

**Dr. Esma OZDASHLI**  
*Doctor of History*  
*(Turkey)*

# FOREIGN POLICY OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AMID INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

## 1. Overview of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic's (1918-1920) foreign policy

Clues of the foreign policy pursued by the Azerbaijan (People's) Democratic Republic are clearly reflected in Clause 3 of the Declaration of Independence consisting of six clauses, which was announced on May 28, 1918 and read out by National Council Secretary Hasan Bay Aghayev<sup>8</sup>. That clause says *Azerbaijan People's Republic strives to establish good relations with all members of the international community, especially with the neighboring nations and states bordering it*, emphasizing that a foreign policy concept oriented to peace would be followed<sup>9</sup>. With the establishment of the independent Azerbaijani state, the word "Azerbaijan", which had been a geographical term till that time, was transformed into a state name and therefore gained a political meaning no longer limited to an ordinary geographical, ethnic and linguistic word<sup>9</sup>.

The founding of the independent state titled "Azerbaijan" annoyed Soviet Russia and Iran the most. In particular, there was fear that the idea of independence would spread to Turks in South Azerbaijan, which was at the core of Tehran's reaction. However, the declaration of independence also indicated that Azerbaijan's government deemed "establishing friendly relations with neighboring states" as a centerpiece in its foreign policy and preferred to use the name "Caucasus Azerbaijan" in its foreign affairs in order to appease this reaction of Iran<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, Tehran also opted to recognize Azerbaijan as "Caucasus Azerbaijan"<sup>11</sup>.

Following the announcement of the Declaration

of Independence, M. H. Hajinski served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first and second interim governments established by Fatali Khan Khoyski. On May 30, 1918, the new government aired the declaration regarding the ADR's establishment via radio to Istanbul, Berlin, Rome, Washington, Sofia, Bucharest, Tehran, Madrid, the Hague, Moscow, Stockholm, Kyiv, Oslo and Copenhagen<sup>12</sup>. According to the mentioned document, upon Georgia's secession from the Transcaucasian Seim, the Azerbaijan National Council indicated that Ganja would be the temporary seat of government as declared by the Azerbaijan Republic<sup>13</sup>.

## 2. ADR's relations with Ottoman Empire

On June 4, 1918, Turkey officially recognized Azerbaijan under the Treaty of Batum signed with the country<sup>14</sup>. The Treaty of Batum also stood out for being the first international agreement concluded by ADR<sup>15</sup>. Afterwards, Petroleum Treaty was signed between Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan. In the following days, the Georgian and Armenian governments claimed that the agreement had been signed under pressure, but they lacked funding at hand to change the status quo<sup>16</sup>.

Rescuing Baku from the Bolshevik occupation was one of the most significant challenges facing the government after the declaration of independence. The military power of the Baku Soviet was completely based on Russian and Armenian troops and after it started genocide aimed at the Turkic and Muslim population in the spring of 1918, Rasulzade wrote, *"Turkey is the only hope for salvation in the emerging situation. Only*

*this fraternal nation can save Azerbaijan from the atrocity of enemies.*<sup>17</sup> In fact, some confidential agreements were also concluded during the Batumi negotiations held between the Ottoman Empire and Azerbaijan on June 4, 1918. According to Clause 4 of the mentioned agreement, the Azerbaijani government reserved the right to request military aid from Turkey for providing public order at home.<sup>18</sup> In keeping with this provision, a delegation headed by Azerbaijani National Assembly Chairman Rasulzade arrived in Istanbul in June 1918, seeking assistance in saving Baku from the Bolshevik invasion.<sup>19</sup> The Ottoman military support for Azerbaijan utterly perturbed the Germans, who were attaching great importance to the Baku oil. In June 1918, Germany's Ambassador in Istanbul, Bernsdorf, who held talks with Rasulzade, stated that in case of an attack by the Islamic Army of the Caucasus, Bolsheviks would devastate Baku and destroy oil fields, expressing his concern over this possibility and trying to dissuade the ADR government regarding an intervention by the Ottoman Empire<sup>20</sup>. Despite this move by Germany, its ally, the Ottoman Empire accepted the request of Azerbaijani representatives and the Islamic Army of the Caucasus comprised of Ottoman soldiers and Azerbaijani volunteers was established. Enver Pasha started work from March 1918 to send soldiers to Baku. In order to avoid drawing fire from Germany, he decided to name that military force "Islamic Army of the Caucasus", ostensibly emphasizing that it did not have a direct link to the Ottoman state.<sup>21</sup> In compliance with the Treaty of Batum, the Islamic Army of the Caucasus entered Azerbaijan under the command of Nuri Pasha to provide assistance and after rescuing Baku on September 15, 1918 the capital city was transferred there from Ganja.

As is known, the Ottoman Empire negotiated and signed treaties with South Caucasus representatives in Batumi independently, drawing a response from the allies, mainly Germany.<sup>22</sup> The Istanbul Conference was convened to create a platform for negotiations and it brought together representatives of the Ottoman Empire, its allies and the states that had declared independence in the Caucasus. One of the initial steps taken by the second government, which was established in Azerbaijan on June 17, was to determine the composition of the delegation to be sent to the Istanbul Conference to be held between the alliance of Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria) and the Caucasus states (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Dagestan).<sup>23</sup> The delegation, which was comprised



*Map indicating the territory of South and North Azerbaijan (Persian and Caucasus Azerbaijan). 1919*

of Rasulzade, K. Khasmammadov and A. Safikurdski, was authorized to hold talks with the representatives of countries attending the conference on political, economic and warfare issues and to sign political, economic and military agreements. In addition, the government empowered the diplomatic delegation heading to Istanbul to sign all types of confidential political and military agreements with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>24</sup>

### **3. Azerbaijan Democratic Republic's activity in international arena**

Although the lack of proper conditions stood in the way of carrying out substantial organizational work during the early years of the Azerbaijan Republic, which was established in Tbilisi, some matters related to the activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were resolved, including personnel issues, and first steps were taken to establish operational sections. As part of these efforts, using the potential of the Ottoman Empire's Foreign Ministry was deemed appropriate to overcome the challenges in inter-governmental relations.<sup>25</sup> As a matter of fact, in the early period of its independence, Azerbaijan was recognized by 18 countries, including Turkey; given that it was not possible to open embassies in those countries, Foreign Minister Hajinski sent a confidential cable to Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Nesimi, requesting to have a representation of Azerbaijan within the Ottoman Empire's embassies active in European countries.<sup>26</sup> After 1917, the Ottoman Empire also tried to develop a versatile relationship with Azerbaijan, which was "The Golden



*Official opening of the Embassy of the Azerbaijan Republic in Iran. 1920*

Bridge of Turan", according to Nasibli. For this purpose, the Caucasus Branch of the "Union and Progress" operating throughout the Caucasus was established and Hasan Rovensani was put in charge of the organization.<sup>27</sup>

Following the declaration of independence, the National Council considered achieving international recognition of the newly established state as one of the most pressing issues. Even prior to the liberation of Baku from occupation, in June 1918, one of the most well-known personalities of the South Caucasus, Mehmet Yusuf Jafarov, was appointed the diplomatic representative in Georgia. Moreover, shortly before entering Baku, the government made a decision on September 12 to send its diplomatic representatives to Germany, Ukraine, Iran and Armenia.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, a decision was passed on October 6, 1918 to establish a special commission to provide information about the independence of Azerbaijan in the capitals of European countries.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Topchubashov was delegated to Istanbul in August 1918 in the capacity of full-fledged ambassador and fulfilled these duties for seven months.<sup>30</sup> In addition, in 1919-20, Yusif Vazir Chamanzaminli, who was the author of the world-famous "Ali and Nino" novel, served as the first ADR ambassador in Istanbul.<sup>31</sup>

When appointing diplomatic representatives to foreign countries an emphasis was placed on selecting the persons who were well-versed about a given country, focusing on the most frequently addressed matters. For example, starting with border-related topics, the outstanding legal issues with Armenia were pivotal for the appointment of Deputy Minister of Justice Teymur Bay Makinski as the representative to Armenia on October 22, 1918. On October 23, 1918, the Cabinet of Ministers also passed a decision on opening a representation in Crimea. Accordingly, a decision was made on November 1, 1918

to name Mir Yusif Vazirov, who had been appointed as the diplomatic representative in Ukraine, as the Azerbaijan Republic's representative in Crimea as well.<sup>32</sup>

In accordance with the decision to forge diplomatic relations with the countries established in nearby territories, Abdurrahim Bay Hagverdiyev was delegated to the Dagestan Republic, while Jafar Bay Rustambayov and Akbar Agha Sadigov were assigned to the Kuban and Zakaspi governments respectively.<sup>33</sup> In the wake of the Russian advances toward the South Caucasus, Azerbaijan stepped up its diplomatic contacts with neighboring countries. In fact, the Gajar state (presently Iran), which was concerned over its security due to the Russian advances, held talks with a group of Azerbaijani diplomats led by Topchubashov in Istanbul and Paris.<sup>34</sup> On November 1, 1919, a treaty was signed between the two states in Paris and the Gajar government recognized the independence of Azerbaijan, which laid the foundation for diplomatic relations between the two countries. Furthermore, a bilateral "Peace and Friendship" treaty was signed between the two states on March 20, 1920. In addition to these deals, the two countries inked agreements on customs, commercial mail, telegraph communication and consular relations. Ultimately, an Azerbaijani embassy in Tehran and Azerbaijan's Consulate in Tabriz were opened.<sup>35</sup> Consulates were also launched in all the major cities of South Azerbaijan located on the border with Iran.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, Armenia named T. Bekzadyan as its diplomatic representative on September 14 and Georgia appointed N. Kartsivadze to represent the country in Baku.<sup>37</sup> In September 1918, following the transfer of the capital to Baku, Germany appointed Baron Fontier Goli as its representative for military and commercial affairs, while Austria-Hungary's diplomatic representatives arrived in Baku on September 10.<sup>38</sup> Though Germany had delegated a representative to Baku, it later voiced support for Russia. In a statement, it said there were no international legal norms for recognizing Azerbaijan and Armenia.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the developing diplomatic relations, some political mishaps carried over from the past persisted in 1919. However, the attack of pro-Czarist General Denikin on Dagestan and his southward advances necessitated Azerbaijani-Georgian cooperation. In fact, a military defense agreement was signed between the two countries on June 16, 1919 for a three-year peri-



od. According to the pact, the signatories undertook a commitment to provide all types of military aid to each other in case the independence and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and Georgia came under threat of military intervention by any country.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4. ADR's foreign policy after Armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918)

The Ottoman Empire's signing the Armistice of Mudros on extremely rigid terms on October 30, 1918 had a very adverse impact on the Azerbaijan Republic's foreign policy as Turkey's defeat deprived the newly established republic of its only supporter.<sup>41</sup> Clause 11 of the ceasefire accord envisaged an immediate withdrawal of the Ottoman troops from within the Caucasus and Iran. Upon the pullout of the Turkish troops from Azerbaijan in compliance with the agreement, on December 17, 1918, British army units comprised of Indian soldiers entered Baku under the leadership of General Thomson.<sup>42</sup> However, England, which lacked military power to counter the Bolsheviks during the initial period of Azerbaijan's occupation due to challenges in its domestic policy and colonies, was reluctant to recognize the Azerbaijani government and Gen. Thomson even regarded Baku as a "Russian city". In addition to this stance of England, the attempts of Bicherakhov and Armenian Revolutionary Federation forces to establish an invading regime in Baku posed a serious threat to Azerbaijan's independence.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, Thomson altered his stance and recognized the Khoyski-led government on December 28 as the only legitimate authority in Azerbaijan. Afterwards, England stated that it was officially recognizing Azerbaijan and withdrew its soldiers from Azerbaijan in the summer of 1919.<sup>44</sup>

Since the establishment of ADR its biggest concern was the possibility of becoming part of the Soviet expansion. In a bid to ward off this threat, the ADR founders availed of all opportunities available to draw the world community's attention to the situation facing the newly established republic and sought its recognition as an independent country subject to international law with policy and security guarantees based on the rudiment of mutuality.<sup>45</sup> Rasolzade embarked on these efforts in a time period that followed the surrender of the Ottoman Empire and Germany in the aftermath of the signing of the Armistice of Mudros, seeking to ensure a bright future for Azerbaijan by diplomatic means as opposed to military action.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, Azerbaijan's participation at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I with a



*Copy of the "Azerbaijan" bulletin released by the Azerbaijani delegation at the Paris Peace Conference to promote awareness about the realities of Azerbaijan. Edition dated 15 March 1920 focused on the recognition of the South Caucasus republics by European states*

delegation headed by Ali Mardan Bay Topchubashov was an important step in terms of promoting recognition of the state worldwide as well as gaining experience in diplomacy. On December 7, 1918, a decision was passed during the first session of the Azerbaijani parliament to send a delegation to France to represent the country at the conference. Furthermore, the composition of the delegation was selected on December 28, 1918.<sup>47</sup> However, the Azerbaijani delegation's attendance in the Paris Peace Conference materialized exclusively as a result of an extensive diplomatic and political effort. The Azerbaijani delegation heading to Paris arrived in Istanbul on January 20, 1919 to participate in the conference, which started on January 18, 1919. Nevertheless, visas were not issued to the members of the delegation until April 22, 1919 and some of them were barred from attendance due to their links to the Union and Progress. Armenian and Georgian delegations previously joined the event, but the ADR

delegation was invited to Paris just shortly before US President Woodrow Wilson formally raised the issue and was able to arrive in Paris on May 7.<sup>48</sup>

The ADR delegation attending the Paris Peace Conference gained diplomatic experience by participating in an international event and had the opportunity to promote recognition of the newly independent state in the international arena. The defeated Ottoman Empire was not invited to this conference, which was pivotal for shaping up a new international system after World War I and holding talks regarding the terms of an agreement to be signed by the countries which had lost the war. One of the most severe conditions of the Treaty of Sevres for Anatolian Turks envisaged establishing an Armenian state on Turkish territory, according to Clauses 89-93, prepared for signing by the Ottoman Empire after the negotiations. The lack of an Armenian majority in all of the cities designated for establishing an Armenian state and the fact that its borders were determined in accordance with Clause 89 of the Treaty of Sevres by the US president, who had never been in Anatolia and most likely did not have much knowledge about the geographical and ethnic composition of the region, would lead to a complete abolition of Turkey's territorial and national integrity.<sup>49</sup> From this viewpoint, the ADR delegation's visit to Paris and at least expressing its opinion to other countries on the issues related to Turkey prevented the imposition of one-sided Armenian propaganda upon those countries.<sup>50</sup> In Paris, the Armenians, who stayed in Paris for at least three to four months, campaigned against Azerbaijan and Turkey and published a number of reports about the developments ongoing in the Caucasus.<sup>51</sup>

Despite all the challenges, the delegation had the opportunity to inform representatives of numerous countries about the founding of the ADR and also met with US President Woodrow Wilson on May 2, 1919. These negotiations were a significant diplomatic step on the path to the ADR's international recognition, given that the Allied Powers, which ran colonies in many regions of the world, were shying away from dividing the world into small countries; they nevertheless officially acknowledged the delegations of the newly independent states at the Peace Conference, adhering to the idea of encouraging the independence movements in their colonies. In keeping with the policy of that time, Wilson deemed the concept of a "united and indivisible Russia" appropriate and therefore was not upbeat about Azerbaijan's recognition.<sup>52</sup> Although the Azerbaijani del-

egation's demands on recognizing the country's independence were rejected by Wilson on these grounds, official acceptance of the delegation was considered a major diplomatic success for Azerbaijan.<sup>53</sup> Upon Wilson's proposal, Topchubashov, the head of the delegation, presented a memorandum at the conference, briefly outlining the ADR's basic foreign policy objectives. The memorandum laid out the following issues:

- Azerbaijan's independence shall be recognized
- Wilson's principles shall also be valid for Azerbaijan
- Azerbaijani Delegation shall be represented in negotiations at the Peace Conference
- Azerbaijan Democratic Republic shall be admitted to membership in the League of Nations
- Diplomatic relations shall be established between Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and USA.<sup>54</sup>

The delegation additionally met with British delegation member Luis Mallet on May 23, 1919 before holding talks with Wilson, exchanging views on political, military and economic issues, as well as the status of the soldiers of allied states in Azerbaijan.<sup>55</sup> The Azerbaijani delegation made an extensive diplomatic effort aimed at the recognition of ADR's independence, presented various data to the representatives of other countries concerning Azerbaijan's history, culture and economic resources and sought to forge ties with neighboring countries.<sup>56</sup>

In the initial period following the end of World War I, recognition of ADR's independence was perceived as part of the "Russian issue" by the allied states, which planned to recognize the independence of the national states formed on the lands of the former Russian Empire in connection with the formation of Soviet Russia.<sup>57</sup> Following the Bolsheviks' coming to power, however, the apprehension of a significant threat posed by communist ideas to the governments in Europe altered the views of the allied states on the issue of recognizing Azerbaijan's independence. In addition, the emergent new status after the war and the fact that rendering military aid to unrecognized countries was considered a measure contradicting the international system of relations made the recognition of Azerbaijan and Georgia inevitable.<sup>58</sup> British Prime Minister Lloyd George noted that a united Bolshevik Russia would pose a significant threat to Europe and therefore backed the idea of recognizing Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Moldova, the Baltic countries, Finland and probably Siberia.<sup>59</sup> As the conference was drawing to a close, on January 12, 1919, British Foreign Secretary George Curzon submitted a proposal to the supreme council on the de-facto recognition of Azerbaijan and Georgia's indepen-

### *Memdukh Shevket Esendal, Turkey's diplomatic representative in Baku*

dence. On the following day, the supreme council of the Allies passed a decision based on Curzon's proposal, declaring that the Allies<sup>60</sup> and their partner countries actually recognized Azerbaijan and Georgia.<sup>61</sup>

Though the Allied Powers de-facto recognized Azerbaijan, they made a decision that sending in soldiers was nonetheless impossible, instead pledging support by delivering weapons, military equipment and ammunition.<sup>62</sup> In particular, the economic and political instability in England after the war and the quest for independence in India and Egypt, which were deemed its most important colonies, were making it impossible for England to allocate military and economic resources for foreign aid. Despite the Allies' reluctance to allocate military aid to Azerbaijan at the Paris Peace Conference, their de facto recognition of the ADR allowed some Western countries such as Finland, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland to open consulates in Baku. Similarly, Iran recognized Azerbaijan as a government on March 20, 1920, in accordance with a friendship agreement signed between the two countries, and in the following days, Azerbaijan opened an embassy in Tehran, a consulate general in Tabriz and vice-consulates in Enzeli and Mashad.

Prior to the Russian invasion in April 1920, a decision was made to open diplomatic representations in England, France, Italy, USA, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Ukraine, Romania, Germany, Russia, Estonia and Latvia. Likewise, Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Denmark, Italy, France, Switzerland, Sweden, England, USA, Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, and Finland had official diplomatic missions in Baku at different levels.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, General Denikin officially recognized Azerbaijan's independence on February 7. Around the same time, the government of Japan announced that it was seeking to establish diplomatic relations with Azerbaijan. Moreover, the Pope based in Rome delegated his representative to Baku.<sup>64</sup> In conclusion, the ADR, which had been built despite all adversities and with great sacrifices, ceased to exist on April 26, 1920 with the Red Army invasion. 🌟

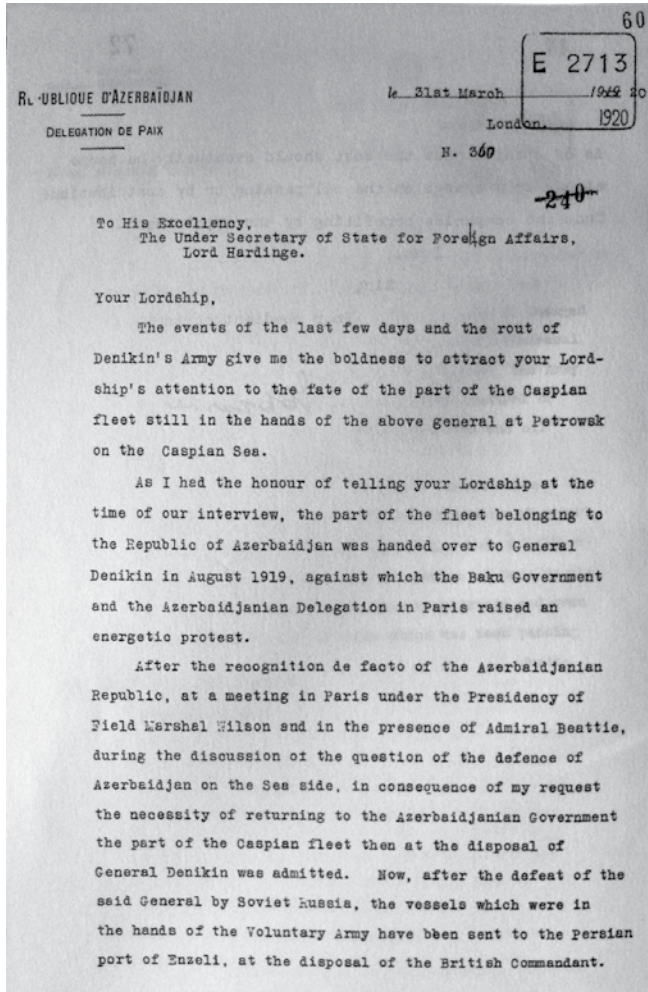
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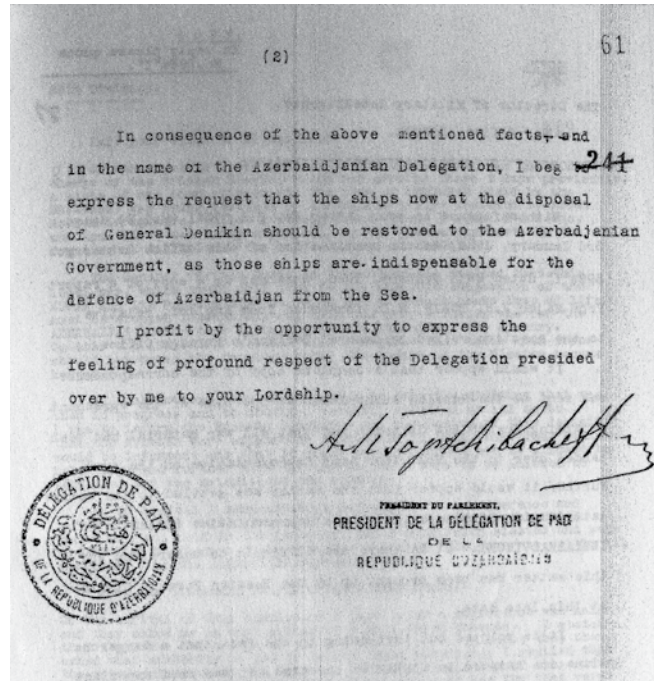


2. Kurat, a.g.e., s. 417.
3. Kurat, a.g.e., s. 476.
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5. İsmail Mehmetov, *Türk Kafkasyası'nda Siyasi ve Etnik Yapı, Ötüken Neşriyat, İstanbul, 2009, ss. 578-579.*
6. Cəmil Həsənli, *Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin Xarici Siyasəti (1918-1920)*, Azərbaycan Respublikasının Diplomatıya Tarixi, C.1, Azərbaycan Respublikası Xarici İşlər Nazirliyi, Bakı, 2009, s. 76.
7. Həsənli, a.g.e., s. 76.
8. Nəşib Nəşibzadə, *Azərbaycan Xarici Siyasəti (1918-1920)*, Azərbaycan Araşdırmaları Vəqfi, "Ay-Ulduz" Nəşriyyatı, Bakı, 1996, s.37.
9. Damirli, a.g.e.
10. Vugar Akifoğlu, *Azərbaycan'da Milli Direnış (1917-1930)*, DTCF Dergisi 57.2 (2017): 776-795, s. 782.
11. Həsənli, a.g.e., s. 84.
12. XX. Əsr Azərbaycan Tarihi, II. Cild, Azərbaycan Respublikası Təhsil Nazirliyi, Bakı, 2014, s. 179.
13. Həsənli, a.g.e., s. 77.a
14. 4 Haziran 1018'de Osmanlı Devleti Gürcistan ve





*First and last pages of A.M. Topchubashov's letter to Lord Harding. 31 March 1920*



rumak mümkün olmazsa ... o zaman sizin reçeteyi uyguladığınız" şeklinde cevap vermiştir. Bkz. Vasif Garfov, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın Sonunda Kafkasya'da Osmanlı-Almanya Çatışması ve Osmanlı-Alman Protokolü (23 Eylül 1918), Amasya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt 1, Sayı 2, Aralık 2017, s. 105

Ermenistan ile de ayrı ayrı barış anlaşmaları imzalamış ve bu ülkeleri resmen tanımıştır. Bkz. Kurat, a.g.e., s. 477.

15. Hesenli, a.g.e., s. 80.

16. Selami Kılıç, "1917-1918'de Kafkasya'daki Bazı Siyasi ve Askeri Gelişmelerin Işığı Altında Bağımsızlık Yolundaki Gürcistan ve Berlin Gücü Komitesi'nin Bu Konudaki Çalışmaları, A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı 4, 1996, s. 46.

17. Mehmetov, a.g.e., s. 581.

18. Kurat, a.g.e., s. 477.

19. Kurat, a.g.e., s. 507.

20. Gerçekten de Lenin, petrol rezervlerinin Türklerin eline geçmesine müsaade etmemek için Stepan Şaumyan'a Bakü elden giderse, büyük petrol tesisleri imha edilsin talimatı vermişti. 23 Haziran 1918'de ise Şaumyan, Lenin'e "eğer Bakü'yü ko-

21. Hesenli, a.g.e., s. 85.

22. Almanya, Bakü'ye yönelik Türk müdahalesinden öylesine endişe etmekteydi ki, savaş sırasında müttefiki olan Osmanlı ile silahlı çatışmaya girmekten dahi çekinmemiştir. Örneğin, 10 Haziran'da Borçalı'dan Azerbaycan'a doğru ilerleyen Türk birlikleri ile Alman-Gürcü birlikleri karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Ancak bu baskı da Osmanlı birliklerini durduramamış ve neticede çok sayıda Alman-Gürcü askerinin esir alındığı başarılı bir operasyon yürütülmüştür. Ancak bu olay sonrasında Tiflis'te daha fazla tutunamayan Milli Şura ve hükümet 18 günlük faaliyetten sonra Gence'ye taşınmak zorunda kaldı. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz. Hesenli, a.g.e., s. 86.

23. Abdurrahman Bozkurt, "Osmanlı Devleti ile Ermenistan Cumhuriyeti Arasındaki İlişkiler (1918-1920)", OTAM, 34/Güz 2013, s. 35.

24. Hesenli, a.g.e., s. 92.

25. Hesenli, a.g.e., s. 76.

26. Dursun Ali Akbulut, "Paris Barış Konferansı Yolunda Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti", Vakanüvis, cilt. 2, Kafkasya Özel Sayısı, 2017, s. 31.

27. Nəşib Nəşibzadə, Azərbaycan Xarici Siyasəti (1918-1920), Azərbaycan Araşdırmaları Vəqfi, "Ay-Ulduz" Nəşriyyatı, Bakı, 1996, s. 41.
28. Hesənli, a.g.e., s. 136.
29. Hesənli, a.g.e., s. 137.
30. Mehdi Genceli, Ali Merdan Bey Topçubaşov, İrs/Miras, s. 15. Topçubaşov'un 7 aylık elçiliği resmi sıfatla olmadığı için AHC'nin ilk resmi elçisi Çemenzeminli olarak kabul edilir.
31. Şelale Ana Hürmetli, "Alim-Yazar Yusuf Vezir Çemenzeminli Eserlerinde Asya", s. 851; Ramim Sadigov, "Azərbaycan Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk İstanbul Sefiri Yusuf Vezir Çemenzeminli'nin Fransa'daki Muhaceret Yılları", Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 33, Sayı 56, 2014, s. 387.
32. Hesənli, a.g.e., s. 137.
33. Hesənli, a.g.e., s. 137.
34. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 274.
35. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 275.
36. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 276.
37. Hesənli, a.g.e., ss. 136-137.
38. Hesənli, a.g.e., s. 138.
39. Hesənli, a.g.e., s. 139.
40. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 274.
41. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 273.
42. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 274.
43. Asker ve Paşa, a.g.e.,
44. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 274.
45. Vasif Gafarov, The Azerbaijani Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference History, July - August 2012, <http://www.visions.az/en/news/404/6a7cabf7/>, (11.11.2018).
46. Nəşib Nəşibzadə, Azərbaycan Xarici Siyasəti (1918-1920), Azərbaycan Araşdırmaları Vəqfi, "Ay-Ulduz" Nəşriyyatı, Bakı, 1996, s.
47. Gafarov, a.g.e.
48. Gafarov, a.g.e.
49. Tehcir Kanunu'ndan önce de Ermenilerin söz konusu şehirlerdeki nüfusu %20'nin üzerinde değildi.
50. Her ne kadar Batılı ülkeler, Sevr Anlaşması'nda çoğunluğu Türklerden oluşan bu şehirlerde bir ermeni devleti tahayyül etseler de kendileri de coğrafi, etnik ve dini bakımdan böylesi bir devletin kurulmasının hukuki ve ahlaki gerçeklerle bağdaşmadığını aslında bilmekteydiler. Örneğin, 1877-78 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı'nda sonra İngiliz Büyükelçi Sir Henry Layard Londra'ya yazdığı raporda, Ermeni Patriği Nerses Varjebedyan'ın "özerk bir Ermenistan" kurulması için İngiltere'den yardım istediğini ancak kurulmasını istedikleri şehirlerin hiçbirinde Ermenilerin çoğunlukta olmadığını söylemesi üzerine Patriğin gerçekleşemez önerilerde bulunduğunu – Ermeni devletin kurulmasının düşünüldüğü şehirlerde Müslüman nüfusun çeşitli yöntemlerle yok edilmesi gibi- yazmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Batılı ülkelerin zaten bildiği bu hakikatin AHC heyeti tarafından tekrar dile getirilmesi, Türkiye açısından önemlidir. Ermenilerin hayali "Büyük Ermenistan" toprakları Azerbaycan'dan da bazı toprakları içermekteydi.
51. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 275.
52. Azərbaycan Tarixi, s. 275.
53. Niyazi Qasimov, "Paris Barış Konferansı'nda Azərbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti Nümayende Heyeti'nin Çalışmaları", Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi, Cilt:IV, Sayı:XI, Mayıs /MMXVII, s. 81.
54. Qasimov, a.g.e., s. 92.
55. Cemil Hasanlı, "Versay Dünya Barış Konferansı'nda Azərbaycan Demokratik Cumhuriyeti'nin Tanınması Azərbaycan Diplomasinin Önemli Bir Başarıdır", İRS Tarih, No 1, 2012, s. 40.
56. Gafarov, a.g.e.
57. Rahman Mustafayev, "Birinci Cumhuriyet'in Son Baharı-2", İRS Tarih, <http://irs-az.com/new/pdf/201205/1338466887113373348.pdf>, (21.10.2018).
58. Hasanlı, a.g.e., s. 41.
59. Gafarov, a.g.e.
60. 12 Ocak 1919'da Paris Barış Konferansı'nda kurulan Yüksek Konsey (Yüksek Şura) başlangıçta beş ülkeden oluşurken (ABD, İngiltere, Fransa, İtalya, Japonya) Mart 1919'da Japonya'nın ayrılması ile Konseye üye ülke sayısı dörde inmiştir.
61. Gafarov, a.g.e. Söz konusu karar, İngiltere, Fransa, İtalya ve daha sonra Japonya tarafından onaylanırken, ABD tarafından reddedilmiştir. Bkz. Mustafayev, a.g.e.
62. Mustafayev, a.g.e.
63. Rovshan Ganiyev, Siyasal Özellikleri ve devlet Yapısı açısından Azərbaycan Halk Cumhuriyeti (1918-1920), Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2004, s. 64.
64. Nesibli, s. 164