 11. Britain was said to have made ocncessions to the Soviet Union so that this counter-move would alarm Germany and Italy and assuree their acceptance of the invitations of July 9 to come to Brussels for the negotiation of a new Locarno settlement, but that this was a feint, and the real intention was to effect a new friend-ship with Turkey. It is more likely, however, that the British delegation, seeing all the delegates against them, realized that they could not possibly win their point, and rather than cause the failure of the conference, they gave in.

Article 20 stated that in wartime, Turkey being belligerent,
"the passage of warships shall be left entirely to the discretion
(22)
of the Turkish Government." This article was taken directly
from the British draft and gave Turkey more power than she had
given herself in her draft; the Turkish draft had specified only
that neutral vessels would have to ask her permission before

^{21.} Shotwell, op. cit., p.162 22. Loc. cit.

belonging to beligerent powers shall not, however, ones through of nutual sesistance binding Turkey, concluded tishin the frame-work of the Convenent of the Lasgue of Mattions."

the part of Great Mritain. There was much speculation as to its co of bed it fedt hemistation research Rolevil a comes feet with the signific of a Corner-Nashien arrestent of July 11. Brifor the negotiation of a new Locarno septianest, but that this ship with fackey. It is more library, however, that the british deleration, secling all the delegates against them, realized that the rollure of the comforence, they ave in.

of the Turited Covernment." "wis article was taken directly vino beiliosus bud diano deligno ent : flaro red mi lieared movie

sl. showell, op. ol., p.163 ss. loo. oll.

they passed the Straits.

Article 21 removed one of the main objections Turkey had to the Lausanne Straits Convention: "should Turkey consider herself to be threatened with imminent danger of war she shall have the right to apply the provisions of Article 20 of the present convention." The rest of the article in the British draft, providing that Turkey discontinues the measures if twothirds of the Council of the League felt that they are unjustified, was also included. Japan, as a non-member of the League, objected and insisted that a further clause be added making it necessary for a majority of the signatories to agree the measures are injustified before Turkey should be compelled to cancel any measures she had taken. The Soviet delegation offered the further amendment that "warships and naval auxiliaries which after having passed through the Straits prior to the use by Turkey of the right conferred on it by the preceding paragraph, find themselves separated from their home ports, will be authorized to return to the said ports. It is, however, understood that Turkey cannot benefit from this right the ships of the State whose attitude had motivated the application of the present article." The Rumanian delegation suggested an amendment which would give Turkey less complete control; "in case Turkey should consider itself menaced by a danger of imminent war it would have the right to apply the dispositions of Article 17 (of the British draft, leaving the matter to the discretion of

^{23.} Loc. cit. 24. Howard, op. cit., p.441

they passed the Stantes.

orgaent convention." The rist of the inticle in the Entitle draft, providing that Turkey discontinues the accentes if twofied, was also included. . sapan, as a non-morber of the Learne, mensures she and taken. The Soylet delegal on offered the firethemselves senar ted from their home pores, will be anthorized to return to the said ports. It is, nowever, understood that orticle." . The Bunarian deleration surrested on erendment To maidenness end of resten end amivend , from deldird end to AND TO . TO . DE STENOH . AS

^{25.} Loc. oit.

Turkey) in regard to warships and naval auxliaries belonging to (25) the State whose attitude constituted for it such a menace." The Turkish delegation felt it was unable to accept this amendment since it would be difficult for Turkey to assure navigation of warships in all security if the Straits were put in a state of defense. M. Litvinov declared further that "I plead not only in favor of the Black Sea states when I demand that ships be authorized to return to their base. I speak for the generality of states, for all navies in the Black Sea at a given moment, and I propose that they be permitted to return to their base outside the Black Sea." The right of warships to return to their bases, as insisted on by the Soviet delegation, was included in Article 21.

Section III dealt with aircraft. The problem of passage of aircraft in the region of the Straits caused much discussion not only as to the flights over the Straits but as to the sovereign rights of Turkey to regulate such flights. M.Paul-Boncour suggested that the same provisions for flights should be made between the Black and Mediterranean Seas, but M.Aras remarked that "the subject of our discussion is the zone of the (27) Straits not the rest of Turkey." According to the final solution, civil aircraft may pass over Turkish territory if they follow the route indicated by the Turkish Government "outside the forbidden zones which may be established in the Straits."

^{26. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p.442 27. <u>Loc. cit.</u> 28. Shotwell, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 164

. penson was at not bedrate a The star of the second to the Makety band not be and a construction of the c the state of the s CA TOTAL COLOR AL LISTING TO STRUCTURE BETT TO THE SECOND AND WAS SINGLED. . The state of the state of erens a te recession sector de consula de la first de consula de la cons - Lie 1. The last of the contract of the contr Astronomic Land to the State of the Control of the / - respectively to the cooper ". yester for the boy our expects and see the fit he for the head of the commence of the commenc

No mention of military aircraft is made, showing the failure of the French to obtain special privileges for Russian airplanes coming to the assistance of France under the Franco-Soviet Pact. The Soviet Union was not too sorry about the ommission for she really preferred immunity from attack by aircraft in the Black Sea to the privilege of being permitted to help France. France also failed in her attempt to obtainpermission for the passage of aircraft carriers. They were not included in the category of "light surface vessel", and the Soviet Union opposed the suggestion on the ground that aircraft carriers in the Black Sea might threaten her industrial regions on the Black Sea coast.

Section IV, "General Provisions" provides, first, that
the functions of the International Commission be transferred to
the Turkish Government (Article 24). The British delegation
was practically alone in its protest against complete abolition
of the International Commission of the Straits; even in its
draft it maintained the commission for collecting statistics
and other information. It, said the British, provided a visible
symbol of the primciple that the Straits constituted an inter(29)
national waterway, and that its abolition might set a precedent
for the abolition of similar international bodies elsewhere.
However, the British abandoned the effort when it was clear that
the Turkish delegate would not consider a compromise. This

^{29.} In international law, an "international waterway" is a waterway "open to the vessels of all nations upon a footing of perfect equality with vessels of the riparian state (s)." Fenwick, International Law, p. 293

To mention of military strongly to made, showing the fellure of the desire of transfer simplement of the assistance of france under the france-voyiet had. Coming to the assistance of france under the france-voyiet had. The Boylet union was not too sorry about the oral salon for and really preferred inmulty from ettery by aircreft in the block. See to the privilege of being permitted to bely brance. Insuce also willed in her attempt to obtain eralesion for the manage of blockers to the included in the datesory of block ourseless where not included in the datesory of block surface vessels, and the Soviet Union opposed the conganion on the strong that the strong that the strong on the strong date.

Section IV, "General Invitation, Invitate, that the functions of the International Commission to the tennature of the functions of the functional Cartesian Commission (Article 3d). Whe Pritish delenation was resolvently four in its protest sections complete shouldness of the International Cormission of the Cartity, even in its function of the Intition of the Cartity, provided a visible and other information. It, said the Neitlish, provided a visible symbol of the primite and that the Constituted an international vateracy, and that its abolition might set a preparent for the abolition of similar ancestmentional to its olse deer that the Intition of similar ancestmentional to use olse deer that the Turkish delegate would not consider a commontee. This

^{29.} In international law, an "international materials" is a state of the property of the prope

insistence on the matter is cited as one of the reasons for believing that Turkey's real motive for demanding a change was to enhance her prestige, because the International Commission as a collector of statistics was hardly a danger to Turkish sovereignty or to the security of the Straits. Even the right of the Turksih Government to collect statistics concerning the passage of capital ships of Black Sea powers through the Straits was questioned. Said M. Litvinov, 'We are not informed of the passage of ships through the Suez Canal, the Kiel Canal and other navigable ways. Why must an exception be made for the Straits? Why these statistics which appear useless?" . Nevertheless, the Turkish Government was to collect statistics to furnish Articles 11, k2, 14, and 18 with data. Article 25 of the same section provided that nothing in the Montreux Convention was to interfere with the rights and obligations of Turkey or the other signatories in reference to the League of Nations.

Section V, "Final Provisions" contains regulations concerning ratification, accession, duration, and revision. The treaty was to be open to accession by any power signatory to the Treaty at Lausanne, in other words, Italy could sign it later, if she wished to. By Article 28, the Convention was to remain in force for twenty years even though both the British and Turkish drafts proposed fifteen years. At the end of each five year period, each signatory would be "entitled to infiate

Howard, op. cit., p.445

anhance her prestine, because the international Com ission as eighty or to the security of the Straits. Even the right of was questioned. Said M. Mitvinov. "Wa are not informed of the other navigable ways. Why must an exception be made for the theless, the Turkish Covernment as to collect statistics to To de eloite, estab dolv 85 bns .41 .51 .11 seloite datas tev or was other signification of enterine to the Leville of its . 3/1037

Section V, "Final Provisions, contains regulations concercing intification, accession, duration, and revision. The treaty was to be open to consuston by any power signatory to the freety at Lausanne, in other words, Leely could sign it later, it she wished to. By Article 28, the Convention was to reasin in forme for twenty years even though both the British and furtish drafts proposed fifteen years. At the end of each five year period, each signatory would be "entitled to infiste

cas. dio.go brawoh .do

a proposal for amending one or more provisions;" any request for a revision to Articles 14 or 18 would have to be supported by one other contracting power and to other articles two other contracting powers would have to agree. If diplomatic channels failed, a conference would be held at which Articles 14 and 18 would need a three-quarters majority for revision and all others would have to be unanimous. The latter provision did not entirely please the British delegate for he went on to say Great Britain had given their permission to certain objectionable features only because they thought that "the five year revision.. (would)...not be subordinated to the veto of a power, which, for one reason or another, would be opposed to revison."

The Annexes to the Montreux Convention were of a technical nature and will not be discussed in detail. Annex I defined the taxes and dues to be imposed by the Turkish authorities on vessels passing through the Straits. Annex II provided definitions of various types of war vessels as laid down in the London Naval Treaty of March, 1936. Special provision was made for the passage through the Straits of three old Japanese training ships in Annex III. Annex IV listed categories for the calculation of tonnage passing the Straits. A final protocol permitted Turkey to begin remilitarizing the Straits on the day of the signature of the Convention, and to apply the new regime of the Straits as of August 15.

In accordance with the final protocol, on July 20, 1936, 31. Shotwell, op. cit., p.166

a promosal for amending one or more provisions:" any request for a provision to intiales la or 18 and d have to me amounties by one other contracting power and to other exticles my other contracting powers would have to agree. If diplomatic channels contracting powers would have to agree. If diplomatic channels intialed, a conference would be held at thich intiales le and 18 would need a times-questions unforthy for revision and all others could have to be unenthous. The latter provision did not entitled a provision to rest on to say drast tirely places the first permission to certain of sectionable features only because they thought that "the first rear revision." for tures only because they thought that the case revision, for tures only because they revised to the revision.

The innexes to the Montreur Convention war of a technical nuture and will not be discussed in detail. Lawr I defined the terms and dues to be imposed by the furtish nuclorities on was east passing through the firster. Annex II provided definitions of verious types of war wesselves laid down in the London cavel treaty of March, 1936. Special provision was safe to the passing the direct of three old depends training ships in the mex III. Lamex IV listed categories for the calculation of totality passing the Straits. A final protected paralited form the forms of the Straits on the way of the signstance to the Convention, and to apply the new regime of the Straits of the Strai

In accordance with the first on July 20, 1958,

M. Enetwell, on. oit., p.186

the day the Montreux Convention was signed, an extraordinary meeting of the Turkish Cabinet was held at Angora and on midnight of the same day, 30,000 Turkish troops marched into the demilitarized zone of the Straits, where they found awaiting them the whole of the Turkish fleet led by the battleship Avuz (the new name of the notorious Goeben). The next morning President Kemal Ataturk toured the Straits zone. On August 24, the International Commission of the Straits sent a message to the Secretary-General of the League announcing its decision to wind up its existence and hand over its functions to the Turkish Government.

The Montreux Convention, entirely aside from its at least temporary solution of the Straits problem, is important because it represents a peaceful solution to an issue which might easily have led to war and because of its influence on the larger issues of naval strategy and European politics. It helped throw light on the new situation in the Mediterranean and in forcing the governments concerned to clarify their future policies in the light of the failure of sanctions. Although because of Articles 19, 21, and 253some claim that it strengthened the League's position in European politics, actually with it "yet another instrument of international supervision was abolished and with it a precedent for the internationalization of various key strategic position on the Earth's surface which have become of great value in the future evolution of the system of collective security."

32. Routh, op. cit., p.586

the day the Montreux Convention was algued, an extraordinary mosting of the Turkish Cobinet was held at Angora and on midnight of the same day, 50,000 lurkish troops derohed into the newflitarized zone of the Straits, where they found switting them the whole of the Turkish flast led by the bettleship avaz then the whole of the Turkish flast led by the bettleship avaz (the new name of the nuturious Josish). Fire here morning Fresident Kemel Atatura toured the Straits zone. On survey 54, the left Membla Atatura toured the Straits zone. On survey 54, the left without Commission of the Straits and a massage to the Secretary-Jeneral of the Legue ancomments to the Turkish Government.

The content Convention, entirely aside from its at least temporary solution of the Shuelts problem, is importent because it represents a peaceful colution to an issue which misht easily nove its to war and because of its influence on the larger issue of newel stated, and furopean politics. It is ped throw light or has new situation in the mediterrances and in foreing the covernments concerned to clarify their future notificies in the light of the failure of senctions. Although because of Artholes 19, 21, and Shisome maim that it strengthened the Loague's position in European politics, actually with it yet another instruction in European politics, actually with it yet another instruction of intermetional supervision was abolished and with it a peacedent for the intermetional supervision of various key stratecto and within a recome of cease value and the future evolution of the system of orlective security.

The signing of the Montreux Convention coincided too exactly with the outbreak of General Franco's revolt against the Spanish Government to be as completely effective in clearing the air in the Mediterranean as it might have been. Its effect was more of an indirect one of hastening the end of Mediterranean naval agreements among the Sanctionist's powers and possibly contributing toward the signing of the Anglo-Italian Gentlemen's Agreement the following January.

The reaction to the Montreux Convention was generally favorable. Great Britain is said to have considered the budding Turco-British friendship and its resultant reinforcement of the balance of power in the Mediterranean sufficient compensation for not getting exactly what she wanted in the treaty. Mr. Eden made a speech in the House of Commons on July 27th stating that the new settlement was "very satisfactory" because it maintained as far as possible the principle of freedom of the Straits as an international waterway, and at the same time provided an outstanding example of treaty revision by peaceful methods. He also thanked the Turkish Government for their especial statement at the end of the conference that they would take especial care of the graves of those who died in the Gallipoli campaign.

The Soviet Union was pleased about the improvement of the new convention over the Lausanne Convention, but it was not entirely satisfied, as shown by Litvinov's statement at the end of the conference: "The Conference had recognized, although in an

^{33.} Ibid., p.645

The signific of the Hontreux Convention evinoided too exsoily with the outbreak of Coneral Franco's meralt resinst the
Spanish Government to be as completely effective in clearing
the sir in the deditorraness as it might have been. Its effect
was note of an indirect one of hestening the end of deditorraneen nevel arrestents smont the denoti mist's powers and possitly contributing toward the signing of the englo-Itelian Contlety contributing toward the signing of the englo-Itelian Contle-

The resolion to the contrata Convention was remembly favorable. Great Britain is weld to have considered the budding
Three-Britaish friendship and its resultant definitions of the
belance of never in the Medicerranean sufficient commensation
for now catting exactly what she wanted in the treaty. Mr. Iden
made a speson in the House of Gowenes on July 27th stating that
the new settlement was "very satisfactory" because it maintained
as for as possible the principle of freedom of the Straits as
as for as possible the principle of freedom of the Straits as
en intermational materway, and at the same time provided an outstanding example of treaty revision by resocial actions. He
also thanked the Turkish Government for chair aspecial statement
at the end of the conference that they would cake expected core
at the graves of those the dist they would cake expected core

The Soviet Union was pleased about the improvement of the as convention, but it was not end on the Lausenne Convention, but it was not end of timely estimated, us shown by hitvinov's statement at the end of the conference; "The Conference had recognized, situated in an

dao. .. bidi . co

insufficient way, the special rights of the riverain states of the Black Sea in the Black Sea in connection with the passage of the Straits, as well as the special geographical situation of the Black Sea in which the general conceptions of the absolute (34) freedom of the seas could not be entirely applied." In scorn toward Germany and Italy, Litvinov said that the Montreux Convention "dealt the first crushing blow against those who sought (35) the supremacy of brute force." The immediate press reactions were most favorable, for the Soviet Union had certainly obtained her main objectives. The successful compromise between Great Britain and the Soviet at the end of the conference smoothed the way, also, for the provisional Anglo-Russian agreement reached on the limitation of naval construction at the end of July.

The French Government was fairly well satisfied although it had not obtained full recognition of regional pacts, but it had hopes, which were shared by Rumania, Greece, and Jugoslavia, that the detente reached at the end of the Conference would lead to a Mediterranean Pact.

Greece also approved and announced that she was in no hurry to refortify the islands of Lemnos and Samothrace, although she now had the right to do so. The Bulgarians regarded the new convention as a precedent for the revision of the Treaty of Neuilly and seemed to have hopes, after the rapprochement it reached

^{34.} Howard, op. cit., p.446

^{35.} George Glasgow, "Turkey and the Straits," The Contemporary Review, 157, April, 1940, p.495

insufficient way, the special rights of the riverain states or the Plack See in the Displace of the Straits, as well as the steptial prographical struction of the Straits, as well as the steptial prographical struction of the state Sea in which the general conceptions of the absolute freedom of the seas could not be entirely sppiied." In scorn toward Germany and Italy, Litvinov said that the conceux Convention "dealt the first crushing blow against these who sought the supressey of brute foreship blow against these who sought were most favorable, for the dovier Union had certainly obtained nor mein objectives. The successful compromise setteen Great Heistein and the Saviet State of the conterence succined the may, also, for the provisional angle-Sussian arregent reached on the limitation of nevel equivalential at the end of July.

The French Covernment was fairly well satisfied elthough it had not obtained full recognition of regional pacts, but it had not obtained full recognition of regions, and Jugoslavia, had nopes, which were shared by Amannia, Greece, and Jugoslavia, that the dotante reached at the and of the Confirmme rould load to a hediterranean ract.

Treror also approved and announced that the rus in no larre to referring the islands of Larnes and Samethrate, although and now and the right to do so. The Bulgarian regarded the new convention as a precedent for the revision of the frenty of Benilly, and seemed to have hopes, after the reproduction it reached

das dio ano bramer . p. 445

^{35.} George Clasgow, "Furkey and the burstes," The Contemporary Review, 157, April, 1960, p.495

with its Balkan neighbors, of being invited to join any Mediterranean Pact. Poland, Hungary, and Japan expressed their approval of the successful conclusion of the conference.

Germany, as just mentioned, pointedly expressed her disapproval. Germany had had an unofficial observer at the Montreux Conference, who took home a full report of the discussions. The German press belittled the importance of the Convention and commented on the fickleness of British policy. On February 26, 1937, the German Government informed the Turkish Government through diplomatic channels that certain clauses in the Montreux Convention were not regarded with favor by Germany, particularly those relating to the egress of Soviet warships into the Mediterranean. The Turkish Government was somewhat concerned, but merely retorted that since Germany was neither a signatory of the Montreux Convention nor a Mediterranean power, the matter was no business of hers, and Turkey would brook no interference (36) in matters vital to her security."

The hostile attitude of Italy is much more important because she is a Mediterranean power and was a signatory of the
Lausanne Convention. Italy's attitude before the Montreux conference has already been discussed; at the opening of the Montreux Conference there was an interview between Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, and the Turkish Ambassador to Rome. Italy
objected to the Turkish desire for remilitarization while the
Turkish ambassador tried to explain that Italy should have an

^{36.} Routh, op. cit., p.648

ranean Pact. Foland, Jungary, and Japan expressed their appro-

Corrected the series of the series of intents of the discussion.

Approval. Germany had hed an unclinish observer at the long treux Conference, the took home a full report of the Carvantien and The German press relititied one importance of the Carvantien and commented on the ficulaness of british policy, on rebrusry is, 1937, the German Coverndent informed the rition Bovernment through diplomatic camanals that descript qlouses in the Converns through diplomatic camanals that descript by Germany, writion arily those relating to the series of coviet warships into the Leditorians, Ind Turkish Covernment was somewhet compermed, but the Leditorians of the fines carmany was maither a signatory of the Long that these carmany was maither a signatory of the Long the Convention are a sentited for any series of hore, and Turkey yould brook no interference in matters visal to her security."

(36)

The hostile attitude of Italy is much nore important because she is a Mediterranean power and as a signatory of the
Lausanne Convention. Italy's attitude bolors the Contraw coni wence has already been discussed; at the opening of the Contraw Conference there was an interview between Count Giano, Ital
Lian Wordon Minister, and the Turkish Ambas ador to Come. Italy
of coted to the Turkish Assire for remiliterrantion while the
Intities alseador arge to explain that Italy should have an

interest in it to check the increase of German influence in South-East Europe. The next day the Italian press attacked Turkey say ing her request was a backward step in international relations, merely a continuation of British snctionist policy against Italy that Italy was not ready to say "amen" to the decisions of the Montreux Convention. The Turkish press retorted that "the discussion of a question vital to other nations cannot be postponed to suit the convenience of Italy." The Italian government controlled press went on to say that Italy would not consider the raising of sanctions as a sufficient concession to obtain her renewed cooperation in the affairs of Europe, but that the raising of sanctions would put an end to the "uneasy situation in the Mediterranean" which had been Turkey's chief pretext for remilitarizing the Straits. It seemed clear that the condition of Italy's attendance at the Montreux Convention would have been the removal not only of the economic sanctions but of the military and political sanctions implied in the reinforcement of the British fleet in the Mediterranean and the continuation of the Mediterranean naval arrangements between Great Britain, France, Greece, Jugoslavia, and Turkey. This was not done, but the powers still hoped for Italian cooperation until July 5 when it became obvious that Italy intended to continue sulking. After the British concessions the Italian attitude was even more unfriendly, since \$he felt they were aimed at her: not even the British decision on July 9 to withdraw the reinforcements which had been tempora-

^{37.} Ibid., p.625

^{38.} Ibid., p.626

East Surono. The next day the Italian press wheeled lurkey sawvier ferions volled deficitors weither to noticentimes a vieram ontrenx Convention. The Turkish press retorted that "the disvoluti to some have of fine of .attact out quicitat ltaly's strendance of the Mantroux Corvention rould be ve benn the terrangen navel erromemonts between Greek Britain, grance, dreede, Trips end further, and for one shir .vestro bas stvalentil size Itely interior to continue out dura. After the neither cornoistook dailing and not one; not bemis orew went flet and

^{87.} IBBE., p. 625

rily added to the British fleet in the Mediterranean and the July 15th announcement that the French Government regarded their naval arrangements with the British Mediterranean fleet as terminated succeeded in soothing the irate Italians.

Italy's stubbornness increased the hostility of the other states toward her; their feeling was that Italy would have to adhere to the Montreux Convention anyway, but that it was too bad that Italian absence from the Conference prevented any more general discussion toward reestablishing a normal situation in the Mediterranean. On July 13, M. Aras made a declaration intended to convey the impression the Turkish delegation did not wish the Convention to be left open to the signature of powers not present at the Conference, but that it reserved the right to sign bilateral agreements on the basis of the new Convention. Four days before the signing of the treaty, M.Aras had an interview with the permanent representative of Italy at Geneva and, in the final text of the Convention, provision was made for subsequent Italian adherence.

After signing of the Montreux Convention, the Italian press described it as "unrealistic" because it took "no account of the dynamism in European politics" and as valueless since it lacked (39) the signature of one of the powers most directly affected. The Italian Government was not only bitter about the matter because of its injured prestige, but it disliked increased Soviet influence which might counterbalance its own in the eastern Mediter-

^{39.} Ibid., p.648

rily loth amnouncement that the Iranoh covernment recorded their July loth amnouncement that the Iranoh covernment recorded their navel arrangements with the british aditerranses fleek as term nated succeeded in soothing the trate Italians.

Ttally's stubbornness increased the hotfility of the other states bornerd her; their feeling markint Tealy rould have to adhere to the Montreux Convention anymay, but that it was too hed that Italian absence from the Conference prevented any more penoral discussion to resslubilishing a normal situation in the Mediterransen. On July 15, a. The made a decisiotion did intended to convey the impression the Turkish delegation did not wish the Convention to be left open to the signature of powers not present at the Convention of the traserved the forwardon. Four days before the signific of the traserve with the persence, but that it reserved the bonvention. Four days before the signific of the trasty, M.Ares had an interview with the persencent representative of the trasty of Convention, rowision was made for subsequent Italian Scheracher.

After signing of the Contract Convention, the Italian president to a "unresitation" because it took "no account of the dynamiem in European politics" and as valuelose since it light the tignishment of one of the nowers and directly affected. The Italian lovernment was not only sitter whout the matter lectuse of its injured prestige, but it disliked increased Boviet influence with acoustorbalance its own in the eastern leditor-

Boot , bloc . ec

ranean and also the success Great Britain was having in winning Turkey's friendship.

Turkey, feeling secure in its friendships with the Soviet Union and Great Britain and its own strength decided not to press the matter. Turkey could, also, always discriminate against Italian commercial ships if she insisted on warship rights under the old regime. The President of the Turkish Cabinet remarked at the beginning of August: "those who have a policy of international peace at heart will have profit from collaboration with us. Those who expect a different policy from us will be (40) disappointed."

In a short time, Italy had realized the weakness of her position and decided to cultivate Turkish friendship. At the end of July, she informed Turkey, Greece, and Jugoslavia of her peaceful intentions in the eastern Mediterranean and informed Turkey that she still considered herself bound by the Turco-Italian Pact of 1928. Friendly feelings were encouraged when the Turkish representative was the first to be removed from Addis Ababa without waiting for a decision from Geneva. A dispute between the two powers over the passage of two Spanish ships was not nearly so serious as it might have been. By the end of January, 1937, the Italian press announced that direct conversations would take place on the iniative of Turkey and made it clear that adherence would come about only on two conditions, first, that no discrimination be made against Italy for being a

^{40.} Loc. cit.

reneen and also the success Great Britain was having in winning Turkey's Triendenip.

Turkey, Tealing secure in its friendships with the Soviet Union and Greet Britain and its own strength decided not to orese the matter. Furkey could, also, always discriminate are almost Italian connercial ships if she insisted on warship rights under the old regime. The President of the Turkish Cabinet remarked at the Deginning of August: "those who have a policy of international years at heart will have profit from collaboration discount us. Those who expect a different policy from us will be discounted."

In a stort time, Italy and realized the resimese of her position and decided to cultivate Furtish Intendents. At the and of July, she informed Turkey, Greene, and Jugoslavia of her peaceful intendions in the eastern seditorranees and informed Turkey that she still considered herself hound by the Turce-Italian Feet of 1958. Intendly faciling were encouraged when the Turkish representative we had first to be removed from Addie Turkish representative we decision from Genera. A dispute that we take we take the passages of two Spatish had been the two nevers over the passages of two Spatish ahips was not nearly so serious as it might have been. By the end of washing would take place on the inistive of Turkey and made attent, that no discrimination to rade against I saly for being a

[.]TED . DOIL . 04

late-comer, and, secondly, that any decision which might have to be referred to the League Council under Article 21 of the Covenant would also be referred to the Italian Government in view of her de facto absence from Geneva. On February 2 and 3, 1937, a meeting was held between Count Ciano and M. Aras. According to the Italian press, Italy definitely wanted concessions and also was concerned with the Straits regime only in so far as it affected Turkey and not with the Montreux Convention as a whole. The conversations were said to be only a preface.

No agreements were officially made at that time. It was not until May 2, 1938, after Turkey had given de facto recognition of Italy's annexation of Ethiopia that Italy finally signed the Montreux Convention.

^{41.} Ibid., p.650

lebe-court, and, secondly, that any decision which misht have
to be referred to the Lesque Council under Itiols 21 of the
coverant would also be referred to the Itelian Coverant in
view of her de facto absence from Ceneva. On February 2 and 3,
1257, a meeting was held between Counc Cisao and 3. kros. Locar
ding to the Halian press, itsly definitely embed concessions
and also was concerned atth the Straign regime only in so far
as it effected further and not with the Straign regime only in so far
as it effected further and not with the Sonbreux Convention as
to agreements were convergentially and at that time. It was not
a hole. The convergentially and at that time. It was not
to agreements were officially and at that time, It was not
the Mantrews Convention.

^{41.} Did., p.680

CHAPTER V

THE STRAITS DURING WORLD WAR II

V SSTEARS

As far as the Straits were concerned, the period from the Montreux Convention to the beginning of the Second World War was a calm one. In February, 1937, the Turkish Government had announced a special increase of about twenty million dollars in Turksih military estimates to be devoted to refortification and also the placing of a fifteen million dollar contract with an English firm for the erection of steel-works in northern Turkey. From then on, Turkey was busy building a carefully planned network of defense and attack positions; modern defenses were built on both sides of the Straits, while roads were built in the neighboring areas to permit the rushing up of heavy artillery as fast as possible. Large quantities of mines were prepared for any emergency.

In Turkey as a whole, an intensive process of nationalization was still going on. Foreigners, especially Germans, became more and more umpopular. German spies were arrested; German professors in Turkish schools were dismissed. Turkey's relations with Britain and the Soviet Union were even friendlier than before. In the early part of 1939, Turkey had great hopes for further cooperation among her friends. An Anglo-French treaty with Russia was being contemplated, and the Soviet Union approved of a Turco-British treaty. On May 12, Mr. Chamberlain announced that a treaty of mutual aid and assistance was going to be drawn up soon between Turkey and Britain. On June 23, the French and Turkish governments issued a joint statement to the same effect

the state of the responsible to the survey of the survey of the survey of the survey of The war carry to any south to soft the universal collision of wanties - The section to the control or the section of the canend . The transfer of the contraction of the act of the act of the contraction of the of the particular of the state deling of a beet and the stime of the part of the state o to sieve for all yedford , Rop P We did to Them int all sero There is a the control of the control of the same of the same and the the remaind to keep the far the temple of the first the process a section of the section of Distriction of the series of t John a come destroy sie printe that a boar sient spier of the

between them. Germany watched this growing friendship with apprehension. On August 24, the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact with Germany to the astonishment of the Turkish government; in September, the Soviet Union attacked Finland. The Turkish people had always felt close to the Finns, and looked on the Soviet attack as almost a betrayal of themselves.

However, since it wished to have a free field of action in the Balkans, the Soviet Government was still anxious to retain its firendly relations with Turkey. In September, the Turkish Foreign Minister, Shukru Saracoglu, was invited to Moscow; Turkey hoped that the non-aggression pact between Turkey and the Soviet Union, to stabilize the balance of power in the Black Sea, might still be signed. Stalin tried to get Saracoglu to agree not to apply Article 19 if the Soviet Union should be the "aggressor" and to keep the Straits closed to warships hostile to her. Saracoglu replied that Turkey had the best will in the world to oblige the Soviet Union, but that she had been appointed guardian of the Straits by all the signatories of the Convention and could not undertake to favor one at the expense of the others. Negotiations broke down on October 17, with hopes expressed on both sides of future more fruitful conversations.

This blow did not, however, prevent Turkey, in fact probably encouraged her to, from signing a treaty of mutual assistance on October 19 with Great Britain and France. Article 2 (1) reads: "In the event of an act of aggression by a European powereleading to war in the Mediterranean area in which France and the United

between them. Germany retelled this growing Intendently with apprendentled. On against 26, the Soviet Vation eigher a conservine ston root with terminy to the astonishment of the Turkish government; in Soptember, the Soviet union attacked Finland. The Turkish retelled to the views, and looked on the Soviet attack on the Soviet attack of the Soviet attack on the Soviet attack of the Soviet attack of the Soviet attack of the Soviet of

in the spline, the SevietsGryenmant was still anticus to retein the Threndly relations with Turiow. In September, the Turliab loreign witherer, Shukru Saraceglu, was invited to Honow;
liab loreign witherer, Shukru Saraceglu, was invited to Honow;
Turkey hoped that the non-argrenation pact between Turiony and the
Jeviet Union, to shabilize the balance of no or in the Plack Sea,
adolt still be singed. Stalin tried to set Honoropin to agree
not to apply inticle 18 if the Courtet Union should be the "inpressor" and to keep the Stalin tried to warships hearille to
her. Jerreplu teriled that Turiow and the best will in the
grandle to the Straig that Union, but the safe had been appointed
and could not undertake to force on the extension that the care of the conservations traine from one of the conversions.

This blow Hid not, towers, prevent Towers, in fact probably encouraged her to, from similar a treaty on mutual acutatence on Cotober 19 with treat Iritain and France, article 2 (1) mode: "In the event of an sut of agaresaten by a Suropean power deading to war in the Medagerraness area in suich France and the United

Kingdom and will lend her all aid and assistance in her power."

Article 2 (2) read the same butnwith the names interchanged.

However, Turkey was not going to risk alienating the Soviet Union: Protocol 2 read that "the obligations undertaken by Turkey in virtue of the above-mentioned Treaty cannot compel that country to take action having as its effect, or involving as its consequence, entry into armed conflict with the Soviet Union."

Articles 4 and 5 provide for consultation in case of aggression not specifically involving active participation and secure for Great Britain and France at least Turkey's benevolent neutrality in case of aggression against either of the two states.

The treaty made a bad impression in both Moscow and Berlin. Neither would believe that it was not directed at a particular state. Soviet and Turkish relations became colder; the Germans were hot at all adverse to helping this feeling along. German sources spread tales of Russian designs on India and of Turkish plans to destroy the oil-wells at Baku. They even went so far as to hint that the terrible earthquake, which occurred in eastern Asia Minor at the end of 1939 was a result of divine wrath at Turkish abandonment of her former ally, Germany.

Up until 1944, Turkey adhered to the Montreux Convention to the best of her ability although there were complaints on both sides, of a fairly minor nature. The Straits, in accordance with Article 19, were closed to warships of belligerents. From

^{1.} James T. Shotwell and Francis Deak. Turkey at the Straits, New York, 1940, p.169
2. Ibid., p.171

Annother the selection of the selection in case in her power."

Article 2 (2) read the selection with the name interobenced.

However, Turkey was not soing to risk elienating the Soviet Undion: Irotocol 2 read that "the obligations undertwise by Turkey in virtue of the above-mentioned Treaty cannot compel that country to take action having as its effect, or involving as its consequence, entry into erged conflict with the baviet Union."

(2)

Articles 4 and 5 provide for consultation in case of surression not secretary involving active participation and secure for the section and France at least furley's benevolant neutrality and Fritzin and France at least furley's benevolant neutrality in case of surression to the two states.

The treaty made a bad impression in both Hossow and Replin. Patther would believe that it was not lirected at a particular state. Soviet and Turkinh relations became colder; the Germans were not at all adverse to helping this realing slong. German sources agreed tales of Atsetan designs on india and of Turkish plans to destroy the oil-wells at Faku. They even went so far as to high that the terrible earthque's, raish occurred in castern acis inor at the serible earthque's, raish occurred in castern acis inor at the serible earthque's, raish occurred in castern acis inor at the series of 1939 was a result of divine weath at Turkish abandonment of her former ally, Germany.

Up until 1844, Turkey adhered to the Montreux Convention to he best of her oblity although there were conclaints on ioth sides, of a fairly himor nature. The Straits, in accordance with ritols 19, were closed to examine of belliperents. From

^{1.} Jenes 1. Shorvell and Francis Deak. Cumkey at the Straits. New York, 1940, p.169

September, 1939, to March, 1940, this worked a hardship on Britain and France, for the interference with Soviet-German trade in the Black Sea would have helped their cause considerably. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance obviously was not yet applicable as the war had not reached the Mediterranean area. With the entrance of Italy on the side of Germany in June, 1940, just as France was on the verge of collapse, the war came, although not actively, to the area. Turkey was not expected to, nor did she show any willingness to join Britain in her lone fight against the Axis.

In the fall of 1940, an event occurred, which has been revealed only since the end of the war, proving that the Soviet Union was still very much interested in gaining control of the Straits. On October 13, 1940, the Soviet Union was asked to sign the pact already signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan. T Two secret protocols were to be drawn up, one dividing the British Empire among the four powers, the Soviet's being given a piece "to the South of the territory of the Soviet Republics in the direction of the Indian Ocean" and the other providing that Germany and Italy give the Soviet Union additional rights but not bases, in the Straits. However, Molotov said the Soviet Union would not sign the protocols unless: (1) The first protocol was amended to give the Soviet Union specifically "the area south of Baku and Batum in the direction of the Persian Gulf;" (2) the second protocol included "the granting of bases Time, 48, December 23, 1946, p.26

September, 1939, to Merch, 1940, this worked a hardship on Britain and France, for the interference with Soviet-Cernan trade in the black Sea would have indicat cause considerably. The Treaty of Intual Issistance obviously was not yet applicable as the war had not resched the Heddternenean erea. With the entrance of Italy on the side of Germany in June, 1940, just as France was on the verse of collapse, the war dame, although not settrely, to the area. Turkey was not stoocted to, nor did she show any willingness to join britain in her lone with acainst the Axis.

In the fall of 1940, an event accurred, which has been revealed only since the end of the ver, proving that the Boviet Union was still very much interested in caining control of the Straits. On Ontober 15, 1940, the Soviet Union was asked to sign the poot already signed by Germany, Italy, and Japen. The secret protocols were to be drawn up, one dividing the Fritish Expire shoug the our powers, the Boylet's being riven a piece "to the Gouth of the territory of the conjet Republies in the direction of the Indian Geen" and the other providing that the tormany and Italy give the Coviet Union additional rights, but not bases, in the Straits. Moneyer, Molotov seld the Boylet unless: (1) The first protocol was amended to give the Boylet Union specifically "the ground of Baku and Eatum in the direction of the Persian Collin."

^{6.} Cime, 68, December 88, 1946, p. 26

danelles;" (3) a protocol was added giving the Soviet Union (4) special rights in Bulgaria. The German government did not answer this until pressed to dosso in January of 1941 and then said only "the German government adheres to those ideas proposed to Herr Molotov at the time of his visit to Berlin."

Soviet-German relations became worse after this and finally led to the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. in June, 1941. Germany had safeguarded her relations with Turkey by signing a non-aggression pact with her only a few days before she invaded the Soviet Union.

As war approached Turkish territory in 1941, there were several incidents and accusations. In the late spring, reports were circulated that Germany had asked Turkey for complete military control of the Straits, and Russia, being informed of the German demand, had proposed sharing control of the Straits, a proposition rejected by the Germans. The full details are not yet known, and this may merely be a garbled report of the proposed four pact. This would account for the hurried landings on the Greek Islands, according to London reports. It was a mystery where the German troops which landed on Samothrace and Lemnos came from. Some British authorities at the time believed they had come through the Straits on German merchantmen and had escaped detection by keeping below the hatches. In line with

^{4.} Loc. cit. 5. Loc. cit.

for the U.S.S.S.S. 'u land and see forces of the Boshorus and Ust-danceles;" (5) a protocol was added giving the Soviet Union Special rights in Bulgaria. The German government did not enswer this until pressed to domeo in January of 1941 and then said only "the German government adheres to those ideas proposed to Herr Molotov at the time of his visit to Berlin."

Soviet-German relations became worse after this and Ilmelly led to the German invasion of the U.S.S.H. in June, 1941. Germany had safeguarded nor relations with Torkey by signing a non-agression pact with her only a few days before she invaded the Goviet Union.

ersy erent , Itel al yurdish tentitory in 1941, there were

several incidents and accusations. In the late spring, reports were clrewlated that Germany had asked Turksy for complete military control of the Straits, and hussis, being informed of the German demand, had moraled shuring control of the Straits, a proposition relacted by the Germans. The full details are not yet moven, and this may marely he a carbied report of the proposed four part. This would account for the intraduced landings on the Greek Islands, according to London reports. It was a mystery where the German troops which landed on Samothrade and Lounce came from. Some British arthorities at the time helicyed Lounce came from. Some British arthorities at the time helicyed they had come through the Straits on German marchantmen and had escaped detection by keeping below the intenes. In line with

^{4.} Log. olt.

this theory, British authorities asked the Turkish government to stop such vessels and search them; however, the Turkish government seemed to be satisfied by the German explanation that they were carrying cereals from Bulgaria to Greek ports occupied by the Germans, and, therefore, there was no violation of the Montreux Convention. In 1941, also, Germany tried to make a deal with Turkey by which Italian destroyers would be bought by and sent to Bulgaria, a neutral in the Soviet-Germannwar. Since this was obviously merely a way to escape the regulations of the Montreux Convention, Turkey refused.

The Soviet Union, in her note of August, 1946, mentioned two incidents during the summer of 1941, as evidence of Turkey's negligence. One of these was the passage of the 37 ton vedette boat, Seefalke, "flying a commercial flag and not figuring in the yearbook of war fleets" on July 6, 1941. "This boat was not armed and carried only a big buoy and a life-saving canoe. No indication was discovered that could have implied any use for war aims." The Turkish claim is that the fault was not in Turkey's handling of the situation, but in the definition and tonnage requirements in the Montreux Convention itself. The second incident concerned the Italian tanker Tarvisio: "the Tarvision crossed the Straits in June, 1941, as a merchant boat. Passage of the boat was called to the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a fraudulent case seeing that the ship in question figured also on the list of auxiliary ships of the New York Times, August 25, 1946, p.12. 7. Loc. cit.

this theory, British sutherlifes asked the Turkish Movernment to stop such vessels and search them; however, the Turkish Movernment stop such vessels and seatisfied by the German explanation that they serve carrying cereals from Bulgaria to Greek ports onequied by the Germans, and, therefore, there was no violation of the lontroux Convention. In 1941, also, Germany wied to rake a deal with Turkey by which Italian destroyers would be houset by and sent to Bulgaria, a neutral in the Soviet-Germanyar, wince the loate was covicusly merely a vey to escape the resultions of the Convention, Turkey refused.

The Soviet mion, in her dote of suguet, 1946, mentioned two incidents during the summer of 1961, as evidence of furkey's negligence. Une of these was the partie of the Sy ton vedette no animalite. "Thying a commercial riag and got figuring in the yesthook of war fleets" on July 6, 1961. "This heat was not armed and carried only a big bucy and a life-saving cance. for war sime." The turkish claim to that the fault was not in Turkey's handling of the sinetion, but in the definition and tonning requirements in the Montrein Convention Itself. The Torvision orossed the Straits in June, 1941, as a corosat boat. al cine and leaf apiece occo unelchest a su externa materia to . New York Ilass, sugust 85, 1946, p.18. 7. Lag. alt.

Italian war fleet. When the Italian embassy was asked for explanations, it affirmed that the Tarvisio was crossed off the list of auxiliary ships and was navigating exclusively for commercial purposes. The Government of the republic ordered authorities to arrest the Tarvisio at the next attempt to cross. The Tarvisio presented itself a second time on August 19, 1941, at the entrance to the Dardanelles. Passage was refused." The Turkish note goes on to say that the Turkish government did not change its point of view about not recognizing the right "to transform auxiliary ships into merchant vessels during wartime." "The Soviet ambassador, during a visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on August 25, 1941, expressed the gratitude of the Soviet government for the decision" of the Turkish government and its agreement with the Turkish view. There seems to be no reason not to believe the Turkish report since Turkey professed herself to be alloyal signatory of the Pact of 1939 and, also, since there were relatively few complaints, and these were divided between the two belligerent groups.

Concerning her obligations under the Mutual Assistance
Treaty, Turkey had done nothing; "in the summer of 1941, Turkey
informed Germany that she would not grant unopposed passage to
German troops, and when the German offensive did not come off,
her cynical statesmen credited Turkish neutrality alone with
having protected British interests in the Near and Middle East."

^{8.} Loc. cit.
10. Loc. cit.
11. Heinz Eulau, "Turkey and the Straits," New Republic, vol.113
July 23, 1945, p.100

Laltan was filedt. Then the Italian enbassy was asked for exelanations, it officed that the Tarvisio was crossed off the list purposes. The Government of the republic ordered authoritics to arrest the Larvisio at the next attempt to cross. The Term visio presenced itself a second bime on autust 10, 1911, at the entrance to the Dardanelles. Pageage as refused." The Tur-". emitter and the slagger traderen othi spine wellfur merenny The Soviet and estate a willing a visit to the Liniary of Sorelon trivite on .unist 25, 1001, everyassed the gratitude of the doubt agreement with the Turkish view. There seems to be no rescon to be alloyel signatory of the fact of 1959 and, also, since there were vote tively few complaints, and these were divided between the two bellicerent erouse.

Concerning her obligations under the United Assistance Treaty, Turkey and done nothing; "in the sames of Julley Turkey informed Cernary that she would not great unopposed passage to Cernar turops, and when the Gernar offensive did not come off, her cynigal statesmen oredited Turkich neutrality alone with [1]

^{11.} Helan Fular, "Turkey and the Stratts," has happhile, vol.113

Britain, according to the Pact, should have sent materials and troops to Turkey if she needed them and had been unable to do so in her difficult military state.

During 1942 and 1943, no incidents in the Straits attracted the particular attention of either side. The Soviets did accuse the Turkish authorities in their notes of August, 1946, of permitting questionable German commercial shipping through the Straits in November and December of 1942. However, the Turkish government retorted that "no German commercial ships went through the Straits in November and December, 1942, as it is claimed."

It went on to say that "between January 1, 1943 and January 1, 1944, only ten commercial ships of 19, 476 total tonnage and whose commercial status was observed definitely by authorities concerned, passed through the Straits for the Black Sea."

However, although the Straits regime was running smoothly, Turkey itself was growing closer and closer to active cooperation with the Allies. While Anglo-Turkish negotiations were proceeding in September, 1943, the Soviet Journal launched an attack on Turkey for her neutrality, accusing her of benevolent neutrality toward Germany, of thereby ensuring the safety of Germany's Balkan flank, and stating that if Turkey had not been neutral, Germany could not have fought on the Soviet front. The reason for this attack, which did, as hoped, embarrass Great Britain, was Soviet alarm over the close collaboration between

^{12.} New York Times, August 25, 1946, p. 12 Loc. cit. 14. Eulau, op. cit., p.101

britain, according to the Pact, should have sent materials and thoops to Turkey if she needed them and had been unable to do so in her difficult military state.

Suring 1942 and 1945, so incidents in the Straits attracted the particular sttention of either side. The South the South the tention of the Turkish authorities in their motes of aurust, 1946, of permitting questionable German conserval shipping through the Straits in Sovember and December of 1942. Sowever, the Turkish government retorted that "no German dommorpial ships went through the Straits in November and December, 1942, as it is claimed." (12) ugh the Straits in November and December, 1943, as it is claimed." It went on to say that "between January 1, 1944, only ten conservate ahips of 17, and total tennace and whose conserval status was observed definitely by authorities concerned, passed through the straits for the Straits for the Straits and Sag. (13)

However, although the Strains regime was running smoothly.

Turkey itself was growing closer and closer to active cooperation
with the Allies. Thile angle-Turkish negotiations were proceeding in September, 1943, the downer fournal launched an attack
on Turkey for her neutrality, angusing her of benevolent neutraity toward Semany, of thereby ensuring the arroty of Conmany's welforn flant, "and attain, and" if Turkey and not been
neutral, Certany could notehowe fought on the soviet front."

The reason for this etcack, which sid, as hoped, enturess dreat
Tritein, was Soviet alors over the close collaboration neumeen

^{101.} T. o. o. t. turust fines, surust fi, 1946. p. 12.

the two states. Churchill himself had conferred with Turkish leaders earlier in the year after the Casablanca Conference, and the British had been building air fields in Turkish Asia Minor. Eden's conference with the Turkish government in November failed to bring Turkeyninto the war, for which the Soviet Union was glad because she wanted Turkey to enter on her own terms, not on Great Britain's.

In the fall of 1943, before the Teheran Conference, Germany sounded the Soviet Union out on making a separate peace. The latter gave Germany the impression she would sign one if Germany would agree to: "(1) recognition of Soviet annexation of the Baltic states; (2) Russian control of the Dardanelles; (3) Russian expansion south and east to Gwadar on the Arabian Sea; (4) German support of Soviet demands for control of Dairen in Manc(15) churia." Germany refused to agree to such Russian control of the Middle East.

The Soviet Union, undaunted in her desires, decided to press
the Allies. It is reported that she unofficially made it clear
to Churchill and Roosevelt at Teheran in November that she wanted
access to the Straits as one of the rewards for her long fight
against Germany. This conference, from a realistic point of view,
merely set up spheres of interest, and Turkey fell under the
Soviet one. At discussions held after Teheran, the Turkish president asked Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt if
they were willing to guarantee Turkish independence against the

Time, vol.48, December 23, 1946, p.26

15.

the two states. Churchill himself had conferred with Tarkish leaders cerlier in the year after the Casablance Conference, and the Eritish had been building air fields in Turkish had been building air fields in Turkish had lead to bring Turkey into the war, for which the Soviet Union was glad to bring Turkey into the war, for which the Soviet Union was glad because she wanted Furkey to enter on her own terms, not on Greet Sritain's.

In the fall of 1943, before the Teheran Conference, Temp up sounded the Soviet Union out on making a separate pasce. The latter gave Germany the impression she would sign out if Germany would sares to: "(1) recognition of Soviet anneastion of the Laltic states; (2) Russian control of the Dardanelles; (3) Russian control of the Dardanelles; (4) Russian contain and east to Gradar on the Labien Las; (4) Germany refused to Sartes to control of Dairen in Henchelles." Germany refused to sare to such Russian control of the Halis Hasian sontrol of the Halis Hasian sontrol of

The Soviet Union, under med in her desires, decided to press
the Allies. It is reported that she unofficially made it clear
to Churchill and accesvelt at Toheran in Movember that she wanted
cooses to the Straits as one of the rewards for her lene fight
equinat Germany. This conference, from a realistic point of view,
merely set up spheres of interest, and Turkey fell under the
coviet one. At discussions held after Teheran, the furnish prosident asked frime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt if
they were willing to parameter Churchill and President Roosevelt if
they were willing to parameter Turkish independence afainst the

Soviet Union if she should try to make Turkey a Soviet satellite and possibly annex the Straits. In reply, "While assuring President Inonu that Moscow had no territorial aspirations in Turkey, Britain and America cautioned him to get on well with the Soviet Union since Turkey could not count on the aid of British—(16)

American troops if a Russo-Turkish split developed." The Soviet Union had won the first round in her struggle to gain control over the Straits.

Soviet Union with Turkey, still adamant in her decision to maintain the Montreux Convention and show no partiality, even after Italy's defeat. In March, Turkey refused to permit ex-Italian fleet units to join the Soviet fleet units in the Black Sea, a move which would not only have restored complete control of the Black Sea to the Soviet Union, but would have placed her in a position potentially strong enough to launch a land and amphibious campaign against the Balkans, especially Rumania. As it was, the Soviet fleet had suffered heavy losses from German air attacks while, on the other hand, a few German submarines had been shipped down the Danube, and Rumanian monitors, gunboats, and some altered transport craft had given the enemy a small navy in the Black Sea.

In March, it was announced that, since Turkey was not helping the Allies, the latter would no longer send Turkey arms.

In April, Great Britain gained form the Allies the greatest

16. Eulau, op. cit., p.101

Soviet imion if she should try to nake Turkey a Soviet satellite and possibly annex the Straits. In reply, "Shile assuring Free-ident income that Hoseow had no territorial aspirations in Turkey. Eritain and America cabtioned him to get on well with the Soviet Union since Turkey could not count on the aid of seitish.

American troops if a Musso-Turkian aplit developed." The Soviet Union had won the first round in her straighte to gain control over the Straighte to gain control

1914 saw the proving analysmos of Creat British and the Soviet indom with Turkey, still adarsh in her ductaion to main tain the interest Convention in anon in partiality, even after train the interest Convention in anon, Turkey release to permit criticalian Tiest units to join the Soviet Heat units in the place to its in anon the Soviet Cleat units in the place of the manual of the relation sould not only have related have placed bey in a position rotentially strong enough to launch a land and anopation potentially attent the Fallens, expecially summania. as the was, the Soviet Tiest had suffered heavy losses from Denman authors, sumboate, at the Since the Denman and there, comboate, and some altered town the Denman and thors against a series and the Since Sould and and and and some altered transport oract had given the sheety a series against the Since Son.

in derch, it was annumeed that, since Turker and collect the cline the cline, and interest and collect the Allies the Greenest In April, Great Initels and Tori the Allies the Greenest le. Kulan, qu. oit., w.lul

Turkish concession up to that time, when she demanded that Turkey stop her chrome shipments to Germany. It is doubtful, however. that Turkey would have conceded even this if she still retained any fear of Nazi military might. The most serious difficulty came in June, 1944, when Great Britain accused Germany of trying to move a fleet of small combat ships disguised as merchantmen through the Straits to the Aegean. The British claimed that, although the ships were unarmed, they were obviously intended to be armed and to remain war vessels. The Turkish authorities persisted that they could find no evidence on examination the ships were other than commercial vessels. According to later Turkish reports, "they were unarmed, had commercial shipping space and during passage were loaded with lumber, coal, and hay." Moreover, "the German embassy confirmed that (they) belonged to private maritime agencies and were travelling with only commercial purposes." The matter became so serious that discussions were held about it in the House of Commons, one member urging that Britain should send Turkey a bill for any damage caused to the Allied by the freed ships. Finally, after a number of these ships had passed the Straits, passage was refused the others; according to the Turkish report, passage was refused "when the British embassy informed the Foreign Office of very reliable information to the effect that some of these ships that had gone through the Straits were under order of the navy or were being used as troop transports."(19)

17. New York Times, August 25,1946,p.12. 18.Loc.cit. 19.Loc.cit.

You see the chrone abluments to detrent. It is doubtful, how--1777 avolves Jeon of the in the matter to rest wie hours only calle in June, 1914, when trest Eritain necessed Cernany of charter through the Straits to the Later The Printer deline tended to be sened and to remain war vessels. The Dunkish and of pulbross . Rises This round of tendo arow acids and acid ping alone and hiring pourses were 'boded this lumber, cost, and -of (yed) Jans Berrittoo yes due narral eds" . revooro. ".aesormy fetor mon yldo samed to the Alded by the Iweed ships. Finally, first a number (01) were being used as broom transforts. (10)

IV. Men York Pines, August 88,1946,p.12. 18.500.cit. 19.50c.oit.

In In August, 1944, Turkey severed relations with Germany, and the Allies began to feel that perhaps they could make full use of the Straits. However, they did not have it until after January, 1945, when the German air bases in the Ionian Sea and the Balkans were effectively neutralized. As a British commentator said, "there (was) really nothing political about it. It (was) purely a military matter which had been solved by a change in military events." The necessity of cleaning up the mine fields delayed the immediate and complete use of the Straits. Since the Allies had no further use of the supply line through Iran, built to take the place of a route through the Straits, the route closed down. On February 23, 1945, Turkey finally declared war on Germany and Japan. Actually there was little gained from this except for the increase in supplies, escorted by Allied warships, if needed. Apparently, Turkey declared war officially chiefly because she had been told such a course was necessary for her full participation in the coming San Francisco Conference.

In conclusion, the Montreux Convention was observed with very minor exceptions by all the powers having occasion to use the Straits, including non-signatory as well as signatory powers. However, the restraint of the two sides was not one due to ethics. As mentioned before, the Straits were closed to Britain and France in 1939 and 1940, when they might have stopped German-Russo commercial shipping if they had been able to send warships

20. New York Times, January 13, 1945, p.2

In Namet, 1944; Turkey evered relations its Germany, use of the Stratts. dowever, they did not have it until after January, 1945, when the Cortan air bases in the Josian des and the religion were effectively reutralized. is a Pritish conden-. it food facifiles guideon vileen (new) eredy" blee totet ". admays wastifin mi fields delayed the immediate and complete use of the Straits. Iran, built to take the place of a route through the Strains, the route closed down. On February 23, 1945, Turkey finally declared war on Cerreny and Japan. Actually there am little neined from this except for the increase in sugalles, eccorted by Allied warships, if needed. Assemblin, Indied declared wer . somereines.

In conclusion, the Montrous Convention was observed with very Minor exceptions by all the powers having occasion to use the Straits, including non-elementry as well as signatory secure. He Straits, the restraint of the two sides was not one due to cities. As mentioned before, the Straits were closed to Writein and Trance in 1939 and 1940, then they wight have stopped German-Pure so commercial shipping if they had been able to cend versings.

into the Black Sea; however, the Allies did not wish to chance driving Turkey to war on the side of the Axis. After the end of the Soviet-Finnish struggle and the French surrender, the war area was not near the Straits until the spring of 1941. Then, German forces began to arrive simultaneously on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Aegean. Germany was so well-supplied with land communications for her operations in the Balkans and in South Russia it was not necessary for her to call on her meagre naval and mercantile resources to transfer mentor materials from one sea to another. In addition, she still did not wish to "precipitate Turkey prematurely into the arms of the Allies by attempting to force" a passage through the Straits. On the other hand, although the Allies were in great need of a passage through the Straits to help the Soviet Union, German control in the area was too effective, and an alternative route through Persia had to be laid out. At no time were the Straits necessary as an active line of attack, since the Soviet Union was not at war with a major Mediterranean power: Italy had limited naval resources, and what resources there were were held in check elsewhere.

In accordance with the last paragraph, Turkey's problem was never one of actual defense of the Straits, but merely one of proper and fair regulation of the passage of all ships on the basis of the Montreux Convention. This role she played well; Turkey herself said she "filled the role of guardian of the Straits

^{21. &}quot;Russia, Turkey, and the Straits, "The World Today, vol.11, no.9 September, 1946, p.398

driving Turkey to yer on the side of the tits. After the end of the Soviet-Finalsh etrupple and the French surrender, the war area was not near the Straits until the sorbug of 1941. Then, Cerman forces began to arrive simultant usly on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Assess. "Greeny in se rell-curried ials from one sea to another. In addition, see still did not Allies by attempting to force" a passage through the Straits. On the other hand, clothough the Allies were in great need of a control in the area rus tod effective, and an alternative route through Persia had to be laid out. At no sime were the straits in check elaswhere,

In adcordance with the last paragraph, furtey's problem was never one of actual defense of the Straite, but marely one of proper end feir revulation of the passage of all ships on the basis of the Convention. This role she played well: "unitey herself said she "filled the role of guardian of the Straite of guardian of the Straite, whe Straite, whe Straite of guardian of the Straite, whe Straite of guardian of the Straite, whe Straite of guardian of the Straite of guardian of guardian

bequeathed to it by history" with "a correctness pushed sometimes to fanaticism that even disdained the proper interests (22) of Turkey." Moreover, since the "watch kept by Turkish authorities on transit ships through the Straits was complicated by the fact that the only kind of control that the ships could be submitted to, according to the convention, was a sanitary control effected 'during the day and the night' with the most possible speed, "it would have been easy to make more minor errors than Turkey did. Turkey went on to say that any complaints about the Straits regime should not be aimed at "the intrinsic dispositions which regulate the properly legal aspect of the regime...but rather at the definition of warships, their specifications as well as the tonnage, which form the purely technical appendix of the convention."

^{22.} New York Times, August 25, 1946, p.12

^{23.} Loc. cit.

^{24.} Loc. cit.

the state of the same and the same of the same of the same of the same of To really many what of your afest over a sugar it , mean differen esta Lanca free of higgs on a research volume. It will will be a second elves to the contract of the c With the season of the season and all the me thought to . welfer the on to different Early A STAN AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE STANDARD OF THE ST

CHAPTER VI DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II

of the bases was not appointed. " Certain French sources thour to

IV MADELIA

DEVENOPMENTS SINTER THE THE OF TORED IN IT

Even though the Soviet Union started her campaign on the control of the Straits in the spring of 1945, while the war was still going on, her objectives were all post-war and more closely related to ppost-war developments than to the war itself. At the Yalta Conference in February, where post-war policies toward Germany, Poland, and Yugoslavia were discussed, the Soviet Union informed the British and French governments that she wished a revision of the Montreux Convention. Britain had also regained her interest in revision, but along the lines of internationalization, since her position in Greece and the Aegean Sea had been reinforced. No positive move was taken at the Conference, but the Allies were said to have agreed that somerevision should take place.

On March 20, the Soviet Union denounced the Russo-Turkish treaty of friendship which the two had signed in 1925 and which was to come up for renewal in November. The Soviet Union wished to make amore positive alliance from which she could gain the concessions on the Straits question she wanted. In June, she demanded that "prior to any international discussion of the revision of the obsolete Montreux Convention governing the control and administration of the Black Sea Straits, the Turkish government should agree to grant the U.S.S.R. rights to strategic defensive bases in the Straits area...the exact nature or location of the bases was not specified." (1) Certain French sources thought

^{1.} New York Times, August 4, 1945, p.1

Note though the Soviet Union started her campaign on the control of the Straits in the spring of 1945, while the war was still going on, her objectives were all post-war and more closely related to most-war developments than to the war itself.

At the Malta Conference in February, where post-war policies toward Germany, Foland, and Jugoslavia were discussed, the Soviet union informed the British and Trench powernments that she wished a revision of the Contrew Convention. Eritain had also regained her interest in revision, but slong the lines of interestionalization, since her position in Greece and the Amelon as the Conference, but the Allies were said to have agreed that someravision ence, but the Allies were said to have agreed that someravision should take place.

On March 20, the Coviet Union denounced the numero-Turnish treaty of friendship which the two had signed in 1975 and which was to some up for remend in Hovember. The Soviet Union wished to make amore rositive alliance from which she could rain the concessions on the straits question she wanted. In June, she demanded that "prior to any international discussion of the revision of the observation of the Black are Straits, the Turnish powerned and administration of the Black are Straits, the Turnish government should agree to great the U.S.S.W. rights to strategic defensive bases in the Straits area. The exact nature or location of the bases we not specified. (1) dertain french sources throught of the bases we not specified. (1) dertain french sources throught

^{1.} New York Times, August 4, 1945, p.1

that the Soviets had suggested the Turkish government mann the bases during peacetime and the Russians during wartime. Secondly the Soviet Union suggested that "after an accord on this point was reached in principle, an international conference of interested powers should be held to revise the Montreux Convention and the Turks should agree to uphold the Soviet view before the conference is held." Thirdly, it was suggested that specific talks should commence between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey concerning the cession of the Turkish border areas of Kars, Ardahan, and Artvin to Soviet Armenia." The latter demand has been regarded "as a bargaining object and students of Turkish history were of the opinion that Moscow might forego it if the other two were (4) accepted by Turkey." It was also suggested that Turkey accept certain changes to be made in the Balkans in favor of some of the smaller states.

Turkey, quite naturally, was annoyed by these demands,

She kept Britain informed of all negotiations through normal
diplomatic channels, and one writer says "therefore it may be
assumed that Russia's reugests were directed at much at Britain
(5)
as much as at Turkey."

The Soviet Union made other suggestions during this period also; the Ankara radio reported she had proposed another treaty which would close the Straits to the warships of all foreign powers

^{2.} Loc. cit.
4. A.J.Fisher, "The Dardanelles," The Central European Observer,
August 30, 1946, p.271

^{5.} Heinz Eulau, "Turkey and the Straits," New Republic, vol.113, July 23, 1945, p.100

that the Soviets had suggested the Turkish government mans the bases during peacetime and the Russians during warsime. Secondly the Soviet union suggested that "after an accord on this point was reached in principle, an interactious! conformed of interactions gowers should be held to revise the Montreux Convention and the Turks should agree to uphold the Soviet view before the conformence is held." Thirdly, it was suggested that apacific the cession of the Turkish border areas of lars, indehan, and the cession of the Turkish border areas of lars, indehan, and rivin to Soviet armenia." The latter demand has been remarked the opinion that Moscow light forego it if the opiner two were of secepted by Turkish that forego it if the opiner two were ceptain observed. (a)

Turiey, quite maturally, was annoyed by these deminds,
she kept Britain informed of all negotiations through nownl
diplomatic channels, and one waiter save "therefore it may be
essured that Russia's respects were directed at much at Britain
(5)

The Soviet Union made other suggestions during this period also; the ankers radio reported she had proposed enother greaty which would close the Straits to the warships of all foreign opvers

^{4.} A.J. Fister, "The Unrdangles," The Central Tamovesh Tractver, August 30, 1946, p.271

^{5.} Helps Dolsu, "Turkey and the Stritts," Nertepolite, vol.115, July 23, 1945, p.100

except Turkey and the Soviet Union. She also hinted later on at the possibility of settlement by bilateral agreement to which the British answered, "this is one of several problems affecting the destinies of the Middle East which are ripe for preliminary discussion by the Three Powers in common in preparation for their joint discussion with the other countries directly affected. ... Such consultation would not only have the advantage of eliminating the misunderstanding likely to arise from the isolated treatment of issues which may have repercussions reaching far beyond their nominal scope and content; ... also prepare the way for common policies in a large and vital region of the world." On August 4, Soviet-Turco discussions were halted; the Turkish government rejected flatly Soviet demands for territorial concessions and base privileges in the Straits area. She refused to discuss the problem any further while the Soviet Union still had such concessions in mind.

It was inevitable, then, that the question of the Straits should be brought up by the Soviet Union at the Potsdam Conference in August. It was reported that the Straits problem became rather critical during the conference. The Soviet Union demanded control of the Straits defenses. Britain refused outright, while the United States presented as a compromise a proposal for international control which would protect free navigation and not impair Turkish sovereignty.

The United States was urging internationalization of all

^{6.} New York Times, July 24, 1945, p.11

except further and the Soviet Union. She also linked later on at the possibility of sevelement by bil therel servement to which their toint dispussion with the other countries directly affected. -minile to enerther be salt aved ying you bluck motherfuence done. . beyond their nominel scope and content; ... also proper to way for common policies in a large and vitel region of the world." On August 4, Howlet-Times discussions were halted; the Turkish had such consessions in mind.

It was inevitable, then the duestion of the straits should be brought up by the Soviet Union at the satestan Conference in August. It was reported that the straits problem became rather critical during the conference. The Soviet Union deranded control of the Straite desences. Fritain refused outhight, while the United Straite desenced as a compromise a proposal for international control which would proteet free movington and not in-

The United States was unging internationalization of all

^{6.} New York Times, July 24, 1945, p.11

waterways, and Truman stated "one of the persistent causes for wars in Europe in the last two centuries has been the selfish control of the waterways of Europe. I mean the Danube, the Black Sea Straits, the Rhine, the Kiel Canal and all the inland waterways of Europe which border two or more states. The United States proposed at Berlin that there be free and unrestricted navigation of these inland waterways. We think this is important to the future and security of the world. We proposed the regulation for such navigation be provided by international authorities. The function of the agencies would be to develop the use of the waterways and assure equal treatment on them for all nations... Membership on the agencies would include the United States Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France plus those states which border on the waterways." Although Turkey was willing to accept internationalization if it included a guarantee of her sovereignty and also that it was not merely a stepping stone to more demands, the Soviets refused to consider such a solution. The matter was postponed.

At the meeting of the Big Three in Berlin during October, it was agreed to split the Dardanelles question from the question of the Danube, the Elbe, and other waterways of Europe. The United States, still working on its project of internationalizing the waterways, had suggested that all such water routes except the Dardanelles be internationalized, but this too had been refused. The decision on the Dardanelles was that each power 7. Harry N. Howard, "Some Recent Developments in the Problem of the Turkish Straits: 1945-46, "Dept. of State Bul., vol. XVI, No. 395, p. 143

veterways, and trumen stated "one of the reraispent ones. and , advance of the waterways of Purope. I mean the Banube, the Black Ses Straits, the Khine, the Fitel Canal and all the inland we terways of surone which border two or more retes. The United navigation of thece inland weterways, We think this is important to the return and security of the world. To provided the reguesu ent coleved of the agencies would be to develor the use of the waterways and assure equal treatment on than for all nations... enteredity on the agencies would include the united States which horder on the waterways." more demands, the Bowlets refused to consider such a solution. The matter was postboned.

At the meeting of the Mig Three in Berlin during October, it was agreed to split the Dardsnelles question from the neetion of the Danube, he Flbe, and other enterways of Europe. The United States, still working on its project of internationalizing the waterways, had suggested that all such meter routes except the Dardsnelles be internationalized, but this too had been refered. The decision on the Dardsnelles was that each power 7. Herry V. Howard. "Some Report Davidential the Groblem of the Turkish Straigs: 1945-45, "Dept. of State Bul., vol. NVI. No. 393, p. 145

approach Turkey on the matter separately through diplomatic channels with its own proposals.

The British and American governments were reported to be working together on a common opinion toward the issue. On November 2, without consultation with the British on the final draft, the United States presented Turkey with its proposals:

"(1) The Straits to be opened to the merchant vessels of all nations at all times; (2) The Straits to be opened to the transit of the warships of Black Sea powers at all times except with the specific consent of the Black Sea powers, or except when acting under the authority of the U.N.; (4) Certain changes to modernize the Montreux Convention, such as the substitution of the U.N. organization for the Lesgue of Nations and the elimination of Japan as a signatory." Substantially, these proposals were little changed from the provisions of the Montreux Convention.

The British government sent a note to Turkey on November 21, not setting out any particular proposals but stating its willingness to take part in any international conference to consider revision of the Montreux Convention and also its desire to reserve it exact point of view until then. It added that the matter did not seem urgent to the British government. It was also reported that the British government, while agreeing with the American note in principle, actually was not willing to admit the exclusion of the Royal Navy.

8. New York Times, November 8, 1945, p.2

approach Turkey on the matter separately through diplometic channels with its own proposels:

The British and American governments were reverted to he

working together on a domeon opinion toward the issue. On sovember E. without consultation with the Drittish on the chall sovember E. the United States presented Turkey with its proposals: "(1) The Straits to be opened to the marohant vessels of all mations at all times; (2) The Straits to be opened to the transit of the warships of Slack Ses powers at all times except with the specific consent of the D.M.; (4) Certain changes when acting under the authority of the U.M.; (4) Certain changes to modernize the Content on the Leafur of the Substitution of the U.M. organization for the Leafure of Mations and the elidination of Sapas as a signatory." Substantially, these proposals were little changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the changed from the provisions of the Content of the Conte

The British covernment sent a note to Turkey on November 1. To not setting out ony products proposeds but atables its villingness to take part in any intermetional conference to consider revision of the Montreux Convention and also its described to the order of view anyll been. It added that the matter did not seem urrent to the Trible's covernment.

It was also reported that the Original government, while agreeting with the american note in principle, accurally was not will-income to dealt the exclusion of the Royal News.

S. Tiew lork Times, Movember 8, 1945, p. 8

On December 6, 1945, the Turkish government answered the American note, accepting it as the basis for any discussion of revision. No word had been received from the Soviet Union since the Turkish government had refused to consider Soviet demands in August.

The United States battleship Missouri paid a courtesy visit to Istanbul when it brought home the Turkish envoy in April, 1946. This visit is thought to have been made chiefly to show the Soviet Union our serious intent to protect the integrity of Turkey and other parts of the Middle East. The U.S.S.R. made no more demands on the Straits until August, 1946, and the center of interest shifted from the Straits to the Transcausian frontier of Turkey and the Soviet Union. Moreover, the anti-Turkish campaign, which had been going on in the Soviet press and on the radio since March of 1945, continued in full force, including a particularly violent attack on the Turkish elections in July.

On August 7, 1946, the next to the last day on which a signatory of the Montreux Convention could demand a revision of it, the Soviet Union sent a note to Turkey; copies were also sent to London and Washington. It complained, first, that "events during the war showed clearly that the regime off the Black Sea Straits established by the Montreux in 1936 does not correspond to the interests of security of the Black Sea powers and does not safeguard conditions that would prevent the use of these Straits for hostile ends against the Powers." The first three

^{9.} New York Times, August 14, 1946, p.6

on Docember 8, 1945, the Turkish coverment as wered the merican note, accepting it as the basis for any discussion of revision. No werd had been received from the Soviet dailor since the Turkish covernment had refused to consider Soviet damends in August.

The United States battleship descurt said a countary visit to lessabul when it browns home the Tarkish envoy in April,
leaf. This visit is thought to have been made chicily to show
the Soviet Union our serious intent to protect the interrity of
Turkey and other parts of the Liddle Mast. The D.S.B.R. made
to more demands on the Strate until Lugnet, 1946, and the contex
of interest chifted from the Strates to the Transcouples from
tier of lugney and the coviet Union. Coreover, the entil-Imriich
campaign, which had been coing on in the Soviet press and on the
redio since Little of 1948, dentimed in full force, including a
particularly violent electron the Uniview cleations in July.

On thrust 7, 1545, the mert to the last day on which a signatory of the control Convention could derand a revision of it, the Soviet Chica sent a note to hawky; copies were also sent to London and sanington. It completed, first, that "events during the war showed aleurly that the revine of the black see that the satisfied by the Control in 1920 does not correspond to the interests of sacurity of the Black see not satisfied by the Source was powers and does not satisfied how the safeguard conditions that would prevent the use of these straits for nostile ends against the cores." (8) he first three

^{9.} New York Wines, August 14, 1948, p.6

Soviet suggestions were similar to the American ones, which could hardly have been more liberal to Soviet aims without giving control directly to the Soviet Union. The fourth proposal was that "the establishment of the regime of the Straits as the only seaway leading from the Black Sea and into the Black Sea must be decided by the Turks and the other Black Sea powers." The fifth proposal went even further in pointing out that "Turkey and the Soviet Union, as the most interested powers, must organise jointly the defence of the Straits for the prevention of their use by other powers with inimical aims to the Black Sea powers." The Soviet Union then, had abandoned her direct demand for bases on the Straits and tried to gain her objective by close collaboration with and, she no doubt hoped, a virtual protectorate over her friend, Turkey. Her demands would prevent international regulation and would not even permit the non-Black Sea powers to take part in revision conferences.

As might be expected, the Soviet note created a tense situation. The Turkish Foreign Minister reminded the world of the British-Turkish alliance of 1939, which Was"still the foundation of Ankara's foreign policy." He said that he was agreeable to far-reaching revisions of the Straits regime, but "would leave no stone unturned to prevent limitations of her jealously defended sovereignty." It was pointed out that one million men or one-eighth of the male population of Turkey was in uniform, 10. Loc. cit.

ll. Loc. cit.

^{12.} Fisher, op. cit., p. 271 13. Loc. cit.

piving control directly to the Soviet Union. The fourth proposel must be decided by the Turks and the other Black Sea nowers." New and the Soviet Union, es the most interested powers, must The Soviet Union, then, had shandoned her direct fewfrit a . begon some on end . but with nother of los asolo vo protector te over her friend, Curkey. Her demands would prevent los la con ent times neve ton blupw bas noisely en lancitencejal Sea nowers to take part in revision conferences.

As might be errected, the Soviet note created a tense situation. The Turkish Foreign Minister reminded the words of the Eritian-Turkish alliance of 1939, which was "still the foundation of anhars's foreign molicy." He said that he was asreeable to er-resching revisions of the Straits ratime, but "would leave no stone unturned to prevent limitations of her je lously defended severeignty." It was reinted ont that one million men of one-eighth of the separation of Turkey was in uniform, of one-eighth of the sele population of Turkey was in uniform,

178 of . tip of , redel . S.

that there was no prospect of demobilization or doing away with
the state of siege or martial law which prevailed in the eastern provinces and to a limited extent in Istanbul and areas
of the Dardanelles and Thrace, and that the army would fight
to maintain its sovereignty. The Turkish Minster told the Turkish National Assembly that "no independence, sovereignty, or
territorial integrity was left in the small Baltic states a few
(l4)
months after the Russians obtained bases in those countries."
The people of Turkey were in complete agreement with their government even though basically cooperation with the Soviet Union
was favored; on August 14, the National Assembly upheld the present administration in spite of its failure to obtain a friendship pact with Russia. The People's Party (the government party) and the Democratic party joined in affirming that Turkey
would fight before she would yield any territory.

The other powers concerned were hardly less upset by the new Soviet note. In London, "the form of the Russian demand for a new Dardanelles regime (was) regarded...as little less than (15) a diplomatic atom bomb." London interpreted the demands to mean that the Soviet government was not willing to accept the idea of revision of the Montreux Convention by its signatories, minus Japan and plus the United States, but that the Soviet Union intended to settle the whole question with Turkey bilaterally. Britain felt that the procedure of revision as laid down in the

^{14.} New York Times, August 15, 1946, p.3

^{15.} New York Times, August 14, 1946, p.6

that there was no prospect of demobilization or doing away with the star state of steps or martial law which provided in the ease term provinces and to a limited extent in Istanbul end group of the ine provinces and to a limited extent in Istanbul end group of the ine included in the Torto middle intended its sovereignty. The Thritish Minster told the Tortish Mational Assembly that on independence, sovereignty, or territorial intendity was left in the small Heltis states a few wonths efter the Russlans obtained bases in those apuntaisa."

The people of Turkey were in complete agreement with their government even though basically cooperation with the Soviet Union sent administration in spite of its failure to obtain a friend-sent salurate with Hussia. The leople's Porty (the covernment parason and the Democratic nerty tolned in sfrirming that Turkey or and the Democratic nerty tolned in sfrirming that Turkey or and the Democratic nerty tolned in sfrirming that Turkey

The other powers concerned were hardly less upset by the new Soviet note. In Landon, "the form of the Mapston demand for a new Dardenellos regime (was) regarded...as little less than "(15) a diplomatic stom bomb." London interpreted the Sevende to seem that the Soviet covernment was not william to squent the last the Soviet interpreted by its signatories. Lien of revision of the Matteux domestion by its signatories. Interpret the Boylet union intended to settle the whole question with makey bilaterally.

Ic. New York Wines, Jugust 15, 1946, p.S

^{15.} new York Times, Luguet 14, 1946, n.6

Montreux Convention must be adhered to; the British government would certainly back Turkish opposition to territorial concessions. Britain was aware of her own somewhat similar position in regard to the Suez Canal and said she would try to find some sort of compromise that would satisfy Soviet security claims.

In the United States, one editorial writer said:

"people whose job it is to study Soviet Foreign policy and to follow closely the development of tension between Russia and the West are far more worried about the issues raised by Moscow's latest move in Turkey than they are by verbal clashes at the Paris Peace Conference. There is a definite feeling that if the Russians press their demands for a new Dardanelles statute along the kines of their latest note to Ankara, and especially if they attempt to force their views on the Turkish government, then Turkey might well become the Poland of the next war. Or...she might...play the role of Czechoslovakia. That is, if the Turksih government does not feel itself strongly backed not only diplomatically but if necessary, militarily by Britain and the United States, then the Turks, like the Czechs in the face of Hitler's 'nerve war' might give in. But if so, it would only be the prelude to conflict at Soviet Russia's next security demand, as Czech's loss was followed by Poland's resistance and by the outbreak of the war." (16)

Other and more official attitudes toward the Soviet note may not have been as drastic as this writer's, but it is certain that the general feeling was one of alærm and pessimism.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was equally convinced of the rightness of its demands. The Soviets interpreted the agreement at Potsdam to mean that each power confer separately with Turkey about the Straits as authorization to go ahead and negotiate directly and bilaterally. Britain and the United

^{16.} New York Times, August 18, 1946, IV, p.5

Montreum Convention must be adhered to; the British government would certainly back Turkish opposition to territorial concessions. Britain was evere of her own wondinst similar position in regard to the Suer Capal and said she would try to find some sort of compromise that would satisfy Soviet cecurity claims.

In the United States, one editorial writer said:

"peoplerwhose job it is to study Saviet Moraign policy and to follow alosely the development of tension between Russis and the West are for more worried about the issues raised by Moscow's latest nove in Turkey than they are by verbal clashes at the Paris Foace Conference. There is a definite raeling that if the Hussians the lines of their latest nove to minor, and organisly if they attempt to force their views on the Murdish covernment, then furtey might well become the Feland of the next war. Oi...she might...play the role of the ordivers. They attempt to force the Turkesh covernment that it also the Turkesh covernment than furtey might...play the role of the unit war. Oi...she might...play the role of the united costs of the united costs. The france of hitself attempty backed not only disloct the united costs, than the Turks, like the creaks in the united costs, than the Turks, like the creaks in the face of hitler's 'nerve war' might sive in. Interest Turks of hitler's 'nerve war' might sive in. Interest Turks of the war." (in)

Other and more official attitudes toward the orist note my not have been as drastic as this writer's, but it is certain that the general feeling was one of aluxa and pessimism.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, we equally convinced the of the rightness of its demands. Whe Soviets interpreted the surrement at Fotsdam to mean that once power could separately with lunder about the Straits as sutherdaction to so sheed and negotiate directly and bilaterally. Eritain and the United-

^{16.} New York Times, August 18, 1946, IV, F. 5

States understood that direct negotiation should be the next step towards conference at which the proposed amendment would be discussed, not as the final step settling the regime of the Straits. The Soviet Union, however, was suspicious of Turkish intentions, and was determined to gain the security she needed.

"The vital interests" of the Black Sea states, said a Pravda article, "demands" a cessation of this outside interference and the "prohibition" of naval forces of other powers from the Black (17)

Sea. Her attacks on Turkey continued two or three days after the publication of the note to Turkey, the Soviet Union broadcast to the world documents said to have been found by the Red Army in the Reich tending to show that the Turkish government was conniving with the Naizs during the war and was strongly anti-Soviet.

However, in the two or three weeks before the American note to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union changed her tactics slightly; the government-controlled sources began to make accusations against the United States and Britain for obstructing peace efforts and preparing for a new war. She commented favorably on British troops in Basra and the sending of British and Indian troops into Abadan. Attthe same time, her broadcasts on the Straits question were distinctly conciliatory and failed to emphasize a bilateral settlement or smention her former demand for bases. In London and Washington, it was suspected that the Soviet Union was "using radio as a big stick...while hinting at

^{17.} New York Times, August 18, 1946, p.8

States understood that direct negotiation should be the new towards conference at which the proposed amendment would be discussed, not as the final step settling the regime of the straits. The Soviet Union, however, was suspicious of Turkish intentions, and was determined to usin the security are needed. The vital interests" of the Flack sea states, said a gravds article, "demands" a cessation of this outside interference and the "prohibition" of nevel forces of other powers from the Black the publication of the mote to Turkey, the Soviet Union broadcast to the motile documents asid to have been found by the Red Mary to the world documents asid to the Turkish government was about in the Reich tending to show that the Turkish government was conniving with the Jairs during the war and was strongly anti-

However, in the two or three weeks before the aderican notes to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union chanced her tactive slightly the government-controlled sources began to mike accusations the government-controlled sources began to mike accusations exainst the United States and Britain for obstructing neace efforts and precenting for a new war. The commented favorably on rities troops in Hears and on canding of Unities and Indian troops into Abadan. At the came time, her broadcasts on the Straits question were distinctly count istory and railed to explanate a bilitary and railed to explanate a bilitary and railed to so bases. In London and Sanitary or magnificon, it was suspected that the Soviet Union was "using radio as a big etteld... while hinding ot cover toman was resigned as a big etteld... while hinding ot soviet Union was "using radio as a big etteld... while hinding ot

her readiness to settle the Dardanelles issue by revision." The trend was toward "less menace and more propaganda to steady her own position;" her radio attacks on Turkey were somewhat muted (19) for the time being.

The American government sent its official answer to the Soviet government stating its exact attitude toward Soviet demands. First, Turkey should continue to shoulder the primary responsibility toward the Straits; the Russian proposal to share control of the Dardanelles with Turkey ignored the existence of the U.N.O. If the Straits were attacked, the situation would clearly be a threat to international scurity and be the cause for action by the U.N. Security Council. Therefore, it was not necessary for the Soviet Union to share control with Turkey for the proper protection of her security. The Soviet suggestion was not a plan for revision but an entirely new Straits regime. "The position of the Government of the United States is that the regime of the Straits should be brought into appropriate relationship with the U.N. amd should function in a manner entirely consistent with the principles and aims of the U.N." Department official said that "Russian insistence on her position would be regarded as a grave matter with serious potentialities. He further interpreted the "Russian scheme as having broader implications than the mere desire for land defenses along the 18. New York Times, August 20, 1946, p.6 19. Loc. cit.

^{20.} New York Times, August 22, 1946, p.3

^{21.} New York Times, August 22, 1946, p.1

her madiness to settle the Dandanciles issue by revision. The trend was boward "less menace and more propagated to steady her own position;" her redio attacks on Turkey were someth to mited for the time being.

-an Jaivas braval abulilla Jassa ali anidata Jassayavan Jaivas remain. First, Purkey should continue to shoulder the primary bluow notiferite ods . beloggie anow asianda elle al . C. N. J ent for savide by the U.N. Heautly Council, Therefore, it was not the proper protection of her security. The Saviet augestion was not a plan for revision but an entirely new Straits regime. visites weamen a mi notioner blood and .W. W of note midencia ". zelvilal Juerno aus roa driv rostan every a se bebriner ed bluow New York Times, Lurust 20, 1946, p.6 13. Loc. oll. New 'onk Times, went 28, 1966, n.5

Lew York Cines, Dugust 28, 1948, p.1

gateway to the Black Sea.., more plausible motive in Turkey's position as an unfriendly nation on Russian idea of her defense (22) perimeter."

This wholehearted support of Turkey's right to control the Straits was greeted with enthusiaism in Turkey. Turkish sources reported that there had been little doubt of Britain's support, but there had been some question as to how far the United States would go. A Turkish spokesman stated "intervention by America in this question removes Russian threat from Turkey. We accept with our eyes shut all that America proposes. We have complete confidence in the United States and her political concepts." The Soviet reaction to the American note was as might have been expected. The Daily Worker, a Communist organ, reported: "The State Department continued its 'big stick' campaign against the European democracies and the Soviet Union yesterday with a blunt note rejecting proposals for joint Russo-Turkish control of the Dardanelles...the State Department was clearly engaged in a big attempt to pressure Europe, to show off its strength at Paris and panic the American into a war fever."

The Turkish stand was further strengthened by the British note to the Soviet Union, sent on August 21. The general principles were same as those stated in the American note, and the wording of the note was even firmer than that of the American one. "It has for long been internationally recognized that the

^{22.} Loc. cit. 23. New York Times, August 23,1946,p.6

^{24.} New York Times, August 23, 1946, p.3

gateway to the bisch Sea. . . more plausible active in Turkey's

This wholehearted support of Turkey's right to control the Straits was greated with onthesian in Tarkey. Turkish sources reported that there had been little downt or Entraints support. would no. A Parkish appliesmen abaned "intervention by America in this question removes Bussian threat from Furley. 'e accept adelance even av . response animal Ala full seve avo ditv (CA) excepted. The Bolly Worker, a Communist organ, a portact "The underelles...the State Department of clearly engaged in a big ". Tever tew s odn! mentions and oinsy bus

mate to the Soviet thion , sent on larget 11. The concret wrinold has east mentrum, and all boness stores and the court enters and the and Jant beginness vilanciparresul need and not sed JI" . one

D.q. Ster North Minner, August 28,1926,p.C 22. Now York Times, August 83, 1945, p.3

regime of the Straits is the concern of other states besides
the Black Sea powers. His Majesty's government cannot, therefore, agree with the Soviet view that the future regime should
(25)
be the concern of the Black Sea powers alone." The Turks
were relieved by these two notes for they felt that the problem was no longer merely a Turkish one, but had become a British and American concern as well.

Britain, too, was cheered by the firm American stand; "the United States, assuming the historic role of British diplomacy, has taken the lead in opposing the Russian demand for control (26) of the Straits," London reported. There was a growing conviction in London that the United States intervention may prove decisive not only in the important issues of the Dardanelles and Trieste, but also on the basic problem of relations with the (27) Soviet Union." The Dardanelles note and the ultimatum to Tito demanding redress and satisfaction over the capture and killing of the American airmen were "regarded in Britain as introducing a new element in the diplomatic situation just when and where it was most needed."

On August 22, confident in British-American support, Turkey maintained that "not a single time during

^{25.} New York Times, November 22, 1946, p.14 26. New York Times, August 25, 1946, IV, p.5

^{27.} Loc. cit. 28. Loc. cit.

regime of the Straits is the concern of other states besides
the Flack Sea powers. His Majesty's government cannot, therefore, agree with the Boviet view that the future regime should
be the concern of the Flack Sea powers alone." The furies
were relieved by bless two notes for they falt that the problem was no longer merely a furish one, but had become a British and american concern as well.

on taring the sent in answer to the doviet proposite. The deloy sent a long note in answer to the doviet proposite. She defended herself from Soviet accessations of mediternoe and, partisan treetment of the Sale in her regime of the Straits during the war. Turkey maintained that "not a single time during

The coll .88 . 100. alt.

^{26.} New York Times, november 22, 1946, p.14

World War II did the Soviet Government catch the Turkish Republic with a situation that would put the security of the Black Sea in She stated that she had always applied the stipulations of the Montreux Convention conscientiously, and that any fault was due to some of the admittedly obsolete technical parts of the Convention, but "it(could not) admit that these faults, condemned to remain isolated cases, should serve as motives for the rejection in its whole of a convention that reveals itself an instrument of equilibrium." Moreover, to suggest changing the present form of defense of the Straits would be "to deny the existence and aims of the U.N. Charter" and to show the U.N. a distrust which the Turkish government did not "understand." If the Soviet Union feared aggression, it could "refer to the effig cacy of the U.N., to which Turkey remain(ed) firmly attached." "The most sure guarantee for security of the Soviet Union in the Black Sea resides not in the search of a privileged strategical position in the Straits -- a position incompatible with the dignity and sovereign rights of an independent country -- but in the restoration of friendly, trusting relations with a strong Turkey which is decided to use all her forces to inaugurate this happy era, but whose efforts in this cause need to be seconded by an equal good-will coming from its northern neighbor." Turkey wanted to be certain that in any conference of the future one of her main supporters would be present so she stated that "as for

^{29.} New York Times, August 25, 1946, p.12 30. Loc. cit.

^{31.} Loc. cit. 32. Loc. cit. 33. Loc. cit.

of the Convention, but "it (could not) admit these fundia, To anvitor as evies bloods, seems bedalost niener of bemmebace animum teappus of , referred .m. muttdilinge to incourtant as B .N.U sid works of the "restand .N.U sid to acts bus sonotaire distrust which the furkish covernment did not "understand." oney of the U.M., to which Turkey reactnied) firmly attached." mostion in the Straits and incommentation and the with the Alemity -er edd ni jud -- vringen thebroachni ne to statia asietevos bas washin " woodenfor mandron ask mort mimoo ffiv-book Lappe

^{29.} Ment Morie Timen, wents 25, 1946, p.12 30, Mac. olt.

^{31. 100.} oit. 32. Loc. ett. 35. Loc. ett.

participation of the United States in the proposed conference, the Turkish government considers this not only as a realization (34) of a warm hope, but also as an imperative necessity."

attempts to absorb Turkey in her orbit had been made clear to the Soviet Union, and, there was nothing hidden about the support of America and Britain in this view. As <u>Time</u> so aptly put it, "sinking back on their timely political cushion, (the Turks) pulled on their hookahs and gazed Moscowards with an expression (35) that plainly said: 'Your Move.'" Foreshadowing did appear in a Turkish newspaper: "rejecting the Russian proposals is insufficient.y The Soviet Union must be told to withdraw from everywhere it has entered without right. Our answer won't satisfy Russia for Moscow hates the international regime, which we are (36) ready to improve on, nif necessary."

For a month, the Soviet Union sent no official notes concerning the Straits; she was momentarily silenced. Her radio propaganda continued as usual, against Britain particularly. The Soviet press charged that Britain had set up military installations in the Dardanelles area, and even worse, "according to reports available in Beirut, the British military adviser and instructor at a radar station stated that he would resign unless he was placed directly in charge of the station. The Turks complied with his demand and appointed him chief of the station,

^{34.} Loc. cit. 35. Time, vol.48, September 2, 1946, p.22

^{36.} New York Times, August 26, 1946, p.1

participation of the United States in the proposed conference, the Turkish covernment considers this not only as a reslication of a warm none, but also as an imperative necessity."

The attitude of the Turkish government to any Russian attempts to absorb Turkey in her orbit had teen made clear to the Soviet Union, and, there was ustning midden about the support of america and britain in this view. As Time so aptly but it, "elaking back on their timely political aushion, (the Torks) pulled on their hookahs and sased losoowards with an expression that plainly said: Your Move.'" oreshedowing did appear in a turkish newspaper: "velscting the imasian reposals is insuring cient. The Soviet Union must be sold to withdraw from everyclent, but ontered without right. Our answer won't satisfy massia for losoow nates the international regime, which we are

For a mobin, the doviet Union cent no official notes candefinite the Straite; the was momentarily allered. Her radio
provegends amtinued as nearl, squint iff and particularly. The
soviet gress charged that Orlitain had set up alliery installations in the ardunelles ares, and even worse, "assording to reports extileble in Seirut, the orlitish military advisor and intructor at a mader specion stated that he would restrict unless
to was placed directly in charge of the section. The Turks
couplied with his demand and appointed him onior of the station,

^{34.} Loc. alt. U5. Time, vol.43, Sophember 2, 1946, p.23

with a Turkish officer attached to him as an assistant." In answer to the first accusation, the British replied that perhaps thet referred to radar which they "presumed our troops in Greece (38) are using as most armies do." Further accusations were called "provocative fabrications;" "we have established no supply base, nor have we taken over any airfields, although we have supplied the Turkish with radar equipment. We have also sent over technicians to demonstrate the workings of the apparatus. But we (39) have done so with several other countries."

On September 24, another Soviet note was handed to the Turkish Foreign Minster replying to the earlier Turkish note. It contained a warning to Turkey that if she began organizing "military measures in the Straits together with any non-Black Sea power," it would be considered by the Soviet Union as "contradicting directly" the interests of security of the other Black (40)

Sea states. The Soviet Union complained that the Turkish government turned down"whole-sale" all possibilities of studying the problem with the Soviet government, that such an attitude "clearly contradicts" Turkish protestations of friendship toward Russia, and that the Turkish assertion that joint defense of the Straits is incompatible with Turkish sovereignty is an entirely unfounded suspicion, viewed as "incompatible with the dignity of (41) the Soviet Union."

^{37.} Loc. cit. 38. Loc. cit.

^{39.} New York Times, August 27, 1946, p.3

^{40.} New York Times, September, 29, 1946, p.1 41. Loc. cit.

with a Turkish officer attached to him as an assistant." In answer to the first scausation, the Britleh raplied that perhaps that referred to radar which hay "presumed our truops in Greace are using as most similes do." Further accurations note called "provocative fabrications:" "we have astablished no supply base, nor nave we taken over any sirfields, lithour we have supplied the Turkish with radar equipment. Its have also next ever technications to (econstrate the workings of the appiretus. But we have also next ever technicate so with several other countries."

on depresser 24, another Soviet note was bunded to the Turkish Note.

Turkish Poreign dinater reallying to the earlier Turkish note.

It contained a variant to rurker than if she began organising "military moreures in the dinaits together with any non-liad.

See lower." It would be considered by the Boviet Union as "ton-tradictions directly" bis-interests of security of the other Place see states. The Soviet Union complained that the further covernment turned downwinds-cale" all possibilities of soudying the problem with the Soviet government, that such an attitude voleryly contradicts" Turkish protectations of resultship toward turnish and that the Turkish protectation that total defense of the directly analysis is an ordinally furnish and such the directly an ordinal sussibion, slewed as "incompatible with the directly of the Soviet Eatler."

^{39.} Loc. cit. 88, Loc. cit.

Su. New York Yimes, August 27, 1946, p.B

^{10.} New York Times, September, 29, 1946, p.l. 21. Lun. alt.

Nor was the Soviet government satisfied with Turkish explanations of minor violations of the Montreux Convention; these explanations, said the Soviet note, do not "release the Turkish government from the responsibility it bears for the violation of control of the Straits that took place during the war." Moreover. Turkish reference to the steps Turkey had taken at British insistence in 1944 "only confirms the justice of the Soviet statement that the Montreux Convention had not prevented the Straits from being used by enemy powers against the Allies Turkey's attention was also drawn to the Black Sea's being a "closedsea", therefore making the function of the Dardanelles "entirely different" from those of the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. In this case, "it would be just to establish a regime in the Straits that would above all, correspond to the special situation and the security of Turkey. the U.S.S.R. and other Black Sea powers." Also, said the Soviet note firmly, this proposal "by no means" contradicts the interests of other nations in strengthening universal peace and the security of nations; the Soviet government "holds the opinion that it is only by mutual means that Turkey and the Soviet Union can guarantee the freedom of commercial navigation (46)and the security of the Straits." Joint defense of the Straits

^{42.} Loc. cit. \$5. Loc. cit. 44. Loc.cit. -- a"closed sea" as opposed to an "open sea" is, in international law, a land-locked or nearly land-locked sea, and presents no question of right of passage by a third state--C. Fenwick, International Law, p.295.

^{45.} Loc. cit.

^{46.} Loc. cit.

send : not maynod auretinos and to anotistate tonin to anotismate ". Tev ent animub easie wood tent athres ent to forthos to loreover. Turkish reference to the same Turkey had taken at Of breatest and the Sues Cenel. In this case, "it rould be the H.S.S.R. and other Plack See nowers."

^{42.} Loc. oit. 45. Loc. cit. 44. Loc.cit. -- a "ologod sea" as opposed to on "oper sea" is, in international law, a land-locked sea, and presents no question of right of pessage by a third state--C. For ick, International Law, p. 295.

[.] tho . ood . . da

A6. Loc. oit.

would safeguard them to a greater degree than an exclusively Turkish defense.

The second note came as a surprise since all concerned thought their last notes sufficiently positive to stop any further demands of the same nature. However, the Soviet Union did not send this note to Britain and the United States as she had her first one, and had thus prejudiced "in advance their right to participate in the talks for the revision of the treaties." Turkey, however, because she considered the two powers properly a party to any such negotiations kept them informed. Within Turkey itself, moderate political circles considered the Soviet note a mild one and a possible basis for future bargaining and discussions. The more general attitude was expressed in the newspaper Ulus; "it really is incomprehensible that Russia should take offense because we do not want to cede bases or our territory...We hope our new answer will make it understood that this subject cannot become the theme of an exchange of correspondence." The Turkish press published its usual reports of Russia's fortifying her Black Sea areas and planning to attack Turkey at any moment; although the Turkish army was not actually "alert", it was prepared for any emergency.

The United States was also displeased by the new Soviet proposals; on September 31, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal issued a formal statement, undoubtedly aimed at the Soviet Union,

^{47.} New York Times, August 18, 1946, p.10

^{48.} New York Times, Ocotber 3, 1946, p.18

the reservoired to the protocol . were a past to a strength to . Friftment and to here a work to be to be to be a compared to ARTICLE . Betting the antipational from the company and it alegaration and south the leading of the said . The alegaration all the contraction and the track the contract of AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER HER REPORT OF THE PROPERTY The party of the state of the s OL. C. SANCE. BUSINESS. Marie Committee Committee

that units of the United States Navy were then in the Mediterranean and would remain there to support the Allied occupation policy in Europe and "to protect United States' interests and United States' policies in the area." On the same afternoon, a State Department statement was made which did not have the precision of Foreestal's but did indicate that we had a definite interests in conditions in the Mediterranean. However, two days later. Dean Acheson tried to calm public opinion by saying that he saw nothing unusual in their being American forces in the Mediterranean to support American foreign policy, and that there was a "lot of unnecessary excitement." The Secretary of State was not quite so unconcerned: "it would be folly to deny the seriousness of the conflict in viewpoints among the Allies ... I concur most heartily in the view recently expressed by Generalissimo Stalin that there is no immediate danger of war... The difficulty is that, while no nation wants war, nations may pursue policies or courses of action which lead to war."

On Øctober 9, both the British and American governments sent sharp notes to the Soviet government. Said the British note; "the Potsdam Agreement laid it down as the next step this matter should be the subject of direct conversations between each of the three governments and the Turkish government. But it is the view of my government that this 'next step' has been completed by the Exchange of views which have now taken place

^{49.} New York Times, October 6, 1946, p.5, IV 50. New York Times, October 2, 1946, p.14

^{50.} New York Times, October 2, 1946, p.14
51. New York Times, October 6, 1946, IV, p.1

thut write of the United States May were then in the Mediterranear and world remain there to support the Slifed converted to

lity in crope and "to protect United States" interests and

"Also States" rolinies in the area." In the same afternoon,

a dear nepartment statement was made which did not have the

precision of Foreschal's but did indicate that we had a desirate

theorem, Dean Scheen in the Mediterranean. Moreover, we support

the saw nothing unusual in the Mediterranean. Moreover, we support

he saw nothing unusual in their heing american forces in the

letterranean to support American foreign policy, and what shore

was a "lot of unuscassary exchement." The Sepretary of Deate

was a "lot of unuscassary exchement." The Sepretary of Deate

serfountest of the outliet in viscoints among the allies...

conour cost heartily in the view recently expressed by General.

conour cost heartily in the view recently expressed by General.

On October 9, both the British and merican governments sent sharp notes to the Soviet covernment. Said the British and a sharp notes to the Soviet covernment in the horn as the meri stee this matter should be the subject of direct conversations because of the three governments and the Turkish covernment. But it is the view of by government that this 'merk step' has been completed by the exchange or views which have now token place.

.Tom of heal dainy moijos to section to selotlog

^{49.} Hen York Times, Cotonor E. 1946, p. S. TV

il. ord Cord There, Outober 6, 1946, JV, p.1

between these governments. My governments therefore see no need (52) for or purpose in continuing direct correspondence on the subject."

However, Britain was still ready for a conference of a sort following the provisions of the Montreux Convention.

The United States note reiterated its views of August 19: copies were sent to France, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. It was, of course, hoped that the note would serve as a preventive measure before the Soviet Union precipitated any positive action toward gaining control of the Straits. Potsdam, it stated, should not "have the effect of prejudicing the participation of the other two signatory powers in the revision"of the Montreux Convention; diplomatic correspondence should merely be "a useful preliminary to a conference of all of the interested powers." Finally, the American government stated that it felt "it would be lacking in frankness if it should fail to point out again this time, in the most friendly spirit, that in its opinion the government of Turkey should continue to be primarily responsible for the defense of the Straits and that should the Straits become the object of attack by an aggressor, the resulting situation would be a matter for action on the part of the Security Council of the U.N."

The Turkish government was glad to see that her backers were still supporting her. The only doubt about the American note seemed to be whether action by the U.N. Security Council

^{52.} New York Times, November 22, 1946, p.14 53. New York Times, October 12, 1946, p.3

^{54.} Loc. cit.

between these governments. Wy governments therefore see no need (52)

Tom or nurgose in continuing direct correspondence on the subject."

However, Britsin was still ready for conference of a sert.

Tollowing the rowisions of the outrest Convention.

copies were sent to Trance, dragge, nutting, Turkey, the united stan and repo becom , served to , served . sirelegar the note straits. Foredam, it stated, bloods to the offer the in the revision of the Mentreux Convention; diviousity occurs. concretions a of granistians is been as as vieres bison conceptos -von mestrant and villaria ". erawor basadrasat and to lie to darm sid mi ,ents aidt mienn der delton od fice bluone di li

The Turkish severiment was ridd to see that her hickors were call supporting her. The only doubt about the american

SG. New York Times, November SG, 1946, t.la

die .com .

in case of aggression would be fast and efficient enough. On October 18, the Turks answered the Soviet note, in words making it clear that, as far as it was concerned, all preliminary discussions concerning the Dardanelles had been completed. It retorted on the supposed threat to Soviet security during the war that the "real threat to the security of the Black Sea shores came from the occupation of a large part of the shore of that sea by the German armies, from the German possession of the Rumanian and Bulgarian fleets and from the presence of German and Italian ships sent to the Black Sea ports by rail or through the As to cooperation among the Black Sea powers, Turkey said it had "a clear perception of her quality as a Black Sea power, but she (could not) forget that she is a Mediterranean country, too. Having a particularly sensitive geographic situation in assuring liaison between the two worlds separated by the restricted space of the Straits, she is conscious of the obligations which this situation imposes upon her in regard to the two seas which wash her shores ... The Turkish government (could not) therefore, consider the question of the Black Sea and the Straits as a problem interesting only Black Sea powers."

In answer to the Soviet warning about outside help, Turkey stated that "the very definite attitude which the Turkish government ahs taken on the matter is not a gamble on any hypothetical foreign support..Turkey feels herself strong and united and could

^{55.} New York Times, October 21, 1946, p.15 56. Loc. cit.

in case of ageression would be fast and efficient enough. uctoner 18, the Turus answered the Soviet note, in words reling as the training of the concerned as the raining the table cussions concerning the Dardamelles had been completed. It re-La to connerwaton arong the Medicaes powers, Turkey .ortic oinharose evidienes virelaciones e parteh .oot , viinvo wear which wash her shores . . The Turkish covernment (could not) "Rereione, ocusider the sweation of the Flack Sea and the Etrait as a problem interesting unly Plack Ses novers."

In annual to the Coviet wrining about outside help, Turkey at that "the very definite attitude which the Christon covernment of the Christon on the matter is not a samile on any important foreign amport. Junkey feels herself arting and maited and could

Es. Lew York Mines, October 21, 1946, p.15 56. Loc. oit.

not compromise on the issue...Acceptance of these proposals would force Turkey into a regional and exclusive policy for which the (57)

Turkish government has no taste. Moreover, it falt that Russian concern was "strategically outdated by modern weapons. No fleet would risk being bombed in the confined channel provided (58) by the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Finally, the Turkish government declared itself ready, "while maintaining its definite attitude concerning points 4 and 5 in the Russian demands," to attend a conference comprised of the signatory powers of the Montreux Convention without Japan and with the United States pre-(59) sent. "The work of preliminary preparations desired at Potsdam is virtually completed, thanks to communications made by the United States and Britain, to Ankara first, and then by an exchange (60) of notes concerning the same subject with Soviet Russia."

The Soviet Union was disappointed and bitter about the failure of her second note to entice Turkey into closer collaboration with its government. The Soviet press felt that the Turkish reply was the result of "extremely crooked, secret negotiations between Turkish and American diplomats," that the "intrigue" was a "crying contradiction" to the "pathetic statements of the Turkish press that Turkey is fully independent and deciding her own policy.".We have heard about dollar diplomacy and of dollar diplomacy, but hasn't the geography of the dollar now appeared (61) on God's earth with a new distribution of land and sea."

^{57.} Loc. cit. 58. Loc. cit. 59. Loc. cit.

^{60.} Loc. cit. 61. Loc. cit.

not compromise on the issue...acceptance of these proposals would force Turkey into a regional and exclusive policy for which the Turkish government has no taste." Moreover, it felt that Russian concern was "stratesially outdated by modern wespons. No fleet would risk being bowhed in the confined channel provided by the Jardanelles and the Bospborus." Finally, the Turkish government declared itself ready, "while maintaining its definite attitude concerning points 4 and 5 in the imasian demands." to attitude concerning points 4 and 5 in the imasian demands." to attend a conference comprised of the signatory powers of the onterest Convention without Espan and with the United States profite virtually completed, thanks to communications desired at lotadanted States and britain, to ankers first, and "len by an exchange ted States and britain, to ankers first, and "len by an exchange of notes concerning the same subject with Soviet Hussia."

The Soviet Union was disappointed and bitter amout the failure of her second note to entice Turkey into closer collaboration with its government. The Soviet press felt that the Truckish reply was the result of "extremely crocked, according to the provide the provide and enticen diplomats," that the "intrigue" was a "crying contradiction" to the "pathetic statements of the Turkish press that Turkey is fully independent and deciding her own policy. The hase't the geography of the dollar diplomacy and of dollar diplomacy, but hasn't the geography of the dollar' nor appeared on God's earth with a new distribution of land and see."

of the state of th

[.] Jie . 501 . 100 . 510 . 500 . 510 .

In a speech to the United Nations in late October, the Turkish representative, although not mentioning the Straits specifically, defied the Soviet Union on the issue in a veiled way: "army and military might are powerful weapons, but the (62) force of world opinion is far more potent." He then added his wish that the field of application for the veto power be, if not eliminated, at least limited. Turkey, fearing Soviet intentions, was putting her complete trust in the United Nations.

In November, the issue was closed for the time being by the Soviet answer to the British note of October 9. It was understood to have offered little hope that any conference would be held soon, and that, even if it were, any agreement satisfactory to the Soviet Union could be reached.

Since the Soviet note, there has been no formal mention of the Dardanelles, but each side has obviously become more determined. The "Truman doctrine" of the spring of 1947, by which the United States threatens to back up its moral support of Turkey with financial aid, has made it clear to the Soviet Union that the United States is not bluffing and will not draw back into its isolationist shell if threatened. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has not forgotten her aims; the problem is still unsolved.

^{62.} New York Times, October 27, 1946, p.1

In a speech to the United Nations in late Occober, the Turkish representative, although not mentioning the straits specifically, defied the Soviet Union on the Issue in a veiled way: "ermy and military which are powerful meapons, but the force of world opinion is far more potent." He then added his wish that the field of application for the veto rewer be, if not eliminated, at least limited. Turkey, fearing soviet intentions, was putting her complete trust in the mited Marions.

the dovict ensurer to the Unities note of October 9. It was constrained to have the tent any conserence which he hald soon, and that, even if it were, any systematic setimatory to the Soviet Union could be remand.

Since the Soviet note, thore has been no formal mention of the hardenelles, but each side has obviously become area determined. The "Trumma destrine" of the spring of 1947, by with the United States threadens to ties; or its movel support of Turiey with rimancial aid, has made it slear to the Coviet United States is not blooring and will not draw beat into its isolationist shell if threatened. On the other name, the Soviet United Nation has not forestenich her mims; the problem is still unselved.

BE, Mer York Cimes, Gotober S7, 1948, p.1

Foday everyone agrees that the Montroux Convention is in need of revision. The League of Dations has disappeared, and Japan should to released from any responsibility as a signatory power. It is obsoleted in that there are no provisions for small vessels under 100 tons making up a large numerical propertion of a modern fleet, in that no assount is taken of the persibility of effective pleasure by sea and air of the approximates to the Straits, and that the political situation in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in different from what it was in 1976.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Of A distacent nature. In 1956, Spitain, opposing the Seviet, Union as Spitain and the Daited Mister are now, did not sent non-clack Sea verships excluded from the Straigs or even limited in number. In 1950, the Seatorn revers are ediling to great the Limitation of the number of non-pibok Sea verships, coupled with practically free passage of the verships of Disak Sea powers, is a fair adjustment. Sowever, the Seviet Union is no longer estimated with this conversion; she wants positive assurance that she will have central of the Straigs in restine by Envise bases sersain in the Straigs some and by sharing control with Straigs bases sersain in the Straigs some and by sharing control with Straigs.

such desaids, perhaps oven to the soint of war. Alvesty, the

IIV HETLIHO EMOLEUJOMOO UMA YULUTUR Today everyone agrees that the Montreux Convention is in need of revision. The League of Nations has disappeared, and Japan should be released from any responsibility as a signatory power. It is obsolete in that there are no provisions for small vessels under 100 tons making up a large numerical proportion of a modern fleet, in that no account is taken of the possibility of effective closure by sea and air of the approaches to the Straits, and that the political situation in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea is different from what it was in 1936.

The problem of the Straits is basically the same today as it was in 1936, although the specific points of disagreement are of a different nature. In 1936, Britain, opposing the Soviet Union as Britain and the United States are now, did not want non-Black Sea warships excluded from the Straits or even limited in number. In 1946, the Western powers are willing to grant that limitation of the number of non-Black Sea warships, coupled with practically free passage of the warships of Black Sea powers, is a fair adjustment. However, the Soviet Union is no longer satisfied with this concession; she wants positive assurance that she will have control of the Straits in wartime by having bases herself in the Straits zone and by sharing control with Turkey.

Obviously, the United States and Great Britain will oppose such demands, perhaps even to the point of war. Already, the

Today everyone agrees that the londered Convention is in need of revision. The Longue of Sations has dissipanted, and Japan should be released from any responsibility as a signatory power. It is obsolete in that there are no provisions for smill vessels under 100 tons teking up a large numerical proportion of a modern fleet, in that no acquant is taken of the possibility of effective closure by see and sir of the approaches to the Straits, and that the collises situation in the eastern Hediterrangen and the slack see is different from what it was in terrangen and the slack see is different from what it was in terrangen and the slack see is different from what it was in

The problem of the Straits is basically the same today as it was in 1936, although the specific coints of disagreement are of a distance and anterest nature. In 1938, Britain, epocaing the Soviet Union as Fritain and the Unived States are now, ald not ment con-Black See warships excluded from the Straits or even iimited in number. In 1946, the estern powers are willing to grant that limitation of the number of non-black See warships, coupled with meachastly from pussage of the varantes of Black See no vers, is a fair adjustment, Summer, the Soviet Union is no longer satisfied with this concession; she make positive neurance that she will have control of the arrests in various by another bases herself in the Straits rose and by sharing control with Turkey.

Obviously, the United States and Great Eritain will oppose

United States is threatening to put money behind its diplomatic cooperation with Turkey in an attempt to assure Turkey s holding to our democratic point of view and to warn the Soviet Union against forcing her demands on Turkey by diplomatic or military pressure. The satisfaction of Soviet aims would result in Turkey's becoming a Soviet satellite, they feel; according to the American and British view, this situation would be contrary to all the post-war ideals the Soviet Union had agreed to, including the principles of the United Nations Charter. Turkey's sovereignty must be maintained in spite of Soviet desires for security, and the United States and Britain fail to see why the United Nations and related separate agreements cannot satisfy the Soviet Union. As Bevin said, on June 4, 1946, in the House of Commons: "we will always welcome the mercantile fleet of the Soviet Union on all the seas of the world...we will sail to Odessa again, to the Black Sea and Constanza, quite freely, but we do not ask for a base or military requirements to enable us to do so ... our aim is the free movement of shipping and the world's trade...whatever responsibilities we undertake in the defence scheme of the world in any particular area, we give a solemn undertaking that they will be on a basis of freedom to all members of the Peace Club on equal terms."

The Soviet Union bases her right to control the Straits on a more fundamental justice than that of preservation of the status quo, she thinks. According to the Soviet Union, her posi-

^{1.} Harry N. Howard, "Some Recent Developments in the Problem of the Turkish Straits: 1945-46, "Dept. of State Bul. vol. XVI No. 395, January 26, 1947, p.146

pairiod a vertur number of somether as at verbur dit noiteregroo -TUT ni fluast bluck sais Joives to solfosisiss and .arussarg all the post-war ideals the coviet union had acreed to, including the windules of the united lations therter. Turkey's the Soviet union. As Pavin said, on June 4, 1946, in the loune -bu of lies fill ow ... fire and to sees out lie no noise faivos essa agein, to the Black segiand Chastadas, quite foresty, but add bus ariggids to inergyon soul sit air aus ... on ob of ent ni exercepto en melitificamouser reveten ... abert e'olion all members of the seace Club on sonal terms.

The Soylet Union bases her right to control the Otraits on a more fundamental justice than that of preservation of the costus que, she thinks, scording to the Soylet Union, her rosi-

I. Let To Ton Ton Tale of the Control of the Control of the Ton Tale of the Control of the Contr

raits from the first consciousness of herself as a state, with obligations to increase her trade, protect her territory, and build her prestige among other nations, has never been sufficiently recognized. Turkey, all historians agree, was allowed to exist or rather forced to stay alive during the nineteenth century only because Briatin and France and other interested powers needed her as a protection against Russian seizure of the Straits. A Soviet newspaper raved the international conventions in the past had been "wholly directed against Russia and served as a policy for turning Turkey into a noose for strangling Russia."

The Western powers have offered what they feel is adequate security for the Soviet Union, internationalization of the Straits. Neither the Soviet Union nor Turkey approves of such a change. Soviet writers counter by saying that the Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez and the Panama Canals should also be put under international control. Henry Wallace, in his notorious letter, pointed out: "most of us are firmly convinced of the soundness of our position when we suggest the internationalization and defortification of the Danube and the Dardanelles, but we would be horrified and angered by any Russian counter-proposal that would involve also the internationalization and disarming of Suez or Panama. We must recignize that to the Russians these seem to be identical situations." Indignant American writers try to

^{2.} New York Times, August 25, 1946, 1:7

^{3.} New York Times, October 6, 1946, IV, 5:6

tion as the large power roat in need of the free use of the 2trelts from the first conscioueness of herself as a table, tith
obligations to increase her trade, protect her territory, and
build nor prestige among other rations, one never been swittelently recognised. Turkey, all mistorians agree, was allowed to
emist or rather forced to but alive during the minetestal contury only because briefin and france and other interestal powers
needed her as a protection against Russian seizure of the Straffs.

Sowiet now-paper rayed the interrational conventions in the
past had been "wholly directed against Russia and served as a

forlety for territory into a none for strangling Lussia."

(1)

The matery row the Soriet union, internationalization of the etualtication the Soriet Union union, internationalization of the etualtication the Soriet Union nor Turkey approves of such a change.

Soriet writers counter by asymmethet the Streits of Streits, the control the ones and the issues Canals about the Streits of Streits of Streits of the such under international of the sundness of our cut: "most of us are firmly convinced of the sundness of our position of the Innube and the internationalization of the Internationalization and deform of the Internationalization and discretize that could be developed a international these sees to develop also the internations. Indignate the see the treatent on the sees to be interies that to the interies the to the treatent three try to the interies the to the treatent three try to the interies the to the treatent to the treatent try to the seed to the interies the to the treatent try to the treatent try to the seed to the interies the to the try to the treatent try to the seed to the interies the to the try to the seed to the interies the to the try to the seed to the interies the to the treatent try to the seed to the interies the to the try to the seed to the

S. New York Edward, August 25, 1946, 1:9

S. New York Times, Detober 0, 1946, CV, 8:0

show how different the Panama and the Dardanelles are: the United States built the Panama Canal to provide for quick passage from one side to the other of the United States, whereas the Dardanelles are a natural waterway not providing passageway from one part of the Soviet Union to the other: the United States has Panamanian permission and also an agreement of long standing, while Turkey is fighting Soviet plans and the Straits have for many years been controlled through an international convention; lastly, Turkey proved capable of defending the Straits during a war while Panama undoubtedly could not. Actually, the Straits are just as valuable to the Soviet Union even if they do not permit passage from one part of the country to another, at least not directly, for they are the only hope of direct entrance for her ships into the Mediterranean; the United States could go around South America or transport her goods by rail, a more direct route, anyway. As for Panamanian permission, this was gained in the last century through American intervention in the Panamanian revolution against Colombia: Russia would undoubtedly have had similar permission from Turkey long ago if other powers had not intervened. Finally, Turkey was not placed in a position during the second World War where she actually had to defend the Straits, and she obviously could not defend the Straits from a power like the Soviet Union unless other powers helped her. Until other similar waterways are put under international control, it is unlikely that the Soviet Union will wholeheartedly agree to such a proposal.

show how different the Fenera and the Bardanelles are; the Uniduring a ver while Penene undoubtedly could not a unique . . Ther we store well adoresent to softend fitted benere on bitton s more direct route, mayons. As for laurementan paymission, this then nowers had not inversence. Firelly, Turkey is not placed holimantedly aree to make a proposal.

The attitude of the United States and Great Britain toward what would amount to Soviet control of the Straits is merely a slightly changed version of the Western powers' feeling in the nineteenth century. They do not want the Soviet Union to gain a strong foothold in the Eastern Mediterranean, for in doing so the Soviet Union might "outflank the strategic lines of defense (4) upon which the British depend throughout the Middle East." Britain wants her lifeline secure, and that excludes Soviet domination of the area. To protect that lifeline, the Western powers are again ready to preserve Turkish sovereignty.

From a practical point of view, the solution to the problem of the Straits would be to grant the Soviet Union her bases and political control of the Straits. As an English writer says, "in time of peace, the regime obtaining is of so little importance that it may be questioned whether Turkey would be wise to insist too strongly on the letter of her sovereighty and raise the issue to the level of a major international dispute...in time of war, control of the Straits is clearly of vastly greater importance to Russia than to any other Power, and in the event of a war between her and any Mediterranean power it would seem that the zone could not escape becoming a battlefield whose control would go to the strongest...and it is highly unlikely that Turkey could remain neutral in such a war."

A conference for revision of the Montreux Convention would

[&]quot;Turkey: Russian Squeeze," Newsweek, 28:36, August 26, 1946
"Russia, Turkey, and the Straits," The World Today, vol.11,
No. 9, p.404

The arcitude of the lamited Bistes end Great Britain toward what ould amount to Loviet control of the atroits is merely a slightly changed version of the 'estern powers' realism in the nineteenth century. They do not want the Coviet Union to gain a screen floothold in the Eestern Mediterronean, for in doing so the Soviet Union might "outrisms the strategic lines of derense upon which the Eritian depend throughout the iddle last." [1]

From a profited point of view, the solution to the profies of the profited by the interior would be to event the Soviet Union her bases and political sented of the Straits. As an implied writer says, "in time of peace, the regime obtaining is of so little importance that it may be questioned whether furthey would be also be lasted to the the training of the deverage y and reise the incurred to the last of the coverage y and reise the incurred to the last of war. In the training of the coverage is also be coverage to the the count of the coverage is also the coverage to the the count of a major tower, and in the cuenc of a major the count to the count of a major to the count of a major tower is and the count of a major to the count of a major to the count of the

. conference for revision of the Jantroux Convention would

[&]quot;Fruitey: E galan stuncton," Northwest, 18:86, august fd. 1946, "The straight forey, vol.11.

probably end in disagreement since each side is equally insistent. However, if some political agreement can be reached in regard to the whole area, actually unlikely, since the matter is so vital to the balance of power between the Western powers and Russia, the problem of the Dardanelles might be solved by voluntary giving in of one side or the other. No satisfactory, at least permanently satisfactory, compromise seems possible at the moment; the Soviet view is so completely different from the Allied view that there is no common stand to begin on. It seems probable that, by war or political compromise, the Soviet Union will gain the control she wishes. The most promising way to prevent this is through a really strong United Nations, to which the nations of the world will be willing to give up part of their sovereignty. When and if this happens, the Soviet Union will no longer suspect that the United Nations is merely an Anglo-American bloc and will willingly entrust her security in the Middle East to the United Nations Organization.

probably end in disagreement since each side is soughly insistent. However, if some nolitical agreement can be received in remard to the whole area, actually unlikely, since the matter . voluntary civing in of one side of the other. No satisfactory, at least perunnently agtisfactory, compromise seeds possible the allied view thet there is no common smand to begin on. seems probable that, by war or relitical compromise, the Soviet union will get the control she wishes. The cost promising way of their severeicnty. then and if this haunens, the Soviet Unthe Middle Rost to the United Wations Presmission.

AN ABSTRACT

The Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus have, since the beginning of history, been the cause of intense rivalries because of their commercial and strategic value, as both the passageway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and as the link between Europe and Asia. From the time of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 until the 17th century, the Straits were a Turkish lake, closed to outsiders. With the emergence of Russia as a united nation in the 17th century came her first consciousness of the value of the Straits to her. From then on, the history of the Straits is a tale of Russian frustrations in her desire to open the Straits for her warships, through wars with Turkey or diplomatic pressure, by interested Western powers, especially Great Britain.

Russia's inaccessibility to her Allies during the World
War because of closure of the Straits made her more anxious than
ever to control them herself. With the growth of nationalism in
Turkey and the setthement of Russian internal problems, the humiliating and unratified Treaty of Sevres was no longer a satisfactory Straits regime, and the Lausanne Straits Convention was
drawn up. It provided for nearly complete freedom of passage
for warships in peacetime and wartime, with a limitation on ingress
to mollify the Soviet Union, demilitarization of the Straits
zone, and the creation of an International Straits Commission.

In the middle thirties, a series of treaty repudiations and undeclared wars coupled with the obvious ineffectiveness of the League during crises, convinced Turkey that the remilitarization

uno Straite of the Cerdanelles and the losphorus have, mince the Dephaning of their commission, here the cause of intende rivelries because of their commission and strategic value, as noth the passageway between the Plack Cos and the Deliterances and as the link Devices the Plack Cos and the Delitarances and as the link Devices to Plack Cos and the Devices the Constitution of the Plack and the Little contains, the Straits of the contains as a further lake, closed to cutainsts. This the emergence of Euseis as a writed mation in the Little country came her first consciousness of the value of the Straits to her. From then on, the history of the Straits is a tale of Euseian Crustrations in vita furly of a circ to open the Straits in nor wareally, though were vita furly or diplomatic pressure, by interested destain powers.

instant of characteristics and her whites during the World war considered the Straits and seek her more continue then over to control thes hereaft. Tith the anorth of mationalism in furious and the nethereaft of leasten interval or arbitrary, bhe hubitless and the network of device as no longer another factory straits regime, and the hausanne its its Convention was train on. It provides for meanly complete freedom of planess of trains on the strains and wattine, with a limitation on increase to activity the sortion and matically considered the strains and intervals considered the strains of the Strains Convicting in the analysis of trains and the thirties, a serior of trains resulting the strains of th

of the Straits was necessary for her security. In June of 1936, after a formal Turkish note requesting revision sent to the signers of the Lausanne Straits Convention, a conference made up of representatives of Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Australia met in Montreux, Switzerland, using as a basis for discussion a draft drawn up by the Turkish government. The final convention was a compromise between this draft and a British one: it was extremely favorable to both Turkey and the Soviet Union. The Straits Commission was eliminated, and its powers given to Turkey. Also, Turkey, when belligerent, could herself decide whether to close the Straits to neutral warships. The Soviet Union was given unlimited egress, except that warships must pass singly, while strict limitations were made on the passage of non-Black Sea warships. All the signatories were well-satisfied, however, even Great Britain, which considered the concessions it made compensated for by Turkish friendship.

During World War II, the Montreux Convention was generally observed by both sides, not, however, from any moral sense but merely circumstances of the war, for until 1941, the active part of the war did not reach the Straits area. After that, German military control was to great for the Allies to attempt to seize the Straits. In spite of Turkey's treaty of mutual assistance with France and Great Britain, Turkey clung stubbornly to her neutrality until the middle of 1944 when she stopped certain German shipping at British insistence. It was not until

all place on the figure to antique of the court of the second of Conceptable at the first the case of the state of the ato to and the second of the last the reaction of the feet of the The survey deliver editors of persons to deep not ever the fact has a state that the first state of the property of the state are to the control of often . sor expended to the control of the sor and to the off the solpen Agricultural residence, but the first and because and them in the source of and the state of t and the test of the mental of the property of the bill the post to the party of the tracker to an accompany that the same of the first the same and the same of Alt motions and the compact of the first of the property of the after February 1945that the Allies were permitted free use of the Straits.

During the last stages of the war, the Soviet Union laid the pattern for her post-war Dardanelles policy by denouncing her peace pact of 1925 with Turkey and demanding strategic bases on the Straits zone itself. At the Potsdam meeting of the Big Three, no agreement on the Straits question could be reached except that each was to communicate separately with Turkey on the matter. The American proposals of November, 1945, accepted by Turkey, favored revision of the Montreux Convention but only of a minor or technical sort. In August, 1946, the Soviet Union presented proposals for sharing control of the Straits with Turkey, only to be met by curt refusals by Britain, the United States, and Turkey. The Soviet government, not so easily discouraged, again requested her share of control in September, at the same time warning Turkey against relying on the help of other great powers. This note, too, was answered by Britain and the United States, which felt that the preliminary steps of separate interchanges with Turkey were definitely closed. The Soviet Union hinted that a new conference for revision would not reach any decision pleasing to her. At the end of 1946, the problem was still unsolved; the Soviet Union, forced into silence momentarily, was still brooding over her frustration, while the United States, Great Britain, and Turkey were equally determined not to permit Turkish sovereignty to be injured.

orter courage laterablet the lilies here permitted from use of the Strates.

on the circles tone treets. At the Fotsday meeting of the Pic Throw no agreement on the Stratts antico could be recoped the matter. The American promoted of Porember, 1945, andented of a minor of terminal sort; In amount, 1946, the Soviet Union states, and Tanker. The Soviet covernment, not so unaily discoursed, usein requested her share of control in Saphenter. other erost powers. This nate. Noo. was enswered by Drivain and to again wrank flower which that the preliminary steps of ear . beaute threshold one perfect fitte acountered efficient ge on arridge sion planship to her. In the sud of 1965, the the United States, Cooks Switzin, and Public Wage Cooksliv Ceture-.Decuin of of vinglewayor deixtro dimes. of for bents

The solution of this issue will be difficult, and, at the same time, extremely important. The Straits are one of the danger spots of the world today; if this and other similar problems are not carefully dealt with, they may lead to a third world war. Internationalization would not be welcomed by either the Soviet Union or Turkey, at least not until all other such waterways have been internationalized. Control by the Soviet Union through war or some sort of political compromise about the whole Mediterranean area looks probable. However, if the Soviet Union could be convinced that the Straits are not necessary for her security, either through genuine cooperation among the great powers or by a United Nations having some ruling power, sacrificed to it by the nations of the world, she might relinguish her one of her oldest imperialistic objectives.

The solution of this issue will be difficult, and, at the same time, extremely important. The Straits are one of the danger spots of the world today; if this and other similar problem are not carefully dealt with, they may lead to a third world war Internationalisation would not be velcomed by either the Soviet follow or Turkey, at least not until all other such retermine internationalisad. Control by the Soviet union through war or one sort of political compromise about the whole wediter manear area looks provable. However, if the Soviet Union could be convinced that the itraits are not necessary for her security, either through require cooperation among the meat powers or by a chiter the nextons of the world, she might reliamish her one of her the nextons of the world, she might reliamish her one of her

APPRICATE

plenes at Unitrems, July 20, 1956 -

His Balesty the King of the Delgarians, the

remen Republic. His Majorty the Electof Great Critein.

land and the British Dominion bewond the Seas, Popular

His Minery the King of the Bellemen, his Majesty the Expe

or Jupan, His Majorty the Ding of Roumania, the Provident of

ene Turkich Republic, the Gentral Executive Commistee of the

Union of Soviet Scelelist Soviet Espekties, and his Majesty

APPENDIX

CONVENTION REGARDING THE REGIME OF THE STRAITS
Signed at Montreux, July 20, 1936

need under the gameral term "Straits" in such came

the state of the s

prompted, in the piece day, or the repartite attack, one prin-

ciple augustined in Article Es of the Treaty of Jense Signed

Have resolved to replace by the present Convention the

convention signed at Lauganne on the 14th July, 1923, ...

Application 1

The High Contracting Parties recognise and affirm the

remaiple of grandom of transit and maximition by not in the

118.

The exercise of this freedom shall bencefouth be regular

APPENDIN

CONVENTION DESCRIPTION THE ENGLISH OF THE STRAITS

APPENDIX

CONVENTION REGARDING THE REGIME OF THE STRAITS
Signed at Montreux, July 20, 1936

His Majesty the King of the Bulgarians, the President of French Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ire-land and the British Dominion beyonddthe Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, His Majesty the King of Roumania, the President of the Turkish Republic, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Soviet Republics, and His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia;

Desiring to regulate transit and navigation in the Straits of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus comprised under the general term "Straits" in such manner as to safeguard, within the framework of Turkish security and of the security, in the Black Sea, of the riparian States, the principle enshrined in Article 23 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne on the 24th July, 1923;

Have resolved to replace by the present Convention the Convention signed at Lausanne on the 24th July, 1923,...

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties recognise and affirm the principle of freedom of transit and navigation by sea in the Straits.

The exercise of this freedom shall henceforth be regulated

CONVERTION ASSAULTS THE HEALTS OF THE STRAITS Signed at optrous, July 20, 1956

His Majesty the Mine of the Roler and, the Pritain, Tre-Prench Sepublic, His Lajesty the King of Orest Britain, Treland and the British Jominion beyond the Sers, Mayeror of India, his Majesty the Ming of the Hellenes, His majesty the Emperor of Sepan, His Lajesty the Ming of Housanis, the President of the Turkish Mepublic, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Moviet Republics, and His Majesty the Ming of Jugoslavin;

Desiring to regulate Gransit and navigation in the Straits of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmore and the Rosphorus comprised under the general term "Straits" in such canner as to selegiord, ithin the framework of Turkish security and of the security, in the Flack Sea, of the riparian States, the principle enshrimed in Article 23 of the Treaty of Fence signed at Lausenne on the 24th July, 1973;

Heve resolved to replace by the present Convention the Convention signed at Lauranne on the Seth July, 1983,...

The Him Contracting Parties recognise and affirm the principle of francom of transit and navigation by sea in the Straiss.

The exercise of this Treeton shall hencoforth be regulated

by the provisions of the present Convention.

Section 1-Merchant Vessels

Article 2

In time of peace, merchant vessels shall enjoy complete freedom of transit and navigation in the Straits, by day and by night, under any flag and with any kind of cargo, without any formalities, except as provided in article 3 below, No taxes or charges other than those authorised by Annex I to the present Convention shall be levied by the Turkish authorities on these vessels when passing in transit without calling at a port in the Straits,

In order to facilate the collection of these taxes or charges merchant vessels passing through the Straits shall communicate to the officials at the stations referred to in article 3 their name, nationality, tonnage, destination and last port of call (provenance).

Pilotage and towage optional.

Article 3

All ships entering the Straits by the Aegean Sea or by the Black Sea shall stop at a sanitary station near the entrance to the Straits for the purposes of the sanitary control prescribed by Turkish law within the framework of international sanitary regulations. This control, in the case of ships possessing a clean bill of health or presenting a declaration of health testifying that they dod not fall within the scope of of the provisions of the second paragraph of the present article,

TENS

by the provisions of the present Convention.

S alotted

In the of peace, merchant vessels shall enjoy complete freedom of transit and newigation in the Straits, by day and by night, under any flag and with any kind of cargo, without any right, under any flag and with any kind of cargo, without any formalities, except as provided in article 5 below, no taxos or charges other than those suthorised by inner I to the present convention shall be levied by the Turkish suthorities on these vessels then passing in transit without calling at a port in the Straits.

In order to resell the the collection of these targes or charges more than the Stratts shall communicate to the officials at the stations referred to in tailole 5 their name, nationality, bonners, destination and lest port of call (provenance).

Filotage and towage optional.

e eloiday

All ships entering the Straits by the agent See or by
the Black See shall stop at a sanitary station near the entrance
to the Straits for the proposes of the sanitary control prescribed by Turkish low within the framework of intermetional
sanitary regulations. This control, in the case of sains possessing a clear bill of health or presenting a declaration of
health testifying that they do not fell within the scope of

shall be carried out by night and by day with all possible speed and the vessels in question shall not be required to make any other stop during their passage through the Straits.

Vessels which have on board cases of plague, cholers, yellow fever, exanthematic typhus or smallpox, or which have had such cases on board during the previous seven days, and vessels which hace left an infected port within less than five times twenty-four hours shall stop at the sanitary stations indicated in the preceding paragraph in order to embark such sanitary guards as the Turkish authorities may direct. No tax or charge shall be levied in respect of these sanitary guards and they shall be disembarked at a sanitary station on departure from the Straits.

Article 4

In time of war, Turkey not being belligerent, merchant vessels, nunder any flag or with any kind of cargo, shall enjoy freedon of transit and navigation in the Straits subject to the provisions of articles 2 fand 3.

Pilotage and towage remain optional.

Article 5

In time of war, Turkey being belligerent, merchant vessels not belonging to a country at war with Turkey shall enjoy freedom of transit and navigation in the Straits on condition that they do not in any way assist the enemy.

Such vessels shall enter the Straits by day and their transit shall be effected by the route which shall in each case be and the vessels in question shell not be required to make any words that the vessels in question shell not be required to make any women stop during their passage through the Straits.

Vessels which have on board eases of planue, cholera, yellow fever, examinatic typhus or saulison, or which have had such asses on board during the previous seven days, and yessels which have loft on infected port within less than five times twenty-four hours shall stop at the senitary stations indicated in the preceding paragraph in order to entark such sanitary guards as the furnish authorities may direct. No tax or charge shall be levied in respect of these sanitary guards and they shall be discussived at a sanitary station on departure

A sfolduA

In time of wer, furley not being religerent, we chant vessels, mader any flag or with any kind of cargo, shall enjoy freeden of transit and navigation in the Struits subject to the provisions of criticles Stand 5.

. Lenoitgo miame: our of bar approlis

Article 5

In time of war, Turkey being belligerent, merchant vessels not belonging to a country at war with Turkey shall enjoy freedom of transit and navigation in the Straits on condition that they do not in any may assist the cuenty.

such resears shall obter the Straits by day and their tran-

indicated by the Turkish authorities.

Article 6

Should Turkey consider herself to be threatened with imminent danger of war, the provisions of article 2 shall nevertheless continue to be applied except that vessels must enter the Straits by day and that their transit must be effected by the route which shall, in each case, be indicated by the Turkish authorities.

Pilotage may, in this case, be made obligatory, but no charge shall be levied,

Article 7

The term "merchant vessels" applies to all vessels which are not covered by Section II of the present Convention,

Section II--Vessels of War

Article 8

For the purposes of the present Convention, the definitions of vessels of war and of their specification together with those relating to the calculation of tonnage shall be as set forth in Annex II to the present Convention.

Article 9

Naval auxiliary vessels specifically designed for the carriage of fuel, liquid or non-liquid, shall not be subject to the provisions of article 13 regarding notification, nor shall they be counted for the purpose of calculating the tonnage which is subject to limitations under articles 14 and 18, on condition that they shall pass through the Straits singly. They shall,

indicated by the Turkish authorities.

Should Turkey consider herself to be threatened with imminent danger of war, the provisions of article 2 shall nevertheless continue to be applied except that vessels must enter bhe Straits by day and that their transit must be effected by the route which shall, in each case, be indicated by the Turkish authorities.

Filotage may, in this case, be made obligatory, but no charge shall be levied,

Article 7

The term "marchent vessels" applies to all vessels which are not covered by Section II of the present Convention,

8 plotona

Tor the purposes of the present Convention, the definitions of vessels of war and of their specification to their set in those and like as all to the calculation of tornage shall be as set forth in annex II to the present Convention.

P afaitrA

Nevel suciliary vessels specifically designed for the ourrises of fred, liquid or non-liquid, shell not be subject to the erovisions of spticle 15 regarding notifiestion, nor shell they be granted for the purcose of calculating the source thich is subject to limitations under orticles la and 18, on conflict that they shall pass through the Straits simply. They shall, however, continue to be on the same footing as vessels of war for the purpose of the remaining provisions governing transit.

The auxiliary vessels specified in the preceding paragraph shall only be entitled to benefit by the exceptional status therin contemplated if their armament does not include: for use against floating targets, more than two guns of a maximum calibre of 165 millimetres; for use against aerial targets, more than two guns of a maximum calibre of 75 millimetres.

Article 10

In time of peace, light surface vessels, minor war vessels and auxiliary vessels, whether belonging to Black Sea or non-Black Sea powers, and whatever their flag, shall enjoy freedom of transit through the Straits without any taxes or charges whatever, provided that such transit is begun during daylight and subject to the conditions laid down in article 13 and the articles following thereafter.

Vessels of war other than those which fall within the categories specified in the preceding paragraph shall only enjoy a
right of transit under the special conditions provided by articles 11 and 12.

Article 11

Black Sea Powers may send through the Straits capital ships of attonnage greater than that laid down in the first paragraph of article 14, on condition that these vessels pass through the Straits singly, escorted by not more than two destroyers,

now ever, continue to be on the same footing as vessels of war for the purpose of the remaining provisions coverning trensit.

The auxiliary vessels specified in the preceding paragraph shall only be entitled to benefit by the exceptional status there in contemplated if their symment does not include: for use against floating targets, nowe than two muss of a marinum calibre of 105 willimetres; for use against serial targets, more than two cuns or a maximum calibre of V5 millimetres.

Article 10

In time of peace, light surface versels, manor war vessels and auxiliary vessels, whether belonging to Flack Sea or non-Black Sea powers, and whatever their flag, shall enjoy freedom of transit torough the Straits without any taxes or charges whatever, provided that such transit is begun during daylight and subject to the conditions laid flow in suticle 15 and the articles following thereafter.

Vessels of war other than those high fall within the cateworks specified in the preceding paragraph shall only enjoy a right of transit under the special conditions provided by artiales 11 and 12.

Article 11

black Sea Fowers may send through the Streits capital anips of attornage greater than that laid down in the diret paragraph of article 14, on condition that these vessels pass through the Straits singly, escorted by not note than two distroyers,

Article 12

Black Sea Powers shall have the right to send through the Straits, for the purpose of rejoining their base, submarines constructed or purchased outside the Black Sea, provided that adequate notice of the laying down or purchase of such submarines shall have been given to Turkey.

Submarines belonging to the said Powers shall also be entitled to pass through the Straits to be repaired in dockyards outside the Black Sea on condition that detailed information on the matter is given to Turkey.

In either case, the said submarines must travel by day and on the surface, and must pass through the Straits singly.

Article 13

The transit of vessels of war through the Straits shall be preceded by a notification given to the Turkish Government through the diplomatic channel. The normal period of notice shall be eight days; but is desirable that in the case of non-Black Sea Powers this period should be increased to fifteen days. The notification shall specify the destination, name, type and number of the vessels, as also the date of entry for the outward passage and, if necessary, for the return journey. Any change of date shall be subject to three days' notice.

Entry into the Straits for the outward passage shall take place within a period of five days from the date given in the orginal notification. After the expiry of this period, a new

SI efeldta

Black sea Powers shall have the right to send through the Straits, for the purpose of rejoining their base, submarines constructed or purchased outside the Plack Sea, provided that edequate notice of the laying down or purchase of such submarines shall have been given to Turiey.

Submarines belonging to the said Fovers shall also be entitled to pase through the Straits to be repaired in dockyards outside the Plack Sea on condition that detailed information on the matter is given to Turkey.

In ofther case, the said submarines nust travel by day and on the surface, and must pass through the Straite singly.

The transit of vessels of through the Straits shall be preceded by a motification given to the Turkish Government through the diplomatic channel. The normal period of notice shall be eight days; but is desirable that in the case of non-black desirable that in the case of non-black desirable that in the case of non-black notification shall eyes by the destination, name, type and number of the vessels, as also the date of entry for the outward nears, of the subject to three days' notice.

Intry into the Straits for the outward possege shall take place within a period of five days from the date given in the orginal notification. After the expiry of this period, a new

notification shall be given under the same conditions as for the original notification.

When effecting transit, the commander of the naval force shall, without being under any obligation to stop, communicate to a signal station at the entrance to the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus the exact composition of the force under his orders.

Article 14

The maximum aggregate tonnage of all foreign naval forces which may in course of transit through the Straits shall not exceed 15,000 tons, except in the cases provided for in article 11 and in Annex III to the present Convention.

The forces specified in the preceding paragraph shall not, however, comprise more than nine vessels.

Wessels, whether belonging to Black Sea or non-Black Sea Powers, paying visits to a port in the Straits, in accordance with the provisions of article 17, shall not be included in this tonnage.

Neither shall vessels of war which have suffered damage during their passage through the Straits be included in this tonnage; such vessels, while undergoing repair, shall be subject to any special provisions relating to security laid down by Turkey.

Article 15

Vessels of war in transit through the Straits shall in no circumstances make use of any aircraft which they may be carrying.

notification shall be given under the same conditions as for the criginal notification.

When effecting transit, the commander of the naval force shall, without being under any obligation to stop, communicate to a signal station at the entrance to the Dardenellus or the Bosphorus the exact composition of the force under his orders.

The maximum aggregate tunnage of all foreign myel forces which may in course of transit through the Straits shall not enceed 15,000 tons, except in the cases provided for in criticle land in Lunex III to the present Senvention.

The forces specified in the preceding paragraph shall not, however, comprise more than aing vencels.

Versels, whether belonging to Black Ses or non-Black Ses
Powers, paying visits-to's port in the Straits, in accordance
with the provisions of article 17, shall not be included in this
tonnage.

Solther shall vessels of var which have suffered damage during their passage through the Straits he included in this tonness; such vessels, while undergoing repair, shall be subject to any special provisions relating to security laid down by Turkey.

ericle 15

on hi Ilade strange and depoint timenest ni new to slessey - verse of year that which they may be earry-

Article 16

Vessels of war in transit through the Straits shall not, except in the event of damage or peril of the sea, remain therein longer than is necessary for them to effect the passage.

Article 17

Nothing in the provisions of the preceding articles shall prevent a naval force of any tonnage or composition from paying a courtesy visit of limited duration to a port in the Straits, at the invitation of the Turkish Government. Any such force must leave the Straits by the same route as that by which it entered, unless it fulfills the conditions required for passage in transit through the Straits as laid down by articles 10, 14, and 18.

Article 18

- (1) The aggregate tonnage which non-Black Sea Powers may have in that sea in time of peace shall be limited as follows:-
- (a) Except as provided in paragraph (b) below, the aggregate tonnage of the said Powers shallnnot exceed 30,000 tons;
- (b) If at any time the tonnage of the strongest fleet in the Black Sea shall exceed by at least 10,000 tons the tonnage of the strongest fleet in that sea at the sate of the signature of the present Convention, the aggregate tonnage of 30,000 tons mentioned in paragraph (a) shall be increased by the same amount, up to a maximum of 45,000 tons. For this purpose, each Black Sea Power shall, in conformity with Annex IV to the present Con-

Of 6 (5 ,0%)

The same as the event of the community of the constant of the

present a sover mother of any to the or and continue of the source of th

at along

(a) The second of the contract of the contract

vention, inform the Turkish Government, on the lat January and the 1st July of each year, of the total tonnage of its fleet in the Black Sea; and the Turkish Government shall transmit this informations to the other High Contracting Parties and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

- (6) The tonnage which any one non-Black Sea Power may have in the Black Sea shall be limited to two-thirds of the aggregate tonnage provided for in paragraphs (a) and (b) above;
- (d) In the event, however, of one or more non-Black Sea Powers desiring to send naval forces into the Black Sea, for a humanitarian purpose, the said forces, which shall in no case exceed 8,000 tons altogether, shall be allowed to enter the Black Sea without having to give the notification provided for in article 13 of the present Convention, provided an authorisation is obtained from the Turkish Government inatherfollowing circumstances: if the figure of the aggregate tonnage specified in paragraphs (a) and (B) above has not reached and will not be exceeded by the despatch of the forces which it is desired to send, the Turkich Government shall grant the said authorisation within the shortest possible time after receiving the request which has been addressed to it; if the said figure had already been reached or if the despatch of the forces which it is desired to send will cause it ito be exceeded, the Turkish Government will immediately inform the other Black Sea Powers of the request for authorisation, and if the said Powers make no objection within twenty-four hours of having received this information, the Turkish

vention, inform the Turkish Covernment, on the lat January and the lat July of each year, of the total tonnage of its fleet in the Flack Sea; and the Turkish Covernment shell transmit this informationate the other Mich Contracting Parties and to the decretary-denoral of the League of Mations.

- (a) The tonnage watch any one non-Hisok Sea Tower may have in the Black Sea Swarthad to two-thirds of the saferenate tonnage provided for in paragraphs (a) and (b) above;
- (d) In the event, however, of one or nore non-Flack Sea bunniterian purpose, the said forces, which shall in no dase exceed 8,000 tone altogether. shall be allowed to enter the Elack twenty-four hours of having reserved the sinternation, the Torkish

Government shall, within forty-eight hours at the latest, inform the interested Powers of the reply which its has decided to make to their request.

Any furthur entry into the Błack Sea of Naval forces of non-Black Sea Powers shall only be effected within the available limits of the aggregate tonnage provided for in paragraphs (a) and (b) above.

(2) Vessels of war belonging to non-Black Sea Powers shall not remain in the Black Sea more than twenty-one days, whatever be the object of their presence there.

Article 19

In time of war, Turkey not being belligerent, warships shall enjoy complete freedom of transit and navigation through the Straits under the same conditions as those laid down in Articles 10 to 18.

Vessels of war belonging to belligerent Powers shall not, however, pass through the Straits except in cases arising out of the application of article 25 of the present Convention, and in cases of assistance rendered to a State victim of aggression in virtue of a treaty of mutual assistance binding Turkey, concluded within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and registered and published in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 of the Covenant.

In the exceptional cases provided for in the preceding paragraph, the limitations laid down in articles 10 to 18 of the present Convention shall not be applicable.

Government small, within forty-eight hours at the litest, inform the interested Fowers of the reply which its has decided to make to their request.

Any further entry into the black Sea of Mayel forces of non-Black Sea Powers shall only be effected within the available limits of the eggregate tonnege provided for in paregraphs (a) and (b) above.

(S) years is of wer belonging to non-Elack Sea Perens shall not remain in the Black Sea wore then twenty-one days, whatever be the object of their presence there.

el sloigna

on time of war, Furthey not being ballinerent, warships shall enjoy complete freedom of transit and navigation through the same conditions as those laid down in articles 10 to 16.

Vessels of war belonging to belligerent Powers and I not, nowever, pass through the Straits except in cases arising out of the upplication of article 25 of the present Convention, and in cases of assistance randered to a State victim of appression in wirtue of a breaty of mutual assistance binding Turkey, concluded within the fremework of the Covenant of the League of Datlons and registered and published in accordance with the provisions of inticle 18 of the Covenant.

no the exceptional cases provided for in the procedure and to El of the artistes lot to the interpretary the limitations laid to met be applicable.

Notwithstanding the Prohibition of passage laid down in Paragraph 2 above, vessels of war belonging to belligerent Powers whether they are Black Sea Powers or not, which have become separated from their bases, may return thereto.

Vessels of war belonging to belligerent Powers shall not make any capture, exercise the right of visit and search, or carry out any hostile act in the Straits.

Article 20

In time of war, Turkey being belligerent, the provisions of article 10 to 18 shall not be applicable; the passage of warships shall be left entirely to the discretion of the Turkish Government.

Article 21

Should Turkey consider herself to be threatened with imminent danger of war she shall have the right to apply the provisions of article 20 of the present Convention.

Vessels which have passed through the Straits before Turkey has made use of the powers conferred upon her by the preceding paragraph, and which thus find themselves separated from their bases may return thereto. It is, however, understood that Turkey may deny this right to vessels of war belonging to the State whose attitude has given rise to the application of the present article.

Should the Turkish Government make use of the powers conferred by the first paragraph of the present article, a notification to that effect shall be addressed to the High Contracting

Motiviblistending the Prohibition of passage laid down in Peragraph 2 above, vessels of war belonging to bellighrent Porers whether they are Black Sea Porers or not, which have become separated from their bases, may return thereto.

Vessels of war belonging to belligerent Powers shall not make any capture, exercise the right of visit and search, or carry out any hostile act in the Straits.

Appliche 20

In time of war, Turkey being belifterent, the provisions of article 10 to 18 shall not be applicable: the passage of warships shall be left entirely to the discretion of the Turkish Government.

IN SIGISTA

Should Turkey consider Herself to be threatened with inminent danger of war she shall have the right to apply the provisions of erticle SO of the present Convention.

Vessels which have passed through the straits before Turtey has tade use of the powers conferred upon her by the preceding paragraph, and which thus find themselves separated from
their bases may return thereto. It is, however, understood
that Turkey may deny this right to vessels of war belonging to
the State whose attitude has given rise to the application of
the present article.

Should the Turkish Covernment make use of the powers sonferred by the filet paragraph of the present article, a notifiostion to that effect shall be addressed to the High Contraction Parties and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

If the Council of the League of Nations shall decide by a majority of two-thirds that the measures thus taken by Turkey are not justified, and if such should also be the opinion of the majority of the High Contracting Parties signatories to the Present Convention, the Turkish Government undertakes to discontinue the measures in question as also any measures which may have been taken been taken under article 6 of the present Convention.

Article 22

Vessels of war which have on board cases of plague, cholers, yellow fever, exanthematic typhus or smallpox or which have had such cases on board within the last seven days and vessels of war which have left an infected port within less than five times twenty-four hours must pass through the Straits in quarantine and apply by the means on board such prophylactic measures as are necessary on order to prevent any possibility of the Straits being infected.

Section III Aircraft

Article 23

In order to assure the passage of civil aircraft between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the Turkish Government will indicate the air routes available for this purpose, outside the forbidden zones which may be established in the Straits. Civil aircraft may use these routes provided that they give the Turkish Government, as regards odcasional flights, a notification-

Farties and to the Secretary-General of the League of Mations.

If the Council of the League of Mations shall decide by a majority of two-thirds that the measures thus should also be the opinion of the majority of the High Contracting Parties signstories to the Fresent Convention, the Turkish Covernment undertakes to discontinue the measures in question as also any measures which may have been taken uses under article & of the present Convention.

Vessels of war which mave on board cases of plague, cholera, vellow fever, exanthematic typhus or smallpor or which have had such cases on board within the last seven days and vessels of war which have left an infected port within less than five times twenty-four hours must pass through the Straits in quarantine and apply by the means on board such prophylactic measures as are necessary on order to prevent any possibility of the Straits being infected.

Preventa III noitoed

Article 23

In order to assure the passage of civil aircraft between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the Turkish Covernment will indicate the air routes evaluable for this surpose, outside the formidden zones which may be established in the Streibs. Civil sirors't may use these routes provided that they give the fur-sirors't may use these routes provided that they give the fur-sirab Covernment, as regards obcastonal titudes, a nothification-

of three days, and as regards flights on regular services, a general notification of the dates of passage.

The Turkish Government moreover undertake, notwithstanding any remilitarisation of the Straits, to furnish the necessary facilities for the safe passage of civil aircraft authorised under the air regulations in force on Turkey to fly across Turkish territory between Europe and Asia. The route which is to be followed in the Straits zone by aircraft which have obtained an authorisation shall be indicated from time to time.

Section IV General Provisions

Article 24

The functions of the International Commission set up under the Convention relating to the regime of the Straits of the 24th July, 1923, are hereby transferred to the Turkish Government.

The Turkish Government undertake to collect statistics and to furnish information concerning the application of articles 11, 12, 14, and 18 of the present Convention.

They will supervise the execution of all the provisions of the present Convention relating to the passage of vessels of war through the Straits.

As soon as they have been notified of the intended passage through the Straits of a foreign naval force the Turkish Government shall inform the representatives at Angora of the High Contracting Parties of the composition of that force, its tonnage, the date fixed for its entry into the Straits, and, if necessary,

of three days, and as regards flights on regular services, a general notification of the dates of passage.

The Turkish Government moreover undertake, notwithstanding any remilitarisation of the Straits, to Turnish the necessary facilities for the safe passage of civil siroralt suthorised under the air regulations in force on Turkev to fly scross Turkish territory between Europe and ista. The route which is to be followed in the Straits come by eigerst which have obtained an au-

Section IV General rowisions

thoristion shall be indicated from time to time.

Article 24

The functions of the International Commission set up under the Convention relating to the regime of the Straits of the Sath July, 1925, are hereby transferred to the Turkish Government.

The Turkish Covernment undertake to collect station and to furnish information concerning the application of articles 11, 12, 14, and 18 of the present Convention.

They will squervise the execution of all the provisions of the present Convention relating to the passage of vessels of war through the Straits.

As soon as they have been notified of the intended passage through the Straits of a foreign naval force the Turkish Covernment shall inform the representatives at Angora of the High Contracting Parties of the composition of that force, its tennage, the date fired for its entry into the Otraits, and, if necessary,

the probable date of its return.

The Turkish Government shall address to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and to the High Contracting Parties an annual report giving details regarding the movement of foreign vessels of war through the Straits and furnishing all information which may be of service to commerce and navigation, both by sea and by air, for which provision is made in the present Convention.

Article 25

Nothing in the present Convention shall prejudice the rights and obligations of Turkey, or of any of the other High Contracting Parties members of the League of Nations.

Section V Final Provisions

Article 26

The present Convention shall be ratified as soon as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic in Paris.

The Japanese Government shall be entitled to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic reprein Paris that the ratification has been given, and in that case they shall transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications shall be drawn up as soon as six instruments of ratification, including that of Turkey, shall have been deposited. For this purpose the notification provided for in the preceding paragraph shall be taken as the equivalent of the deposit of an instrument of rati-

the probable date of its return.

The Turkish Covernment shall address to the Secretary-General of the League of Dations and to the High Contracting Parties an annual report giving details regarding the movement of foreign vessels of war through the Straits and rurnishing all information which may be of service to commerce and davigation, both by sea and by air, for which provision is made in the present convention.

Hothing in the present Convention shall prejudice the rights and obligations of Turkey, or of any of the other High Contracting Parties members of the League of Nations.

Section I Final V noises

Article 28

The present Convertion shall be retified us soon as possible.

The retifications shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French republic in raris.

The separate of the French Republic through their diploratic reprelarge what the French Republic through their diploratic reprein Paris that the autiloat on ing been given, and in that case they small transmit the estrarent of ratification as soon as possible.

drage up as soon as six instruments of retifications about he drage up as soon as six instruments of retification, including that of Turkey, shall have been deposited. For this purpose the notification provided for in the preceding present as taken as the souly lest of the percent of an instrument of reti-

fication.

The present Convention shall come into force on the date of the said process.

The French Government will transmit to all the High Contracting Parties an authentic copy of the <u>proces-verbal</u> provided for in the preceding paragraph and of the <u>proces-verbaux</u> of the deposit of any subsequent ratifications.

Article 27

The present Convention shall, as from the date of its entry into force, be open to accession by any Power signatory to the Treaty of Peace at Lausanne signed on the 24th July, 1923.

Each accession shall be notified, through the diplomatic channel, to the Government of the French Republic, and by the latter to all the High Contracting Parties.

Accessions shall come into force as from the date of notifications to the French Government.

Article 28

The present Convention shall remain in force for twenty years from the date of its entry into force.

The principle of freedom of transit and navigation affirmed in article 1 of the present Convention shall however continue without limit of time.

If, two years prior to the expiry of the said period of twenty years, no High Contracting Party shall have given notice of denunciation to the French Government the present Convention

fication.

The present Convention shall come into Tonge on the date of the seid oboots-verbal.

The French Government will transmit to all the High Contracting Ferties an authentic copy of the proces-verbal provided for in the preceding paragraph and of the proces-verbalm of the devosit of any subsequent ratifications.

Article 27

The present convention shall, as from the date of its entrry into force, he open to accession by any Power Signatory to the Treaty of Feace at Lausanne Signed on the Seth July, 1975.

Esob accession shall be notified, through the dislouncid channel, to the Government of the French Hepartio, and by the Letter to all the High Contincting Parties.

Addessions shall come into force as from the date of noti-

as eleite

The present Convention shall remain in force for twenty years from the date of its entry into force.

The principle of freedom of treasit and navigation affine ed in article I of the present Convention shall hovever continue without limit of time.

of denumbers to the French of the said period of the trenty yours, no High Conor oting I may shill have given appine of denumbers on to the French Covernment the present Convention

shall however continue in force until two years after such notice shall have been given. Any such notice shall be communicated by the French Government to the High Contracting Parties.

In the event of the present Convention being denounced in accordance with the provisions of the present article, the High Contracting Parties agree to be represented at a conference for the purpose of concluding a new Convention.

Article 29

At the expiry of each period of five years from the date of the entry into force of the present Convention each of the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to initiate a proposal for amending one or more of the provisions of the present Convention.

To be valid, any request for revision formulated by one of the High Contracting Parties must be supported, in the case of modifications to articles 14 or 18, by one other High Contracting Party, and, in the case of modifications to any other article, by two other High Contracting Parties.

Any request for revision thus supported must be notified to all the High Contracting Parties three months prior to the expiry of the current period of five years. This notification shall contain details of the proposed amendments and the reasons which have given rise to them.

Should it be found impossible to reach an agreement on these proposals through the diplomatic channel, the High Con-

shall heve continue in force until two years after such notice shall be countried at the ment of the present to the High Contracting Parties.

In the event of the present Convention being denounced in accordance with the provisions of the present article, the High Contracting Parties agree to be represented at a conference for

es aloiting

the rurpose of concluding a new Convention.

At the empiry of each period of five years from the date of the enery into force of the present Convention each of the might Convention Tarties shall be entitled to initiate a properties of the provisions of the present Convention.

To be walid, hay request for revision formulated by one of the High Contracting Parties must be supported, in the case of modifications to articles 14 or 18, by one other High Contracting by two other High Contracting by two other High Contracting Parties.

Any request for revision tous supported wast be motified to all the High Contracting Parties three months orior to the expiry of the current period of five years. This notification shall contain details of the proposed shouldments and the reasons which have given rise to them.

Should it be found impossible to reach an agreement on these composes through the diplomatic channel, the High Con-

tracting Parties agree to be represented at a conference to be summoned for this purpose.

Such a conference may only take decisions by a unanimous vote, except as regards cases of revision involving articles 14 and 18, for which a majority of three-quarters of the High Contracting Parties shall be sufficient.

The said majority shall include three-quarters of the High Contracting Parties which are Black Sea Powers, including Turkey.

tracting Parties agree to be represented at a conference to be summoned for this purpose.

Such a conference may only take decisions by a unemimous vote, except as regards cases of revision involving articles let and 18, for which a majority of three-quarters of the Figh Contracting Parties that be sufficient.

The said majority shall include three-quarters of the High Contracting Parties which are Black Sea Bowers, including Purkey.

H. Renembn, Signand. The Seture in Especialty's, New York, 1366. 5. Bouch, D.S. Pine Sontreux Courseling Reporting the Regime of the clear See Straigs, " Sharey of at London Affects added by L.J. Toyslee, vol. , Landon, 1987. BIBLIOGRAPHY



B

BOOKS

- 1. Graves, Philip Perceval. Briton and Turk, London, 1914.
- 2. Neumann, Sigmund. The Future in Perspective, New York, 1946.
- 3. Routh, D.A. "The Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Black Sea Straits," Survey of International Affairs, edited by A.J. Toynbee, vol. ,London, 1937.
- 4. Shotwell, James T. and Deak, Francis. Turkey at the Straits, New York, 1940.
- 5. Spykman, Nicolas J. The Geography of the Peace, New York, 1944.
- 6. Treaty Series, No. 16, London, 1923.
- 7. Treaty Series, No. 30, London, 1937.

PERIODICAL AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

- 1. Anthem, Thomas. "Russia and the Dardanelles," Contemporary Review, 168:222-60, October, 1945.
- 2. "Danger in the Dardanelles," <u>Current History</u>, 9:222-6, September, 1945.
- 3. Dwight, H.G. "The Gates to the Black Sea," National Geographic Magazine, vol. XXVII, No. 5, May, 1915, p. 435-59.
- 4. Eulau, Heinz. "Turkey and the Straits" New Republic, 113:100-1, July 23, 1945.
- 5. Fisher, A.J. "The Dardanelles," The Central European Observer, August 30, 1946, p.271-2.
- 6. Glasgow, George. "Turkey and the Straits," Contemporary Review, 157:491-6, April, 1940.
- 7. Howard, Harry N. "The Montreux Convention of the Straits, 1936", Department of State Bulletin, vol.XV, No.375, Sept. 8, 1946
- 8. Howard, Harry N. "The Problem of the Turkish Straits: Principal Treaties and Agreements," Department of State Bulletin, vol.XV, No.383, Nov. 3, 1946.
- 9. Howard, Harry N. "Some Recent Developments in the Problem of the Turkish Straits: 1945-46," Department of State Bulletin, vol. Xvi, No. 395, January 26, 1947.
- 10. New York Times, 1941-1946.

ROOMS

- 1. Graves, Philip Perceval. Eriton and Turk, London, 1914.
- P. Meuwann, Signand. The Puture in sagmoring, New York, 1946.
 - 3. Roubh, D.A. "The Montreux Convent on Recending the Resina of the Black Ses Straits," Survey of Intermet one Persins, edited by A.J. Toynbee, vol. , London, 1957.
- 4. Shotwell, James T. and Deak, Francis. Turkey at the Straigs.
- 5. Spylonan, Wicolss J. The Geography of the Tance, New York, 1944.
 - 6. Treaty Series, No. 16, London, 1988.
 - V. Tranty Series, No. 30, London, 1937.

PERIODICAL AND THUSBALER ARTICLES

- 1. Authem, Thomas, "Huseia and the Uardanelles," Contemporary Review, 188:222-60, October, 1945.
 - 2. "Danger in the Dardanelles," Curvent History, 9:882-6, September, 1945.
- 5. Datent, H.G. The Gates to the Black Ses," National Geo-
- 4. Molen, heing, "Turkey and the Otherts" New Reords to, 115:100-1.
- 5. Fisher, M.J. "The Derdanelles," The Secural Lurousen Observer,
 - 6. Glasgow, George. "Furkey and the Straits," Contemporary Havier, 157:401-6, April, 1940.
- 7. Howard, Harry N. "The Montroux Convention of the Straits, 1956", Department of State Hullevin, vol. XV, No. 575, Sept. B. 1946
 - 8. Howard, Marry N. "The Troblem of the Thiltish Stratts: Trincipal Treatics and Agreements," Department of State Bulletin, vol.XV, ho.383, Nov. E, 1946.
 - 9. Howard, Marry H. "Some Recent Developments in the Problem of the Turkish Straits: 1945-46," Department of State Bulletin, vol. Myi, No. 395, January 26, 1947.
 - 10. New York Times, 1941-1946.

- 11. "Russia, Turkey, and the Straits," The World Today, vol. 11, No.9, p. 396-405, London, September, 1946.
- 12. Sheean, Vincent. "Personal Opinion: the Straits Question," Asia, 46:416-17, September, 1946.
- 13. <u>Time</u>, 48:22, September 2, 1946 48:15, September 2, 1946 48:26, December 23, 1946
- 14. "Turkey: Russian Squeeze," Newsweek, 28:36, August 26, 1946.

- 11. "Russia, Turkey, and the Straits," The World Today, vol. 11, 10.9, p. 396-405, London, September, 1946.
- 15. Sheens, Vincent. "Personal Opinion: the Straits Question,"
 Asia, 46:416-17, Deptember, 1946.
 - 15. Time, 48:22, September 2, 1946 63:15, September 2, 1946 48:26, December 23, 1946

14. "Turkey: Russian Squeeze," Newsweek, 28:36, August 26, 1946.



ESE BINDER

CITY N. V.AU. B. A.

