How do Non-Recognized states Conduct Foreign Policy: The Case of Nagorno Karabagh

By

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Dedication Page

To my loving parents
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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How do Non-Recognized states Conduct Foreign Policy: The Case of Nagorno Karabagh

Ashod Pakradounian

ABSTRACT

This thesis demonstrated that a non-recognized state can conduct a successful foreign policy with all the challenges it might face. This was done by investigating the case of Nagorno Karabagh. This thesis showed that Nagorno Karabagh being a non-recognized state faced the following challenges: the lack of diplomatic representation in other states, the lack of protection granted to recognized states by international law and the lack of support from major powers. Nevertheless, Nagorno Karabagh managed to conduct a foreign policy that allowed it to secure a limited recognition, economic development and security from external aggressions. This success was due to its ability to rely on the support of Republic of Armenia, the Armenian diaspora and the Armenian political parties spread all over the world.

Keywords: Nagorno Karabagh, Non-Recognized state, Armenia, Foreign Policy, Azerbaijan.
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>United Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revcom</td>
<td>Azerbaijani Revolutionary Committee</td>
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<td>CBCPR</td>
<td>Caucasian Bureau of the Communist Party of Russia</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization of Security and cooperation in Europe</td>
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<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>SDC</td>
<td>State Defense Committee</td>
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<td>NKR</td>
<td>Nagorno Karabagh Republic</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>UNIFIL</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>ANCA</td>
<td>Armenian National Committee of America</td>
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<td>UCLA</td>
<td>University of California Los Angeles</td>
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<td>UC</td>
<td>University of California</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
<td>Armenian Revolutionary Federation</td>
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<td>SDHP</td>
<td>Social Democratic Hunchagian Party</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Nagorno Karabagh: a Non-Recognized state:

This thesis, as the title suggests, will delve into the issue of how it is possible for Non-Recognized states to perform foreign policy and to have prominent roles in foreign affairs. The case study taken into consideration, and which will be discussed in detail, is that of Nagorno Karabagh, also known as Artsakh, as it is now officially named after the recent referendum voted in a new constitution¹. More specifically, this study will investigate how Nagorno Karabagh, manages to conduct a successful foreign policy despite all the expected challenges and obstacles it confronts as a Non-Recognized state.

Nagorno Karabagh is a mountainous region located in between the borders of Armenia and Azerbaijan lying at the north of Iran. Since September 2, 1992, Nagorno Karabagh has been an independent Non-Recognized state, with a total area of 10,959 square kilometers and a permanent population of 146,6 thousand people (according to the estimations of January 2013), with an Armenian homogeneous ethnic majority representing 95% of its population². Based on a 2014 CIA report, there are 18 independent recognized and sovereign states that fall below the population of Nagorno Karabagh (Vatican City 842, Nauru 9,488, Tuvalu 10,782, Palau 21,186, Monaco 30,508, San Marino 32,742, Liechtenstein 37,313, Saint Kitts and Nevis 51,538,

Marshall Islands 70,983, Dominica 73,449, Andorra 85,458, Antigua and Barbuda 91,295, Seychelles 91,650, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines 102,918, Kiribati 104,488, Federated States of Micronesia 105,681, Tonga 106,44, Grenada 110,152). The state capital of Nagorno Karabagh is Sdepanagerd and the head of state is President Bako Sahakian, who is the fourth president of the Non-Recognized state. The system of governance is a presidential system and incorporates a multi-party system; stated thus, it has a parliament called the national assembly (already held 7 elections since 1992 to date) headed presently by Ashot Ghoulian, and a cabinet headed by Prime Minister Arayik Haroutiounian. The Non-Recognized state is de facto governed by its own constitution voted in by a “state wide” referendum on December 10, 2006, and held at high regard by international observers. The new constitution, as stated above, has also come into action after a state wide referendum on February 20, 2017. Nagorno Karabagh used to be one of the three provinces of ancient Armenia, on its eastern plateau; the area extends to the confluence of the Kura and Arax. As the three referendums have shown, even though the people of Nagorno Karabagh share common ancestry and history and ethnicity with their neighbors in the Republic of Armenia, the majority of the population of Nagorno Karabagh have voted for and reaffirmed their will towards an independent state of Nagorno Karabagh and not unifying the with the Republic of Armenia, at least for the time being.

1.2. Defining a Non-Recognized state

First and foremost, and before proceeding with the case study, defining the concept of “Non-Recognized states” proves to be necessary. A Non-Recognized state is a de facto existing state that has self-declared independence but is not yet recognized by other or most states nor by the international community. These states are coined in several ways such as; “unrecognized states”, “para-states”, “de facto states”, “pseudo states”, but this research paper will adhere to the term “unrecognized state” or “Non-Recognized” state in order to avoid confusion. Furthermore, unrecognized states should not be confused with failed states, since failed states are states that could be recognized by the international community yet have failed in the fields of economy, politics and/or security governance. An unrecognized state is “a designation given to regions that secede from another state, and gain de facto control over the territory they lay claim to, but fail to achieve international recognition”\(^7\). State recognition is not necessarily linked to the state’s ability to conduct foreign policy, and by foreign policy it is meant “the policy of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states”\(^8\). The term foreign policy has been historically linked to sovereign and recognized states interacting with one another only. According to this definition, a sovereign state would be one that is recognized among the international community, has a legitimate diplomatic corps, has a presence in international and regional organizations and is part of bilateral or multilateral treaties and resolutions. In its classical understanding, foreign policy is merely attributed to recognized states, and assumes that Non-Recognized states should not conduct foreign policy. However, in modern understanding, corporations, political parties, municipalities and many other

non-state entities, including non-recognized states, have conducted foreign policy. Nevertheless, recognized states have many advantages over these entities when it comes to the practice of foreign policy, as they enjoy sovereignty, diplomatic corps, bilateral and multilateral relationships, and protection under international law, alliances and partners.

On the other hand, Non-Recognized states have to deal with a number of challenges when conducting foreign policy. These states lack diplomatic and legal representation to start with. Therefore, these challenges which affect the Non-Recognized states’ governance, economy and security, hinder their progress in sustaining and proving themselves as actual actors in the international system.

This thesis will argue that although Nagorno Karabagh has all the components of a state to be recognized, it has not yet been recognized as a sovereign state by the international community because of geostrategic reasons, as well as natural resources and security matters, which will be discussed later on in the thesis.

Nevertheless, the lack of recognition did not obstruct Nagorno Karabagh to naturally conduct foreign policy as would be the case if it were listed among the recognized states. This foreign policy was carried out by the Armenian Republic, the Armenian Diaspora and the traditional Armenian Political Parties, all of which allowed Nagorno Karabagh to achieve goals within the realms of Economy, security and limited recognition.

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9International law does not recognize them, so they cannot be subject to it nor defended by it, they lack bilateral or multilateral treaties that can safeguard their interests in the regional or international level, and they cannot raise their causes onto international platforms such as the United Nations, or regional organizations.
1.3. Map of Thesis

This thesis will study how Nagorno Karabagh, conducts foreign policy despite the obstacles and hindrances that non recognized states might face in the present day on the international stage or scene.

The foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh has three main goals to attain, which will be elaborated later on in the thesis; these goals are the following: (1) recognition, (2) security and (3) economic growth. The Non-Recognized state has been capable of successfully achieving these goals, regardless of the obstacles that most Non- Recognized states might expectedly encounter; such as 1) lack of international and official recognition, 2) lack of diplomatic representation and 3) lack of protection by international law.

Furthermore, the absence of bilateral and multilateral agreements, in turn, has hindered trade agreements and economic growth. Yet, in spite of these three obstacles, Nagorno Karabagh has been able to reach a certain level of recognition from local governmental bodies such as states within the United States of America, Australia and European Countries. Nagorno Karabagh also manages to conduct political relationships with certain political parties as well as European and international organizations. It also would be interesting to note that Nagorno Karabagh has remarkably managed to reach a 10 percent annual economic growth rate\(^\text{10}\), and though isolated, it has been able to defend itself against Azerbaijani aggression. Against this background, this thesis will probe deeper into how Nagorno Karabagh was and still is capable of practicing its foreign policy opportunely through the assistance of the Republic of Armenia, the Armenian Diaspora as well as traditional Armenian political parties.

1.4. **Methodology**

This study has adopted a case study research design, and has collected data from a number of sources. First this study has taken into consideration published interviews with present and former officials of the Non-Recognized Nagorno Karabagh republic. In addition, empirical data has been collected as well from published and non-published documents that were available in research centers in Lebanon, diplomatic missions of the European Union and international organizations.

1.5. **Literature Review**

It is worth mentioning that much has been written on the Nagorno Karabagh conflict. Most of the literature revolves around the effect the secession of Nagorno Karabagh had on the security of the Caucasus, and on the breaking up of the soviet empire\(^{11}\).

Moreover, a significant number of the research conducted on Non-Recognized states focuses mainly on the security impact they have on other regions, and Nagorno Karabagh is not an exception to this case. The majority of researchers and writers and even states consider its existence, and its current status a threat to the stability of the region\(^{12}\). Furthermore, researchers often address the politics of secession and the ramifications of the secession on the area as a whole, taking into consideration history and the essence of the conflict\(^ {13}\).

On the other hand, there is another group of researchers who concentrate on the implications of international law\(^ {14}\). In the case of Nagorno Karabagh, there is a

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\(^{11}\) Gessen, M. (n.d.) the man without a face: the unlikely rise of Vladimir Putin


\(^{14}\) Barseghov, G. The Right of Self-Determination as the Base of a Democratic Solution of Inter-Ethnic Problems (Yerevan, 1989).
controversy that has vigorously been tackled. Some researchers base their opinions on the commonly acknowledged law of nations’ right to decide their destiny, while others argue on behalf of territorial integrity and a nation’s sovereignty over borders, thus backing the stance of Azerbaijan\textsuperscript{15}.

Yet, the literature has been limited when it comes to the aspect of foreign policy of Non-Recognized states. Taking this into account, the literature did not cover in depth how Nagorno Karabagh had managed to conduct foreign policy. Hence, this thesis will try to fill the gap and use existing research conducted on the ways in which unrecognized states pursue foreign policy, even though history stands to prove that many Non-Recognized states have rendered their conflicts obsolete, and have not been resolved as recognizable states, yet they still stand to be of enormous importance in international relations. Examples here include Chechnya, Dagestan, Ossetia, Palestine, and Kosovo\textsuperscript{16}.

These unrecognized states have continuously shaped or affected the internal and external politics of the states neighboring them, and have even gone so far as to shape the politics of entire regions as in the case with Palestine in the Middle East. There has been a lot of literature on the subject of states supporting movements within Non-Recognized states, backing insurgents, or rebel groups, or revolutionaries, funding conflicts and arms trade, or arms embargos in general\textsuperscript{17}. Yet, from a viewpoint of specific foreign policy systems, one can seldom find research conducted to view and analyze how the foreign policy of a certain unrecognized state is conducted, and what are the factors that lead to it being a successful one or a failure.

\textsuperscript{15}Geukjian, O. (n.d.). Negotiating Armenian-Azerbaijani peace: Opportunities, obstacles, prospects.
As conflicts and wars and independence movements as well as secession are on the rise in the world, the rise in the number of non-recognized states is also on the horizon, and as such, this thesis comes to add to the existing literature, the need to further study non recognized states and the ways they interact with their environments.

This thesis will start by introducing the historical background of the case of Nagorno Karabagh and is to be followed by asserting that Nagorno Karabagh incorporates the components of a state, after which the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh and the way it has been conducted will be assessed and the achievements will be studied.
Chapter Two

Historical Background

Nagorno Karabagh has been considered a controversial topic for the most of the twentieth century. At times, it has been the main focus of the politics of the Caucasus and the Transcaucasia, while at other times it has been a reactionary post, an area where international politics has been played and disputes have been settled. The Nagorno Karabagh conflict has been viewed through many scopes by researchers: a struggle for nationalism and patriotism, a battle between religions, an ideological standoff, and a contradiction in international law. In order to study and understand the methods Nagorno Karabagh uses in conducting its foreign policy, one must first understand the history behind this region that ties the republic of Armenia, the Armenian Diaspora and the traditional Armenian political parties to the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh. This is fundamental in order to understand the evolution of the status of Nagorno Karabagh, from being part of the kingdom of ancient Armenia, to achieving autonomy under Arab and Persian rule, to unifying with the state of Armenia under Russian rule and later becoming autonomous under soviet rule. The historical background will give a clear view on its evolution and how it allowed Nagorno Karabagh to have the needed infrastructure to achieve autonomy later on in history and until present. This historical background will also shed light on the differences and conflicts between the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan, and how the Armenian community as a whole had a share in this conflict.
Undeniably, the Armenian Republic, Diaspora and political parties all underwent interventions in conducting Nagorno Karabagh foreign policy.

2.1. Overview

The Nagorno Karabagh region - also known as Artsakh in Armenian - has been part of ancient Kingdom of Armenia (since 387 A.D.), during the period when kingdoms were governed by a king having princely houses reigning over vast areas of lands. Artsakh or Nagorno Karabagh was ruled over by the royal house of Suni, and is also known in history as “suniats ashkharh” or “Sunik”, meaning world of the family of Suni. Here one can witness the first and most ancient forms of self-governance and autonomy. Sources note that in the 9th to 6th centuries B.C. Artsakh was known as Urtekhe-Urtekhini and was mentioned by many historical writers to be Armenian land, such as Strabo, Ptolemy, and Dio Cassius. When Armenia was divided in 387 A.D. Nagorno Karabagh region turned into a part of the Armenian kingdom in the east. Afterwards, the Persians dominated that part of the Armenian kingdom and Nagorno Karabagh was regarded as an Armenian province under Persian rule. As such, Nagorno Karabagh enjoyed a sense of autonomy as an Armenian province under Persian rule. Under the Arab rule, Nagorno Karabagh became part of Armenia Region, and later on, it became part of the Armenian Pakradouni Kingdom from the 9th to 11th centuries AD, and under the Zakarite Armenia in the 12th and 13th centuries AD. During later centuries, Nagorno Karabagh was ruled by many but always recognized as an Armenian province, until the Turkic invasions in the mid-18th century, when

19Ibid.
20Mgrdich Pastermajian, Armenian History, (Yerevan: Hamazkayin, 1967), chap. 5-9
clashes started taking place between the Armenians and the Turkic people\textsuperscript{21}. The Armenians fled and established five Melikdoms (Hams). These five Melikdoms were the turning point in which Nagorno Karabagh was officially self-governed even under foreign rule. These Melikdoms had standing armies, taxation systems and state infrastructure relating to a feudal system of governance. These Melikdoms ruled until the end of the wars between Russia and Persia where under the Gulistan treaty of 1813, Nagorno Karabagh was placed under Russian rule\textsuperscript{22}. During these Melikdoms, the region of Nagorno Karabagh that had always been governed by the central government of Armenia, laid the foundations of an autonomous oblast, which forced the rulers to establish government infrastructures, which later became the basis of an independent Non-Recognized state. During tsarist Russian rule, Nagorno Karabagh remained within the province of Armenia.

2.2. Nagorno Karabagh: Part of Armenia or Azerbaijan?

The Nagorno Karabagh issue dates back centuries ago. However, the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, even though had roots going back to the Turkic Armenian conflict in the region, mainly started in 1917 after tsarist Russia collapsed, and the establishment of the republics of Transcaucasia, namely Armenia Azerbaijan and Georgia, that were ethnically based, took place\textsuperscript{23}. The people of Nagorno Karabagh with a population of over 95% Armenian ethnicity, proclaimed the region and an independent political unit, not to mention that until 1920 it had the needed infrastructure of a legitimate state\textsuperscript{24}. During the 1918-1920 period massacres were held by Azerbaijani and Turkish forces against local Armenians during a military action.
against the Armenians. Therefore, in order to prevent further atrocities, Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan signed an agreement to discuss the conflict in the Paris Peace Conference. It is also worth mentioning that the League of Nations did not allow Azerbaijan to become a member of the League, since they could not define the boundaries of Azerbaijan as sovereign, and the status of Nagorno Karabagh could not be defined, since Armenia and the region were forced to turn into soviet nations, and become part of the USSR.

During soviet rule and under the new international political system, soviet Russia recognized Nagorno Karabagh as a disputed region between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and Russian military troops were sent to the region of Nagorno Karabagh. As soon as Armenia joined the USSR on November 30 1920, the Azerbaijani Revolutionary committee - Revcom - declared and recognized that Nagorno Karabagh (amongst other disputed regions) is an inseparable part of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic\(^{25}\).

On July 4, 1921, Georgia, Tbilisi, and the CBCPR, (Caucasian Bureau of the Communist Party of Russia) reconfirmed that Nagorno Karabagh is part of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. But on July 5, by the direct interference of Joseph Stalin, as acting Commissar of Nationalities for the Soviet Union, the decision was reversed and Nagorno Karabagh thus became part of Azerbaijan as an autonomous oblast. Some argue that this legal act was a first of its kind in international law history, because an organ of a political party (CBCPR), in rule of a third country, determines

\(^{25}\text{Ibid,19 Retrieved September 21, 2016}\)
the fate of yet another country, such as the status of Nagorno Karabagh, without any authority or legality\textsuperscript{26}.

During the soviet era, the Armenians in Nagorno Karabagh continuously demanded to be united with Armenia once again, and while there were clear and obvious signs of ethnic cleansing within the autonomous oblast, statistics by the republic of Armenia show that in 1923 the percentage of Armenians in the Nagorno Karabagh region was 93\% of the entire population of the region, while statistics of 1989 show that this percentage decreased to 76.9\%\textsuperscript{27}. Of course this is due to several factors, namely the ethnic cleansing, the continuous conflict between the Armenian and Azerbaijani people within the region, as well as the discriminatory policies and the destruction of Armenian cultural and religious sites, in addition to economic fragmentation, by which the Azerbaijani authorities suspended the socio-economic growth and turned Nagorno Karabagh into a mere depot of raw materials\textsuperscript{28}. Thus, a huge portion of the population migrated east towards the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. These policies of ethnic cleansing were much more successful in the region of Nakhchichevan, which is located today in southeast Armenia, where not a single Armenian lives, and whose cemeteries and cultural sites as well as religious buildings, have all been totally demolished\textsuperscript{29}. Therefore, during Soviet rule, Nagorno Karabagh remained an autonomous oblast within the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, even though ethnic conflicts always arose in the region. It is worth noting that it was during this period that the modern components of a state developed further in the

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid, 19. Retrieved October 05, 2016
\textsuperscript{27}Ibid, 19. Retrieved September 18, 2016
\textsuperscript{29}Haigo Kruger “The Nagorno Karabagh conflict: A Legal Analyses” (Springer, 2006)
autonomous region of Nagorno Karabagh, and the feudal system, on which its autonomy was based, evolved into a modern system of self-governance.

2.3. Aggression and War

Given the weakening of the Soviet Union, and the rise in ethnic tensions in the region of Nagorno Karabagh, in 1988 the Armenian population of Nagorno Karabagh initiated self-determination claims based on President Wilson’s “right of people for self-determination of their destinies”. As a result, the authorities of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic, organized massacres in Baku, Sumgait and Kirovabad, which are not all part of the Nagorno Karabagh region. The same policies had been put into action in the past when during the previous years, any Armenian Bolshevik leader, or peasant, or writer, that demanded unification with the Soviet Republic of Armenia, was disassociated from the party, and was banished to Siberia, or mysteriously deceased30.

As a result of these massacres, protests started around the world by the Armenian Diaspora calling for support of the Armenians in Nagorno Karabagh. On December 10, 1991, the people of Nagorno Karabagh, in compliance with international law and the USSR internal laws and provisions, declared the independent republic of Nagorno Karabagh, being established, by a national referendum. Hence, the formerly known borders of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic were no longer valid, and a new state, the republic of Nagorno Karabagh emerged in the region31. This resulted into an all-out aggression and military action against the Republic of Nagorno Karabagh which in turn, escalated into a full-fledged war between the Republic of

Nagorno Karabagh, and Azerbaijan. Nagono Karabagh was militarily supported by the republic of Armenia and diplomatically, financially, morally, and sometimes also militarily by the Armenian Diaspora around the world. While the Republic of Azerbaijan, was supported militarily by Turkey, and by the 11th rifle division of the red army, Turkish officers and military equipment, in addition to Arab, Chechen and Afghan Jihadist\textsuperscript{32}, of whom the most obvious and renowned were Shamil Basayev, and Emir Ibn Khattab\textsuperscript{33}.

2.4. The outcome of war: Present status of Nagorno Karabagh

The causes behind the Nagorno Karabagh war were many. The Armenians fought for their claimed historical right over land, patriotism, self-defense, and nationalism. During the battle of Shusha religious sentiment was also present. As for Azerbaijan, their people also had an ideological standpoint to the conflict; they started first with calls for Jihad against Armenians, then introduced patriotic and nationalist factors, which disturbed Jihadist fighting on the field. Last but not least, pan-turanic ideologies and sentiments of Turkishness and Turkish unity were also used during the war\textsuperscript{34}.

The war ended in May 1994, when both sides to the conflict signed a cease fire agreement, which was never fully respected and was always violated by both sides until today\textsuperscript{35}. At present, the resolution of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict is overseen by the OSCE Minsk group which is made up of representatives from all countries that

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{32} KHachig Mouradian, “Terror in Karabakh Chechen Warlord Shamil Basayev’s Tenure in Azerbaijan” (Watertown MA 02472 USA)
\textsuperscript{34} Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (Organization: U.S.)
\end{footnotesize}
have interests in the region: Russia, France and U.S.A. Proposals for the solution of the conflict were refused by both parties, the last of which were the “Paris principles” in 2001. Nagorno Karabagh is an independent yet Non-Recognized country, with a population, a head of state, government, public institutions, thus having all precursors for a formally recognized country, except for the international recognition. This is why the Nagorno Karabagh Republic is perceived as a De Facto republic, without international recognition. Yet, according to the Treaty of Sevres, Nagorno Karabagh is an integral part of Armenia, and is drawn within the borders of Armenia. In the Armenian government’s point of view, Nagorno Karabagh, as a party to the conflict, should be part of the peace process negotiations, in order to guarantee efficiency. Armenia also put forth some points as a basis to the negotiations, such as the recognition of one of Wilson’s main points, which is the people’s right to self-determination in Nagorno Karabagh. Armenia also pushes forth the idea of an uninterrupted land border between Armenia and Karabagh, within the boundaries and jurisdiction of the republic of Armenia, moreover, the republic of Armenia demands international guarantees towards the security of Nagorno Karabagh and its people.

Government officials in Armenia state that these points are what will eventually solve the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh. At the same time, the republic of Armenia believes in the important role the OSCE Minsk group plays in mediating in the situation, and as a matter of fact, sees this interest as a probable start to solving the conflict. The Armenians also state their willingness to settle the conflict peacefully, as

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
Azerbaijan keeps on threatening through military means and hate speech, to drive the Armenian side into a unilateral concession, and Armenia believes that these initiatives, and attempts to remilitarize the conflict are doomed to failure, and that the only solution to the conflict should be reached through compromise and cooperation. The Armenian side believes that the Nagorno Karabagh region is not part of Azerbaijan and should not be, and whatever the fate of the region, it should coincide with the will of the people living in the region of Nagorno Karabagh. The Armenians say that Azerbaijan has no claim over the land, not legal, nor moral, since the people of Nagorno Karabagh have already shown their will through the referendum of 1991. Nagorno-Karabakh has no future as a part of Azerbaijan and whatever is the solution, it must emanate from the will of the Karabagh people.

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Chapter Three

Components of a state

After discussing the history of the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh, and in order to assess the conduction of its foreign policy, the components of a state should be studied in order to understand whether or not Nagorno Karabagh can be classified as a state having reviewed, in the previous chapter, the evolution of Nagorno Karabagh throughout history.

3.1. The development of the components of a state in Nagorno Karabagh

Nagorno Karabagh has enjoyed a semi-autonomous system of governance since before the 15th century. The infrastructures of a modern state grew during the Persian rule of Nagorno Karabagh, under which the region enjoyed a semi-autonomous status, and during which the region was governed by 5 Melikdoms (prince hoods). For four centuries of Persian rule, the autonomous region was governed by a feudal system, whereby specific borders and foundations of an army and state were created. The evolution of government infrastructure in the region went even further under Russian rule after the Gulistan and Turkmenchay treaties in 1813 and 1828 respectively. After the Bolshevik revolution and before the soviet takeover of the region, following

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Georgia Azerbaijan and Armenia, Nagorno Karabagh also proclaimed independence on July 22, 1918. Whereby the “People’s Government of Karabagh” had ministers of Foreign and internal affairs, Military affairs, Communications, Finances, Agronomy and justice. Prime-minister of the government was Yeghishe Ishkhanian, the secretary – Melikset Yesayan. The government even published a newspaper called "Westnik Karabakha". It is worthy to note (for reasons to be discussed later in this thesis) that most of these ministers were either members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Armenian Revolutionary Federation party) or went on later on to work alongside the same party. In September (1918), at the 2nd Congress of the Armenians of Karabakh the People's Government was renamed into the Armenian National Council of Karabakh. In essence, its structure remained the same: Justice Department, Military Department, Department of Education, Refugees Department, Control Department, and Department of Foreign Affairs. It was during this time frame that Turkish and Russian hostilities went on to transfer to the region of Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabagh and the roots of the conflict between the two ethnicities laid went deeper. During soviet rule the Nagorno Karabagh Region was transferred along with Nakhichevan to Azerbaijani rule. Thus the Autonomous region of Nagorno Karabagh under the district of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was established. During soviet rule, the government infrastructure evolved and came into the 21st century which


47Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
http://adst.org/2013/08/stalins-legacy-the-nagorno-karabakh-conflict/
led to the development of a sense of governance, within the territories, with an infrastructure that has been the foundation of the current system of internal and external policies. Arguably, this system has been regarded equivalent to many well established democratic and recognized countries. As such, Nagorno Karabagh, has had and still enjoys most of the components of a state

3.2. Components of a state

In order for a state to function, and be a state in actuality, there are inalienable components that they need. Political scientists agree that states comprise of four components in order to be classified as such:

1) Territory

2) Well defined population

3) Government

4) Sovereignty

3.2.1. Territory

Nagorno Karabagh is a mountainous region in the south Caucasus. According to the Nagorno Karabagh president, and based on the Declaration on Proclamation of the Nagorno Karabagh Republic48, the territory of Nagorno Karabagh is more than 12 thousand km2 including 1041 km2 considered under the occupation of Azerbaijan49. Geographically, it is located in the south-eastern part of the Armenian highland50. It

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borders Armenia in the West, Azerbaijan to its East and North, and Iran to its South\(^\text{51}\).

Nagorno Karabagh has eight administrative divisions, Sdepanagerd which is the capital, Shahumyan region, Mardakert region, Askeran Region, Martuni Region, Hadurut Region, Shushi Region, and the Kashatagh Region. These regions include the five districts of the former Nagorno Karabagh Autonomous Oblast (names as such in the USSR), as well as the Shahumyan region which is claimed to be under Azerbaijani control, and the seven districts controlled by the Republic of Nagorno Karabagh.

**3.2.2. Well defined population**

Nagorno Karabagh has historically been part of all the kingdoms of Armenia, and also part of the first republic of Armenia in 1918. Thus, the population of the region has always been Armenian. Consequently, there is no ethnic divide between the population of Armenia and the population of Nagorno Karabagh. As such, the links with the diaspora are as stable if not more sincere and emotional than that of Armenia. Nagorno Karabagh has a population of 146.6 thousand people (as of January 2013), with a homogeneous ethnic population of 95\% Armenians\(^\text{52}\). This population is a culmination of permanent residents whose family trees go back in the region for hundreds of years. Other ethnicities in the Republic of Nagorno Karabagh (according to a 2015 census) include; but are not limited to: 238 Russians, 26 Ukrainians, 16 Yazidis, 16 Georgians, and 16 Assyrians\(^\text{53}\). Because of the crisis in the Middle East and the rise of refugees


from Iraq and Syria, more Yezidis and Armenians especially from the Qamishli region of Syria who usually earn their livelihood from livestock and agriculture found a similar way of life in Nagorno Karabagh.

3.2.3. Government and the infrastructure to support it:

The system of governance is semi-presidential where the president is elected for five years and the same person cannot be reelected for more than two terms running\textsuperscript{54}. There exists the concept of separation of powers of the legislative and judicial and executive branches of government as well as the distribution of power between the republican and local governments\textsuperscript{55}. The highest legislative branch of government in Nagorno Karabagh is the National Assembly which is also elected for five year terms\textsuperscript{56}. It consists of thirty three members, eleven are elected with the majority system and twenty two with the proportional system\textsuperscript{57}. The National Assembly has a chairman, a deputy chairman, deputies and standing committees\textsuperscript{58}.

The present National Assembly of Nagorno Karabagh is comprised of the following committees: foreign affairs, industry and industrial infrastructures, finance budget and economic management issues, legal and state affairs, social and healthcare issues, defense security and legalism issues, issues of science education culture youth and sports affairs\textsuperscript{59}. The factions making up the National Assembly are: "Homeland",


\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, 32.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 32.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid, 32.
"Dashnaktsutyun" (Armenian Revolutionary Federation), "Democracy", "Movement-88", "Revival".\footnote{Ibid, 32.}

The Nagorno Karabagh Government is a body that compromises the executive branch, and as such is tasked with supporting the implementation of the powers of the Republic's President.\footnote{Ibid, 32.} The government is composed of a prime minister and ministers with the following structure: Prime Minister, Ministry of Healthcare, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Resettlement, Ministry of Nature Protection and Natural Resources, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Economy and Industrial Infrastructures, Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Ministry of Culture, Youth Affairs and Tourism, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Urban Planning, Ministry of Finance.\footnote{Ibid, 32.}

As for the judicial system, it is comprised as follows: Supreme Court, The Court of Appeal, The First Instance Court of general jurisdiction. These courts are independent of Government meddling as per the constitution, extraordinary courts are also prohibited by law and the constitution. The judges serve until 65 and are appointed for life.\footnote{Ibid, 32.}

Notable government institutions that function in Nagorno Karabagh are the National Security Service, Police and the State Service of Emergency situations.\footnote{Ibid, 32.}
3.3. Conclusion:

Thus, as discussed in detail, Nagorno Karabagh has developed throughout time and history from a region part of Armenia, into an evolved modern state.

With government and infrastructure, borders and the power and ability to defend and practice its sovereignty within those borders as well as having a permanent population living within its territory, even if sovereignty is lacking it is safe to state that Nagorno Karabagh, regardless of it being non-recognized, enjoys all the components of a state in its full capacity.
Chapter Four

Assessing the Foreign Policy of Nagorno Karabagh

The unrecognized state of Nagorno Karabagh, pursues its foreign policy in a unique manner. As a matter of fact, it has set forth objectives for its foreign policy which will essentially assist the unrecognized state to survive and to become a liable recognized state active in the international environment. Through understanding the main objectives of the non-recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh and through identifying the channels which it uses to overcome the obstacles that may expectedly occur because of its status, the ways in which Nagorno Karabagh conducts its foreign policy will become evident.

4.1. Objectives:

Nagorno Karabagh is conducting Foreign Policy to achieve the following three objectives:

1. Recognition
   Nagorno Karabagh is an unrecognized state, which seeks recognition from the outside world in order for it to not only be able to conduct foreign policy, but to become a legitimate member of the international community, as well as to become a player in global affairs, and benefit from regional and international treaties, agreements, investments and projects.

2. Security
   Nagorno Karabagh borders Armenia and Azerbaijan, Armenia being a friendly country and Azerbaijan being considered as an enemy. Given its small population,
and taking into account its limited numbers in military and police forces, one of the main goals of the Non-Recognized state is security, taking into consideration that Nagorno Karabagh lacks international assistance in militarized circumstances, and Azerbaijan has a higher number of military personal as well as a high military budget, hence, Nagorno Karabagh’s fundamental aims is to actually achieve security.

3. Economic growth

For any state, be it recognized or unrecognized, economic growth is considered essential to sustaining an ongoing budget for the country. Therefore, having a healthy economy is key to the survival of Nagorno Karabagh. And since the opportunities for advancement are not too many in an unrecognized state, a well calculated foreign policy would yield more economic growth for the coming years.

4.2. Obstacles to conducting the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh:

As with the case of any Non-Recognized state, Nagorno Karabagh faces two types of technical obstacles that may hinder the conduction of its foreign policy. As a Non-Recognized state, Nagorno Karabagh lacks diplomatic and legal representation\textsuperscript{65}. Lack of representation causes Non-Recognized states to confront obstacles in various areas including governance, economy and security, making it hard for them to sustain themselves as actual actors in the international system.

When official representation in foreign countries is non-apparent, and no state recognizes the existence of the non-recognized state, economic relations as well as

\textsuperscript{65}International law does not recognize them, so they cannot be subject to it nor defended by it, they lack bilateral or multilateral treaties that can safe guard their interests in the regional or international level, and they cannot raise their causes onto international platforms such as the United Nations, or regional organizations.
political or cultural cooperation between unrecognized and recognized states is non-existent. The international community views Nagorno Karabagh as part of Azerbaijan, and as such does not enter in any type of relations with the former. Nevertheless, Nagorno Karabagh has been actively working to overcome these obstacles and has flourished in isolation thanks to its relations with Armenia, the Diaspora and the traditional Armenian political parties, as it has been seen throughout this thesis.

Before delving into the specifics of how the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh is conducted, one needs to have a background of the playing field. More specifically, it proves to be necessary to discuss the standpoint of the international environment regarding the Nagorno Karabagh case, as well as the different players involved in order to correctly asses the nature of this foreign policy. Furthermore one must also understand the complex relations of the international community with the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh. No entity exists in a vacuum, and given the extensive history the region enjoys, not to mention the recent advancement of the conflict, it would be safe to assume that actors of the international community are familiar with the conflict of the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh. Moreover, these actors have chosen sides to the conflict and through different channels have conducted relationships not only with Azerbaijan but also with the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh.

4.3. Nagorno Karabagh Vis à Vis The international environment

The following section will discuss the stance of the key actors of the international community with respect to the case of the non-recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh. In order to understand the stance of Nagorno Karabagh within the International
environment it is necessary to understand the reasons behind Nagorno Karabagh not being recognized to date.

The first anomaly is Nagorno Karabagh’s ally and patron state, The Republic of Armenia, not having recognized yet Nagorno Karabagh as an independent state. Armenia seceded from the Soviet Union in accordance with its legislation to remove the challenges with regards to its integration into the international community, and in this case the reunification with Nagorno Karabagh or the acceptance of Nagorno Karabagh independence would have become an obstacle for Armenia to gain international recognition of the Republic of Armenia. This is the main reason why Armenia aligns itself politically, militarily and diplomatically with Nagorno Karabagh and yet refrains from recognizing its independence. It is also worth mentioning that the president of the Republic of Armenia is currently in the process of negotiations with the international community regarding the recognition of Nagorno Karabagh. However, recognizing Nagorno Karabagh as a state of its own, would halt these negotiations since there would be nothing left to negotiate on the international level.

The president has also clarified that the issue is to be solved in peaceful means on a basis of a joint statement by the presidents of the Russian Federation, France, the United States and the Madrid principles, and recognition of Nagorno Karabagh by the Republic of Armenia would hinder the peaceful process of the integration of Nagorno Karabagh within the region.

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67 Ibid.


69 Ibid.
In the case of Russia, which is a main strategic partner to Armenia in the caucuses region, its main concerns are not limited only to Islamism extremism in the region but also towards fears of rising NATO and American influence in the south caucuses\textsuperscript{70}. In fact, the promotion of western backed energy projects such as the Nabucco gas pipeline from Baku to Turkey and then Europe, through bypassing Armenia and Russia, helps give an alternative route to Azerbaijani oil and gas to Europe outside Russia or its sphere of influence\textsuperscript{71}. In this respect, it is important to state that the Nabucco pipeline is on the borders of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{72}. Yet given the rise in Islamic extremism in the caucuses, and in light of Azerbaijan being a Muslim country, Russia’s main focus is to spread peace in the region and not war and chaos, since in the case of Nagorno Karabagh (a Christian nation vs a Muslim nation) the fear of further increasing the threat of Islamic extremism is evident\textsuperscript{73}. On the other hand, Russia continues to supply both parties to the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh with weapons, in part to entice Azerbaijan to join the Eurasian Union. However, Moscow’s military and security guarantees to Armenia to this day all point to its pro Armenian Stance on the Nagorno Karabagh issue\textsuperscript{74}. In spite of this fact, Russian commitment towards peace in the caucuses, and the de-escalation of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, hinder Russian recognition of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{75}.

As for the United States and the West, they can no longer hand over the Nagorno Karabagh issue to Russia\textsuperscript{76}. Azerbaijan is a main and one of the biggest allies of NATO


\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, 40.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, 40.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid, 40.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, 40.
and Turkey, and as such Azerbaijan represents a foothold for western and American interests in a region that is known as a Russian sphere of influence\textsuperscript{77}. The Nabucco pipeline also plays a deep role in dictating western policies towards the region, since the pipeline would lessen the dependency of the west on Russian and Middle Eastern supplied oil, and it would avoid Iran\textsuperscript{78}.

As Nagorno Karabagh remains unrecognized as a result of a combination of geostrategic policies, and spheres of influence and natural resources, the conflict continues to simmer endangering the entire region of a new impeding threat of war\textsuperscript{79}.

Russia and the USA:

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the region has been transformed into a field of new alliances which gave rise to new international tensions and crises in the international community. Turkish and Iranian nuclear capabilities, missile defense systems, regime changes in Georgia, the Chechens, Ossetia, and last but not least Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The previous chapters also discussed the fact that during the retreat of the soviet forces, the main beneficiary of the weapons and military machinery was the Armenian army\textsuperscript{80}. After the conflict reached a cease fire, Russian backing did not cease for the Armenians, keeping the line safe to reach Iran. Russian military officers as well as policy makers have stated many times, that if Georgia does not keep the road open for

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, 40.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, 40.
weapons to reach Armenia\textsuperscript{81}, they will blast a road open through Georgia. These politicians have also talked about defending Armenia in any scenario of a war with Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabagh, with full artillery, air forces as well as ground forces of the Russian elite\textsuperscript{82}. Even though the above mentioned statements are mere promises, they do show that Russia is not hesitant to publicly take a side in this conflict. As for the USA, even though it continues to reinforce Azerbaijan, the presence of the biggest American embassy in terms of area with a significant number of employees in the Republic of Armenia, as well as a high level of American investments in the private sector of Armenia, reveal that the United States of America is also not likely willing to allow the situation to go downhill in the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{83}. But the oil fields of Baku (the capital of Azerbaijan), and the Baku Jeihan oil transport pipes (Nabucco mentioned previously) which surpass Armenia, are of great importance to the United States and Europe, and a disadvantage to the Russians, whose gas trade with Europe, alongside its firm grasp on Ukraine because of this trade, will be lost because of those Nabucco\textsuperscript{84}. Aside from Russia and the United States, there are also several third states being affected in the region by this conflict yet Armenia and Azerbaijan remain the main two. Both are forced in their relations with the major powers, especially in the event of war, they would need the backing of the stronger ally to be guaranteed victory\textsuperscript{85}. Thus, the conflict, through military strategies and defense


guarantees, yet again dictates the international relations of both countries, to an extent that each belong to a different block, because of the Nagorno Karabagh region.

Armenia-Turkey relations:

As Armenia is the Patron state of Nagorno Karabagh, defending its borders and economy and representing it in International arenas, Turkey, on the other hand, is considered to be Azerbaijan’s patron state since its establishment. Therefore, Turkey, is another major player in the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh, and naturally it mediates mainly in favor of Azerbaijan.

The Armenian -Turkish border has been closed off since the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh started. The closing of the border has set Armenia back economically since it has turned into an isolated country with borders with just Iran and Georgia who are both in political and international turmoil and cannot benefit the Armenian economy. Since the cease fire of Nagorno Karabagh, efforts have always been made to normalize relations between Armenia and Turkey, one of these efforts resulted in the signing of the Armenian -Turkish Protocols in Switzerland in 200986. This foreign policy move was stopped by Diaspora Armenians partly because of the Nagorno Karabagh issue. Both Turkey and Armenia were to agree on a resolution for the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh which was unsatisfactory for both Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan. In fact, Azerbaijan had actually had threatened its relations with Turkey if these protocols passed in parliament87, just as the Armenian diaspora had publicly protested these protocols.

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87 http://www.mfa.am/en/country-by-country/tr/
After the fall of the Soviet Union, Armenia witnessed a tough economic and political era. Armenian President at the time Levon Ter-Pedrossian sought to move on from this stalemate, through settling the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, by giving up Armenian populated land in Nagorno Karabagh to the newly formed and independent Islamic republic of Azerbaijan, a step towards normalizing relations with Turkey. As a result of his policies, the Armenian people around the world, who had lost families and loved ones in the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, went to strikes and marches in order to oust him from power. Within the government, the prime minister he had appointed, Robert Kocharian, in addition to a good number of ministers who were considered political allies to President Levon Ter-Pedrossian all turned against the president. The street protests and the conflict between the prime minister, Robert Kocharian and the president of the republic Levon Ter-Pedrossian, as well as the conflict between the latter and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party, who enjoyed majority support of the Armenian Diaspora, led to the ousting of President Levon Ter-Pedrossian from his position, and with him his plan of a Turkish - Armenian reconciliation.

The former Prime Minister Robert Kocharian was elected as president in 1998. The ban on the Armenian Revolutionary Federation party which existed since the soviet era and reintroduced during Levon Ter Pedrossian reign, was lifted. Even though President Robert Kocharian had strong views regarding the independence of the Nagorno Karabagh republic, the Turkish government approached him for a rapprochement. The Turkish prime minister sent a letter to president Kocharian in

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April 1998, proposing “to found a joint historical committee to discuss the so called Armenian genocide”\textsuperscript{90}. The Armenian president replied, stating that the Armenian republic is open to the idea of reopening the borders but “Your proposal to review the past would not be useful if it does not touch the present and the future.”\textsuperscript{91} Implying that there would be no relations unless the Turkish government took steps to recognize the Armenian genocide. Robert Kocharian also put forth territorial claims from the Turkish republic as most Armenians in Armenia and the Diaspora do until today. As for the Nagorno Karabagh issue he was a firm believer in the independence of the territory, and on the 15\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Karabagh protests he is quoted as saying “The people of Karabagh made their historic choice, defended their national interests in the war that was forced upon them. Today, they are building a free and independent state.”\textsuperscript{92}

Thus, from President Levon Ter-Pedrossian era to that of Robert Kocharian’s, the precursors of the Armenian -Turkish rapprochement had changed. In the former’s case, the precondition was settling the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, initiated by the Armenian president, but defied by the Armenian people. In the latter’s case, the precondition became the recognition of the Armenian genocide, and was put forth by the Armenian president, and supported by the Armenian people, whereas the reconciliation initiative was taken by the Turkish prime minister. Yet, the Armenian Turkish relations were suffering a stale mate during the terms of the first two Armenian presidents of the second Armenian republic.

In 2008 the current president of Armenia, won the elections, and thus a new era of the Turkish-Armenian relations started. During the first months of his presidency, the

\textsuperscript{90}Robert Kocharian, (President of Armenia), ARMINFO News Agency, Record, September 1, 2006.
\textsuperscript{91}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{92}Ibid.
Armenian president Serge Sarkissian, along with his Turkish counterpart, Abdullah Gul, launched the renowned “football diplomacy” when the Turkish president attended the game in Yerevan, and shook hands with the Armenian president during a qualifying match for the 2010 world cup, between Armenia and Turkey on September 6, 2008. It was the first time for an Armenian representative to shake hands with their Turkish counterparts. The Turkish president was met with protests in Yerevan, and the Armenian Diaspora lived a state of disappointment and anticipation all throughout the Turkish president’s visit to Yerevan. This visit was countered by the Armenian president’s visit to Bursa for the next game. And the building blocks started to be laid on the already set foundations for a rapprochement between the two countries.

On 14 April 2009, the “road map” was declared towards the protocols, mediated by the Swiss and the United States of America. The president of Armenia, was to start visits around the world, in order to speak to the Armenian Diaspora in favor of these accords, and persuade them to take a positive stance towards them, while the mood in the Diaspora and Armenia was harsh.

The Armenian - Turkish relations as well as the Turkish - Azerbaijani relations, or even the Turkish - Armenian –Azerbaijani relation as a whole, are very strongly dictated and perhaps the most affected by the Nagorno Karabagh issue. The upcoming pages and chapters will also view how the diaspora boycotted these relations in order to safeguard

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94 Ibid.
the interests of Nagorno Karabagh, as well as their own ties to history and emotional belonging.

Given the existing ethnic relationship between both Azerbaijan and Turkey, the ties of both their countries have always been strong which added to the fear factor of the Armenian people from the joint countries of Turkey and Azerbaijan, and the Turkic people as a whole, all play a role in the relations of these countries towards each other and other countries.

From the Armenian point of view, Nagorno Karabagh has become the latest target of hate towards the Armenians, or more specifically a move towards another anticipated genocide against the Armenians. As for the Turkish and Azerbaijani point of view, they believe that Nagorno Karabagh is another attempt to separate the Turkic people from each other and topple a Turkish nation once more. Either way the Nagorno Karabagh conflict is the newest manifestation of the historical problems between the two nations as a whole, so it is very clear and very understandable how it affects foreign policy decisions of both countries.
Chapter Five

Conducting the Foreign Policy of Nagorno Karabagh

Now that the foundations of the international environment regarding the issue of Nagorno Karabagh have been set, this chapter will tackle how the Nagorno Karabagh government has maneuvered this environment, and conducted its foreign policy need to be discussed. In this respect, it probe deeper into the tools through which Nagorno Karabagh has conducted its foreign policy.

The external relations of Nagorno Karabagh, officially and legally are conducted through the Armenian diplomatic cadre and Karabagh representatives, whereas unofficially on the ground, these ties are conducted by the Armenian Diaspora groups around the world96. These groups are divided into two parts, the Armenian Diaspora organizations and the church on one hand, and the traditional Armenian political parties on the other97. Most Armenian NGOS and political parties are present in Nagorno Karabagh, of the historic and traditional Armenian political parties, the Armenian Revolutionary party is present in the government institutions of Nagorno Karabagh, and the party has parliament members and officials in the ministries98.

As such, it can safely be stated and discussed that the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh is conducted through:

1) The bilateral, multifaceted relationship of Nagorno Karabagh with Armenia. 
2) The Armenian Diaspora 
3) The Traditional Armenian political parties

96 Georgy, Bedrossian. "Interview with the former minister of foreign affairs." Razmig, editorial. 25-1(November 2016)
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid, 49.
5.1. Armenia-Nagorno Karabagh relations:

Nagorno Karabagh is a state which carries a cause, mainly the recognition and acknowledgement of the right to exist outside the state of Azerbaijan, as it has been throughout history. As stated above, this cause is carried forward by the recognized and independent state of Armenia, as it acts as a host country to the cause of Nagorno Karabagh, and a mediator in the solution of the conflict, since Nagorno Karabagh is not recognized, a fact that doesn’t permit it to have embassies and ambassadors around the world. In this sense, diplomatic presence can be found in these states through representatives. These representatives are present in Australia, Lebanon which is also the representative in all of the Middle East, France, Moscow, and Brussels as the representative for the European Union. As for the United States of America, according to their local laws, the representative is called a “recognized agent of Nagorno Karabagh”\(^99\). These representatives, through a bilateral agreement with the government of Armenia, carry diplomatic passports of the Armenian diplomatic cadre; the difference is a three digit code, which is marked on the Armenian passports for Karabagh citizens. 070\(^100\) is this serial number which not only imprinted in all diplomatic passports of the Nagorno Karabagh representatives, but is also marked on all passports for Nagorno Karabagh’s citizens, in order for these citizens to travel abroad, given that Nagorno Karabagh is not recognized internationally. In order to facilitate their traveling experience, the citizens are obliged to hold an Armenian passport, yet this serial number, insures that citizens of Nagorno Karabagh cannot participate in the democratic process of the government of Armenia, and vice versa\(^101\).

\(^100\) Ibid, 50.
\(^101\) Ibid, 50.
Armenia as an independent state and member of the United Nations, also campaigns for this cause on the international level as well as in its bilateral relationships with other recognized countries. The Republic of Armenia, through its diplomatic channels has made sure that the Russian ally defends the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh within the limits of the joint defense pact between the republic of Armenia and Russia\textsuperscript{102}.

When it comes to security, the area of Nagorno Karabagh, with a wide border with Iran is an important trade route for Armenia. Additionally, the Nagorno Karabagh territory is also known to be the “backbone” of Armenia in times of military aggression, thus the security of Nagorno Karabagh is of grave importance to Armenia, which is why battalions of the Armenian military serve on the borders of Armenia and Azerbaijan in order to protect the joint military interests of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{103}.

Economy is of severe importance nationally and internationally for any state, recognized or not. The economy of both Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh is also dependent of each other, since most citizens of Nagorno Karabagh work and rotate between Armenia and Karabagh and vice versa, also the agricultural products of Nagorno Karabagh give a boost to Armenia’s economic needs, thus the economic wellbeing of Armenia is intertwined with that of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{104}. Today, from an economic point of view, Nagorno Karabagh has created, de facto, an economic and monetary union with Armenia. It uses the Armenian currency: the dram. The region connects to Armenia by the newly built highway from Goris (south of Armenia) to


Stepanakert (the capital of Nagorno Karabagh). Armenian Diaspora financed this, as well as the reconstruction of some cultural monuments. The Diaspora is starting to return to Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh. The population of Armenia is 3.8 million; however, twice that many Armenians live in the Diaspora, with the largest concentration in Russia, the USA, Canada, Georgia, France, Iran and Lebanon. The Diaspora influences the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its policy as well.105

Up until recently Nagorno-Karabakh Republic was known to operate at least one hydroelectric power plant near Mardakert, which was constructed during the Soviet times. The government has been planning to build a number of small hydroelectric power plants — at a cost of $70–$80 million — that will supply both domestic needs and provide opportunities for export. In 2001 the republic imported 60 percent of its electricity from Armenia.106

On 12 April 2010 the prime ministers of NKR and Armenia inaugurated "Trghe-1" - the first in series of long anticipated hydro-electric stations in Nagorno-Karabakh. The name of this new electric energy company is "Artsakh HEK", which already had a base capital of $5mln on the day of its inauguration. Prime Minister of Armenia, Tigran Sargsyan has called on the public and the diaspora to buy the shares of "Artsakh HEPS" and to invest in NKR economy, saying that its security and future relies on its economic growth and economic self-sufficiency. “Trghe-2” and “Trghe-3” were also constructed by the end of 2010 and also “Mataghis-1” and “Mataghis-2” in 2011. The realization of the given energetic program has given the chance to produce additional

120 million kwt/h of the electric power. By 2012 this almost completely satisfied the requirements of the republic for the electric power, which had risen by then to 300 million kwt/h. With these new power plants the Nagorno Karabagh Republic has become not only self-sufficient in terms of its electricity production, but also a net exporter of electric energy. Additionally, a number of banks exist in common between the two countries, and work without hindrance through borders (Ardshinbank) (Araratbank), as well as hotels (Armenia hotel), restaurants and telecommunication companies. The relationship between Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh transcends so far that even the former consultant of the prime minister of Nagorno Karabagh has now become the consultant of the prime minister of Armenia. Just as the former presidents of Nagorno Karabagh have later been elected as presidents of Armenia (Robert Kocharian is one example).

5.2. Nagorno Karabagh- Diaspora relations:

The relationship of Nagorno Karabagh with the Armenian Diaspora is crucial to discuss. The ethnic and historic link within the trio, the Republic of Armenia, Nagorno Karabagh and the Armenian Diaspora, create a unique pattern of foreign policy conduction that is to be studied throughout this thesis. The presence of an organized and politicized Armenian Diaspora around the world, has helped in shaping this foreign policy and has removed the obstacles of diplomatic representation, through

107Ibid.
110ԼՂՀ վարչապետի օգնական ընդունվելէ ՀՀ վարչապետի օգնական. (2016, October 18). Retrieved October 19, 2016, from http://www.panorama.am. (from the Advisor of the Prime Minister of NKR to the advisor of the Prime Minister of Armenia)
its political relations and financial reach as well as diplomatic ties and lobbying activities. The Armenian Diaspora is spread all over the world, and is well established and enjoys influence in economic, political and social circles. Thus the Armenian Diaspora through its organized student bodies and lobbying bodies has insured semi recognition for Nagorno Karabagh. For example, some states in America, such as Louisiana, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have recognized the independence of the Republic. The legislative bodies of those regional governments have passed resolutions urging the recognition of the state of Nagorno Karabagh because of the lobbying work done by the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), which is a body comprised of Diaspora Armenians lobbying and working towards common goals among the Armenian populous of the world. In terms of security ANCA also insures that American military aid be given to the Republic of Armenia who in turn uses these funds to arm its troops that protect the borders of Nagorno Karabagh. The Armenian lobby and student organizations in the United States have also lead a campaign to “Divest Azerbaijan” whereby American funding of Azerbaijan is diminishing. In other instances, the Armenian Diaspora around the world raises funds through “telethons” and “radiothons” in order to help Nagorno Karabagh maintain its infrastructure, build and renovate schools, farms, factories and better equip its armed forces, as well as organizing summer camps in Nagorno-

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Karabagh where the children of the Non-Recognized state learn to practice in areas of education and technology.

Nongovernmental organizations define a Diaspora, by anyone living outside their home country\textsuperscript{117}; theorists, however, are more specific in their definitions. According to Armstrong, the Diaspora is a collection of people who do not have a territory to be based in a specific polity\textsuperscript{118}. Shuval on the other hand, argues that a Diaspora is an emotional unit, and bases his criteria on mutual feelings, memory, history, mythology etc.\textsuperscript{119}, as for Soysal, a Diaspora is an aspect of common background\textsuperscript{120}. Demmers bases his argument on a collective self-identity, when it comes to Diasporas\textsuperscript{121}. There is an overall consensus between scholars, that the term Diaspora is used for people from a specific country, who reside in other countries, that share a common culture, language, ethnicity, religion, citizenship, with the home country, such as migrant societies living elsewhere. As for Robin Cohen\textsuperscript{122}, he goes even further and describes five different types of Diasporas:

1- Victim diasporas, who have been forced outside of their host countries
2- Labor diasporas, who roam the world searching for economic stability
3- Trade diasporas, who are migrants searching for new trade routes
4- Imperial diasporas, who move to extend colonial and imperial borders
5- Cultural Diasporas, who go through a process of chain migrations\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{117}New Routes, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2005), p.3.
\textsuperscript{123}Ibid, 122.
According to Cohen’s classifications, the traditional Armenian Diasporas belong to the first type of Diaspora. And nowadays, some members of the Armenian Diaspora can also fall under the labor Diaspora category, since there is an outflow of labor force from Armenia to nearby countries\textsuperscript{124}.

As for the effects a Diaspora can have on the host or home countries, and its role in foreign policy, the mere existence of Diaspora, implies that relations exist between Diaspora communities and the host-countries, and relations between the Diaspora and the home countries.

Scholars believe in different effects Diasporas might have on the countries they reside in, as well as their home countries, some, such as Shain\textsuperscript{125}, Demmers\textsuperscript{126}, Baser and Swain\textsuperscript{127}, Collier and Hoeffler\textsuperscript{128}, believe that most diasporas, have negative effects on both host and home countries, spoiling peace efforts and conflict resolution, because they fear that the raison d’être of their existence is endangered, and that they are being disrespected, when ignored during the negotiations between their home-countries and the international community. Whereas others such as, Cochrane\textsuperscript{129}, Kapur\textsuperscript{130}, Kunz\textsuperscript{131},

\textsuperscript{124}Oussatcheva, Marina. “Institutions In Diaspora: the Case of Armenian Diaspora in Russia”, 2009, Institute of Social & Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford
\textsuperscript{131}Kunz, Rahel. “Mobilizing Diasporas: A Governmentality analysis of the case of Mexico”, Working Paper Series „Global Governance and Democracy” 03 Institute of Political Science University of Lucerne, 2008, 3-23
Sassen\textsuperscript{132}, Davis\textsuperscript{133}, Faist\textsuperscript{134}, Ionescu\textsuperscript{135} and Appadurai\textsuperscript{136}, realize diasporas’ soft power, thus seeing their power in the peace-building process as well as their effect in international diplomacy, and more importantly for this study, they learn the capacity of these migrant societies in aiding the conduction of the foreign policy of their home country. The examples given in brief, are that of the Irish communities when resolving the Northern Ireland case, the example of Indian migrants diffusing democracy into India, and the Mexican Diaspora diffusing democracy into the home country. Also recently, the Diaspora of Arab countries and their effects have been evident on the revolutions that have taken place in Libya, Egypt, Tunisia and Syria.

The communication that takes place between the communities in the Diaspora and the home country, takes place in the economic manner, with savings being sent back to the home country, or establishing funds and NGOs for assistance of the home country, as well as establishing multinational companies with a plan to return eventually and assist their home country. Culturally, the communication between the Diasporas and the residents of the host-countries, introduces them to new trends, and traditions, that they eventually adopt and transfer to their home countries, in terms of language, personalities, and new ideas and way of life. Naturally, being the middle man between the host-country and the home-country, the Diaspora will have a tremendous political

\textsuperscript{132} Sassen, sakia. “GLOBAL CITIES AND DIASPORIC NETWORKS: MICROSITES IN GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY”, Global Civil Society 2012, Oxford University press, Ch.9, 217-239
\textsuperscript{133} Davis, Sadie May. “Engaging Diasporas for Improved International Relations”, exchange the journal for public diplomacy, 2010, URL: http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/davis-2
\textsuperscript{134} Faist, Thomas: The Transnational Social Spaces of Migration / Thomas Faist. – Bielefeld: COMCAD, 2006 (Working Papers – Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development; 10)
\textsuperscript{136} Appadurai, Arjun. “in theory”, ceasefire, 2011
effect in both countries, even by passively passing on the above mentioned communications.

The Armenian Diaspora was mainly formed when Armenia and the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh existed as a single, united geographical entity under Russian rule. During World War I, under the young Turks, Armenians were deported from Turkey, in what the Armenian communities call the Armenian genocide, and an Armenian Diaspora was formed ranging from Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, all the way to Europe and the Americas\textsuperscript{137}. Today, Armenia is an independent republic, and citizens still immigrate to find better jobs and a better standard of living outside the country\textsuperscript{138}. Armenians all over the world number at roughly ten million, whereas only three million actually reside in present day Armenia\textsuperscript{139}, and around 146,000 in Nagorno Karabagh as stated above\textsuperscript{140}.

The main actors in the Armenian Diaspora and its communities, are the Armenian church system, and the traditional Armenian political parties which have been around since the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, and have formed sister organizations, schools and sports teams, to keep the Armenian communities intact\textsuperscript{141}.

The Armenian Diaspora, generally suffers from the feeling of “being robbed of a homeland”, thus the emotional connection to the idea of a free independent home country, follows their everyday actions. During the times of soviet control over Armenia, and the absence of an independent Armenia, the Armenian Diaspora in

\begin{thebibliography}{140}
\bibitem{VickenAvakian} Vicken Avakian, “Hay Tashnagtsagan Badaniyin Kirke”, Hamazkayin, (Beirut:2003), Vol I chap. 6 (the book of the Armenian revolutionary adolescent)
\bibitem{Oussatcheva} Oussatcheva, Marina. “Institutions In Diaspora: the Case of Armenian Diaspora in Russia”, 2009, Institute of Social & Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford
\bibitem{Parseghian} Parseghian, Nora. “Das Million Hayer”, Aztag daily newspaper, p.8, Jan, 13,2012
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid, 59.
\end{thebibliography}
Europe, the Middle East, and the United States, took it upon themselves to turn into “diplomatic representatives” of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh in said countries.\(^{142}\)

The organization of the Armenian political parties in host countries, and the establishment of ties between the host countries governments and the Armenian Diaspora, lead to strong lobbies and voting power in the host countries, which actually put in the infrastructure and formed a basis for these host countries to have relations with Armenia later on after its independence. After the fall of the soviet union, most post-soviet countries were regarded as strange to the international community, whereas thanks to the efforts put forth by the Armenian Diaspora in different countries, Armenia was not a strange country, on the contrary, host countries already knew enough about Armenia, to dive into forming relations with it.\(^{143}\)

Thus the high level of relations between Armenia and the European union, and the negotiations for membership that are taking place, thanks to the early triggering of these relations, can be accredited to the Armenian communities in France and Germany, who used their ties to the local governments of the host countries, in order to establish relations with the home country, the Republic of Armenia.

Thus the five hundred thousand Armenian populations in France, the three hundred thousand populations in Lebanon, and over a million Armenians in the United States, laid political ground to form lobbies and pressure groups in the host countries, to represent the interests of the home country under occupation. With a well governed Diaspora around the world, Armenians had no problem establishing funds and lobbying for financial assistance for soviet Armenia, as well as independent Armenia.

\(^{142}\text{Hagop, Pakradounian. “Mr. President, Leave Us Alone.” Zavarian, by Ashod Pakradounian. (December 2010). (the book of the Armenian revolutionary adolescent)}\

in the 90s, especially during the earthquake of 1988. Moreover during the dawn of the Nagorno Karabagh armed conflict, Armenians from around the world raised funds to gather arms for Armenia, and even sent fighters from Lebanon, the United States and Europe, in order to aid the country in battle. After the cease fire agreement, the same Diaspora groups lobbied and opted for aid for the Armenian side, and less financial aid for the Azerbaijani side.

The Armenian Diaspora also enjoys high places in government of the host countries. The Lebanese sectarian system, gives six members of parliament to the Armenian population in Lebanon, and seats in the cabinet as well, in the United States and France, there are Armenian representatives in the local and government levels and in Cyprus the chief of the executive is also a member of the Armenian Diaspora. That political strength, combined with the strong voting power and lobbying mechanism of the Diaspora, gives it important influence in the national and foreign policies of the host countries, thus increasing the dependency of the republic of Armenia on those Diaspora groups.

Many lobby groups operate in the United States of America, consequently, the Turkish lobby along with other lobbies admit the power the Armenian lobby incorporates in its activities, especially when it comes to the recognition of the Armenian genocide as well as the Nagorno Karabagh issues. Heather S Greg starts her article on the Armenian lobbies as:

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144 Mark Malkesian. “Gha-ra-bagh!: the emergence of the national democratic movement in Armenia”


“Within the last decade, Armenians lobby groups in the United States have achieved considerable success in gaining political and material support from Congress. Such achievements include roughly $90 million in annual aid for the state of Armenia, maintenance of Section 907 of the Freedom of Support Act, which blocks aid to Armenia’s rival Azerbaijan, the stalling of an arms deal with Turkey, and increased support for official US government recognition of the Armenian genocide of 1915-1922.”

In the beginning of October 2009, the Armenian president started his world tour, starting off in Paris France, Los Angeles and New York in the United States of America, and Beirut Lebanon. In two weeks, the Armenian president planned on visiting the major hubs of the Armenian Diaspora, and gain their support for the protocols, in order to counter the Armenian Revolutionary Federations opposition in Yerevan. The Armenian Presidents’ tour around the world, and the protests he had to face in those countries, are important to address in order to discuss these protests and their effect on the protocols later on, and how the diaspora pulled through on rejecting protocols that were inaugurated by the international community who dictated the hand over regions of Nagorno Karabagh to Turkey, without its consent. The following is indeed a major reflection on how Nagorno Karabagh interests are up-held by Diaspora organizations, who thus, became major actors in conducting the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh.

On October 2, 2009, the president of Armenia landed in Paris, starting off his tour of the Armenian Diaspora. In France’s capital city, he was met with protesters during a public appearance. They shouted “no” and clashed with riot police, the protests which

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were mostly sit-ins and street demonstrations, with chants being said through bullhorns, turned violent, when riot police in Paris used physical force on protesters in order to make way to the Armenian president. Videos and pictures were uploaded on YouTube and Flicker and Facebook, showing French police beating women and children and elderly, and dragging them off the streets while the Armenian President Serge Sarkissian watched with astonishment.148

On October 4th in Los Angeles the protests greeting the Armenian president took a new toll. In fact, thousands of Armenian protesters took to the streets in different parts of Los Angeles. In the main protest in the Beverly Hills hotel, protesters broke through police blockades and barriers, and attacked the hotel entrance after the president, who was holding a meeting with key Armenian representatives in the hotel, refused to address the people directly.149 The Armenian newspaper in Los Angeles, Asbarez reports “Protesters held signs proclaiming, “Serge Don’t Betray the Armenian People,” “Turkey Accept the Genocide!”, “No to the Protocols!” And a sign that wrote “do not betray Nagorno Karabagh”. Meanwhile, planes overhead were carrying banners which stated “Stop Turkish-Armenian Protocols,” as large moving vans drove around the hotel with billboards picturing presidents Sarkissian and Gul with the slogan “Don’t Betray us.” While the Armenian Revolutionary Federations Representative in the meeting had left in protest and addressed the protesters saying “your representatives conveyed your anger and frustration over the protocols.”, he presented the meeting as tense, and reported that the present was not prepared to answer the frustration and


comments of the Armenian representatives, and was not expecting such a protest specially in Los Angeles\textsuperscript{150}. The protesters had already cut off the road on Wilshire Blvd. at another site in Los Angeles, in front of the genocide memorial, protesters had answered the Armenian Revolutionary Federations call to barricade the memorial and chain themselves to it, in order to prevent the Armenian President, who by now was perceived as a traitor, from “using it as a publicity stunt” in order to gain affection from Armenians. Hence, the president did not visit the memorial because of security concerns\textsuperscript{151}.

In New York the president was greeted with picketers who chanted out “Turkey is guilty! Turkey must pay!” and “Karabagh, Karabagh” and in the end of the meeting being held in the Palace Hotel, the picketers outside, stormed the entrance of the building, and cut off the road outside, and went into fist fights with the New York Police as they were being forced away from the entrance. The Presidents’ security also refused to meet with a representative of the protesters who was to deliver a written message to the president, again having security fears\textsuperscript{152}.

After the protests of Paris and Los Angeles and New York, security concerns increased for the safety of the Armenian president, especially since the next stop was Beirut, where the diaspora and its political parties had established a much longer and more effective role within the country. In Beirut, the Armenian president was going to meet with members of parliament from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Social Democratic Hunchag Party and the Ramgavar party. The President hoped that the latter two parties would back his views up against the Armenian Revolutionary Federation,


\textsuperscript{151} Ibid, 64.

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid, 64.
because of disputes between them regarding Lebanese politics, yet these hopes started to fade when the three parties took a joint front against the president and the protocols.

On October 5th, the Armenian President arrived in Beirut international Airport\textsuperscript{153}. A night before the Armenian Embassy in Beirut was egged by unknown youth and the security concerns were at their height, the Lebanese President had sent his bullet proof convoy to transport the president from the airport to the Habtoor Hotel, where the President was to meet with the representatives of the Armenian Political Parties, Armenian members of Parliament, and for the first time, the religious representative of Armenians around the world, the Catholicos of Cilicia, his Holiness Aram I Khacherian. The three Armenian parties had jointly called for a strike, and a march of over two thousand Armenians was already on the way to Habtoor hotel, while over five hundred members of the three Armenian political parties youth branches were gathered at the airport. The Lebanese presidential guards and intelligence units as well as internal security forces were present at the airport and Habtoor hotel since morning\textsuperscript{154}. As the president’s convoy took rout, the protesters at the airport tried to cut off the road in front of the convoy in order to stop the president from going on with his visit. Violent clashes including shooting from the Lebanese army towards the protesters started; in response, the protesters threw rocks, sticks, cell phones and eggs at the convoy. News of the riot travelled fast, and the protesters gathered around Habtoor hotel, rammed the entrance before the president had gotten there, the number of protesters increased to reach over 15000\textsuperscript{155}, and the internal security forces fired tear gas grenades and opened up water tanks against the protesters, who in return rioted.


\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid, 66.
with flag sticks and rocks against the police and the hotel. The situation got worse when the police threw flags on the ground, until the Lebanese Member of Parliament from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, MP Hagop Pakradounian, intervened, told the police to collect the Lebanese and Armenian flags from the floor, and demanded a formal apology from the head of the security forces. The president reached the hotel, and as the Armenian Weekly reports “The caravan of protesters, holding signs and chanting “Stop the Protocols,” “Votch! (No!)”, and “The Blood of Armenians Is Not up for Sale.”, “Karabagh will remain Armenian”, there the Catholicos for the first time announced that “the Cilician Catholicosate would stay true to the Armenian Cause.” During the meeting, many arguments took place between the Armenian representatives and the Armenian president. According to accounts by those present in the meeting, the meeting was cut short when the debate reached a very heated argument when the president emotionally said “you’re delinquents have been calling me a traitor and have been attacking me in front of foreign media which is unacceptable” and was faced with the response “these delinquents you are talking about are our sons and daughters Mr. president, who have been beaten, shot at, hospitalized, and shed Armenian blood in the hands of foreign security forces, because you Mr. president have been betraying our cause, our martyrs in Nagorno Karabagh, and the death of our ancestors in the hands of the Turks, the same hands you shook.” This heated tension lead to most of those present leaving the meeting. The next morning the president was scheduled to meet the Catholicos privately in the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias. A crowd of Armenian youth from the 3 Armenian Catholicosate.

156 Ibid, 66.
158 Hagop, Pakradounian. “Mr. President, Leave Us Alone.” Zavarian, by Ashod Pakradounian. (December 2010).
159 Ibid.
parties, exceeding two thousand people left the protest at night to go directly to the Catholicosate and stay there to stop the president from putting flowers on the monument of those who perished during the Armenian genocide. Intelligence units informed the parties that the youth will be forced to leave “in whatever means possible” so the youth with the clergy held a religious ceremony preying that the protocols would not come through, and after lighting candles in the monument, they left only to return the next morning and find the Catholicosate blocked by presidential guards, Lebanese marines, and intelligence units. The protesters gathered outside and as the presidents convoy neared, they threw rocks again at the president and clashed with the security units. The presidents’ meeting according to the Catholicos was harsh and disappointing for the president. The Catholicos had expressed his heartfelt concerns towards the protocols, and their effects on Nagorno Karabagh. The Catholicos had said that as long as Armenian blood runs through a person’s veins, he is not permitted to sign such a protocol. Coming from a religious representative these words landed harsh on the president’s ears. Nonetheless, the president proceeded and put the flowers on the monument, as soon as the president of Armenia had left, the protestors rammed the gates of the Catholicosate and chanted in favor of the Armenian Catholicos, breaking and shredding the flowers on the ground.\footnote{Nora, Tashdjian. “Armenian youth Storm Patriarchate.” Aztag, Morning edition, sec. Local, October 09, 2009.}

Thus, the president’s international tour had ended. The next step was Yerevan. The campaign continued on October 10\textsuperscript{th} 2009, in Yerevan. More than 50,000 protestors marched to the presidential palace and presented a statement signed by 12 political parties and 12 political organizations to the presidential staff.\footnote{Radio Free Europe, "Dashnaks Plan More Protests Against Turkish-Armenian Protocols." Last modified 2013. Accessed January 20, 2013. http://www.rferl.org/content/Dashnaks_Plan_More_Protests_Against_Turkish_Armenian_Protocols/1903938.html.} The Armenian
constitutional court was to start holding its hearings on January 12, so the protests were to be held in Armenia headed by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, in order to influence this decision and stop the protocols once and for all, since the Armenian Revolutionary Party believed that these protocols were unconstitutional, and that signing them was an act of high treason, and the ratifying of them would lead to unprecedented public upheavals. One of the key opposition members, and a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Vahan Hovhannisian, said on December 14th, that the party has received numerous calls to hold "serious actions of protest" on the eve of the announcement of the Constitutional Court decision. He also stated that "seeing that a popular wave [of protest] is again rising, it can be stated for certain that there will be no calm in Armenia during those days."

At the same time there were reports on the president’s view after arriving to Yerevan, according to the European Forum "Upon return to Armenia, President Sargsyan seemed unrepentant concerning his plans to sign the protocols. He blasted the organizers of the Paris protest, saying the wreath-laying ceremony was meant to underline the importance of genocide recognition for Turkish-Armenian reconciliation: ‘I expected that we will put on display our unity and position on this issue with a massive demonstration, rather than a provocation by 100 persons’. Hrant Markaryan, a top leader of one of the organizers – Armenian Revolutionary Federation – stated that ‘people became unmanageable and unrestrained,’ and it was a reaction of ‘a raw nerve’. The Diaspora-born politician added that the Armenian authorities must ‘respect and reckon with that opinion,’ as ‘the Diaspora is facing the

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162 Ibid.
163 Ibid, 69.
danger of losing its raison d’être’.

President Sargsyan downplayed the reaction of the Diaspora, saying he did not expect a 180-turn from it anyway. He added that he nevertheless found the trip useful, saying that he received ‘very important messages’ and ‘had a chance to once again feel just how different we are depending on our birthplace, community of residence, organizational affiliation and at the same time just how similar we are with our collective Armenian identity’. He also pledged to fulfill the obligation of reaching genocide recognition and brushed aside allegations that the protocols ensure greater Armenian concessions in the then frozen Nagorno-Karabakh conflict with Azerbaijan.

Whereas, the Armenian people and the protestors were in a totally different mindset, a protestor said on his Facebook status “it wasn’t enough that the Turkish government denies the death of my grandfather during the Armenian genocide, now my country agrees with him” whereas another protestor in Lebanon said to Agence Press “After nearly 100 years of fighting for our cause, how can our enemy become our friend in the blink of an eye” others mentioned “These agreements will sound the death knell of our cause. As descendants of those exiled, we are the main victims of these agreements.”, the Lebanese Armenian Member of Parliament from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Hagop Pakradounian said during a live televised interview from sight that “the Armenian community supports improved ties between Armenia and Turkey—but not at any price…This issue concerns Armenians worldwide and not

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165 Ibid, 70.

just those in Armenia, we are not talking about a simple economic accord between two countries, but a historic one that concerns each Armenian family, whatever its nationality…” another reply by an Armenian internet activist to an online article about the Armenian protests, filled with bloody pictures of protesters, he said “It is the right time to overthrow this, corrupt to the core treacherous, government.” 167

After these protests, the matter came to the hands of the constitutional court of Armenia. Hence, the fate of these protocols, and the future of Nagorno Karabagh were in the hands of the committee, since if the court ruled in favor of the protocols, the matter would go to the parliament, and the Armenian president Serge Sarkissian had made sure that he had the majority; more precisely, fifty one percent of the members of parliament to vote for the protocols, since during the last elections his party won the majority of the parliament seats.

On January 12, the Armenian constitutional court, gave a small statement about the protocols, which was understood by parties as accepting the protocols. Later on in a more detailed report, the constitutional court finalized its studies, and stated that the protocols are encouraging and diplomatic relations should start between the two countries. Moreover, they said the protocols were concise with the constitution, and had only one problem, paragraph 11 of the Armenian Declaration of Independence, which states: “The Republic of Armenia stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the 1915 Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia.”. And since the protocols question the Genocide, these protocols do not fit

in with the Armenian constitution\textsuperscript{168}. This put tremendous pressure on the Armenian president and the Turkish side, which meant that in order for the protocols to be ratified, the Turkish side has to acknowledge the Armenian genocide, and also start taking the necessary measures listed by international law, after the acceptance of genocide, towards Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora. This statement, was in spirit, what the Armenian Diaspora were saying when protesting the protocols.

In summary, protests took place around the world and in Armenia saying that the protocols were unconstitutional, that they put under question the Armenian genocide, and endangered the security and recognition process of Nagorno Karabagh. The constitutional court took the decision saying that the protocols were unconstitutional. The protocols have not been ratified until today. It is safe to say the protesters (the Armenian Diaspora) have reached their demands, and the president of Armenia, during his latest visit to Lebanon, had already changed his views about the protocols, saying that “the dark tunnel the protocols have gone in is nothing but mere proof that the republic of Turkey will not recognize the Armenian genocide”\textsuperscript{169}. And he hinted that the protocols were just political maneuvering to shed light on the issue of the Armenian genocide\textsuperscript{170}.

The next major upheaval and solidarity movement with Nagorno Karabagh arrived after the ignition of the April skirmishes in 2016 where the Armenian communities around the world started organizing activities and events to raise awareness and gain support for the Nagorno Karabagh side of the conflict. Such was the case with ANCA, who besides lobbying within congress and senate, started activities on the ground, thus

\textsuperscript{168} Saban Kardan, “Turkey Reacts to Armenian Constitutional Court’s Decision on Protocols,” The Jamestown Foundation, VII, no. XVII (2010),


\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
uniting the different fractions of the Armenian political parties during all its events. Some events worth mentioning are the candle light vigil for the souls of the perished soldiers during the skirmishes in Nagorno Karabagh, in California\textsuperscript{171}. Another activity worth noting was the lighting up of the Los Angeles City Hall with the Armenian Tricolor flag colors in order to gain support and raise awareness in solidarity of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{172}. The Armenian Youth Federation also started a “With our soldiers” campaign which assists the families of soldiers caught in the fighting against “Azerbaijani aggression” as their page expresses\textsuperscript{173}. The ANCA and Armenian parties and other fractions of the diaspora also united in drafting a letter to John Kerry with signatories from the United States congress to stop aid to Azerbaijan and assist the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh. The demands were drafted to include U.S. recognition of the independent Republic of Nagorno Karabakh as well as the suspension of all U.S. military aid to Azerbaijan while creating a “Leahy Law” to investigate of Azerbaijani war crimes, fund gunfire locators deployment, emergency funding for relief as well as a fact-finding mission to assess the needs of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{174}.

ANCA has also addressed the issue of human rights and democracy in Azerbaijan in order to discourage American legislatures in supporting it\textsuperscript{175}. One such example is the open letter it drafted to state legislatures in which it was stated that the president of Azerbaijan was a dictator and is pressuring legislators in the United States while at the

same time carrying attacks against Armenians in Nagorno Karabagh. ANCA also has highlighted some of Aliyev’s corruption and called on the congressmen to pressure Azerbaijan into finding peace with Nagorno Karabagh.

On the issue of recognition of the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh, ANCA has put in place large efforts to secure recognition by congress and senate, as of yet unsuccessfully. However, it has succeeded in persuading local authorities such as city councils and local legislative bodies to recognize the independence of Nagorno Karabagh as well as start cultural and economic ties and cooperation between these cities and Nagorno Karabagh. For example, some states in America, such as Louisiana, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have recognized the independence of the Republic. The legislative bodies of those regional governments have passed resolutions urging the recognition of the state of Nagorno Karabagh because of the lobbying work done by the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), which is a body comprised of Diaspora Armenians lobbying and working towards common goals among the Armenian populous of the world. In terms of security, ANCA also insures that American military aid be given to the Republic of Armenia who in turn uses these funds to arm its troops that protect the borders of Nagorno Karabagh.  


\[^{177}\text{Ibid.}\]


Moreover, as a result of ANCA activities, 27 American congressmen signed a letter to the “US House Appropriations Committee asking to increase financial aid to Nagorno Karabakh from 8 million it received in the year 2010 to 10 million in 2011.” Thus, increasing assistance in aiding economic growth through an official entity of the United States of America, even though it has not yet recognized the independent republic of Nagorno Karabagh. Within the realm of economic growth Armenian Diaspora organizations also include something called the Armenia fund, which has collected approximately 2,353,962,018 Dollars from 1997 to 2015. As far as economic methods go, the American lobby groups as well as the student associations went into a vast campaign to try to hurt Turkish and Azerbaijani economic interests through Divest Turkey/Divest Azerbaijan. This campaign lead to universities and cities cancelling their investments and cooperation with the Turkish and Azerbaijani governments as well as corporations; as a result for example 72.6 million dollars was divested by UCLA and UC Irvine.

5.3. Traditional Armenian Political parties- Nagorno Karabagh relations:

In this section of the thesis, we will closely investigate the approach and the means the traditional Armenian political parties have recourse to in conducting the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh. There are three traditional Armenian political parties: the

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184 UC Irvine Student Government passes resolution calling for Divestment from Turkey, Asbarez, retrieved from http://asbarez.com/135772/uc-irvine-student-government-passes-resolution-calling-for-divestment-from-turkey/
Armenian Revolutionary Federation, also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation party, The Social Democratic Hunchagian Party also known as the Hunchag party, and the Ramgavar party. These three parties are widely spread around the world and in the Armenian Diaspora. They have been present around the world for over 125 years, conducting political activity and carrying on causes related to the Armenian genocide as well as social economic issues. These political parties enjoy the trust of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh since they have always been active in insuring their rights internationally and maintaining a close coordination during war efforts and armed conflict especially during the Karabagh war. These political parties have access to decision making bodies in the countries they exist in, such as members of parliament in Cyprus, Lebanon, Syria and Iran, and city councils in both Europe and the United States. Since Armenian political parties are mobilized and present in Europe, the United States and the Middle East, the governments of those regions tolerate the existence of representative offices for Nagorno Karabagh. Moreover, in countries such as Lebanon, where Armenians also have representation in parliament and government, officials from Nagorno Karabagh meet with heads of state in Lebanon as equals through the mediation of the Armenian political parties, even though the latter has not recognized Nagorno Karabagh as an independent state. Access to decision making bodies in many countries, and the unity of the traditional Armenian political parties on issues of Armenian National interest help them become a fierce force on matters regarding the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh.

Armenian Diaspora activities are managed by the three historical traditional Armenian political parties, the Armenian revolutionary federation, the social democrat Hunchag

party, and the liberal Ramgavar party. All of whose manifests, emphasize first and foremost the struggle for the Armenian cause and a free and independent Armenia, and secondly governing said country on democratic basis. The party that enjoys majority popularity in the Armenian Diaspora, is the Armenian revolutionary federation (ARF). The ARF is the party that has most political representation on a global scale when it comes to offices and representatives around the world, and also has offices and parliament seats in the home country.¹⁸⁷

Nagorno Karabagh is an autonomous republic, with no international recognition, under the protection of an Armenian/Karabagh joint military force. The European Union has a clear stance regarding the issue, which is peace at all means. Yet, during the latest visit of the European parliament’s members of the EU-Armenia Friendship Group to the region, on April 17, 2013, the Member of Parliament, Eleni Theocarous called Nagorno Karabagh a “thriving democracy”¹⁸⁸. Moreover French MP Valerie Boyer has said that she is not Greek nor Armenian, but that she has come from Marseille, and as a friend of Armenia it is her duty to raise awareness about Nagorno Karabagh, which is a place of liberty, democracy and the haven of self-determination¹⁸⁹. Additionally, she also called upon the international community to recognize the unrecognized state of Nagorno Karabagh¹⁹⁰. This speech represents in itself the extraordinary relationship between the traditional Armenian political parties in Europe, and the European Union member states governments as aforementioned. The Armenian Diaspora, with its cooperation with local governments in the European Union, laid the foundations of a prosperous cooperation for the present Armenian republic with the European Union.

¹⁸⁷ Global oneness: http://d257ynwk76clk6.cloudfront.net/a/Armenian_Revolutionary_Federation_-_Modern_history/id/4805279
¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 78.
¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 78.
To the extent that members of the European Parliament visit areas of conflict and have clear and concise views on very controversial and debatable issues.

The European Union has published a report for the Committee on the Honoring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the Council of Europe of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which examines the conflict in deep and the conflict resolution strategies that could be undertaken. Moreover, the report notes the limitations the European Union encounters, when dealing with such conflicts, and how the European Union cannot gain a stronger role in solving this conflict, since it is not a key player in the region, as opposed to countries such as Iran, Turkey and more importantly, Russia\textsuperscript{191}.

The Nagorno Karabagh conflict, was thought to arise as a problem and an obstacle that would hinder Armenia’s relationship with Europe, thus, endangering future prospects of accession to the European Union. Matter-of-factly, it sounds as if instead of an obstacle, the European Union, generates hope in the issue of solving the conflict peacefully while going through the ongoing negotiations of accession of Armenia to the European Union. Moreover, the above mentioned quotes, prove that the European members of parliament, are content with the current situation of the, still not recognized, Nagorno Karabagh Republic, also known as Artsakh, and the European Union’s members of parliaments are content of the level of democracy, even at a state of war and non-recognition and isolation from the international system, there is still hope for a bright future of relations.

\textbf{5.3.1. The A.R.F.:}

Founded in 1890, the program of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Hai Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsutyun) is based on social justice, democracy and national self-determination for the Armenian people.

The ARF led the effort toward the establishment of the first Armenian Republic in 1918 and was the party in power for the duration of its existence. Following the Sovietization of Armenia in 1920, the ARF was banned by the Communists and its leadership exiled.

In the Diaspora, the ARF fought Soviet rule over Armenia and championed the cause of Armenian rights and independence. It also played a leading role in organizing a social and cultural framework aimed at preserving the Armenian identity.

The ARF officially re-emerged in Armenia during the dissolution of the USSR, in 1990.

On December 28, 1994, the activities of the ARF were “temporarily suspended” by the Armenian authorities. In view of the political nature of the anti-ARF interdictions by the Armenian authorities, the ARF continued to operate in Armenia. On February 9, 1998, less than a week after the resignation of the then president Ter-Pedrossian, the Justice Ministry lifted the ban on the ARF. The resignation of president Levon Ter-Pedrossian was partly due to his conflict with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, as well as negotiations underway to hand over regions of Nagorno Karabagh to Azerbaijan in return of normalization of relations with Turkey. As a party who has actually fought for and supported Nagorno Karabagh the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was dead set against this handover.

The ARF is internationally recognized as a major political force both in Armenia, Karabagh and in the Armenian communities worldwide.
As protests dawned within and outside the Soviet Union for the unification of Nagorno Karabagh with Armenia, the ARF took upon itself to govern and organize these activities around the globe. Moreover, once the conflict escalated into an all-out war, the Armenian Revolutionary Party, joined in the fighting through weapons transfers, military training of militias, as well as having its own battalions in the Army. Thus, the ties between the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and the Nagorno Karabagh Republic grew deeper. The ARF in its program believes in the unity of all Armenian lands under one Armenian government, which is basically the application of the treaty of Sevres, whereby western Armenia (part of present day Turkey) and Nagorno Karabagh, and the present Republic of Armenia, are all united.

The ARF has established sister organizations, that fund development activities in Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh, they lobby in host countries for increased governmental cooperation with Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh, and help secure an international pro Armenian stance in controversial issues. As a party who has offices both in the Diaspora and the home country, the relations between Armenia or Nagorno Karabagh and the Diaspora are mainly governed through these party cadres, where an extensive network exists between Diaspora Armenians who belong to and support the party, and party members in Armenia.

The most apparent proof of this relationship and its affectivity was the Armenian Turkish protocols, to which the three traditional Armenian parties were against, and

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during the presidents tour of the United States, Lebanon and Paris, the three parties jointly organized protests against this president and the protocols, in the USA, France, Lebanon and Yerevan. The protocols eventually were left unattended by the Armenian parliament\textsuperscript{194}.

Another evident fact is the relationship local party leaders hold with the government of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{195}. In Lebanon for example, the visits of ministers, prime ministers and presidents of Nagorno Karabagh have turned official thanks to members of parliament of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. These members have used their ties and official titles in order to organize meetings between representatives of the Lebanese state and the aforementioned officials. Since Nagorno Karabagh is a Non-Recognized state, meeting state officials is a major hindrance, this was overcome on a number of occasions through this mediation. Hagop Pakradounian, the secretary general of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Lebanon, and a Member of the Lebanese Parliament, has organized meetings between the former Lebanese President Michel Sleiman and the president of Nagorno Karabagh Pago Sahakian. Additionally, the former minister of industry of the Lebanese government has headed a Seminar in the Le Royal Hotel, gathering Lebanese businessmen to meet the minister of Industry in Nagorno Karabagh, in order to increase Lebanese investment in the Non-Recognized state. Thus, officials from Nagorno Karabagh have met with a number of key governmental figures in Lebanon as a result of their ties with officials in the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Lebanon.


\textsuperscript{195} ARF Dashanksutyoun, http://www.arfd.info/hy/?p=32184
Information from Armenia is transferred to the Diaspora through common political parties, as well as social interaction sites. The parties in the Diaspora enjoy the privilege of having access to printed media, radio stations and even television channels. Not to mention that news is broadcasted very fast, and thus, mobilizing the forces pro or against any actions taking place in Armenia. This mobilization is so effective, that during the latest summit for (April 2016) the Lebanese delegation actually abstained from voting on a resolution blaming Nagorno Karabagh for the rise in hostilities at the beginning of April, since meetings had held place between prime minister Tammam Salam and Member of Parliament Hagop Pakradounian along with Hunchakian Party Member of Parliament Sebouh Kaplakian, in order for the Lebanese Government to respect the wishes of its citizens in solidarity with Nagorno Karabagh196.

The Armenian political parties in the Diaspora, and their sister organizations, such as the AF, Armenia Fund, or Birthright Armenia, or the Armenian National Committee, or Artsakh Fund, organize rallies and conferences in support of the economy of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh, and through the democratic network of the political parties themselves. The proposals dawned from these meetings, reach the main offices in Armenia, thus, reaching the representatives of those parties in the parliament of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh. One such proposal that turned into a bill and passed was the double citizenship. The Armenian government refused to grant citizenship to Armenians living abroad, after joint conferences outside, the proposal reached the house of parliament, and passed197, which increases investment and relationship

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between the diaspora organizations and the republics of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh.

Another example from the Lebanese Armenian community, the anti-Turkish sentiments are very high in the Lebanese Armenian community. Thus, in order to counter the Turkish cultural and economic influence in Lebanon, the competing Armenian political parties in Lebanon, each respectively, applied pressure upon their allies, in order to incorporate Armenian news in the Armenian language, in their respective news media outlets. Moreover, the Armenian members of parliament and cabinet pressured the foreign ministry, to sign trade agreements with Armenia, in order to benefit both countries.\textsuperscript{198}

Armenia, being a landlocked country, relies mainly on tourism from the Diaspora itself and on philanthropic funds from the Armenian Diaspora around the world. Also being a newly independent country, struggling for democracy, the official diplomatic missions are not effective enough. Thus, the Armenian republic relies on the Armenian Diaspora, for representation on foreign ground, political connections, fundraising and lobbying. As for the Armenian Diaspora, no matter what the political disputes between their ideals and the present state of the republic of Armenia, the abovementioned emotional trauma, and the fear of remaining nationless, ties the Armenian Diaspora to the independent Armenia in a highly emotional manner. This cross dependency ensures that the diaspora’s demands for the reforming of the system in Armenia, are actually altruistic, and on the basis of the cross dependency. In fact, Armenia cannot give in to

demands made by a Diaspora that has so many influential lobbies and think tanks that actually form foreign public opinion about the image of Armenia as a state.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation party and its student association have a vast network of cooperation with European and international organizations and political parties; one such organization is the European Solidarity Front, which upholds causes such as the Cypriot issue and the issue of Serbia. During a commemoration held for the invasion of Cyprus by Turkish forces for example, where Serbian members of parliament as well as Cypriot political activists were present, members of the Armenian Revolutionary Party were invited to speak about solidarity between European powers against Turkish expansionism, where the issue of Nagorno Karabagh was considered a basic truth to how Turkey and Azerbaijan continue to disrupt peace. The words Nagorno Karabagh were heard many times during a protest at the Cyprus-Turkish border where the solidarity front had gathered\(^\text{199}\).

On the occasion of the 25\(^{th}\) anniversary of Nagorno Karabagh’s independence, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation organized an event where thousands gathered in order to celebrate the independence as well as remember those fallen during the war and the latest April skirmishes. Parents of martyrs were also brought to Lebanon to get to know the local diaspora and how they function.\(^\text{200}\) This event is just one of many the Armenian Revolutionary Federation does in order to promote Nagorno Karabagh and its goals in the international sphere.

\(^{199}\) European Solidarity Front. (n.d.). Retrieved March 19, 2017, from https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCkXGVtfH9F_4ewxFEIo0YQ

On April 6, (which year?) the Armenian Revolutionary party organized a mass protest event in the center of Bourj Hammoud against Azerbaijani aggression during the 4 day skirmishes, showing videos of the fighting as well as calling upon all the governments of the world to recognize the republic of Nagorno Karabagh\(^1\). On April the 20\(^{th}\) they followed up the protest through a mass fundraising campaign where they raised 277,204 Dollars in assistance to the Armenian Army in Nagorno Karabagh\(^2\).

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation also oversees investment projects and residency projects such as the Ari project, that comprise of taking Lebanese Armenian businessmen to Nagorno Karabagh where they can safely invest and help raise the economic growth of the country, as well as funding residence areas, where refugees from Syria and immigrants from Lebanon and other countries could buy houses and land for low prices in order to make their move more comfortable and sustainable.

### 5.3.2. Hunchagian party:

The first Armenian revolutionary party, the Hunchakian party, was founded by a group of university students who wanted to awaken the national, social and democratic ideas in the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. The main aim was to create an independent Armenian state by breaking the enslaving chains of "the sick man of Europe". The "Hunchak" party ("Bell" in English), became synonymous to "awakening,

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\(^1\)ԼիբանանահայՆորՍերունդըՀաւաքովՄըԱրտայայտեցԻրԶօրակցութիւնը
ԱրցախինԵւ
Ընդվզումը
`Ազրպէյճանի
Բռնարարքներուն
Դէմ
.(2016).

\(^2\)Վարձքը
Կատա՛ր
Բոլորին
Համաժողովրդային
Մեծ
Մասնակցութեամբ
ՀՅԴ
Լիբանանի
Կեդրոնական
Կոմիտէի
Կազմակերպած
Արցախի
Նուիրուած
Ռատիոթոն–
Նուիրահաւաքին
Հանգանակուեցաւ
274.770
Ամերիկեան
Տոլար
.(2016).
 Retrieved May 21, 2016, from http://www.aztagdaily.com/archives/291472(thank you all, 274 000 USD collected during the radiothon organized by the ARF Lebanon in assistance to NKR)
enlightenment and freedom." This was also the name given to the Party's inaugural newspaper ("Hunchak", 1887-1914)\textsuperscript{203}.

The Social Democrat Hunchakian Party shares a lot of its ideology with the latter established Armenian Revolutionary Federation, who both cooperated in the early stages of the Armenian revolutionary movement against the Ottoman Empire. However, following the Armenian genocide, their paths diverged especially after the cold war and separation of the world based on blocks and alliances, where in soviet Armenia the Social Democratic Hunchakian Party was welcomed to act and the Armenian Revolutionary Party was banned.

Nevertheless when it comes to National issues, such as the case with Nagorno Karabagh, both parties cooperate. One example is the aforementioned visit to the Lebanese Prime Minister Tammam Salam of the Hunchakian Party Member of Parliament Sebouh Kaplakian along with Hagop Pakradounian the Armenian Revolutionary Party Member of Parliament\textsuperscript{204}.

The Hunchakian party has also raised awareness about the issue of Nagorno Karabagh in areas where they are a majority in the Armenian population, through its newspaper and radio stations, as well as raising funds and awareness raising campaigns. One such event was the solidarity with the Armenian Army in Nagorno Karabagh during the latest April skirmishes that took place between Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabagh. The gathering took place at Armenia Street in Ashrafieh.\textsuperscript{205} Party members also visited

\begin{footnotes}
\item[205] \textit{Արցախի Զօրակցութեան Հաւաք (ֆոտոշարք)} Ամբողջական հոդվածը կարողեք կարդալ այս հասցեով՝ http://www.aravot.am/2016/04/10/677993/ © 1998 - 2016
\end{footnotes}
Artsakh during the four day war in April 2016, reaching the frontlines and checking what the fighters need as well as raising motivation.\textsuperscript{206}

Even though the Social Democrat Hunchagian Party had a fighting battalion in the Karabagh war of the 90s\textsuperscript{207}, the party has yet to have set up offices in Nagorno Karabagh, even though plans and organization are underway to found offices, chapters and branches in the Non-Recognized state\textsuperscript{208}.

5.3.3. Ramgavar:

The Ramgavar party due to their diminishing numbers, and focus on cultural affairs assists both Armenian Parties in any national matter. In fact, this party issues statements of cooperation as it also lends a helping hand to both the social democrat Hunchagian party and the Armenian revolutionary federation, when it comes to events and fundraising activities.

The Ramgavar party also assists through finding key figures in state legislatures for Armenian lobby groups to help in enlarging the scope of the recognition process of Nagorno Karabagh.

5.4. Conclusion

As discussed above, Armenia, the Diaspora and traditional political parties are the three main elements that considerably assist Nagorno Karabagh to their utmost capability in conducting its foreign policy. However, a question arises, since the


\textsuperscript{207} jirair-Mourad battalion led by Gevorg Guzelian

\textsuperscript{208} New Parties to be Set up in Nagorno Karabakh, Asbarez, retrieved from http://asbarez.com/39680/new-parties-to-be-set-up-in-karabakh/
foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh, is legally and majorly conducted through Armenia, and on the ground by Armenian political parties and the Diaspora working remotely from countries abroad. The dilemmic question would be the following: if conflicts of interest rise between Nagorno Karabagh and Armenia or the Diaspora, what consequences would this situation bring to the unrecognized state of Nagorno Karabagh? During the same interview cited above, the former minister of foreign affairs of Nagorno Karabagh explains that Armenia as a recognized state, also has to take into consideration the strengths and opinions of the Armenian Diaspora, since both Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh have had an independent status for just 25 years, whereas the Diaspora has acquired experience in political activity and diplomacy and government ties for almost a hundred years now. Thus, this makes both Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh dependent in some form on the Armenian Diaspora in order to insure their interests. The best example of conflict of interest was the Armenian Turkish protocols. There were many issues on the table, the Armenian genocide, the border between Armenia and Turkey, the diplomatic representation between the two, and the Nagorno Karabagh conflict. In the viewpoint of the Armenian government, when a problem singled out cannot be solved, it has to be solved in a general form, alongside a number of other problems as a package deal. The Armenian government was willing to go into negotiations with Turkey to open up the borders with Turkey, establish economic relationships, government ties, and give up some areas of Nagorno Karabagh to Azerbaijan in order to put an end to the conflict. The Diaspora was against any of these activities, and demanded the recognition of the Armenian genocide by the Turkish government. The Diaspora perceived the protocols were also against the interests of Nagorno Karabagh, and through protests around the world, stopping financial assistance, and lobbying in foreign governments, and exercising pressure on
groups and party ties, hence, putting these protocols on the down low and into a never ending tunnel, and thus, acting against the “corruption of the Armenian government” as the Diaspora called it, and for the greater good of Armenia, Nagorno Karabagh and the Armenian people in general. The level of democracy in Armenia is not as high as it should be, and the levels of corruption are as high as to compare the government to a regime, and for the first time the Armenian revolutionary Federation in Armenia demanded the resignation of the foreign minister of Armenia, following the Armenian Turkish protocols. This demonstrates that when the present government officials of Armenia, or Nagorno Karabagh, take action on policies that might damage the common good or greater good of the Armenians in general, the Diaspora and the second party in the conflict will work together in order to insure the greater good of the Armenian people in general. As for security fears, yes Armenia does have a regular standing army in Nagorno Karabagh, and so does Nagorno Karabagh, in the event of a conflict in which the Armenian government refuses to engage the army, the Nagorno Karabagh army is more than prepared to act against military aggression, but not without the Diaspora’s assistance, in the initial war phase of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict. Regardless of the fact that the Armenian revolutionary federation, and many other Armenian parties were banned in Armenia, because of soviet influence, these parties nevertheless proved their determined presence in the conflict, through finance, fighters and weapons on the ground, and not to mention diplomatic and political work on foreign ground. Therefore, this demonstrates that in the face of a greater threat Nagorno Karabagh, Armenia and the Diaspora put aside all their political differences aside and cooperated together to insuring the physical wellbeing of all parties concerned.
Chapter Six

Foreign policy achievements

6.1. Recognition

Nagorno Karabagh is an unrecognized state; its main intrinsic goal is to obtain recognition; and by recognition, it is meant the full and legitimate recognition of the international community. In fact, the state remains unrecognized up until this day, as former foreign minister Georgy Bedrossian, and the present prime minister Ara Haroutiounian continuously state. Aside from the indirect diplomatic representation the Non-Recognized state has in countries around the world, there are limited instances of government bodies and state legislatures that have accepted the Non-Recognized state. No Country has recognized Nagorno Karabagh as an independent state, yet federal states within those countries, and different bodies of government have done so. For example, within the United States of America, Louisiana\textsuperscript{209}, Rhode Island\textsuperscript{210}, Massachusetts\textsuperscript{211}, California\textsuperscript{212}, Georgia\textsuperscript{213}, Hawaii\textsuperscript{214} and Maine\textsuperscript{215} have all passed legislation recognizing the republic of Nagorno Karabagh, by contrast with other states such as Colorado, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Dakota, Tennessee and Wyoming who have rejected bills calling for the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan over

\textsuperscript{215} Massachusetts State legislature Calls for Recognition of Nagorno Karabagh, RFE/RL 2012.
Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{216}. It is also worth mentioning that the city of Montebello is twinned with the Nagorno Karabagh Republics capitol Stepanakert\textsuperscript{217}.

Outside of the United States, New South Wales Australia, Basque parliament, and three partially recognized states such as Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria\textsuperscript{218}. Other achievements in the field of recognition might be the pro Karabagh bills, recognition of election results, official state visits, official communications with international bodies and countries, and friendship committees. Examples are not limited to, but include a letter by the Nagorno Karabagh Republics foreign minister issued to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human rights, during the aftermath of the 4 day April war that took place in 2016. The Nagorno Karabagh republic issued complaints against Azerbaijani violations of human rights against villagers and civilians. Nagorno Karabagh is not a recognized state, yet a letter issued by an official of that Non-Recognized state was accepted and documented and studied by an official international organization\textsuperscript{219}.

In another instance, Hagop Pakradounian, a Lebanese member of parliament representing the Armenian Orthodox sect in Lebanon, and member of the Armenian Revolutionary federation met with the president of Nagorno Karabagh during a visit to the unrecognized state\textsuperscript{220}. This visit was not unique to Hagop Pakradounian, there have been a number of visits from Lebanese ministers and members of parliament from

\textsuperscript{216}{"Pro-Azerbeijan forces failed passing anti Armenian resolution in Tennessee". Panorama.am. May 26 2014. Retrieved December 13 2016.}

\textsuperscript{217}{"Montebello’s newest Sister City program has come under fire from an ambassador for the Republic of Azerbaijan" Whittier daily news. November 19, 2005.}


different sects and religions throughout the years. Of course this does not suggest a formal recognition from the Lebanese state towards Nagorno Karabagh, but the fact that officials are going on state visits to a Non-Recognized state is in part a step towards recognition. During a meeting between Armenian president Serge Sarkissian and former Lebanese president Michel Suleiman, the latter affirmed that Lebanon will always respect the right of Nagorno Karabagh to self-determination, furthermore he added the neutral stance Lebanon took in the Islamic Conference taking place in Turkey taken by prime minister Tammam Salam, during an anti Karabagh resolution as reaffirming to that position\textsuperscript{221}.

Azerbaijan, of course, has different methods of obstructing visits to Nagorno Karabagh, and apart from threatening to shoot down any aircraft headed towards the Non-Recognized state, it has also put in place a list of “persona non grata” or a black list of people and officials who have visited Nagorno Karabagh. Azerbaijan not only denies entry to Azerbaijan to anyone who has entered Nagorno Karabagh, but also it has gone a step further by issuing arrest warrants against those people or officials. One recent case that brought upon uproar internationally was related to Alexander Lapshin. Lapshin is a citizen of Russia, Israel and Ukraine, and is a renowned blogger and activist. He has visited Nagorno Karabagh a number of times, and had written about it in a blog with apparently what seemed to be anti-Azerbaijani sentiments, because of an Azerbaijani arrest warrant. As a matter of fact, Alexander Lapshin was arrested in Belarus and extradited to Azerbaijan, which aggravated Israel who is a strategic partner to Azerbaijan as well as Russia who exercised soft power against Belarus\textsuperscript{222}.


\textsuperscript{222}Ռուսաստանի պատասխանը Լապշինի արտահանմանը. Ռուսաստանում ադրբեջանցիները ձերբակալվել. (n.d.). Retrieved March 2, 2017, from http://www.panarmenian.net/eng/news/86156/#.TuHq9E1adw0.facebook
Selinopoulos Gianni, a Cypriot politician and former television presenter and political reported, had visited Nagorno Karabagh during February, which instigated what he calls “hysteria” from the government of Azerbaijan, to which he responded by saying that Nagorno Karabagh will not be part of Azerbaijan. Again, this does not mean that a formal recognition has taken place, yet it is only logical that Cyprus and its politicians have this sort of relationship with Nagorno Karabagh, since Azerbaijan has intrinsically linked relations with the Turkish part of Cyprus.

Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov also created uproar when suggesting that Nagorno Karabagh should represent itself during the peace process or negotiation table, instead of being represented by Armenia. This sentiment created anxiousness within Azerbaijan since accepting a Non-Recognized state on a negotiation table and giving it the right of negotiation might open the way towards recognition, especially with special ties Russia holds with both Azerbaijan and Armenia as well as with the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh. For instance, despite the fact that Russia does not recognize the republic of Nagorno Karabagh, a number of Russian politicians such as president Putin and Dimitri Medvedev, hold business interests and investments within Nagorno Karabagh.

http://www.aravot.am/2017/02/14/855211/(Russia answers Lapshins arrest by arresting Azerbaijani in Russia)


Georgy, Bedrossian. "Interview with the former minister of foreign affairs." Razmig, editorial. 25-1(November 2016)
In addition, Iran holds a border with Armenia, but a much larger border exists with Nagorno Karabagh. Against this background, a number of Iranian tourists head to the Non-Recognized state during visits to Armenia, especially after the pro Karabagh stance Iran took during the April war mentioned above. Thus, the latest relationship that includes collective defense agreements worried the Azerbaijani side of Iranian involvement in the Nagorno Karabagh conflict which lead the Iranians to state that the relationship between both countries not meant to threaten anyone\textsuperscript{227}.

A noteworthy mention of recognition is the latest visit of Armenian President Serge Sarkissian to France. During this visit the Armenian president met with his French counterpart Hollande. During the discussions that took place, the French president scratched the surface of recognition of Nagorno Karabagh through public statements saying that republic of Nagorno Karabagh has the right for self-determination\textsuperscript{228}, which lies at the core of the argument of why Nagorno Karabagh should be recognized. Such statements uttered by the top office of a European power are worthy examples of the successful road of the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh towards recognition.

It has already been mentioned above that during the past year a referendum took place in Nagorno Karabagh in order to change the constitution. As a result a number of states and international organizations took interest into these elections. An Armenian

\textsuperscript{227}العلاقات بين إيران وأرمينيا يمكن أن تكون نموذجاً في العالم الذي يشهد نهجاً متطرفداً التعاون المشترك بين البلدين يمكن أن يؤدي إلى إحلال السلام والأمن في المنطقة وزير الخارجية الإيراني خلال لقاءه مع وزير الدفاع الأرمني. (n.d.). Retrieved March 24, 2017, from https://www.armenpress.am/ara/news/876996.html (Iranian foreign minister after meeting with Armenian defense minister: Armenian Iranian relations can turn into a model of cooperation to the world that is witness to fundamentalism and lead to peace and security in the region)

European joint commission for Artsakh constitutional elections was formed, Bolivian members of parliament joined in as observers for the referendum, the European observers made a statement saying that the referendum and the constitution are in accordance with the European Union standards, Belgian parliamentarians also joined in as international observers for the elections and the results. The above mentioned, might not be considered as a formal recognition of the republic of Nagorno Karabagh, yet it is interesting to see how European and other countries have reacted to the election referendum and constitution of a Non-Recognized state. Accepting election results and a constitution of a Non-Recognized state is nothing but a step short of official recognition of a said state. Azerbaijan on the other hand, retaliated with issuing arrest warrants for election observers, and issued a request to the Interpol, which was denied on the grounds that Azerbaijani national law does not dictate the actions of the Interpol. After said request was denied by the Interpol, the Azerbaijani courts went a step further and filed a lawsuit against European Parliament members Frank Engel, Eleni Theocharous and Yarmir Shdedini for taking part in the referendum


as observers. Frank Engel had also stated that Nagorno Karabagh will never return to Azerbaijan\textsuperscript{235}, and after the lawsuit was announced, Engel replied by stating that rain or shine he will remain with Artsakh\textsuperscript{236} (Nagorno Karabagh is also known as Artsakh). Armenia has not formally recognized the independence of Nagorno Karabagh, despite the relations it carries on with the state in terms of infrastructure, diplomacy, and security. In fact, during its international visits and during the negotiation process of the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh, Armenia has always had the stance of defending the right of Nagorno Karabagh and its people to self-determination and has recently stated that this right is not up for negotiation\textsuperscript{237}. Remaining within the realm of the political spectrum of Armenia, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation is actively calling for the recognition of Nagorno Karabagh by the Armenian government in its campaign for the upcoming parliamentary elections\textsuperscript{238}.

The Armenian national congress of America (ANCA) hosted an event for Nagorno Karabagh on Capitol Hill where the 25\textsuperscript{th} year of independence was celebrated with congressmen and senators present\textsuperscript{239}, there also exists a committee for relations with Nagorno Karabagh in the American Senate\textsuperscript{240}. ANCA and the Armenian Lobby, did not endorse anyone during the latest American presidential elections, however, they


\textsuperscript{238}Եթե Հայաստանն Արցախի անկախությունը ճանաչի, հայկական երկու պետությունները կարողեն որոշել միանալ իրար. (n.d.). Retrieved March 24, 2017, from http://yerkirmmedia.am/social/hayastan-arccakhi-koir-koiryoan/(if Armenia recognizes Karabagh independence, both republics can chose to unite)


have a tenuous relationship with President Trump. In fact, the lobby believes that there is actual hope for the recognition of Nagorno Karabagh by the United States, through urging Trump to be the person resolving the Nagorno Karabagh conflict²⁴¹.

Austria declared that the issue of Nagorno Karabagh is of dire importance to Austria given that Austria is to head the OSCE Minsk group that deals with the issue of Nagorno Karabagh, hence, the pro Armenian stance of the state of Austria is encouraging towards formal recognition of Nagorno Karabagh²⁴².

Other initiatives concentrate on raising awareness about Nagorno Karabagh through cultural activities and events, such as the tourism expo that had taken place in Brussels, Nagorno Karabagh had formally taken a stand and exhibited touristic sites within the region as well as products from Nagorno Karabagh²⁴³.

The main hindrance of the recognition process of Nagorno Karabagh falls in the realm of the conflict and the territories within its Jurisdiction. As previously discussed, there have been many international, Turkish and Azerbaijani offers to resolve the conflict and recognize Nagorno Karabagh as a state or as part of Armenia, in return for territories. This tit-for-tat way of negotiating was rejected by Armenians since the territories in question put the security of both Nagorno Karabagh and Armenia under risk of Azerbaijani aggression in the future taking into account how Azerbaijan went as far as mentioning that Armenia is historical Azerbaijani land²⁴⁴. Recently the

parliament of Nagorno Karabagh unanimously voted against a deal for recognition in return of territories.\textsuperscript{245}

\subsection*{6.2. Security from invasion and war}

National security is one goal that all countries have in common. The security of one’s borders, nation, and citizens is of the most prior responsibilities of a government. In the case of Nagorno Karabagh, an unrecognized state, security is an even larger concern, since there is no truce signed between Azerbaijan and Karabagh, the two members of the conflict. Moreover the cease fire agreement signed between both countries is in constant violation from the Azerbaijani side. The relatively small Nagorno Karabagh with its 150 000 residents and a small army, with its unrecognized status is not subject to international defense, nor protection of international law, and is defied by a major oil producing country entrenched in military agreements and a high military budget. Thus security is one of Nagorno Karabagh’s major foreign policy goals.

Since the signing of the cease fire agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan, 2000 deaths have occurred on the Armenian side with direct violation of the cease fire agreement by the Azerbaijani side.\textsuperscript{246} Azerbaijan is also allied and has military pacts with its “brother” nation Turkey, who is a NATO ally, and given the hostilities between Armenia (Nagorno Karabagh’s patron state) and Turkey, the situation is even more worrying for Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh.\textsuperscript{247} After each cease fire break and

\begin{footnotes}
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especially during the April war of 2016 Azerbaijan had full sport of the republic of
turkey in terms of funds, military support and political cover. Thus the risk of
renewed conflict is high and expected by all parties of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict,
the United Nations chairman of the Security Council expressed his concerns also of a
renewed eruption of conflict between Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan. As such,
the Armenian side along with the Armenian Government, the Diaspora and the
traditional Armenian political parties are in full throttle to safeguard the security of
Nagorno Karabagh. Therefore, this results in calls for peace, military sales to the
Armenian side, halting of military aid to Azerbaijan, statements of support to Nagorno
Karabagh, protests, lobbying activities, awareness raising campaigns, and even direct
military support. Armenia is the main patron state of Nagorno Karabagh and more
particularly on a military level. Hence, the Armenian army is the main presence on
the borders of Nagorno Karabagh, it is, in fact, the Armenian army who fights and
defends Nagorno Karabagh. After the April war, the Armenian authorities reaffirmed
their promise to protect Karabagh and punish and crush any aggression made by the
state of Azerbaijan against Nagorno Karabagh. The president and prime minister of
Nagorno Karabagh have regular meetings with Armenian generals, and the president
in order to discuss a rise in threats and military drills as well as military hierarchy.

“There is no difference between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh,” according to

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248 Erdoghan and Aliev discuss Karabagh issue. (2017, March 02). Retrieved March 24,
2017, from www.asbarez.com

249 UN Security Council – Karabakh Facts, a Comprehensive Database on the Nagorno-Karabakh
council/

250 L. (n.d.). Հայաստանը խոստացել է ջախջախել թշնամու յուրաքանչյուր ռազմական
(Armenia Promises to destroy each Azerbaijani aggression)

251 President of Nagorno Karabagh meets with chief of staff of the military of Armenia.

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Richard Kauzlarich, who served as U.S. ambassador to Azerbaijan from 1994–97, when the war for Nagorno-Karabakh came to a head. “There is no Nagorno-Karabakh military—it’s a military force integrated with the army of Armenia . . . there’s no way an entity the size of NK can support this kind of military establishment, both in terms of size and equipment, on its own.” In other words, an Armenian arms purchase is a Karabakh arms purchase.252

One example of foreign countries supporting the security of Nagorno Karabagh is France. In the same visit sited above, president Hollande called for peace in the Nagorno Karabagh region while meeting president serge Sarkissian253, and yet at the same time affirmed its support to the right of Armenia in punishing aggression from the Azerbaijani side254. This statement aggravated Azerbaijani president Ilham Aliev, who expressed his anger during a later visit to Paris. During this same meeting, the president of France also called on Aliev to respect the cease fire agreement and work towards peace instead of refueling the conflict255. France as mentioned above is also part of the OSCE Minsk group and continues to push pro Karabagh resolutions to the conflict. The French stand point comes from the presence of nearly 500,000 Armenians


within France\textsuperscript{256}, and as in the United States of America, the mobilization of those 500,000 Armenians into an active political power and a good number of votes\textsuperscript{257}.

When it comes to Russia, the situation is more complicated than that of France. Russia is also part of the OSCE Minsk group, and is in ties with both Azerbaijan and Armenia, yet a collective defense agreement with Armenia that is active till date is controversial as to Russian protection of the Nagorno Karabagh region. The agreement sites that Russia will support Armenia wherever the Armenian army is engaged in warfare, given that most of the border between Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan is protected by the Armenian Army, this puts Russia at a standoff with Azerbaijan. Regardless, Russia does not seem to back off, many Russian officials have stated their support of Nagorno Karabagh and its right to defend itself. As a matter of fact, during the latest talks with Armenia about a collective defense task force between Armenia and Russia, the issue of Nagorno Karabagh did not seem to bother the Russian side, the timing was also interesting as it came after the April war, along with a hefty arms sale deal between Armenia and Russia, whereby for the first time Iskandar missiles were sold and situated outside of the borders of Russia thus creating a kind of deterrence between the conflicting sides\textsuperscript{258}. Russia goes further in its stance in favor of the security of Nagorno Karabagh with pushing to have Russian army observers stationed on the borders between Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabagh similar to the UNIFIL forces in Lebanon\textsuperscript{259}. The Russian stance comes from a geopolitical stand point; Armenia


\textsuperscript{257} Ibid.


borders Iran, and also borders the nearest NATO country to its borders, Turkey, thus geopolitically having a safe and secure Armenia as an ally is of utmost importance to the Russian federation even if it means adopting a pro Karabagh stance.

Speaking of NATO, recently the United States of America has taken a greater interest in bringing in Armenia closer to its side rather than Russia, however, Armenia does not seem to be changing its alliances soon. This does not mean that the United States is not trying. Even though a NATO country, Turkey is in full support of Azerbaijan and is in an unfriendly relationship (to say the least) with Armenia. In fact, this does not end military drills and trainings between the Armenian army and NATO\textsuperscript{260}, as the president clearly states that these trainings remain within the realm of a friendly relationship and nothing more, and will not affect the relationship with Russia\textsuperscript{261}.

While still in the realm of NATO, the relationship with the United States of America works differently. The United States is considered a friendly state to Armenia taking into consideration its national interest, turkey and Azerbaijan are very close allies. Additionally, as mentioned above the Armenian lobby is a very intense presence in Washington. In fact, following the election of president Donald Trump, ANCA, the main lobbying body of the American Armenian population, came up with a campaign to contact senators and congressmen to take into consideration Armenian American priorities in their resolutions, including military aid to Nagorno Karabagh, blocking trade deals with Azerbaijan and overall damaging Azerbaijani interests and pushing


for the interests of Nagorno Karabagh. Most noteworthy of these actions of the lobby group are matters concerning military deals; the most recent call for action was countering the “iron dome” sale to Azerbaijan in the American congress, as well as increasing military aid to Armenia and thus indirectly to Nagorno Karabagh. During the April war, the Armenian youth federations around the world and most notably in the United States of America started a with our soldiers campaign, where they raised funds for wounded soldiers, families of dead martyrs and the army in general. As part of the work the Armenian American community put in, notable universities started taking action regarding Nagorno Karabagh, one instance was MIT. In this respect, MIT actually organized an event where a pro Armenian explanation was given about the April 4 day war between Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan.

After a meeting between Armenian defense secretary and Iranian minister of Defense, talks about a collective defense pact are on the rise between Armenia and Iran, and as mentioned above, any arms deal involving Armenia is indirectly an arms deal with Nagorno Karabagh. After the pro Armenian stance Iran took during the April war, and an overall coldness and mild hostility with Azerbaijan, Iran entering an arms deal with Armenia would further secure the southern border of Nagorno Karabagh, and would intrinsically add an immediate threat to Azerbaijan in case of aggression on its southern border.
border with Iran. Thus, decreasing the chances of Azerbaijani aggression and increasing the security of Nagorno Karabagh.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation has been advocating for Nagorno Karabagh since the dawn of the conflict. As a revolutionary political party, the ARF never fended away from engaging in military or para-military activity. The ARF had battalions fighting in the conflict of Nagorno Karabagh, and some even say that the ARF was a whole side in itself to the conflict. Party members from Lebanon, Armenia, Russia, the United States of America, Europe and Latin America rushed to fight alongside the Armenian armies in defense of Nagorno Karabagh in the 90s. The same was repeated in the 2016 4 day war where party cadres in Armenia ordered military drills and send battalions to Nagorno Karabagh. One battalion was even assigned defense of the northern border upon the request of the government of Nagorno Karabagh. The ARF has sworn to protect Nagorno Karabagh and continues to incorporate the security of Nagorno Karabagh and Armenia in its campaigns, may they be celebratory or election related. The Armenian revolutionary federation also sent military aid during the April war, and conducted fund raisers and awareness raising campaigns all over the world within the Armenian communities, and mobilized its resources in time to assist the Armenian army before the 4 day war was over. The ARF is also an
active political party within Nagorno Karabagh, and as such comes to odds with the leadership of the country for many political reasons. Yet, when it comes to national security all political differences are set aside and agreements are made to resolve the issues272.

Moreover, after having discussed Diaspora activities regarding the security of Nagorno Karabagh, it is worth mentioning that a number of celebrities of Armenian decent keep raising awareness for Nagorno Karabagh, and some go as far as providing military aid and not just financial assistance273. The international football star, Henrik Mkhitarian collected money and donated to families of Nagorno Karabagh, yet he also donated direct military equipment to the army274. Another instance is the controversial social media and poker star Dan Bilzerian, who also donated sniper rifles to the Nagorno Karabagh army275. Aside from celebrities, the Armenian youth in Argentina,276 France,277 the United States of America278 and Lebanon279 engaged in raising millions of
dollars in funds to support the army of Nagorno Karabagh, but more importantly, raised awareness about the situation, honored the martyrs and protested for international action to cease all hostilities between Nagorno Karabagh and Azerbaijan. It can be observed that the security scheme of Nagorno Karabagh is complicated, yet security of the unrecognized state remains at the heart of the foreign policy conducted. Moreover, the significance it has for the groups mentioned in the thesis who conduct this foreign policy insures that these parties have and will mobilize all resources and methods at their disposal in order to insure the security of the state of Nagorno Karabagh. Yes the borders are subject to skirmishes, but the fact that over the past 2 decades and a half, no territory has been lost to Azerbaijan, and invasion has not succeeded means that the security aspect of the foreign policy has been successful in creating a deterrence towards a serious security threat.

6.3. Economic growth

Nagorno Karabagh, through conducting its foreign policy and through the means it resorts to, such as Armenia, the political parties and the Diaspora, has succeeded in recording numbers in economic growth comparable to that of recognized well governed countries. The prime minister, in a speech addressed on Capitol Hill noted that over the last 20 years, GDP per capita in Nagorno Karabagh increased 12-fold – if it was $250 in 1995, now the unrecognized state has reached $3000 in 2015. Moreover, Nagorno Karabagh has recorded a 10 percent average GDP growth rate, which can be considered a desirable pace for many countries. The economies of Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh are so intertwined that it is hard to separate them at times, what is very interesting though is that the economic growth of Nagorno

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Karabagh has had a positive effect on the economy of Armenia, in an unusual turn of events, an unrecognized state is benefiting a recognized state\textsuperscript{281}. Currently, the Armenian prime minister has said that during the fiscal year 2017 there are 345 new investment projects planned in Armenia\textsuperscript{282} which will definitely pour direct money into Nagorno Karabagh, based on the mutual dependability between both countries. Adding to these projects, based on an economic agreement between Armenia and Iran, a duty free economic zone will be established in Meghri by the end of 2017, which is a province of Armenia bordering Iran and Nagorno Karabagh. Hence, a duty free economic zone right at the entrance of Nagorno Karabagh is a breath of fresh air for the economy of Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{283}. This summer Nagorno Karabagh keeping pace with the republic of Armenia has organized a number of festivals and exhibitions in order to boost tourism\textsuperscript{284}, and has advertised them in international fairs and events as mentioned above in order to reach the maximum number of tourists that will enter Armenia over the summer.

At the level of the Diaspora, other than tourism and visits to Nagorno Karabagh, a number of tactics are used in order to boost the economy of Nagorno Karabagh. After extensive work of the Armenian Lobby in America, the ANCA has succeeded in persuading the California senate, Americas only self-sufficient state into establishing a Select Committee on California, Armenia and Artsakh Mutual Trade, Art and

\textsuperscript{282} 2017 مشروعاً استثمارياً في عام 345 (the Armenian Government will launch 345 investment programs in 2017)
Cultural Exchange\textsuperscript{285}, which will establish ties between both states and establish trade opportunities that will definitely open up new markets for the republic of Nagorno Karabagh. California is also home to the Armenia Fund which is a fund established in California with a global reach, the Armenia fund has raised 120 Million American dollars globally since its establishment in 1994\textsuperscript{286}, and has paid for infrastructure projects such as, housing and urban development, roads and highways (including the road connecting Armenia to Nagorno Karabagh) rural development and support, agricultural development, public health and medicine, support for veterans, schools and colleges, water infrastructure, culture and heritage\textsuperscript{287}. This fund collects money from Armenians around the world in a televised telethon once a year, where volunteers from Armenian schools and organizations handle the phones and do the calculations. Residential projects are a big must when talking about enhancing the economy of Nagorno Karabagh. Since war ravaged, villages and cities are becoming more and more uninhabitable, funds and donations and investment are needed in order to help the people have livable conditions. As part of those residential projects the Catholicosate of Cilicia, which is the head of the Armenian Orthodox Church in the Diaspora and is based in Lebanon Antelias donated and oversaw the construction of 15 homes and handed them over to families in Nagorno Karabagh\textsuperscript{288}. The Ari project is also a residential project set forth by the Artsakh Fund established by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation which builds homes in the border areas of Nagorno Karabagh to ensure the security of those borders by creating sustainable living in those


areas, 6 million dollars has already been collected for investing in the regions of Shahumyan and Kashatagh\(^\text{289}\). After the April war and new obstacles rising, the Armenian Revolutionary federation hosted a Gala dinner in Paris, inviting the rich Armenian classes and raised 3.8 million dollars to be used for projects regarding the Armenian Cause, including the Nagorno Karabagh territory\(^\text{290}\). Following the investment projects in Nagorno Karabagh, and seeing the results of a noteworthy stable economy investment levels and amounts are on the rise from new countries also, from Europe to Australia to many Arab countries people have started investing in Nagorno Karabagh\(^\text{291}\).

There are too many economic projects, organizations that deal with financial assistance, or initiatives to better the economy of Nagorno Karabagh to speak of in just one section of this thesis, but in order to have a better image in mind it would be fair to site numbers: in less than a year, from April 2016 until the second of February 2017 a total of 11,332,022.5495 US Dollars has been transferred to Nagorno Karabagh without taking into consideration the numbers stated above\(^\text{292}\).


6.4. How these objectives have been met

The established links between the Armenian Diaspora, Armenia, Nagorno Karabagh and the host countries have been presented and studied throughout this thesis, and how these relations work to conduct a foreign policy for Nagorno Karabagh, overcoming the obstacles that a Non-Recognized country encounters. In short, the Armenian Diaspora uses its influence over the host country, through lobbies and voting power, through members of parliaments and cabinets, to pressure these countries into entering into relations with the home countries Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh.

In terms of the first foreign policy goal, which is recognition, it has been discussed how the diplomatic corps of Nagorno Karabagh actually use Armenian passports, thus, Armenia becoming a bridge connecting the rest of the international community to Nagorno Karabagh. Also, it has been viewed how the diaspora and Armenian traditional political parties, safeguard that officials from Nagorno Karabagh are recognized and taken into consideration during meetings. The Armenian lobby groups in Europe and America pushing congressmen and members of parliament to draft resolutions and letters calling for the recognition of Nagorno Karabagh, as well as visiting said country and making statements there has also been discussed. The result of these activities by the Diaspora and traditional political parties, is also evident in the fact that some local bodies of states have already passed legislation recognizing the independence of Nagorno Karabagh.

In terms of the second foreign policy goal, which is security, it has been discussed how Armenia secures the borders of Nagorno Karabagh with its own military force, and secures arms and armaments from its own military cooperation with the world. Moreover, we have deeply labored on how Armenian organizations and political parties have assisted and guaranteeing the security of the borders of Nagorno
Karabagh, during the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, the signing of the Armenian Turkish protocols, as well as during the latest April war through awareness raising, sending militants, and collecting funds to assist the army. Not to mention, passing resolutions and obstructing pro Azerbaijani resolutions in international bodies.

When it comes to the third foreign policy goal, economic growth, the prime minister has already mentioned that the economy of Nagorno Karabagh is growing at a pace of 10.4%\(^{293}\). It has been studied how Armenia assists Nagorno Karabagh in terms of military spending and energy such as electricity and oil and gas. Additionally, this study has also discussed the noticeable amount of money the Diaspora has raised through the Armenia Fund, and how the Armenian political parties and Diaspora organizations assist and encourage investments in the Non-Recognized state, thus maintaining a well-balanced role in the economic situation of Nagorno Karabagh.

Finally it is safe to conclude that Armenia, the Armenian Diaspora and the traditional Armenian political parties, are the three main factors that have assisted Nagorno Karabagh in overcoming the obstacles it holds as a Non-Recognized state in conducting its foreign policy. And as the results show, it is safe to say that they have done so successfully.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

After more than two decades of being a part of an on-off frozen conflict, and after almost a century of being a controversial topic in the politics and affairs of the caucuses, Nagorno Karabagh stands today as an unrecognized state. Although there is no international consensus about the situation of the Nagorno Karabagh independence, it still serves as a de-facto state, and as discussed above, enjoys the needed components of a state such as government infrastructure, permanent population and control over its borders, yet, is still short of recognition as the term Non-Recognized suggests. It is unlikely for a Non-Recognized state to have a foreign policy, yet it is not completely unheard of. It has been studied and seen that Nagorno Karabagh has a foreign policy with the most visible goals being recognition, security and economic growth. After extensive research, and detailed representation, the findings show that the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh conducts its foreign policy through external parties who have no direct links to its government structure, i.e. the Republic of Armenia, the Diaspora and the traditional Armenian political parties. This thesis, has followed through on the evolution of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, and how it engulfed Armenia, the Diaspora and the traditional Armenian political parties. It has been seen how this engulfment has created a sense of shared identity that is based in history, and is also connected to a sense of shared fate. How these ties have gone through upheavals through for example the Armenian Turkish protocols period, and how they have come back as strong if not stronger than before, after settling the issue has also been studied. Additionally, the ties the Armenian diaspora, republic and the traditional parties have held with the Non-Recognized state historically, ethnically and
in the present situation, have been closely observed, not to mention the evident different factors that have led to the conduction of the foreign policy of the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh.

Even though the international environment is not ripe enough for Nagorno Karabagh to be recognized as an independent and fully recognized state, the continuous changing tides of international relations, the rise and fall of world systems and the successful maneuvering of the parties of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict, help keep the options for conducting a foreign policy towards the betterment of the Non-Recognized state viable.

Nagorno Karabagh is not unique in conducting a foreign policy whilst being unrecognized, yet the way it conducts its foreign policy is unique to any country. The mobilization of resources that aren’t even at Nagorno Karabagh’s disposal is a key aspect that makes the Non-Recognized states foreign policy so unique. As seen, Nagorno Karabagh stands as an unrecognized state today, with limited recognition, yet with a democratic system of governance, healthy economy, and strong capability in defending itself. These goals are easily found in any nation’s foreign policy formulation, yet it is surprising to find that a Non-Recognized state has achieved most of these goals in levels that rival most recognized states, and all the while remaining in a state of conflict and isolation. The foreign policy goals of the Non-Recognized state, and how they have met with success through the integration of mixed and non-traditional ways of conducting foreign policy has also been discussed. Even though some of the results are not absolute, such as recognition, the impact the three factors of foreign policy conduction have in paving the way towards the goal of recognition are nonetheless distinct.
It is evident that the republic of Armenia, the diaspora and the traditional Armenian parties work closely with the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh in order to tackle the foreign policy goals of the Non-Recognized state and break the isolation that a Non-Recognized state is subject to. The success this foreign policy has portrayed is not only evident in the reflection it has on Nagorno Karabagh itself, but also the effects it has on the Azerbijani government. Ilham Aliev, the long standing president of Azerbaijan has also spoken on the subject, stating that the Armenian Lobby (mentioned as part of the Armenian Diaspora) is the biggest enemy of the state of Azerbaijan, and that he is not afraid to call it a truth and a reality\textsuperscript{294}. The mere fact that this lobby’s strength is recognized by the state of Azerbaijan, and mentioned to be a bigger threat then the standing army on the borders, is evidence that the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh conducted through entities such as the Armenian lobby is a success worthy of mention. It is necessary to take into account, when discussing Nagorno Karabagh’s advancement in conducting foreign policy, the continuous visits from recognized countries’ officials who have a considerable influence on the international scene. Not to mention, the numerous reports and resolutions adopted in said countries and the legislatures, as a result of the relations the republic of Armenia has with those countries. In this context, it proves to be important to mention the traditional political parties political activities, alliances and contacts in those countries, who keep breathing life into the conduction of foreign policy for Nagorno Karabagh despite the obstacles set forth by its unrecognized status. Against this background, this thesis comes to prove that embassies and ambassadors, can be substituted by a patron states diplomats, as well as a diaspora with these figures and local political parties to drive the cause of a Non-Recognized state forward. Bilateral trade relations and regional organizations for

trade and commerce can be substituted with investment plans and lobbying activities engulfing internationally influential countries in order to safeguard economic growth and survive as a state. And finally this thesis proves that a patron state, a strong diaspora, and influential political parties can help the smallest of armies defend a Non-Recognized state through direct military involvement, to emergency fund raising and lobbying for defense pacts and international pressure.

It has been discussed how the obstacles to an unrecognized state conducting foreign policy have been diverged and how Nagorno Karabagh, as an unrecognized state, has been able to conduct its foreign policy and achieve most of its goals with success through correctly mobilizing and acting out its resources, with the use of an efficient and productive political maneuvering system, and a vast international network of compatriots with no direct links to the Non-recognized state.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to Nagorno Karabagh’s Prime Minister Ara Haroutiounyan’s speech in Washington on Capitol Hill, during the celebrations of the 25th year of independence of Nagorno Karabagh in congress, organized by the Armenian National Committee of America (the Armenian lobby in the United States of America). In his speech, the prime minister stressed the points in common between the struggle for US independency and the case of Nagorno Karabagh, and stressed the successes in human rights and freedoms, where he said: “After 25 years of our own independence, it can be stated that the Republic of Artsakh has recorded considerable successes in regards to respecting and guaranteeing human rights and freedoms, building liberal market-based economy and a democratic political system.”295 Thus, the prime minister went further in portraying Nagorno Karabagh as an independent state

with a government infrastructure, to a worthy member of the international system through its respect of international norms and values. He went on to speak about the improvements in the quality of life and economic growth with the numbers provided throughout the thesis, and added that the numbers are competitive and desirable for any recognized country to have. He stressed the protection of the environment and the ecological steps the government has taken and thanked the United States in its support for the Non-Recognized state. What is more important is that the Prime minister went as far as to mention investors from Lebanon Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora and he himself mentioned the impact they have had in reaching the foreign policy goals of the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh, He said: “Restoration and further development of Artsakh’s economy and ruined infrastructures became possible due to effective management of domestic resources and constant assistance and investments by Armenia and the Diaspora. Besides, we continuously attract foreign investments, many of which have proved to be profitable and successful in Artsakh. For example, one of our largest investors is from Lebanon who owns our telecommunication company. Among numerous foreign investors, we have also Italian clothing brands. Another interesting example is the domestic production of black caviar, which was launched with a large foreign direct investment and the investor is expected to export black caviar from Artsakh very soon.”

296In terms of recognition as a foreign policy goal, the Prime minister also said that he is grateful to the states that have recognized and supported Nagorno Karabagh (Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, Louisiana, California, Georgia and Hawaii) which took place thanks to the efforts of the Armenian Lobby in America. The most noteworthy part of the speech was when the Prime minister thanked Congressman Chris Smith who sponsored the “Azerbaijan Sanctions

296Ibid, 122.
Bill” backed by the Armenian Lobby in the United States. He also mentioned congressmen Ed Royce and Eliot Engel who had also introduced a bill with 80 signatures from congress in order to remove snipers from both sides of the border which would ensure less violence around the border, this too was possible thanks to the efforts of the Armenian Lobby in the United States. He went on to clearly state “We are also happy that in the latest elections the overwhelming majority of our friends in the Congress received the vote of the American citizens. I cordially congratulate you on earning that high trust and I’m sure that it will contribute to further deepening of our friendship.”\(^\text{297}\) This is an obvious remark towards the work of the Armenian Political Parties in gathering the Armenian vote and directing it towards congressmen that would benefit the needs of the community regarding the Nagorno Karabagh issue\(^\text{298}\). The Prime Minister finished his speech by thanking the organizers of the event, i.e. the Armenian Lobby in the United States of America. From the Prime Ministers speech, we can surely find the references made to the Armenian Diaspora, their investments, the contacts they have and the political and economic activity all three parties that contribute to the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh have done and committed to. Such statements made by the Prime Minister of Nagorno Karabagh, taking into consideration that his presence on capitol hill was itself organized by the Armenian lobby of America, is the most direct and evident proof of the contributions to the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh, and how that policy is conducted towards recognition, economic growth and security.

After the deliberation and vast detailed breakdown of the history, nature and environment of the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh, and after mentioning

\(^{297}\)Ibid, 122.  
^{298}\)Ibid, 122.
the components that make up the Non-Recognized state as well as the goals it has as a de-facto country, and especially after mentioning in detail the way the foreign policy of Nagorno Karabagh is conducted, our thesis question can be finally answered through scientific deduction and conclude that the Non-Recognized state of Nagorno Karabagh successfully conducts its foreign policy through the republic of Armenia, the Armenian Diaspora, and the traditional Armenian political parties.
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