

19. Items relating to the situation between Armenia and Azerbaijan

A. Statement by the President of the Security Council (in connection with interruptions in supply of goods and materials, in particular energy supplies, to Armenia and to the Nakhichevan region of Azerbaijan)

Decision of 29 January 1993: statement by the President

On 29 January 1993, following consultations with the members of the Council, the President made the following statement to the media on behalf of the members of the Council:¹

The members of the Security Council express their deep concern at the devastating effect of interruptions in the supply of goods and materials, in particular energy supplies, to Armenia and to the Nakhichevan region of Azerbaijan. They note with serious concern that these interruptions, combined with an unusually harsh winter, have brought the economy and infrastructure of the region to near collapse and created a real threat of starvation.

The members of the Council urge all countries in a position to help to facilitate the provision of fuel and humanitarian assistance. They call on Governments in the region, with a view to preventing a further deterioration of the humanitarian situation, to allow humanitarian supplies to flow freely, in particular fuel to Armenia and to the Nakhichevan region of Azerbaijan.

The members of the Council reaffirm their full support for the efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), designed to bring the parties together and achieve peace in the region. They call upon the parties to agree to an immediate ceasefire and an early resumption of talks within the CSCE framework.

The members of the Council will keep the matter under consideration.

B. The situation relating to Nagorny Karabakh

Decision of 6 April 1993 (3194th meeting): statement by the President

By letters dated 30 and 31 March and 2 and 5 April 1993, addressed to the President of the Security

Council,² and by a letter dated 31 March 1993 addressed to the Secretary-General,³ and by identical letters dated 5 April 1993, addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council,⁴ the representative of Azerbaijan referred to a number of instances of aggression that had been carried out against the territory of Azerbaijan by Armenian forces and requested, inter alia, that the issue be discussed at a meeting of the Security Council. The representative of Turkey made a similar request by a letter dated 3 April 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council.⁵

By a letter dated 29 March 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁶ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted the text of a note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by which the latter registered a strong protest with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia following “a violation on 23 March 1993 of the State border of Azerbaijan by Armenian armed forces”.

By a letter dated 1 April 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁷ the representative of Armenia rejected the accusations against his Government and presented his country’s view of the events, which occurred on 23 March 1993 along the Armenian-Azerbaijan border.

At its 3194th meeting, on 6 April 1993, the Security Council included the above-mentioned letters in its agenda.

Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Azerbaijan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Pakistan) drew the attention of the members of the Council to several other documents⁸ and stated that, after consultations

² S/25491, S/25509, S/25525, S/25526 and S/25527.

³ S/25508.

⁴ S/25528.

⁵ S/25524.

⁶ S/25488.

⁷ S/25510.

⁸ S/25483: letter dated 29 March 1993 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/25483); and letter dated 31 March 1993 from the representatives of France and the Russian Federation addressed to the Secretary-General (S/25499).

¹ S/25199.

among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁹

The Security Council expresses its serious concern at the deterioration of relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic, and at the escalation of hostile acts in the Nagorny Karabakh conflict, especially the invasion of the Kelbadjar district of Azerbaijan by local Armenian forces. The Council demands the immediate cessation of all such hostilities, which endanger peace and security of the region, and the withdrawal of these forces.

In this context the Council, reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States of the region and the inviolability of their borders, expresses its support for the peace process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It expresses the hope that the recent preliminary agreement reached by the Minsk Group will be expeditiously followed by agreements on a ceasefire, a timetable for the deployment of the monitors, a draft political declaration and the convening, as soon as possible, of the Minsk Conference.

The Council urges the parties involved to take all necessary steps to advance the CSCE peace process and refrain from any action that will obstruct a peaceful solution to the problem.

The Council also calls for unimpeded access to international humanitarian relief efforts in the region and in particular in all areas affected by the conflict in order to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population.

The Council requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the CSCE, to ascertain facts, as appropriate, and to submit urgently a report to the Council containing an assessment of the situation on the ground.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 30 April 1993 (3205th meeting):
resolution 822 (1993)**

On 14 April 1993, pursuant to the presidential statement of 6 April 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the situation in Nagorny Karabakh.¹⁰ The Secretary-General reported that, in a personal letter dated 31 March 1993, the President of Azerbaijan had drawn his attention to the outbreak of fighting in the Kelbadjar district of Azerbaijan, taking the position that the Kelbadjar district of Azerbaijan had been attacked by forces from Armenia and from the enclave of Nagorny Karabakh. The Government of Armenia, on the other hand, maintained that no military forces from the Republic of

Armenia had been involved in the hostilities in the Kelbadjar district. Subsequently, the Secretary-General had instructed his representatives in Azerbaijan and Armenia to ascertain the facts on the ground.

The Secretary-General observed that the intensification of fighting in and around Nagorny Karabakh, especially the recent attacks against the Kelbadjar and Fizuli districts of Azerbaijan, posed a serious threat to the maintenance of international peace and security in the entire Transcaucasus region. Because of the hostilities, it had not been possible for United Nations personnel to visit the Kelbadjar district itself, but it was clear that there had been a major outbreak of fighting in various locations in Azerbaijan, outside the enclave of Nagorny Karabakh. Reports of the use of heavy weaponry were particularly disturbing, seeming to indicate the involvement of more than local ethnic forces. The fighting in the Kelbadjar district had led to a humanitarian emergency, with an estimated 50,000 persons displaced. The Secretary-General urged that unimpeded access to the area should be granted immediately to international relief organizations to ascertain the humanitarian situation and to provide relief to the civilian population.

The Secretary-General stated that the conflict over Nagorny Karabakh, involving both Armenia and Azerbaijan, could only be resolved by peaceful means. He urged all parties to cease fighting and return to the negotiating table, within the Minsk process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The recent agreement on the terms of reference for the deployment of an Advance Monitoring Group of CSCE had been an encouraging first step towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Speedy progress should now be made to reach further agreements on the remaining documents, thus enabling the deployment of CSCE monitors in the region. The Secretary-General remained prepared, as he had been throughout the preceding twelve months, to give his full and active support to the effort of CSCE to convene the Minsk Conference as soon as possible and to lend technical assistance in the deployment of the CSCE monitoring mission.

At its 3205th meeting, on 30 April 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan, at their request, to participate

⁹ S/25539.

¹⁰ S/25600.

in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Pakistan) then drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations¹¹ and to several other documents.¹²

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and it was adopted unanimously as resolution 822 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling the statements of the President of the Security Council of 29 January and of 6 April 1993 concerning the Nagorny Karabakh conflict,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 14 April 1993,

Expressing its serious concern at the deterioration of the relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic,

Noting with alarm the escalation in armed hostilities and, in particular, the latest invasion of the Kelbadjar district of Azerbaijan by local Armenian forces,

Concerned that this situation endangers peace and security in the region,

Expressing grave concern at the displacement of a large number of civilians and the humanitarian emergency in the region, in particular in the Kelbadjar district,

Reaffirming the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region,

Reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory,

Expressing its support for the peace process being pursued within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and deeply concerned at the disruptive effect that the escalation in armed hostilities can have on that process,

1. *Demands* the immediate cessation of all hostilities and hostile acts with a view to establishing a durable ceasefire, as well as immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces from the Kelbadjar district and other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan;

2. *Urges* the parties concerned immediately to resume negotiations for the resolution of the conflict within the framework of the peace process of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to refrain from any action that will obstruct a peaceful solution of the problem;

3. *Calls* for unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in the region, in particular in all areas affected by the conflict in order to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population, and reaffirms that all parties are bound to comply with the principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well as the Chairman of the Minsk Group, to assess the situation in the region, in particular in the Kelbadjar district of Azerbaijan, and to submit a further report to the Council;

5. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Djibouti stated that it was disturbing that his delegation had to accept that the conflict was local and was being perpetrated and carried out solely by local Armenian forces. The truth was that it was a conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It was his delegation's view that it was impossible to be optimistic so long as the Council postponed action, such as, at a minimum, a condemnation, pending the outcome of the "protracted" negotiations within the framework of CSCE. The Council could not remain on the sidelines for too long in the face of an act of aggression of such gravity, which had created a major humanitarian crisis and threatened peace and security. His delegation demanded that Armenia and Azerbaijan accept a

¹¹ S/25695.

¹² Letter dated 7 April 1993 from the representative of Denmark addressed to the Secretary-General (S/25564); letters dated 12, 13, 15 and 20 April 1993, respectively, from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the Secretary-General (S/25584, S/25599, S/25603 and S/25641); letter dated 17 April 1993 from the representative of Armenia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/25626); letters dated 8 and 27 April 1993, respectively, from the representative of Turkey addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/25660 and S/25671); letters dated 7, 8, 12, 14, 19, 20, 26, 27 and 28 April 1993, respectively, from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/25553, S/25573, S/25582, S/25583, S/25585, S/25602, S/25625, S/25634, S/25635, S/25650, S/25660, S/25664, S/25684 and S/25685); and letter dated 28 April from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/25701).

ceasefire and that Armenia withdraw from all territories occupied during the recent aggression.¹³

The representative of France stated that his Government was guided in respect to the conflict by three principles, which had been faithfully reflected in the adopted resolution. First, it was essential to prevent the clashes from turning into a conflict between States. In that respect, the preambular part of the resolution seemed to strike a reasonable balance between acknowledging that tensions existed between Armenia and Azerbaijan and recognizing the localized nature of the fighting. Second, everything should be done to promote a negotiated settlement. France was playing an active role in the framework of CSCE, and particularly in what had come to be known as the “Minsk Group”, to facilitate such a settlement. He noted that a committee of high-level CSCE officials had met recently in Prague. Although his delegation regretted that it had not been possible for the parties to reach a conclusion to their negotiations in Prague, it welcomed the Council’s endorsement, with respect to the central question of the withdrawal of forces, of a formula that had enjoyed nearly unanimous support within CSCE. The third principle was humanitarian assistance, and France was particularly gratified that the Security Council had strongly reaffirmed the principle of unimpeded access by civilians to aid.¹⁴

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the recent escalation of the fighting was a very serious development, which fully justified the adopted resolution. There had been a depressing trend of military offensives, with unwillingness on the part of the side winning on the ground at a given moment to make any effort to compromise. The most recent offensive had again coincided with renewed attempts within CSCE to resume talks. The United Kingdom condemned unreservedly the offensive in Kelbadjar and Fizuli and called for an immediate withdrawal of forces. It saw no alternative to a peaceful solution, which would require “historic” compromises on the parts of both sides and modifications to their stated positions. His delegation believed that the only realistic solution was for continued Azerbaijani sovereignty over Nagorny Karabakh, with real autonomy for the local Armenian population. The speaker also stated that the resolution just adopted was

valuable because it both provided firm backing for the CSCE process and included the essential elements of a draft statement upon which it had not been possible to agree in Prague, due to the opposition of one party.¹⁵

The representative of Venezuela said that, as a result of having become Members of the United Nations, Armenia and Azerbaijan had both won rights and assumed obligations. They were entitled to find within the United Nations, and in particular within the Security Council, a neutral and objective body in which to air their differences. But it was a fundamental corollary that they were also obliged to respect and to ensure that their national communities, and anyone else claiming a special relationship with them, respected all of the norms and principles of international conduct, which they had assumed when they had signed the Charter of the United Nations. In particular, they needed to show absolute respect for one another’s independence and territorial integrity and to renounce the use of force as a way of solving disputes. Two aspects of the conflict were of particular concern to his delegation: on the one hand his delegation saw alarming similarity between the situation in the former Yugoslavia; on the other hand, it saw a distorted concept of what should be the right to self-determination. Venezuela felt that regional bodies could identify solutions but the Security Council could not evade its responsibility to uphold the very principles that, in its judgment, must be abided by.¹⁶

The representative of the Russian Federation recalled that on 8 April 1993, President Yeltsin had appealed to the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan for an immediate halt to hostilities and the start of serious conversations aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict. President Yeltsin had also proposed his services as a mediator, and the parties had accepted his offer. The Russian Federation wished to see a speedy solution to the conflict and was interested in contributing actively by all existing means. The Russian Federation did not consider its endeavours to be an alternative to pan-European efforts and therefore supported energetically the Council’s appeal, contained in the resolution, that all parties negotiate their grievances within the framework of the Minsk Group of CSCE. Only a political settlement, achieved on the

¹³ S/PV.3205, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-18.

basis of mutual compromise and concessions, could be a durable element of stability in the region.¹⁷

The President, speaking in his capacity as the representative of Pakistan, stated that his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution just adopted in the belief that it would contribute positively to the ongoing peace efforts within the framework of CSCE to put an immediate end to all hostilities in the region and would lead to an expeditious withdrawal of all Armenian forces from the territory of Azerbaijan, including the Kelbadjar district and the Lachin area. Pakistan called upon the concerned States to respect scrupulously the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of the region and called upon them to respect the inviolability of international borders of all States and to refrain from the use, or the threat of the use of force. He also noted that it was his delegation's understanding that the expression "other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan", in paragraph 1 of the resolution, included, inter alia, the Lachin area.¹⁸

**Decision of 29 July 1993 (3259th meeting):
resolution 853 (1993)**

By a letter dated 24 July 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁹ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted a letter from the Acting President of the Azerbaijani Republic in which he requested that the Security Council be convened immediately to discuss ongoing Armenian aggression in the Agdam region of Azerbaijan. The representative of Turkey made a similar request by a letter dated 27 July 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council.²⁰

At its 3259th meeting, on 29 July 1993, the Security Council included those letters in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United Kingdom) then drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations²¹ and read out a revision that had been

made to the draft resolution in its provisional form.²² He also drew the attention of the members of the Council to several other documents,²³ including a letter dated 28 July 1993 from the representative of Italy addressed to the President of the Security Council,²⁴ transmitting a report of the Chairman of the CSCE Conference on Nagorny Karabakh, in which he informed the President about a mission that he had undertaken to the Caucasus region and to the area of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. The aim of the mission had been to determine whether and when the "timetable of urgent steps to implement United Nations Security Council resolution 822 (1993)", which had been worked out by the nine countries in the Minsk Group, could come into force. He indicated that the President of Armenia and the acting President of Azerbaijan had reconfirmed their full and determined support for the CSCE Minsk Group timetable. They had both insisted that it should enter into force as early as possible and without any changes. In Nagorny Karabakh, however, the attitude of the local Armenian community leaders had appeared to be completely different and governed by military, rather than diplomatic, considerations. The seizure of the city of Agdam by opposing forces had, however, caused a serious setback to the negotiating process. The Chairman was trying to assess whether the seizure signified a definitive departure by the Nagorny Karabakh Armenians from a compromise settlement. He further stated that the CSCE negotiating process would continue despite that setback, but that further political support and pressure by the international community was needed. In that respect, he suggested some areas where early action by the Security Council would contribute to the peaceful settlement of the conflict, in accordance with resolution 822 (1993).

²² See S/PV.3259, pp. 3-5.

²³ Letters dated 8, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27 and 28 July 1993 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26079, S/26129, S/26136, S/26137, S/26143, S/26158, S/26159, S/26160, S/26161, S/26163, S/26181, S/26187, S/26188, S/26189, S/26193 and S/26194); letters dated 22, 23 and 26 July 1993 from the representative of Armenia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26135, S/26154, S/26155, S/26156 and S/26157); and letter dated 28 July 1993 from the representative of Italy addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a report dated 27 July 1993 of the Chairman of the CSCE Conference on Nagorny Karabakh (S/26184).

²⁴ S/26184.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 18-20.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹ S/26164.

²⁰ S/26168.

²¹ S/26190.

The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 853 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 822 (1993) of 30 April 1993,

Having considered the report issued on 27 July 1993 by the Chairman of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe,

Expressing its serious concern at the deterioration of relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic and at the tensions between them,

Welcoming acceptance by the parties concerned of the timetable of urgent steps to implement its resolution 822 (1993),

Noting with alarm the escalation in armed hostilities and, in particular, the seizure of the district of Agdam in Azerbaijan,

Concerned that this situation continues to endanger peace and security in the region,

Expressing once again its grave concern at the displacement of large numbers of civilians in Azerbaijan and at the serious humanitarian emergency in the region,

Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and of all other States in the region,

Reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory,

1. *Condemns* the seizure of the district of Agdam and of all other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijani Republic;

2. *Also condemns* all hostile actions in the region, in particular attacks on civilians and bombardments of inhabited areas;

3. *Demands* the immediate cessation of all hostilities and the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces involved from the district of Agdam and all other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan;

4. *Calls* on the parties concerned to reach and maintain durable ceasefire arrangements;

5. *Reiterates* in the context of paragraphs 3 and 4 above its earlier calls for the restoration of economic, transport and energy links in the region;

6. *Endorses* the continuing efforts by the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict, including efforts to implement resolution 822 (1993), and expresses its grave concern at the disruptive effect that the escalation of armed hostilities has had on these efforts;

7. *Welcomes* the preparations for a monitor mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe with a

timetable for its deployment, as well as consideration within the Conference of the proposal for a Conference presence in the region;

8. *Urges* the parties concerned to refrain from any action that will obstruct a peaceful solution to the conflict, and to pursue negotiations within the Minsk Group, as well as through direct contacts between them, towards a final settlement;

9. *Urges* the Government of the Republic of Armenia to continue to exert its influence to achieve compliance by the Armenians of the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan with resolution 822 (1993) and the present resolution, and the acceptance by this party of the proposals of the Minsk Group;

10. *Urges* States to refrain from the supply of any weapons and munitions which might lead to an intensification of the conflict or the continued occupation of territory;

11. *Calls once again* for unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in the region, in particular in all areas affected by the conflict, in order to alleviate the increased suffering of the civilian population, and reaffirms that all parties are bound to comply with the principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General and relevant international agencies to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected civilian population and to assist displaced persons to return to their homes;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well as the Chairman of the Minsk Group, to continue to report to the Council on the situation;

14. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Pakistan stated that his country condemned the continuing Armenian aggression against the Azerbaijani Republic and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Armenian forces from all occupied Azerbaijani territories. Pakistan urged the Republic of Armenia to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and it called for a just and peaceful settlement of the problem on the basis of respect for the principles of the territorial integrity of States and the inviolability of internationally recognized frontiers. Its position was consistent with the one that had been taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference at a special ministerial meeting, which had been held in Islamabad on 12 and 13 July 1993. Pakistan commended the efforts of the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE Minsk Group to find a peaceful solution to the conflict and expressed the hope that the Council's

adoption of the resolution would strengthen the CSCE peace process. It appealed to all parties concerned to refrain from action that would obstruct a peaceful solution and to engage earnestly in negotiations within the Minsk Group towards the attainment of a just, equitable and lasting settlement.²⁵

The representative of France said his delegation was pleased that the Council had been able to adopt swiftly and unanimously resolution 853 (1993). Recent events, marked by attacks by local Armenian forces against Agdam, in violation of the commitments that had been made during the recent CSCE mission to the region, called for clear condemnation which was what the resolution unambiguously did. The resolution also affirmed two principles to which the speaker's Government was especially devoted: first, the Council's support for the efforts of the Minsk Group to find a peaceful settlement to the conflict; and second, free access for humanitarian aid and the restoration of economic ties in the region. France had long taken a special interest in the painful conflict affecting the region of Nagorny Karabakh and it believed that every effort should be made to bring about a negotiated settlement. France, as a member of CSCE also playing an active role in the Minsk Group, would spare no effort in working multilaterally or bilaterally to facilitate the success of the CSCE peace process. It therefore welcomed the first step that had been taken the preceding day, in the form of the conclusion of an agreement between the authorities of Azerbaijan and Nagorny Karabakh, to extend the ceasefire.²⁶

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the Russian leadership was deeply concerned at the offensive actions that had been taken by armed units of Nagorny Karabakh Armenians, as a result of which the town of Agdam had been seized. Those actions had been taken despite assurances previously given to Russian authorities by official Armenian representatives that no ground offensive operations would be undertaken by Nagorny Karabakh Armenians and that they did not intend to attack Agdam. There had, however, been some positive developments in the situation with respect to the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. A meeting had been held on 28 July between the Azerbaijan and the Nagorny Karabakh authorities, during which they had agreed to

extend the ceasefire for an additional seven days and to hold a summit meeting soon. The international community needed to welcome the positive changes in the positions of the parties concerned and to urge them speedily to attain mutually acceptable agreements. Those changes took nothing away from the importance of an immediate cessation of all hostilities and of an immediate, complete withdrawal by Armenians of Nagorny Karabakh from all occupied areas of Azerbaijan.²⁷

The representative of the United States said the seizure of Agdam could not be justified by any claim to self-defence. The capture of the city had disrupted the peace process being undertaken by the Minsk Group, which was the only existing means for all parties to resolve the conflict. The United States vigorously supported the efforts of the Minsk Group and saw in the resolution a reaffirmation of the conditions necessary to allow those efforts to proceed.²⁸

The representative of Hungary stated that his delegation reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory and the inviolability of international borders. Hungary welcomed the demand in the resolution for the cessation of all hostilities and the withdrawal of occupying forces, and that it called for unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in the region. Hungary strongly believed that cooperation and mutual support between the United Nations and CSCE had to play an essential role in the search for a just and peaceful settlement of the problem. The international community could not remain silent at the use of brute force as a means to settle problems that had been accumulating for decades and that had been ignored or suppressed by previous political régimes. The speaker reiterated that, in the absence of effective international action against arbitrary violence and genocide, some were drawing the conclusion that their goals could be achieved through aggression and that territory could be acquired through the use of force and by driving hundreds of thousands of people from their homes with complete impunity. Hungary believed that the way the Security Council reacted to such developments was critical for the maintenance of international peace and security.²⁹

²⁵ S/PV.3259, pp. 7-8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

**Decision of 18 August 1993 (3264th meeting):
statement by the President**

By a letter dated 17 August 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³⁰ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted a letter from the Acting President of the Azerbaijani Republic, containing a request to convene the Security Council immediately in connection with the continuing aggression by Armenia against Azerbaijan and the failure by the Armenian side to comply with Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993). The representative of Turkey made a similar request in a letter dated 17 August 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³¹ in which he also stated that his country would not accept the acquisition of territory through the use of force and that Armenia's actions constituted a serious blow to the stability of a region neighbouring Turkey as well as to international peace and security. By a letter dated 18 August 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³² the representative of Armenia requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to address "the most recent evidence of Azerbaijani aggression against Armenia and to condemn Azerbaijan's continuing policy of expanding its war against Nagorny Karabakh to the borders of Armenia".

At its 3264th meeting, on 18 August 1993, the Security Council included the above-mentioned letters in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Azerbaijan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United States) drew the attention of the Council members to several other documents³³ and stated that, after consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been

authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:³⁴

The Security Council expresses its serious concern at the deterioration of relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic and at the tensions between them. The Council calls upon the Government of Armenia to use its influence to achieve compliance by the Armenians of the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan with Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993).

The Council also expresses its deep concern at the recent intensification of fighting in the area of Fizuli. It condemns the attack on the Fizuli region from the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, just as it has previously condemned the invasion and seizure of the districts of Kelbadjar and Agdam of Azerbaijan. The Council demands a stop to all attacks and an immediate cessation of the hostilities and bombardments, which endanger peace and security in the region, and an immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of occupying forces from the area of Fizuli and from the districts of Kelbadjar and Agdam and other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan. The Council calls upon the Government of Armenia to use its unique influence to this end.

The Council reaffirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Azerbaijani Republic and of all other States in the region and the inviolability of their borders, and expresses its grave concern at the effect these hostilities have had on the efforts of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict. The Council stresses its full support of the CSCE peace process and notes particularly the opportunity that the current round of Minsk Group talks has afforded the parties to the conflict to present their views directly. In this context, the Council calls upon all of the parties to respond positively and within the agreed time-frame to the 13 August adjusted version of the Minsk Group's "Timetable of urgent steps to implement United Nations Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993)" and to refrain from any actions that would obstruct a peaceful solution. The Council welcomes the intention of the CSCE to send a mission to the region to report on all aspects of the situation.

In the light of this most recent escalation of the conflict, the Council strongly reaffirms its call in resolution 853 (1993) for States to refrain from supplying any weapons and munitions which might lead to an intensification of the conflict or the continued occupation of territory of Azerbaijan. The Council calls upon the Government of Armenia to ensure that the forces involved are not provided with the means to extend their military campaign still further.

The Council also renews its calls in resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993) for unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in the region, in all areas affected by the conflict, in order to alleviate the continually increasing

³⁰ S/26318.

³¹ S/26319.

³² S/26322.

³³ Letters dated 14, 15, 16 and 17 August 1993 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26305, S/26306, S/26307, S/26308, S/26315, S/26316, S/26320, S/26323, S/26324 and S/26325); letter dated 16 August 1993 from the representative of Armenia addressed to the Secretary-General (S/26312); and letters dated 18 August 1993 from the representative of Armenia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26327 and S/26328).

³⁴ S/26326.

suffering of the civilian population. The Council reminds the parties that they are bound by and must adhere to the principles and rules of international humanitarian law.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter and will be ready to consider appropriate steps to ensure that all parties fully respect and comply with its resolutions.

**Decision of 14 October 1993 (3292nd meeting):
resolution 874 (1993)**

At its 3292nd meeting, on 14 October 1993, the Security Council resumed its consideration of the situation relating to Nagorny Karabakh. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Brazil) drew the attention of the Council members to the text of a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,³⁵ and to several other documents, including letters dated 1, 6 and 8 October 1993, respectively, from the representatives of Italy, Armenia and Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council.³⁶ By a letter dated 1 October 1993,³⁷ the representative of Italy transmitted the text of a letter of the same date from the Chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference on Nagorny Karabakh and enclosed an adjusted timetable of urgent steps to implement Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993).

Pursuant to resolution 853 (1993), in his letter, the Chairman reported on the state of the efforts of the Minsk Group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. As a result of consultations among the members of the Minsk Group and of direct contacts between the parties to the conflict, an adjusted timetable had been drafted, outlining urgent steps to be taken to implement Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993). The timetable was being sent to the parties, with the request that they signify their acceptance of it by 7 October. In his letter, the Chairman stated that the adoption of a Security Council resolution or a presidential statement on the Nagorny Karabakh conflict would represent a source of guidance and

encouragement, both for the parties to the conflict and for the Minsk Group. He suggested some points that might be included in such a decision, as follows: (a) a confirmation of the earlier United Nations resolutions on the conflict; (b) a call for a withdrawal from recently occupied territories, including the newly occupied territories; (c) a welcoming of the direct contacts aimed in particular at establishing a stable and effective ceasefire, and a call to the parties to make the ceasefire permanent; (d) an expression of support for the "Adjusted timetable" of 28 September 1993, and a call to the parties to make the ceasefire permanent; (e) an underlining of the desirability of an early convening of the CSCE Minsk Conference, with a view to arriving at an overall settlement of the conflict, in conformity with the 24 March mandate of the CSCE Council of Ministers; (f) an expression of readiness on the part of the United Nations to send its representatives to observe the Minsk Conference, if invited, and to provide all possible assistance for the substantive negotiations that would follow the opening of the Conference; (g) an expression of support for the monitoring mission developed by CSCE and of the willingness of the United Nations to be associated with it in any possible way; (i) an expression of determination by the international community to help alleviate the human suffering caused by the conflict, in particular as concerns refugees and displaced persons, and human rights violations in general.

By a letter dated 6 October 1993,³⁸ the representative of Armenia transmitted a letter from the Foreign Minister of Armenia informing the Chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference about the acceptance by his Government of the "timetable". In a letter dated 8 October 1993,³⁹ the representative of Azerbaijan argued that the "timetable" contained provisions which were contrary to Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993) and the statement by the President of the Security Council of 18 August and therefore he could not agree to it.

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 874 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 822 (1993) of 30 April 1993 and 853 (1993) of 29 July 1993, and recalling the statement read

³⁵ S/26582.

³⁶ Letter dated 1 October 1993 from the representative of Italy addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26522); letter dated 6 October 1993 from the representative of Armenia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26543); and letters dated 8 and 13 October 1993, respectively, from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26556 and S/26577).

³⁷ S/26522.

³⁸ S/26543.

³⁹ S/26556.

by the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council, on 18 August 1993,

Having considered the letter dated 1 October 1993 from the Chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Minsk Conference on Nagorny Karabakh addressed to the President of the Security Council,

Expressing its serious concern that a continuation of the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic, and of the tensions between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic, would endanger peace and security in the region,

Noting the high-level meetings which took place in Moscow on 8 October 1993 and expressing the hope that they will contribute to the improvement of the situation and the peaceful settlement of the conflict,

Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and of all other States in the region,

Reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory,

Expressing once again its grave concern at the human suffering the conflict has caused and at the serious humanitarian emergency in the region, and expressing in particular its grave concern at the displacement of large numbers of civilians in Azerbaijan,

1. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to make effective and permanent the ceasefire established as a result of the direct contacts undertaken with the assistance of the Government of the Russian Federation in support of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

2. *Reiterates again its full support* for the peace process being pursued within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and for the tireless efforts of the Minsk Group;

3. *Welcomes and commends* to the parties the "Adjusted timetable of urgent steps to implement Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993)" set out on 28 September 1993 at the meeting of the Minsk Group and submitted to the parties concerned by the Chairman of the Group with the full support of nine other members of the Group, and calls on the parties to accept it;

4. *Expresses the conviction* that all other pending questions arising from the conflict and not directly addressed in the "Adjusted timetable" should be settled expeditiously through peaceful negotiations in the context of the Minsk process;

5. *Calls* for the immediate implementation of the reciprocal and urgent steps provided for in the Minsk Group's "Adjusted timetable", including the withdrawal of forces from recently occupied territories and the removal of all obstacles to communications and transportation;

6. *Calls also* for an early convening of the Minsk Conference for the purpose of arriving at a negotiated settlement to the conflict as provided for in the "Adjusted timetable", in conformity with the 24 March 1992 mandate of the Council of Ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to respond favourably to an invitation to send a representative to attend the Minsk Conference and to provide all possible assistance for the substantive negotiations that will follow the opening of the Conference;

8. *Supports* the monitoring mission developed by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

9. *Calls* on all parties to refrain from all violations of international humanitarian law, and renews its call in resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993) for unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in all areas affected by the conflict;

10. *Urges* all States in the region to refrain from any hostile acts and from any interference or intervention which would lead to the widening of the conflict and undermine peace and security in the region;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General and relevant international agencies to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected civilian population and to assist refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in security and dignity;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General, the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Chairman of the Minsk Conference to continue to report to the Council on the progress of the Minsk process and on all aspects of the situation on the ground, and on present and future cooperation between the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations in this regard;

13. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that, through the adopted resolution, the international community was expressing its strong support for the vital, continuing efforts of the Minsk Group to help resolve the conflict in the Nagorny Karabakh region. In the spirit of that resolution and the previous one, the Minsk Group had developed a plan that envisaged international monitoring of a phased ceasefire and negotiations among all the parties through the early convening of the Minsk Conference. He hoped that the parties to the conflict would seize the opportunity offered by the Minsk Group's plan. The international community and the parties to the conflict, working together through the

Minsk process, also needed to act to alleviate the human suffering and to find a peaceful solution.⁴⁰

The representative of France stated that, in his Government's view, the resolution ought to allow for progress towards the settlement of the conflict. His delegation also noted that the Council, in the resolution, had reaffirmed its support for the Minsk peace process, to which France was particularly committed. The resolution addressed a clear message to the parties by asking them to agree a timetable of urgent measures. His delegation hoped that the parties would grasp the meaning of the resolution and that they would soon inform the Chairman of the Minsk Group of their acceptance of the timetable, an essential step toward the negotiation of which was to open under the auspices of the Minsk Conference.⁴¹

The representative of the Russian Federation described his country's efforts to end the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. He noted that, despite isolated incidents, the ceasefire had been observed since the beginning of September, which was very important. Azerbaijan and Armenia had turned to the Russian Federation for assistance in formalizing the agreement achieved during the Moscow meetings, on the 24 and 25 September, on extending the ceasefire for one month. On 1 October it had been extended to 5 November. The Russian Federation attached special significance to the appeal in the adopted resolution that the existing ceasefire be made a lasting one. Once that priority had been achieved, the next step would be to take mutual, urgent measures to reach a full settlement of the conflict. The Russian Federation felt that a constructive joining of efforts by all the parties and organizations was necessary, primarily those of CSCE and its Minsk Group.⁴²

Decision of 12 November 1993 (3313th meeting): resolution 884 (1993)

By a letter dated 26 October 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁴³ the representative of Azerbaijan transmitted a letter dated 26 October 1993 from the President of the Azerbaijani Republic, in which he referred to the ongoing aggression being conducted by the Republic of

Armenia and requested: an urgent meeting of the Security Council; the condemnation by the Security Council of the aggression by the Republic of Armenia against the Azerbaijani Republic; and the imposition of military, political and economic sanctions by the Security Council on the Republic of Armenia, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The representative of Turkey made a similar request by a letter dated 27 October 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁴⁴ in which he stated that the recent Armenian attacks against Azerbaijani territory constituted a serious threat to international peace and security and brought the situation closer to regional conflict. By a letter dated 28 October 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁴⁵ the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran made a similar request and requested the Security Council to take necessary measures, including the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to the area, to consolidate the ceasefire and allow for efforts aimed at achieving a just and honourable solution to the conflict. He contended that the national security of his country was threatened.

At its 3313th meeting, on 12 November 1993, the Security Council included the above-mentioned letters in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkey, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Cape Verde) drew the attention of the Council members to the draft resolution that had been prepared during the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁴⁶ He also drew the attention of the

⁴⁴ S/26650.

⁴⁵ S/26662.

⁴⁶ S/26719.

⁴⁰ S/PV.3292, p. 3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

⁴³ S/26647.

members of the Council to several other documents,⁴⁷ including a letter dated 9 November 1993 from the representative of Italy addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁴⁸ transmitting a letter of the same date from the Chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference on Nagorny Karabakh. The Chairman's letter enclosed a declaration that had been approved by the countries of the Minsk Group on Nagorny Karabakh, concerning the most recent developments on the ground and a package of proposals worked out by the same countries and submitted to the parties to the conflict. In its declaration, the Minsk Group vigorously condemned the behaviour of the parties to the Nagorny Karabakh conflict during the most recent ceasefire violation and the seizure of additional territory by force. Those actions constituted unacceptable violations of the CSCE principle of the non-use of force and they undercut the efforts of the international community to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. The Minsk Group parties insisted on the acceptance of their proposed timetable providing for: a full and permanent ceasefire; withdrawals from the occupied territories; and the dispatching of a monitor mission, leading to the early convening of the Minsk Conference. Acceptance of the timetable, which had been called for by Security Council resolution 874 (1993), was essential for the implementation of

Security Council resolutions 822 (1993), 853 (1993) and 874 (1993).

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Pakistan stated that his delegation remained gravely concerned about the situation in the Azerbaijani Republic, resulting from the aggression against Azerbaijani territory. The Council needed to take immediate note of the most recent offensive launched by the Armenian forces and the occupation of the Azerbaijani districts of Djebrail, Fizuli, Zangelan and Kubatli. Not only did the offensive constitute a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations but the aggression had also resulted in a colossal humanitarian tragedy forcing more than 60,000 local inhabitants to flee their homes and seek refuge in neighbouring countries. The situation constituted a threat to the peace and security of the region. Pakistan commended the efforts that had been made by the Chairman of the Minsk Group to find a peaceful solution to the conflict and it hoped the Council's adoption of the draft resolution would strengthen the CSCE process. The speaker noted that his delegation supported the draft resolution, but he said it would have preferred to see the draft include an expression of the Council's intention to take further appropriate steps if the resolutions of the Council continued to be defied.⁴⁹

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 884 (1993), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 822 (1993) of 30 April 1993, 853 (1993) of 29 July 1993 and 874 (1993) of 14 October 1993,

Reaffirming its full support for the peace process being pursued within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and for the tireless efforts of the Minsk Group of the Conference,

Taking note of the letter dated 9 November 1993 from the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Minsk Conference on Nagorny Karabakh addressed to the President of the Security Council and its enclosures,

Expressing its serious concern that a continuation of the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic, and of the tensions between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic, would endanger peace and security in the region,

⁴⁷ Letters dated 15, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27 and 28 October and 2 and 4 November 1993 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26589, S/26595, S/26602, S/26615, S/26637, S/26647, S/26657, S/26658, S/26682 and S/26693); letters dated 21, 26 and 27 October 1993 from the representative of Armenia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26612, S/26643 and S/26645); letter dated 28 October 1993 from the representative of Turkey addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26665); letter dated 29 October 1993 from the representative of Azerbaijan addressed to the Secretary-General (S/26674); letter dated 9 November 1993 from the representative of Italy, transmitting a letter of the same date from the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE Minsk Conference on Nagorny Karabakh addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26718); letter dated 11 November 1993 from the representative of Belgium addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26728); and letter dated 12 November 1993 from the representative of Italy addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/26732).

⁴⁸ S/26718.

⁴⁹ S/PV.3313, pp. 4-5.

Noting with alarm the escalation in armed hostilities in consequence of the violations of the ceasefire and excesses in the use of force in response to those violations, in particular the occupation of the Zangelan district and the city of Goradiz in Azerbaijan,

Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and of all other States in the region,

Reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory,

Expressing grave concern at the latest displacement of a large number of civilians and the humanitarian emergency in the Zangelan district and the city of Goradiz and on Azerbaijan's southern frontier,

1. *Condemns* the recent violations of the ceasefire established between the parties, which resulted in a resumption of hostilities, and particularly condemns the occupation of the Zangelan district and the city of Goradiz, attacks on civilians and bombardments of the territory of the Azerbaijani Republic;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Armenia to use its influence to achieve compliance by the Armenians of the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan with resolutions 822 (1993), 853 (1993) and 874 (1993) and to ensure that the forces involved are not provided with the means to extend their military campaign further;

3. *Welcomes* the declaration of 4 November 1993 of the nine members of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and commends the proposals contained therein for unilateral ceasefire declarations;

4. *Demands* from the parties concerned the immediate cessation of armed hostilities and hostile acts, the unilateral withdrawal of occupying forces from the Zangelan district and the city of Goradiz, and the withdrawal of occupying forces from other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan in accordance with the "Adjusted timetable of urgent steps to implement Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993)" as amended by the Minsk Group meeting held at Vienna from 2 to 8 November 1993;

5. *Strongly urges* the parties concerned to resume promptly and to make effective and permanent the ceasefire established as a result of the direct contacts undertaken with the assistance of the Government of the Russian Federation in support of the Minsk Group, and to continue to seek a negotiated settlement of the conflict within the context of the Minsk process and the "Adjusted timetable" as amended by the Minsk Group meeting of 2 to 8 November 1993;

6. *Urges again* all States in the region to refrain from any hostile acts and from any interference or intervention, which would lead to the widening of the conflict and undermine peace and security in the region;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General and relevant international agencies to provide urgent humanitarian assistance

to the affected civilian population, including that in the Zangelan district and the city of Goradiz and on Azerbaijan's southern frontier, and to assist refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in security and dignity;

8. *Reiterates its request* that the Secretary-General, the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Chairman of the Minsk Conference continue to report to the Council on the progress of the Minsk process and on all aspects of the situation on the ground, in particular on the implementation of its relevant resolutions, and on present and future cooperation between the Conference on Security and Cooperation and the United Nations in this regard;

9. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States noted that his Government's support for the adopted resolution rested on a simple premise: where ceasefires were continually violated and the ensuing violence escalated far beyond any conceivable military necessity, innocent civilians on both sides of the conflict suffered more and more. The resolution rightly laid the blame for the appalling situation on both parties — the party that had initiated the current round of ceasefire violations and the party that had responded out of all proportion to those violations. The speaker observed that there was a way out. It was offered by the Minsk process and the tireless efforts of the Minsk Group, which had fashioned a framework by which a ceasefire could be stabilized and negotiations undertaken.⁵⁰

The representative of France stated that the acquisition of territory by force was inadmissible and that doing so for the purposes of negotiation could not be countenanced. France demanded the immediate cessation of armed hostilities, the unilateral withdrawal of occupying forces from the Zangelan district and the withdrawal from other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijani Republic, in accordance with the adjusted timetable of the Minsk Group. In approving the Declaration of the Minsk Group, which had been adopted on 4 November 1993 in Vienna, the Council was again expressing its full support for the sustained efforts of the CSCE and was charging the parties to continue their discussions with a view to the convening of the Minsk Conference as soon as possible. The speaker stressed his Government's concern at the effects that the continuation of the conflict was having on the humanitarian situation. His delegation

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

welcomed the appeal that the Council was making that day for increased humanitarian assistance to the civilian populations of the region and it recalled its insistence on ensuring that such assistance was guaranteed free access.⁵¹

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his country was seriously concerned at the escalation of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict, which was the result of local violations of the ceasefire and of excessive retaliation with catastrophic consequences for tens of thousands of Azerbaijani refugees. The Russian Federation took a positive view of the decisions of the recently concluded Vienna meeting of the Minsk Group, in which it had actively participated, and it believed that the parties would heed those decisions. It also hoped that the adopted resolution would be an important signal that the international community would no longer tolerate the continuation of bloodshed, nor the ever-more-dangerous escalation of the conflict. The Russian Federation attached great importance to the demand contained in the resolution for immediately resuming, and making permanent and effective, the ceasefire.⁵²

The representative of Hungary said that the Council had every reason to take up the matter of the continuing conflict in Nagorny Karabakh and the tension between Armenia and Azerbaijan because the crisis was likely to jeopardize peace and security throughout the region. Hungary welcomed the declaration that had been made by the Minsk Group and it extended its full support to the Group's peace process. The speaker stressed the importance of the resolution's reaffirmation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Azerbaijani Republic and of all other States in the region, as well as of the resolution's reaffirmation of the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory. He also highlighted the position set out in the Minsk Group's declaration of 4 November that the occupation of territory could not be used to try to obtain international recognition or to impose a change of legal status.⁵³

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Azerbaijani Republic, and of all other States in the region, had to cease, as the adopted

resolution and previous resolutions had made clear. The United Kingdom looked to all parties to adopt a positive approach to the Minsk Group's negotiations, and in particular to accept the Group's new package by the deadline of 22 November.⁵⁴

The representative of Brazil said that Brazil remained deeply concerned by the precarious humanitarian situation prevailing in the region. As with other conflicts in the world, it was imperative that full attention be paid to tackling the urgent needs of the civilian population, independently of political or military considerations. All the parties and others concerned remained bound to comply with the rules of international humanitarian law and to ensure unimpeded access for humanitarian relief efforts throughout the region. The speaker noted that the Security Council had from the outset agreed to recognize the prominent role to be played by CSCE to find a negotiated solution to the conflict concerning Nagorny Karabakh. The resolution just adopted confirmed that the efforts being undertaken at the regional level in the context of the Minsk process continued to have the support of the Council. The best chance of achieving a lasting solution to the problems that had arisen in connection with the dispute lay in that framework. The speaker echoed the wish of other speakers that the Minsk Group's timetable of urgent steps to be taken to implement the peace process would be accepted and followed by the parties. He also observed that, while the Security Council continued to lend its backing to the diplomatic efforts of CSCE, it was also important that the Council remain seized of the matter and that it monitor the situation closely.⁵⁵

The representative of Spain reaffirmed the importance that should be attached to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Azerbaijani Republic, without ignoring the rights of the Armenians of Nagorny Karabakh, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and CSCE. Of special concern was the humanitarian situation, especially the increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons, which was causing the problem to spread beyond the borders of the Azerbaijani Republic. In addition to achieving an immediate ceasefire, the international community needed to give priority to the problems of securing asylum and protection for the

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

tens of thousands of refugees fleeing the conflict areas and of ensuring the free movement and delivery of humanitarian assistance. The speaker said that the conflict threatened to spread beyond the territory of the Azerbaijani Republic, endangering peace and security in the region, which justified, indeed necessitated, redoubled efforts by the United Nations and CSCE to halt and end the conflict. In conclusion, the representative cautioned that, if the parties did not respond positively to the Minsk Group's initiatives, thus setting in motion a true peace process, the Security Council would have to re-examine the item with a view to adopting such measures as might be deemed appropriate in the light of information and recommendations received from the Secretary-General, the Chairman-in-Office of CSCE and the Chairman of the Minsk process.⁵⁶

**Decision of 26 April 1995 (3525th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3525th meeting, on 26 April 1995, the Security Council resumed its consideration of the situation relating to Nagorny Karabakh. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Azerbaijan, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Czech Republic) then drew the attention of the Council members to letters dated 30 March 1995 and 20 April 1995, respectively, from the representatives of the Russian Federation and Sweden addressed to the President of the Security Council.⁵⁷

The letter of 30 March transmitted a letter dated 21 March from the Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Pursuant to resolution 884 (1993), the Co-Chairmen reported, in their letter, on the efforts that had been made in the framework of the Minsk Process to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict, in particular since the decision that had been made by the CSCE Summit at Budapest on 6 December 1994 concerning the intensification of CSCE action in relation to the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. In accordance with that decision, a Co-Chairmanship for the OSCE Minsk Process had been established between Sweden and the Russian Federation. The Co-Chairmen noted that the

ceasefire, which had been in effect since 12 May 1994, was still largely being respected. The parties were committed to respecting the ceasefire until a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict had been attained. Through the efforts of the Co-Chairmen, the parties had further committed themselves to mutual obligations to strengthen the ceasefire through direct contacts and other confidence-building measures. The Co-Chairmen foresaw the finalization, in the near future, of an agreement to establish an OSCE presence in the region, in the form of a personal representative of the Chairman-in-Office of OSCE, along with field representatives. It also remained the view of the parties that a peacekeeping operation would be necessary to guarantee the eventual political agreement on the cessation of hostilities. A High-level Planning Group had been established and it was actively working on recommendations for the OSCE Chairman-in-Office on planning and preparations for an OSCE peacekeeping force. The Co-Chairmen intended in the near future to undertake a visit to the region to consult the parties and would report to the Council on that matter.

The letter dated 20 April 1995 transmitted a letter of the same date from the Co-Chairmen of the OSCE Minsk Conference. In the letter, the Co-Chairmen provided, pursuant to resolution 884 (1993), additional information on efforts made in the framework of the OSCE Minsk process for the peaceful settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. They noted that the ceasefire was still largely being respected, although several incidents had occurred recently on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan and along the line of contact. The continued observance of the ceasefire and the repeatedly reaffirmed intention of the parties to abide by it were encouraging. However, due to the fact that there was "neither war nor peace", there remained a risk of an unsatisfactory and even dangerous freezing of the situation. A continued lack of progress in the political process might very well endanger the existing ceasefire.

The Co-Chairmen recalled that a substantial number of OSCE States had earlier stated their readiness in principle to contribute to an OSCE multinational peacekeeping force and they warned that there was a risk that such readiness might be adversely affected by a lack of concrete progress in the negotiation process. It was of great importance that the planning and preparatory work be concluded and that the peacekeeping operation be made credible, assuring

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

⁵⁷ S/1995/249 and S/1995/321.

the parties and the contributing States of an effective and secure implementation of the agreement. The Co-Chairmen observed that continuing political support from the Security Council for the possible deployment of an OSCE peacekeeping force, as well as continued United Nations technical advice and expertise, would be required if such an operation were to be carried out.

The President then stated that, after consultations among members of the Security Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁵⁸

The Security Council has considered the reports of the Co Chairmen of the Minsk Conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on Nagorny Karabakh submitted in accordance with paragraph 8 of its resolution 884 (1993). It expresses its satisfaction that the ceasefire in the region agreed upon on 12 May 1994 through the mediation of the Russian Federation in cooperation with the Minsk Group of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has been holding for almost a year.

At the same time, the Council reiterates the concern it has previously expressed at the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic and at the tensions between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic. In particular, it expresses its concern at recent violent incidents and emphasizes the importance of using the mechanism of direct contacts for the settlement of incidents as agreed upon on 6 February 1995. It strongly urges the parties to the conflict to take all necessary measures to prevent such incidents in future.

The Council reaffirms all its relevant resolutions, inter alia, on the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region. It also reaffirms the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory.

The Council reiterates its full support for the efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference to assist in conducting speedy negotiations for the conclusion of a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict, the implementation of which will eliminate major consequences of the conflict for all parties, inter alia, ensuring withdrawal of forces, and permit the convening of the Minsk Conference.

The Council stresses that the parties to the conflict themselves bear the main responsibility for reaching a peaceful settlement. It stresses the urgency of concluding a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict on the basis of the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It strongly urges those parties to conduct constructively negotiations without preconditions or procedural obstacles and to refrain from any actions that may undermine the peace process. It emphasizes that the achievement of such an agreement is a prerequisite for the deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Council welcomes the decision of the Budapest summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of 6 December 1994 on the intensification of action by the Conference in relation to the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. It confirms its readiness to provide continuing political support, inter alia, through an appropriate resolution regarding the possible deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe following agreement among the parties for cessation of the armed conflict. The United Nations also stands ready to provide technical advice and expertise.

The Council underlines the urgency of the implementation by the parties of confidence building measures, as agreed upon within the Minsk Group on 15 April 1994, in particular in the humanitarian field, including the release of all prisoners of war and civilian detainees by the first anniversary of the ceasefire. It calls upon the parties to prevent suffering of the civilian populations affected by the armed conflict.

The Council reiterates its request that the Secretary-General, the Chairman in Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Co Chairmen of the Minsk Conference continue to report to the Council on the progress of the Minsk process and on the situation on the ground, in particular on the implementation of its relevant resolutions and on present and future cooperation between the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations in this regard.

The Council will keep the matter under consideration.

⁵⁸ S/PRST/1995/21.