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The Montreux Straits Convention and its Reflections in the Armenian Press

Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesinin Ermeni Basınındaki Yansımaları

Abstract

In the 18th century, due to their strategic importance, the Istanbul and Dardanelles Straits have been regions that many states wanted to dominate. The fact that Russia was a great power in the Black Sea in the 19th century began to threaten the Ottoman Empire and the European States. This process, called the Straits Problem, continued until the Treaty of Lausanne.

With the Treaty of Lausanne, it was decided that the passage through the Straits would be free, that both sides of the straits would be demilitarized and the passage of the straits would be managed by an international commission. However, Turkey, worried about the activities that Italy might carry out in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans, took action to abolish the provision of demilitarization of the straits in the Treaty of Lausanne and brought this issue to the agenda for the first time at the London Disarmament Conference held in May 1933. During this time, Italy's attack on Abyssinia and Germany's placement of troops in the Rhine region in violation of the Versailles Treaty led Turkey to give a note to the countries participating in the Lausanne Conference on April 11, 1936. Subsequently, negotiations began in Montreux, Switzerland, and the Montreux Straits Convention was signed on 20 July 1936. With the said contract, Turkey gained full control over the Straits and guaranteed the free passage of civilian ships in peacetime. In addition, Turkey gained the right to control and regulate the passage of warships in the Istanbul and Dardanelles Straits. Thus, future problems have been prevented. With the Russian attack on Ukraine on February 24, 2022, a difficult process began in this region extending to the Black Sea coast. Russia's move brought the situation of the straits, namely the 1936 Montreux Convention, to the fore.

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The study aims to convey the Montreux Straits Convention's importance and the Armenian press's attitude at the time the contract was signed. Armenian newspapers and magazines published in Turkey and abroad will be included in the study. Columns and news written in these newspapers will be examined. The examined newspapers are Gomunist, Alik, Bolshevikyan Troşov, Jamanak, and Arevelk. Newspapers Issues between 19 July – 24 July 1936 were examined. In general, different topics have been on the agenda since this date.

Keywords: Dardanelles Strait, Bosphorus, Black Sea, Montreux Straits Convention, Armenian Press.

Öz

Stratejik önemi nedeniyle İstanbul ve Çanakkale Boğazları, tarih boyunca birçok devletin egemenliği altına almak istediği bölgeler olmuştur. Özellikle XVIII. yüzyılda Rusya'nın Karadeniz'de büyük bir güç olması hem Osmanlı Devleti hem de Avrupalı Devletler için tehdit olmaya başlamıştır. Boğazlar Sorunu olarak adlandırılan bu süreç Lozan Antlaşmasına kadar devam etmiştir.

Lozan Antlaşmasıyla Boğazlardan geçişin serbest olduğu, boğazların iki yakasının askerden arındırılacağı ve boğazların geçişinin uluslararası bir komisyon tarafından idare edileceği kararı alınmıştır. Ancak İtalya'nın Doğu Akdeniz ve Balkanlarda yürütebileceği faaliyetlerden kaygı duyan Türkiye, Lozan Antlaşması'nda boğazların askerden arındırılması hükmünün kaldırılması için harekete geçmiş ve bu konuyu ilk olarak 1933 Mayıs'ında düzenlenen Londra Silahsızlandırma Konferansı'nda gündeme getirmiştir. Bu süre zarfında İtalya'nın Habeşistan'a saldırması ve Almanya'nın Versailles [Versay] Antlaşması'na aykırı hareket ederek Ren bölgesine asker yerleştirmesi, Türkiye'nin Lozan Konferansı'na katılan ülkelere 11 Nisan 1936 tarihinde nota vermesine yol açmıştır.

Yaşanan olayların ardından İsviçre'nin Montreux şehrinde görüşmeler başlamış ve 20 Temmuz 1936 tarihinde Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesi imzalanmıştır. Söz konusu sözleşme ile Türkiye Boğazlar üzerinde tam kontrol hakkını elde etmiş ve barış zamanı sivil gemilerin serbest geçişi garanti altına alınmıştır. Ayrıca Türkiye İstanbul ve Çanakkale Boğazlarında kontrol ile savaş gemilerinin geçişini düzenleme hakkını kazanmıştır. Böylece gelecekte yaşanabilecek problemlerin önüne geçilmiştir. Nitekim, 24 Şubat 2022 tarihinde Rusya'nın Ukrayna'ya saldırmasıyla Karadeniz kıyılarına uzanan bu bölgede zorlu bir süreç başlamıştır. Rusya'nın hamlesi boğazların durumunu yani 1936 Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesi'ni tekrar gündeme getirmiştir.

Çalışmanın amacı Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesi'nin önemini ve sözleşmenin imzalandığı dönemde Ermeni basın organlarının tutumunu aktarmaktır. Çalışmada Türkiye ve yurt dışında yayımlanan Ermenice gazete ve dergilere yer verilecektir. Söz konusu gazetelerde kaleme alınan köşe yazıları ve haberler incelenecektir. İncelenen gazeteler Gomunist, Alik, Bolşevikyan Troşov, Jamanak ve Arevelk'tir. Gazeteler 19 Temmuz – 24 Temmuz 1936 tarihleri arasındaki sayılar incelenmiştir. Genel olarak bu tarihten itibaren gündemi farklı konular oluşturmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çanakkale Boğazı, İstanbul Boğazı, Karadeniz, Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesi, Ermeni Basını.

Extended Abstract

After the success of the National Struggle, it was time for conversations for peace. Various issues were resolved in favor of Turkey at the Lausanne Conference, but full independence was not achieved regarding the Straits. So much so that non-military ships and planes will be able to pass through the straits in peacetime. To demilitarize both sides of the straits and to ensure the passage, it was decided to establish an international board with a Turkish chairman and to maintain these arrangements under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Shortly after the Treaty of Lausanne signing, Italy and Germany started to follow an expansionist policy. This situation has begun to threaten the security of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans.

During this time, Italy attacked Abyssinia, and Germany, in violation of the Versailles Treaty, placed soldiers in the Rhine Region. To prevent this danger, Turkey sent a note to the countries participating in the Lausanne Conference on April 11, 1936. As a result, the Montreux Straits Convention was signed on 20 July 1936. While Turkey gained the right to full control over the Straits with the contract, it gained the right to regulate the passage of warships with control in the Istanbul and Dardanelles Straits. In addition, the free passage The Montreux Straits Convention consists of twenty-nine articles. There are also four additional articles and a protocol. The Convention entered into force on 9 November 1936, upon the completion of the submission of the ratification documents of at least six states, including Turkey, to the French government in Paris. It is seen that the Armenian press organs Horizon [Horizon], Gomunist [Gomunist], Alik [Wave], and Bolshevikyan Troşov [With Bolshevik Flag], which were published abroad at the time the Montreux Straits Convention was signed, were interested in the subject.

Gomunist newspaper underlined that Turkey was left under difficult conditions in the Lausanne Peace Treaty. Commenting on the warmongering of Italy and Germany, the newspaper reported that, unlike these countries, Turkey is trying to solve the problems through peaceful means. Alik newspaper described Turkey as the absolute ruler of the Straits as of today and saw it as an important element in Europe's politics. Bolshevikyan Troşov newspaper reported that the straits are the only sea route that leads from other seas to the Black Sea. He reminded us that the 58 km Dardanelles Strait and the 28,50 km Bosphorus Strait have attracted the attention of many states throughout history and wanted to take them under their rule. Horizon newspaper published in Bulgaria reported that diplomatic circles were satisfied with the signing of the Montreux Straits Convention and that this agreement was a great success for Turkey.

When the Armenian press organs published within the borders of Turkey are examined, it is noticed that the developments after the Montreux Straits Convention are conveyed to the readers in more detail. In addition, it is seen that the newspapers in question include many images. So much so that the Jamanak [Time] newspaper, in its issue of 21 July 1936, following the Montreux Straits Convention, featured a drawing in which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk engraved the word «Peace» in capital letters, with a hammer and a dagger, on the world's solution to the problem of the straits that he had resolved by peaceful means. Arevelk [East] newspaper, on the other hand, included pictures of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü, and Tefvik Rüştü Aras and made commendable comments under the pictures.

The newspaper stated that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk achieved great conquests in the domestic and foreign life of the country with his high advice.

Introduction

During the war of 1769-1774, Russia took important steps in the policy of “going south” and became stronger with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca signed at the end of the war. Since this date, the political attitude of the Russians has posed a threat to both the Ottoman Empire and the European States.¹

The concept of the Straits Problem, which has been used since this date, continued as a problem that threatened the security of the Ottoman Empire and caused conflicts among European countries. The problems related to the Straits have been the beginning of a difficult process for the Ottoman Empire since this date. Especially in the period from the First World War to the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the crises related to the straits reached serious dimensions.²

In the Treaty of Sèvres, which included heavy items for the Ottoman Empire, it was decided to establish a commission that could allow warships to pass through the straits during the war and control the straits. As can be seen, the security of the Ottoman Empire and its right to control was in danger.³

After the success of the National Struggle, it was time for the Lausanne Peace Conference. Various issues were resolved in favor of Turkey at the conference, but full independence was not achieved regarding the Straits. So much so that non-military ships and planes will be able to pass through the straits in peacetime. To demilitarize both sides of the straits and to ensure the passage, it was decided to establish an international board with a Turkish chairman and to maintain these arrangements under the assurance of the League of Nations.⁴

The Process Leading to the Montreux Straits Convention

During the war of 1769-1774, Russia took important steps in the policy of “going south” and became stronger with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca signed at the end of the war. Since this date, the political attitude of the Russians has posed a threat to both the Ottoman Empire and the European States.⁵

1 Rifat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789- 1994)*, Filiz Publishing, İstanbul, 1995, p.182 – 184.

2 Rona Aybay, “Montrö Boğazlar Sözleşmesi ve Bazı Güncel Sorunlar”, *D.E.U. Journal of the Faculty of Law, Prof. Dr. A Gift to Durmuş Tezcan, Vol.21, Sspecial Issue.*, İzmir, 2019, p. 2730-2731.

3 Nihat Erim, *Devletlerarası Hukuku ve Siyasi Tarih Metinleri, Vol. I: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Andlaşmaları*, TTK Publishing, Ankara, 1953, p. 544 – 546.

4 *Düstur Üçüncü Tertip, Vol.: 5*, Necmi İstikbal Printing House, İstanbul, 1931, p. 131 – 134.

5 Rifat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789- 1994)*, Filiz Publishing, İstanbul, 1995, p.182 – 184.

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The Process Leading to the Montreux Straits Convention

At the beginning of the 1930s, Italy and Germany started to follow an expansionist policy. Turkey was afraid of Italy's aims in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans and was concerned about the vulnerability of the Straits. For this reason, Turkey attempted to abolish the demilitarization provisions of the Straits and brought this issue to the agenda at the London Disarmament Conference held in May 1933. However, no results were obtained in this regard.⁹

During this time, Italy attacked Abyssinia and started arming the Dodecanese. In violation of the Versailles Treaty, Germany placed soldiers in the Rhine Region. To prevent this danger, Turkey sent a note to the countries participating in the Lausanne Conference on April 11, 1936. As a result, negotiations began in Montreux, Switzerland, in June 1936.¹⁰

Content of the Montreux Straits Convention

With the Montreux Straits Convention, Turkey regained its sovereign rights in the Straits. As in Lausanne, the freedom of passage through the Straits has been accepted, regardless of trade or warships. (Article. 1). Although the contract is valid for twenty years, it is stated that the freedom of departure and arrival is indefinite. (Article 28). In the first

6 Rona Aybay, "Montrö Boğazlar Sözleşmesi ve Bazı Güncel Sorunlar", *D.E.U. Journal of the Faculty of Law, Prof. Dr. A Gift to Durmuş Tezcan, Vol.21, Special Issue.*, İzmir, 2019, p. 2730-2731.

7 Nihat Erim, *Devletlerarası Hukuku ve Siyasi Tarih Metinleri, Vol. I: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Andlaşmaları*, TTK Publishing, Ankara, 1953, p. 544 – 546.

8 *Düstur Üçüncü Tertip, Vol.: 5*, Necmi İstikbal Printing House, İstanbul, 1931, p. 131 – 134.

9 Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi (1914-1995)*, Timaş Publishing, İstanbul, 2014, p.308 – 309.

10 Sami Doğru, "Türk Boğazları'nın Hukuki Statüsü: Sevr ve Lozan'dan Montrö'ye Geçiş", *D.E.U. Journal of the Faculty of Law, Issue: 2*, İzmir, 2013, p. 157.

part, the transit regime of merchant ships is regulated (Article 2-7).

Accordingly, in peacetime, merchant ships will be able to pass freely through the Straits day and night, regardless of their flag and cargo. In the second part, the transition regime of warships in peace and war is arranged to vary according to the states that have coasted in the Black Sea and those that do not. Accordingly, in peacetime, light surface ships, small warships, and auxiliary ships will be able to pass freely through the Straits, regardless of their flag, without any pictures or loadings attached to them. However, they must enter the Straits during the day and by the stipulated conditions. The Convention also regulates the passage of air vehicles over the Straits (Article 8–23). The powers of the international commission established in Lausanne were transferred to the Turkish government (Article 24). Although the term of the Convention is twenty years (Article 28), it remains in force as it has not been terminated by any signatory state so far.¹¹

However, the fact that merchant ships pass day and night without being subjected to any procedures other than health inspections, and that it is optional to take pilots and tugboats has left Istanbul in the face of great dangers. For this reason, the Republic of Turkey has prepared a regulation on maritime traffic order in the Straits and Marmara, and it was put into effect on 1 July 1994.¹²

Montreux Straits Convention in the Armenian Press

Montreux Straits Convention in Armenian Press Organs Published Abroad

It is seen that the Armenian press organs Horizon [Horizon],¹³ Gomunist [Gomunist],¹⁴ Alik [Wave],¹⁵ and Bolshevikiyan Troşov [With Bolshevik Flag],¹⁶ which were published abroad at the time the Montreux Straits Convention was signed, were interested in the subject.

Horizon newspaper published in Bulgaria reported that diplomatic circles were satisfied with the signing of the Montreux Straits Convention and that this agreement was a great success for Turkey. Reminding the difficult situation of the Ottoman Empire with the entry of the German ships “Goben” and “Breslau” into the Black Sea, the newspaper commented that this would prevent the events that took place in 1914.¹⁷

11 S. w., p. 5 – 13.

12 “Boğazlar ve Marmara Bölgesi Deniz Trafik Düzeni Hakkında Tüzük”, *T.C. Resmî Gazete*, 11 January 1994, p. 3.

13 Horizon newspaper started its publishing life in 1927 as a continuation of the Alik newspaper published in Thessaloniki. *Horizon*, 16 October 1927.

14 Gomunist newspaper is a political newspaper that started to be published in Baku in 1921. Karekin Levonyan, *Hayots Barperagan Mamuli Liyagadar Tsutsak Hay Lrakrutyan Iskisbits Minçev Mer Oreri, (1794 – 1934)*, Melkonyan Fondation Publishing, 1934, p. 57.

15 Terenik Melikian is the editor of Alik newspaper, which started its publication life in Tehran in 1931. Andranik Hovian, *Iranian Armenians*, Center for International Cultura, 2002, p. 75.

16 Bolshevikiyan Troşov, which started its publication life in 1932, is a daily newspaper. *Bolşevikiyan Troşov*, 12 December 1932, p. 1.

17 “Neğutsneru Hintiri Lutsvetsav [Straits Issue Solved]”, *Horizon*, 18 July 1936, p. 2.

Gomunist, published in Armenia, a part of the USSR, commented that the conference held in Montreux was held at the request of Turkey to re-negotiate the decisions taken in Lausanne regarding the straits and that the convention is of great importance in the international arena. The newspaper, which justifies Lithuania's stance on the security of the Black Sea, stated that the contract should serve the protection of the Black Sea and its coasts and prevent any danger. It was stated that with this agreement, the regime of the straits was put in order and that the dominance of the straits was given to Turkey, and Turkey had a great responsibility. Noting that countries bordering the Black Sea also bear great responsibility, the newspaper stated that the contract protects the interests and security of the states in question.

Gomunist newspaper underlined that Turkey was left under difficult conditions in the Lausanne Peace Treaty. Commenting on the warmongering of Italy and Germany, the newspaper reported that, unlike these countries, Turkey is trying to solve the problems through peaceful means. Referring to the articles of the Montreux Straits Convention, the newspaper stated that Stalin's position in the political and economic field had a positive effect.¹⁸

The newspaper Alik, published in Tehran, described Turkey as the absolute ruler of the Straits as of today and saw it as an important element in the politics of Europe. The newspaper also added that the French press was satisfied with this contract.¹⁹

Bolshevikyan Troşov newspaper, questioning why the representatives of the European and Asian big states attach importance to the straits in the small city of Montreux in Switzerland, attributed this to the fact that the straits are the only sea route that leads from other seas to the Black Sea. Covering the historical processes related to the Straits, the newspaper reminded us that the 58 km long Dardanelles Strait and the 28.50 km long Bosphorus Strait have attracted the attention of many states throughout history and they wanted to take them under their rule. He stated that during the First World War, military ships belonging to European states passed freely and this situation left the Ottoman Empire in a difficult situation. In addition, it was stated that Italy and Germany followed a warlike policy, that the straits were brought under control this time, and that similar difficulties in the First World War would not be experienced again. Stating that the articles of the Lausanne Peace Treaty regarding the Straits were a wrong decision for Turkey not to have soldiers and weapons, the newspaper informed its readers that a wrong decision was corrected with the Montreux Straits Convention.²⁰

Montreux Straits Convention in Armenian Press Organs Published in Turkey

When the Armenian press organs published within the borders of Turkey are examined, it is noticed that the developments after the Montreux Straits Convention are conveyed to the readers in more detail. In addition, it is seen that the newspapers in question include many images. So much so that, in its issue of 21 July 1936, Jamanak [Time]²¹ newspaper

18 "Neğutsneru Konferantsum [Straits Conference]", *Horizon*, 18 July 1936, p. 2.

19 "Montroyi Tasnakruryuni [Montreux Convention]", *Alik*, 23 July 1936, p. 2.

20 "Neğutsneru Masin [Related to the Straits]", *Bolşevikyan Troşov*, 25 July 1936, p. 3.

21 Jamanak is a daily Armenian political newspaper published in Istanbul. It was founded on 28 October 1908 by the brothers Sarkis and Misak Koçunyan. *Jamanak*, 28 October 1908, p. 1.

brought to the attention of its readers Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's peaceful resolution of the straits, with a drawing on the world where he carved the word "Peace" in capital letters with a hammer and a dagger. In the same issue, the newspaper included a picture of Mustafa Kemal taken in Anafartalar during the Dardanelles War and stated that the problem with the

In the same issue, the newspaper carried the signing process of the contract and the situation in the country in its columns. Noting that the ceremony started at eight o'clock in the evening, the newspaper reported that in another hall, besides the Turkish press, foreign press members were given a meal. It has been reported that the contract was signed with a golden pen brought from France, and the signing ceremony lasted for thirty-five minutes.

Noting that the people of Ankara decided to welcome İsmet İnönü, the newspaper commented that İsmet İnönü was the unique personality of the state who followed Atatürk's path continuously for thirteen years. In Istanbul, it was stated that houses and streets were decorated with flags, and young people gathered at the university and in Beyazıt Square. It was stated that the meeting started at two o'clock in the afternoon and that Cemil Bilsel and Enver Ziya would also give speeches. It was reported that a meeting would be held at Beyazıt Square at five o'clock, meetings would be held in all public houses in Istanbul, and speeches would be made at nine o'clock. The information that about a hundred students from the members of the National Turkish Students' Union will go to Çanakkale by the Bandırma ship at one o'clock has been shared with the readers.²²

Arevelk [East] newspaper²³, on the other hand, included pictures of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü, and Tevfik Rüştü Aras and made commendable comments under the pictures. The newspaper stated that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk achieved great conquests in the domestic and foreign life of the country with his high advice. The newspaper also stated that Tevfik Rüştü Aras's master diplomat always protected his country's rights in the best way possible. He stated that İsmet İnönü, on the other hand, worked for the interests of his country with his farsighted understanding of politics.²⁴

On the same page of the Arevelk newspaper, it was stated that Turkey achieved great success by following a peaceful path. The newspaper stated that Turkish administrators were waiting for the right time for this success and that they acted with a policy of peace and truth, unlike Germany and Italy, to achieve their goals. Reminding that at the Lausanne Conference, Turkey could not obtain the right of full dominance over the Straits, the newspaper stated that Turkey waited patiently, obtained this right with Montreux, and taught the world a great lesson. The newspaper stated that it owed this brilliant victory to Atatürk's leadership and stated that the Turkish nation could not find a word for happiness today.²⁵

22 "Neğutsneru Taşnakırı Yereg Kişerin Isdoragrivetsav [Straits Convention Yesterday Evening Signed]", *Jamanak*, 21 July 1936, p. 1 – 2.

23 Arevelk, which started its publication life on October 26, 1931 by Horen Camcıyan, is a daily published newspaper. *Arevelk*, 26 October 1931, p. 1.

24 "Turk Hanrabadutyunu Badmagan Medz Haçoğutyun Mı Tserk Perav [Republic of Turkey Achieved a Great Historical Victory]", *Arevelk*, 21 July 1936, p. 1.

25 "Turkiyo Paylun Haçoğutyunı [Turkey's Brilliant Victory]", *Arevelk*, 21 July 1936, p. 1.

In its issue dated July 22, 1936, the newspaper stated that soldiers entered the Dardanelles and Bosphorus Straits, the people greeted the army with displays of joy, everywhere was decorated with flags and lights, and the people celebrated with enthusiasm. Noting that the Armenians of Istanbul also experienced great joy, the newspaper reported that good wishes were made in the sermons in the churches.²⁶

In addition, he stated that the Istanbul Armenian Patriarch Mesrob I. Naroyan and the Head of the Turkish Armenian Board of Directors, Mr. Horasancıyan, sent congratulatory telegrams to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü.²⁷

In its issue of 24 July 1936, the newspaper included the telegrams to which İsmet İnönü replied to these telegrams. Prime Minister İsmet İnönü replied to the telegram of the Turkish Armenian Patriarch: “Turkish Armenian Patriarch Mr. Mesrob Naroyan, I congratulate you on our great national victory.”²⁸

Prime Minister İsmet İnönü replied to Horasancıyan’s telegram as follows: “I congratulate you on our great national victory. Like Arevelk newspaper, Jamanak newspaper also stated that Turkish soldiers had begun to settle in the Dardanelles and Bosphorus Straits, and featured images on its first page.”²⁹

Jamanak newspaper included the views of the Russian, German and French press on the Montreux Straits Convention in its issue of 23 July 1936. Noting that all newspapers published in Russia are interested in this issue, Jamanak gave place to the news of the Russian press organ “Izvestia”. The newspaper reported that the Montreux Straits Convention is important not only for the interests of Soviet Russia but also for the preservation of international peace.

Emphasizing that the first aim of Soviet Russia in foreign policy was to ensure security in the Black Sea, the newspaper stated that this problem was resolved with the agreement. He stated that his second aim was to solve the entry-exit problem of his ships. He stated that his third aim was that Britain’s support of this contract pleased Russia. The German media, on the other hand, stated that they claimed that the Dardanelles Strait was in the hands of France and Russia and that the contract was made not against Germany, but the warring states. The German press also claimed that France and Russia are using Turkey for their interests. Jamanak newspaper commented that after the attitude of the German press, Germany was reminding its activities during the First World War and that it is currently continuing the same policy and trying to reach the east from the Balkans. The newspaper conveyed the satisfaction of the French press due to this contract.³⁰

26 “Ereg Ampoğç Yergiri Donagan Or Mı Abretsav [Yesterday was a day like a holiday in the whole country it happened]”, *Arevelk*, 22 July 1936, p. 1.

27 “Surp Badriargı Yev Varçutyán Adenabedi Şınoravoragan Herakirner Uğğetsin Ereg Çermakin Paremağtutyunnerov [Saint Patriarch and Head of Delegation Delivered Telegrams With Sincere Wishes Yesterday]”, *Arevelk*, 22 July 1936, p. 2.

28 “Varçabed İsmet İnönüyi Herakiri Varçutyán [To the Telegram of the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü Answer]”, *Jamanak*, 24 July 1936, p. 3.

29 *Jamanak*, 22 July 1936, p. 1.

30 “Montroyi Horhrtajohoven Verç [After the Montreux Conference]”, *Jamanak*, 23 July 1936, p. 1 –2.

Conclusion

The Straits have attracted the attention of various states throughout history and these states wanted to dominate the straits. After the Ottoman Empire conquered Istanbul in 1453, the Black Sea became a Turkish lake. However, Russia's XVIII. While it's strengthening in the 19th century threatened the security of the Black Sea, it started to harm the interests of the Western States. This situation was the beginning of the "Straits Problem".

Until the Lausanne Peace Treaty, there were many events related to the Black Sea and the Straits. With the Treaty of Lausanne, the problems were partially resolved, but they were not permanent. Such that, since the 1930s, Italy and Germany's expansionist policy and the increase in the possibility of the Second World War proved that the decisions taken in Lausanne could not ensure the security of the Straits. Disturbed by the attitude of Germany and Italy, Turkey first brought this issue to the agenda at the London Disarmament Conference held in May 1933 but did not get any results. In this process, Italy attacked Abyssinia, and Germany, acting against the Treaty of Versailles, landed soldiers in the Rhine Region. This situation posed a threat to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans.

Turkey sent a note to the states that signed the Treaty of Lausanne to take precautions. Turkey's request was accepted and the meeting was held in Montreux in June 1936. After the negotiations, the states, which found Turkey justified, transferred the right to manage, regulate and supervise the Straits to Turkey, the real manager of the Straits. Although the term of the contract is twenty years, it is still in force because the signatory states did not annul it.

Turkey's success in Montreux has made a big impact in the international arena. In addition, Turkey's peaceful attitude was praised by many media outlets. One of these press organs is the Armenian press. When the Armenian press organs are examined, II. They are aware that World War II is approaching and they have expressed in their columns that they are satisfied with the measures taken with the Montreux Straits Convention. In this process, they did not make any negative comments about Turkey. Turkey's peaceful path was praised by the Armenian media.

It is seen that Armenian media organs had a negative attitude towards Germany due to the activities of Germany during the First World War. In addition, it is understood that Italy and Germany abstained from expansionist activities. England's positive approach to the contract, as well as the satisfaction of Russia and France from the contract, attracted the attention of the Armenian press.

Since the Montreux Straits Convention is directly related to Turkey's agenda, it is seen that the news about the subject is more intense in the number of Armenian press organs published in Turkey. In addition, while there are many pictures on the subject in the Armenian media published in Turkey, there are no images in the newspapers published abroad. There are columns in the Armenian media published both abroad and in Turkey.

The news and opinions in the press organs of various countries took place in the Armenian media. Arevelk and Jamanak newspapers published in Turkey published the

articles on the contract in sections. Other news that was on the agenda of the Armenian media on the days when the contract was signed is the civil war in Spain, the activities of Italy and Germany, and the Olympics to be held in Berlin.

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APPENDICES

ADDITIONAL 1:

Logos of Armenian Press Organs

Alik



Bolşevikyan Trosov



Gomunist



Horizon



Jamanak



Arevelk



ADDITIONAL: 2

Jamanak, 21 July 1936.



Arevelk, 21 July 1936.



Jamanak, 22 July 1936.



Jamanak, 23 July 1936.

