### ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ HISTORY

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# REJECTION OF AZERBAIJAN'S MEMBERSHIP BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1920)<sup>1</sup>

#### **KEYWORDS**

#### **ABSTRACT**

League of Nations Armenia Azerbaijan Fritjof Nansen A.M. Topchubashov Paul Hymans Eric Drummond The geopolitical changes that took place in Transcaucasia especially the strengthening of the positions of the Russian Socialist Federation Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the establishment of the Soviet rule in Azerbaijan, took the Azerbaijani delegation in Paris and its leader, Ali Mardan-bek Topchubashov by surprise. However, despite the fact that the international community did not recognize Baku's authority and even more so in territories not controlled by it, its aggressive intentions did not change.

#### Introduction

This time, in 1919, the delegation of the non-existent Azerbaijan People's Republic was relocated to Geneva, Switzerland, to the League of Nations, the first

<sup>՝ &</sup>lt;ոդվածը ներկայացվել է 12.04.24, գրախոսվել է 12.04.24, ընդունվել է տպագրության 30.04.24:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The research was carried out with the funding provided by the Science Committee of the Armenian National Academy of Sciences under the code 21T-6A163 within the scope of the scientific topic.

international organization created on the basis of the Versailles-Washington system, on January 28 of that year. The League of Nations began its existence on January 10, 1920. Therefore, to improve Azerbaijan's reputation in this prestigious institution, the delegation decided to establish a propaganda centre in Geneva based on the plan prepared while in Versailles. As a first step, the delegation began to cooperate with the magazine "L'Europe Orientale"<sup>2</sup>, which published articles in English and French. However, these articles were full of distortions and aimed to mislead the international public opinion about the artificially created formation "Azerbaijan" in the East Caucasus in 1918.

#### The Application of A.M. Topchubashov to the League of Nations

As a first step, the delegation begins to cooperate with the magazine "L'Europe Orientale" published in English and French, where in order to mislead the international public opinion in the East Caucasus in 1918 various articles full of distortions are published regarding the artificially created entity "Azerbaijan".

Although at the April 22, 1920 session, the Parliament of Azerbaijan, decided "to end the delegation's diplomatic mission of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Republic of France, initiated in 1918 by government's decision of December 28 for the peace conference"<sup>3</sup>, due to the drastic political situation in Azerbaijan, the delegation led by Topchubashov remained in Europe and began to struggle against the Soviet power established in the country. They never gave up the idea of taking territory belonging to neighboring states without any legal grounds, setting a pre-arranged scenario differently.

Since the delegation headed by Topchubashev would no longer represent the country – Musavati Azerbaijan, where Soviet regime was established, Topchubashev, being disguised as "civil and humane" person on June 8, 1920 addressed the Council of the Assembly, expressing hope that "the Supreme Council and the Entente in general would protect the Azerbaijani government and its peaceful delegation in Europe that had been under attack by Russian Bolsheviks."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See **Гаса**нлы 2011, 506.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика 1998, 185. See also **Дулаева**, **Шаламова**, **Багиров**, **Ахмедова** 2010, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Гасанлы 2014, 473.

It is evident that Topchubashov employed diplomatic maneuvers to exploit the Entente countries' negative attitude towards the Bolshevik government established in Russia to protect Azerbaijan, which was portrayed as being subjected to aggression. Topchubashov maintained constant correspondence from Versailles with the high-ranking leaders of Azerbaijan<sup>5</sup>. He was well-informed that Azerbaijan was Sovietized with the active support of Kemal, which he tried to cover up with the term "Bolshevik aggression". However, another important issue arises here: "How could the delegation of a country be called "peaceful" when the mass atrocities committed against the local Armenian population were fresh, and the violence against them continued?".

Indeed, this very obvious circumstance is considered the main argument for the bankruptcy of Topchubashov's petition-appeal and the policy arising from it. Another circumstance is noteworthy here: even after the establishment of Soviet rule, Topchubashov made a deliberate attempt to legitimize and bring to international recognition Azerbaijan's expansionist aspirations under the auspice of the League of Nations. Thus, in 1920, in order to strengthen their positions in the international arena on behalf of the delegation a bit later on September 8 Topchubashov sent a letter to Geneva, League of Nations, which stated: "In April 1920, Bolsheviks conquered Azerbaijan and after an unequal battle, the Red Army occupied the country. After which riots continue in Azerbaijan. We hope that the Supreme Assembly of the League of Nations will provide moral assistance to the Azerbaijani people and their legitimate demands." And in order to make the support and patronage from the League of Nations in the "struggle against the Bolshevik occupation" more realistic and as part of the agreed plan to fight against the Bolsheviks Topchubashov on behalf of the delegation on November 1, 1920 applied to Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, with a request to join the international organization<sup>7</sup>.

The Fifth Committee, also known as the Committee of Five chaired by A. Haneus, and appointed by the League's First Assembly, was chaired by Paul Hymans, and it was to examine candidates for League of Nations membership.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  See Документы и письма из личных архивов А.М. Топчибаши и Дж. Гаджибейли 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Гасанлы 2014, 473.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Ադրբեջանը և Ազգերի Լիգան, «Մշակ», 16.12.1920, see also **Musayev Tofig F.** 2008, 7.

The committee had sub-committees, and the reports on the membership of Ukraine, Armenia, and Azerbaijan were submitted to the third sub-committee. This sub-committee was chaired by the Norwegian Fritjof Nansen<sup>8</sup> and included members such as Hovhanneski from Romania, Millen from Australia, Palacios from Spain, Politis from Greece, Spalaykovic from Yugoslavia and Tang Tsaifu from China<sup>9</sup>.

## The Discussion and Rejection of the Application by the League of Nations

Azerbaijan's application is discussed at the meeting of the Council<sup>10</sup> convened on November 15 and 24, where E. Drummond's report<sup>11</sup> "On the application of the Republic of Azerbaijan to join the League of Nations" is presented. Brief information about the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan, its population, the path taken, and the political system were introduced there. The memorandum specifically stated: "The Republic of Azerbaijan was established in the Caucasus region on the territories formerly occupied by the Russian provinces of Baku and Elizavetpol. It is situated on the coast of the Caspian Sea and shares borders with Dagestan to the north, the North Caucasus to the northeast, Georgia to the west, and Iran to the south."

According to the latest Russian statistical data, the country's population is 4 million, 615 thousand, and 3 million 482 thousand are Muslim Tatars, 750 thousand are Armenians, 26 thousand 580 are Georgians and minorities are Russians, Germans and Jews. Occupying an artificial (superficial) area of 40 thousand square miles, the Republic of Azerbaijan never existed as a state before and was always included in the groups of larger powers, such as Mongolia or Persia, and in 1813 in the Russian Empire. The name "Azerbaijan" is nothing more than the name of a neighboring Persian

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> We refer to the Norwegian polar explorer, scientist the great humanist and friend of Armenians Fritjof Nansen. After taking over the position of high Commissioner for Refugees in the League of Nations, Fritjof Nansen devoted the last decade of his life to the League of Nations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See **Միք. Թ.** Ազգերի լիգան և Հայաստանի ընդունելության խնդիրը, «Մշակ», 28.01.1921։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The governing bodies of the League of Nations were the Assembly or General Convention, Council and Permanent Secretariat, headed by the General Secretary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See **Гаса**нлы 2014, 481–482.

province, which was chosen as the name of the newly created republic<sup>12</sup> (emphasis is ours – G.S.).

Here it is very important to note that E. Drummond's report clearly establishes the fact that the petitioner has no historical, ethnographic and legal-political grounds in relation to the claimed territories.

The "Legal observations" section of the report states:

"The application of the Azerbaijan Peace Delegation for admission to the League of Nations raises two questions from a legal point of view, on which the Assembly will have to pronounce. The territory of Azerbaijan was originally part of the Russian Empire, so the question arises whether the proclamation of the Republic in May 1918 and its subsequent recognition by the Allied Powers in January 1920 are sufficient factors to confirm that Azerbaijan is de jure a "fully sovereign country" in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of the League of Nations. It should be noted that it was only the delegation of Azerbaijan that insisted on the de facto recognition of the republic, which was done only by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, while the USA refused.

If the Assembly approves the international status of Azerbaijan as a "fully sovereign state", the following problem will arise: is the delegation which has applied for membership authorized to represent the legitimate government of the country, and is this government (now the Soviet government – G.S.) able to assume the obligations and give the guarantees, arising from membership of the League of Nations?"<sup>13</sup>

As the content of the report shows, E. Drummond approached the issue with full responsibility. With strong historical, political and legal foundations, he showed that it is impossible to include the newly discovered entity "Azerbaijan" into the international organization guided by the fundamental values of civilization. Incidentally, Drummond's argument that the name "Azerbaijan" is borrowed from the name of a Persian province is also important, while his sarcasm towards this artificial formation can be clearly read between the lines. Therefore, the report prepared by Drummond evidenced that the Secretariat of the League of Nations treated the application of the delegation of Azerbaijan with strict reservations.

It is also noteworthy that the Secretary General of the League of Nations raised the question of the legitimacy of the Azerbaijani delegation. It is not by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ավագյան 2010, 43, see also Գզոյան 2018, 27, see also **Gzoyan** 2018, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> **Ավագլան** 2010, 45։

chance that the following questions were included in the report: does it represent the legitimate government of Azerbaijan at the League of Nations for the purpose of submitting an application for membership, and is this government able to assume obligations and provide the necessary guarantees<sup>14</sup>?

Moreover, it is noteworthy that taking into account the territorial aggressive ambitions of Azerbaijan against the neighboring states, Armenia and Georgia, E. Drummond in the memorandum mentioned the territory of Azerbaijan as 40,000 square meters mil<sup>15</sup>. This circumstance made Topchubashov, who had been carried away by pan-Turkic dreams, face the facts. On this occasion, he sent a letter to the Secretariat, full of distortions and lies, in which he stated that the territory of Azerbaijan in the report of the Secretary General was allegedly wrongly stated as it should be 94,000,137 square miles<sup>16</sup>, thus revealing the expansionist motive behind the application for the membership of the League of Nations.

By the way, let's take into account the fact that Topchubashov's arrogant efforts to create "Great Azerbaijan" and extreme nationalism were manifested for the last time in the above-mentioned letter, in his expansionist aspirations for the province of Yerevan. Thus, in order to confuse the secretariat of the League, he writes in a completely false and fraudulent letter, in the spirit of diplomatic intrigue, that "in the areas of the former province of Yerevan, which are marked on the map, only Muslims and Azerbaijanis live. They have repeatedly asked to be incorporated into the Republic of Azerbaijan (sic!)"<sup>17</sup>.

In any case, on 20 November, the "Committee of Five", elected by the First Assembly of the League of Nations, discussed the application of the Azerbaijani delegation for admission to the League. In order to make the picture clearer, we think it necessary to present the transcript of the meeting below:

Dr Nansen (Norway) read his report on the application for membership of the League of Nations by the Republic of Azerbaijan. The application for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See **Գզոյան** 2018, 127:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See **Гаса**нлы 2014, 482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Гасанлы 2014, 482. On November 19, 1918 Ali Mardan bey Topchubashov meeting the Coronel Tamploy - representative of the English military forces in the Ottoman Empire at the Pera Palace hotel in Istanbul in response to the question on how many kilometers their country covered, he answered 85–95.000 sq. kilometers (see Али Мардан Бек Топчибашев 2015, 92).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Гасанлы 2014, 482.

membership was made in a proper manner. It was represented by the Azerbaijani delegation appointed by the Government of Azerbaijan that was in power until April of 1920 in Baku. The report then pointed out that it was difficult to form an opinion about the borders of the territory, over which the government of Azerbaijan expelled from Baku exercises its power. Another government is ruling in Baku. Due to the border disputes with Georgia and Armenia, it is impossible to reliably demarcate the borders of the state of Azerbaijan. In 1920, in January this state was de facto recognized by England, France and Italy.

Finally, Dr. Nansen asked whether it was possible to admit Azerbaijan to the League of Nations a State which would most probably not be able to fulfil all the conditions arising from the Treaty, particularly in matters of stability and territorial sovereignty, and which, moreover, had not been recognized de jure by any member State of the League of Nations.

Mr. Benes<sup>18</sup> (Czechoslovakia) agreed with this provision. In his opinion, it would be difficult to admit Azerbaijan to the League of Nations under the present circumstances. The government of this country is not stable, the borders are not clearly defined, which causes border disputes with neighbors. Under the present conditions, the provisions of the Treaty prohibit Azerbaijan's accession. The Czechoslovak representative insisted that Azerbaijan could not join League under the current conditions.

Lord Robert Cecil<sup>19</sup> (South Africa) supported Benes' proposal. In his view, Azerbaijan was not a free and sovereign state able to provide the necessary guarantees.

Benes' proposal was adopted unanimously by the Committee with the following conditions: "After discussing the report on the accession of Azerbaijan to the League of Nations, the Committee delivers a negative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The article refers to the statesman and politician Dr. Edward Benes who was the Minister of Foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia in 1918–1935. Thence, from 1935 to 1948 he was the President of the country.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> A member of the British Conservative Party, Lord Robert Cecil was the son of the statesman and politician Lord Robert Salisbury. Lord Robert Cecil actively participated in the creation of the League of Nations. In the 1920s and 1930s he represented Britain in a number of conferences.

opinion on the accession of Azerbaijan and returns the application for membership to the consideration of the Assembly" (emphasis ours – G.S.).<sup>20</sup>

It should be noted that the decision of the "Committee of Five" was entirely reasonable and fair from the perspective of correctly assessing the legal, political and geopolitical priorities of the League of Nations. In the speeches of the delegates, which were filled with sound evaluation, the obvious reality was discussed, that the "Azerbaijan" formation made expansionist claims to neighboring states, i.e. Armenia and Georgia.

Therefore, this circumstance contradicted the fundamental provisions of the League of Nations, because the League of Nations was meant to be an organization that maintains peace and prevents aggression. The main articles of its charter were aimed at this.

And as expected, the "Committee of Five" in 1920 at the 4th session of December 1, discussing the application of the Azerbaijani delegation to join the League of Nations decided: "The Republic of Azerbaijan cannot be admitted to the League of Nations"<sup>21</sup> (emphasis: ours – G.S.).

The decision was substantiated by the following arguments:

- "1. It is difficult to determine the territories over which the power of the government of Azerbaijan extends.
- 2. It is impossible to determine the exact borders of Azerbaijan due to border disputes with neighboring states.

The Committee decided that the provisions of the Charter do not allow to admit Azerbaijan to the League of Nations under the current conditions" 22.

Another important consideration. Although Topchubashev wrote to P. Hymans on 7 December 1920 to protest against the decision of the "Committee of Five", Secretary General E. Drummond replied that the decision remained in

<sup>22</sup> League of Nations Archive, Journal of the First Assembly of the League of Nations, Geneva, 1920, p. 139, as cited in **Чапјши** 2012, VI, see also Нагорный Карабах в международном праве и мировой политике, 2008, 593, see also **Цվшqјшй** 2010, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Нагорный Карабах в международном праве и мировой политике, 2008, 593, 574, see also **Ավագյան** 2010, 51. For French and English see **Գզոյան** 2012, 124-136, see also **Գզոյան** 2013, 124–136, see also 1919–1920 թթ. Հայաստանի Հանրապետության վերաբերյալ Ազգերի լիգալի ընդունած փաստաթղթերի ժողովածու 2023, 269–279:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> **Hovhannisyan** 2004, 28–29, see also Нагорный Карабах в международном праве и мировой политике, 2008, 592-593.

force because "... under the present conditions it is impossible to admit the Republic of Azerbaijan to the League of Nations"<sup>23</sup> (emphasis is ours – G.S.).

Annoyed by the cancellation of Azerbaijan's application, Jeyhun-bek Hajibeili, a member of the Azerbaijani delegation in Paris, in a statement written in the language of blackmail and published in the French daily "Le Temps": "For two years now, the delegation of Azerbaijan has been asking civilized nations to accept Azerbaijan. Apart from a civilizational perspective the issue at hand does not solely concern the people of Azerbaijan. Any decision made regarding this matter will have a significant impact on the 30 million Muslims residing in the Caucasus, Volga, Siberia, and Turkistan. This was discussed at the High Assembly of the League of Nations. It is up to this significant group to either take it under the protection of Western civilization or risk its fate in barbarism"<sup>24</sup>.

It is interesting that Hajibeyli, in a speech inspired by the spirit of pan-Islamic ideology, publicly revealed the fact that he was a descendant of barbaric tribe i.e. Turko-Oghuz, Lenktemurs and other wild hordes.

Then, Hajibeili, falsifying the facts, declared that, allegedly, Azerbaijan had clear borders and in this regard had no disputes with its neighbors, particularly Armenia. According to him, "Armenia, whose admissibility was "unanimously" decided by the subcommittee, is in more unfavorable conditions, because its borders are not yet defined."

The argument about the "disputes" of the bordering countries is also baseless, because there is no border dispute, except for the Karabakh issue, for which Azerbaijan is ready to reach an agreement by bringing it to the authority of the Peace Conference<sup>25</sup>. The author's clear statement that Artsakh does not belong to Azerbaijan and the emphasis on its controversial status are particularly significant here. Terefore, just judging by this fact, it should be noted that during the existence of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, its authority did not extend to Artsakh and Nakhichevan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Гасанлы 2014, 484-485.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ատրպէճանի պատուիրակութեան անդամ ՀաճիպԷքօֆի յայտարարութիւնները, «Ճակատամարտ», Կ. Պոլիս, 15.12.1920։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ատրպէճանի պատուիրակութեան անդամ ՀաճիպԷքօֆի յայտարարութիւնները, «Ճակատամարտ», Կ. Պոլիս, 15.12.1920։

Due to the international community's negative stance, Topchubashov's "diplomatic mission" failed to achieve any of the ambitious goals of his expansionist policy.

In the mentioned context, it is important to note that the League of Nations recorded the aspirations of the "Azerbaijan" formation towards the territories of neighbouring states. This is also evidenced in Nansen's note of the report on Armenia's admission to the League of Nations on the occasion of which the "Committee of Five" held deiscussion. Nansen's report stated the following: "Armenia's situation has become very difficult, most of its territory has been captured by the enemy" And as researcher E. Gzoyan expert in the issue rightly noticed, "With this, the League of Nations not only reaffirmed the disputed status of Karabakh, but this very issue was the basis for the rejection of Azerbaijan's membership" In addition, Azerbaijan and Georgia wern't permitted to participate in the esteemed international financial conference held in Brussels by the League of Nations. It is interesting to note that of the three Eastern Caucasian republics, only Armenia was allowed to participate<sup>28</sup>.

#### Conclusion

Thus, the activities of the delegation led by Ali Mardan bey Topchubashov had an inglorious end in Paris<sup>29</sup> and Geneva. The plans to create "Great Azerbaijan" through deception and falsification of historical facts failed<sup>30</sup>. At the same time, although on 11 January 1920 the Supreme Council of the Allies de facto<sup>31</sup> recognised the independence of the National People's Republic of Azerbaijan, it should be noted that the Entente and the League of Nations refused to support the expansionist aspirations of Baku, expressed in drawn maps that lacked any legal bases whatsoever. Moreover, the above mentioned just decision of the League of Nations once again documents the reality that the fictitious entity "Azerbaijan" did not have clear borders and territory during the Musavat

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> **Միք. Թ.** Ազգերի լիգան եւ Հայաստանի ընդունելության խնդիրը, «Մշակ», 29.01.1921։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Գզոլան 2012, VI:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See Վրաստան եւ Ատրպէճան չեն ընդունուած Ազգերու լիկայի միջազգային ֆինանսական խորհրդաժողովին, «Հայրենիք» (օրաթերթ), 10.11.1920։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See more **Stepanyan** 2023, 37-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See more **Stepanyan** 2022, 5–31:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика 1998, 102.

government (28 May 1918 – 28 April 1920) at the same time making claim to the territories beyond its control and jurisdiction, i.e. the originally Armenian Artsakh, Zangezur and Nakhichevan.

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### ԱԶԳԵՐԻ ԼԻԳԱՅԻ ԿՈՂՄԻՑ ԱԴՐԲԵՋԱՆԻ ԱՆԴԱՄԱԿՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵՐԺՈՒՄԸ (1920 Թ. ՍԵՊՏԵՄԲԵՐ-ԴԵԿՏԵՄԲԵՐ)

#### ՍՏԵՓԱՆՅԱՆ Գ.

#### Ամփոփում

**Բանալի բառեր՝** Ազգերի լիգա, Հայաստան, Ադրբեջան, Ֆրիտյոֆ Նանսեն, Ա.Մ. Թոփչիբաշև, Փոլ Հիմանս, Էրիկ Դրումոնդ։

Փարիզում Ադրբեջանի պատվիրակության ղեկավար Ալի Մարդան-բեկ Թոփչիբաշևը 1920 թ. նոյեմբերի 1-ին դիմում է Ազգերի լիգայի Գլխավոր քարտուղար Էրիկ Դրումոնդին՝ միջազգային այդ կազմակերպությանն անդամակցելու խնդրանքով։ Սակայն խափանվեցին ադրբեջանական պատվիրակության ծրագրերը։ Ազգերի լիգայի առաջին Ասամբլեայի կողմից ընտրված «Հինգի կոմիտեն» 1920 թ. դեկտեմբերի 1-ի 4-րդ նիստում քննարկելով Թոփչիբաշևի դիմումը, որոշում է. «Ադրբեջանի Հանրապետությանը չի կարելի ընդունել Ազգերի Լիգա»։ Որոշումը հիմնավորվում էր հետևյալ փաստարկներով. «1. Դժվար է հստակեցնել այն տարածքները, որոնց վրա տարածվում է Ադրբեջանի կառավարության իշխանությունը։ 2. Տարածքային վեճերը հարևան

երկրների հետ թույլ չեն տալիս հստակորեն որոշել Ադրբեջանի սահմանները»։ Դրանով իսկ Ազգերի լիգան հրաժարվեց պաշտպանել Թոփչիբաշևի առավելապաշտ ցանկություններն արտահայտող՝ իրավական որևէ հիմք չունեցող տնաբույս քարտեզներով ծավալապաշտական հավակնությունները։ Ավելին, Ազգերի լիգայի արդարացի որոշումով մեկ անգամ ևս փաստվում է այն իրողությունը, որ այսպես կոչված «Ադրբեջան պետական կազմավորումը» մուսավաթական կառավարության շրջանում (1918 թ. մայիսի 28 – 1920 թ. ապրիլի 28) չի ունեցել հստակ սահմաններ ու տարածք, միաժամանակ հավակնել է իր կողմից չտնօրինվող և իրեն չպատկանող տարածքների, մասնավորապես՝ ի բնե հայկական Արցախին, Ջանգեզուրին ու Նախիջևանին։

# ОТКАЗ ПРИНЯТИЯ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА В ЛИГУ НАЦИЙ (СЕНТЯБРЬ-ДЕКАБРЬ 1920 Г.)

#### СТЕПАНЯН Г.

#### Резюме

**Ключевые слова**: Лига Наций, Армения, Азербайджан, Фритьоф Нансен, А.М. Топчибашев, Пол Хайман, Эрик Друммонд.

1 ноября 1920 г. глава азербайджанской делегации в Париже Али Мардан-бек Топчибашев обратился к генеральному секретарю Лиги Наций Эрику Друммонду с просьбой о принятии Азербайджана в данную международную организацию. Однако планы азербайджанской делегации не увенчались успехом. Избранный ассамблеей Лиги Наций «Комитет пяти» на 4-м заседании от 1 декабря 1920 г., обсудив заявление Топчибашева, постановил: «Азербайджанская Республика не может быть принята в Лигу Наций». Решение было основано на следующих аргументах: 1. «Трудно уточнить те территории, на которые распространялась власть правительства Азербайджана. 2. Территориальные споры с соседними странами не позволяют четко определить границы Азербайджана». Таким образом, Лига Наций отказалась признать «кустарные» карты территории Азербайджана, начерченные Топчибашевым без каких-либо юридических оснований. Более того, по справедливому решению Лиги Наций еще раз

документально подтверждался тот факт, что так называемое «государственное образование Азербайджан» в период мусаватского правления (28 мая 1918 г. – 28 апреля 1920 г.) не имело четких границ и территории, но при этом претендовало на господство над территориями, которые не контролировались им и не принадлежали ему, то есть на исконно армянские Арцах, Зангезур и Нахичевань.