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# **International Journal of Social, Political and Economic Research**

IJðSPER

ISSN: 2667-8810 (Online) ijosper.uk



### **Original Article**

Article No: 20\_V7\_I2\_A20

DOI: doi.org/10.46291/IJOSPERvol7iss2pp415-439

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# The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia from the Historical Perspective

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### Key Words:

Soviet Union, Nagorno-Karabakh, İndependence, Caucasus Region, Autonomous.

#### Abstract:

The Nagorno-Karabakh problem had continued for years. The problem had grown thanks to the policies of Russia in the region. The Russians first had carried out expansionist policies. After the industrial revolution, oil in the Caucasus had gained importance in the region. Therefore, the Russian Armenians immigrated to these regions. Strategic plans have been developed to increase the Christian population in the region and to make the region a region without Turks. Armenia and Azerbaijan had gained independence after the Soviet Union collapsed after the Cold War. After the Soviet Union, Russia had given the region the right to self-determination, and the population in the Nagorno-Karabakh region began to be Armenian. Azerbaijani Turks were immigrated from this region. Negotiating groups have been included for the solution of the problem in this region and a ceasefire has been signed between the two countries. Violations had occurred over the years after the ceasefire signed between the two countries. Russia had not wanted the presence of international actors in this region. For this reason, Russia continues to be on the Armenian side. Today, Russia has a voice in the region with a balanced policy. Nagorno-Karabakh region is legally connected to Azerbaijan and has not been recognized as de-facto.

#### Özet:

Dağlık Karabağ sorunu yıllardır devam etmektedir. Bölgede Rusya'nın politikaları sayesinde sorun büyümüştür. Ruslar ilk zamanlarda yayılmacı politikalar yürütmüşlerdir. Sanayi devrimi gerçekleştikten sonra bölgede Kafkaslardaki petrol önem kazanmıştır. Bu yüzden Rusya Ermenileri bu bölgelere göç ettirmiştir. Bölgede Hristiyan nüfusu arttırmak ve bölgeyi Türklerin olmadığı bir bölge haline getirmek için stratejik planlar geliştirilmiştir. Ermenistan ve Azerbaycan Soğuk Savaş sonrasında yıkılan Sovyet Birliği'nin ardından bağımsızlıklarını kazanmışlardır. Sovyetler Birliği'nden sonra Rusya bölgeye self-determination hakkı tanımıştır ve Dağlık-Karabağ bölgesindeki nüfus Ermenileşmeye başlamıştır. Azeri Türkleri bu bölgeden göç ettirilmiştir. Bu bölgedeki sorunun çözümü için müzakere grupları dahil olmuştur ve iki ülke arasında ateşkes imzalanmıştır. İki ülke arasında imzalanan ateşkes sonrasında yıllar içerisinde ihlaller yaşanmıştır. Rusya bu bölgede uluslararası aktörlerin varlığını istememektedir. Bu nedenle Rusya Ermenistan tarafında olmaya devam etmektedir. Günümüzde Rusya dengeli bir politika ile bölgede söz sahibi olmaktadır. Dağlık-Karabağ bölgesi hukuki olarak Azerbaycan'a bağlı olup de-facto olarak tanınmayan bir bölge olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sovyetler Birliği, Dağlık-Karabağ, Bağımsızlık, Kafkaslar Bölgesi, Özerk.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Nagorno -Karabakh region is a region located between Azerbaijan, Iran and Armenia (İbayev, 2008). Nagorno-Karabakh region has a strategic importance as a region. Legally, the Nagorno-Karabakh region is located in an Azerbaijani region (İbayev, 2008). Nagorno -Karabakh region has become a problem due to the policies of Russia. The problem that started as of the nineteenth century as a result of the policies of Russia has become a situation that cannot be solved until today (İbayev, 2008). Armenians had lived in Iran and Anatolia in many years. Armenians had migrated to Russia's policy of giving a new homeland in the Karabakh region. Russia was aimed to increase the Armenian population in the region and reduce other ethnicities. This article describes the policies of Russia and the historical development of the problem in the region.

From the first years, the Armenian population in the region has increased and the population of Azerbaijanis in the region has been decreasing (İbayev, 2008). Armenians in Karabakh region had forced to migrate to other places in order to eliminate the region from Azeri Turks. After a while, the Soviet Union had entered the disintegration process and Armenia had started to demand rights from the Karabakh region (İbayev, 2008). This demand turned into a war between Armenia and Azerbaijan (İbayev, 2008). Russia had been with Armenians and Azerbaijan lost some of its territory. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Nagorno-Karabakh declared itself as an independent region (Javakhishvili, 2019). So far, no country has recognized Karabakh independence (Javakhishvili, 2019) . Internatinal actors had seen that the Karabakh region is connected to Azerbaijan. Since the first years, the politics of the Armenians has been to make this region Armenian. People living in this region have assimilated into the Armenian culture and language over time. For this reason, Armenians think that the region's

Armenian population is high and the Armenian culture is high in the region. Conflicts had continued in the region after the Soviet Union dissolved (Javakhishvili, 2019).

Hocali events had taken place in 1992 (İbayev, 2008). Armenians had attacked this area and many civilians had died (İbayev, 2008). Many states had gained independence after the Soviet Union broke up. A ceasefire was signed between Azerbaijan and Armenia in 1994 (İbayev, 2008). Azerbaijan has been in cooperation with international actors for the solution of the Karabakh problem for many years. After the ceasefire, many negotiations had taken place between Armenia and Azerbaijan countries (Seyidova, 2014). Heydar Aliyev had held meetings with many organizations (Seyidova, 2014). Negotiations had held with the two parties to reach a solution in the region. There had been conflicts in the region after the ceasefire. The reappearance of a war situation in the region concerns every country in the Karabakh region (Kılavuz, 2017). A large amount of costs arise for the solution of the problem and arms purchases had continued (Kılavuz, 2017). Russia has balanced policies implemented on both sides. In this article, the resolution processes of the Karabakh problem are analyzed. Negotiations had continued between the two countries. Azerbaijan tries to solve this case peacefully, but Armenia does not approach this situation. Karabakh problem continues in the region without any solution.

# 1. HISTORICAL AND ANALYTICAL OVERVIEW OF THE REGION

The history of the Russians first had started in Slavic countries. Russia has been a country trying to protect its territory for years. The Russians first had wanted to create for democratic regimes. However, thanks to the Bolshevik Revolution, the democratic regime had become a socialist regime (Abdulkadir Baharçiçek, 2014). For years, Russia was first called the Union of Tsars and Soviet Socialist Republics (Kuchins, 2009). Russia today has become a country with a broad facial measurement (Kuchins, 2009). Russia has survived as a multinational and multicultural country. The difference between Russia and Western countries is that Western countries change a certain colonial identity. However, Russia had continued with the same national identity. Russia's vast territory, overpopulation and use as an army had seen Europe as a formidable opponent (Kuchins, 2009).

As the progress of the Russians increased in the fifteenth century, the Russians had called "Third Rome" by Christians (Kuchins, 2009). The Roman Empire had collapsed. The state known as the Second Rome was the Byzantine Empire, known as the continuation of the Roman Empire. The Byzantine Empire had destroyed by the Ottoman Empire in 1453 and had disappeared in the Second Rome thanks to the Ottoman State. In the following years, the Soviet Union had seen as the third Roman Empire. Another reason is that in 1472, the third Ivan, a Russian prince, had married the Byzantine nephew Sofia Paleologue (Kuchins, 2009). This marriage had caused the Russians to reach wide limits on the territory of the Soviet Union (Kuchins, 2009).

With the defeat of the Roman Empire in Sweden in 1709, the Russians had made progress in the Baltic Sea (Kuchins, 2009). Poland had divided towards the end of the eighteenth century. That's why the Russians had approached the Ottoman Empire (Kuchins, 2009). Progress had made towards the Caucasus and Central Asia in the 19th century. During the Kiev period, the Russians had been closer to Western culture (Kuchins, 2009). After the Mongol invasion, the Russians had adapted to Eastern culture. Tsar Petro had moved Moscow, the capital of Tsarist Russia, to Petersburg as the capital and had tried to approach Russia again to Western culture (Kuchins, 2009). After a while, the Russian opponents had caused the Russians to expand eastward. The Crimean War had taken place between 1853 and 1856. There had been a war between France, Ottoman Empire, Sardinia and England against Russia's efforts to land in the Mediterranean (Kuchins, 2009). Russians also had fought on the Caucasian side. The Russians had fought many wars over the years and have had borders with China in the Far East (Kuchins, 2009).

After the Crimean War, Russians had been unhappy with the rule during the First World War. Tsarist Russia had been a Bolshevik coup led by Lenin (Zickel, 1989). Tsarist Russia has been a religious society at the time. Gorbachev's efforts to restructure after the Bolshevik Revolution had broken the authoritarian structure. With the Bolshevik Revolution, the Tsarist had destroyed, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had formed (Zickel, 1989). The new government had banned the parties from the old government. A decision had made to run the entire government from a single party system. Lenin had led the party. After Lenin, Joseph V. Stalin had promoted to leader (Zickel, 1989). During the Stalin era, state taxes had created a socialist economy. Before the Stalin era, the Soviet Union had been a society left over from Europe. The Soviet Union had been economically and militarily weak in this period. Stalin had initiated a period of industrialization in the country. Stalin had wanted the rapid development of heavy industry to make the Soviet Union a had developed country in the world (Zickel, 1989). During the Soviet Union, the Russians had aimed to spread socialism. During the Soviet Union, socialism policies had organized against the US capitalist system (Kuchins, 2009).

The Soviet Union had signed the Nazi - Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in 1939 (Zickel, 1989). Much of Eastern Europe had occupied until 1945. Western Europe had reacted to this expansionist movement of the Soviet Union. After these reactions, the Cold War had begun. Stalin had died in 1953. The leader after Stalin had been Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev (Zickel, 1989). Khrushchev had been confrontational in his foreign policy. Khrushchev's agriculture policies and the Missile Crisis policy in Cuba had been a provoked move (Zickel, 1989). Later, Leonid I. Brezhnev had been the head of the party. Leonid I. Brezhnev had initiated the Soviet Union's relations with the West. Leonid I. Brezhnev had continued his traditional economic policy (Zickel, 1989).

Gorbachev had become the first and last president of the Soviet Union and worked to make the political system of the Soviet Union a liberal structure. Gorbachev had made the policies of Perestroika and Glastnost in 1986 (Zickel, 1989). Gorbachev had wanted to make the economy a free market structure with these policies. Gorbachev had rejected Stalin's policies and had sought to spread socialism to the public. In 1989 Gorbachev had elected president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (Zickel, 1989). In 1985, at the end of the Gorbachev era, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic had begun to deteriorate and had become a crisis. Gorbachev said "revolutionary" change had needed to revive the Soviet Union (Zickel, 1989). Gorbachev's political steps, however, had failed to fix the economy. Some countries in the Soviet Union (Zickel, 1989). As the political structure of the world changed, the ideas of the Russians had begun to change. Gorbachev's reforms had brought the Soviet Union into crisis (Kuchins, 2009). While Gorbachev's political reforms were important steps towards becoming a democratic country, Gorbachev had not prevented the collapse of the Soviet Union (Abdulkadir Baharçiçek, 2014).

# 2. A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN

Armenians are a community that existed before the fall of the Soviet Union. Armenians first had gained a place in history through an epic. This epic is known as the Armenian epic, and this epic is known to have been written in antiquity. The lineage of Armenians is believed to have Nahaped Hayk (Hayg) before the arrival of the Christian religion (Artak Movsisyan, 2019). Some inscriptions during the Mesopotamian period have inscriptions relating to Armenian nationality (Artak Movsisyan, 2019). According to some researches, Armenian nationality was studied in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. At that time, Armenians had lived together as a tribe with the Phrygians (Uras, 1988).

Armenians had come to Anatolia in the eighth century B.C. and had settled in this region after the collapse of the Urartu State (Ekrem Memiş, 1998). Armenians were able to stay in this region on the condition that Armenians pay taxes to the Persian king. The first Armenian word was used by the Persian king Darius (Ekrem Memis, 1998). At that time Armenians had called themselves Haikhs (Ekrem Memiş, 1998). In the cuneiform writings of the Persian Empire, Armenians settled in eastern Anatolia. The eastern Anatolia region was called the words Armanu and Armenia. After the collapse of the Persian Empire, Armenians had lived under the rule of many states over the years (Ekrem Memiş, 1998). The Armenians lived in the lands of Alexander, king of the Macedonian Empire, after the fall of the Persian Empire (Ekrem Memiş, 1998). When the Macedonian empire collapsed, the Seleucids were replaced. Armenians were lived in the territory of these Seleucids. Later, Armenians had lived chronologically in the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuk Empire and the Ottoman Empire (Ekrem Memiş, 1998). Armenian relations between Rome and the Byzantine Empire date back to the Roman Empire from earlier years. The Byzantine Empire had approached the Armenians more centrally. Byzantine Emperor I. Theodosius had made a treaty with the Sassanids, and the Armenians were divided into two (Öztürk, 2017). The Byzantine Emperors had tried to assimilate the Armenians. The Byzantines often had attempted to do assimilation religiously. First, there were Armenians in the Roman Empire (Öztürk, 2017).

After the Roman Empire began to strengthen, the race between the Persians and the Roman Empire had begun. The Armenians had begun to be crushed among this race and became a third rival through kinship. And later times The Armenians had taken the lands they had lost, and the Armenian kingdom had turned into an empire. When the Roman Empire invaded Pontus, the King of Pontus had come to the Armenian Empire for help, and this had damaged the relationship with the Roman Empire (Öztürk, 2017). The Roman Empire had declared war and had occupied the capital. Peace had made between the Roman Empire and the Armenians. After a while, relations between the Armenians and the Parthians had become closer and the Roman Empire had started a war against the Parthians, but the cold climate caused Rome to be defeated (Öztürk, 2017). In the beginning of the Roman Empire II. Ardashes had passed and had acted harshly towards the Armenians. Armenians had come under the rule of Parthians (Öztürk, 2017). There has been an irregular system in the Armenian territories, and this situation had put the Armenian territory again had brought the irregular system. As a result of this situation, the Parthians had occupied the Armenian capital and the Parthians had put the first Dirtad in charge

of the Armenian territories (Öztürk, 2017). The Roman Empire had not accepted this situation and war had begun. The Roman Empire and the Parthians of this war had made the Treaty of Rhandeia (Öztürk, 2017). The Parthian Emperor had violated the treaty, and the Roman emperorship incorporated the Armenian lands into Roman territory. In later years, conquests had failed to advance. Armenia had been recognized as a kingdom. The Sassanid state had established, and the Parthians had destroyed. AD in 244, Parthians had defeated in the battle with the Roman Empire and the Sassanids and had gave up his control of Armenia (Öztürk, 2017). Diokletianos had been the head of the Roman Empire and the Roman Empire had been on the rise and he had taken control of Armenia again. Armenians had converted to Christianity, the monotheistic religion, during this period (Öztürk, 2017).

After the third century, the Roman Empire had begun to fall and the Byzantine Empire took its place (Öztürk, 2017). Towards the end of the fourth century, Armenian lands were shared with the Byzantine Empire and the Sassanids. The Sassanids held the religious beliefs of Zoroastrianism and had forced the Armenians in their region from Christianity to the religion of Zoroastrianism (Doç & Sağir, 2014). Between 451-485 there had been wars between Armenians and Sassanid feudal Beys (Doc & Sağir, 2014). In the sixth century there had been conflicts with the Byzantine Empire and the Sassanids. Between 591-705, part of Armenia was given to the Byzantine Empire. In 640, The Arabs had destroyed the Sassanid State and Byzantium was disturbed by this situation. Armenians had migrated to Byzantine lands (Doc & Sağir, 2014). At the beginning of the ninth century, the Abbasid State had begun to weaken, and by the middle of the ninth century, Armenians had been under the control of the Abbasids (Doc & Sağir, 2014). In 851, Armenians had revolted in the region. The Byzantine Empire was rapidly expanding, and this brought the Abbasids and Armenians closer together. In the tenth century, Armenia and the eastern Anatolia region were occupied by Arabs. Kars region had made the Armenian capital. In 1064/1065, the Seljuks had captured the Byzantine Empire (Doc &Sağir, 2014). When the Turks had defeated the Byzantines in 1071, the Turkish migration began. The Armenian territory had come under the control of the Seljuk State (Doc & Sağir, 2014). The Byzantine Empire had begun to dominate the region again, and at the end of the eleventh century the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia was established. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, Armenians had continued as independent principalities (Doc & Sağir, 2014).

Armenians had not gain independence during the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia for many years (Ekrem Memiş, 1998). The Ottoman Empire, had founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century, housed many nations. The Ottoman Empire had kept all nations together in tolerance

without separating religion, language or race for many years. In the Ottoman Empire, Armenians had lived in many parts of the state. Armenians had lived under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Sultan II. Armenians had worked in high degrees during Mahmut period (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). Between 1877 and 1878, there had been a war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Russia had provoked the Armenians living in eastern Anatolia. Russia's defeat of the Ottoman Empire had caused Britain to change its attitude. Britain had intended to establish policies to establish independent states within the Ottoman Empire in 1880 (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). As a result of these aims of Britain, the Armenian question had begun. In negotiations after the war of 93, Armenians had demanded from the Russian Tsar (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). As a result of the negotiations, the Treaty of Ayastefanos was signed. The provisions of the Treaty of Ayastefanos had provided for arrangements to be made for Armenians living in the eastern regions (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). Thanks to this treaty, Britain had seen increased Russian power in the region and had invalidated the Treaty of Ayastefanos. Another treaty was signed on 13 July 1878 and Armenians had begun to form parties. Armenians had founded many societies in 1870-1880 (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). In 1917, political problems had begun to emerge in Russia and the Russian Tsar had left the administration and there was no peace in the people. The Bolsheviks, trying to take advantage of this unsettled environment, took over the administration and had put Lenin at the head of the Communist Party (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). Since 1878, Ottoman lands in the hands of Tsarist Russia have been given back by agreement. Armenians and Georgians had remained in this region (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). The Turkish army withdrew from the Caucasus region with the Armistice of Mondoros (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). Tsarist Russia was destroyed by the October Revolution in 1917 and Brest withdrew from the region by the Treaty of Litowsk (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). The Armenian population had increased in the region. Armenians had tried to dominate the region (Karadeniz, Yılmaz, 2017). Ethnic clashes have occurred in the Caucasus region. Countries had begun to receive independence. On 28 May 1918, Armenia had declared its independence. Republic of Armenia had established (Artak Movsisyan, 2019).

The ethnic origin of Azerbaijan dates back 2 million years. The name of Azerbaijan had come from Atropatena who lived on the southern side of Araks River in the first century BC (Zardabli, 2004). Another state is Caucasian Albania, formerly known by its name as Aghvania. According to many studies, Caucasians living around the Araks River are from Albania and Azerbaijanis had come from in Caucasus region (Zardabli, 2004). The Azerbaijani nation was formed by the unification of the "Albania" and "Atropatena" tribes of Azerbaijani lineages centuries ago

(Paşayeva, 2005). The oldest inhabited areas where the Turks established their government had seen as Azerbaijan. In the first century, the Hun Turks had come to Azerbaijan (Paşayeva, 2005). With the arrival of the Hun Turks, the arrival of the Turkic lineages had increased and the population of the Turkic lineages in this region had increased (Paşayeva, 2005).

In the ninth and tenth centuries, Turkic tribes in the Caucasus had settled in Azerbaijan region. Many principalities had settled in this region in the process. Shirvanshahs had settled in this region and had taken over the administration of Azerbaijan region (Cornell, 2011). Shirvanshahs had prevented a Mongol invasion in 1235 (Cornell, 2011). In 1501, the Safavids had occupied this region and the Shirvanshahs had continued to control the Azerbaijan region under the control of the Safavids (Cornell, 2011). In 1540 this region was again occupied by the Safavid State (Cornell, 2011). During the sixteenth century and seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire and Azerbaijan Wars made for this place. The Safavid State then had reclaimed this land and the Treaty of Qasr-1 Shirin was signed (Cornell, 2011). In 1747, the rule of the Safavid State was broken, and many new states were established in the region. In 1796, the Kaçar dynasty had taken control of Azerbaijan (Cornell, 2011).

The history of Azerbaijan is explained in two ways. The first is an Azerbaijan Republic with a nation-state understanding in 1918. Second, from 1922 to 1991, the Soviet Union had controlled the territory (Cornell, 2011). During the collapse of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika led to unrest in the Soviet Union and had resulted in the dissolution of the Soviet Union. During the dissolution of the Soviet Union, many ethnic minorities had sought independence. In 1991, the Soviet Union had collapsed, and 14 newly independent states had formed. One of the new independent republics that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union had been the Republic of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan and Ukraine had been both important to the Soviet Union. Because Azerbaijan had a source of oil. Azerbaijan has struggled for years to remain an independent state (İşçi, 2015).

In this process, Russian forces had taken Georgia under their hegemony and had aimed to take control of many regions in the Caucasus (Cornell, 2011). First, between 1804-1813, war had broken out between Russia and Iran. Two treaties were signed after this war. These was the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813 and the Treaty of Turkmenchay in 1828. After this date, the words South Azerbaijan and North Azerbaijan were formed. On May 28th, 1918, an independent Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was established (Ismailov, 2017).

The Soviet rulers had not opposed this independence resolution as there was a civil war in the country. However, the Soviet Administration had established in Baku in 1917 and the Board of people's commissars of Baku established in 1918 declared that Soviet Union was the Competent Authority of Baku and had declared that Soviet Union take Baku from within the borders of Azerbaijan province (Akifoğlu, 2017). The chairman of the board of Baku people's Commissars was an Armenian and his aim was to link Baku to Soviet Russia. Because Lenin wants to take control of the oil found in Azerbaijan. Lenin had died in 1924 and Stalin had taken over Soviet Russia (Akifoğlu, 2017). Stalin's goal is to had spreader socialism and had eliminated Turkish culture. After 1925, the development of oil industry in Azerbaijan had brought to the fore. The Azerbaijani people, along with the policies of Stalin and the Soviet Union, had to live under the control of the Russians for about 70 years (Akifoğlu, 2017). On April 28th, 1920, the Russian army (Red Cross Army) had invaded northern Azerbaijan and had made it the territory of the Soviet Union. In October 1991 Azerbaijan had gained independence again (Ismailov, 2017).

# 3. THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT

The Karabakh region is located in a mountainous region between the Kür and Aras rivers in Azerbaijan and between the borders of Lake Gökçe to Armenians. The Karabakh region is close to the borders of Armenia and Iran for Azerbaijan and is easily controlled (Aras, 2017). The Karabakh region is strategically a control region and is important for the countries that remain at the border of this region. The Caucasus region has become a geographically strategic region after the Industrial Revolution. Because the Caucasus region has rich underground resources. The Caucasus region has been a binding region between Asia and Europe. In addition, Russia has been in an important region in its bid to land on warm waters. Because of Russia's need for oil and the desire to move into these hot zones, this Nagorno-Karabakh issue remains an issue that continues to have an impact today. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia had not reached a solution. Although the Nagorno-Karabakh region has been within the territory of Azerbaijan for many years, Russia has taken control of this region and Russia has given control of the Nagorno-Karabakh region to the Armenians.

The international settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh region has been described as mixed. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been a problem since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. As a history, Karabakh is a region within the borders of the Caucasus Turkish culture. Karabakh has been the oldest settlement in Azerbaijan. For years, Karabakh had been inhabited by people of many ethnically different nationalities. Azerbaijan had established the state of Albania in the northern parts of the Caucasus region before ad. This region was under Iranian control in the

early years. In the third century BC, the Sassanids were established in Iran and formed a strong state structure (İbayev, 2008). The state of Albania, which emerged from Iranian rule, had come under the control of the Sassanids. The Karabakh region had been also located in a region within the Albania State. The Karabakh region has been a region consisting of the unification of Turkish and Iranian ethnicities. There is no Armenian ethnicity in the Karabakh region (İbayev, 2008). Karabakh region has been a region of Turkish origins for many years. But as a result of Russia's incitement to the Armenians, the Azeri Turks had migrated to these regions. The policies of Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh region had carried out and aimed to increase the Armenian population there. The Nagorno-Karabakh region is seen as a problem because of these policies.

Another reason for the problem is religious. There have been people who are Muslim in the Azerbaijan region but people who live in the mountainous region are non-Muslims. One of these mountainous regions is the Karabakh region. After a while, the state of Albania had ended and had replaced by the State of Arran (İbayev, 2008). In the Nagorno-Karabakh region, the Alban church was attached to the Armenians and the Karabakh region had thought to belong to the Armenians (İbayev, 2008). But the Armenian origin of this region has not been found. The Karabakh region had been Christianized and had adapted to Armenian cultures and Armenian languages (İbayev, 2008).

In 1501, the Safavid state was established within Azerbaijan and took control of the Karabakh region (İbayev, 2008). The name of the region had been the Beylik of Karabakh gentlemen. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Safavid State had taken the Karabakh region, but in the time of Nadir Shah, this region had regained that territory (İbayev, 2008). Nadir Shah was not asked to lead in this region and was attached to the Armenians. In 1747, Karabakh Khanate was established (İbayev, 2008). Armenians had lived in this Khanate, but efforts were made to assimilate the people living in this region into Armenian culture and the Armenian language (İbayev, 2008). As a result of these efforts, Armenian culture has become widespread in this region and today it is said that the Armenian ethnicity of Armenia has been in the Nagorno-Karabakh region for many years. But in the Karabakh Khanate there were only people who have been Armenians through assimilation (İbayev, 2008). Armenians who fled to this region in the early years as a result of the wars between Iran and the Byzantine Empire and the wars between the Ottoman Empire and the Byzantine Empire came and settled in the region (İbayev, 2008). At that time, the Armenian race, which had fled from Byzantine lands and Persian Lands, had migrated to this region as a result of the instigations of the Russian Tsars (İbayev, 2008). The

Armenians had wanted an autonomous region of their own, and the Russians had given this hope to the Armenians. This promise had forced the emigration of Armenians.

The Industrial Revolution had taken place in the nineteenth century (İbayev, 2008). In this century, oil had started to gain importance. Russia had aimed to reach warmer seas, and first aim is Iran and the Middle East were planned for this plan. In order to achieve this goal, Russia must first had invaded the Caucasus and Russia had used the Armenians in the direction of this plan. Russia had promised the Armenians a state. Armenians who had migrated to this region from other places had settled in this region. Russia has incited Armenians against other ethnicities living here and had promised to give Karabakh to the Armenians. In 1805, Russia had captured the Karabakh region with the Treaty of Kurekchay (İbayev, 2008). The Caucasus region had shared between Russia and Iran, and Russia had initiated colonial activities in this region (İbayev, 2008).

Between 1813 and 1827, Russia had enacted a number of policies on Azerbaijan to had made the Turks a minority (Bozkuş, 2004). Turks had lived in this region as a majority and Armenians were a minority nation. Russia had carried out strategic plans for the absence of the Armenian minority here. Because the Armenian nation has been on Russia's side and Armenians have adapted to Russia's plans. And First, Russia had given the Armenians hopes to create a new independent country. Russia had started this by placing the Armenian ethnic race in the territory of Azerbaijan (Bozkuş, 2004). Azerbaijan is rich in oil resources and Russia's aim is for Armenians to have a say in the Karabakh region. Under the terms of the Treaty of Turkmenchay with Iran, Armenians living in Iran were resettled in the Karabakh region (Bozkuş, 2004). Tsarist Russia had provoked the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire to bring them to the Caucasus region. Between 1828 and 1829, Wars had taken place between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and the Treaty of Edirne was signed between these two states (Bozkuş, 2004). Thanks to this Treaty of Edirne, Armenians had settled in the South Caucasus region.

(Bozkuş, 2004). Between 1853 and 1856, the Ottoman Empire and Russia had made in the Crimean War. After this war, more Armenians had settled in Karabakh region (Bozkuş, 2004). The number of Armenians in this region had increased and the Turkish population had begun to decline.

Many ethnicities lived in the territory of Azerbaijan, and one of them is Armenians. The Caucasus region has oil-rich lands, and the Caucasus region is strategically important to Russia and Western states. During the last period of Soviet Russia, Mikhail Gorbachev had aimed to

bring the Caucasus region under Russian rule (Osman Özkul, 2009). Russia had planned the Caucasian region to become a Bolshevik Caucasus. The Bolshevik Revolution had taken place in Russia in February 1917, and Russia's plans for the Caucasus had declined, albeit to some degree (Osman Özkul, 2009). There was a political organization between Armenians and Russians in the Caucasus region. The post-revolution authority gap had formed and there was a conference between Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaijani Turks (Osman Özkul, 2009). On 15 November 1917, these three nations had agreed to govern the South Caucasus region independently (Osman Özkul, 2009). The Mavera-I Caucasus commissariat was established to govern the South Caucasus independently (Abdullahzade, 2013). Baku is under the control of Bolshevik Russia and in order to discuss this situation, the Mavera-I Caucasus Commissariat was decided to convene in Tbilisi under the name "Seym". The first meeting was held on 23 February 1918 (Abdullahzade, 2013). But this meeting had not attended by the Bolsheviks. In April, Seym Mavera-I Caucasus Federative Republic was established (Abdullahzade, 2013). This community was failed to produce solutions even though it has included all three nations. Because of the ethnic interests of these three nations, this situation remains unsolved (Abdullahzade, 2013).

Until 1918, the territory of Azerbaijan had been under the control of Tsarist Russia (Mustafayev, 2013). The Nagorno-Karabakh region was within these regions. Azerbaijan had declared mountainous-Karabakh independence in 1918. After 1918, Karabakh region was under the control of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, which had gained Nagorno-Karabakh independence before, had come under the control of Soviet Russia again. On 28 April 1920, the Bolsheviks had occupied Baku (Mustafayev, 2013). On July 7, 1923, the Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan had recognized Karabakh as an autonomous region and Karabakh had become a separate region (Aras, 2017). The Armenian population has increased in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, and Armenia intended to annex this autonomous region into its territory. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, conflicts had increased between Armenia and Azerbaijan for this autonomous region. There have been conflicts between the two countries since mid-1980 (Aras, 2017).

### 4. PERIODS, ACTORS AND CHANGES

The Karabakh region has caused many controversies over the years. Armenians had migrated from other regions to the South Caucasus region as a result of Soviet Russia's incitement. Azerbaijan is a country with many ethnic races. Although the Nagorno- Karabakh region was the territory of Azerbaijan in the early years, strategic plans had made for the Soviet Union to

become the dominant power in the Caucasus. Another reason was that the Russians, who controlled the Nagorno-Karabakh region, intended to increase the number of Christians in the region (Söker, 2017). Therefore, the Russians were planned to increase the number of Armenians in this region and assimilate the Azeri Turks. Since 1828, the Armenian population had started to increase after this year, when the Soviet Union had made this policy (Söker, 2017). In 1830, the number of Azeri Turks in the Nagorno-Karabakh region was 65% and the number of Armenian populations was 35% (Söker, 2017). But with the increasing policies of the Soviet Union, that number has increased. In 1880, the number of Armenians in this region rose to 53% and in 1889 to 77% (Söker, 2017). This increase in the number of Armenians in this region indicates that the policies of the Soviet Union continued to be successful. These population increases enabled the Armenians to become the dominant power in this region, and since the twentieth century, Nagorno-Karabakh region was thought that the territorial integrity of belonged to the Armenians.

The Ottoman Empire, which lost in the first World War times, had abandoned the Government of Azerbaijan. In 1918, the British Army had entered the territory of Azerbaijan (Abdullahzade, 2013). Negotiations between Azerbaijan and the British had not reached. The British had not recognized Azerbaijan. Later, the British had given the mountainous parts of the Karabakh region to the control of Azerbaijan. In 1919, Azerbaijan was appointed governor of Karabakh region (Abdullahzade, 2013). On November 23, 1919, Armenia and Azerbaijan had decided to stop the conflict (Abdullahzade, 2013). However, the Armenian government had not complied with the decision and had sent troops to Karabakh. In January 1920, Bolshevik danger had begun in the Caucasus region and the Entente States had recognized the independence of Azerbaijan and Georgia at the Paris Peace Conference (Abdullahzade, 2013). The Nagorno-Karabakh had become an autonomous region and Nagorno-Karabakh had decided at the Paris Peace Conference to be a region belonging to the territory of Azerbaijan (Abdullahzade, 2013). On April 28, 1920, the Bolshevik armies had come to the border of Azerbaijan and were occupied the territory of Azerbaijan (Abdullahzade, 2013). In 1922, some territory of Azerbaijan was given to Armenians and some to Azerbaijan.

In 1923, Nagorno-Karabakh had become an autonomous region, and efforts to increase the populations of the Armenian minority had caused controversy among the parties in the region (Aras, 2017). Armenians had wanted to have a say in this region and therefore in the Nagorno-Karabakh region had intended to increase the Armenian minority. The Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region had demanded inclusion in the territory of Armenia. The Soviet Union had

been in the process of disintegration and was less able to retain control of this region than before (Aras, 2017). The absence of the Soviet Union had increased the conflicts between Armenia and Azerbaijan (Aras, 2017). The policies of the Soviet Union during World War II had been to leave a minority number of Muslims. The Soviet Union ensured the arrival of Armenians in this region on 23 December 1947 (Mustafayev, 2013). Azerbaijan Turks had not wanted to accept this situation because Azeri Turks have been living in this region for years. There was no power in the Caucasus to oppose the Soviet Union. The Armenians had allied with the Soviet Union for a new homeland. Armenians had made Azeri Turks a minority from this region and had aimed to create a region without Turks. Therefore, the Azeri Turks had forced to emigrate. The aim of the Soviet Union had been to create a region of Azerbaijan without Turks. The Soviets had intended to place Armenians who would come from other states in the territory of Azerbaijan and to concentrate the Armenian population in this region (Mustafayev, 2013). In 1948, Armenian migrations had begun to arrive in the Azerbaijan region, and the migration of Turks from the Azerbaijan region was planned during this year. Turks living in Armenia had also forced to emigrate in 1950 (Aras, 2017). Since 1960, Armenia had started to demand land in Karabakh region and Nakhichevan (Aras, 2017).

Bilateral conflicts had begun in 1988 and Armenians had wanted the Karabakh region to be linked to their territory. In 1988, clashes had taken place in Sumgait, Azerbaijan, and Armenians living in this city had damaged (Özçelik, 2018). Azerbaijan and Armenia had gained their independence in 1991 (Yılmaz, 2010). Until August 8, 1991, Azeri Turks living in Armenia had forced to emigrate and had aimed to eliminate the Turkish race in Armenia. During the Khojaly events, Soviet soldiers had assisted the Armenians (Osman Özkul, 2009). In 1992, Armenians had carried out the Khojaly Massacre (Özçelik, 2018). Later, Gorbachev had told the public that the Nagorno- Karabakh region was a region of Azerbaijan. The Armenian Prime Minister Manukyan, had explained that Armenia did not claim any claim over the Karabakh region but supported the actions of the Armenians living there (Taşkıran 1995: 156-157).

During the reign of Ebulphez Elchibey of Azerbaijan, policies were carried out against the interests of the Russians. During this period, the problems of Azerbaijan's trust in Russians had brought Russia closer to Armenia. Azerbaijan had imposed sanctions against Russia. The pressure against Azerbaijan had increased as the near environment doctrine had begun to be applied in Russia. The president of Azerbaijan, Elchibey, had carried out anti-Russian and anti-Iranian policies and policies of being close to the Turks. Haydar Aliyev had made by a coup. Haydar Aliyev had made policy according to the structure of the region. On 24 March 1992,

Armenia and Azerbaijan had become members of the European Security and Cooperation Agency (Aras, 2017). There was a meeting in Helsinki and plans were made for the solution of the problem (Aras, 2017). Conflicts have grown between the two sides in the process. Armenia had occupied the Lachin Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh (Aras, 2017). Armenia was named after the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. The decisions had taken by the United Nations and the European Security and Cooperation Agency have been fruitless (Aras, 2017). With the pressure of Russia on Armenia, a ceasefire was signed with Azerbaijan in 1994.

### 4.1. Armenia-Azerbaijan Post-Conflicts Around Negotiation Processes and 4 Day War

Although a ceasefire was signed between Azerbaijan and Armenia in 1994, a solution for the Nagorno-Karabakh region has still not been reached. The unstable administration during the reign of Elchibey was balanced with the administration of Haydar Aliyev (Yılmaz, 2010). Haydar Aliyev had ensured that the country pursued successful policies. Haydar Aliyev had pursued peaceful policies in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan was also had foreign policies in this process. These were in the direction of using natural resources and establishing trade relations with other countries (Yılmaz, 2010). Haydar Aliyev had signed the century agreement with other states for energy resources on 24 September 1994 (Yılmaz, 2010). Thanks to this Treaty, 6 major countries in energy trade have been involved in the Karabakh conflict (Yılmaz, 2010). These companies have tried to produce solution-oriented plans for the Karabakh region in order to avoid any problems in the region.

Haydar Aliyev had acted according to the situation of the region in order to ensure the integrity of the country for Azerbaijan and to maintain peace in the region (Yılmaz, 2010). The problem of Azerbaijan in the Nagorno -Karabakh region was wanted to be solved. Haydar Aliyev had used this to solve the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh region by introducing foreign policy (Yılmaz, 2010). But in this period Azerbaijan had struggled with internal turmoil and Haydar Aliyev had focused on this issue. Haydar Aliyev had removed the internal confusion after the signing of the armistice on 12 May 1994 (Yılmaz, 2010). And then Haydar Aliyev had focused on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Azerbaijan had sought solutions in cooperation with Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and other international companies (Yılmaz, 2010). In 1996, a plan for a solution in the Karabakh region was prepared. In this plan, issues such as the complete resolution of the conflicts between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the recognition of the Karabakh region of autonomy and the security of the people living in the Karabakh region were included (Yılmaz, 2010). Although many states accepted this plan,

Armenia had not wanted to accept this plan (Yılmaz, 2010). Because Armenia had wanted to expand its territory.

Another foreign policy of Azerbaijan had been the United Nations, the United States and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (Y1lmaz, 2010). After the Karabakh War, Azer migration had been the second major migration after the Second World War (Abdullahzade, 2013). For more than years, solutions where been sought for the Nagorno-Karabakh region. In the early years, Armenia had settled in this region to add to its territory and had caused internal confusion. But today Armenia had accepted illegally the independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh region (Abdullahzade, 2013).

The European Union had plans to solve problems in foreign policies (Aras, 2017). The European Union had not wanted to be included in the Soviet Union during the Soviet Union period. Financial aid to the South Caucasus had made in the 1990s (Aras, 2017). The financial aid had aimed at improving relations with the European Union and reducing Russian control in that region.

In 1992, the Council of Europe had halted financial aid in the region and cease-fire aid between Azerbaijan and Armenia (Aras, 2017). In 1994, the European Parliament had stopped aid in other countries (Aras, 2017). Turkey has stated that the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan must be protected. Organization for Security and Co- operation in Europe had sought to resolve the conflict between these two countries (Aras, 2017). The goals of establishing ties between Armenia and Azerbaijan had been set. The European Union had addressed the problems of the South Caucasus in 2003 (Aras, 2017). In 2004, the president of Azerbaijan had called for the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (Aras, 2017).

After 2004, Azerbaijan and Armenia had met many times. Azerbaijan and Armenia had tried to find a solution for the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Minsk Group had tried to organize negotiations on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue of Azerbaijan (Klever, 2013). In Madrid, some peaceful plans were put forward by the Minsk Group in 2007 (Klever, 2013). Some Madris principles were made for these plans. The principles of protecting the integrity of the country, the absence of armament in the region, and the provision of equal rights to the people living in the Nagorno-Karabakh region (Klever, 2013). The European Union is leading the way in solutions made by the Minsk Group. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Minsk group is holding summits to solve problems across multiple countries (Klever, 2013). The European Union is leading the way in solutions made by the Minsk Group (Klever, 2013).

The territorial dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan had continued for years. Negotiations was irregular and the problem had not reached a solution. Armenia maintains that this territory belongs to the Armenians. Azerbaijanis maintain that the Karabakh region had been under the control of Azeri Turks for years. Disagreements between these two sides had not reached a solution to the problem. Until 2011, peaceful paths between Azerbaijan and Armenia were not resolved (Ahmet Sapmaz, 2012). The Prime Minister of Armenia had never considered Karabakh as Azerbaijani territory (Ahmet Sapmaz, 2012). Azerbaijan, on the other hand, had said that the Nagorno-Karabakh issue cannot be solved by military means and that it will be solved by doctrines or political means (Ahmet Sapmaz, 2012). On 8 June 2010, Azerbaijan had followed a peaceful path and prepared a doctrine. In this doctrine, Azerbaijan must be liberated from the occupied areas of Karabakh. On June 24, 2010, Azerbaijan had held an exercise (Ahmet Sapmaz, 2012). The purpose of this exercise is to protect against a possible attack. After the armistice, Azerbaijan's purchase of Military Ammunition had become too much (Ahmet Sapmaz, 2012). There have been ceasefire violations over time. The European Union had recognized the independence of Azerbaijan but had not recognized the Nagorno-Karabakh region. This process had continued until 2016. There were other crises in the world during this period and other states were thought that any occupation that might occur in the Nagorno-Karabakh region had not be controlled (Zolyan, 2006). On 2 April 2016, large-scale clashes between Azerbaijan and Armenia had occurred (Tuncel, 2016). These conflicts had called the 4-day war (Tuncel, 2016). Many civilians had died in this war. The European Union has called for an end to the war. The Minsk Group was emphasized that this problem can be solved by peaceful means and cannot be solved by warlike means (Aras, 2017). Both sides had occupied certain places in this war. However, Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan had stated that the occupied places were not important (Zolyan, 2006). On the other hand, Azerbaijan had seen as a great success of the occupied places. As a result of this war, it was examined which countries were interested in this issue for negotiations.

Another side, although many international communities have had crises between the West and Russia, it had been left to Russia to deal with the problem. First, Russia's position had close to this region, and first, Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev had visited both Yerevan and Baku (Zolyan, 2006). Russia had tried to establish a balanced relationship between Armenia and Azerbaijan. But the relations between Armenia and Russia has deteriorated (Zolyan, 2006).

Russia had become a mediator between the two countries and a ceasefire was agreed upon (Zolyan, 2006). After the end of the war, Azerbaijan had occupied some areas controlled by Armenians. Strategic regions for Azerbaijan was occupied. Armenia had lost territory in this war (Tuncel, 2016).

# 4.2. Russia as a Regional Power: Strategies and Solutions

Russia is geographically closer in the Soviet Union, South Caucasus region, and Russia is making strategic plans in the Caucasus. The USA had been an interest in this region as energy. During the Soviet Union, Armenians had immigrated to the South Caucasus region. The Soviet Union had planned to capture energy resources in the region and policies had developed strategically. Another reason had planned to reduce the number of Muslims in the region. There were many ethnic races in the Azerbaijan region. The Soviet Union was aimed to increase the Armenian race in the South Caucasus region. Armenians' search for a new home had led to cooperation with the Soviets. The people in this region had to migrate to other places and it was aimed that the Azerbaijani Turks in Nagorno- Karabakh region would not. Russia had aimed to increase the Armenian race compared to the South Caucasus.

The Soviet Union had collapsed after the end of the Cold War. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, many new independent countries had established. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation had established. In the first years of the Russian Federation, the country had experienced internal confusion and economic problems. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Caucasus region had divided into two. Two separate policies had made, the South Caucasus and the North Caucasus (Tuncel, 2016).

There had been conflicts between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the South Caucasus for years, and many civilians and soldiers had died. As a result of these conflicts, a ceasefire between the international mediators Armenia and Azerbaijan were signed. But after the ceasefire, violations in the Karabakh region had continued and had caused war. During this process, the mediation states had intervened and both parties were told that the ceasefire should not be violated (Zolyan, 2006). The mediators had stated that the war should end and prevent the deaths of the people living in the region and that the people in the Nagorno-Karabakh region between Armenia and Azerbaijan have equal rights. Russia had remained in a balanced position in the region during this war and after the war, Russian Prime Minister had visited Yerevan and Baku (Zolyan, 2006). Russia had not stopped selling weapons to Azerbaijan (Zolyan, 2006). Russia's balanced attitude towards both Azerbaijan and Armenia had led to conflict. Armenians had

taken a stand against the Russians. In the following period, a ceasefire had re-established between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and the mediator that had provided this ceasefire was Russia (Zolyan, 2006).

After the Cold War, the Caucasus region had seen as a region rich in both geographical and energy resources. With the post- 1990 globalization process, the concept of interdependence had occurred in the world and the Caucasus region had become an important region. Russia has tried to maintain a balanced relationship in its foreign policies. After 1993, "Near Environment Doctrine" had started to intervene in the countries in the region. In 1994, there was a ceasefire in the Karabakh region and there was a Russian Chechen war after the ceasefire. In this period, Russia had implemented pro-Armenian policies in the region. Against this policy, the Azerbaijani company had included Russia with a 10% share in energy. Thanks to this policy, Russia had supported the decision to protect the territory of Azerbaijan at the European summit of the European Security and Cooperation Organization on 2 December 1996. But Russia, on the other hand, had tried to eliminate the influence of international actors in this region. Russia's policies to eliminate international actors had demonstrated its aim to be the only effective force in the Caucasus.

America had included in the peace process in the region at the request of Azerbaijan. In this process, the presence of America in the territory of Azerbaijan had caused Russia to increase its relations with Armenia and to sign the Friendship Agreement in 1997. After 1998, Russia had treated both sides equally in the region. Azerbaijan had carried out a balanced foreign policy since 2003. Russia had become a war between Georgia in 2008. This war had intended to increase Russia control over the South Caucasus again. The President of the Russian Federation was Vladimir Putin and Putin had aimed to take back the territory of the former Soviet Union in his foreign policies. Russia had pursued a policy in the framework of its environmental policy (Tuncel, 2016). Russia has undertaken to act as an intermediary between the surrounding countries. Russia used some political uprisings as incitement. Russia had not a party to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Russia has sold arms to both sides (Tuncel, 2016).

The Russian Federation continues to sell weapons to Azerbaijan today. Russia conducts balanced policies in the region. Another important fact is that more lands of Azerbaijan have been occupied. Many immigrant problems have occurred. Russia has regained its former control and is next to Armenia. In the following years, Russia aims to take over the Caucasus territory and take control. Another reason why Russia is generally with Armenia strategically is that they

are Christians. The population of Azerbaijan is more than Muslim. But today, countries are living in a multipolar world. Russia is in balanced policies to all countries in the Caucasus.

# CONCLUSION: AN FORECAST OF TODAY'S ISSUES

The Caucasian region has been strategically an important region between Europe and Asia. Russia's long-standing policies had been successful. Armenia's search for a new homeland and Russia's desire to control energy resources in the Caucasus are some of the reasons for the formation of Nagorno-Karabakh. The Soviet Union had dominated the region. After the Soviet Union broke up, clashes took place in the region. Azerbaijan and Armenia had gained their independence. Russia was established after the Soviet Union. Russia aims to regain its ancient territory.

Russia's policy in the region had been self-determination and this led to the immigration of Azerbaijani Turks living in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. As a result of these problems, Azerbaijan had applied to international actors to solve this problem peacefully. A ceasefire had signed between the two countries, but even though this ceasefire has occurred, there where been occasional conflicts in the region. A war had broken out between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 2016, and after this war, Armenia suffered more land had lost. Negotiation groups had come together again and the ceasefire between the two sides continued. Russia had not wanted the presence of other countries in this region and has carried out balanced policies on both sides. However, during the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement process, other active states in the region had been with Armenia. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem had not been solved yet. Many mediators are negotiating in the region.

Nagorno-Karabakh region is a legally affiliated region that is not recognized as de-facto today. Considering the past centuries, the problem of Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh region was raised again due to the policies of glasnost and perestroika (Seyidova, 2014). Later, due to the policies of the Soviet Union, the population of Armenians in the region increased in the Karabakh region and Armenians had demanded that Nagorno-Karabakh be within the territory of Armenia. This is because the population of Armenia is more than the other ethnicities in this region. In 1988 and 1991, Armenians had implemented the policy of the Soviet Union to exercise the right of self-determination of the Caucasus (Seyidova, 2014). Armenians had tried to create confusion in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region by using the right of self-determination. In 1920, the republic of the Armenian Soviet Union was established on behalf of Armenia.

People living in Nagorno-Karabakh are not separated as races. People living in this region have equal rights and are connected to Azerbaijan. Armenia does not have the right to Self-determination for the Armenian population in this region. Later, the Armenian people in the Nagorno-Karabakh region had forced the Azeri Turks from this region. In 1991 Azerbaijan had gained independence from the Soviet Union. After independence, the Nagorno-Karabakh region left Azerbaijan. Armenians illegally declared the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region as the Nagorno-Karabakh republic. Hocali events had taken place in 1992. The work of the Armenian soldiers in the Nagorno-Karabakh region was written in the 2005 Crisis group. Armenia provided arms aid to Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh region. Armenia had continued internal turmoil in this region over the years. Negotiating groups were established between the two countries in 1994 and a ceasefire was signed. Azerbaijan had begun to search for a solution by the Minsk Group in order to solve this situation peacefully. In this period, Armenia did not prefer peaceful roads. The Armenian state had not wanted to give the occupied regions in the region. Over the years, Azerbaijan had cooperated with institutions that can mediate internal institutions for peaceful roads.

In 2001 Azerbaijan had become a member of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe was asked to examine the issue of Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh and to seek a solution. For the first time, the Council of Europe was officially seen as an occupier of Armenia in 2005. Another important institution is the (Seyidova, 2014). Azerbaijan had become a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1992 (Seyidova, 2014). Since 1994, Azerbaijan has raised the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Seyidova, 2014). After September 11, America's terrorist policies had changed. America had started to carry out policies in the Caucasus region. After the Karabakh conflict, many

Azerbaijani citizens had died in the region. According to the Geneva Convention, Armenia had committed human rights violations (Seyidova, 2014). Karabakh region is a region where solution cannot be reached today. Many interviews have been conducted over the years. Azerbaijan had stated that if Armenia does not solve the Karabakh problem by peaceful means, this problem will be solved in a warlike way (Aslanli, 2018). Armenia, on the other hand, had been said to suffer more from Azerbaijan in this situation (Aslanli, 2018). For the solution of the problem, it had necessary to know where it started first. First, the problem arose due to ethnicity and the Armenian population in this region was increased through immigration. The enlargement ideas of the Soviet Union had started to be a problem with these policies in the Caucasus.

The current situation of Azerbaijan increases modern armament (Bekiarova & Armencheva, 2019). Armenia purchases weapons from many regions. The two sides go to armament in order not to fight the arms in the region, but to create deterrence in the region against each other (Bekiarova & Armencheva, 2019). Armenians say that the right of self-determination belongs to the citizens of Karabakh in the Karabakh region of Armenia Azerbaijan cannot add Nagorno-Karabakh to the territory of Azerbaijan, as the Azeri population in the region is in the minority. The only solution for the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue will be able to overcome this problem on both sides by conducting peaceful negotiations without the arms threats of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

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