

**Committee:** Special Political and Decolonization Committee (GA4)

**Issue:** The political status of Nagorno-Karabakh

**Student Officer:** Evangelos Tasios

**Position:** Co-Chair

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## PERSONAL INTRODUCTION

Dear Delegates,

My name is Evangelos Tasios and I will be serving as one of the Co-Chairs of this year's DSTMUN Special Political and Decolonization Committee. Having participated in many conferences, either as a delegate or as a chair, I can assure you that MUN is much more than just an extracurricular activity; it is also an amazing chance to develop your skills, have fun and make everlasting friendships.

This guide is going to focus on the political status of Nagorno-Karabakh, a disputed region of the South Caucasus, which has been a source of controversy and conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan for many years. It has caused the death of many civilians, the straining of the relations of the two countries, while many more countries are getting involved in order to promote their interests. Your task will be to find the best possible solutions to the issue on hand, aiming to preventing military escalation of the dispute. This means that you will need to cooperate and compromise with each other and of course, be sufficiently prepared. This guide will mostly be useful to the latter, introducing you to the basics of the topic and while not a substitute for personal research, it will help you initiate it.

Should you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me via e-mail at [evaggelost@outlook.com](mailto:evaggelost@outlook.com). I wish you a productive and thorough research and I am looking forward to meeting you all in November!

Sincerely,

Evangelos Tasios

## TOPIC INTRODUCTION



**Figure 1: Post-soviet conflicts in the Caucasus Region**

overlapped and nations, being heavily influenced by nationalism and the idea of a nation-state, claimed every possible region which contained parts of their ethnic population. Two of those were Armenia and Azerbaijan, which both claimed the province of Nagorno-Karabakh. The province lies on the southeastern part of Caucasus Minor, encompassing most of the Karabakh mountain-range, up to the eastern parts of the Karabakh plateau and the lowlands of the Kura River.

The inability of both neighboring countries to communicate and compromise with each other to solve the issue, harmed their relations irreversibly, escalating soon into war. During the conflict thousands of people died, while many more were displaced. However a peace treaty to officially end the war was never signed and as such this conflict is considered the longest-running post-soviet conflict. Nowadays, the province, while legally being a part of Azerbaijan, is de-facto independent, supported by Armenian forces which have also occupied the surrounding area. To find a solution that satisfies all parties, the true complexity of the dispute, as well as history must be understood. However, all attempts to reach a solution so far have failed. Therefore, the war remains in 'stasis', with border incidents taking place occasionally.



**Figure 2:  
Geographical  
location of  
Nagorno-  
Karabakh**

## DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

### Self-Determination

The United Nations defines self-determination as the right to “freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”<sup>1</sup>

### Principle of Territorial Integrity

According to article 2 of the United Nations Charter and international law, the principle of territorial integrity protects the ‘wholeness’ of a state. This means that other states should not promote separatist movements, push border changes by force, or support forced border changes in others.

### Status Quo

“The existing state of affairs”<sup>2</sup>

### De jure

“Having a right or existence as stated by law”<sup>3</sup>

### De facto

“Existing in fact, although perhaps not intended, legal, or accepted”<sup>4</sup>

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

### From antiquity to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Nagorno-Karabakh’s history dates back to antiquity, when around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC it is mentioned for the first time by ancient historians as a province of the Armenian kingdom named Artsakh, a name that is still in use by the Armenians. Moving on through the ages, Artsakh becomes de-facto part of Sassanid Persia and during that time, the Armenian alphabet was created there. The Arabic invasions of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, led to the establishment of the independent principality of Khachen, in the former Artsakh province. The principality survived despite pressure by the Byzantines and numerous invasions of many Turkic hordes, until the 16<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>“International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.” OHCHR, [www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx](http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx).

<sup>2</sup>“Status Quo.” Merriam-Webster, Merriam-Webster, [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/status\\_quo](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/status_quo).

<sup>3</sup>“DE JURE | Meaning In The Cambridge English Dictionary”. *Dictionary.Cambridge.Org*, 2020, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/de-jure>.

<sup>4</sup>“DE FACTO | Meaning In The Cambridge English Dictionary”. *Dictionary.Cambridge.Org*, 2020, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/de-facto>.



**Figure 3: The Medieval Caucasus**

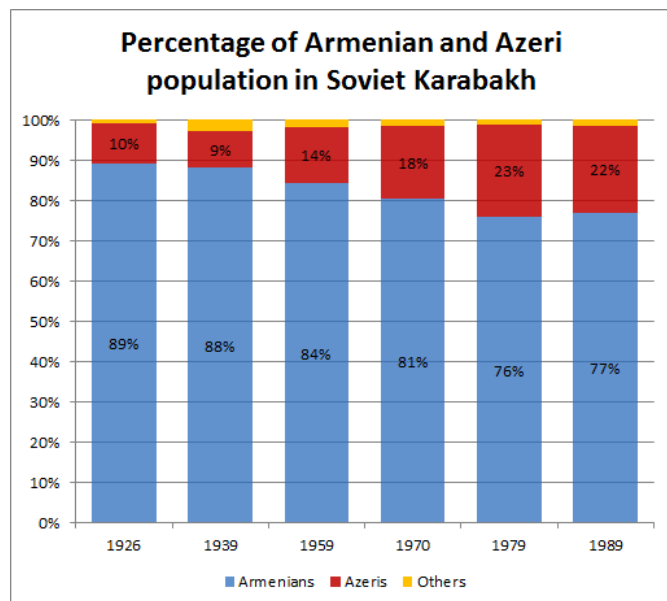
century when it was conquered by the Turkic Persians of the Qajar dynasty. Even though the Turkic invasions failed, they led to the turkification of the native Caucasian population of modern day Azerbaijan. Nagorno-Karabakh though kept its Armenian culture growing, remaining semi-independent in the form of small principalities, the melikdoms. This status remains until around 1725, when the melikdoms collapse due to infighting and become part of the Turkic Karabakh Khanate. During the Karabakh khanate period, many Armenians left the region, while many Turks immigrated in the

lowlands, ancestors of the Azerbaijani population in the province. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Nagorno-Karabakh became a part of the Russian Empire, and was incorporated in the Elisabethpol governorate. During this period demographics changed once more, as the Christian favoritism of the Tsarist regime made many Armenians return to Artsakh. However, this sparked tensions with the Muslim-Azerbaijani population, which escalated in the Russian revolution of 1905 in the form of riots and mob attacks, organized by Azeris and Armenians against each other, with many people from both sides losing their life.

### **Post WW1 and Soviet situation**

Following WW1 and the collapse of the Russian Empire, fighting restarted between the Armenian and the Azeri populations, as both groups fought for independence. The reason for this was that both of them claimed the same regions as part of their new states and that meant that they had to fight apart from the Bolsheviks, each other too. One of the regions that both sides claimed was Karabakh. The Azerbaijani army went in to occupy the region but the Armenian-dominated Nagorno-Karabakh resisted and, after the British decided to support Azerbaijan so as to keep the Soviets away from the oilfields of Baku, the Armenians attacked Azerbaijani garrisons. In retaliation, there was a huge massacre of Armenians in Susha, the largest city of Karabakh, while the Azerbaijani army moved against other Armenian positions in the region. The latter though, meant the Soviets managed to take Baku,

Azerbaijan's capital without much resistance. Soon after, all of the South Caucasus was part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In the re-organization of the region into separate republics, Nagorno-Karabakh was originally going to be part of the Armenian SSR with the Azerbaijani SSR stating that Nagorno-Karabakh was an inseparable part of Armenia. After an agreement with Turkey and mainly the intervention of Stalin, the region became an Autonomous Oblast under Azerbaijan, separated completely from Armenia. Despite initial protests, the situation remained like that, until 1986 when Mikhail Gorbachev comes to power as the leader of the USSR. His plans for restructuring the Soviet Union, lead to its collapse and consequently, the rebirth of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.



**Figure 4: Population Percentages in Nagorno-Karabakh**

### The effects of the dissolution and the referendum of 1991

During the final years of the Soviet Union, nationalist sentiments reappeared in the “republics” inside the USSR. As such, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh asked the central Soviet government and the SSRs of Armenian and Azerbaijan, to become an autonomous province of Armenia and not Azerbaijan. They justified their decision by claiming that the Azeri leadership was suppressing their linguistic, cultural and economic freedom. Their request was denied by the Russian and the Azeri parliaments, but was accepted by the Armenian one. This incited major anti-Armenian sentiment in Azerbaijan, resulting in the ethnic cleansing of Armenians living in the region of Baku. The Soviets reacted by enacting martial law but were unable to alleviate the tensions. Soon after, the Soviet Union collapsed and in September of 1991, Nagorno-Karabakh declared its independence. This was ratified in December of the same year by an unrecognized independence referendum. It must be noted that the referendum was internationally observed, fully adherent to Soviet law regarding succession from the Union, almost unanimously in favor of independence with a turnout of 85% and it was boycotted by the Azeri population, while some days before, the newly-independent Azerbaijani state had revoked Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomy status. The referendum though, resulted in war.



### War of 1991-94 and its effects

Immediately after the declaration of independence, Azerbaijan moved against Nagorno-Karabakh, raiding 'border' villages and bombarding Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. As a result, the Karabakh Armenian forces supported by newly-independent Armenia, invaded Azerbaijan's western provinces in order to connect Armenia with Nagorno-Karabakh. War raged for almost 3 years, while external parties started getting involved, with Turkey instituting a total economic blockade of Armenia. Russia and Kazakhstan tried to mediate a ceasefire along with the help of the Organization on Security and cooperation in Europe (OSCE). An almost permanent ceasefire was finally agreed in May of 1994, with the help of the newly formed Minsk Group of the OSCE, stopping but not ending the conflict. The ceasefire revealed a war-ravaged Karabakh connected to Armenia and an Azerbaijan stripped of most of its western provinces (constituting at around 15% of its territory). The total death toll was around 35.000 people, including civilians, while more than a million more people from both sides were forced to leave their homes. There were many accusations from both sides for ethnic cleansing and massacres of the local population, while most reports mention many cases of human rights violations .

### The arguments of each side

The arguments of each side are mostly contradicting each other. Starting from Armenia, they claim great historical ties to the region, tracing their nation's roots to the province from as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. According to most Armenian sources, the problem started with the illegal incorporation of the disputed province in Azerbaijan in 1920 after Stalin's intervention. After that, the Soviet Azerbaijani authorities suppressing the Armenian population there, were the reason behind the mass exodus of local Armenians, altering the demographics of the oblast. Leading on to modern day, they believe that the Artsakhi declaration of independence was completely legal, as an act of self-determination of the Nagorno-Karabakh people and that the aggressors were the Azerbaijani. They also accuse them of ethnic cleansing as well as starting all later border incidents.

In Azerbaijan, they once more claim historical ancestry to Nagorno-Karabakh. They also trace the start of the conflict at Soviet times, but this time at the formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. In modern times, they believe the Armenian leadership was the orchestrator of the conflict in 1991 claiming that the existence of Nagorno-Karabakh is illegal and that the Armenians were the ones responsible for ethnic cleansing and the start of the later border conflicts. As you can probably see, the arguments of each side are the opposite of the other's.

### **The contribution of the Organization on Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE-Minsk Group)**

The Organization was created in the 1970s, amidst the Cold War. It was originally going to help with communication and negotiation attempts between NATO and the Warsaw pact, but as the years passed, its role changed as the OSCE was tasked with tackling the problems derived from the USSR's collapse. As such, they were quickly involved in the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. From the very start of the conflict, the OSCE tried to de-escalate the situation. Soon, there were plans for a conference in Minsk (1992) to discuss the issue and restore peace. While the conference didn't eventually happen in Minsk, its participants formed the Minsk Group, which in association with Russia, was able to mediate peace in 1994. It also was essential in de-escalating other post-1994 Nagorno-Karabakh border-incidents. Today, the Minsk Group is the only international organ officially tasked with solving the conflict. It has 3 permanent co-chairs: Russia, the USA and France, while Armenia and Azerbaijan are permanent members. It is noteworthy that at the beginning, Nagorno-Karabakh was present as a separate party, but today they are represented only through Armenia

### **The interwar period of 1995-2015**

Immediately after the war, the Minsk Group started mediating to find a permanent solution. Many solutions were proposed, but eventually all of them were rejected either by the Armenian, the Nagorno-Karabakh or the Azerbaijani side. In Nagorno-Karabakh, the rebuilding process started immediately and the de-facto state had stable governing institutions, through many unrecognized elections and referendums. Noteworthy are the referendums of 2006, which approved a new constitution and of 2017 which changed the self-declared state into a presidential republic, while changing the official name into Artsakh. The situation at the border, usually called the "line of contact", remained tense with more than 8000 ceasefire violations happening over the span of 15 years. The most violent ones were in two occasions: in 2004 and 2008. Negotiations continued, but all peace offers were discarded, with a sole exception the Madrid principles, which are currently the framework for peace.

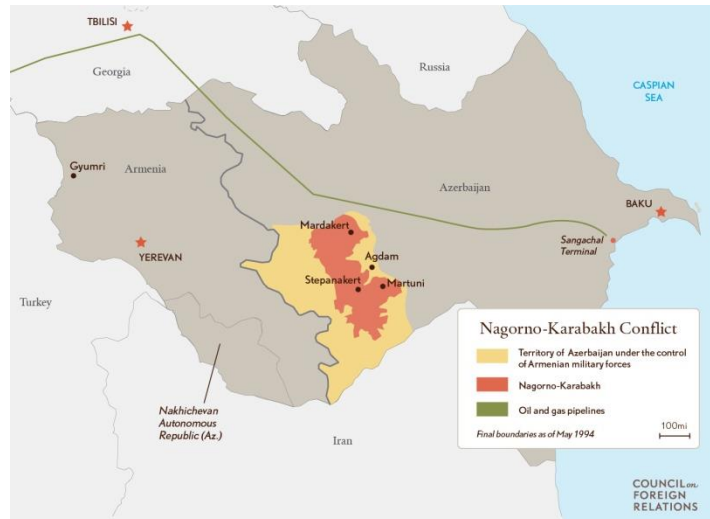
### **The "Four Day War" of 2016 and its consequences**

In April of 2016, a huge border incident at the Line of Contact escalated into a short war that lasted four days. Peace was mediated once more by Russia. The violent resurgence of the conflict took the lives of dozens, mainly of military personnel, but some civilians were among the dead too. The identity of the aggressor is unclear, as both sides claim they were attacked. What is clear though is that this was the worst war incident since 1991-94. For the first time since 1994, the de-facto border changed

as the Azeri forces managed to take some strategic positions which were occupied by Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. This, indicated a change in the balance of power, a result of the economic growth of Azerbaijan due to the rapidly-expanding energy market.

### Situation in 2020-Humanitarian Situation

Today, Artsakh is prospering despite the constant threat of war. Its small economy is based on a growing mining industry and agriculture, while there is a nascent hydroelectric power market. Its economy is supported by Armenia and the Armenian diaspora. Politics in Artsakh are very stable with a very high democracy ranking, even higher than both Armenia and Azerbaijan. This is a result of the stable political situation that exists due to the common goal of independence that all citizens of Artsakh share and the corruption that exists in both Armenia and Azerbaijan. About the humanitarian situation, there are many Armenians refugees from the past wars living in Nagorno-Karabakh, which have been helped greatly by local authorities. The Azeri refugees have been settled mainly near Baku, living with some forms of help from the Azeri government, “dreaming a return to their homes in Nagorno-Karabakh”.



**Figure 5: The current border situation**

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Regarding Azerbaijan and Armenia in 2020, both countries remain “locked” in their positions, but committed to negotiations. As of recently, there has been attempts of the Armenian side to compromise. The reaction from the Armenian population though was very negative, seeing those who support it as a betrayal of their brothers who fought for Artsakh. This exact attitude is also present in Azerbaijan regarding similar attempts. So, as it is evident, the current main problem is the reluctance of both sides to compromise, which is a result of the animosity and suspiciousness that Armenians and Azeris have developed against each other, due to their historical background.

### The battle between two fundamental State principles (Territorial Integrity and Self Determination)

Apart from a battle of two ethnic groups, the Karabakh conflict is also the battle between two major principles of statehood; self-determination and territorial



integrity. Both protected in the UN charter in article 1 and 2 respectively, they are considered major UN values and essential elements of statehood. However, it is not clearly defined which one is above the other in cases where both rights are endangered. One such example is the Karabakh conflict.

In this conflict, the Armenians are the one's representing self-determination, as they believe the Karabakhi were exercising that right when they declared independence in 1991. On the other hand, the Azerbaijanis believe that this exact declaration violated their territorial integrity and thus should be considered illegal. Currently most members of the international community are in support of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, as it is believed that supporting Nagorno-Karabakh will inspire and give credibility to other separatist movements. However, the controversial case of Kosovo's independence has set a new precedent; a new state consisted by a de-jure then region of another country, was recognized as an independent state. This example showed the world that self-determination could prevail and debate over similar separatist cases has once more restarted.

## MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

### Armenia

Due to their common cultural and historical heritage, it is the country with the closest connection to Nagorno-Karabakh, supporting it ever since its creation. Armenia is the only country allied with Nagorno-Karabakh, supporting the de facto state with all kinds of aid, from consumer goods to medicine and military equipment. Despite all that, Armenia has not officially recognized Artsakh's independence, as Azerbaijan has threatened that it will walk away from the negotiations and resume war if such an action was to take place. Currently, Armenia is the only representative of Nagorno-Karabakh in the negotiations process aimed at solving the conflict. At this point it should be noted that there are two opinions in Armenia regarding the Karabakh conflict; one that believes that Artsakh should be directly incorporated to Armenia and a second one which supports the political independence of Artsakh with close ties to Armenia. The official stance though is in favor of the second option, which is also more feasible to be achieved using diplomacy.

### Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan is one of the major parties in this dispute. They are the de-jure owner of the region, a fact that always comes up during negotiations in the international stage. Generally speaking, the subject of the status of Nagorno-Karabakh is always on the spotlight, often used in politics. It is also an issue that Azeri diplomats always bring up during international or political events or negotiations. They claim

that the aggressors were the Armenians and that the region is going to return to its “rightful owner”.

### **Russian Federation**

The role of Russia in the conflict is somewhat complex. As the former overlord of the region, it still retains influence in the region, as shown by the mediation in the peace processes. Additionally, due to their common Christian heritages, Russia retains very close ties with Armenia and they are also part of the same alliance (CSTO), as such being essential in Armenia’s armament project. Despite that, they are suspected to still supplying arms to Azerbaijan, in a move to prolong the conflict and profit out of it. Consequently, whether Russia is in favor of a permanent solution is questionable. At most analysts, it seems as the primary target of Russian attempts is the minimization of border incidents, something that is able to achieve using its aforementioned dominant position in the negotiation’s table and its strong position in the region.

### **Turkey**

Turkey shares many cultural and historical similarities with Azerbaijan, and thus has supported them ever since its independence. In the 1920s, it was Turkey who pressured the Soviets to include Nagorno-Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan, while during the war of 1991 they established an economic blockade of Armenia, which is still in effect. Today, as a main ally of Azerbaijan, they are a fervent supporter of Azerbaijan’s territorial integrity, supporting them in the diplomatic stage and providing them with the necessary equipment.

### **United States of America (USA)**

The United States, as a founding member of the Minsk Group, is determined to find a diplomatic solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. They remain in constant contact with the Armenian and Azeri leadership, while they keep insisting that a military solution should be avoided at all costs. It is believed that the actual goal of the United States is to antagonize “indirectly” Russian influence on the Caucasus and its energy market, while limiting its weapons expansion.

### **European Union (EU)**

Despite the EU not being one of the most active mediators of the conflict, ever since the start of the conflict it has tried to prevent further military escalation. Also it seeks to find a solution that both countries can agree to and does not satisfy interests of third parties like Turkey or especially Russia. It is represented in the Minsk Group and in the negotiations process by France. It is worth noting that, the EU tried to lure the two countries with union membership if they were to find and implement a

solution, but as of recently, their attempts were in vein, as both countries seem to have rejected the offer.

# TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Date	Description of event
1750s	Kharabakh-Khanate rules the area
1813	The Russian empire integrates the area as part of the Elisabethpol province
1905	“Russian Revolution” and Organized Azeri and Armenian mob attacks against each other
March 15, 1917	Collapse of the Russian Empire
May 28, 1918	Azerbaijan and Armenia declare independence, and both claim Nagorno-Karabakh
1920-1921	Soviets invade the Caucasus, Nagorno-Karabakh is incorporated with autonomy status in the Azerbaijani SSR, after the intervention of Stalin (July 5,1921)
1988	Nagorno-Karabakh’s petition to become part of Armenia is rejected, ethnic violence in Azerbaijan
1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union and declaration of independence of Azerbaijan, Armenia
December 10, 1991	Referendum in favor of Karabakh’s independence is successful with overwhelming majority
1992-1994	Karabakh war, peace is mediated by Russia and the Minsk Group in 1994
July 10, 1992	Minsk Group formation
December 10, 2006	Constitutional referendum in Nagorno-Karabakh

November 29, 2007	The Madrid principles are agreed
March 4, 2008	Mardakert Clashes
April 1-April 5, 2016	"4 day war"
February 20, 2017	Referendum changing Nagorno-Karabakh's name into Artsakh and changing the country into a presidential republic

## RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

### Security Council Resolutions

Despite the longevity of the conflict, there have been only four UN resolutions regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. These are Resolutions 822<sup>5</sup>, 853<sup>6</sup>, 874<sup>7</sup> and 884<sup>8</sup>, all of them signed from April to November of 1993, referring to the war of 1991-1994. The resolutions share many similarities, each one building on the previous one. In all of them a ceasefire was called, while the evacuation of Azerbaijani territory by foreign occupying forces was demanded. They also tried to alleviate the humanitarian crisis by requesting humanitarian aid to be sent to the war-ravaged areas, as well as both parties comply with international humanitarian law. Finally, it endorsed and supported the attempts of the Minsk Group to send a mission to the region and find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

## PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

Ever since the first ceasefire, the attempts of the Minsk Group to find a solution to the issue have been constant. Most of them though were rejected by at least one of the parties or are yet to be implemented.

### Package Agreement

One of the earliest solutions which were discussed, the "package" was actually two different proposals. The first one involved the return of the occupied Azeri territories after the security of Nagorno-Karabakh and its population would be guaranteed, while the second one was the exact opposite, with the return of the occupied territories happening before the guarantee of Nagorno-Karabakh. It was

<sup>5</sup> "Resolution 822". *Unscr.Com*, 1993, <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/822>.

<sup>6</sup> "Resolution 853". *Unscr.Com*, 1993, <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/853>.

<sup>7</sup> "Resolution 874". *Unscr.Com*, 1993, <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/874>.

<sup>8</sup> "Resolution 884". *Unscr.Com*, 1993, <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/884>.

quickly abandoned as the distrust between the parties made the implementation of any such solution impossible.

### **The Madrid Principles**

In July of 2009, in L'Aquila in Italy, the co-chairs of the Minsk Group presented a plan of the basic principles for a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, composed in 2007 in Madrid. These call for the return of the occupied Azeri territories, except the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave and a corridor linking it to Armenia, whose security is guaranteed, and its status would be determined by a referendum. Also, all refugees would be able to return to their homes safely and a peacekeeping force would be sent to prevent the population's safety. Armenia and Azerbaijan have both officially accepted the Madrid Principles, which are now the base of every negotiation attempt. There is however the opinion that the principles have failed miserably, as after their signature, the ceasefire has been violated of many.

### **POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS**

As mentioned before, when searching for a solution it is essential we take into consideration all the variable of this problem. As such all of the propositions below are not mutually exclusive with one another and possibly a combination of them could be accepted by all sides.

#### **Confidence-Building Measures**

Currently, after years of animosity, the main problem which needs to be tackled is the distrust between those people groups. This will help both countries' populations accept a compromise in this issue. As such every proposition should try to repair their relations, through confidence-building measures. Examples of such measures are –but not limited to–, establishing a constant communicating outlet, connecting Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, joint construction projects that would benefit all parties, joint operations in the region such as fire patrols or rescue missions.

#### **Minimization of Tension and preservation of the Status Quo**

For a solution to be reached, border incidents should be eliminated. To achieve this, proportions include among others, the sending of a UN or OSCE peace-keeping mission to monitor the Line of Contact and the limitation of the border forces, so as to prevent a misbalance of power. This way the status quo would also be preserved with the minimal amount of losses.

### **Inclusion of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Negotiations**

Despite, being one of the most important parties of this conflict, the people of Nagorno-Karabakh are currently represented in the negotiations process only through Armenia. This means that they do not have a direct say on their future of their homes, and this way there is always the possibility a solution is reached that these people would not accept. Therefore, a Nagorno-Karabakh delegation should return to the negotiation's table.

### **One-state Solutions**

There are two kinds of one-state solutions. The first one includes the complete return of Nagorno-Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan with no or limited autonomy, a solution that is most certainly going to be denied by the Armenians. The second one is the "commonwealth" proposition, according to which, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh are in the same state, but their populations would have equal rights, similarly to the USA state's federal system. This solution however, seems a little too utopian, and certainly requires a complete rebuild of Armenian and Azerbaijani relations.

### **Two-state Solutions**

Similarly, to the one-state ones, there are different kinds of two-state solutions. Generally speaking, most of them are based on the Madrid principles, with slight alterations, mainly depending on the outcome of the proposed referendum. First of all, the first kind is the complete independence of Nagorno-Karabakh with a possible incorporation to Armenia, but this option would re-ignite the war, as it has been threatened by Azerbaijan. The second one is the most discussed of the proposals and it includes the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh, as an independent state, but with major economic benefits solely for Azerbaijan. It is believed that only through this way, Azerbaijan would accept an independent Artsakh. Finally, another alternative is the establishment of a Nagorno-Karabakh state administrated by both Armenia and Azerbaijan, possibly similarly to the government type of Andorra. This way, all sides could be satisfied, as the people of Nagorno-Karabakh would be self-governing, and Armenia and Azerbaijan would share the administrative costs and any economic benefits of the province, with a certain percentage of the latter re-invested into Nagorno-Karabakh.



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