

I. The Conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh Region

Introduction

The Nagorno-Karabakh region is a landlocked area located in the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus region of Europe and Asia.¹ The region covers approximately 1,700 square miles and is made up primarily of rugged, mountainous terrain and forests.² Since the fall of the Russian Empire, Nagorno-Karabakh has been the host of a long-standing territorial and ethnic dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan.³ Nagorno-Karabakh is located fully within Azerbaijan and is connected to Armenia, which borders Azerbaijan to the west, via a narrow mountain pass known as the Lachin corridor.⁴ Despite being located in Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh is overwhelmingly inhabited by ethnic Armenians, making up an estimated 99.7 percent of the population.⁵ The Armenian ties to the region date back centuries, with the establishment of many cultural sites and customs tied to Nagorno-Karabakh, creating a strong sense of cultural identity among the natives.⁶

For decades, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh have sought regional autonomy separate from Azerbaijani rule, leading to numerous struggles between the two parties.⁷ Armenia and Azerbaijan have disputed ownership of the region since the aftermath of World War I.⁸ In 1923, following the Sovietization of both states, the Soviet Union created the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) within the new Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), granting extensive levels of autonomy to the region.⁹ Disputes over the region were minimized for several decades but began to escalate significantly with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s.¹⁰ The question of ownership of Nagorno-Karabakh reemerged, and the Armenians of the NKAO demanded the region be transferred to the Armenian SSR, setting the scene for the wars in the region that have been fought to this day.¹¹ The fight for Nagorno-Karabakh is ongoing and has seen regional control go back and forth between Azerbaijan and Armenia, with an estimated 30,000 battle-related casualties since the fighting began in 1991.¹²

The First Nagorno-Karabakh War (1988-1994)

In 1988, the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh demanded unification with Armenia, with many violent protests in favor of unification held throughout the year.¹³ As a result, the Azerbaijani SSR government abolished the autonomous policies governing Nagorno-Karabakh, leading Armenian protesters to redouble their calls for unification with Armenia.¹⁴ In 1991, Azerbaijan gained independence from the Soviet Union and dissolved the NKAO soon after, officially granting the Azerbaijani administration total control over Nagorno-Karabakh.¹⁵ Tensions between Azerbaijan and the Armenia population in Nagorno-Karabakh escalated almost immediately following the NKAO's dissolution.¹⁶ The Armenian leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh, infuriated by the loss of

¹ Britannica, "Nagorno-Karabakh," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, June 15, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nagorno-Karabakh#ref361281>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

² Britannica, "Nagorno-Karabakh."

³ Council on Foreign Relations, "Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict," March 20, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/nagorno-karabakh-conflict>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

⁴ Britannica, "Azerbaijan," August 11, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Azerbaijan>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

⁵ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*, NYU Press, 2003, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg51h>.

⁶ Britannica, "Nagorno-Karabakh."

⁷ Britannica, "Nagorno-Karabakh."

⁸ Britannica, "Nagorno-Karabakh."

⁹ Britannica, "Azerbaijan," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 15, 2024. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Azerbaijan>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

¹⁰ Center for Preventative Action, "Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict," Council on Foreign Relations, October 26, 2023, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/nagorno-karabakh-conflict>, (July 14, 2024)

¹¹ Council on Foreign Relations, "Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict."

¹² Journal of Peace Research, "UCDP Battle-Related Deaths Dataset v22.1," 2024, <https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/index.html#battlerelated>, (accessed July 13, 2024).

¹³ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*.

¹⁴ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*.

¹⁵ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*.

¹⁶ International Crisis Group, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Visual Explainer," September 16, 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/nagorno-karabakh-conflict-visual-explainer>, (accessed September 16, 2024).

autonomy, declared independence from Azerbaijan.¹⁷ The newly established Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR) was a semi-presidential democracy, dependent on Armenia for administrative aid but having a prime minister and president who shared executive powers and the National Assembly that held legislative authority.¹⁸ Regardless, the international community did not recognize NKR's independence, and it was subsequently rejected by Azerbaijan, leading to war between Armenia and Azerbaijan.¹⁹

The early years of the war were riddled with various offensive operations by both Armenia and Azerbaijan, many of which were primarily campaigned by foreign mercenary groups.²⁰ Azerbaijan's primary ally was the Republic of Türkiye, allegedly using the conflict to improve its relationship with Azerbaijan.²¹ In 1992, Türkiye sent mercenaries to assist Azerbaijan in the fighting and also attempted to blockade Armenia from receiving trade and humanitarian aid through Türkiye's border.²² Additionally, both Armenia and Azerbaijan employed mercenaries from Russia and Ukraine throughout the war.²³ In the first half of 1992, Armenia successfully captured the towns of Shusha and Lachin, providing a strategic base for the Armenians to establish future military operations and allowing humanitarian aid convoys through the contentious Lachin corridor.²⁴ Azerbaijan responded with a wide-scale attack in the Shahumian region north of NKR, taking several Armenian-populated towns.²⁵ In mid-1992, the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) established the Minsk Group, an organization with the goal of creating peace between Armenia and Azerbaijan.²⁶ However, the Minsk Group failed to solve the issues concerning NKR, and though fighting briefly died down that winter, the conflict picked back up in 1993 with new offensive campaigns on both sides.²⁷ Throughout 1993, the United Nations (UN) Security Council (SC) attempted to de-escalate the war, adopting four resolutions: S/RES/822, S/RES/853, S/RES/874, and S/RES/884, which called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of occupying Armenian forces from Azerbaijani territories, and the return of refugees to their homes.²⁸ The resolutions accused Armenian forces of committing human rights abuses towards Azerbaijani civilians and acknowledged NKR as a region within Azerbaijan, signaling the international community's resistance to NKR's independent status.²⁹ Despite peace attempts, fighting continued into 1994.³⁰

The war lasted until May 5, 1994, with both sides unwilling to continue fighting.³¹ By the end of the war, Armenian forces controlled NKR and seven adjacent districts of Azerbaijan, creating hundreds of thousands of refugees on both sides.³² Negotiations for peace between the involved parties began, resulting in the Bishkek Protocol ceasefire brokered by the OSCE and Russia.³³ The Bishkek Protocol established the Line of Contact, indicating the front line

¹⁷ International Crisis Group, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Visual Explainer," September 16, 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/nagorno-karabakh-conflict-visual-explainer>, (accessed September 16, 2024).

¹⁸ Hughes, James, and Gwendolyn Sasse. *Ethnicity and territory in the former Soviet Union: Regions in conflict*. Oxon: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2002.

¹⁹ Britannica, "Nagorno-Karabakh," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, June 15, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nagorno-Karabakh#ref361281>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

²⁰ Human Rights Watch, "Azerbaijan: Seven Years of Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh," June 28, 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200628191526/https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/AZER%20Conflict%20in%20N-K%20Dec94.pdf>.

²¹ Demoyan, Hayk. *Turkey and the Karabakh Conflict in the 1990s: a Comparative Historical Analysis*, Erevan: Demoyan, 2006.

²² Demoyan, Hayk. *Turkey and the Karabakh Conflict in the 1990s: a Comparative Historical Analysis*.

²³ Human Rights Watch, "Azerbaijan: Seven Years of Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh."

²⁴ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*, NYU Press, 2003, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg51h>.

²⁵ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*.

²⁶ Freire, Maria Raquel. *Conflict and security in the former Soviet Union: The role of the OSCE*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2003, <https://archive.org/details/conflictsecurity0000frei>.

²⁷ Freire, Maria Raquel. "Conflict and Security in the Former Soviet Union: The Role of the OSCE."

²⁸ UN Press, "General Assembly Adopts Resolution Reaffirming Territorial Integrity of Azerbaijan, Demanding Withdrawals of All Armenian Forces," March 14, 2008, <https://press.un.org/en/2008/ga10693.doc.htm>, (accessed July 10, 2024).

²⁹ UN Press, "General Assembly Adopts Resolution Reaffirming Territorial Integrity of Azerbaijan..."

³⁰ Croissant, Michael, *The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict: Causes and implications*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998.

³¹ Croissant, Michael, *The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict: Causes and Implications*.

³² De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*.

³³ CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, Parliament of Kyrgyz Republic, Federal Congress and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, "Bishkek Protocol," open for signature May 5, 1994, <https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/default/files/document/files/2024/05/bishkek20protocol.pdf>.

of conflict that now served as a natural border between the two Member States.³⁴ The Bishkek Protocol also put an effective end to the First Nagorno-Karabakh War, though some of the Azerbaijani signatories questioned the legitimacy of the Armenians from NKR's participation in the negotiations, claiming that only official state parties should be involved.³⁵ In the years following the war, the OSCE held several peace talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan but failed to ultimately produce a peace treaty.³⁶ Thus, NKR remained independent but not internationally recognized, with tensions between the region and Azerbaijan remaining high.³⁷

Escalating Conflict (2008-2020) and Second Nagorno-Karabakh War (2020)

Sporadic skirmishes continued in NKR through the next decade.³⁸ In 2008, the Agdere skirmishes, otherwise known as the Martakert clash, were the first of many significant violations of the ceasefire that ended the First Nagorno-Karabakh War.³⁹ The results of the 2008 Armenian presidential elections sparked accusations of electoral fraud by Armenian civilians.⁴⁰ These fraud accusations turned into mass protests that created more unrest in the Armenian capital of Yerevan and were further intensified by Azerbaijan's accusations following the 2008 Presidential election.⁴¹ Azerbaijan claimed the Armenian government was using the protests to divert attention from domestic issues, while Armenia accused Azerbaijan of using the post-election unrest to their advantage on the international stage.⁴² Following the skirmishes, the UN General Assembly issued A/RES/62/243 (2008) calling for a ceasefire and removal of all Armenian forces.⁴³ Though the resolution prompted immediate peace following the skirmishes, it also raised concerns about the territorial integrity and humanitarian situation in Azerbaijan following the war with Armenia.⁴⁴ In June 2010, an Azerbaijani attack on Armenians stationed near the Line of Contact prompted another Martakert clash, which was followed by rounds of retaliation from Armenian forces.⁴⁵ Several other minor skirmishes occurred until 2016, when a large conflict between the two Member States suddenly broke out, prompted by Azerbaijan's desire to shift territorial lines in NKR.⁴⁶ The conflict ended quickly with a bilateral ceasefire but resulted in dozens of military and civilian deaths over the four-day outbreak.⁴⁷ Following the ceasefire, NKR transitioned into a presidential democracy, abolishing the prime minister position and establishing the president as the head of state and government, though the de-facto state continued to be heavily reliant on Armenia for administration, which has further legitimized Armenia's claims to the region.⁴⁸

³⁴ Council on Foreign Relations, "Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict," March 20, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/nagorno-karabakh-conflict>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

³⁵ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*, NYU Press, 2003, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg51h>.

³⁶ Freire, Maria Raquel. *Conflict and security in the former Soviet Union: The role of the OSCE*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2003, <https://archive.org/details/conflictsecurity0000frei>.

³⁷ Human Rights Watch, "Azerbaijan: Seven Years of Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh," June 28, 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20200628191526/https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/AZER%20Conflict%20in%20N-K%20Dec94.pdf>.

³⁸ De Waal, Thomas, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*.

³⁹ "About: 2008 Mardakert Clashes," DBpedia, 2024, https://dbpedia.org/page/2008_Mardakert_clashes, (accessed September 16, 2024).

⁴⁰ "About: 2008 Mardakert Clashes," DBpedia.

⁴¹ "About: 2008 Mardakert Clashes," DBpedia.

⁴² "About: 2008 Mardakert Clashes," DBpedia.

⁴³ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 62/243 (2008), "The situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan." A/RES/62/243 (2008), <https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=A%2FRES%2F62%2F243&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LanguageRequested=False>, (July 13, 2024).

⁴⁴ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 62/243 (2008), "The situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan."

⁴⁵ Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, "OSCE, EU Condemn Karabakh 'Armed Incident,'" June 24, 2010, sec. Caucasus Report, https://www.rferl.org/a/OSCE_EU_Condemn_Karabakh_Armed_Incident/2079009.html, (accessed August 9, 2024).

⁴⁶ International Crisis Group, "The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Visual Explainer," September 16, 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/nagorno-karabakh-conflict-visual-explainer>, (accessed September 16, 2024).

⁴⁷ Jarosiewicz, Aleksandra, and Maciej Falkowski, "The Four-Day War in Nagorno-Karabakh," OSW Centre for Eastern Studies, April 6, 2016, <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2016-04-06/four-day-war-nagorno-karabakh>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

⁴⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic, "Constitution of the Republic of Artsakh," October 27, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20221027224732/http://www.nkr.am/en/chapter-I-foundations-of-constitutional-order>, (accessed September 5, 2024).

The Second Nagorno-Karabakh War officially started on September 27, 2020, when Azerbaijani military offensive forces crossed the Line of Contact in an offensive campaign.⁴⁹ Türkiye provided support for Azerbaijan as forces fought using drones as a main weapon.⁵⁰ Azerbaijan accused Armenia of having targeted the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline using rockets.⁵¹ The war resulted in significant casualties and territorial changes, with Azerbaijan regaining control over parts of NKR and the surrounding districts.⁵² 90,000 people, mostly women and children, were displaced due to the conflict.⁵³ On November 9, 2020, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan met to sign a Russian-mediated ceasefire agreement.⁵⁴ The peace agreement ordered the return of occupied territories to Azerbaijan, the exchange of hostages and detainees between both Member States, and the deployment of Russian peacekeeping troops along the Lachin corridor.⁵⁵ In addition, internally and externally displaced persons were allowed back into the NKR with the help of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which has continued to be the primary effort by the UN to assist those affected by the conflict.⁵⁶ UN efforts also include the Armenia Inter-Agency Response Plan, a large-scale collaboration between UN agencies to provide aid to people displaced by the conflict.⁵⁷

Recent Developments

On December 10, 2022, the Armenians and Azerbaijani agreed for officials to access the Kyzybulag gold and Demirli copper-molybdenum mines in Karabakh.⁵⁸ However, Azerbaijani officials could not reach the mines with Karabakh for several days.⁵⁹ On December 12, 2022, Azerbaijan conducted a blockade of the Lachin corridor, in response to Azerbaijani environmental activists who claimed Armenia was illegally exploiting the gold and copper-molybdenum mines.⁶⁰ The obstruction within Karabakh resulted in a 138-day march by Azerbaijani civilians blocking key roads that connect Armenia to NKR.⁶¹ Azerbaijan cut off the gas supply from Armenia to NKR, putting the Armenian population at risk of energy shortages.⁶²

Azerbaijan launched a new anti-terror military operation in NKR on September 19, 2023, violating the 2020 peace agreement, resulting in over 200 casualties.⁶³ This breach of the truce mediated by Russia led to another wave of

⁴⁹ Council on Foreign Relations, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” March 20, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/nagorno-karabakh-conflict>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

⁵⁰ “Turkey Supports ‘Steps Taken by Azerbaijan’ in Nagorno-Karabakh: Erdogan,” Al Jazeera. September 20, 2023. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/20/turkey-supports-steps-taken-by-azerbaijan-in-nagorno-karabakh-erdogan>, (accessed August 17, 2024).

⁵¹ RFE/RL's Armenian Service, and RFE/RL's Azerbaijani Service, “Azerbaijan Says Pipeline Targeted in Fighting; Armenia Rejects Accusation.” RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, October 7, 2020, <https://www.rferl.org/a/azerbaijan-says-pipeline-targeted-in-fighting-armenia-rejects-accusation/30879737.html>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

⁵² International Crisis Group, “The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Visual Explainer,” September 16, 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/nagorno-karabakh-conflict-visual-explainer>, (accessed September 16, 2024).

⁵³ United Nations Armenia. “Nagorno-Karabakh Crisis,” United Nations, 2020, <https://armenia.un.org/en/132322-nagorno-karabakh-crisis-response#:~:text=In%20particular%2C%20from%2015%20October>, (accessed July 19, 2024).

⁵⁴ President of Russia, “Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation,” November 10, 2020, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/64384>, (accessed July 13, 2024).

⁵⁵ President of Russia, “Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation;” International Crisis Group, “Upholding the Ceasefire between Azerbaijan and Armenia,” September 28, 2022, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/caucasus/armenia-azerbaijan-nagorno-karabakh-conflict/upholding-ceasefire>, (accessed July 13, 2024).

⁵⁶ President of Russia, “Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation.”

⁵⁷ United Nations Armenia, “Nagorno-Karabakh Crisis Response,” United Nations, 2021, <https://armenia.un.org/en/132322-nagorno-karabakh-crisis-response>, (accessed July 13, 2024).

⁵⁸ Burc, Eruyur, “Protests by Azerbaijani Environmental Activists on Lachin Road Reach 100 Days,” Anadolu Agency, March 21, 2023, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/environment/protests-by-azerbaijani-environmental-activists-on-lachin-road-reach-100-days/2851563>, (accessed September 13, 2024).

⁵⁹ Burc, Eruyur. “Protests by Azerbaijani Environmental Activists on Lachin Road Reach 100 Days.”

⁶⁰ Burc, Eruyur. “Protests by Azerbaijani Environmental Activists on Lachin Road Reach 100 Days.”

⁶¹ “Azerbaijani ‘Eco-Activists’ Complain over Grant Cuts,” Eurasianet, May 31, 2023. <https://eurasianet.org/azerbaijani-eco-activists-complain-over-grant-cuts>, (accessed August 3, 2024).

⁶² “Azerbaijani ‘Eco-Activists’ Complain over Grant Cuts,” Eurasianet.

⁶³ Council on Foreign Relations, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict.”

refugees fleeing to Armenia and neighboring Member States.⁶⁴ In Armenia, protests broke out against governmental response to protecting ethnic Armenians.⁶⁵ Following the blockade, there were reports of unlawful detentions, abductions, lack of due process, and attrition or other military action by way of cutting off essential goods and medical services to ethnic Armenians prior to and during the September offensive committed by the Azerbaijani government.⁶⁶ Despite the steps towards a lasting resolution, in 2023, an estimated 100,000 of the remaining 120,000 people have fled NKR, primarily to Armenia.⁶⁷ Such a large exodus of people has prompted questions surrounding the treatment of civilians taking place as the Azerbaijani government moves forward with plans to retake the region.⁶⁸ In 2023, following the outbreak of the military offensive, the UN established a short-term humanitarian mission within NKR to assess and assist with the refugees and the humanitarian crisis.⁶⁹ The mission included representatives from several UN agencies and aimed to help civilians regain mobility rights as well as ensure Azerbaijani troops withdraw from civilian establishments.⁷⁰

Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Armenian-backed de-facto president of NKR signed a decree in September 2023 dissolving all NKR state institutions as of January 1, 2024.⁷¹ The Decree was designed to build peace in Nagorno-Karabakh following decades of conflict.⁷² However, despite various peace efforts, Nagorno-Karabakh continues to remain a contested region of the Caucasus, with several skirmishes escalating outside of Nagorno-Karabakh.⁷³ In February 2024, four Armenian soldiers were killed and many others by Azerbaijani troops near the town of Nerkin Hand, on the border of Armenia and Azerbaijan, but outside of Nagorno-Karabakh.⁷⁴ In March 2024, Azerbaijan expressed if Armenia does not give back control of the uninhabited Tavush region in Northern Armenia, the 2023 peace decree over Nagorno-Karabakh could end in war.⁷⁵ Pashinyan has also faced criticism from within Armenia, with large protests calling for him to resign due to relinquishing control over Nagorno-Karabakh.⁷⁶ Tensions remain high following these skirmishes, as no formal peace treaty has been signed by Armenia or Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh as of September 2024.⁷⁷

⁶⁴ Council on Foreign Relations, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” March 20, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/nagorno-karabakh-conflict>, (accessed August 12, 2024).

⁶⁵ Council on Foreign Relations, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict.”

⁶⁶ Lemkin Institute, “Statement on the Sentencing of Vagif Khachatryan in the Republic of Azerbaijan,” Lemkin Institute, 2023, <https://www.lemkininstitute.com/statements-new-page/statement-on-the-sentencing-of-vagif-khachatryan-in-the-republic-of-azerbaijan>.

⁶⁷ “More than 80 Percent of Ethnic Armenians Flee Nagorno-Karabakh,” Al Jazeera, September 23, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/30/more-than-80-percent-of-nagorno-karabakhs-people-have-fled-armenia-govt>, (accessed July 19, 2024).

⁶⁸ “More than 80 Percent of Ethnic Armenians Flee Nagorno-Karabakh,” Al Jazeera.

⁶⁹ “UN to Send Mission to Nagorno-Karabakh for First Time in Nearly 30 Years,” Al Jazeera, September 19, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/29/un-to-send-mission-to-nagorno-karabakh-for-first-time-in-30-years>, (accessed July 19, 2024).

⁷⁰ United Nations Azerbaijan. “UN Team Completes Mission to Karabakh,” United Nations, October 2, 2023, <https://azerbaijan.un.org/en/248051-un-team-completes-mission-karabakh>; “UN to Send Mission to Nagorno-Karabakh for First Time in Nearly 30 Years,” Al Jazeera.

⁷¹ International Center Conflict and Negotiation, “Conflict Resolution Documents for Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” ICCN, 2024, https://iccn.ge/index.php?article_id=331&clang=1, (accessed July 20, 2024).

⁷² Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, “Joint Statement of the Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan,” December 7, 2023, https://iccn.ge/files/joint_statement_armenia_azerbaijan_7.12.2023.pdf, (accessed August 17, 2024).

⁷³ “Armenian Soldiers Killed in Confrontation with Azeri Forces,” Al Jazeera, February 13, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/13/armenian-soldiers-killed-in-first-flare-up-since-start-of-peace-talks>, (accessed September 13, 2024).

⁷⁴ “Armenian Soldiers Killed in Confrontation with Azeri Forces,” Al Jazeera.

⁷⁵ Light, Felix, “Armenia’s PM Says He Must Return Disputed Areas to Azerbaijan or Face War,” Reuters, March 19, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/armenias-pm-says-he-must-return-disputed-areas-azerbaijan-or-face-war-tass-2024-03-19/>, (accessed September 13, 2024).

⁷⁶ “Armenian Protests Demand PM’s Head over Concessions to Azerbaijan,” Al Jazeera, June 10, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/6/10/armenian-protests-demand-pms-head-over-concessions-to-azerbaijan>, (accessed August 13, 2024).

⁷⁷ Light, Felix. “Armenia’s PM Says He Must Return Disputed Areas to Azerbaijan or Face War.”