



# Diplomatiya Aləmi

## World of Diplomacy

52/2019



Foreword by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
H.E. Mr. Elmar Mammadyarov

### 100<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF AZERBAIJAN'S DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Meeting of the heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Address by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the participants of the VI Conference of the heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the VI Conference of the heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan

International conference dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic service of the Republic of Azerbaijan

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Temporary instruction on Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, 9 July 1919

Letterhead of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic

Official seal of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic delegation to the Paris Peace Conference

Diplomatic passports of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic

Credentials of representative of France submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic

Diplomatic representations of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic abroad

Diplomatic representations of foreign states in the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic

Draft Law on establishing diplomatic missions of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in Western Europe (UK, France, Switzerland, Italy, Poland) and America (USA) and abolishing the Azerbaijani delegation to the Paris Peace Conference

Proposed temporary staff and expenses for diplomatic missions of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic posted to Western Europe and America

Azerbaijani Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920)

Appeal to the US President Woodrow Wilson by A.Topchubashov, Head of Azerbaijani delegation, 28 May 1919

Note verbale by the Secretariat General of the Paris Peace Conference to the Head of Azerbaijani delegation, 30 January 1920

Letter by the US Congressman Walter Chandler to A.Topchubashov, Head of Azerbaijani delegation, 20 November 1919

Article published in The New York Times, 25 January 1920

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The centennial of Azerbaijan's diplomatic service

Dr. Samad Seyidov  
The formula for success of Azerbaijan's foreign policy

Dr. Daniel Pommier  
The Wilsonian Moment of the Azerbaijani Delegation in Paris (1919-1920)

Dr. Teodor Danailov Detchev  
Muslim Factions in the Transcaucasia Sejm and their role in conducting foreign policy of the first democratic state of Azerbaijan

Matthias Dornfeldt, Enrico Seewald, Urs Unkauf  
Germany – Azerbaijani foreign relations at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

# DİPLOMATIYA ALƏMİ

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Postal address: Analysis and Strategic Studies Department,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sh.Gurbanov Str. 50, Baku AZ 1009  
Tel.: 596-91-31; e-mail: mtsa@mfa.gov.az

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## FOREWORD



Dear readers,

This year we proudly celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Azerbaijan's diplomatic service. On July 9, 1919, the Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was formally established marking a new era in the history of our diplomacy.

Even though the first Republic was short-lived, those early years proved instrumental in shaping fundamental principles of Azerbaijan's statehood and national identity. ADR's diplomats gained essential experience and created lasting tenets of our foreign policy.

Values instilled 100 years ago bore fruit in present-day Azerbaijan, giving rise to a foreign policy that is sovereign, pragmatic and versatile. After regaining its independence in 1991, Azerbaijan has become an important and reliable partner, initiating and actively participating in a number of pivotal transregional projects.

These achievements are attributed to national leader Heydar Aliyev's endeavor to revive Azerbaijani national identity, to preserve and consolidate Azerbaijani statehood. The incumbent president Ilham Aliyev's dedication to building on these ambitions has brought about a new age of might and prosperity of Azerbaijan.

The main priority of Azerbaijan's foreign policy remains the resolution of the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict within the international borders of Azerbaijan. The international community unequivocally supports Azerbaijan's sovereignty and territorial integrity by a number of UN Security Council and UN General Assembly resolutions as well as the decisions of other international organizations and demands withdrawal of Armenian forces from all occupied territories of Azerbaijan, including its Nagorno-Karabakh region.

Azerbaijan will continue to pursue an independent and diverse foreign policy, honoring its international commitments and offering constructive contributions to global peace, security and development. On a regional level, we are devoted to maintaining our leadership role in providing political stability and economic prosperity.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to thank the readers and contributors of the "World of Diplomacy" journal and invite them to join us in celebrating the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic service of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

**Elmar Mammadyarov**  
**Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan**

100<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF AZERBAIJAN'S DIPLOMATIC SERVICEMEETING OF THE HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICES OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJANAddress by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
to the participants of the VI Conference of the  
heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Dear conference participants!

I would like to greet and congratulate you on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the diplomatic service of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

As it was indicated in the Declaration of the Independence of the first parliamentary republic in the East, Muslim world – Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the establishment of friendly relations with all nations was defined as one of the priorities of the Republic's foreign policy.

The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the Centennial of which we celebrated last year, had been able to do a great job in a short period of time.

The date – 9<sup>th</sup> of July, when the provisional decree establishing the Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was issued back in 1919, is celebrated as the professional holiday of the staff of the diplomatic service of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

As the successor of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, restoring its independence in 1991 the Republic of Azerbaijan also has been encountered the difficulties faced by the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. The territorial claims and occupation of our lands by Armenia, complicated political processes, social-economic problems questioned the fate of the Republic of Azerbaijan, which has recently restored its independence.

Heydar Aliyev's return to power with the persistent demand of the people in June 1993 became a turning point in our history. Getting Azerbaijan out of that hard situation Heydar Aliyev set it on its way to development, our country began to move confidently forward and the basic principles of our foreign policy strategy were determined. Over the past period we were able to establish strong and powerful state and today we can confidently say that, Azerbaijani state

has never been powerful as today.

Today, literally saying Azerbaijan is a country that pursues an independent foreign policy and has a great reputation in the international arena. The number of countries which cooperates with us grows constantly. We have chaired twice the UN Security Council, which is the world's most prestigious institution. We very closely cooperate with all other leading international organizations. Azerbaijan is known as a reliable partner in the world, hosts prestigious international events and that is why they treat our country with great respect and sympathy.

The foreign policy of our country is the continuation of our successful internal policy. Our diplomats and diplomatic service organizations have exceptional services in strengthening our independence, raising the world's awareness on Azerbaijani realities, making our country the active member of the international community.

Ending of Armenia's military occupation against Azerbaijan, liberating our occupied territories and restoring the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan within its internationally recognized borders are the main issue in our foreign policy dairy. As a result of our consistent diplomatic efforts, the international community strongly supports the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country and the resolution of the conflict on the basis of these principles.

On the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> jubilee of the diplomatic service of the Republic of Azerbaijan once again I sincerely congratulate the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, our Embassies and Missions and all personal working in the foreign policy sphere and wish success in responsible and glorious work to ensure our country's worthy representation in the international arena and the successful implementation of its' foreign policy course.

**Ilham Aliyev**

**President of the Republic of Azerbaijan**

**Baku, July 8, 2019**

**Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
at the VI Conference of the heads of diplomatic missions  
of the Republic of Azerbaijan**



Esteemed conference participants,

The 6<sup>th</sup> meeting of heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan coincides with a very significant date. Today, we celebrate the centenary of the professional holiday of diplomatic service employees of the Republic of Azerbaijan with great pride.

A century ago, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the first Republic in the Muslim East was established to properly represent the interests of the newly emerging Republic in international domain during the turbulent post-World War I period.

Certainly, multifaceted diplomatic efforts were well underway from the earliest days of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR), but the provisional directive establishing the MFA's Secretariat came on July 9th, 1919, the date we now officially celebrate as the professional holiday of Azerbaijani diplomats according to the Order No. 2356 of 24 August 2007 of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Despite the short life of our republic as a result of the Soviet occupation, the diplomatic staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the first Republic gained extensive experience, achieved great successes and formed the basis of our independent foreign policy.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the people of Azerbaijan were able to restore its national independence. Many people were skeptical that Azerbaijan, which was suffering from military aggression of Armenia, the severe economic crisis and severe internal clashes, would find a way out of this difficult situation. In 1993, national leader Heydar Aliyev's return to power with the call of the nation laid the foundation for stability and development in Azerbaijan. The main purpose of the National Leader was to transform Azerbaijan into a more powerful and rich state, further strengthen its reputation in the world community and become its own driving force, goals which were gloriously achieved.

The current foreign policy strategy of Azerbaijan, instituted by nation-wide leader Heydar Aliyev, based on our national interests, is successfully being continued by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Mr. Ilham Aliyev.

The growing controversy between global and regional powers has further exacerbated the ongoing tensions in the international system, including the interference with states' sovereignty and internal affairs, the dual approach to international law and principles, as well as armed conflicts, ethnic clashes, economic sanctions and humanitarian crisis. Controversial processes around our region at the backdrop, our country has succeeded to further enhance its international prestige and reputation by ensuring internal stability and development, fine-tuning the economy up to positive growth and realizing large-scale projects as a result of a successful policy pursued by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Mr. Ilham Aliyev.

Foreign policy conducted by the Republic of Azerbaijan is primarily based on principles of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, which serves to strengthen the independence of our country, restore sovereignty and territorial integrity within its international borders and to promote our national interests abroad.

Today, the international community unequivocally supports Azerbaijan's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. The withdrawal of Armenian forces from the occupied territories and settlement of the conflict on the basis of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is also mandated in the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, the Non-Aligned Movement, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, OSCE, Council of Europe, European Union, NATO and other international organizations.

Azerbaijan successfully develops partnerships on a regional and global scale. It employs new approaches to cooperation in trilateral and quadrilateral format which forms a new basis for ensuring a qualitatively new level of intergovernmental relations.

Over the past years, the Republic of Azerbaijan opened new embassies in the Algerian People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Iraq, non-resident embassies in Colombia, Chile, Uruguay and Peru and new consulates in Austria, Sudan, Djibouti, Ukraine, Paraguay, Italy and Malta. During the same period, Peru, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela and Chile established embassies in Azerbaijan, Algeria, Portugal, Croatia, Estonia and Montenegro sent non-resident embassies and San Marino, Slovenia, Macedonia and Ethiopia appointed honorary consuls to Azerbaijan. The Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Vanuatu, the Union of the Bahamas, the Samoa State, Palau, San-Tome and the Democratic Republic of Macedonia have established diplomatic relations.

Currently, Azerbaijan has embassies in 59 countries, permanent missions to 5 international organizations, 9 consulates, 11 non-resident embassies and 16 honorary consulates. Simultaneously, 66 embassies, 4 consulates, 13 honorary consulates and representations of 22 international organizations reside in our country.

Under the leadership of our President Ilham Aliyev, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan will continue to pursue independent and versatile foreign policy aimed at protecting and furthering national interests within the system of international relations. The end of Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan, the liberation of our lands from occupation and the return of internally displaced persons to their homes will remain the main priority of our diplomatic efforts.

Prescient words of national leader Heydar Aliyev, "We will get through these difficult days, the independent Republic of Azerbaijan will take its rightful place in the world community and every citizen of Azerbaijan will declare with great pride that he or she is a part of this independent state" have inspired the visionary policy that the President is now implementing.

Azerbaijani diplomats will continue their tireless endeavor to promote and advance our national interests worldwide, extending with dignity our historic heritage and our enthusiasm for progress, as well as the honoring 100 years of Azerbaijani diplomacy.

Thank you for your attention.

PHOTO GALLERY

Visits to the the Alley of Honors and the Alley of Martyrs



VI Conference of the heads of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan



100<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF AZERBAIJAN'S DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE DEDICATED TO THE 100<sup>TH</sup>  
ANNIVERSARY OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICE  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

**Address by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
at the international conference dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of  
diplomatic service of the Republic of Azerbaijan**

*ADA University 8 July 2019, Baku*



Dear Colleagues,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today's conference is dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic service of Azerbaijan. A century ago the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established by the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic's (ADR) leadership to shoulder the arduous task of representing the newly emerging Republic's interests during the turbulent post-World War I period.

The first democracy in the Muslim world, the ADR was unique in many respects. Public governance was formed on the basis of accountability and separation of powers, Parliament was democratically elected and women were granted full political rights.

Interestingly, the exact birthdate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is something of a historical debate. Certainly, extensive diplomatic efforts were well underway from the earliest days of ADR but the provisional decree establishing the MFA's Secretariat came on July 9<sup>th</sup> 1919, the date we now officially recognize as the Azerbaijani diplomats' professional holiday.

The Ministry was initially focused on creating a skilled corps of diplomats and civil servants to be assigned to missions abroad, facilitating meetings and conducting negotiations with foreign dignitaries. Azerbaijani diplomats also proved instrumental in reaching agreements and signing treaties with a number of nearby and distant states.

Led by the first Foreign Minister Mammad Hasan Hajinski, the early cohort of Azerbaijani Foreign Service staff already had gained valuable first-hand experience participating in meetings and negotiations within the Transcaucasian Commissariat, Transcaucasian Sejm, and the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic.



By the end of 1919, Azerbaijan had ambassadors serving in their official capacity in capitals of Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Turkey, and Ukraine as well as the consular offices in Batumi, Simferopol, Enzeli, Tabriz, and Meshkhed. Concurrently, 16 countries established missions of varying levels of diplomatic representation in Baku.

A major diplomatic breakthrough came at the Paris Peace Conference where the Azerbaijani delegation headed by Alimardan Topchubashov successfully lobbied for *de-facto* recognition of ADR's independence by the Entente powers.

Unfortunately, Azerbaijan Democratic Republic's independence was cut short by the Soviet invasion in April 1920 but the nation's diplomatic traditions were not lost.

In the early years of the Soviet era the ADR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was transformed into the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan SSR. It augmented the Soviet foreign policy by maintaining bilateral relations mainly with neighboring countries, focusing on humanitarian and cultural exchanges. The Commissariat was headed first by Nariman Narimanov and later by Mirza Davud Huseynov until it was dissolved in 1922. During this time, a high level multinational conference of the Congress of the Peoples of the East was held in Baku. Azerbaijan's adjacency to Iran enabled it to play an important role in preparations for the Tehran Conference in 1943.

The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs was re-established in 1944 and once again Baku's cultural and geographic proximity and ease of access to the Middle East made it a natural conduit for the Soviet foreign policy in the region. Azerbaijan's MFA was actively involved in the resolution process of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict of 1980-1988.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created a damaging institutional void in Azerbaijan's governance structure. The first Republic's legacy provided a much needed foundation for the restoration of the present day Foreign Service. Since then, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs operates as a complex Cabinet-level agency in charge of designing and conducting Azerbaijani foreign policy.

The Ministry's first priority was gaining a seat in the United Nations and other international organizations, establishing and developing bilateral and multilateral ties.

Azerbaijan's foreign policy vision took new shape after the election of national leader Heydar Aliyev as President in 1993, emphasizing a pragmatic and multi-vector approach to fostering mutually beneficial partnerships with regional and global powers. His strategic

leadership embarked the country on a steady course aimed at consolidating its statehood, preserving sovereignty and maximizing economic growth. In his own words, “We will get through these difficult days, the independent Azerbaijan Republic will take its rightful place in the world community and every citizen of Azerbaijan will declare with great pride that he or she is a part of this independent state”. His successor’s and the incumbent president Ilham Aliyev’s dedication to building on this vision has brought about a new age of might and prosperity of Azerbaijan.



The signing of the Contract of the Century in 1994, a production sharing agreement between Azerbaijan and major oil companies, introduced a much needed flow of investment into the country’s oil and gas sector and had a remarkable multiplier effect on further economic development. This milestone event ensured the turning point for national recovery.

Continuing its momentum, Azerbaijan then focused on developing energy infrastructure projects, including the Baku-Novorossiysk and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipelines, the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum and Trans-Anatolian natural gas pipelines, as well as the Trans-Adriatic natural gas pipeline scheduled to come online by 2020. These highly ambitious initiatives cemented Baku’s role as a major provider of energy security to its European partners.

For centuries Azerbaijan’s unique geographic location at the crossroads of East-West and North-South economic corridors has made it a vital link between Europe and Asia. It has also given present-day Azerbaijan a strategic opportunity to become a major regional trading and transportation hub. A number of infrastructural projects improving connectivity and logistical capacity have recently been completed. They have greatly reduced freight travel time and cost, thus revolutionizing the region’s role as a gateway between European and Asian markets.



Azerbaijan’s diverse economic and foreign policies have become both the means and the ends in its pursuit of growing self-reliance and regional and global influence. Azerbaijan is increasingly perceived as a stabilizing force in the region, as well as a reliable partner in a number of global initiatives.

Notwithstanding Azerbaijan’s tremendous progress, the resolution of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict remains our top foreign policy priority. Over a quarter of a century of military aggression by Armenia resulted in the occupation of one fifth of the territories of

Azerbaijan and has wrought massive damage on national economy, culture and environment. Over a million Azerbaijani refugees and internally displaced persons have suffered horrible injustices and are still waiting for the chance to return to their homes in safety and dignity. Recent satellite data reveals barbaric exploitation of the occupied territories, stripping these pristine lands of their beauty and leaving barren wasteland in its wake.

The international community unequivocally supports Azerbaijan's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its international borders and condemns the use of force and the ethnic cleansing carried out by Armenia in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. The UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions as well as the NAM, OIC, OSCE, PACE, EU and NATO decisions have all urged for a withdrawal of Armenian occupying forces and resolution of the conflict on the basis of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

Despite holding an overwhelming military advantage, Azerbaijan is still committed to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. We are continuing to work with our international partners, regional and global organizations shoring up support for a just and lasting settlement of the conflict and restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. The peaceful coexistence of the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities of Nagorno-Karabakh region within the Republic of Azerbaijan is the only way to bring long-awaited peace, reconciliation, security and shared prosperity to the region.

Dear colleagues,

Today's Azerbaijani diplomacy embraces its past and looks forward to a bright future. Its hallmarks of versatility and predictability have earned it a reputation as an exporter of stability, tolerance and prosperity.

Our diplomats steeped in proud traditions of 100 years of Azerbaijani diplomacy, dutifully carry out responsibilities of representing the country in the international domain. They embody unending devotion to our roots and our passion for progress. Just as their predecessors had impressed foreign dignitaries with world-class education and extensive experience 100 years ago, modern Azerbaijani diplomats will continue to uphold the legacy laid a century ago.

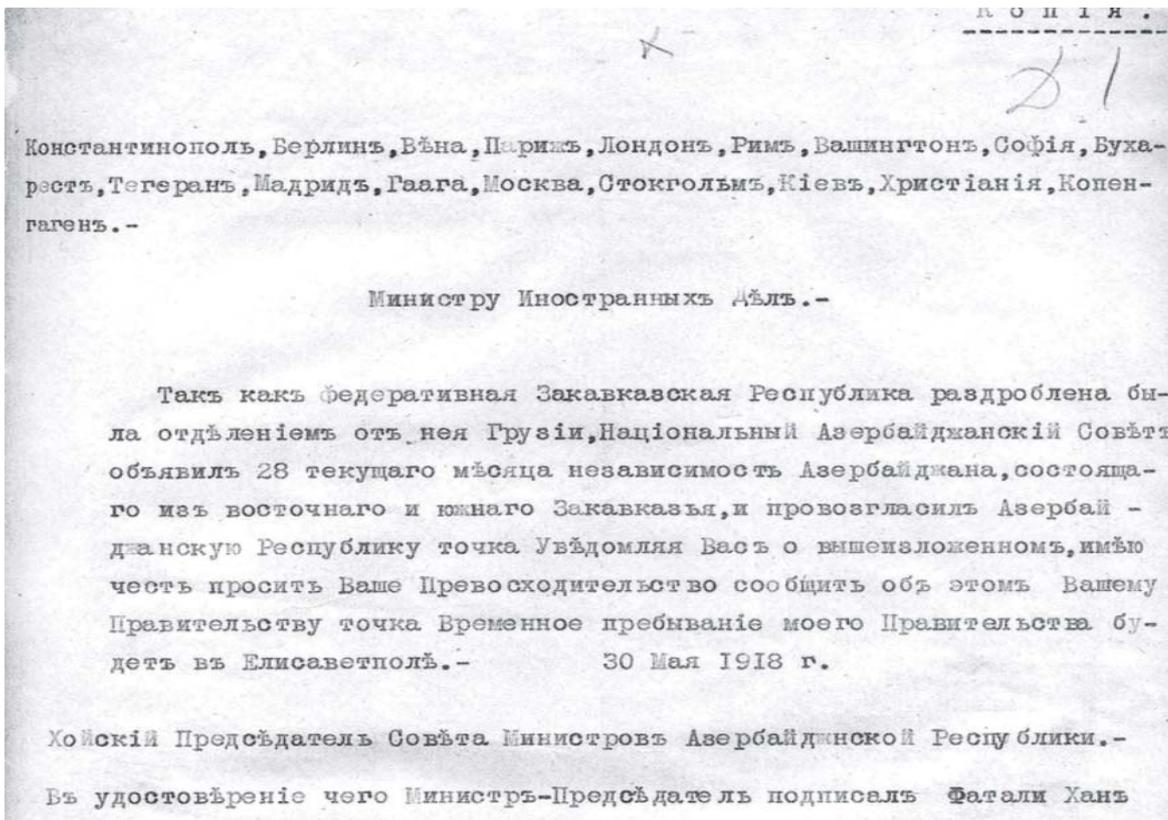
President Ilham Aliyev in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly emphasized that the "Successful development of Azerbaijan once again shows that only when you are free and independent, when the destiny of the country is in the hands of its people, you can achieve success. The greatest fortune of the people of Azerbaijan is that we live in an independent country which conducts independent policy, policy which is based on the national interests of its people."

I wish you all great success and many triumphs in your future endeavors.

Thank you.

ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS

TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
ON PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE  
OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC,  
30 MAY 1918



*Constantinople, Berlin, Vienne, Paris, Londres, Washington, Sofia, Rome, Bucarest, Téhéran, Madrid, La Haye, Stockholm, Moscou, Kiev, Christiania, Copenhague*

*Ministres des affaires Etrangères*

*La République Fédérative Transcaucasienne ayant été démembrée par la sortie de la Géorgie, le Conseil National d'Azerbaïdjan a déclaré le 28 courant l'indépendance d'Azerbaïdjan, composé du Transcaucas d'Est et de Sud et a institué la République démocratique d'Azerbaïdjan. En vous faisant part de susmentionné, j'ai l'honneur de prier votre Excellence d'en informer votre gouvernement. Stop le 29 mai 1918*

*Khoïsky President du Conseil des Ministres de la République d'Azerbaïdjan.*

**TEMPORARY INSTRUCTION ON SECRETARIAT  
OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC,  
9 JULY 1919**

**ВРЕМЕННЫЙ НАКАЗЪ**

**КАНЦЕЛЯРІИ МИНИСТЕРСТВА ИНОСТРАННЫХЪ ДѢЛЪ**

**АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ.**

Во главѣ канцеляріи Министерства Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ стоитъ Директоръ ея, въ рукахъ коего находится управление воими отдѣлами канцеляріи и внутренній распорядокъ. -

Непосредственнымъ помощникомъ и замѣстителемъ Директора Канцеляріи является Вице-Директоръ, на обязанности коего лежитъ заведываніе всею текущей перепиской Канцеляріи, не Дипломатическаго характера.

На обязанности Секретаря лежитъ заведываніе Дипломатическимъ отдѣлениемъ и личной перепиской министра.

Канцелярія Министерства состоитъ изъ трехъ отдѣленій, а именно: Дипломатическаго, 2. Общихъ Дѣлъ и 3. Хозяйственнаго.

При канцеляріи состоятъ: Дргомана, обслуживающіе все отдѣленія Канцеляріи, Старшіе и Младшіе Чиновники Сособныхъ порученій, исполняющіе порученія г. Министра, причемъ Младшіе Чиновники Сособныхъ Порученій вѣдаютъ также приемомъ посетителей.

Регистратура и архивъ-офісѣ для всей канцеляріи.

Отдѣленіе Общихъ Дѣлъ вѣрнется Дѣлопроизводителю его, хозяйственнаго Отдѣла-Бухгалтеру и Архивъ-Архивариусу на правахъ начальниковъ Отдѣловъ, которые вѣдаютъ не только всей текущей перепиской вѣранныхъ имъ отдѣловъ, но и являются ответственными за полную информацію Директора Канцеляріи по всемъ вопросамъ подлежащимъ вѣдѣнію отдѣловъ.

**ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЕ ОТДѢЛЕНІЕ.**

Отдѣленіе завѣдуетъ Секретарь Министерства. При отдѣленіи состоятъ: Дѣлопроизводитель, 2 помощника Дѣлопроизводителя, переводчики съ иностранныхъ и турецкаго языковъ, 3 ремизтонистки, въ томъ числѣ одна иностранныхъ языковъ и одна канцелярскій писаль.

Відділів Суділа, подляють переписки Дипломатического характера, в такко:

- 1/ Составленіє, по подумскіи г. Министра плтностей и нотъ, пред-  
назначенъ иностранныхъ Правительствъ.
- 2/ Составленіє стѣжныхъ нотъ.
- 3/ Составленіє формальныхъ грамотъ и писемъ стѣ именк Правитель-  
ства.
- 4/ Дѣла о признаніи независимости Азербайджана и вопросы о тер-  
риториальныхъ границахъ.
- 5/ Дѣла о признаніи дипломатическихъ представителей, Генераль-  
ныхъ Консуловъ, вице-Консуловъ и Консульскихъ Агентствъ ино-  
странныхъ Державъ.
- 6/ Защита интересовъ гражданъ Республики за-границей.
- 7/ Доставка въ подлинникахъ переводовъ разныхъ актовъ и докумен-  
товъ, касающихся на иностранныхъ и турецкомъ дѣлахъ и возбу-  
ротъ.
- 8/ Переписка секретнаго характера.
- 9/ Письма.

#### II. СЪДѢВНІЕ СЛѢЖЪ ДѢЛЪ.

Судѣвъ въволяетъ Дѣлопроизводители. При судѣвахъ состоятъ: Генерал-  
-ва-  
накъ Дѣлопроизводители, 2 ревантонкички и Канцелярскій слугачель.

Відділів Суділа подлячаютъ:

- 1/ Веденіє переписки съ Центральными и местными Учреждениями  
Республики,
- 2/ Оказаніє законнаго судѣвствія просьбамъ иностранцевъ, пре-  
бывающихъ на территории Республики,
- 3/ Дѣла объ имущественныхъ сношеніяхъ гражданъ Республики за-границей  
и иностранцевъ на предѣлахъ Республики.
- 4/ Рабочая переписка о гражданахъ Республики/пребывающихъ за-границей  
и объ иностранцахъ, пребывающихъ на территории Республики
- 5/ Удостовереніє по требованію Правительственныхъ учреждений  
и просьбамъ частныхъ лицъ-резидентовъ вѣнновній посольствъ, консуловъ  
и Консульствъ иностранныхъ Государствъ на документахъ и актахъ, ко-  
торые представляются въ присутствіи на мѣста Республики.

6/ Удостоверение азербайджанских присутственных местъ Республики на актахъ и документахъ, которые отправляются въ учреждения иностранныхъ государствъ.

7/ Удостоверение азербайджанскихъ и подписей баржавыхъ чакларовъ, Новарбуловъ и другихъ лицъ, уполномоченныхъ на то закономъ на переводахъ, сдѣланныхъ съ турецкаго на другіе языки и актахъ, подлежащихъ отправкѣ въ судобныя и правительственныя мѣста иностранныхъ государствъ.

8/ Веденіе дѣлъ о личномъ составѣ войскъ устроеніи Министерства.

9/ Веденіе дѣлъ о вакансіяхъ различныхъ вѣдомствъ Республики, препровождаемыхъ для объявленія.

10/ Составленіе разныхъ законопроектвъ по повѣдомственнымъ Министерству дѣламъ, а также справокъ и объясненій по нимъ.

11/ Веденіе нарядовъ къ руководству и по предметамъ общаго характера.

#### ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОЕ ОТДѢЛЕНІЕ.

Отдѣлъ называется Вухгалтеру. При отдѣлѣ состоятъ помощникъ Директора.

Въ вѣдѣніи начальника хозяйственнаго отдѣла находятся все кассы канцеляріи, звонница и горничная.

Вѣдѣнію отдѣла подлежатъ:

1. Составленіе сметы расходовъ по Министерству,
2. Завѣдываніе всеми назначенными имуществомъ Министерства, какъ въ границахъ Республики, такъ и за-границей.

3/ Веденіе бухгалтерскихъ книгъ,

4/ Производство всехъ расходовъ по Министерству,

5/ Бюджетовая часть.

#### ОБЩАЯ РЕГИСТРАТУРА.

Регистратура находится въ вѣдѣніи регистратора; при немъ состоятъ его помощникъ.

Регистраторъ, кромѣ веденія входящаго и исходящаго журнала вѣдаетъ также эпопедіей курьеровъ и на обязанности его лежитъ проверка правильности книгъ курьеровъ.

#### А Р Х И В Ъ.

Архивъ Министерства вѣрится архивариусу, который занимается собираніемъ и покладеніемъ въ систему всѣхъ актовъ, документовъ и бумагъ, относящихся къ Закавказью, а главнымъ образомъ, къ Азербайджану.

Въ архивѣ хранятся:

- 1/ Акты и бумага, относящіеся къ важнейшимъ событіямъ политической жизни Азербайджана,
  - 2/ Дѣла, оконченныя производствомъ,
  - 3/ Изуровня книги и документы всѣхъ установленій Министерства.
- Канцелярскія службѣ, какъ-то: канцелярскіе чиновники и реингтонистки раздѣляется для работъ въ отдѣлахъ Директората Канцелярскія соотвѣтственно количеству работъ въ томъ или иномъ отдѣленіи, а равно, въ зависимости отъ интензивности работъ въ отдѣленіи директоровъ могутъ быть командированы къ временному исполненію тѣхъ или иныхъ обязанностей, всѣ чины канцелярскія.

- - -

Вся, получаемая Министерствомъ почта поступаетъ на регистратуру гдѣ проверяется регистраторомъ и заносится въ реестръ входящихъ бумагъ, за исключеніемъ секретныхъ пакетовъ и телеграммъ, которые по полученіи немедленно пошлются г. Директору.

Въ неприсутственные дни для пріема почты, а также для экстренныхъ работъ устанавливается очередное дежурство канцелярскихъ служащихъ по одному человѣку изъ числа помощниковъ дѣлопроизводителей канцелярскихъ служащихъ и по одной реингтонисткѣ.

Телеграммы, получаемыя въ неприсутственные дни немедленно, по ихъ вступленіи отсылаются на квартиру г. Директору.

По записи, поступающей почты въ реестръ входящихъ бумагъ, регистраторъ всю почту полагаетъ Вице-Директору, причемъ послѣдній, по просмотрѣ почты, распределяетъ ее по соотвѣствующимъ отдѣленіямъ.

Канцеляріи и возвращаетъ обратно въ регистратуру для передачи въ соответствующія отдѣленія подѣ распоряженія начальниковъ отдѣленій или ихъ помощниковъ.

По полученіи почты Начальники Отдѣленій, ознакомившись съ содержаніемъ бумагъ, отмѣчаютъ на нихъ номера дѣлъ, къ которымъ они относятся и, въ случаѣ необходимости, дѣлаютъ на нихъ, за своей подписью ильменныя справки. Для того, начальники отдѣленій докладываютъ поступившую въ ихъ отдѣленіе переписку г. Директору.

Исходящія бумаги составляются въ соответствующихъ отдѣленіи Канцеляріи по резолюціямъ и скрѣпляются Начальниками соответствующихъ отдѣленій, которые, послѣ того, подаютъ ихъ на подпись г. Директору или Вице-Директору, согласно резолюціи г. Директора.

Переписка дипломатическаго характера, а также всѣ бумаги, идущія за подписью г. Министра скрѣпляются Начальниками Отдѣленій и подписываются г. Директоромъ и г. Министромъ. Бумаги, исходящія отъ Министерствъ, подписываются г. Директоромъ или г. Вице-Директоромъ и скрѣпляются г. Дѣлопроизводителемъ.

По записи входящихъ бумагъ въ реестръ и отправкѣ ихъ по принадлежности, регистраторъ, отмѣтивъ номера исходящихъ бумагъ на отпускахъ, передаетъ послѣдніе въ соответствующія отдѣленія подѣ р списку.

Отпуски бумагъ обязательно должны имѣть скрѣпку.

Веденіе Приказовъ по Министерству Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ, а также по Канцеляріи Министерства временно возлагается на Драгомана, у котораго сосредотачиваются всѣ свидѣнія, подлежащія отдачѣ въ приказахъ. На Драгомана возлагается обязанность составлять черновые приказы по Министерству и Канцеляріи Министерства, Начальники отдѣловъ должны слѣдить за тѣмъ, чтобы Драгоману своевременно передавались бы всѣ свидѣнія и распоряженія, подлежащія отдачѣ въ приказахъ.

Приказы по Министерству подписываются г. Министромъ или за него г. Товарищемъ Министра. Приказы по Канцеляріи Министерства по

ромъ. Всѣ черновые приказы сирѣдятся лично, на обязанности ко  
лежитъ веденіе ихъ.

Посѣтителей, въ назначенное для пріема г. Министромъ, его Товарищ  
цель и Директоромъ, а также для выдачи справокъ изъ Канцеляріи ч  
сы, принимаютъ Младшіе Чиновники Особыхъ Порученій, который веде  
списокъ посѣтителей.

Посѣтители допускаются на пріемъ къ г. Министру и его Товарищ  
по докладѣ о нихъ Директору Канцеляріи.

Изъ чиновъ канцеляріи, безъ особаго вызова въ кабинетъ г. Мин  
стра являются съ покладомъ: г. Директоръ, Вице-Директоръ, Секрета  
и Чиновники Особыхъ Порученій.

Ежемесячно, не позже 5 числа наадаго мѣсяца, приказомъ по кан  
целяріи, подъ Предѣдательствомъ Директора назначается коммиссія,  
состоящая изъ Предѣдателя и двухъ членовъ для провѣрки правде  
ности веденія бухгалтеріи, причемъ о результатахъ этой провѣрки  
сдается въ приказѣ по Канцеляріи Министерства.

Смѣта расходовъ по Министерству у составляется Бухгалтеромъ  
и обсуждается въ Комисіи подъ предѣдательствомъ Директора Кан  
целяріи.

Членами этой Комиссіи состоятъ: Вице-Директоръ, Секретарь и Бух  
галтеръ.

Составлено 9 июля 1919 г.

ВИЦЕ-ДИРЕКТОРЪ КАНЦЕЛЯРІИ

Съ подлиннѣмъ вѣрно: 

LETTERHEAD OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC



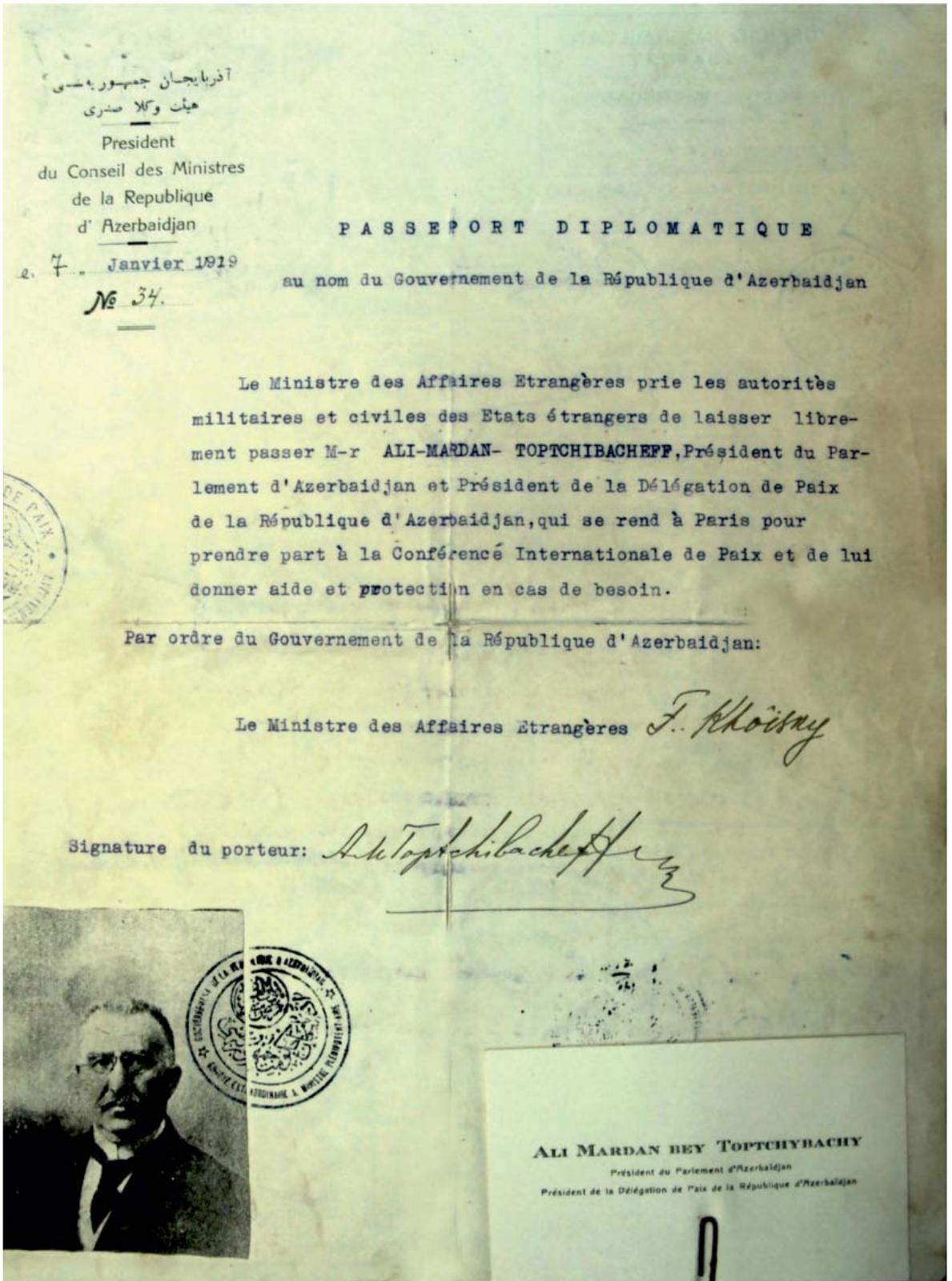
OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC  
DELEGATION TO THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE



DIPLOMATIC PASSPORTS OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

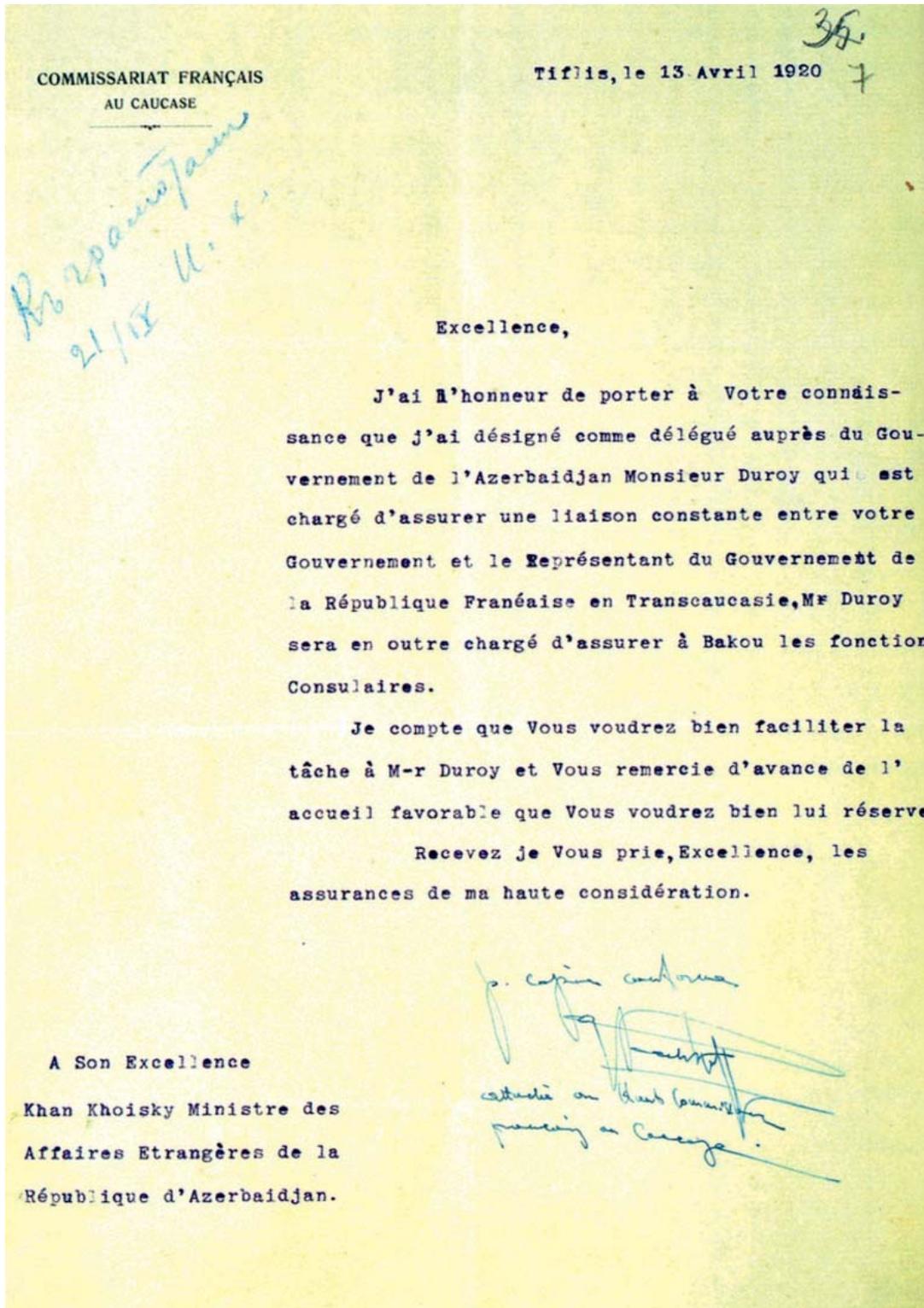


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**CREDENTIALS OF REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE SUBMITTED  
TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**



**DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS  
OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ABROAD**

	Country	Name and position of the representative
1.	France	The Azerbaijani delegation to the Paris Peace Conference Ali Mardan bek Topchibashov, Head of the Delegation A.A. Sheikh ul Islamov, M.Magerramov, Members of Delegation D.Hajibekov and M.R.Mir-Mehtiyev, Counselors
2.	Georgia	Fariz bek Vekilov, Diplomatic Representative
3.	Armenia	Abdurakhman bek Akhverdov, Diplomatic Representative
4.	Persia	Adilkhan Ziyadkhan, Diplomatic Representative
5.	Istanbul (Turkey)	Yusuf bek Vezirov, Diplomatic Representative
6.	Batumi (Georgia)	Makhmud bek Efendiyev, Consul General
7.	Ukraine	Jemal Sadikhov, Consul Sheikh Ali Hüseyinov, Consul agent

**DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGN STATES  
IN THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

	Country	Name and position of the representative
1.	United Kingdom	Gevelke, Vice Consul
2.	Armenia	G.A. Bekzadyan, Diplomatic Representative
3.	Belgium	Ayvazov, Consul
4.	Greece	Koussis, Consul
5.	Georgia	N.S. Alshibay, Diplomatic Representative
6.	Denmark	E.F. Bisring, Consul
7.	Italy	Enrico Ensom, Chief of the Mission
8.	Lithuania	Vincas Mickevičius, Consul agent
9.	Persia	Saad Ul Vizirov, Consul General
10.	Poland	S. Rylsky, Consul agent
11.	United States	Randolph, Vice Consul
12.	Ukraine	Golovan, Vice Consul
13.	Finland	Vegelius, Consul agent
14.	France	Emelyanov, Consul agent
15.	Switzerland	Clateau, Consul
16.	Sweden	R.K. Vander-Ploug, Consul

**DRAFT LAW ON ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS  
OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN WESTERN EUROPE  
(UK, FRANCE, SWITZERLAND, ITALY, POLAND) AND AMERICA (USA)  
AND ABOLISHING THE AZERBAIJANI DELEGATION  
TO THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE**

ЗАКОНПРОЕКТЪ

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ОБЪ УЧРЕЖДЕНІИ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОХЪ МИССІИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ВЪ ЗАПАДНОЙЪ ЕВРОПѢ И АМЕРИКѢ И ОБЪ УПРАЗДНЕНІИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ДЕЛЕГАЦІИ ПАРИЖСКОЙ МИРНОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦІИ.

I.

Учредить съ 1-го апрѣля с/г. Дипломатическія Миссіи Азербайджанской Республики: при Правительствахъ Французской Республики, Его Величества роля Великобританіи, Швейцарской Республики, Его Величества Короля Італіи Сѣверо-Соединенныхъ штатовъ и Польской Республики согласно прилагаемы при семь временнымъ штатамъ, составленнымъ на 6 мѣсяцевъ.

II.

Упразднить по прибытіи въ Парижъ Дипломатической Миссіи Азербайджанской Республики при Правительствѣ Французской Республики учрежденную постановленіемъ Правительства отъ 28-го декабря 1919 года Азербайджанскую Делегацию на Парижской Мирной Конференціи.

III.

Ассигновать на содержаніе упомянутыхъ шести Дипломатическихъ Миссіи съ 1-го апрѣля с/г. на 6 мѣсяцевъ 88.320 фунтовъ стерлинговъ. ВОСЕМЬДЕСЯТЪ ВОСЕМЬ ТЫСЯЧЪ ТРИСТА ДВАДЦАТЬ фунтовъ стерлинговъ.

Министръ Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ Ф.Хойскіи.

Съ подлиннымъ вѣрно:

Начальникъ Отдѣленія

Общихъ Дѣлъ



**PROPOSED TEMPORARY STAFF AND EXPENSES FOR DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC POSTED TO WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA**

4  
Копія.

ПРОЕКТЪ  
ВРЕМЕННЫХЪ ШТАТОВЪ И СМѢТЫ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ МИССИИ КОМАНДИРУЕМОЙ ВЪ  
АНГЛІЮ, ФРАНЦІЮ, ШВЕЙЦАРІЮ, ИТАЛІЮ и АМЕРИКУ.

СОСТАВЪ.	Въ мѣс.	Въ 6 мѣс.	Въ 1 годъ.
	въ стерлингахъ.		
Дипломатическій Представитель / Начальникъ Миссии /.....	200	1.200	2.400
Совѣтникъ.....	150	900	1.800
Секретарь.....	70	420	840
Драгоманъ.....	50	300	600
Дипломатическій Курьеръ.....	30	180	360
Итого:.....	500	3.000	6.000

Кромѣ того, единовременно ассигнуется въ распоряженіе Представителя на хозяйственныя, канцелярскіе расходы, представительство, переѣзды, квартиру, агитацию и т.д. при Правит. Англій - 12.000 фунтовъ стерлинговъ.

" " Франціи - 12.000 " "

" " Швейцаріи - 10.000 " "

" " Италиі. - 10.000 " "

" " Америкѣ. - 15.000 " "

Министръ Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ Ф.Хойскій.

Съ подлиннымъ вѣрно:  
Начальникъ Отдѣленія  
Общихъ Дѣлъ *Меркуловъ*

## AZERBAIJANI DELEGATION AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE (1919-1920)



*Azerbaijan* information bulletin published by delegation of the ADR, 1 September 1919



Map of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic submitted to the Paris Peace Conference Secretariat General by delegation of the ADR, 1919

APPEAL TO THE US PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON  
 BY A. TOPCHUBASHOV, HEAD OF AZERBAIJANI DELEGATION,  
 28 MAY 1919

N2

41.

Слово А. М.-С. Топчубашева, обра-  
 щение к Президенту  
 Вудро Вильсону  
 28 Мая 1919г. в Париже:  
 Господин Президент,

Я считаю долгом от имени Азербайджанской  
 Делегации доложить г. Президенту Великой Амери-  
 ки, что мы счастливо много выстрадали ввиду и  
 при востановлении иммиграции много пострадавших  
 народов, провозглашавших великие принципы, ко-  
 торые, пробудили все народы, ставшие  
 в таком под гнетом ином.

Мы приняли от отдаленного Кавказа,  
 из нашего Азербайджана, отсюда, мы сего-  
 дня разводим несколько тысяч слов, а скаржи  
 мы, чтобы выразить Вам, г. Президент, наилучший  
 привет и глубокое уважение и благодарности  
 нашего народа, воспринявшего духом свой кре-  
 стный к свободной, независимой жизни.

Обращаясь к Вам, как к английскому  
 предку видному моему представителю Америки,  
 мы хотим просить Вас, г. Президент, передать  
 наше слово о нас, о народе, от нас же  
 всего мира, особенно в адрес европейской и амери-  
 канской, много ошибочных, неканоничных, но-  
 ваторных сведений. Мы ведь, нас еще не знаем,  
 мы впервые теперь в Европу, но счастливо утратив  
 все, что у нас есть всего данного к счастью

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тебной независимой жизни. Далее мы надеемся, что мы будем выслушаны на Конференции и допущены к участию в делах народов.

Мы уверены, что имеем на это право, как все другие народы, призываемые к жизни Вашими великими принципами.

Мы заявляем далее, что не можем признавать власти <sup>ни</sup> Кюмгакос, ни Деникина или кого другого, если кто-нибудь захочет быть носителем власти на все бывшее России; мы знаем и будем признавать для Азербайджана лишь власть нашего Парламента и нашего Правительства.

Мы могли бы говорить и говорить только о сущности Кавказа, о возможности с нами Конфедерации кавказских народов — армян, грузин и прочих наших соседней герцев, с представителями как имеем сейчас Бюро у Вас.

В заключение, позволим надеяться, что наши репатриации будут приняты Вами во внимание и по крайней мере удовлетворены в том виде, как <sup>исключены</sup> ~~принесены~~ в настоящее время Вашей меморией. ✕

PRÉSIDENT DE LA DÉLÉGATION DE PAIX  
DE LA  
REPUBLIQUE D'AZERBAÏDJAN

**NOTE VERBALE BY THE SECRETARIAT GENERAL OF THE PARIS PEACE  
CONFERENCE TO THE HEAD OF AZERBAIJANI DELEGATION,  
30 JANUARY 1920**

*Conférence de la Paix*

*Quai d'Orsay*

*Secrétariat Général*

*Paris, le* 30 Janvier *1920*

Le Secrétariat Général de la Conférence de la Paix a l'honneur de faire tenir ci-joint à Monsieur le Président de la Délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan, comme suite à sa lettre du 29 Janvier 1920:

1°. Copie du Procès Verbal de la Séance du Conseil Suprême du 15 Janvier 1920.

2°. Copie d'un extrait du Procès Verbal de la Séance du Conseil Suprême du 19 Janvier 1920.

3°. Copie de la résolution du Conseil Suprême en date du 10 Janvier 1920 ./.

Monsieur le Président de la Délégation  
de la République d'Azerbaïdjan,  
Claridge's Hôtel

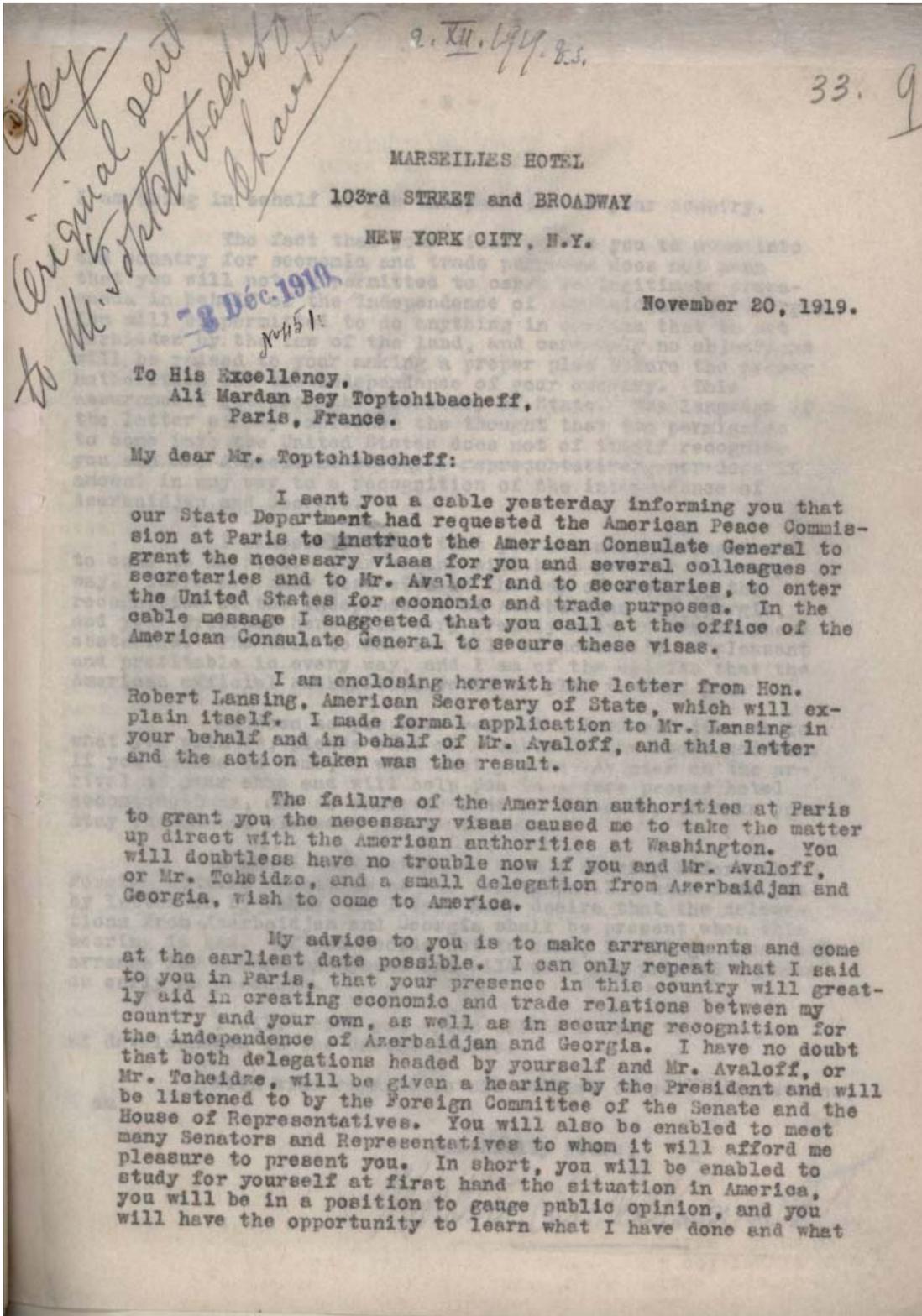
72 Avenue des Champs Elysées

P A R I S .

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LETTER BY THE US CONGRESSMAN WALTER CHANDLER TO  
A.TOPCHUBASHOV, HEAD OF AZERBAIJANI DELEGATION,  
20 NOVEMBER 1919



34.

- 2 -

MARSEILLES HOTEL  
103rd St. & Broadway,  
NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

I am doing in behalf of the independence of your country.

The fact that your visas permit you to come into the country for economic and trade purposes does not mean that you will not be permitted to carry on legitimate propaganda in behalf of the independence of Azerbaidjan and Georgia. You will be permitted to do anything in America that is not forbidden by the law of the land, and certainly no objections will be raised to your making a proper plea before the proper authorities for the independence of your country. This assurance I got from the Secretary of State. The language of the letter simply expresses the thought that the permission to come into the United States does not of itself recognize you and Mr. Avaloff as official representatives, nor does it amount in any way to a recognition of the independence of Azerbaidjan and Georgia.

I sincerely trust that you can make arrangements to come to America. Your coming will help greatly in every way. There are many obstacles in the way of securing the recognition of the independence of Azerbaidjan and Georgia, and your presence here will very greatly help to remove these obstacles. The trip to America will of necessity be pleasant and profitable in every way, and I am of the opinion that the American official authorities would be glad to meet you.

As soon as you have reached a determination as to what you will do, please send me a cable to the above address. If you decide to come, I will meet you at the pier on the arrival of your ship and will help you to secure proper hotel accommodations, and do whatever else is necessary to make your stay in America pleasant and profitable.

I shall not attempt to have a hearing before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate until I hear from you by letter or by cable, as I very much desire that the delegations from Azerbaidjan and Georgia shall be present when this hearing is had. If you decide not to come, I will go ahead and arrange for a hearing myself and will send you printed reports as early as possible.

I will write you again within a week telling you of developments in the United States.

With kind regards to all members of your delegations,

Faithfully yours,  
Walter H. Reuther

ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES, 25 JANUARY 1920

## FIVE STRUGGLING REPUBLICS

### Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania Azerbaidjan and Georgia and Their Needs.

**R**ECOGNITION and help for the Russian Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia was urged recently before the House Committee on

Ways and Means by Walter M. Chandler, one-time Representative from the State of New York. Mr. Chandler has just come back from a trip through the Russian territory he is now representing. He sees in them the strongest bulwark against Bolshevism.

"The Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia are distinct nationalities and separate States from the Poles and Poland," he said, "and each and every one of them has been a mighty bulwark, an immovable barrier against Bolshevism for more than two long years.

"During the Summer of 1919, I traveled extensively in the Baltic countries, by boat, train, and automobile, and studied closely the economic, industrial, agricultural, military, and political conditions existing there. I was deeply impressed by what I saw and heard. I rode along hundreds of miles of Esthonian, Lettish, and Lithuanian battle lines. I was astonished at their system of barbed-wire defenses which seemed to me much superior to those that I had seen on the battlefields of France. They looked to me to be insurmountable barriers. Impregnable bulwarks with many thousands of brave Esthonian, Lettish, and Lithuanian warriors behind them."

Mr. Chandler went on to tell why he thought these five Russian republics are entitled to full rights of self-determination.

"By self-determination is meant, as I understand it, that any considerable group of people having a proper physical basis of territory and population with certain national earmarks or characteristics of race, language and religion could claim this right of self-determination, provided a proper educational basis of citizenship could be shown, and provided further that many years of oppression had been exercised by the dominating power over the smaller power seeking separation and claiming rights of self-determination and independence.

"Now, it is easily demonstrable that all these conditions and characteristics exist in the history of the Baltic Republics of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as in the history of the Caucasian Republics of Azerbaidjan and Georgia, in their claims to rights of self-determination.

"In the first place, the territory of each is large enough. Esthonia, the smallest of all these States, is larger than Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Swit-

erland, Portugal, Costa Rica or Honduras. The population of each is larger than that of many small countries of the world now recognized as independent.

#### Racial and Religious Bars.

"In the second place, all the earmarks, all the characteristics of race, language, and religion are present in the cases of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia in their claims to rights of self-determination.

"The Esthonians are Finns in blood; the Russians are Slavs. The Esthonians are Finnish in language; the Russians are Slavic. The Esthonians are Lutheran in religion; the Russians are Orthodox Greek Catholics.

"The Letts and Lithuanians are Indo-Europeans in blood and language; the Russians are Slavs. The Letts are overwhelmingly Lutheran, and the Lithuanians are overwhelmingly Roman Catholics, while the Russians are overwhelmingly Orthodox Greek Catholics.

"The population of Azerbaidjan is composed of Turks and Tatars, while their religion is Mohammedan, being radically different from the Slavic blood and Orthodox Greek Catholic religion of the Russians.

"The people of Georgia are, like the Russians, Greek Catholics, but are radically different in blood, language, history, and civilization.

"Finally, the educational basis of citizenship is marked in the case of each of the Baltic and Caucasian States. The Esthonians and Letts lead with a percentage of literacy that exceeds 90 per cent., while the populations of Lithuania, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia do not fall far below this.

"On the other hand, the illiteracy of Russia is, by conservative estimate, 70 per cent., and is placed by many writers higher than that. This diversity of educational status between Russia, on the one hand, and Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia, on the other, is radical and phenomenal. Another condition of Mr. Wilson's theory of self-determination is thus completely fulfilled.

"As to the fourth and last element of the doctrine of self-determination, the element of oppression, this is a matter of common history and requires no discussion. During a thousand years Russia has oppressed, in a most barbaric manner at times, all peoples within her borders, including her own people. She has most ferociously persecuted and oppressed any nation within her borders who asserted vigorous national life or made claims to rights of self-determination and independence.

"It will thus be seen that the terri-

tory of each of the Baltic and Caucasian republics is large enough, that the population is adequate, that the earmarks of nationality under Mr. Wilson's definition of self-determination are present, that the educational status of the people of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia is superior to that of Russia, and that centuries of cruel oppression have been visited by Russia upon each and all of them. These elements and considerations make a complete case for the little republics in their claims to rights of self-determination and independence.

#### Their Plea for Independence.

"Much might be said in favor of the agricultural, industrial, and commercial life of all the Baltic and Caucasian States to justify the contention that there is sufficient economic basis for separate national life. Their resources, together with the possibilities of the commercial ports of Libau, Riga, Memel, Reval, Baku, and Batoum, are strongly suggestive of their ability to be self-sustaining.

"Esthonia, the smallest and poorest of the Baltic republics, paid 40,000,000 rubles into the Russian treasury in 1913. This money paid all the expenses of her Local Government and left a balance, a net deposit, of 5,000,000 rubles for the benefit of some other provinces of the Russian Empire that showed a deficit. Esthonia being the smallest and poorest, this fact alone is proof of the economic abilities of all the non-Russian republics to be self-sustaining under an independent régime.

"These little States have met every possible objection to their claims to independence. They agree to pay their proportionate share of the Russian pre-war debt, to allow the Allies or the League of Nations to determine the amount, and to pledge their national resources and future revenues for the payment.

"They agree to keep Reval, Memel, Libau, Riga, Baku, and Batoum open to Russia as Danzig is kept open to the Poles and Fiume to the Jugoslavs, under the control and enforcement of a league or alliance of nations.

"They agree that port duties and customs shall be uniform and equitable, with just and uniform regulations concerning railway transportation across their territories in order that Russia may be in no way crippled in her economic and commercial life by the independence of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaidjan and Georgia."

Secretary Glass and Mr. Hoover have already made recommendations that a loan of \$150,000,000 for food relief be made to these five republics.

The New York Times

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## ARTICLES

**The centennial of Azerbaijan's diplomatic service**

*Dr. Elmar Mammadyarov\**

This year we honor the centennial of Azerbaijan's diplomatic service. 100-year history of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan is a story of difficult challenges and proud successes, of tireless work and selfless dedication of Azerbaijani diplomats to their noble duties.

Established during the tumultuous time at the beginning of the XX century the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR) had the vital mission of faithfully representing Azerbaijan's national interests in the international arena and implementing its sovereign foreign policy. The first representative democracy in the Muslim world, the ADR, hailed as one of the most politically advanced states of its era, was the forerunner of universal voting franchise, civil rights protections, as well as the vanguard of educational and scientific pursuits.

The ADR worthy but ultimately doomed struggle to maintain its statehood almost repeated itself during the turbulent early years of post-Soviet Azerbaijan. Those early years were difficult, marred by conflict with neighboring Armenia over its military occupation of Azerbaijan's territory. In the early 1990s citizens of Azerbaijan, along with virtually all other countries of the Soviet Bloc, found themselves in the direst economic and political predicament following the collapse of the Soviet system. Complete disintegration of nearly all government institutions, extreme poverty and external aggression threatened the very existence of the fledgling nation.

Since then tremendous progress was made as the result of policies implemented by the National Leader Heydar Aliyev and continued by his successor President Ilham Aliyev. GDP per capita has seen an astonishing six fold increase. Azerbaijanis feel much more secure politically and their vastly increased economic opportunities allow them to engage with the world at large as an equal and respected partner.

Influenced by its history of perpetual struggle for independence from competing regional powers, Azerbaijan has come to recognize the vital necessity of strong and proactive international mechanisms.

The number one priority of Azerbaijan's foreign policy and the immediate security concern remains the settlement of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. Azerbaijan is firmly committed

\* Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan

to the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions of 822, 853, 874 and 884 demanding an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. These resolutions are binding and have no time limit. Over the years Armenia's non-compliance with these demands of the international community have led to its isolation from the wide-scale regional cooperation and created conditions for a deep socio-economic and political crisis.

The unambiguous position of the global community is fully cognizant of the inviolability of Azerbaijan's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its international borders. Urgent implementation of these international demands is a prerequisite for a just and durable resolution of the conflict, as well as necessary for security and shared prosperity of the region.

In its efforts the Ministry of Foreign affairs of Azerbaijan is guided by international law and established norms and precedents. First and foremost among these are the principles enshrined in the UN Charter (1945) and the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE (1975). Our position has been consistent from the very beginning of the conflict resolution process – all occupying forces must be withdrawn from Azerbaijan's territories, its sovereignty must be restored, forcibly displaced population must return to their places of origin and socio-economic development process that will ensure peaceful coexistence of the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities of Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan must begin within the framework of legal procedures.

Azerbaijan consistently advances its interest in peaceful coexistence and friendly mutually advantageous bilateral and multilateral relations, engaging its partners with respect and cordiality. Most recently, securing the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement for the 2019-2022 period became a further testament to Azerbaijan's contribution to global peace, security and stability.

Azerbaijan is increasingly perceived as a stabilizing force in the region, as well as a reliable partner in a number of global initiatives. Azerbaijan's multi-vectored economic and foreign policies have become both the means and the ends in its pursuit of growing self-reliance and regional and global influence.

Azerbaijan takes great pride and responsibility for its role as a reliable partner in providing energy security to Europe. For decades Azerbaijan's geostrategic location as the gateway between Europe and Asia defined its role as an important regional power. Situated on the crossroads of the vital East-West and North-South transport corridors, Azerbaijan has been a reliable energy supplier and a stalwart partner in many international projects. Highly ambitious initiatives such as the Baku-Novorossiysk and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipelines, the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum and Trans-Anatolian natural gas pipelines, as well as the Trans-Adriatic natural gas pipeline scheduled to come online by 2020, cemented Baku's role as a major provider of energy security to its European partners. It has also given present-day

Azerbaijan a strategic opportunity to become a major regional trading and transportation hub. A number of infrastructural projects improving connectivity and logistical capacity have recently been completed. They have greatly reduced freight travel time and cost, thus revolutionizing the region's role as a gateway between European and Asian markets.

At its core, Azerbaijan's foreign policy is a steadfast endeavor to maintain a measured balance between a diverse set of priorities in a complex geopolitical environment. Accordingly, adaptability and persistence define our diplomatic efforts aimed at furthering national interests, strengthening independence, restoring territorial integrity and, ultimately, fulfilling Azerbaijan tremendous potential. Compelling sense of belonging to the unbroken fabric of historical, cultural and professional legacy stretching back a hundred years ago and beyond serves as a powerful motivator and gives our branch of civil service an enduring spirit of pride and responsibility.

Today's Azerbaijani diplomacy embraces its past and looks forward to a bright future. Our diplomats steeped in proud traditions of 100 years of Azerbaijani diplomacy, dutifully carry out responsibilities of representing the country in the international domain. Just as their predecessors had impressed foreign dignitaries with world-class education and extensive experience 100 years ago, modern Azerbaijani diplomats will continue to uphold the legacy laid a century ago.

## The formula for success of Azerbaijan's foreign policy

*Dr. Samad Seyidov\**

Drawing a retrospective view of history we see once again that all the tremendous work done by the founders of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic within the 23 months of its existence actually had been pursuing one goal - the international recognition of the people who created their own state.

There is no document internal or external signed for execution by the founding fathers of the ADR which doesn't carry this semantic meaning. There is not a single speech or appeal that isn't directed to the recognition of statehood of the republic and its compliance with international standards.

In other words, short but bright history of the ADR is an exceptional example of the fact that the establishing of statehood and its preservation is not only an internal struggle for power, not only an external attribute of the state but also the combination of domestic and foreign policy necessary for a sustainable, continuous struggle for the right to be accepted and recognized by the international community.

History gives us many lessons but not everyone understands them, not everyone draws conclusions from them and not everyone knows how to extract from them the very essence applicable to modernity. Our modern history with its tragedies and achievements, losses and victories serves as a vivid example. In world history it is difficult to find an example of nations which in a short period of time managed to gain independence twice but Azerbaijan is one of them. That is the reason we have to remember how within one century we gained and regained our independence.

The First World War, the collapse of the Russian and Ottoman Empires, the Bolshevik revolution, the new world order with the USA's growing influence, the founding of the League of Nations and other epochal events of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century gave our people such a chance and the best representatives of nation being their intellectual, cultural and moral elite had taken advantage of it.

Twenty three months of devoted service to the motherland, self-sacrifice for the ideals of freedom and independence, for the sake of statehood, became the focus of the activities and lives of the founding fathers of the ADR, who, understanding their historical mission, did everything not only for *de facto* but also for *de jure* recognition of Azerbaijan.

Everybody knows about the meeting between the delegation of Azerbaijan Democratic

\* Chairman of the Committee on Foreign and Interparliamentary Relations of the Parliament of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Republic and the President of the United States of America Thomas Woodrow Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. It is a well-known fact that during that meeting he was so impressed by the Azerbaijani delegation members that upon his return to the United States he referred to that meeting. He did it at his presentation in San Francisco on September 18, 1919. But just recently we discovered<sup>1</sup> that even before that presentation he also referred to this meeting with ADR representatives in North Dakota on September 10, 1919 when he met with citizens of Bismarck city. I would like to draw your attention to the very abridged version of what President Wilson said in North Dakota: “I have told many times but I must tell you again of the experience that I had in Paris. A very dignified group of fine-looking men came in from Azerbaijan. I did not dare ask them where it was but I looked it up secretly afterwards and found that it was a very prosperous valley region lying south of the Caucasus and that it had a great and ancient civilization. They knew above all things what America stood for and they had come to me and said: “We want the guidance, help and the advice of America”<sup>2</sup>.

But history has ordered otherwise; great distance of the centers of power, the Bolshevik invasion, internal instability, the fifth column, open resistance to the national interests of the Armenian and pro-Armenian circles did their dirty deed and the republic fell. It fell to rise again, to raise its tricolor flag over Azerbaijan again and forever.

History presents amazing surprises, and Azerbaijan, having lost its independence, as part of the Soviet Union, working for the benefit of the USSR, laying hundreds of thousands of lives of its sons and daughters on the altar of victory over fascism along with other nations, making its unique energy and oil contribution to victory, did not forget about the 23 months of independence, remembered the tricolor ADR flag, which the great son of the Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev raised on November 17, 1990 in Nakhchivan at a session of the local parliament.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the “parade of sovereignties”, global US domination, EU and NATO expansion and other tectonic changes in the political landscape of the planet in the late 1980s and early 1990s allowed us to become an independent state for the second time. And now it was required to preserve it.

The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in some sense repeated certain characteristics of the beginning of the century the collapse of the empire, but already Soviet economic chaos and famine, civil confrontation and even war, but at the same time had one significant difference. This difference was in the dominance of extreme nationalism on political stage.

It was extreme nationalism and xenophobia that the Armenians used to achieve their goals; territorial expansion and establishment of Armenians in the historical lands of Azerbaijan.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/677737723/posts/10156200781652724?s=677737723&sfns=mo>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117373>

The collapse of the USSR, Gorbachev's weakness and betrayal, corruption and powerful pressure of the Armenian lobby on the top leadership of the USSR and, most importantly, Heydar Aliyev's retirement, who had the power and influence to resist all these intrigues and was guarantor of the integrity of the Azerbaijani people and its territory, opened the gates of hell, giving Armenians the opportunity to occupy our lands.

Once again, as at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the threat of loss of independence and disappearance from the world political map had appeared with all the urgency.

History does not like "what ifs", but in this case it is permissible, because if it were not for the raising of the tricolor flag in Nakhchivan, if it were not for the strength and power of the personality of the great Heydar Aliyev, and moreover, if it weren't not for the unity and devotion of Heydar Aliyev to his people and the people to him, probably, now historians would be writing about the second unsuccessful attempt of the Azerbaijani people to build their independent state. Fortunately, history this time ordered otherwise and made its verdict on the basis of those cases, that logic of actions, that ability to foresee and anticipate the events which Heydar Aliyev showed when he, by the will of the people, came to power in 1993 in Azerbaijan.

Deeply knowing the history of his own people, being one of those who ruled the Soviet Union, understanding the alignment of external vectors of power and internal sources of danger, Heydar Aliyev chose the path of development of the country, which today we call the only right one, and proved its correctness.

In the most difficult days, when the very existence of Azerbaijan was called into question, and the Armenian aggression was devouring our lands, he managed to do something incredible. He was able to unite people not only in the general national rush for a better future but also made our country attractive to international politicians and business circles. He, like the founding fathers, not only asked for "guidance, help and advice"<sup>3</sup>, but also invited the international community to recognize Azerbaijan in a way, which could satisfy us as well as their political and economic ambitions too. Knowing Western philosophy, being able to work with them, he managed to present Azerbaijan not only as a new independent country that emerged after the collapse of the USSR, but as a key link in world politics, whose contribution would ensure the Western world that won the Cold War and realize its far-reaching plans.

To become an integral link within the system governing the world, and moreover, an essential part of this chain is a vivid proof of the genius of H.Aliyev. Years will pass and the European countries, the USA, Russia, China, the whole world will take for granted the ideas of Heydar Aliyev, but back then in 1993 many called his ideas romantic not real. Yes, maybe he really dreamed a lot big dreams but these were dreams that had their specific implementation

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117373>

plan, verified logic of actions, proven negotiation tactics, which ultimately made them real historical events in the history of Azerbaijan.

He came to power in order to bring peace back to his motherland. He dreamed about that and at the beginning of 1994 ceasefire agreement had been signed.

He dreamed about possibilities to deliver our oil and gas to the West and in 1994 the signing of the Contract of the Century fulfilled his dreams and allowed Azerbaijan to fulfill its huge energy potential. Thus Azerbaijan turned into one of the crucial factors of world politics in general and energy in particular forever.

Literally 2 years later, after this landmark event, in Lisbon in 1996 at the OSCE session, Heydar Aliyev achieved an incredible breakthrough and, supported by 53 states, he received the final document meeting Azerbaijan's national interests.

I have already spoken about the harmony of the domestic and foreign policy of Azerbaijan. Other examples of fulfillment of his dreams were the reforms of legislation, the new constitution, the abolition of the death penalty in all its forms in Azerbaijan, carried out in the mid and late 1990s, which opened the way for Azerbaijan's membership in the Council of Europe.

Peace, progress and the country's foreign policy that meets national interests became the formula for success, step by step enabling Azerbaijan to strengthen its position on the world political arena.

In 2001 in Strasbourg, the flag of the ADR, which became the flag of Azerbaijan, was raised in front of the Council of Europe building. I remember those moments of joy and pride for the country and the people, adopted and approved in the family of European states.

From bilateral to multilateral, from regional to global, proceeding from national interests, the country moved forward and now, at the venue of international organizations, defended its interests.

Foreign policy which allowed us to prove our worth had been continued by Ilham Aliyev. So in 2005 the Council of Europe adopted a historic resolution 1416 on the occupation of Azerbaijani lands, on ethnic cleansing of Azerbaijanis and thus forever breaking through the information blockade that was created by Armenians for many, many years.

And again the formula for success which implies stability in the state, plus economic development, plus the policy of national interests, created by H.Aliyev and continued by I.Aliyev is bearing fruit. Practically in all international organizations, OSCE, Council of

Europe, ICO, CIS, Cooperation Council of Turkic-speaking states, GUAM, The Black Sea Economic Cooperation and others, the position of Azerbaijan is strengthened and in 2012, with the support of 155 UN states, Azerbaijan had been elected as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council.

The country which was on the verge of collapse and civil war, thanks to the political will of its leaders and the unity of the people for 20 years, not only rose from its knees and established itself as independent, but also joined the UN Security Council, having received the right to manage world processes.

Today, when Azerbaijani cultural, intellectual and religious heritage is protected by UNESCO, when Azerbaijan is the initiator of the “Baku process”, when the European Union is negotiating a strategic cooperation agreement with Azerbaijan, when leading Western companies extend their agreements with us until 2050, when Azerbaijan turns into a logistics center connecting south and north, east and the west, it becomes obvious that the philosophy of national independence that emerged in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the form of the ADR, thanks to the success formula created by H.Aliyev and continued by I.Aliyev, will ensure sustainable development of Azerbaijan for many years to come, forever.

## The Wilsonian Moment of the Azerbaijani Delegation in Paris (1919-1920)

*Dr. Daniel Pommier\**

The prominent Azerbaijani politician Əlimərdan bəy Ələkbər oğlu Topçubaşov (Topçubaşı) and the young Vietnamese nationalist known as Nguyen-Ai-Quoc, who would later assume the pseudonym of Ho Chi Minh, were in Paris in 1919. They were both galvanized by Woodrow Wilson's ideas and attempted to gain Peace Conference support for their national cause. This process fit well within the political climate of the Paris Peace Conference and its influence on anti-colonial movements. After the end of World War I groups from newly independent non-European and unrecognized States, as well as representatives of peoples subjected to colonial rule, converged on Paris, attracted by Wilson's message of national self-determination. Erez Manela defines this season as the "Wilsonian moment". The echo of Woodrow Wilson's eighteen points raised hopes of nationalists and anti-colonial activists from Africa, Asia, the former Russian Empire and the Middle East: "Chinese and Vietnamese, Arabs and Zionists and many others, rushed invited or uninvited to stake their claims in the emerging new world. To these representations of national aspirations Wilson was often a symbol and a savior, committed to the establishment of a new world order, which would augur an era of self-determination for all. They adopted Wilsonian rhetoric in formulating and justifying their goals, and they counted on the president's support in attaining them. Most of these aspirations however, were quickly met with bitter disappointment. The treaty signed at Versailles not only left the colonial system intact, it expanded its scope to unprecedented proportions. As the nature of the emerging peace settlement became clear in the spring of 1919 frustrated expectations and deep disillusionment fueled a series of popular and often violent upheavals across the colonized world."<sup>1</sup> According to Manela, the roots of 20<sup>th</sup> century anti-colonialism have international origins. Anti-colonial leaders found in Wilson and not in Lenin an ideological and legitimizing point of reference. Post-World War I nationalism should be considered an international ideology and Wilsonian ideas circulated worldwide. Once delegations presented their claims in Paris demands from anti-colonial movements were met with hostility, mostly for due to racial prejudice. For Wilson and his advisers self-determination was hardly applicable to non-European nationalities. Secretary Robert Lansing warned of "the danger of putting such ideas into the minds of certain races," since they were bound to lead to "impossible demands" and "breed discontent, disorder and rebellion"<sup>2</sup>.

Azerbaijani diplomacy at the Peace Conference shaped the contents of propaganda (the main instrument at its disposal in the political arena) within the context of the anti-colonial, "liberal nationalist" ideology which Wilson and the United States championed. Azerbaijan "after

\* Professor at the Sapienza University, Italy

<sup>1</sup> Manela, "The Wilsonian Moment and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism: the Case of Egypt", *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 12- 4 (2001), p. 117. Manela focused specifically his study on nationalist movements in Egypt, India, China, and Korea. The framework of the Wilsonian moment could be applied to other countries as well.

<sup>2</sup> Manela, "A Man Ahead of His Time? Wilsonian Globalism and the Doctrine of Preemption", *International Journal*, 60-4 (2005), p. 117.

1918 was a typical textbook example of a postcolonial country ill prepared for the trials of independence<sup>3</sup>. As a post-colonial nation Azerbaijan justified its goals and aspirations for independence and international recognition within the conceptual framework of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination for former colonial subjects, as did many other nationalist and anti-imperialist groups operating in Paris during the months of the Peace Conference. On May 9, 1919 the official delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference of the recently established Azerbaijani Democratic Republic (*Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası – Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti*) arrived in Paris. Azerbaijani diplomats had departed from Baku at the end of December 1918. On route to the French capital they were delayed by a forced four-month stop in Istanbul. Tasks of the delegation were the same as those of Georgians, Armenians and Northern Caucasians: to ensure recognition of independence from Russia and admission to the League of Nations. This meant obtaining political and military support of the Entente powers, which in Paris were redefining the post-World War international system. As Kazemzadeh pointed out: “The people of Transcaucasia believed that the Paris Peace conference would solve all their difficulties and establish a durable peace which would assure their independent existence.”<sup>4</sup> The conference opened in January 1919. The delegation, headed by the Parliament speaker Topçubaşov, was neither invited nor officially accepted as a participant in the conference negotiations. In addition to this precarious status the circumstance of the late arrival in Paris of the Azerbaijani delegation further weakened its country’s position as compared to those of other southern Caucasian States: “[they arrived in Paris] too late to lay necessary groundwork and lobby for their cause. Unlike their neighbors, they lacked support comparable to the Armenophile movement in the West or the Georgian Menshevik’s connection with international system.”<sup>5</sup> The outstanding result achieved by the Azerbaijan delegation after eight months of work was the *de facto* recognition of the republic by the Allied Supreme Council on January 11, 1920. The Allied recognition was an ephemeral success and the Allies did not send any material and military support to Baku against Bolshevik pressure. In late April of 1920 the Republic collapsed. Baku was invaded by the Bolsheviks and Azerbaijani independence abruptly came to an end. After the Republic’s downfall Topçubaşov and his comrades faced the hardships of exile and continued as émigrés to promote the cause of an independent Azerbaijan<sup>6</sup>. In 1919-1920 the Topçubaşov group in Paris worked tirelessly to promote the cause of Azerbaijani independence from Russia. During its short-lived independence Azerbaijan was threatened both by the “White” Russians army and by the Bolsheviks. The activity of the diplomatic mission is richly documented in Topçubaşov’s personal archives donated by his family and conserved in the Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre asiatique (CERCEC) at the École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales (EHESS) in Paris<sup>7</sup>. The archival sources shed a new light on the nature

<sup>3</sup> Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan: 1905–1920 The Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

<sup>4</sup> Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia (1917-1921)*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1951. p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan*, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> See for the Azerbaijani, Caucasian and Turkic exile in Paris during interwar period: Penati, “Emigrati nord-caucasici ed azerbaijani nell’Europa interbellica”. As for the “Prometheus” movement and journal, unifying in Paris non-Russian émigrés see: Copeaux, “Le mouvement prométhéen”.

of Azerbaijani diplomacy during the independence period. An initial element is that the Paris mission was semi-autonomous from the national government in Baku. Communications with Azerbaijan were difficult and scarce and Topçubaşov often had to rely on his own sources of information<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, the Republic was affected by political instability and by succession of five cabinets in less than two years. News exchanges between Baku and Paris could only take place through the mediation of Entente missions in the Caucasus. A second element is that the Azerbaijani diplomats (all of whom were unfamiliar with professional diplomacy) counteracted weaknesses of their political position with an emphasis on public diplomacy. They focused their economic and political resources on publishing and circulating books, pamphlets, journals and articles for the French and international press. The Azerbaijanis were poorly received in official diplomatic circles for different reasons, which went from “White” Russian influence to suspicions arising from the alliance with the Ottoman Turks in 1918, and to the Armenophile attitude of the French public opinion. Azerbaijani diplomacy appealed to public opinion in order to gain consensus for their political objectives. Azerbaijani propaganda went beyond a mere nationalistic claim. Thanks to the intellectual ingenuity of Topçubaşov, Azerbaijani public diplomacy insisted on the internal aspects of the Azerbaijani State, by promoting the self-image of a secular and welcoming country, a young democracy based on liberal values and the rule of law. In order to gain recognition of their independence, the Azerbaijanis were even willing, under the aegis of the League of Nations, to constitute a new Caucasian confederation with Armenia and Georgia, one that would restore the first Transcaucasian confederation of May 1918<sup>9</sup>. Thus the Caucasian State was ready to give up part of its national sovereignty in order to avoid submitting to a new, either “White” or Bolshevik, Russian domination. The Azerbaijani diplomacy embraced anti-colonial solidarity showing, at least on a propaganda level, a conciliatory (though erratically contradictory) attitude towards Armenia and the other Caucasian States, while the great powers showed little or no sympathy at all for the “first Muslim republic in the world”. The *de facto* recognition was little more than a symbolic gesture. As a result of the Soviet invasion Azerbaijan, even though it formally retained its independence, it was effectively annexed to the Bolshevik State and later became a constituent part of the Soviet Union, regaining its independence only in 1991. During Topçubaşov’s months as chairman of the Peace Delegation he adapted his reformist and liberal culture to the new Wilsonian principles. In his vision the future of Azerbaijan was close to democratic Europe and an integral member of the League of Nations. The Azerbaijani delegation in Paris actively and intellectually pursued a gradual integration of the country into the international system as an equal partner to European and Western nations and a regional leader in Caucasus.

<sup>7</sup> Əlimərdan bəy Topçubaşov Archive, Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen (CERCEC), l’Ecole des hautes études en science sociales (EHESS, Paris).

<sup>8</sup> In September 1919 Topçubaşov, in a report addressed to the head of the Yusifbəyli government thanked him because he had received “for the first time” since the starting of his mission a detailed report from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an answer to his previous reports. Topçubaşov to Yusifbəyli, 22-25.9.1919, in Paris məktubları, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> A Confederation of Transcaucasian States, made up of Armenians Georgians and Azerbaijanis, lasted for four weeks between April and May 1918. After the collapse of Tsarist Empire and Brest Litovsk Treaty the Transcaucasian assembly (Sejm) was not able to resist to Ottoman pressure on Caucasian front and accepted Turkish peace terms proclaiming independence. The unity of the three members lasted scarcely a month, as fundamental divergences emerged and war continued with Ottoman advance towards Baku. See Forsyth, *The Caucasus a History*, pp. 367-373;

The Azerbaijani delegation was made up of representatives of different political and cultural forces which, since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had led the process of national self-determination<sup>10</sup>. Topçubaşov (1865-1934) was a key figure of Muslim political life in the Tsarist Empire. In 1897, he carried on socio-political initiatives as chief editor of the newspaper “The Caspian”. After the 1905 revolution he became known as one of the leaders of the empire’s Turkish-Muslim population. He was one of the leaders of All-Russian Muslim Congresses held in 1905-1907. He co-founded in 1905 the Union of Russian Muslims (*Soyuz Rossiyskikh musul’man, Rusya Müsülmanlarının Ittifağı*), the leading Muslim political organization in the Russian Empire, which formed an alliance with the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets). In 1906 he was elected to the State Duma as a deputy delegate of Baku province and then established the Muslim faction in the Duma. In May 1917 he was among the politicians leading the Moscow Congress of Russian Muslims and worked in the Muslim social and political organizations of Transcaucasia. Topçubaşov was appointed minister without *portfolio* in the second Republican government formed on June 17, 1918 by Fətəli-xan Xoyski. He left for Istanbul on August 22, 1918 as an ambassador to the Ottoman government. The Azerbaijani Parliament opened in December and elected him as Chairman *in absentia*. On December 28 it appointed him Chairman of the delegation to the Peace Conference. Other members included Məmməd həsən Cəfər qulu oğlu Hacinski (1875-1931) who served as first Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic, the socialist Əkbər ağa Şeyxülislamov (1891-1961) and the journalist and writer Ahmet Ağaoğlu (Əğaoğ bba Ağayev, 1869-1939) founder of the *Difai* party, considered one of the first national political parties in Azerbaijan. In 1909 Ağaoğlu was forced to immigrate to Turkey, where he established bonds with the Young Turks and the Union and Progress Government. Since his first days as the Chairman of delegation Topçubaşov adopted Wilson’s rhetoric and arguments. The concepts of collective security and economic interdependence for the Caucasian region appeared in a long memorandum addressed to the Entente representatives in Istanbul, presumably in late December 1918. The document, written in Russian and French, is the first known official communication of Azerbaijani diplomacy addressed to Western nations. The memorandum provided information about history, geography, ethnography and politics of the Southern Caucasus and Azerbaijan. Topçubaşov’s political proposal adopted Wilsonian argument that a renewed political and economic confederation of the Transcaucasian people would have better chances of being internationally recognized and protected by the Entente powers. For Topçubaşov the project of confederation and the political affiliation of his supporters were strictly related elements: «Liées entre elles, comme nous venons de l’expliquer par la communauté des intérêt particulièrement importants dans le domaine économique, ses trois nationalités forment la population originaire de la Transcaucasie, sont appelées par la nature elle-même à une vie politique commune, basée sur le principe de la confédération comme les trois nationalités de l’Union Suisse (...) cette idée vit encore et ses partisans ne sont pas seulement les libéraux modérés et nationalistes arméniens, géorgiens, et azerbaïdjanais. La même idée trouve encore des défenseurs chez

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed analysis of the cultural and political roots of the Azerbaijani political forces between the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Ybert, “Islam, nationalism and socialism.”

les sociaux-démocrates, qui voulant à présent unir toutes les nations de la Transcaucasie»<sup>11</sup>. The delegation was stalled for four months in Istanbul, being unable to obtain from French authorities authorization to reach Paris. For various reasons the French government distrusted Azerbaijan. The republic had proclaimed its independence under the protection of the Ottoman army in May of 1918 and was considered pro-Turkish. France was more inclined to support the counter-revolutionary fight of the “White” Russians, whose objective was to restore Russian territorial integrity in Caucasus. The delegation faced other problems while in Istanbul. In March Ahmet Ağaoğlu was arrested by the Ottoman government at the behest of the British authorities. On the sole basis of his journalistic writings Ağaoğlu was accused of “atrocities” against Armenians during wartime. Ağaoğlu was deported to Malta along with other leading nationalistic cultural and political figures of the Ottoman Turkey, though no specific charges were lodged against him. In 1921 he was released in a prisoner exchange between the British government and the Turkish nationalist forces<sup>12</sup>. His arrest prolonged the stay of the delegation in Istanbul. Topçubaşov addressed British Prime Minister David Lloyd George on this matter, using Wilson’s arguments that “small States” should be treated with justice. Excluding Azerbaijan would be unfair and prejudice a balanced solution to Caucasian problems: «les délégations analogues des Etats voisins composée dans de même conditions que l’Azerbaïdjan – la Georgie, l’Arménie e la Nord-Caucasie – ont obtenu l’autorisation pour le voyage à Paris et les diverses revendications, des détails sur la situation économique, territoriale et d’importants questions touchant de près l’intérêt vital d’Azerbaïdjan, vu le voisinage de tous ces pays. Il est évident que la solution de pareilles questions ne correspondrait pas à la vérité et à la justice si l’un des pays intéressés était absent (...) Etant donné que le peuple azerbaïdjanien a fait beaucoup de sacrifices au cours de la guerre européenne et par la suite débarrassa le Caucase du danger bolcheviste, il est en droit de compter que sa voix sera entendue par la conférence de la paix comme la voix d’une nation ayant pris la vie politique selon les grands principes du Président Wilson.»<sup>13</sup>

Eventually Azerbaijanis received authorization to leave Turkey and to enter France. After a brief stay in Rome they reached Paris and sought interviews with the Entente diplomats. On May 28<sup>th</sup>, a date, incidentally, marking the first anniversary of Azerbaijani independence, the delegation met with Woodrow Wilson and his close advisors. Wilson’s attitude was “cold and unsympathetic”<sup>14</sup> and, as recorded in the transcription, the meeting lasted only twenty minutes. Topçubaşov praised Wilson’s role in shaping a new international environment in which oppressed nations like Azerbaijan could aspire to independence. For this reason he demanded American support for recognition and admission to the League of Nations. Wilson replied by summarizing the guiding principle of Allied policy toward territories of the former Russian empire: “I am glad, gentlemen, to have met you and heard your claims, but the question of the independence of your country cannot be settled before the Russian question is definitely settled. Please, send

<sup>11</sup> Memorandum to the Entente power representatives in Istanbul, December 1918, case 1, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

<sup>12</sup> Shissler, *Between Two Empires*;

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum to Lloyd George, 21.3.1919, case 8, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

your memoranda to the Peace Conference and I shall study them. I trust your claims will be validated”<sup>15</sup>. The chasm between the harsh reality of Wilson’s words position and Wilsonian rhetoric did not discourage Topçubaşov. In a report sent to Baku he outlined the strategy of the delegation<sup>16</sup>. The Allies prioritized the resolution of the Russian question and supported the “White” forces against the Bolsheviks. The influence wielded by “White” Russian circles in Paris was prominent. For the Azerbaijanis the most effective way to counteract it was to influence public opinion. The cause for independence was favored by a narrative of democratic, liberal, secular ideals and a struggle for survival against Russian oppression. From the summer of 1919 numerous memorandums and booklets were published, including a bi-weekly journal entitled *Bulletin d’informations de l’Azerbaïdjan*, which contained information and propaganda about Azerbaijan’s economic and political life. The publications included territorial claims, descriptions of the republican institutions, a history of the process of independence, and studies on ethnic distribution in the Southern Caucasus. Much emphasis was given to the economic profile and natural resources of the Azerbaijani State, with the aim of attracting foreign investors and capital<sup>17</sup>. Relations with other Caucasian States were pivotal. A unity of intents among States that had been part of Tsarist Russia was considered crucial for persuading the Entente powers to lean towards independence and halt the chances of a new Russian conquest. Topçubaşov promoted political coordination among the Caucasian delegates in Paris. On June 23, 1919 the three delegations (the Armenian, the Azerbaijani and the Georgian) sent a joint note to François Clemenceau, President of the Peace conference, protesting against the recognition by the Supreme Allied Council of the “Omsk government” (ruled by Tsarist admiral Kolchak) as the legitimate power in the former Russian Empire. The Caucasian diplomats wrote to Clemenceau about the danger of a Russian invasion of the Caucasus. If recognized, the three States would constitute a democratic confederation and establish peaceful relations between the Caucasus and Europe: “Les Républiques caucasiennes envisagent leur avenir politique dans l’établissement d’une union des états du Caucase, place sous la sauvegarde de la Société des Nations qui mettrait l’Istme caucasique, ainsi affranchi, à l’arbrî de tout impérialisme envahisseur et lui assurerait son rôle de line entre l’Occident e l’Orient”<sup>18</sup>.

In the spring of 1919 a “White” Russian invasion of the Caucasus seemed inevitable. General Denikin’s Volunteer army had invaded the Northern Caucasus and crossed the lines drawn by British occupation forces in the Caucasus. On June 16<sup>th</sup> Azerbaijan and Georgia decided to sign a defensive pact against the peril of invasion. In vain the two countries invited Armenia to adhere<sup>19</sup>. In Paris the text of the treaty (defined as convention) was translated and

<sup>14</sup> Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle*, p. 254.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson to the Azerbaijani Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, 28.5.1919, case 2, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

<sup>16</sup> Topçubaşov to Ussubeyov, 8-10.6. 1919, in *Paris məktubları*, pp. 15-18.

<sup>17</sup> *La Republique de l’Azerbaïdjan du Caucase; Claims of the Peace Delegation; Composition Antropologique et Etnique; Situation économique e financière, La première république musulmane : l’Azerbaïdjan*, Paris 1919.

<sup>18</sup> Delegations of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to Clemenceau, 23.6.1919, case 4, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

<sup>19</sup> The Armenian position was divided between Turkish Armenians, who were in favor, and Caucasian Armenians whether to adhere to the convention. See Afanasian, *L’Armenie, l’Azerbaïdjan et la Georgie: de l’indipendance à l’instauration du pouvoir soviétique 1917-1923*, Paris, L’Hammarattan 1981.

sent to the Peace conference, where it was presented to Clemenceau as a collective security instrument aimed at preserving the right to national self-determination: “Nous tenons à faire ressortir l’esprit de solidarité des peuples transcaucasiens dont la convention du 16 Juin est profondément pénétrée. Il y a tout lieu d’espérer que cette convention dont le but est purement et exclusivement défensif ne sera jamais appliquée en ce qui concerne l’action militaire commune y prévue, et que la Transcaucasie restera à l’abri de toute agression extérieure grâce au contrôle que les Puissances Alliées exercent sur les opérations du général Denikine”<sup>20</sup>. Another important issue was the relationship with Armenia. In his communiqué to Baku of September 22, 1919 Topçubaşov stressed the importance of seeking cooperation with the Armenian delegation operating in Paris: “in the interests of the peoples of Azerbaijan and Georgia, and maybe even of the Armenian, We have to try not only to not interrupt the relations with the Armenian representatives, but to support them and also cooperate with them”<sup>21</sup>. As for public diplomacy, this meant representing Azerbaijan as willing to settle territorial and ethnic disputes with its neighbor. A dual communication strategy was envisaged in the second half of 1919. The *Bulletin* published news about Armenian atrocities perpetrated against the Muslim population, while the Azerbaijanis plied Armenia and Western public opinion with requests for cooperation toward a peaceful resolution of conflicts<sup>22</sup>. Since gaining independence in 1918 the two countries had had a series of border disputes in the ethnically-mixed regions of Karabakh, Nakhchivan and Zangezur: “In Nakhchivan, the westernmost, Azerbaijan consolidated control that year with Turkish support. In Zangezur across the mountain to the east, a ferocious Armenian guerrilla commander known as Andranik swept through the region, burning Azerbaijani villages and expelling their inhabitants. In the mountains of Karabakh the situation was more complex: the local assembly of Armenians tried to declare independence but had almost no contact with the Republic of Armenia across the mountains”<sup>23</sup>. Given the difficult contact of the Armenian population of Nagorno Karabakh with the Republic of Armenia and through the support of the British occupation forces, an agreement between local Armenian council and Baku government was reached in August of 1919, recognizing Nagorno-Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan and granting the local Armenian population a certain degree of self-government and cultural autonomy. The agreement remained a dead letter and in 1920 new ethnic clashes broke out. In March of 1920 attacks by Armenian forces on Azerbaijani officers resumed and the government sent troops to the western frontier, “leaving the northern border unguarded as the Bolsheviks began their invasion”<sup>24</sup>. In September of 1919 Topçubaşov translated the text of the agreement into French and disseminated it in diplomatic circles. The Karabakh agreement, with its provisions for self-governance by Armenian local

<sup>20</sup> Note to the President of the Peace Conference, 24.7.1919, case 4, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

<sup>21</sup> Topçubaşov to Yusifbəyli, 22-25.9.1919, in Paris məktubları, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> “Dans le Karabagh”, Bulletin d’informations de l’Azerbaïdjan, 1.9.1919, 1; “Note di gouvernement de la République de l’Azerbaïdjan a l’Arménie”, Bulletin d’informations de l’Azerbaïdjan, 8.9.1919, 2; “La Question de Nakhitçévan”, “La situation de la population musulmane dans la République d’Arménie”, Bulletin d’informations de l’Azerbaïdjan, 13.10.1919, 3; “La situation des réfugiés musulmans en Arménie”, Bulletin d’informations de l’Azerbaïdjan, 18.11.1919, 4.

<sup>23</sup> De Waal, *Black Garden. Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*, New York, New York University Press, 2013. p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> Altstadt, *Azerbaijani Turks, Power and Identity under Russian Rule*, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1992. p. 103.

<sup>25</sup> Accord provisoire entre les Arméniens du Karabakh montagneux et le Government Azerbaïdjanien, 22.8.1919, case 4, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

councils, fostered the idea of Azerbaijan as a young but advanced democracy, able to solve ethnic disputes and worthy of international recognition<sup>25</sup>. At the end of the summer of 1919 the delegation released, in English and French, the *Claims of the Peace Delegation of the Republic of Caucasian Azerbaijan Presented to the Paris Peace Conference*. On August 30, 1919 Topçubaşov eventually sent the official memorandum to Clemenceau as President of the Peace Conference. Topçubaşov used in large part Wilson's argument championing the right of the small nations of the world "to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon"<sup>26</sup>. Topçubaşov rhetorically appealed to the same concept: "La noble tâche donc s'est chargée la Conférence de la Paix dans la sainte cause de la défense des droits des petites nations nous encourage à espérer que la Conférence de la Paix, de sa suprême autorité, reconnaîtra l'indépendance de la République de l'Azerbaïdjan et remplira ainsi sa noble mission de protéger et de défendre les intérêts des petits peuples appelés à la vie par les Puissances de l'Entente sous l'égide des grands principes du Président Wilson"<sup>27</sup>. It should be noted that in the *Claims*, as in many other official documents, numerous elements of the recent history of Azerbaijan's independence were concealed or misrepresented to Western public opinion and peacemakers. The fact that independence was obtained with support of the Ottoman army was represented as incidental; the reason for bloodshed during ethnic clashes in Baku in 1918 was attributed solely to Armenian Bolsheviks; the whole independence process of the Azerbaijani people was represented as a fight against the Bolsheviks, concealing the complexity of the events of 1918. The Azerbaijani propagandists attempted to accredit the country as a democratic bulwark against the Bolshevik threat. The *Claims* insisted on the democratic and liberal roots of independence. For a century the Azerbaijanis were heavily oppressed by Russian authoritarianism. The spread of European values in Russia fuelled the process of independence: "In spite of all obstacles, Azerbaijanis could not, as may well be expected, remain insensible to the ideas of public, civil, political and religious liberty, which had come from Western Europe and had been spreading in Russia since the beginning of the XIX century. Since 1860, these ideas had conquered the minds of the cultured classes of Russia, as well as of the other natives subjected to the Empire"<sup>28</sup>. The *Claims* went further, theorizing a sort of "anthropological" and "racial" difference between the Turkic Muslim population of Azerbaijan and the Russian oppressors: "As is proved by their existence of nearly one century under the yoke of Russia, the turn of minds, ideals, political and cultural, the aspirations of the Russians, a Slavonic race, are quite different from those of the Azerbaijanis and are often quite opposed to them. It was this difference of genius that was the source of misunderstanding and mutual ignorance. They did not understand each other and that very incompatibility proves that the ways of the two nations are quite opposed"<sup>29</sup>. For this reason it was incumbent upon the two nations to separate and live independently of each other.

<sup>25</sup> Accord provisoire entre les Arméniens du Karabakh montagnaux et le Government Azerbaïdjanien, 22.8.1919, case 4, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

<sup>26</sup> Speech of Woodrow Wilson, 27.05.1916 in Cooper, Woodrow Wilson: a Biography, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2009., p. 327.

<sup>27</sup> Azerbaijani Delegation to the President of the Peace Conference, 30.8.1919, case 1, Archives Əlimərdan bəy Topçubaşov, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris

<sup>28</sup> *Claims*, p. 88.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 111.

In August of 1919 British troops abandoned Azerbaijan and the Caucasian territory. The project of replacing Britain with Italy rapidly faded as well as the hypothesis of an American mandate over the Caucasus. Since October the “White” forces retreated and faced continuing defeats by the Bolsheviks. At the beginning of 1920 the Bolsheviks threatened the Caucasian republics. It was not Wilsonian rhetoric that changed the attitude of the Entente powers toward recognizing the Southern Caucasian States but the fact that these countries were facing a wave of Bolshevik expansion entirely on their own<sup>30</sup>. After the downfall of independent Azerbaijan, Topçubaşov and his delegation continued to pressure Western powers to condemn the Soviet invasion. In the first two years after the seizure of Baku they acted as a quasi-diplomatic mission, addressing memoranda to and attempting to intervene in the international conferences of the early Twenties, as for example in Genoa in 1922. One of the most prominent battles they fought and lost was Azerbaijan’s request to join the League of Nations, which was rejected in November of 1920<sup>31</sup>. During the 1920’s they repeated their request for admission, which was denied on the grounds that Azerbaijan was part of another State and lacked an effective government. From that point onward Topçubaşov and his colleagues conducted a cultural and propaganda activity within the émigré movements in Paris<sup>32</sup>. The work performed by the Azerbaijani delegation in 1919-1920 had cultural and political meaning because it tried to modernize the political culture and language of a post-colonial State. This modernization process was fully compatible with political culture of Azerbaijani leadership. In 1919-1920 the change of attitude was facilitated by an ideology easily adaptable to Wilsonianism. When Azerbaijan became independent the *Musavat* government perceived independence as a necessity produced by war and revolution. The independence act was written without any ethno-nationalist rhetoric: «It made no reference to a titular or dominant nation, but defined the state in terms of territory and embraced the principle of neutrality with regard to nationality, religion, and sex. Its contents demonstrated that the ideals of Russia’s February Revolution and democratic socialism still retained a strong grip over the imagination of Azerbaijan’s political elite»<sup>33</sup>. Wilsonianism was a natural consequence of this approach. During the twenty-three months of its existence the Republic’s foreign policy was deeply reoriented from being a client State of the Ottoman Turkey towards an attempt at “western integration”. The Paris delegation laid the intellectual basis of this change of policy and inserted Azerbaijan into the cultural wave of anti-colonialism and its international origins as it had happened for the nationalist movements in India, Vietnam and China.

<sup>30</sup> For the circumstances leading up to the de facto recognition of January 1920 by the Allied Supreme Council, see: Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of The United States, volume IX , pp. 886-868.

<sup>31</sup> Admission de la République Azerbaïdjan dans la Société des Nations, 11.1920, case 1, Topçubaşov Archives, CERCEC, EHESS, Paris.

<sup>32</sup> Since 1924 the non Russian emigré circles in Paris revived the idea of a Transcaucasian confederation. In 1934 a pact among the exiled governments of Azerbaijan, Georgia and North Caucasus was signed in Brussel. Topçubaşov was the Azerbaijani representative. See Copeaux, “Le mouvement prométhéen”. Cahiers d’études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien, 16 (1993), pp.9–45.

<sup>33</sup> Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011. p. 213.

## Muslim Factions in the Transcaucasia Sejm and their role in conducting foreign policy of the first democratic state of Azerbaijan

*Dr. Teodor Danailov Detchev\**

The Russian Revolution in February 1917 and the Bolshevik coup d'état in October 1917 were the reasons of radical political changes in Transcaucasia. Taking into account the extremely complex situation in Transcaucasia in 1918 - 1919, it is amazing to note how fast the political builders of the first Azerbaijan Republic managed to develop its institutions. Yet we have to take into account that foreign policy activities had been successfully pursued by political leaders of Azerbaijan even before the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. In this context, the role of Muslim factions in the Transcaucasia Sejm deserves a particular focus.

Here we shall study three important examples of specific diplomatic activity of Muslim factions in the Transcaucasia Sejm, which show an amazing speed of ascent of Azerbaijanian leaders as actors of international relations. The lawmakers from the Transcaucasia Sejm had to “learn on the fly” in a very difficult period of the beginning of their state-building.

Cases in point are establishment of close relations with the Mountain Republic, the real drama related to the peace talks at the Trebizond Conference (1918) and interactions with the Germans on the eve of the announcement of Transcaucasia's independence.

### *Foreword*

The Transcaucasia Sejm was established on 14 February 1918. The Transcaucasia Commissariat rendered to the Sejm all legislative authority. On 23 February 1918 the new legislative body of Transcaucasia began its work in Tiflis. The Sejm was composed of MPs elected in the Constituent Assembly (Учредительное Собрание) of the Russian Republic after the February Revolution. Additionally, representatives of different parties, based on results of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, formed part of the Sejm. The Constituent Assembly basically consisted of representatives of three main peoples of Transcaucasia – Azerbaijanis, Georgians and Armenians.

From a political party structure perspective, Georgians and Armenians in the Sejm were much more consolidated in comparison with Azerbaijani MPs. The prevailing part of Georgians were social democrats – Mensheviks (меньшевики) and the majority of Armenians were socialists – nationalists from the “Dashnaktsutyun” party (Armenian Revolutionary Federation). The Armenian faction also included members of the Party of the socialists – revolutionaries (so-

\* Associate professor at the Higher School of Security and Economics in Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

called “Esers”), who actively participated in crucial debates in the Sejm. The debates on the act of declaring the independence of Transcaucasia was such an example.

The situation with Azerbaijani representatives in the Sejm was different. Muslims (Azerbaijanis) were represented in the Transcaucasia Sejm by at least four leading parties. They were: the Musavat Party (in English “Musavat” means “equality”. In some sources, the party is referred to as “Turkic Democratic Party of Federalists - Musavat”) together with a group of MPs with democratic orientation who aligned themselves with it; the Muslim Socialist Block; the party “Muslims in Russia - Ittihad” („Мусульманство в России - Иттихад”) and the Social democratic party (with a Menshevik orientation) “Hümmat” (in English the name of the party means “Energy”), more popular with its Russian name “Gummet” („Гуммет”).

Some authors consider that such a distribution of Azerbaijan MPs in the Sejm wasn't in favour of the cause of Azerbaijan, as they weren't consolidated enough to support nationalistic debates which took place in the Transcaucasian Sejm. A.Pashaev, scientific editor of the published protocols of the Muslim factions in the Sejm, emphasized the fact that the Azerbaijani people were “fragmented into parties” thus Muslim representatives in the Sejm were in a less favourable situation compared to much more consolidated Armenians and Georgians.”<sup>1</sup>.

Yet this viewpoint could be contested. A. Pashaev expressly mentions in his work that the Transcaucasian Sejm was based not on the national but on the party principle. It is true that starting from the very first sessions, three national sectors were consolidated in the Sejm – Armenian, Azerbaijani and Georgian, but the entire history of the debates as reflected in the Sejm records, demonstrates genuine efforts of the MPs to make statements only on behalf of their parties and not so much on behalf of their national factions.

As a matter of fact, party factions with Azerbaijan – Muslim membership managed to orientate themselves pretty fast in the complex environment. Despite their ideological differences and contradictions they show remarkable examples of co-ordination and synergy.

Regrettably, these efforts remained in vain as the Transcaucasian Sejm fell apart “because of the clash between the national interests of the peoples represented in it”<sup>2</sup>.

Actually the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic collapsed due to pressure of the two neighbouring imperial powers – Bolshevik Soviet Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was pressing the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic from the southern direction. Its military offensive and advance were the reason for the decision of the Georgians to search for German protectorate. This led to the secession of Georgia from the

<sup>1</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., p. 35

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Transcaucasian Federation.

From the Absheron Peninsula the Soviet Russia with its Bolshevik troops and its temporary allies – the Baku section of the Armenian “Dashnaksutyun” party – was advancing. This caused a critical situation for Azerbaijanis, who were “crucified” between the strong democratic mood of their political elite and the instinctive search for an ally to protect them by the “broad masses of the people”.

The Azerbaijani leaders were consistent federalists, but they had to take into account the public mood and the absolutely real Bolshevik threat. After the bloody “March days” and the pogrom of Azerbaijanis in Baku in the spring of 1918, all illusions about Soviet Power and Bolsheviks disappeared. It became crystal clear to Azerbaijani people and their leaders what a “bright perspective” awaits them if they remain in the hands of Stepan Shaumyan and his followers.

Finally Azerbaijan asked for help from the Ottoman Empire. It was given in the form of the “Caucasian Islamic Army”. But the people who established the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic managed to save it from the Ottoman ambitions to turn it into a vassal khanate, ruled by a close relative of one of the most prominent Young Turks.

So the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic was a victim of the multi-directional geopolitical pressure upon Transcaucasia and less of the nationalistic passions and confrontations among the three basic Caucasian nationalities. Under the impact of this geopolitical pressure, the political elites of Georgians, Azerbaijanis and Armenians were literally forced by the circumstances to follow different “rescue scenarios”. The Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic was liquidated not by competition and contradictions between the different nationalities but by the extremely unfavorable political context and by the geopolitical factors in the region.

While Transcaucasian Sejm functioned the situation with its MPs, as well as the members of the Transcaucasian Commissariat was complicated and more than delicate. One can imagine what relations were maintained between Azerbaijani and Armenian MPs in Tiflis after the massacre which took place through the “March Days” in Baku in 1918. However, all three “national blocks” made considerable efforts to preserve the unity of Transcaucasia and work fairly well diligently for the federal project.

These considerable common efforts took place despite the memories of the 1905 bloody clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, provoked by secret services of the Russian Empire and despite the perfectly “fresh” pogroms of the Azerbaijani population in Baku in the spring of 1918.

Many members of the Transcaucasian Commissariat demonstrated ambiguous behaviour, some of them even kept permanent contacts with the Baku Soviet (Council) and personally

with Shaumyan, however, opportunities to work inside the frame of the democratic federation were used until their exhaustion after Georgia's withdrawal from the Federation.

Azerbaijani MPs in the Sejm were not happy when the Federation collapsed. They were waiting until the last moment, following actions of Georgians and declared the independence of Azerbaijan only after Georgian abandonment of the Federation was an official fact.

Many Armenian MPs hoped until the last moment that the unity of Transcaucasia was going to be preserved, that after a possible victory of democracy in Russia it would become a federal unit in a future Russian Federative Democratic Republic. It is important to mention that when the voting for the independence of Transcaucasia took place in the Sejm, the Armenian MPs – members of “Dashnaktsutyun” supported independence with a kind of “silent consent”. They voted for independence without debating it, while Armenian representatives of the left-wing socialists-revolutionaries (“left Esers”) and members of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets) strongly opposed the independence act.

Position of the Entente diplomats in Tiflis was not less ambiguous, especially of the British consuls and envoys. The intensive exchange of information between the British and Stepan Shaumyan was proven by the correspondence between Lenin and Shaumyan.

### *Establishment of close relations with the Mountain Republic*

The introduction made above was necessary to provide a starting point in the study of the role of the Muslim faction in the Transcaucasian Sejm as the pioneers of Azerbaijani diplomacy. Here we will study some examples from the practice of Muslim factions in the Sejm, which demonstrate formation of future international policies of Azerbaijan through the activities of Azerbaijani MPs.

On 25 March 1918 Muslim factions in the Sejm were summoned to a general meeting in Tiflis palace on the occasion of the arrival of a delegation of representatives of the mountain peoples in the Caucasus. Six members of “Musavat”, four representatives of the Muslim Socialist Block and one MP without party affiliation, took part in the meetings.

The delegation of the mountain peoples comprised all of its five members. The discussions focused on the issue of accession of the Northern Caucasus to the emerging federal state in Transcaucasia. Representatives of the mountain people complained of the “rising Russian danger”<sup>3</sup>. The statement by the representative of Ingushetia – Liyanov is noteworthy in this regard. His remarks remain relevant even today in the context of the recent territorial conflict between Chechnya and Ingushetia.

<sup>3</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 2.

Liyanov complains of the critical situation of Ingushetians surrounded by Cossack settlements (казацкие станицы). Liyanov's point of view was that because of their desire to keep the lands taken away from the mountain population, the North Caucasus Cossacks have "thrown themselves in the arms of the Bolsheviks"<sup>4</sup>.

Liyanov's continues further that the Cossacks understood the role of the Bolsheviks as "bearers of the Great-Russian (Великорусская) politics"<sup>5</sup>. If we recall the "March Days" and the Baku massacre of 1918, we'll find that people who stuck to the Russian Imperial tradition, devoted monarchists treated the Bolsheviks and the Soviet of Baku as heirs and followers of the idea of "united and indivisible Russia"<sup>6</sup>.

Representatives of the mountain peoples were confident that the Cossacks saw the solution of the land issue in the physical extinction of Ingushetians and of the other Caucasian highlanders therefore they turned to the Transcaucasian Sejm for help.

Meanwhile, at the same meeting, representatives of the mountain peoples of the Caucasus, informed members of Muslim factions in the Sejm about the ongoing talks with Georgian social democrats (Mensheviks) and with Armenians (members of "Dashnaktsutyun"). Negotiations with the Armenians focused mainly on the issues of solidarity between different nations and peoples in the Caucasus. Representatives of mountain peoples mentioned that on issues of external threats the Armenians didn't show much solidarity because their attitude towards the threat from the North (from Bolshevik – Russian origin) and the South-West (of Ottoman origin) were different<sup>7</sup>.

However, the spokesman of the mountain delegation – Bammatov, suggested that representatives of Muslim factions "be patient on the Armenian question"<sup>8</sup>.

Representatives of the mountain delegation found much more in common with the Georgian Mensheviks – Noe Zhordania, Chkheidze etc. The two sides had a common understanding on internal situation in the Caucasus and its foreign context. Representatives of Georgian Mensheviks condemned bolshevism as a "Great-Russian, Great-State political stream"<sup>9</sup>. The Georgians considered the Northern front not less dangerous than the South-West front.

On the other hand, the Georgian social democrats have recognized the right of the Caucasian Highlanders on the Cossack lands along the Terek River. There was a special resolution of the Regional Center (Краевой Центр) of 24 March 1918 proposed personally by Noe Zhordania.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Байков, Б. Л., Воспоминания о революции в Закавказье, В: Архив Русской революции, Т. 9 – 10, Москва, 1991, стр. 114

<sup>7</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, "Adiloğlu" nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

The Georgian representatives promised to help the mountain peoples in all possible ways and they underlined that if there were some guaranties for the territorial integrity of Georgia from the side of Muslim groups, “the plans of the North could be carried and transformed into life immediately”<sup>10</sup>.

Also the representative of the mountain peoples Bammatov touched on the issue of relations between different Muslim ethnicities in the Caucasus. He expressed his full confidence that “the faster the interior national question in the Caucasus Mountains is solved, the faster and easier it will be to repel the vanguard of Great-Russian and Cossack bolshevism”<sup>11</sup>.

The presentation of representatives of the mountain peoples was saluted by the Musavat member and MP – Nasib Yusif oglu Yusifbeyli<sup>12</sup> (future Minister of Finance of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic). He underlined the “full magnanimity and generosity of the representatives of the mountain peoples of the North Caucasus and of the Transcaucasian Turks on the issue of the attitude towards Georgians and partly towards the Armenians”. He suggested that “above all, the relations between the mountain peoples and the Transcaucasian Turks to be defined as relations between members of the common Muslim family”.

The member of the North Caucasus delegation Topa Chermoev answered and explained that he treats the potential statehood of the mountain peoples as a “buffer country (federation or confederation) which is going to be in an alliance with Transcaucasia, which can develop like Switzerland”<sup>13</sup>.

The Musavat member Shafi bek Rustambekov immediately proposed to assign this matter to a “special committee composed of representatives of the mountain peoples and the Transcaucasian Turks”. After a short five-minute break, the committee was elected. It consisted of six persons – three representatives of the mountain peoples and three Azerbaijani MPs. The committee started to work immediately<sup>14</sup>.

Later, in 1918 the situation was going to change in a radical way. The Cossacks from the Terek River started an uprising against the Bolsheviks, and the Ingushetians or at least a prevailing part of them and immediately became allies of the Bolsheviks. Georgiy Bicherahov, brother of the famous Anton Bicherahov, was to play a key role in the Cossack uprising. Unlike his brother, who remained loyal to the Russian Empire and was inclined to cooperate with the Bolsheviks (exactly because he treated them as heirs of the Great-Russian imperial idea<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Nəsim bəy Yusufbəyli ; In Russian: Насиб-бек Юсиф оглы Усуббеков, also Насиб-бек Юсуфлейли.

<sup>13</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Georgiy Bicherahov was a social democrat, a Menshevik. He headed the military action against the Bolsheviks.

The issue of ownership of scarce arable lands in Ingushetia was central in this conflict. In different forms it remains open even nowadays. It's easy to remember the pressure of Chechen leaders for acquisition of some territories of Ingushetia and mass popular protests that followed the concord on territorial issues between leaders of the two autonomous republics.

***The drama of the peace talks at the Trebizond Conference and the role of the Muslim part of the delegation of Transcaucasia***

On 26 March 1918, Muslim factions were summoned on an extremely important and urgent matter related to the arrival in Tiflis of Akbar agha Sheykhulislamov, member of the Transcaucasian delegation at the Trebizond (Trapezund, Trabzon) Peace Conference where the representatives of Transcaucasia and the Ottoman Empire were negotiating. He reported on the Ottoman's Empire ultimatum, demanding the surrender of the territories, which the Sultan received following the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia<sup>16</sup>.

Members of the "Musavat" Party, MPs from an unaffiliated democratic Muslim group and MPs from the Muslim Socialist Block took part in the meeting. Sheykhulislamov was member of the social democratic party "Hümmat" ("Energy").

After plenary discussions on the issue, the MPs came to the decision that Muslim factions would uphold their previous position, i.e. on supporting the well-known resolution that had been sent to the member of the Sejm and member of the Transcaucasia delegation to the peace conference in Trebizond - Mammad Hasan Jafargulu oglu Hajinski<sup>17</sup>.

Meanwhile tensions were rising. On 31 March 1918 Muslim factions in the Transcaucasia Sejm had to discuss urgently "the decision of the responsible parties to declare war to Turkey"<sup>18</sup>. The situation was extremely difficult as these discussions coincided with the bloody Bolshevik massacre of Azerbaijanis in Baku. The pogroms, organized by the Bolsheviks Stepan Shaumyan and Grigory Korganov were carried on with direct support and military help of the local section of "Dashnaksutyun" in Baku.

<sup>15</sup> The attitude of Anton Bicherahov towards the Bolsheviks in 1918 is visible from the correspondence between Stepan Shaumyan and Vladimir Ilich Lenin. He really treated them as heirs of the Great-Russian imperial idea. An additional issue in Bicherahov's motivation was his strong anti-turkish attitude. Later on things changed, mainly by the defeat of the Bolshevik forces by the Islamic Caucasian Army.

<sup>16</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, "Adiloğlu" nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 3.

<sup>17</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Məmməd həsən Cəfərqulu oğlu Hacınski; In Russian: Маммед Джафароглу оглы Гаджинский.

<sup>18</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, "Adiloğlu" nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 4.

On that day, some of the Muslim MPs in the Sejm were absent (that was duly reflected in the minutes) because reports of mass murders in Baku forced many of the Azerbaijani lawmakers to immediately leave for their native places to try to help. They were deeply worried about fates of their families, relatives and friends. However, it is mentioned in the minutes of the meeting that there were “enough representatives from each party”<sup>19</sup>.

Fractions could not reach unanimity. Representatives of the social democratic party “Hümmat” („Гуммет“) solidarized with the Georgian Mensheviks in favour of war. The Muslim Socialist Block took exactly the opposite position. Its MPs’ were against the idea of the war with the Ottoman Empire. The Muslim Socialist Block MPs declared that they “... approached the issue from the point of view of the Transcaucasian democracy and that they viewed this war as a misfortune for the whole Transcaucasian democracy and for the great accomplishments of the revolution ...”. The Muslim Socialist Block decided to declare its position in the Sejm separately<sup>20</sup>.

Only the representatives of “Musavat” and “Muslims in Russia - Ittihad<sup>21</sup>” managed to reach a common standpoint:

“Without taking the responsibility for continuing the war with Turkey and taking into account that it will bring severe consequences to the whole Transcaucasian democracy in the contemporary conditions of the internal affairs of this region, the faction of the “Musavat” Party, the group of the non-affiliated MPs and the Party of the Muslims in Russia – “Ittihad”, taking into account that the issue of continuing the war is already favorably decided by the leading parties, declare that they will give help by all possible means to other peoples of Transcaucasia in this difficult task and that they will undertake all measures for a favorable ending of the war”<sup>22</sup>.

The announcement of this resolution from the rostrum of the Transcaucasian Sejm was assigned to Shafi bek Rustambekov, an MP from the Musavat faction.

Unlike social democrats from “Hümmat” („Гуммет“) who aligned themselves with Georgian social democrats, other Muslim factions openly opposed the continuation of the war with the Ottoman Empire. It is noteworthy that the most radical standpoint against the war was taken by the other Azerbaijani socialist faction – the Muslim Socialist Block. The MPs of “Musavat” (together with unaffiliated MPs who supported them) and the MPs from “Ittihad” were against the war as well but they declared one important diplomatic standpoint. The sense of this standpoint could be read between the lines of their common resolution – they are against the continuation of the war, but they won’t sabotage the executive power (the Transcaucasian Commissariat) to carry it out. On the other hand, they are going to do everything possible to

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> In Russian: („Мусульманство в России - Иттихад“).

<sup>22</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 4.

reach a peace treaty in the fastest way possible.

Taking into account that “Musavat” MPs were true federalists, this is a logical and reasonable behaviour, though it is almost certain that it was utterly unpopular with the Azerbaijani population, which didn’t support a war with the Ottoman Empire. Much more interesting is the fact that the party of conservative Islam – “Muslims in Russia – Ittihad” solidarized with democrats – federalists from “Musavat” and joined such a soft resolution. This resolution was as well-intentioned as possible towards Georgian and Armenian parties, which supported the decision to resume military actions.

On the next day – 1 April 1918, Muslim factions faced the issue of their behaviour after the official declaration of the resumption of military actions against the Ottoman Empire. The tone of the meeting was set by Shafi bek Rustambekov, who had announced on the previous day the common declaration of “Musavat”, unaffiliated Muslim MPs and “Ittihad” from the rostrum of the Transcaucasian Sejm. Rustambekov announced to all, that in connection with the resumption of military actions against Turkey, a two-week interruption of the Sejm meetings had been announced, and a three-member staff with extraordinary powers had been elected. The speaker raised the question of the line of conduct of Muslim factions for the period of time when the Sejm was not going to meet while the war would go on.

Azerbaijan lawmakers were not delighted by these developments.

Gazi Ahmed Mahammadbeyov<sup>23</sup> declared, that “by making such a step, the government ignores the interests of Muslims and annuls their role, both in the government and in the Sejm. That’s why their (of Muslim MPs, N. A.<sup>24</sup>) further stay in Tiflis and common activity with Georgians and Armenians is unthinkable and useless. ...”<sup>25</sup>

Led by these considerations, the speaker proposed that Muslim MPs leave the Sejm and called on representatives of Dagestan, Chechnya and Ingushetia to gather together and address further destiny of these nations<sup>26</sup>.

This was the most extreme position and it caused immediate opposition. The chairman of the meeting, unaffiliated MP Mammad Yusif Jafarov<sup>27</sup> proposed and Muslim MPs accepted that the issue of leaving the Transcaucasian Sejm will not be discussed until return from Trebizond of Muslims – members of the peace conference delegation<sup>28</sup>. After that, Muslim MPs returned

<sup>23</sup> In Russian: Гади Ахмед Магомедбеков; In Azerbaijani: Qazı Əhməd Məhəmmədbəyov.

<sup>24</sup> N. A. – note of the author.

<sup>25</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 5.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> In Azerbaijani: Məmməd Yusif Hacıbaba oğlu Cəfərov; In Russian: Мамед-Юсиф Гаджибаба оглы Джафаров.

<sup>28</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 5.

to the issue of the interruption of the Sejm sessions.

From the point of view of Mammad Yusif Jafarov, Muslims couldn't agree to the concentration of all the power in Transcaucasia in the hands of a military staff of three members, "in the case of tensions in the national relations"<sup>29</sup>. (The staff consisted of three ministers of the Transcaucasian Commissariat – the Prime minister, who was also Minister of Defence, the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Finance).

Khudadat bey Aghabey oglu Malik-Aslanov's<sup>30</sup> position was that in case of interruption of Sejm sessions, the power should be transferred to the government. In its turn, the government "could give some of its rights to the elected three member staff"<sup>31</sup>.

Jamo bey Suleyman oglu Hajinski<sup>32</sup> considered it necessary to outline the scope of the mandate of a three-member military staff, their relations with the government and then in accordance with the outlined mandate to express the Muslims' position on the issue<sup>33</sup>.

Hasan bey Aghaev<sup>34</sup> (his full name was Hasan Mashadi Huseyn oghlu Aghayev; also known as Hasan Aghazada) was confident that if all of Sejm's power was to be handed over to military staff, the Muslim population would find itself in a critical situation and in order to avoid possible complications it was necessary to clarify the functions of this military staff first and, second, the Sejm had to continue its work in parallel<sup>35</sup>.

The debates went further and Muslim factions came to the following decision:

"1) To fully object the suspension of the Sejm's work, 2) In case the Sejm is going to be dissolved, its rights have to be passed on to the government and it is necessary to state explicitly what powers are given to the military staff, the latter has to be accountable to the government, 3) In case military staff is given extraordinary authority and is going to be accountable to the Sejm after the resumption of its activity, Muslim ministers have to resign from the government"<sup>36</sup>.

As seen in this case, moderate and conciliatory approaches by Muslim factions in the Transcaucasian Sejm overcame the confrontation. While it is clear that with the establishing of the military staff (which was supposed to have extraordinary authority comparable to the

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Xudadat bəy Ağa oğlu Məlik-Aslanov; In Russian: Худадат бек Ага оглы Мелик-Асланов.

<sup>31</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, "Adiloğlu" nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 5.

<sup>32</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Camo bəy Süleyman oğlu Hacınski; In Russian: Джамо-бек Сулейман оглы Гаджинский.

<sup>33</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, "Adiloğlu" nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 5.

<sup>34</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Həsən bəy Məşədi Hüseyn oğlu Ağayev; In Russian: Гасан-бек Мешеди Гусейн оглы Агаев.

<sup>35</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, "Adiloğlu" nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 5.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

powers of dictators in the Republic of ancient Rome, the biggest losers were Muslim factions in the Transcaucasian Sejm who remained isolated and deprived of their rights. Azerbaijani lawmakers still rejected the idea of leaving the Sejm and searching for a “purely Muslim” response to emerging hardships.

A general meeting of Muslim factions decided to try to preserve the democratic order by opposing temporary dissolution of the Sejm. Applying the most realistic approach to the situation, general meeting of the factions offered scenarios of action in case of an unfavourable development of the political process and a rejection of their demands for a continuation of the Sejm activities. Accordingly the second decision of the meeting was made, which demanded that the Sejm authority be given to the government and not to the three-member military staff, which had to be responsible to the legitimate executive power.

Of course, the most unfavorable scenario was also on the table – if in the end extraordinary authority was to be given to the three-member military staff, then extreme actions of confrontation would not be offered, but Muslim ministers would have to leave the government. This way they were not going to be responsible either for the activities which could take place during the war or for the interruption of the work of the Transcaucasian Sejm.

It has to be taken into account that these decisions were taken immediately after the massacre in Baku, which in no way could have contributed to good relations between Azerbaijani and Armenian lawmakers in the Sejm. Also Georgian MPs ignored these tragic events and their relations with Muslim factions could not be considered “blossoming”. But despite extremely emotional atmosphere and the shock of the pogroms and massacres in Baku, representatives of Muslim factions continued co-operation with other parties and with MPs of other nations in the Transcaucasian Sejm.

Two days later, after a general meeting which focused on discussions of the idea of an interruption of the Sejm’s work, Muslim factions had an opportunity to listen to a report of a member of the delegation of Transcaucasia at the Peace Conference in Trebizond - Halil bey Hajibaba oglu Hasmammadov<sup>37</sup>. He arrived in Tiflis from Batumi and reported that Turks declared that the independence of Transcaucasia could be recognized by the Sublime Porte only in case the Transcaucasia Commissariat agreed to surrender to the Ottoman Empire three “sandzhaks” (counties, regions, N. A.) of Kars, Ardahan and Batum<sup>38</sup>.

The request of the Ottoman delegation was so direct and clear that the Transcaucasian delegation had to make radical concessions. According to information provided to Azerbaijanian MPs, “the Muslim part of the delegation was constantly balancing its approach not to spoil its relations with

<sup>37</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Xəlil bəy Hacıbaba oğlu Xasməmmədov; In Russian: Халил.бек Гаджибаба аглы Хасмамедов.

<sup>38</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 6.

Georgians on one hand, but to encourage them to make concession at the same time”<sup>39</sup>.

After that the rapporteur told the meeting how the head of the Transcaucasia delegation – Akakiy Ivanovich Chkhenkeli had sent a telegram to Tiflis stating that it was necessary to surrender the Batum “sandzhak” to the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of the Batum port and its hinterland. The content of this telegram shocked Armenian members of the delegation to the Peace Conference. They were so frustrated that they proposed simply to recognize all the prescriptions of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty<sup>40</sup>.

This proposal was done in a state of shock, but it immediately was met with sympathy from the Muslim part of the Transcaucasian delegation and personally by the head of the mission – Chkhenkeli. Following the report of Halil bey Hasmammadov, “this was reported to the Turkish delegation and it seemed that everything was ready. But the following morning, an encrypted telegram arrived to Chkhenkeli, Tsereteli and Noe Ramishvili, where it was stated that the surrender of Batum was considered to be a national self-destruction and political party suicide. Another telegram from Tiflis insisted on the immediate departure (of the Transcaucasian delegation, N. A.) from Trebizond”<sup>41</sup>.

The leader of the Transcaucasian delegation – Chkhenkeli demonstrated real composure in a thorny situation. He provided a much more diplomatic and acceptable explanation regarding the departure of the Transcaucasian delegation to be communicated to the delegates of the Ottoman Empire: “due to the need to get instructions from the Transcaucasian government, the delegation is forced to leave (for Tiflis, N. A.)”<sup>42</sup>.

In fact, Chkhenkeli rescued the peace talks in Trebizond from an emotional reaction of political functionaries in Tiflis. A fairly acceptable explanation for the interruption of negotiations was given to the Ottoman delegation – since Transcaucasia is about to make such large concessions, it is natural for its delegation at the peace talks to seek advice of its government and even the Sejm. Moreover, Chkhenkeli took advantage of cooperation of the Azerbaijani members of the peace delegation, some of whom remained in Trebizond to keep the Turks convinced that negotiations were moving ahead.

From the subsequent report of Halil bey Hasmammadov it becomes clear that he found that the members of the Ottoman delegation were very well aware of the situation of Muslims in Transcaucasia. They directly promised to cooperate with an “active force” to suppress anarchy<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 6.

This information naturally provoked debates on the issue of combating Bolshevism among the representatives of Muslim factions at the meeting on 3 April 1918. Mammad Yusif Jafarov reported both to the MPs and to the members of the Peace Delegation who were present at the meeting about “the isolated situation in which Muslims in the government have fallen, concerning the fight against Bolshevism”<sup>44</sup>.

Indeed, as it was mentioned above, Georgian social democrats were indifferent to the Baku massacres. Of course, this could be explained by the fact that they had huge problems with peace negotiations with the Ottoman Empire. At a moment when, despite all of Chkhenkeli’s ingenuity, the interruption of the peace talks was a fact and the potential resumption of the military actions against the Empire was around the corner, the Baku pogroms were relatively distant and of secondary importance for the Georgian social democrats - Mensheviks. But for the MPs from Muslim factions the Baku “March Days” were of crucial importance.

On the other hand, during the talks with the representatives of the mountain peoples, Georgian Mensheviks have stated clearly that they viewed the “Northern front” to be just as critical as the “South-West front”. They have postulated that the Soviet Russia and the Ottoman Empire are equally dangerous for the Transcaucasian democracy. This could also be explained by the fact that the front in the Northern Caucasus is close to the Georgian “rug”. But when Soviet Russia opened the “Eastern front” on the Absheron Peninsula, Mensheviks in Tiflis remained silent.

This fact was noticed by Lenin and he sent his notorious suggestion to Shaumyan to make a “union with Zhordania”. Another issue was the fact that Shaumyan rejected these cunning tactics and paved the way for the war with the Sejm, the Transcaucasia Commissariat and finally – with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. This led to the march of the Baku Soviet Army to Kurdamir<sup>45</sup> marshes and swamps.

### *On the contacts of the Azerbaijanian leaders with the Germans on the eve of the announcement of independence of Transcaucasia*

On 4 April 1918, members of the Sejm - Halil bey Hajibaba oglu Hasmammadov and Fatali Khan Khoyski<sup>46</sup> (his full name was Fatali Khan Isgender oglu Khoyski) introduced to the MPs of Muslim factions the course of their conversation with Shraider, former German consul in Persia and professor in the Tiflis University. The dialogue with him was conducted as a conversation with a man “who is close to political objectives of Germany in the East”<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Kürdəmir; In Russian: Кюрдамир.

<sup>46</sup> In Azerbaijanian: Fətəli-xan İsgəndər oğlu Xoyski; In Russian: Фатали Хан Искендер оглы Хойский.

<sup>47</sup> Протоколы заседаний мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и Азербайджанского Национального Совета 1918 г., Национальное архивное управление Азербайджанской Республики, Главный редактор и автор предисловия А. А. Пашаев, “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, Bakı 2006 г., Document 7.

The topic of the conversation had been the issue of political future of Transcaucasia. Professor Shraider “addressed the issue of the orientation and the protection offered by the Central Forces”. The Azerbaijani representatives added that under the “Central Forces” they understood Turkey and Germany.

Halil bey Hasmammadov and Fatali Khan Khoyski were clear that they were not going to talk about the other states – members of the alliance of the Central Forces – “countries without any relation to the Caucasus ...”<sup>48</sup>.

The Azerbaijani representatives declared to the professor that with regard to the issue of orientation of the “Transcaucasian Turks”, their standpoint was defined and it was “pro German-Turkish”. The two representatives of the Muslim factions declared:

“This opinion of ours is strong and in case of disagreement by somebody of our neighbours, our position will not change, but it may lead to the secession of Azerbaijan”<sup>49</sup>.

Two members of the Transcaucasian Sejm unanimously replied to the question of how Azerbaijani people evaluate the Armenian orientation towards Turkey, referring to the irreconcilable attitude of the Armenians towards the Ottoman Empire that “such a situation is unacceptable for the Turks from Transcaucasia”.

The answer to the next question: “is it possible to invite an outside force to restore order inside the country in case of anarchy” was that “it is possible if such a force consists of Turkish troops”<sup>50</sup>.

The Azerbaijani lawmakers were left with the impression that professor Shraider was very pleased with the conversation which had taken place and he especially underlined the circumstances that the “world-level events happen, depending on the fight between Britain and Germany. In this context, Germany is not going to let Russia come back to Transcaucasia. Germany is not going to allow strengthening of the British influence in the region either”<sup>51</sup>.

Professor Shraider’s wish was that a mission of representatives of Azerbaijan was to be sent to Berlin for direct negotiations with Germany. The Azerbaijani MPs gave an evasive response, because of their unwillingness “to create ties with Germany bypassing Turkey”<sup>52</sup>.

In fact, the conversation between the two MPs from the Sejm and the German professor and former consul in Persia, was reflective of Germany’s activity in Transcaucasia, and especially

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ментешавили Автандил, Из истории взаимоотношений Грузинской Демократической Республики с советской Россией и Антантой. 1918–1921 гг., <http://sisauri.tripod.com/politic/index2.html>

in Tiflis region (Тифлисская губерния). A little later, only twenty days after it took place, Germany and the Ottoman Empire signed an agreement for division of the spheres of influence in Transcaucasia<sup>53</sup>.

Very soon under pressure of Sultan's troops, Georgia would ask Germany for protection. The German protectorate over Georgia would be based exactly on the agreement between Berlin and Constantinople.

From the report of the two MPs one can see how thin was the ice under Azerbaijani leaders at that time. They were figuratively in the "eye" of a geopolitical "typhoon" that stormed Transcaucasia. There was no real geopolitical force that had not laid its claim to Transcaucasia. The Azerbaijanis were at war with Soviet Russia. The blood from the "March Days" in Baku couldn't be washed off and the Baku Soviet was looking to storm Elisavetpol (Ganja) and even Tiflis.

Tiflis where the Transcaucasian Sejm was convening, was full of overt and secret agents of the Entente. After the February Revolution, consuls of the Entente countries interfered in the setup of Transcaucasia. It was crucial for them not to allow the Central Forces to take hold in the region. The diplomacy of the Entente eventually lost this race, but still managed to gain some time while negotiations and renewal of the fighting between the Ottoman Empire army and the Transcaucasian forces alternated one after another.

An additional and very substantial problem for Azerbaijanis was that they had to balance between the two Central Forces – Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Also it is hard to believe that Azerbaijani leaders were familiar in details with subtleties of the German-Bolsheviks' relationship and their big game around the oil of Baku. It's a fact that the Germans did not question the Bolshevik control of oil in the Absheron Peninsula. For them it was enough to receive regular oil supplies with which Lenin and Stalin appeased their loyal German partners.

After the British entered Baku following the Bolsheviks' collapse and the establishment of the "Dictatorship of Centrocaspia" ("The Central-Caspian Dictatorship") – a union between the Socialists-Revolutionaries (the Esers), the Mensheviks and "Dashnaksutyun", the Germans were pleased with Lenin's promise that he planned to quickly evict the British from there. Therefore, the Germans did not send troops to invade oil fields of Baku.

### *Conclusions*

In this paper we had the opportunity to showcase several substantial examples diplomatic relations and activity of Azerbaijani political leadership on the eve of the declaration of independence of Transcaucasia and later founding of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. To some this may seem paradoxical - political elite of a yet non-existing state is involved in

intensive diplomatic activities. Yet exactly these foreign relations policies were an important part of the Azerbaijani state building process.

Independence of Transcaucasia and founding of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic to a great extent were the final results of geopolitical and regional development. The young Azerbaijan's political elite demonstrated remarkable ability to obtain knowledge and skills in state building and foreign relations over a very short period. It therefore deserves the effort to pay tribute to the role of Muslim factions in the Transcaucasia Sejm in the process of establishing of Azerbaijan's foreign policy.

From the point of view of institutional building, Azerbaijanis were extremely effective, despite huge problems with the Bolshevik aggression, differences between the democratic orientation of the Azerbaijani MPs in the Transcaucasian Sejm and the position of the Ottoman Empire, still influential in the region, and despite disagreements with Armenian and Georgian leaderships. The appearance of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic on the map of Transcaucasia and on the global map was a huge success of democratic thinking and progressive political approaches.

## German – Azerbaijani foreign relations at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

*Matthias Dornfeldt, Enrico Seewald, Urs Unkauf\**

The Azerbaijani Democratic Republic was the first democratic state in the Muslim world. It had all the characteristics of sovereignty and maintained a foreign service and diplomatic relations with many states but not with Germany. However, there were German official missions in Azerbaijan; their establishment had been initiated by the business sector.

### *German official representations in Azerbaijan before the First World War*

With the Treaties of Turkmanchai in 1828 and Adrianopol in 1830, former Persian and Turkish territories south of the Caucasus went to the Russian Empire. They were divided into governorates. The governors general or governors resided in the Georgian capital Tbilisi. German company Siemens & Halske was important for the expansion of the infrastructure in the Caucasus. Inventor Werner Siemens and mechanic Johann Georg Halske founded a telegraph building institute in Berlin on October 1, 1847. Russian government considered their products particularly useful for military reasons and invested in them. Werner's brother Walter, the manager of the branch in Tbilisi, was responsible for the telegraph lines built by the company in the Caucasus. He signed a petition of 18 February 1862 addressed to Prussian Foreign Minister Albrecht von Bernstorff by German entrepreneurs requesting the establishment of a consulate in Tbilisi as the first of sixty-eight signatories. Walter Siemens also initiated the purchase of the Gadabay copper mine. There the first German official mission on the territory of today's Azerbaijan was established.

Prussian King Wilhelm I had appointed Walter Siemens consul in Tbilisi on 20 December 1865. The following year, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Otto von Bismarck, at Walter Siemens' request, approved the appointment of Georg William Bolton, his company representative, as consular agent. After Walter Siemens' death in 1868, his brother Otto took over the management of the consulate. After the establishment of the German Empire in 1871, he became its first consul in Tbilisi, but died in the same year. The leadership of the mission was then transferred to professional consuls. Consul Alfred von Ifflinger arranged the appointment of William Bolton as consular agent in Gadabay in 1877. After fifteen years in Gadabay, Bolton was relieved of this function at his own request and relinquished his consular post. In the meantime, Baku on the Caspian Sea had become the most important city in Transcaucasia. It owed its development mainly to the exploitation of oil wells. Freiherr Gustav Schenck von Schweinsberg, the German envoy to Tehran, showed great interest in it. He pleaded for the establishment of a consular representation of the empire in Baku. The first consul in Baku in 1890 was Carl Deneys of the trading house Burkhardt & Compagnie. The

\* Matthias Dornfeldt is an Assistant professor at the University of Potsdam.  
Enrico Seewald is a researcher at the Free University Berlin.  
Urs Unkauf is a researcher at the Humboldt University of Berlin.

mission was subordinated to the consulate in Tbilisi<sup>1</sup>. The foreign affairs of the Reich were then coordinated by the Foreign Office in Berlin under the leadership of a State Secretary. He was also in charge of the consulates. Through the reporting of the consulate in Baku, the Reich government received important information about developments in Azerbaijan<sup>2</sup>.

A national consciousness of its own among the Azerbaijani people, who were dominated by Russia, initially developed in the literary field. During the unrest in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, political groups also emerged in the Caucasus. Political scientist Aser Babayev wrote: “After the revolution of 1905 ... the politicization of the national idea began in Azerbaijan”<sup>3</sup>. All-Russia Muslim congresses served the purpose of understanding. The most important Azerbaijani representative there was a lawyer Alimardan Topchubashov, a member of the Baku City Council. He had knowledge of Europe from a trip in 1900. After the riots in Baku in 1905 he started printing an Azerbaijani newspaper “Häyat”. It was crucial for “the idea of an Azerbaijani identity and nation of its own”. In the spring of 1906 he was elected to the First State Duma of Baku government<sup>4</sup>. There were only a few Caucasian delegates in this all-Russian parliament, including a lawyer Fatali Khan Khoyski. The establishment of the Musavat Party in 1912, with a programme that provided for the independence of the Muslim countries, was important for further development of the national idea in Azerbaijan. The collapse of the Russian Empire as a result of the World War I then accelerated the formation of independent states in Transcaucasia.

### ***The official relations between the German Reich and the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic***

The head of the German consulate in Baku since 1910 was a Prussian citizen Otto Tiedemann. He actually wanted to go on holiday in the summer of 1914. However, the murder of the Austrian heir to the throne in Sarajevo on 28 June by Serbian nationalists clouded the holiday mood. One month later Austria declared war on Serbia. The subsequent Russian mobilization led to German declaration of war on Russia on the evening of August 1. Two days later the official flag was raised at the German consulate in Tbilisi and the consulate sign was removed<sup>5</sup>. In Baku on the morning of August 2, 1914, German declaration of war on Russia had become known. The consulate remained undisturbed for the time being. When German consuls in Russia were exchanged for Russian officials in Germany Otto Tiedemann was able to return to Germany at the beginning of 1915<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> PAAA, R 252212, Deutsche Konsulate Rußland Nr. 42, Akten betreffend das Kaiserliche Konsulat in Baku, Vol.1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matthias Dornfeldt/Enrico Seewald, Geschichte der deutsch-aserbajdjanischen Beziehungen Teil I, in: IRS/Erbe, Spring 2015, pp. 42 – 49.

<sup>3</sup> Aser Babajew, Zur Geschichte von Nation und Nationalismus in Aserbajdjan, IRS/Erbe, Autumn 2014, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the article of the historian Dschämil Häsänli about Toptschubaschow as publicist, politician and diplomat in: IRS/Erbe, Summer 2014, pp. 18 – 27.

<sup>5</sup> Descriptions of the beginning of the war in Tbilisi can be found in the report of the consulate secretary Eugen Lorz of 1 September 1914 in: PAAA, R 141254, Deutsche Konsulate Rußland Nr. 27, Akten betreffend das Kaiserlich Deutsche Konsulat in Tiflis, Vol. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Report by Otto Tiedemann on the end of my tenure at the Imperial Consulate in Baku until the outbreak of the war and in the first week of the war and on my treatment by the Russian authorities until the exchange on 12 January 1915 *ibid*.

Turkey had joined the war against Russia alongside Germany and Austria-Hungary in autumn 1914 and Bulgaria in autumn 1915. Russia was allied with Great Britain and France. German government used tensions between peoples of the Russian Empire to harm its opponents. “German plans were aimed at inciting revolution in Russia from Finland to the Black Sea, and the Islamic world from Morocco to India, with the two directions overlapping in the Caucasus”<sup>7</sup>. In the beginning of August 1914, Secretary of State Gottlieb von Jagow telegraphed from the Foreign Office to the embassy in Constantinople: “Inciting revolution in the Caucasus would be welcome”<sup>8</sup>. According to the reply telegram from Ambassador Hans von Wangenheim, incitement of Muslims in the Caucasus was under way<sup>9</sup>.

German authorities also planned an armed anti-Russian uprising in the Caucasus. Georgian prince Georg Matschabeli had made an agreement with Muslims in his homeland after the outbreak of the war “in order to achieve joint liberation of the entire Caucasus” after a note for the Foreign Office dated 9 April 1915. At a meeting in Baku with Muslim politicians he had been asked “to represent the interests of the Imperial German Government in order to ask for weapons and moral support”. Legation Secretary Otto-Günther von Wesendonk noted on 29 April 1915, after a conversation with the prince, the recognition of a Caucasian federal state as a further goal, “as soon as a substantial part of the Caucasus has been liberated and a provisional government has been appointed. Germany should also bring about its recognition by Turkey. The Muslim Caucasians led by Fatali Khan Khoyski and Alimardan Topchubashov were ready to strike out on their own”<sup>10</sup>.

In the Russian Empire, however, the tsarist rule was eliminated in the February Revolution of 1917 not by German propaganda and attempts at overthrow but because of internal problems. The parliament in Petrograd appointed a provisional government. Russia, however, remained a belligerent power. German government therefore continued its subversive policy and was successful. In November 1917, the Bolsheviks, supported with money by German government, came to power through a coup d'état in Petrograd. Their leader, Vladimir Ulyanov alias Lenin, became chairman of a government known as the “Council of People’s Commissars”. Georgian-born Josef Dzhugashvili alias Stalin took over the leadership of the Commissariat for National Affairs. After a peace offer initiated by Lenin an armistice was signed in Brest-Litovsk in December 1917. In March 1918 peace treaty between Russia and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey was achieved. However, it did not contain any border regulations for the Caucasus, making it more difficult to establish new states there. The Russian state received the name Soviet Russia because of the rule of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

<sup>7</sup> Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (Düsseldorf: 1961), p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> Telegram transcript: PAAA, R 20936, *Der Weltkrieg 11, Akten betreffend den Krieg 1914, Unternehmungen und Aufwiegungen gegen unsere Feinde, Allgemeines, Vol. 1, Sheet no 7.*

<sup>9</sup> PAAA, R 22402, *Großes Hauptquartier, Türkei Nr. 18, Haltung der Türkei, Vol 1.*

<sup>10</sup> PAAA, R 21012, *Der Weltkrieg 11d geheim, Geheime Akten Krieg 1914, Unternehmungen und Aufwiegungen im Kaukasus, Vol. 5, Sheet 55 – 58 and 161 – 163.*

The right of peoples to self-determination, recognized on paper by the Soviet government, was often disregarded in practice. The “Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia” of November 15, 1917, signed by Lenin and Stalin, explicitly established the “right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination including separation and formation of an independent state”<sup>11</sup>. In the “Call to the Muslim workers of Russia and the East” of December 3, 1917, also signed by Lenin and Stalin, it was declared that they could establish their “national life freely and without obstacles”. Their rights were guaranteed be protected. Muslims should recognize the advice of the People’s Commissars for this<sup>12</sup>. However, Caucasian politicians did not recognize the Council of People’s Commissars and on 28 November 1917 formed a government in Tbilisi called the “Transcaucasian Commissariat” consisting of Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Russians. The German government continued to promote independence aspirations of non-Russian peoples of the former Russian empire.

After Lenin had dissolved the All-Russia Constituent Assembly elected in autumn 1917 on 19 January 1918, the Transcaucasian deputies formed the Transcaucasian Parliament in Tbilisi on 10 February. This parliament proclaimed the independence of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federal Republic on 22 April 1918. Head of government and Foreign Minister Akaki Chkhenkeli informed the German government by telegram<sup>13</sup>. The leadership of the Foreign Office wanted a friendly relationship with the new state in order to bring it economically and politically under German influence. The Turkish government, on the other hand, planned the reconquest of former Turkish territories in the Transcaucasus. The Turkish-Caucasian negotiations in Batumi failed because of Turkey’s territorial claims. This broke the Caucasian Federation. On 26 May, the state parliament and the government dissolved. According to a statement to the Reich government, the decision had been taken because of “the Turkish advance into Caucasian territory, which shattered the foundations of the Transcaucasian republic”<sup>14</sup>. On the same day the Democratic Republic of Georgia was founded in Tbilisi. The next day the Muslim parliamentarians constituted themselves as the National Council of Azerbaijan, chaired by Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh. The following day, the National Council proclaimed the establishment of an independent and autonomous state in the form of a democratic republic. It was declared that Good relations with all states should be established. On the same day, the Republic of Armenia was founded in Tbilisi. Under Turkish pressure, all Caucasian governments had to conclude peace treaties with the Ottoman Empire on 4 June. The first Azerbaijani government under the leadership of Fatali Khan Khoyski was established by the National Council in Ganja on 15 June 1918. Baku under the control of the Bolsheviks at that time.

Since 21 May 1918, Germany was again represented by Count Friedrich-Werner von der

<sup>11</sup> Die ersten Dekrete der Sowjetmacht (Berlin: 1970), p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> The call is reproduced in German in: William Henry Chamberlin, Die Russische Revolution 1917 – 1921, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: 1958), pp. 448 – 450.

<sup>13</sup> The telegram is reproduced in a documentation on the Caucasus countries produced by the Federal Foreign Office.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Schulenburg in Tbilisi, who had already been consul there before the war. The military leadership had recommended that Freiherr Friedrich Kreß von Kressenstein be sent to investigate the situation in the Caucasus. This Bavarian officer received letters of introduction signed by Reich Chancellor Georg von Hertling to the three Caucasus governments. German delegation reached Tbilisi on 24 June together with those from Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. On the following day, the three delegation heads handed over their introductory letters. Kreß presented the document intended for the Government of Azerbaijan on 17 July in Ganja. According to his report to the Reich Chancellor of 25 July, Azerbaijani politicians wanted to have closer contact with the Reich since they were not sure of the stability of Turkish friendship and hoped that Germany would better represent their interests<sup>15</sup>. Later he wrote that his visit to Azerbaijani government had been limited to the exchange of courtesies. “I was assured with particular emphasis that Azerbaijan would not be viable without possession of Baku”<sup>16</sup>. On 30 July 1918 Kreß in Yerevan handed over the letter of introduction addressed to the Armenian government.

In the beginning of July 1918, representatives of the Reichsleitung and the Oberster Heeresleitung had discussed the situation in the East at the German Great Headquarters in Spa. The military declared there that the use of petroleum from Baku was a matter of life for Germany. It had to be prevented “that the Turks marched on Baku.” Moreover, it was to be agreed with the Russian government that “we would guarantee the Russians the possession of Baku and, as trustees for the Russians, lay our hands on the oil deposits there. The oil question was so important to us that we would have to send German troops to Baku if necessary”<sup>17</sup>. Article 13 of the German-Russian Supplementary Treaty of 27 August 1918 to the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty established Russian consent to the recognition of Georgia as an independent state by Germany. Article 14 regulated sharing of oil production in Baku region between Russia and Germany<sup>18</sup>. However, neither Russians nor Germans ruled there at that time.

British troops had occupied Baku in the beginning of August. They were followed in mid-September by Turkish military. With Turkish troops, Azerbaijani government moved into Baku metropolitan area on the Caspian Sea. Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh as the head of the delegation to the planned peace negotiations in Constantinople, described Baku as the natural capital and intellectual, economic and political centre of Azerbaijan to Count Heinrich von Waldburg of the German Embassy in a statement of 12 September 1918. Baku also belonged to Azerbaijan “from both cultural and social point of view. The entire political, economic and social organization, religious institutions, schools and welfare institutions, cultural centers, Muslim printing houses are concentrated in Baku, which is also the place where all our intellectuals are reunited. This circle unites all the material and moral forces that organized

<sup>15</sup> PAAA, R 11056, Rußland 97a, Akten betreffend Russisch-Asien, Vol. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Freiherr Friedrich Kreß von Kressenstein, *Meine Mission im Kaukasus* (Tiflis: 2001), p. 75.

<sup>17</sup> PAAA, R 21431, Der Weltkrieg 15 secret, Geheime Akten Krieg 1914, Material zu den Friedensverhandlungen, Vol. 5, Sheet 193 – 197.

<sup>18</sup> Reichs-Gesetzblatt 1918, pp. 1166 and 1168.

the country's independence. For these reasons, the people of Azerbaijan, who have never abandoned the idea of regaining the independence of their country, cannot do without getting Baku back. For Azerbaijan, this question is not only a question of territorial expansion, but a condition for its viability"<sup>19</sup>.

A formal recognition of Azerbaijan by Germany was rejected by the Foreign Office out of consideration for the Soviet government. According to Rudolf Nadolny of the Russian Department, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Transcaucasia had not legally changed the situation in the area in question and would not entitle the establishment of international relations with the newly formed states there. The Transcaucasian Republic had not been recognized as an independent state either by the Russian government or by other governments and had therefore remained Russian territory. With Russian consent German Government was prepared to recognise Georgia. The recognition of Armenia and Azerbaijan was not possible under international law. The right of peoples to self-determination recognised by the Bolshevik government initially applied only between the Russian government and the nationalities. Therefore, no other government may recognize the new states before the issue was resolved in Russia internally<sup>20</sup>. This idea was included in the agreement with the Turkish ally to end the dispute over its expansion in the Caucasus.

On 23 September 1918, Prime Minister Mehmed Talaat Pasha and State Secretary Paul von Hintze signed a secret protocol at the Foreign Office according to which Turkey recognised the states of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. "Germany only recognises Georgia, but will appoint consuls for Armenia and Azerbaijan beforehand. The Turkish government withdraws its troops from Armenia and Azerbaijan"<sup>21</sup>. Hintze telegraphed this summary to Kreß. The head of the delegation in the Caucasus was already trying to reopen or re-establish consular missions. In his report to Reich Chancellor Hertling of 2 August, he asked for consul Schulenburg to be left in Tbilisi and had suggested that German consuls be sent to Yerevan and the seat of the Azerbaijani government as soon as possible. He could not often travel to the capitals of Armenia and Azerbaijan because of bad roads. "Also for this reason it is necessary that the imperial government sends permanent representatives to the places mentioned. According to a memorandum of 19 September, consuls for Baku and Yerevan should be appointed immediately and move quickly to their official seat. Consul-General Heinrich Brode was entrusted with the "establishment and provisional administration of a consulate of the Reich in Yerevan."<sup>22</sup> Freiherr Friedrich von der Goltz, the former German military attaché in Sofia, travelled to Baku. In a letter dated 24 September 1918, Baron Kreß informed Khan Khoyski of his mission "to remain at the seat of the Azerbaijani government as a representative of the Imperial Delegation in the Caucasus until further notice. Baron von der Goltz will mediate communication between Your Excellency and myself and is also obliged to assist Your Excellency, if you so wish, with his advice"<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> PAAA, R 11060, Rußland 97a, Akten betreffend Russisch-Asien, Vol. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Statement of 11 September 1918 in: PAAA, R 11058, Rußland Nr. 97a, Akten betreffend Russisch-Asien, Vol. 24a.

<sup>21</sup> Telegram of Hintze to Kreß from 25 September 1918 in: PAAA, R 11060.

<sup>22</sup> PAAA, R 141965, Deutsche Konsulate Transkaukasien Nr. 5, Akten betreffend das Kaiserlich Deutsche Konsulat in Eriwan.

<sup>23</sup> PAAA, R 11061, Rußland Nr. 97a, Akten betreffend Russisch-Asien, Vol. 27.

German representative and his staff arrived in Baku by train on 2 October 1918 and made their inaugural visits the following day. President and Minister received him at the Metropole Hotel. Khan Khoyski replied to the speech of Freiherr von der Goltz, “He is happy that it is now possible for him and his government to remain in constant contact with the great German empire, support from which he hopes will be forthcoming. The most important problem to be discussed with the Azerbaijani government was the purchase and transport of gasoline and fuel oils to Tbilisi, from where further transport to Germany was to be organized. The German representative agreed with the Turkish occupying forces to exchange captured Russian military equipment for naphtha<sup>24</sup>.

The request of Azerbaijani government to send a representative to Berlin was endorsed by Kreß at the Foreign Office with regard to “the importance of Baku and good relations with Azerbaijan because of our supply of naphtha products”, as was sending a German professional consul to Baku. In his reply Under Secretary of State Hilmar von dem Bussche asked for “the question of sending a representative from Azerbaijan to Berlin to be treated dilatorily. Professional consul for Baku is already on the way<sup>25</sup>. This was Fritz Grobba, who was commissioned to set up and administer a professional consulate in Baku. Because of the armistice he only reached the Romanian port of Braila<sup>26</sup>. Turkey and Germany had to sign ceasefire agreements with the Entente on 30 October and 11 November 1918, respectively, and withdraw their troops from the occupied territories in the Caucasus. On 2 November 1918, Goltz had received the telegraphic order to leave from the head of the delegation in Tbilisi, which took place secretly<sup>27</sup>. German delegation left Tbilisi on 7 January 1919. Kreß and Schulenburg returned home from Turkey after internment in June 1919. The protection of German interests in Tbilisi and Baku was assumed by the Persian consular representations. The conquest of Azerbaijan by the Red Army in April 1920 destroyed the first democracy there. The German representatives in Baku were also affected by this.

The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which existed for almost two years, was a sovereign state. On December 7, 1918, the parliament was convened in the capital Baku. “In the short period of the Republic’s existence, Azerbaijani parliamentarians gained valuable experience in the organization of parliamentary democracy and governance<sup>28</sup>. Diplomatic relations between the German Reich and the Transcaucasian states did not exist at that time. German interests in Tbilisi and Baku were formally represented by Persian missions there, while businessman Rudolf Sommer informed the Foreign Office in Tehran about developments in the Caucasus.

The main foreign policy problem of the Transcaucasian states was their international recognition. Azerbaijani government sent a delegation to the peace conference in Paris led

<sup>24</sup> Freiherr Friedrich von der Goltz: *Meine Entsendung nach Baku*, in: *Jahrbuch des Bundes der Asienkämpfer*, Vol. 3 (Sangerhausen: 1923), pp. 125 – 156.

<sup>25</sup> PAAA, R 11064, Rußland Nr. 97a Nr. 2, Akten betreffend Kaukasisch-Aserbaidshan.

<sup>26</sup> PAAA, Personnel file of Fritz Grobba.

<sup>27</sup> Goltz, p. 154.

<sup>28</sup> IRS/Erbe, Sommer 2013, p. 14.

by Alimardan Topchubashov. On 17 June 1919 he signed the following declaration alongside representatives of other former Russian territories that had become independent: “The Republics: Azerbaijan, Esthonia, Georgia, Latvia, North Caucasia, White Russia and Ukraine were created and exist by the free will of the populations of these states.”. Decisions of the Russian central power could therefore in no way affect the independence of the new states Azerbaijan, Esthonia, Georgie, Latvia, North Caucasia, Belorus and Ukraine and the mutual relations between these states and Russia could only be regulated as between equal states. “The Republics mentioned in the preamble, reiterate, before the Peace Conference and the Great Powers, their request to have their political independence recognized without delay”<sup>29</sup>. At the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Major Powers on January 10, 1920 at the Foreign Ministry in Paris, it was decided that the Allies and Associated Powers would jointly recognize the governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan as de facto governments, subject to a request of the representatives of the United States and Japan for instructions from their governments in this regard<sup>30</sup>. Subsequently, many countries established official relations with the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic.

### *Germany and Soviet Azerbaijan*

The Soviet leadership did not respect the independence of the Transcaucasian states and planned their conquest. The first victim was Azerbaijan because of the oil. Supported by the Red Army, the Provisional Revolutionary Committee led by Nariman Narimanov came to power in Baku on 28 April 1920. On the same day Azerbaijan was proclaimed a Soviet Socialist Republic. Narimanov became chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of Azerbaijan. On November 29, 1920, the Communists also took power in Armenia.

In the meantime, Germany was again consularly represented in Tbilisi. After the legal recognition of Georgia by Germany in autumn 1920, Ulrich Rauscher was appointed an ambassador in Tbilisi. He handed over letter of credence on 6 January 1921. Six weeks later the Red Army invaded Georgia. The establishment of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic followed on 25 February. On 10 June in Paris, representatives of former Transcaucasian governments and the North Caucasian Republic concluded an alliance pact, which Alimardan Topchubashov signed for Azerbaijan. Georgi Matchabeli sent the text to the German Embassy at the Quirinal in Rome. In a statement of 5 September Ulrich Rauscher doubted the effectiveness of the Pact also in the future, “because a uniform, purposeful policy of the Caucasus will fail because of the traditional nationality dispute”. On the other hand, the envoy informed about the forthcoming formation of a Transcaucasian federal state with a common body for foreign and economic policy as well as for the military and transport<sup>31</sup>. On November 29,

<sup>29</sup> Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1919, Russia, (Washington 1937: United States Government Printing Office) p. 380/381.

<sup>30</sup> Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, Volume IX, (Washington 1946: United States Government Printing Office) p. 959.

<sup>31</sup> PAAA, R 84136, Abteilung IV, Kaukasus Politik 1, Akten betreffend: Allgemeine auswärtige Politik der Staaten des Kaukasus.

1921, the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia adopted Lenin's proposal to recognize the Federation of the Transcaucasian Republics as "in principle an absolutely correct and absolutely feasible measure"<sup>32</sup>. In February 1922 this proposal was accepted at a congress of communist organizations of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in Tbilisi and a Transcaucasian regional committee of the Communist Party of Russia was elected to found the Federation. The corresponding treaty was signed in the Georgian capital on March 12, 1922. The Presidium of the Supreme Council took over the leadership of the Transcaucasian Federation. The governments of the Caucasian Soviet republics remained in office. In the meantime, a German representative was again in office in Baku.

Engineer Emmerich Böhme of the German Commission for the Care of Prisoners of War worked at the Persian Consulate in Baku. Ulrich Rauscher applied to Azerbaijani government on 4 May 1921 for his admission as German consular representative in Baku. The reply telegram of 26 June 1921 formulated the wish "to establish normal relations with all states which had no aggressive intentions towards the Soviet republics and in particular ... to maintain normal, good-neighbourly relations with Germany, which itself has become an object of the Entente's imperialist aspirations. The appointment of citizen Böhme as German consul in Azerbaijan is the beginning of the creation of strong and good common relations between Germany and us." Böhme would be guaranteed all the rights of a consul when performing his duties<sup>33</sup>.

On 8 August 1921, Ulrich Rauscher was authorised by the Foreign Office to maintain *de facto* relations not only with Georgia but also with Azerbaijan, and on 16 September 1921, at the Report of 5 October 1921 to the Federal Foreign Office invitation of the latter's government, he travelled by rail to Baku accompanied by his family and the Councillor of the Legation Max Hesse. "The reception by the Soviet government was an extraordinarily friendly one, with constant emphasis on the warm feelings of the Muslims for Germany"<sup>34</sup>. Ulrich Rauscher left Tbilisi in January 1922; Max Hesse temporarily headed the mission until the end of October 1922, after which secretary Theodor Muth continued the official duties.

The relations between Germany and Soviet Russia had been given a stable basis by the Treaty of Rapallo of 16 April 1922. Full diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level were established. The Soviet government wanted the treaty to be extended to the conquered territories. On 5 November the corresponding treaty was signed at the Foreign Office, which included Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Republic of the Far East. Article 9 provided for ratification. On the same day, Reich Chancellor Joseph Wirth notified the Soviet Russian Ambassador Nikolai Krestinski that the Reich Government had "de jure recognized the governments of these Soviet republics by signing the treaty and agreed to the

<sup>32</sup> Wladimir Iljitsch Lenin: Werke, Vol. 33 (Berlin: 1962), p. 110.

<sup>33</sup> PAAA, R 84339, Abteilung IV, Allgemeines 1, Akten betreffend Aserbaidtschan, Vol 1.

establishment of diplomatic and consular relations even before ratification of the treaty”<sup>35</sup>. The legation in Tbilisi was converted into a Consulate General. On 27 December 1922 Otto Günter von Wesendonk was appointed “Consul General of the German Reich in Tbilisi for the Transcaucasian Federal State (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia)”. The centralization of the Soviet Empire was in full swing at that time.

In December 1922 at the first Transcaucasian Soviet Congress in Baku the formation of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with its own constitution had been decided. On 30 December 1922, representatives of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federal Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Federal Republic signed the Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Moscow. According to it, the Union had the power of representation in international relations. Its executive body was the Council of People’s Commissars, which also included a People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs. The Treaty ended with the provision: “Each of the republics of the Union shall have the right to freely withdraw from the Union”<sup>36</sup>. It entered into force on 6 July 1923. Official relations with the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic were maintained by the German Consul-General. Otto-Günther von Wesendonk left Tbilisi on May 20, 1925 for vacation and did not return<sup>37</sup>. The mission was led by Vice Consul Walther Schroeder. The new Consul-General Curt Prüfer took over the duties on 27 February 1926 and remained in office until 26 November 1927.

According to reports of German representatives, the consolidation of Soviet power in Transcaucasia took place mainly through three institutions: the Red Army, the secret police and economic organizations. The secret police, the Cheka, was particularly feared. It also ended the existence of German representations in Baku, Batumi and Poti. Business in Baku was conducted by the commercial expert Theophil Eck, in Batumi the consular agent was Carl Cornehlens and in Poti the shipping agent Alexander Schmitz. Böhme was arrested in Moscow on 9 June 1925; Eck, Cornehlens and Schmitz were arrested in their places of employment on 13 December 1925. All four were accused of espionage and taken to the Lubyanka prison in Moscow<sup>38</sup>. Ambassador Ulrich Brockdorff-Rantzau was committed to facilitating their exchange for Soviet citizens imprisoned in Germany. The Reichskabinett agreed to the exchange on 12 August 1926. Emmerich Böhme remained in the Soviet Union; he wanted nothing more to do with Germany. Theophil Eck, Carl Cornehlens and Alexander

<sup>34</sup> Report of 5 October 1921 to the Foreign Office, *ibid*.

<sup>35</sup> The Treaty of 5 November 1922 and the Exchange of Notes are reproduced in: *Deutsch-sowjetische Beziehungen von den Verhandlungen in Brest-Litowsk bis zum Abschluß des Rapallovertrages*, Dokumentensammlung Vol. II (Berlin: 1971), pp. 697 – 702. The certificates of ratification were exchanged at the Foreign Office on 26 October 1923.

<sup>36</sup> The «Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics» is published in German as Supplement No. 2 in: *Josef Stalin: Werke*, Vol. 5 (Berlin: 1952), pp. 346 – 350.

<sup>37</sup> PAAA, Personnel file of Otto-Günther von Wesendonk.

<sup>38</sup> Report of Emmy Eck: PAAA, R 84160 Abteilung IV, Kaukasus Politik 10, Akten betreffend: Deutsche diplomatische und konsularische Vertretungen im Kaukasus, Vol. 1.

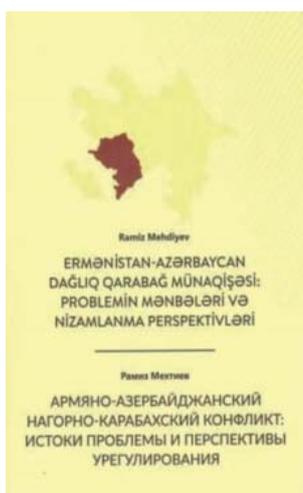
Schmitz were financially compensated by the Foreign Office for the hardships suffered. The closure of the consulate in Baku had been officially announced on 24 August 1926. The activities of the consular agents in Batumi and Poti had ceased<sup>39</sup>.

The Transcaucasian Soviet Republic was now the sole responsibility of the Consulate General in Tbilisi. Its leaders often provided information about the effects of the Soviet system and the perception of Russian rule among the Caucasian peoples. In December 1936, the VIII Extraordinary Union-Soviet Congress adopted a new constitution, which provided for the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Federation into equal Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Soon after, the Soviet government urged the closure of all but two German consular missions. The General Consulate in Kiev and the Consulate in Novosibirsk remained in existence. The Consulate General in Tbilisi was closed on 15 January 1938<sup>40</sup>. The Reich government received information on further developments in the Transcaucasus from the embassy in Moscow until the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941.

<sup>39</sup> PAAA, R 84162, Abteilung IV, Kaukasus Politik 10, Akten betreffend: Deutsche diplomatische und konsularische Vertretungen im Kaukasus, Vol. 3.

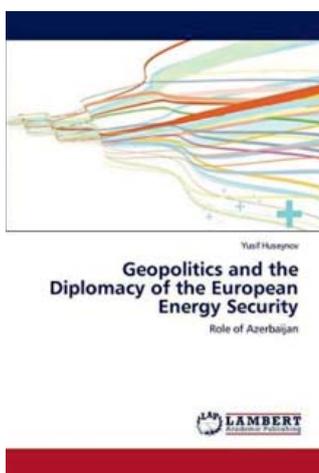
<sup>40</sup> Matthias Dornfeldt/Enrico Seewald, Sowjetaserbajdschan und Deutschland 1926 – 1941, in: IRS/Erbe, Herbst-Winter 2016, pp. 42 – 47.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

**THE ARMENIAN-AZERBAIJANI NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT:  
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Academician Ramiz Mehdiyev's book titled "The Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Origins of the Problem and Prospects for settlement" draws on reputable historical sources and offers a systematic and phased analysis of the background and root causes of the conflict.

The book creates a clear and holistic view of the core of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and provides an outlook for its settlement. This work plays a vital role in raising public awareness on the conflict and serves as a pivotal source for political science research.

**GEOPOLITICS AND THE DIPLOMACY OF THE EUROPEAN ENERGY  
SECURITY: ROLE OF AZERBAIJAN***by Yusif Huseynov*

European leaders, economists and scholars are voicing their concerns regarding the fact that most European countries are dependent on a limited number of sources. At some point in the future, the world's remaining fossil fuels will begin to dwindle and eventually run out completely if it continues with current trajectory. Such situation could potentially lead to irreversible damage not only to the economy but also to society in general. It is for this reason that European countries attempt to reduce their dependence on such a small number of suppliers and work towards diversification of their energy routes. The diversification policy is now driving European states to seek out alternative routes in order to reduce vulnerabilities to just few suppliers. Within such complex energy diplomacy, Azerbaijan's role in facilitating these developments is the foundation of this study.



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