

The Council supports the decision of the Secretary-General to send, in response to the request of the Government of Georgia, another mission to Georgia, headed by an Under-Secretary-General, who will be accompanied by members of the Secretariat, some of whom will remain on the spot. It endorses the mandate proposed by the Secretary-General in his letter of 7 October 1992. It looks forward to the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General upon the return of his mission from Georgia and is prepared to consider the recommendations which he plans to submit to it concerning the contribution which the

United Nations could make to the implementation of the agreement of 3 September 1992.

The Council notes that the current Chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe intends to dispatch a mission to Georgia in the near future and underlines the need to ensure coordination between the efforts of the United Nations and those of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe aimed at restoring peace.

19. The situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh

Initial proceedings

By a letter dated 9 May 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted a statement by the President of Azerbaijan in connection with “the grave situation in Nagorny-Karabakh as a consequence of the intensifying attacks of Armenian forces”. The representative of Azerbaijan stated that the attacks had resulted in the occupation and destruction of the city of Shusha with heavy loss of life. He contended that the massive offensive, supported by the air force and tanks, was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and a most serious threat to peace. He was accordingly bringing the “very grave situation” to the urgent attention of the Council.

The President of Azerbaijan described the bombardment of the city of Shusha — the ancient centre of Azerbaijani spiritual and cultural life — and added that Armenian forces had cut off the only road linking that city with the rest of Azerbaijan. That provocative incident had seriously jeopardized the outcome of the recent tripartite meeting at Tehran between Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, at which there had been agreement that the bloodshed must be stopped. In the President’s view, the matter was clear: a band of separatists and ardent nationalists from Khankendi and their protectors — not only from Armenia — was “playing with the fates of peoples, continuing to rely on force and to fan the flames of hatred and war”. The separatists’ new venture nullified the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), other international organizations and a number of Heads of State who were seeking to

normalize the situation in Karabakh and on the Azerbaijani-Armenian frontier. The President warned that the destruction or capture of the sacred city would inevitably “elicit an appropriate response”, and that the battle for Shusha might develop into a large-scale conflict. He appealed to CSCE, the Presidents of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan and other States of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Turkey and the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the entire international community, to restrain the aggressor.

By a letter dated 11 May 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,² the representative of Armenia transmitted a letter dated 9 May from the President of Armenia, requesting an emergency meeting of the Council to discuss the escalation of the conflict in Nagorny-Karabakh, the continuing blockade of Armenia and Nagorny-Karabakh, and the threat of potential outside intervention in the region. In his letter, the President of Armenia stated that his country was bringing the situation to the attention of the Council pursuant to Article 35 (1) of the Charter of the United Nations. While Armenia was not a party to the dispute between Nagorny-Karabakh and the Azerbaijani Republic, it had been subject to cross-border attacks from and illegal blockades by the latter. Accordingly, Armenia was specifically requesting the Security Council: (a) to dispatch peacekeeping forces to Nagorny-Karabakh; and (b) to order such other measures as it deemed necessary to compel the lifting of economic blockades, maintain and restore international peace and security, and protect human rights. Armenia also requested the Council to take measures to ensure that all States Members of the

¹ S/23894.

² S/23896.

United Nations respected their obligations under the Charter and refrained from any and all intervention in the region. In conclusion, the President of Armenia recalled that Nagorny-Karabakh and Azerbaijan had agreed to ceasefires, however temporary, through the recent mediation efforts of the Islamic Republic of Iran. But those agreements were, in his view, not enough; an international peacekeeping force had become essential if the inhabitants of Nagorny-Karabakh were to believe that ceasefires would be respected, a permanent peace process secured and human rights guaranteed. Armenia was convinced that, without the international guarantees that only a United Nations peacekeeping force could provide, the conflict would continue to escalate, jeopardizing the security of the region and, ultimately, of the world.

**Decision of 12 May 1992 (3072nd meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3072nd meeting, on 12 May 1992, the Council included in its agenda the item entitled “The situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh”, as well as the letters dated 9 and 11 May 1992, respectively, from the representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The Council considered the item at the same meeting.

The President (Austria) drew the attention of the members of the Council to two other documents relating to the item on the agenda.³ He then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁴

The members of the Council are deeply concerned by recent reports on the deterioration of the situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh and by violations of ceasefire agreements which have caused heavy losses of human life and widespread material damage, and by their consequences for the countries of the region.

The members of the Council commend and support the efforts undertaken within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as other efforts aimed at assisting the parties in arriving at a peaceful settlement and at providing humanitarian assistance.

The members of the Council welcome the urgent dispatch by the Secretary-General of a mission to the region for fact-finding and to study ways and means to speedily assist the efforts undertaken within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to help the parties to reach a peaceful settlement. This mission will also include a technical element to look into ways the international community could provide prompt humanitarian assistance.

The members of the Council call upon all concerned to take all steps necessary to bring the violence to an end, to facilitate the work of the Secretary-General’s mission and to ensure the safety of its personnel. They recall the statements made on their behalf by the President of the Council on 29 January and 14 February 1992 on the admission, respectively, of Armenia and Azerbaijan to the United Nations, in particular the reference to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force.

By a letter dated 1 June 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁵ the representative of Azerbaijan alleged that the armed forces of Armenia had resorted to using chemical weapons in recent events in Nakhichevan, an Azerbaijani enclave in Armenia. By a letter dated 8 June 1992 addressed to the Secretary-General,⁶ the representative of Armenia denied the accusations concerning the use of chemical weapons by his country and requested that a group of experts be dispatched to the conflict zones to assess the situation.

By identical letters dated 11 June 1992 addressed, respectively, to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council,⁷ the representative of Azerbaijan reported that 36 documents had been given to the United Nations fact-finding mission which had gone to Azerbaijan at the end of May. As indicated in the annex to the letters, some of the documents concerned results of tests for the use of chemical weapons carried out by the Ministry of Health of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan requested that the report of the fact-finding mission be distributed as a Security Council document.⁸ It also requested that the representative of Azerbaijan, as the initiator of the mission, be afforded the opportunity of participating in

³ Letter dated 13 March 1992 from the representative of Ukraine addressed to the Secretary-General (S/23716); and letter dated 27 March 1992 from the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran addressed to the Secretary-General (S/23760).

⁴ S/23904.

⁵ S/24053.

⁶ As reported by the Secretary-General in his note of 24 July 1992 (S/24344).

⁷ S/24103.

⁸ That request was reiterated in a letter of 17 June 1992 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the Secretary-General (S/24112).

and addressing the Council's meeting to discuss the report, in accordance with Article 32 of the Charter.

In a note dated 24 July 1992 to the Security Council,⁹ the Secretary-General recalled that, during informal consultations on 19 June 1992, he had informed the Council of his decision to dispatch a mission to the region to investigate the allegations made by Azerbaijan concerning the use of chemical weapons by the armed forces of Armenia in April and May 1992. By his note, he transmitted the report of the mission of experts, which had visited Azerbaijan and Armenia from 4 to 8 July 1992. He noted that the experts had determined that no evidence of the use of chemical weapons had been presented to the team.

**Decision of 26 August 1992: statement by the
President**

By a letter dated 20 August 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁰ the representative of Armenia drew attention to the rapidly deteriorating and dangerous situation in Armenia and Nagorny-Karabakh and the failure of the CSCE negotiations to bring about an effective ceasefire agreement. He requested an urgent meeting of the Council for the purpose of considering specific steps towards stabilizing the situation.

In his letter, the representative of Armenia reported that intense fighting continued in Nagorny-Karabakh and the border regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia. He claimed that Azerbaijan continued to shell the civilian population of the capital city and a district of Nagorny-Karabakh; at the same time, it was carrying out "attacks of aggression" against Armenia itself, in an attempt to involve it directly in the conflict. Little progress had been made in the negotiations conducted under the auspices of CSCE since January 1992. The representative recalled that, following the presidential statement of 12 May, the Secretary-General had dispatched a fact-finding mission to the region at the end of May and that the Security Council had discussed its report at consultations on 22 June. He claimed that, at those consultations, the Council members had reiterated their support of the efforts of CSCE and decided to study the issue of sending observers to Nagorny-Karabakh, and that the Secretary-General had decided to send

observers to the CSCE negotiations. Conditions in Nagorny-Karabakh had deteriorated further, however. Armenia was of the view that, without the active and direct involvement of the United Nations in the peace negotiations, no concrete progress would be realized. Armenia reiterated its belief that peacekeeping forces were necessary to bring about an end to the fighting. It suggested, as a first step, that United Nations observers be sent to Nagorny-Karabakh to negotiate a lasting ceasefire agreement; and, as a second step, that peacekeeping forces be deployed in and around Nagorny-Karabakh and on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border, while negotiations to resolve the conflict were being conducted. Those forces could be sponsored individually or jointly by the United Nations, CSCE or any other appropriate international organization.

By a letter dated 25 August 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹¹ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted a message dated 24 August from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan concerning the status of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Minister alleged that Armenia was continuing its "armed aggression against Azerbaijan". He stated, further, that Azerbaijan remained nonetheless determined to work towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute and to help to further the process of negotiation within the CSCE framework, which had already achieved results. He added that his country attached great importance to efforts made by the United Nations to help resolve the conflict: namely, its sending of two missions to the region by the Secretary-General, and the endorsement by the Security Council of the CSCE actions. That had strengthened Azerbaijan's conviction that a peaceful settlement could be achieved within the framework of CSCE and had led it to focus its efforts on expanding the results already obtained in the context of that regional organization.

On 26 August 1992, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President (China) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹²

The members of the Council are deeply concerned by recent reports on the deterioration of the situation relating to Nagorny-Karabakh with heavy losses of human life and widespread material damage.

⁹ S/24344.

¹⁰ S/24470.

¹¹ S/24486.

¹² S/24493.

The members of the Council strongly appeal to all parties and others concerned for an immediate ceasefire and support the efforts of the Minsk Conference on the question of Nagorny-Karabakh within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well as the preparatory negotiations held in Rome. They urge all parties and others concerned to cooperate closely with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to participate positively in the negotiations with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement of their disputes as early as possible. They have noted that the Secretary-General dispatched fact-finding missions to the region and was ready to send observers to the above-mentioned negotiations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The members of the Council will consider further the role of the United Nations in Nagorny-Karabakh at an appropriate time in the light of the development of the situation in the area.

**Decision of 27 October 1992 (3127th meeting):
statement by the President**

By a letter dated 12 October 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹³ the representative of Armenia requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the direct involvement of the United Nations in the efforts to establish peace in Nagorny-Karabakh. He expressed Armenia's full support for the efforts of CSCE and especially those of the Minsk process, but noted that a ceasefire agreement had not been successfully negotiated under its auspices in August. However, a meeting held on 21 September at Sochi, Russian Federation, in support of the CSCE peace process, between representatives of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Azerbaijan, had resulted in the signing of a ceasefire agreement, to take effect on 26 September. Although that agreement had already been seriously violated, Armenia believed that, if effective mechanisms were put in place, there was hope that a ceasefire agreement could be successfully implemented. The representative invoked in support Azerbaijan's expression of willingness to enter into a lasting ceasefire agreement and, in accordance with the Sochi agreement, to accept observers in the region. Certain that the appropriate time for direct United Nations involvement had come, Armenia appealed to the United Nations to lend its experience and established mechanisms to bring about and implement a lasting ceasefire agreement. It specifically requested that the Secretary-General designate as soon as possible a special representative and send to the region a United Nations team of observers to assist the parties

in reaching a ceasefire agreement and to monitor the situation thereafter.¹⁴

At its 3127th meeting, on 27 October 1992, the Council included in its agenda the letter dated 12 October 1992 from the representative of Armenia. It considered the item at the same meeting.

The President (France) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 24 October 1992 from the representative of Azerbaijan,¹⁵ in which Azerbaijan reiterated that it continued to favour a peaceful settlement of the dispute on the basis of the principles laid down by CSCE, and expressed optimism with regard to accelerating the settlement process within the CSCE framework.

The President then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁶

The Council is deeply concerned by the grave situation which continues to prevail in Nagorny-Karabakh and surrounding districts, and also by the resulting loss of human life and destruction of property, despite the ceasefire agreement concluded at Sochi on 21 September 1992.

The Council reaffirms the terms of its statement of 26 August 1992 on the situation concerning Nagorny-Karabakh, and in particular its support for the efforts of the Minsk Conference on the Nagorny-Karabakh question within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It strongly urges all the parties and others concerned to implement the ceasefire forthwith and to lift all blockades. It requests that the Minsk Conference be convened immediately and that political negotiations be undertaken in accordance with the President's rules of procedure. It urges all the parties and others concerned to cooperate closely with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to participate positively in the Conference in order to reach an overall settlement of their disputes as soon as possible.

The Council welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to send a representative to the region to evaluate the contribution which the United Nations might make in supporting the efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in providing humanitarian assistance.

¹⁴ See also letter dated 15 October 1992 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/24671).

¹⁵ S/24713.

¹⁶ S/24721.

¹³ S/24656.