



**UNIVERSIDAD
DEL AZUAY**

Universidad del Azuay

Faculty of Legal Sciences

School of International Studies

Graduation work prior to obtaining the Bachelor's degree in International
Studies with a bilingual mention in Foreign Trade

**“Mediation as a Mechanism for International Conflict Resolution: The
Nagorno-Karabakh Case and Russian Influence”**

Autors:

Domenica Paola Farfán Inga;
Pamela Carolina Santos Vintimilla

Director:

Dra. Ana María Bustos

Cuenca - Ecuador

2022

INSCRIPTION

To Priscila, Lorena, and Horlando.

To whom this work is owed for not letting it fall.

To everyone who has the ability to measure the importance of the life of others outside of
their own.

Domenica Paola Farfán Inga

AKCNOWLEDGEMENT

To my parents, for all their effort and encouragement.

To Priscila, for all the love, now and always.

To Dr. Ana María, for rescuing this project.

To Christian David, Valeria, Camila, Iván, for their important presence in the necessary moments, and to Ximena, Christian, Carlos, Daniela, Sebastián, María José, Carolina, Pablo, David and Martín, for alleviating the weight of adversity.

To the GV team, for their support.

To me.

Doménica Paola Farfán Inga

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Glosary

ACNUR: UN Refugee Agency.

BTC: Oil pipeline Bakú-Tiflis-Ceyhan.

CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States.

CSCE: Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council.

FACE: Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization.

GRA: Great Armenian Kingdom.

JRP: Dispute Resolution Boards.

AMCR: Alternative Means of Conflict Resolution.

BATNA: Best alternative to a Negotiated Agreement.

NK: Nagorno Karabaj.

WHO: World Health Organization.

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization.

UN: United Nations.

OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

CSTO: Collective Security Treaty Organization.

UNTSO: United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

UNDP: United Nations Development Program.

RAE: Real Academia Española.

ASSR: Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

TSSR: Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic.

EU: European Union.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNGA: United Nation General Assembly.

URSS: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Resumen

El presente trabajo de titulación analiza el conflicto de Nagorno-Karabaj entre Armenia y Azerbaiyán a la luz de la mediación internacional y la teoría que compone a la misma, con sus elementos clave y otros complementarios como lo es la teoría del conflicto. A partir de esto se revisa el desarrollo del conflicto desde su inicio hasta la actualidad, y se pone especial atención al rol de Rusia como ente mediador del conflicto. El estudio pretende determinar las fallas y aciertos tanto del proceso mediador como del papel de Rusia en dicho proceso.

Palabras Clave: Conflictología, Cultura de Paz, Mediación Internacional, Nagorno-Karabaj, Rusia.

Abstract

This graduate thesis analyses the Nagorno-Karabaj conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan regarding international mediation and its theory, including its key elements and its complementary elements as it is conflict theory. From this point, the conflict is reviewed since its beginning to the current time, with a special emphasis on the role of Russia as a mediator of the conflict. This study aims to determine the failures and successes from both the mediation process and the role of Russia in said process.

Keywords: Conflictology, Culture of Peace, International Mediation, Nagorno-Karabaj, Russia

Introduction

Conflict, as a characteristic of human nature, will be present in different scenarios of its development, as has been observed throughout history. Just as it was present in the relationship between tribal groups and clans, it is still present in the formation of states. The relationship that was built between states was later determined by a Westphalian system that made conflict resolution even more complex; but, in turn, it was a push for the creation of international mechanisms that ensure effective conflict resolution in the modern era. When these mechanisms began to be used, the need to start perfecting them was seen in order to apply them to all spheres of interaction among humanity, with mediation and arbitration being the most commonly used.

Instinctively, mediation has been used throughout history. From the emergence of a conflict between two people or two groups, there has been the intervention of a third party who, in his attempt to calm tensions, has reached agreements between the parties for a successful coexistence. It is with the passage of time that this concept has positivized and it has given the characteristics that mediation has today, in order to make correct use of its particularities that allow resolving current conflicts. As societies advance, it is considered necessary to expand the scope of mediation so that its application is both internal and external in relation to the states. At around this, the level of complexity that the instrument takes on when it is applied grows, and it is more likely to lose its meaning as the mediation process advances.

The Nagorno-Karabakh situation is a complex case to analyze and resolve, since, due to its geographical location, there are many interests at stake from part of the international community. The position of connection between three continents and the wealth of the region in energy resources put the South Caucasus in the sights of the great powers, who are fully aware that the nation or group of nations that control the area will take a hegemonic position in the region. For the same reason, it is important for the powers to be involved in the internal activities that occur, due to the confidence that they will be endowed with by showing concern and willingness to support the Transcaucasian nations.

Russia is not indifferent to this reality. After the fall of the USSR, its main objective was to regain the influence it once had in the region as a great Republic. Moscow is not willing to concede to other countries those nations that used to form it, even if both Russia and the

countries of the South Caucasus are independent nations. Thus, in one of the longest conflicts in the region, Russia saw its participation as essential, but not as an ally of any of the parties, but rather as a mediator, since in this way it maintains the relations it has with these countries, and if the conflict comes to an end, none of its links will be compromised.

With this background, the present study has the general objective of analyzing international mediation based on the case of Nagorno-Karabakh and Russia's intervention in the process; for this, it is necessary to rely on specific objectives, such as:

1. To investigate the theory of mediation and conflict, as well as its application at international level; this by means of a bibliographic compilation of matter in International Law, through which it is possible to explain in a clear way what mediation is; this with the purpose of answering if Russia, as a mediator of the conflict, fulfills the parameters of what the theory says in the practice of its intervention. In the first chapter, what concerns mediation will be addressed; its origin, applicable models and its characteristics, to see its effectiveness in resolving international conflicts with the characteristics of the case study.
2. To describe the conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh area, based on a narrative historical journey in both Armenia and Azerbaijan that will bring us closer to its roots and to explain the controversy, the parties involved, the level of conflict, the type, its stage and size. Thus, in the second chapter the conflict will be analyzed and the case study will be described, to indicate how mediation was used.
3. To analyze the participation of Russia in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the vices of its mediating intervention, through a bibliographical analysis that will address from the origins of Russian influence in the region, to the present time, indicating those procedures of the Soviet government that are far from the mediation theory but that were cataloged under the same concept, redirecting the conciliatory process of international mediation to an ineffective method. In this way, the third chapter will analyze the Russian intervention, its beginnings and how it currently works in the international context; with which the conclusions would be reached directly, indicating what international mediation is as such and if the guidelines proposed by Russia are or are not a form of mediation according to the theory, for which it will be possible to recommend meeting points for the parties to resume peace talks accompanied by a true mediation process.

Chapter 1: The Mediation Theory and The Conflict Theory

1.1. International Conflict

As a starting point, the word conflict comes from Latin *conflictus*, the prefix *con-* meaning union or encounter, and *-flictus* (variation of *fligere*) meaning blow, clash. In its literal terms it can be translated as the meeting of blows, giving way to the collision of diametrically opposed ideas.

Stephen Robbins (1994), for example, defines conflict as “a process that begins when one party perceives that another has negatively affected it or is about to negatively affect one of its interests”. On the other hand, we also have Lewis A. Coser (1956), for whom social conflict is defined as "a struggle for values and for status, power and scarce resources, in the course of which the opponents wish to neutralize, harm or eliminate their rivals”.

According to Fuquen (2003), there are several factors that can be considered the starting point of a conflict. These are:

- The subjectivity of perception, since the vision of each individual will cause them to interpret or perceive other people in a different way.
- Communication failures, the decoding of messages transmitted through communication sometimes generates semantic ambiguities, which degenerate the information.
- The disproportion between the needs and the factors, being the distribution of resources a great incentive for the generation of disputes in any of the different social levels.
- Incomplete information, which occurs when individuals or groups of individuals give their opinion and/or act against partial knowledge of the facts.
- Dependence or interdependence, since the relationships in which there is power of one party over the other in one or several areas generate negative feelings for those who have been subordinated.
- Differences in character, disagreements occur when people's ways of being and thinking differ.
- Cultural, ideological, religious differences; Although this point is not considered by Fuquen, at the international level they are the main reasons for dispute between societies and countries.

All the reasons listed are the beginning of a meeting between opposing positions in the different kinds of conflicts that exist, which authors such as Luthans (2010) classify as part of people's stressors in organizational behavior, these are five, intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup, intergroup and international (the last is not mentioned by the author, but in theory it is the most complex level of conflict).

1.1.1. Conflicts at International level

At the international level, conflicts are caused by a much more intense motivation than those on the individual or group level. Initially, conflict arises from the interaction between two or more parties, and within a globalized world at the levels we find ourselves in, the interaction between countries is increasingly inevitable. This interaction occurs through a dynamic of action and reaction, and depending on the states involved and at what levels it occurs, the gap between the oppositions will get larger and larger. Previously, the causes that can lead to a conflict were briefly mentioned, these being applicable to all levels of existing conflicts. However, when talking about international conflicts, their motivations can be deduced through the theories that study International Relations.

In the first place, we have Realism, the dominant theory in IR studies, which positions states as sovereign entities that pursue a constant struggle for power; it focuses on interests instead of ideology, it seeks peace through force, and security at the expense of other actors, for which Realism evokes a permanent state of war. For research purposes, the investigation will focus on the assertion of some realist authors that behavior of states responds to human nature. Some exponents of realism argue for the selfish behavior of human beings under certain postulates. For instance, Thucydides (1910), is one of the first authors to positivize realist thought—without giving it a title as such—in his book on the history of the Peloponnesian War, in which he says, among other things, that the motivation of said war and the bloody acts that were part of it were given thanks to fear, the desire for power, self-interest, and the search for honor of those who participated in it:

The cause of all this was the desire to rule out of avarice and ambition, and the zeal for winning that proceeds from those two... And though [each party] pretended to serve the public in their speeches, they actually treated it as the prize for their competition; and striving by whatever

means to win, both sides ventured on most horrible outrages and exacted even greater revenge, without any regard for justice or the public good.

Thucydides speaks of primitive and savage behavior motivated by selfishness and vanity. This also indicates the impact of the international environment on the behavior of states, since the political reason for this war was due to the growth of Athenian power and the danger that this could mean for Sparta.

Under similar premises, Machiavelli states that, to be successful in politics, one must act according to what human nature really is, and not what one would like it to be (Baylis & others, 1999). For his part, Hobbes (1651), in his most famous work, Leviathan, coins the famous phrase “man is wolf to man”, and although he does not speak directly of politics, he points out that those in positions of authority are always in an attitude of <<gladiators>>, always seeking defense, which is a posture of war. Morgenthau (1948) asserts that States are an extension of human needs and behavior; they are always seeking defense, which is a posture of war. As he states in the first of the six principles of political realism in his book "Politics Among Nations":

“Political realism assumes that politics, like all of society, obeys to objective laws that are rooted in human nature. For the purposes of any improvement of society, it is necessary to first understand the laws that govern the life of that society”.

The exponents mentioned attribute the behavior of states on the international scene to human nature, this is basically due to the premise that, being governed by human beings, the decisions of states will be based on human reason. In the light of realism, conflicts are inherent to human existence and unavoidable given political conditions.

However, there are more IR theories that study the behavior of states, an important study for this research, since it allows to see different motivations supported by the theory of why conflicts occur at the international level. Thus, we also have authors like Waltz, who belongs to a neorealist branch (structural realism), which considers that the anarchic structure of the international system is the cause of the behavior of states in international politics and not human nature due to the accumulation of power; it brings into consideration the dilemma of

security¹ and the balance of power². Around Waltz's concept, he says that "whether or not political actors balance each other; whether or not they go with the flow, is something that depends on the structure of the system" (Waltz, 1988a, p. 185). As there is no supreme authority, but a constant struggle for survival based on self-help³, the international system will base its operation within the balance of power depending on how the capacities and power resources of the different actors are distributed. From this IR point of view, wars happen because a state tries to break the status quo of the balance of power (Martínez, 2016).

Gilpin, another important neorealist, indicates that the maximization of power occurs in terms not necessarily of power but of economic gains within a hegemonic system (he does not consider it to be anarchic). Within this system there is a hegemonic power, considered this way because of its clear superiority of influence and the legitimacy that other states provide it, conducting to hegemonic stability (Baylis & others, 1997). Gilpin's contribution reinforces the balance of power concept, since he says that if it becomes unbalanced, then the whole system will have to change and a new redistribution of resources and capacities will take place. From the neorealist vision of the author, "a state will seek to change the international system through territorial, political, and economic expansion until the marginal costs of further change are equal to or greater than the marginal benefits" (Gilpin, 1981), giving way to conflicts on the international scene, since war will occur when a state seeks to change the balance of power and the hegemonic power cannot afford the economic costs of maintaining its superiority.

On the other hand, we have Liberalism, the counterpart of Realism in terms of the perception of the behavior of states. Liberalism "advocates political freedom, democracy and the guarantee of constitutional rights; and has privileged the freedom of the individual and equity before the law" (Burchill, 1996, p. 57). Its approach is mainly economic and it considers that it is possible to act against the natural anarchism of the international scene through

¹ The security dilemma determines that, in contexts of uncertainty and insecurity, the state is placed in the worst scenario; that is to say, that the states that are around it can be more dangerous than itself, therefore, it tries to increase its power to feel safer. The increase of the state's power, increases the insecurity in others, who again are in need to increase their power too. A so-called "vicious circle" is built in which you start with equal states in terms of protection; however, the action of state A and the counter reaction of state B becomes an endless chain. The final stage of the security dilemma is war.

² Protective mechanism of peace and security in the international relations. Power resources are distributed almost equally among the main actors, in order to prevent the emergence of a single hegemonic state.

³ States must preserve themselves, the care of their existence, security and sovereignty does not depend on another actor in the international system but on themselves. This also generates the feeling of mistrust in other states and actors.

organizations that act as an executive/administrative entity of the international order, without interrupting the sovereignty of the states. In terms of conflict, the liberal analysis is simple, the main cause of war and conflict is the behavior of illiberal countries. Burchill (Ibid) assures that for liberals, peace is the natural state of things, and that war is an instrument used by those in power to subordinate the people, their people; Dunne (2017, p. 119), although in different literature, complements this thought by indicating that, by focusing on the economic, liberal countries tend to be richer in money and resources, so the costs of getting involved in conflicts represents for them more loss than gain.

Under the terms, instead, of Marxist theory, the international scene focuses on the power struggle, and the conflict lies in the inequality that exists between the bourgeoisie⁴ and the proletariat⁵ (Baylis & others, 1996). Although Marxist theory does not take into account the state and war, in terms of conflict, the exploitation that exists between social classes causes discontent in those who are exploited, giving way to confrontations that seek to provoke a change of roles, changing the position of the oppressed through a revolution. A clear example of this is the Russian Revolution, a conflict of wide international interest due to its motivations - the communist ideology, the weariness of the people towards the Russian tsars, and the labor and economic exploitation of the lower classes, variables that responded to being characteristics of the bourgeois exploitation of which Marx had spoken.

By bringing a social school to the table, the analysis becomes slightly philosophical. Constructivism, from its part, brings different considerations compared to Neorealism and Neoliberalism, this is the power of ideas in the shift of paradigm of states, under considerations such as: "Constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life" (Ruggie 1998: 856); that is to say, this appeals in a certain way to the Realist idea that states act according to human nature but from a more structured consideration, in which the behavior of the human being is determined by the surrounding context, and this establishes the development of ideas, from the most basic to the most complex. Around this analysis, the beginning of a confrontation will be mainly due to the tendency to confrontation, conflict or war that exists in individuals who are involved in a predicament against another individual,

⁴ Affluent capitalist class of society. In medieval times it was represented mainly by merchants, over time it ended up encompassing everyone with medium to high economic capacity. Marx encompassed in the term philistinism, materialism, and an inordinate desire for respect.

⁵ Working class, with few or no economic characteristics.

group, or state. A better way to understand this argument can be reached if Barnett is observed (2017, p. 150), he says that Wendt's statement "Anarchy is what states make of it" in the light of constructivism, leads to different patterns of behavior and organization of global politics depending on the beliefs and practices of the State; this, in terms of conflict, indicates that conflict can occur considering the legitimacy of war in the politics of a State, the aberration or fascination to armed conflict or peace of said state, the ability of its rulers to deal with clashes, etc. Weber (1920/98, p. 147) demonstrates that:

Interests - material and ideals - and not ideas are those who directly dominate the actions of men. Nevertheless, the images of the world created by these ideas have often served as pointers to determine the paths along which the dynamism of interests drives the movement of actions.

In this idea, he talks about the means-end relationship that motivates social actions, but which serves perfectly to understand the interaction, action and reaction of human relationships, moments and situations that can trigger a conflict. In it, apexes of constructivist thought can be recognized by considering ideas to be triggers of people's behavior. From the meeting or clash of thoughts and positions, the way of understanding the world of each part will be decisive to recognize the course of action that each one will take and the possible consequences. A clear example could be the Colombian armed conflict, led by the guerrillas with left-wing thinking, and the paramilitaries with their thinking aligned to the right, in addition to government agents, drug traffickers and citizens in form of civil organizations (Yaffe, 2011).

Finally, within international relations theories, we have a relatively new school, feminism. Feminist theory addresses the problem of a world dominated mostly by the male perspective, and the consequences of this at all levels of society, such as social, economic, financial, political, educational, labor, and others. Considering the causes of the conflict from a feminist perspective, True (2005, p. 213) notes that women leaders and citizens in Western societies are more likely to oppose to the use of force in international actions and instead, support humanitarian intervention, since there is a generalized thought that the "feminine" attitude is more directed towards pacifism, because peace has been associated as a characteristic of the nature per se of the feminine gender ever since the construction of the patriarchal society, as well as other adjectives different from those of the masculine gender, such as solidarity in terms of resources and help, and a more stable behavior around international citizenship; and

that on the contrary, societies with lower gender parity are more likely to be involved in escalated conflicts and situations of violence, since the male perspective seeks to resolve conflicts in more primitive ways, resorting to the use of force, violence and in extreme cases, abuse. However, the belief that values are given by the gender of the subject is a situation that would delegitimize this precept, since today it has been shown that gender roles have been a type of structural violence built by a hetero-patriarchal scheme.

For example, the first winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Bertha Von Suttner (1914), said in her speech to the German Women's Peace movement:

Some people think that women are hostile to war by nature. They are wrong. Only progressive women, those who have been able to educate themselves in a social conscience, who have had the strength not to let themselves be fascinated by institutions which are hundreds of years old, also find the energy to oppose them.

So, if peace is not an intrinsic gene of the female gender, it could rather be said that it is a matter of "progress", as it has been argued above. Like the progressive initiatives taken by the group of suffragettes in the First World War to convene the I International Congress of Women, from The Hague, and to call attention to the leaders of the countries to promote mediation as an alternative for peace 6 months after the start of the war; uniting in a single voice approximately 150 decentralized organizations such as the women of the British Labor Party, trade unionists, suffragettes, among others. The International Committee of Women for a Permanent Peace was born from that meeting, which would give rise to the International League of Women for Peace and Freedom, thus generating a transnational feminism (Magallón, 2007).

Although not all the theories of international relations have been mentioned here, the ones that can best explain the motivations of the international conflict, and the behavior of the different actors in it, from the States, to the Non-profit Organizations, the International Organizations, and individuals, both those behind each of the entities, as well as the people as a whole community are brought into the discussion. Understanding these ideas allows a more critical thinking when understanding these motivations beyond generalizations such as the struggle for resources, the confrontation of political or religious ideologies, personal or individual interest over the group, territorial conflicts, lack of commitment to international

agreements, lack of responsibility for local actions that become global, development over the welfare of neighboring states, etc. Each one of these problems arises from the inevitable relationships that have been built throughout history between States and the intrinsic complexity in which they lead to situations over which control can be lost.

To resume:

Table 1: Theories of International Relations and their perspectives among conflict

THEORY	AUTHORS	FOUNDATIONS OF THE CONCEPT
Realism	Thucydides Macchiavello Hobbes Morgenthau	States are in a constant struggle for power, so they put their interests before those of other states. States act on the behavior of those who govern them. Human nature by principle will seek to respond to individual needs, and will take actions around that.
Neorealism (Estructural Realism)	Waltz Gilpin	It is not human nature that provokes the behavior of states, but the anarchic structure of the international system. Self-help survival causes the system to act based on the balance of power. Power is determined by the economic and not only by the political, which gives legitimacy to the hegemonic states. The war will happen when the member states of the system seek to change the balance of power.
Liberalism	Adam Smith	The foundation is cooperation between countries. States act according to the principles of principled behavior and respect for human rights. War is caused by countries that do not act around these principles. The economy is a substantial component of the stability of the international system, by having the resources, states will not seek to enter into conflict.
Marxism	Marx	Constant struggle between classes, inequality between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Social discontent leads to uprising and confrontation between classes.

Constructivism	Ruggi Weber	States act according to those who govern them, but individuals act according to the context that surrounds them. A state will enter into conflict depending on the ideas it has about it.
Feminism	True	The state dominated by male perspective is more likely to be involved in a conflict. A female perspective is more inclined to peaceful behaviors.

Source: Theories of International Relations (2009)
Own elaboration

1.1.2. Problem of societies

A problem is generated by different motivations that exist to generate a conflict. Starting from the breadth of the term, the word “problem” is made up of the prefix “pro”– which means in front; the verb “ballein”- which refers to throw with force; and the suffix “ma” that is used as a result of an action, which is interpreted as to “put something in front”. In its most philosophical sense, it is *creating obstacles for oneself*, and in its most logical definition it is a situation that complicates the achievement of an objective and must be resolved (RAE, 2021). When a problem is generated, a solution is needed; and depending on the way in which the person who faces the problem handles it, a scenario with manageable characteristics may occur, or a circumstance of negative consequences may be generated for those who are involved in it.

When the level of control required by a situation exceeds the capacity of the person in charge of it, problems begin to appear. This is what happens in a society that includes so many people divided into hundreds of countries, thousands of cities and millions of villages, each one with a different vision due to different customs, traditions, and ways of seeing the world. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the main problems facing society are:

1.1.2.1. Hunger

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations defines this problem in terms of food security, which occurs when all people have permanent access to safe and nutritious food to satisfy their nutritional needs and lead a healthy life. However, the lack of food worldwide is increasing (FAO, 2020), according to UN reports, by the end of 2021, hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean increased by more than 13 million people in the last year, and the number of people affected by food insecurity is 267 million people in the world. According to the latest updated report of the FAO (2021) for the year 2020, that year “between 720 and 811 million people suffered from hunger around the world”, 118 more than the previous year, 2019. The trend is worrying even for the achievement of one of the Sustainable Development Goals for the year 2030, Zero Hunger.

1.1.2.2. Poverty

Poverty is understood as the lack of resources to satisfy the most basic human needs. According to the global inequality report issued at the end of 2021 by the World Inequality Lab (Chancel, 2022), 10% of the global population is wealthy, taking 52% of world income; on the other hand, half of the world's population earns only 8.5%. On average, an adult from the rich 10% earns \$122,000 a year, while an adult from the poor 50% earns \$3,900 a year. On the other hand, in terms of accumulation of wealth, 10% of the population owns 76% of existing wealth, while the poor half hardly accumulates 2% of it. This is mainly due to unemployment, which increased during 2020 due to the pandemic, although, according to the UN, the unemployment rate in 2022 is expected to drop compared to 2021 from 10% to 9.3% in Latin America, one of the hardest hit by the pandemic regions; this translates to 28.8 million unemployed people in 2022, compared to 24.3 million in 2019. It also indicates that the recovery for 2022 will be slow, since the job deficit is estimated to be 52 million, compared to an initial mid-2021 projection of 26 million, half the number projected for now.

1.1.2.3. Racism

Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination defines racial discrimination as: “any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent or national/ethnic origin that has as its object nullify

or impair the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, under conditions of equality, of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” Unfortunately, collecting statistical information related to this topic has become complicated taking into account the change of terms used in international institutions to refer to it, the way of encompassing this problem under the term discrimination has hidden relevant data because within discrimination there is gender disparity, discrimination against people with disabilities, people with stigmatized diseases, or due to social conditions. However, because of the increase in migration in places such as the Caribbean, the conflictive areas of the Caucasus, Afro-Arab countries, and Latin America, cases of xenophobia have increased; the UN Secretary-General said in December 2021 that the number of current migrant flows had not been seen before, and that they deserve solidarity as many have been caught up in circumstances of border closures and “continue to be subject to stigmatization, inequalities, xenophobia and widespread racism”. Just as in countries with pasts with entrenched racist characteristics, such as the United States, there are still cases of violence against people of African descent, an important example of recent years is the death of George Floyd, which generated a great protest against racism and in turn, although to a lesser extent, uprisings by white supremacist groups against the #BlackLivesMatter movement (Europapress, 2021).

1.1.2.4. Gender Violence

This refers to “harmful acts directed against a person or a group of people because of their gender” (UN Women) with their origin in the abuse of power, gender disparity and harmful normative behaviors. This term is mainly used to emphasize the violence to which women and girls are exposed due to the social structures built throughout history. Men and boys can also be victims of this type of violence, as well as members of the LGBTI+ group, considering existing gender norms. This violence includes, but is not limited to: physical, psychological, sexual, labor, financial abuse. In a statement from the World Health Organization and UN Women, a third of women are victims of physical or sexual violence worldwide, according to the organizations “the phenomenon has not receded in the last ten years and, even worse, it has been exacerbated during lockdowns mandated by the Coronavirus pandemic” by keeping women locked up with their abusers, and with little or no ability to ask for help. The numbers shown in the statistics do not reflect the real data, as many women prefer to remain silent in the face of the aggressions they have experienced, especially those of a sexual nature. The report also indicates that violence is disproportionately higher in low- and middle-income countries, with an estimated 37% of women in poor countries experiencing

physical and sexual violence, compared to an estimated 20% in European and Central and South-East Asian nations. (UN press, 2021).

1.1.2.5. Climate Emergency

The climate emergency is due to climate change; according to the UN, climate change refers to “long-term changes in temperatures and weather patterns”, these changes can be natural and controlled; however, due to the industrial and technological development of societies, based on the burning of fossil fuels, oil and gas, there has been an accelerated, excessive, uncontrolled change with catastrophic consequences for humanity. The burning of fossil fuels generates gases such as carbon dioxide and methane, which cause a greenhouse effect in the earth's atmosphere, the accumulated gases surround the Earth and trap heat from the sun, causing a rise in temperature. Likewise, the UN indicates that “the concentrations of greenhouse gases are at their highest level in 2 million years” thus raising the temperature of the earth today by 1.1°C. The rise in temperature triggers a series of consequences at a global level that must be faced, such as the rise in sea levels, scarcity of fresh water, intense droughts, loss of biodiversity, melting of the poles, alterations in the seasons and catastrophic storms. In addition to the consequences of the Earth, there are also direct complications to the health of people due to a drop in the quality of air, drinking water, food, and the stability of safe housing. According to data from the World Health Organization (WHO), it is projected that between 2030 and 2050 there could be an additional 250,000 deaths per year due to malnutrition, diarrhea, malaria and heat stress, in addition to the cost of dealing with the direct health impact that is between 2,000 and 4,000 USD until 2030.

1.1.2.6. Corruption

The RAE defines it as a vice or abuse in writing or in non-material things; to corrupt, deprave, pervert, damage. Corruption is one of the main problems of state apparatuses and institutions, since they are in charge of administering the resources of the populations; by diverting, taking, or hiding the resources, the ability of the government administration to solve other problems is diminished. According to Transparency International, the platform in charge of calculating the Corruption Index since 1995, including institutions such as the World Bank, the World Economic Forum, consulting firms, etc., the calculation made in 2021 reveals that the index has stagnated at the last ten years, showing little or no progress in 86% of the countries that are part of the evaluation. One of the most relevant characteristics is that countries which

violate civil responsibilities have consistently lower scores, since there is a direct violation of democracy, human rights and civil liberty.

Delia Ferreira Rubio, President of Transparency International (Transparency International, 2022), stated:

“Human rights are more than desirable in the fight against corruption. Authoritarian models destroy independent checks and balances and make taking action against corruption dependent on the whims of an elite. The only sustainable route to a corruption-free society is to ensure that people have the ability to speak freely and work collectively to hold those in power accountable.”

The Index rates 180 countries on a scale from zero -transparent- to one hundred -corrupt-, the last year’s global average score is 43 points; as well as indicate that in the last decade 154 countries have been in deterioration or with insufficient progress.

1.1.2.7. Wars

Also known as armed conflicts, they are situations in which the use of armed force is restricted between two or more dissident groups, these may be two or more states, between government armed forces and civilian armed groups, or between civilian armed groups within the same territory or in different territories (Amnesty International, 2020). When the conflict has lasted too long, or escalated in intensity, it commonly results in violence. The United Nations Organization was created from the horror left by the most warlike century in human history to combat the existence of armed conflicts with catastrophic consequences. However, in smaller numbers, wars are still present in places with unstable political, economic and social conditions, such as the Ethiopian case between the armed forces of Prime Minister Abiy and the forces of the Tigray region; or the Yemen conflict between the Huthi rebel group for the city of Marib; or the eternal Palestinian-Israeli conflict; or for geopolitical interests of the States, as is the case study of this work, Nagorno-Karabakh. Although the International Crisis Group (2022) points out that, "for the most part, the wars of the 21st century are less lethal than those that preceded them in the 20th century", and that in the last year the number of deaths in these conditions was lower compared to the last seven years, according to Amnesty International (2020), at the end of 2019, 79.5 million people around the world “would have been the object of forced displacement due to armed conflicts. The highest figure ever

recorded”; and according to World Bank (2021) statistics, 403,706 battle-related deaths are recorded in 2020, mainly in Arab, African, and South Asian countries. Armed conflicts are a major threat to civilians in or surrounding conflict areas, who are exposed to torture, mutilation, rape, forced disappearance, displacement, loss of real estate, cut off access to basic services, and in the worst scenario, death.

Although the problems that society currently faces are more than those mentioned, others find their way, such as economic deficits that can occur to cover the expenses of problems such as hunger; subsidize unemployment; money lost due to acts of corruption; cover the expenses of war; as well as lack of education caused by corruption, which leads to less educated populations and more prone to falling into civil conflicts or acts of discrimination. Also, it is the insecurity resulting from the lack of education, budget for said field, and economic deficiencies that cause this behavior in certain individuals. The network of problems is large when noting that no problem occurs by itself but is the consequence of poor management of people's living conditions. When there are problems, there are conflicts, which can be resolved properly and in time, and on other occasions, they escalate and cause violent actions and reactions, but to better understand the behavior of individuals within the conflict, as such, it is important to talk about the conflict theory.

1.2. Conflict Theory

1.2.1. Conflict: definition, positive and negative vision

Both the etymological definition of conflict and the definition given by authors indicate a negative approach towards its existence, the perception towards the development of conflicts in a space, place or relationship is one of fear and concern, it is considered that the actions of those who are part of the problem will always be violent, either physically or psychologically, and will always have unfavorable consequences for the protagonists and for those around them.

Conflicts can be seen under a variety of lenses, this is explained because since the eighteenth century the idea of conflict was central to a society that was changing its principles of legitimacy, and in which the idea of social order emerged as a product of will and intelligence of man, expressed in the "social pact", and the idea of political order, as a consequence of the interaction of the selfish interests of individuals (Eduardo Arnoletto, 2013). However, a slightly

more optimistic vision can also be established, seeing conflicts as a positive factor that generates structural and social change, since they demand reaching solutions that bring progress to the community. In general, the conflict theory approach proposes something completely different, since it sees conflict as an opportunity. This is how this sociological school posits a positive vision of conflict, recognizing it as something natural and “consubstantial to life in society” (Silva, 2008).

In 1956, Lewis Coser publishes “The Functions of Social Conflict”, a book in which he analyzes what he considers to be an ignored aspect of sociological theory, social conflict. Coser considers the ideas of Simmel in his work “The Sociology of Conflict” to create a theory of social conflict, which points out that conflict is a social way of manifesting an evil and ending it, “if, however, from these impulses the conflict has broken out, it is actually the way to remove dualism and achieve a form of unity, even if it is through the annihilation of some of the parties” (Simmel, 1904), Simmel considers conflict a «form of socialization», there can be no balance without conflict, because this form of coexistence, as paradoxical as it sounds, allows the development of the group, of society.

The main contribution of this theory is the recognition of the functionality of the conflict for the scenario in which it develops. It seeks to describe it, show its characteristics, and the dynamics that it implies; as well as its turning point. This, in a certain way, gives way to Conflictology.

1.2.1.1. Conflictology: What is it?

This term was coined by Galtung (2003), and is called the Science of Conflict; it is based on three edges to develop the philosophy of Conflict Resolution⁶:

Crisis: It is a “profound change with important consequences in a process or a situation, or in the way in which they are appreciated” (RAE, 2021). But beyond its literal meaning, it is possible to mention the thought of some authors, such as Gramsci (1984), who argues that the

⁶ Conflict Resolution: it is a philosophical position of Galtung which highlights the conflict within human nature and which aims to reach its understanding at such a level of solving it on a scale of thought or philosophy. It is far from "conflict resolution" (it is written in lowercase letters even to differentiate it from the philosophical proposal, which is distinguished with capital letters to indicate a general idea that would encompass the theory within philosophy, as established by the author) because the second focuses more on seeking an immediate solution rather than appreciating the problem as a driver of change.

crisis is born of “liberal and populist political paradigms”, emphasizing specific issues such as the levels of consumption of society, communication formats and, finally, the way in which groups organize themselves. As the Italian sociologist explains, these processes maintain a special relationship with the construction of hegemony since they change the focus of the discussions on what knowledge of everyday life implies and in turn transform collective thought, which manages to transform and energize the various forms of popular organization.

Change: What RAE (2021) says about this concept is that it means “to convert or change something into something else, often its opposite”. As the social current is carried in a certain stage of humanity, it will be far from supremacy. However, the social change that is born as a reaction of said status quo is the decisive point to renew and innovate as a community. As defined by Zaltman and Duncan (1979), change is “any alteration to an organism, situation or process that affects the structure, technology and human resources of the system”. In this same line, the concept is juxtaposed with the structuralist-functionalist theory (Merton, 1957), since it has a systemic sense of work in harmony with each of its parts and therefore requires “maintenance, continuity and balance”. But other authors such as Etzioni (1973) state that “social change [...] includes initial imbalance, forces to establish social equilibrium, and the emergence of a new equilibrium”. In other theories, such as Historical Materialism, it can be said that change is seen as inherent in the human condition, so natural and continuous, as Gerlach and Hine (2001) mention the concept of radical change, encouraging that, the greater the transformation, existing goals are replaced with entirely different goals, and that this is optimal for progress.

Problem: According to RAE (2021), it is the “set of facts or circumstances that make it difficult to achieve some goal”. As it has been mentioned before, the problems are the axis of the conflict; that is, situations that promote the crisis and that need to change. And for the same reason, it will have detractors and supporters.

Today, the term “Conflictology” is established in the scientific community, the United Nations, Non-Governmental Organizations, and other actors in the world arena, and is presented as a multidisciplinary theory where we can find related concepts, such as:

Table 2: Concepts related to Conflictology

Irenology	<p>Irenology is made up of two words, “Eirene”, the name of the Greek goddess of peace, and “logos”, which means study or treatise, so this is the science that studies peace. It was born from the Second World War and is mainly propelled by the studies of Johan Galtung (Cabello Tijerina, 2015).</p> <p>According to Galtung (1981), irenology says that “wars are a violent instrument to resolve conflicts that can be resolved differently, and that avoiding them is an ethical imperative.”</p>
Polemology	<p>According to its creator, the French sociologist Gaston Bouthoul, it is “the scientific study of war, peace and conflicts, studying their nature, their morphology, their location in time and space, periodicity, intensity, causes, functions, their typology.” In other words, it is an objective study of phenomena that can be the subject of observation, similar to the study of technical sciences (Queirel, 2018). For Galtung (1981), polemology and irenology are complementary and are part of “security studies”; which in turn, are included within the “strategic studies” within international relations.</p>
Conflict Transformation	<p>This concept refers to peacebuilding efforts that seek to structure processes and results that optimally overcome the exposed forms of direct, cultural, and structural violence. It rescues the concept of "conflict prevention", from a perspective that is not only horizontal, but vertical, in which there is a dialogue between unequal parties, placing special emphasis on third-way strategies, in complementarity with those of the first and second ways, generating direct contact with the victims of the consequences of a conflict. In other words, conflict transformation seeks to create a deeper understanding between the first, second and third way actors to create structural changes, generate strategic alliances and attack the root problem (Reimann, 2000).</p>
Conflict Management	<p>According to the dictionary of Humanitarian Action and Development Cooperation, conflict management is "an activity aimed at preventing or containing the escalation of a conflict or reducing its destructive nature, in order to get to a situation in which it is possible to reach an agreement”</p>

	(Mendia and Areizaga, 2005). This discipline does not seek to change the determining structure of the circumstance of the conflict, but to bring it to a point where its solution is viable.
Peace Studies	Checa Hidalgo (2014) defines them as “an interdisciplinary field that includes the systematic analysis of the causes of violence and the conditions for peace”, is positivized from the Second World War and encompasses all institutional and doctrinal studies to analyze the behavior of international actors to find the path to peace, including throughout its development not only conflict resolution but also human rights and the well-being of people.
Peace Culture	The Culture of Peace is the systematic act of promoting values, principles and actions aimed to respecting Human Rights; seeks a universal thought dedicated to the protection of these through international guidelines, interdisciplinary programs of an interstate nature and binding instruments.

Own Elaboration

These ramifications have originated in an effort to understand the causes of disputes and to change the ways of resolving them without reaching greater damage, since they will never cease to exist as a constant part of societies. As Serrano-García and Sánchez (1990) propose, without a precise understanding of the conflict, its origin, its causes, its evolution and behavior, there will be little that can be done to solve it, reduce it or transform it.

Although the conflict and its understanding is the ideal for the transformation of communities or countries, the human being has lost its direction concentrating on only achieving or maintaining the idea of peace. This is why society gets systems supposedly created for stability, such as production, which promises to generate movement and economic circulation, but that in its background is based on injustice and is even protected by highly criminal acts, such as the exploitation of natural and human resources, and that according to the European Association of Judges (2020), makes up more than 20% of the economy generated worldwide: the criminal economy, drug trafficking, arms trade, trade of people as modern slaves, etc.

Moreover, there have been scenarios where the judicial system is the one that perpetuates this type of violence, legalizing these practices. It is for this same reason that

mediation originated, since it arose outside, but not in opposition to, the judicial system; in order to avoid “onerous, inefficient judicial practices with many undesirable side effects” (Vinyamata, 2015). This is why what is proposed with Conflictology is to understand clashes in order to intervene and resolve them from peace, but focusing on unlearning the habits that have led to battle, to reach a point where society thinks and feels based on pacifism, a transformation of state of mind. So, when the symptoms are treated without treating the cause of the disease itself, a palliative solution is created based on the reasoning and conviction of conflict avoidance, which leads to uncertainty and directly becomes a cause to unleash the dispute, consolidating the violence. This would not happen with a conflictological analysis, which leads to a paradigm shift.

1.2.1.2. Ways to deal with conflict

Although many authors agree that conflict is inevitable due to the condition of man and his own natural state, and that even coexistence between individuals has become increasingly complex. There are several ways to deal with the conflict through its management and resolution, these range from the mildest to the most coercive. Conflicts can be avoided, overlooked, discussed, negotiated, arbitrated, adjudicated, resolved by legislation, political action, or force and violence. Traditional mechanisms are no longer sufficient to contain such acts of crisis, nor to resolve them in a way that does not have direct negative consequences for any existing bubble within any society. This is why it has become necessary to face these different realities originated in chaos from a positive perspective, as well as an opportunity to create knowledge and be able to apprehend it “as an intellectual and emotional challenge that reflects positive experiences and becomes a development engine” (Fuquen, 2003). So, it can be said that the ways of dealing with the conflict will depend on the vision of the conflict itself; because if it is entirely negative, it will require negative mechanisms, such as violence, war and extermination; while when it is seen in a positive way, then it can use mechanisms that allows growth and development.

1.2.2. Classes of conflicts and Alternative Means of Resolution

1.2.2.1. Conflict classes

There are different levels or classes of conflicts depending mainly on the actors or parties involved in it. These are:

Table 3: Types of conflict

Type of Conflict	Subject	Essence	It is given by:
Intrapersonal Conflict	The person with himself.	It occurs throughout the circumstances that the individual faces in his life. It has to do with personality, character, and self-regulation capacity” (Estrella, 2020); that is, with the way of dealing with the situations that arise.	Frustration, which generates defense mechanisms. The roles that individuals fulfill, since the place that the person has, generates expectations and increases stress (Luthans et al., 2010).
Interpersonal Conflict	Confrontation of positions, personalities or interests between individuals.	Interactive character. Result and effect of the relationships we establish with other people.	The meeting of the different points of view, the emotions, and the interests of each individual. Poor information in communication between individuals. The incompatibility of roles, and the “contextual influence”.
Intra-group Conflict	Between individuals belonging to the same group, community, collectivity, who share political ideology, religion, level of education,	This can occur between individual people within the group, dividing the group into two or more subgroups of opposing thoughts, or the confrontation between an individual with a subgroup.	Discrepancies when making decisions as a group if the ideas of the members do not coincide. When an individual acts against society in ways that harm the group. When a person or subgroup of people seeks

	labor organization, recreational activity, culture, etc.		to overthrow the leaders of the congregation.
Intergroup Conflict	Between two congregations different from each other.	The most common and the most complex.	<p>Competition for resources (physical, intellectual, technological, or monetary).</p> <p>Task interdependence, the partial or total dependence of one group on another or others.</p> <p>Jurisdictional ambiguity, when the limits of the action of each group are diffuse.</p> <p>Power struggles, when one group seeks to impose its status on another.</p>

Fuente: Estrella, P. (2020)
Own Elaboration

A fifth different category could be made before coming to the international conflict, which is of greater interest for the purposes of this paper. It is worth identifying it because it has to do with international behavior, this is the interorganizational conflict, which does not have its own category as it could be included within intergroup conflicts, but which differ in the character of being consolidated groups. Estrella (2020) classifies these groups as "duly structured organizations" whether they are public, as government entities; or private, such as NGOs, companies and productive organizations, educational entities, etc. Conflicts of this type usually have legal consequences. However, they can be resolved using Alternative Dispute Resolution Methods (ADMs). The last level or class of conflict will have its own section, but first we will briefly see the different conflict resolution mechanisms that can occur.

1.2.2.2. International Conflicts

The most complex level in the types or classes of conflicts occurs in clashes between nations or states. These occur due to a disagreement between the interests of the states and their way of managing themselves as such. International conflicts, according to Guerra (cited by Hernández, 2005), revolve around legal assessments, either through legal interpretation of the facts or directly on the International Law Rules. Hernández indicates that international doctrine can define international conflicts "as disagreements or divergences on certain issues"; being that any juxtaposition in consideration of certain issues or positions can lead to a conflict, which may or may not escalate to the point of violence, in the words of Calduch (1991) "conflict is a social relationship by which two or more collectivities aspire to satisfy incompatible interests or demands, using their power inequalities to maintain antagonistic or opposing actions, ultimately resorting to violence". However, the same author indicates that not necessarily by having opposing positions the situation will lead to conflict, since this circumstance can have different endings such as negotiation; or the promotion of healthy competition. Calduch (Ibid) considers that the conflict will be considered as such when the opposition of interests involves the limitation or reduction of one state to another in order to achieve its objective.

It is relevant to consider that the consequences of an armed conflict have a greater impact than those conflicts of any other type, since, to begin with, a state encompasses a society organized at different administrative levels, with populations of no less than 500,000 inhabitants, different productive sectors, and all this with a great dependence on the economy, it is for this reason that any decision that a state takes in front of the world, will have important repercussions in all of the aforementioned, not only of one state but of all the actors involved in a conflict. The concept of sovereignty takes place when talking about international conflicts, since it is more difficult to try to deal with a conflict between states when each one of them has the right to act in favor of its sovereignty, without the intervention of other actors, be they private actors, international organizations or the states themselves. Thus, to deal with an international conflict, the measures must be of the same scale as the consequences, involving more actors and considering what allows and restricts the international scene to maintain peace and harmony between states.

The relationships that are fostered between the various actors in the international arena, subjects of Public International Law, are various; they can be economic, social, cultural, political and even religious. In these different ways of relating, differences can be found, which have even become irreconcilable, between social groups that can potentially lead to an international conflict; This is why the need arises to “control and reconcile” these distinctions in order to maintain and guarantee both peace and security between countries. The international conflict results, in the end, in breaking relations between nations, undermining the regular development of global dynamics. It is also worth noting that the most direct consequence of an international conflict generally ends in the violation of Human Rights (Coppelli, 2018).

Emphasizing conflicts on the international scene, it should be mentioned that the doctrine indicates two types of international conflicts:

Conflicts of Legal Order: for the philosopher Rousseau (1966) this category encompasses cases in which the parties have not been able to reach a common agreement about “the application or interpretation of existing law”.

Instead, for Guerra (1988), these conflicts are the result of three variables:

1. The violation of a treaty or convention.
2. The violation of an international law or norm that results in damage to a subject of International Law. The predominant characteristic of these conflicts is that they are likely to be resolved by legal means.
3. The interpretation of an international treaty or any rule of International Law in general; any fact that implies the breach of an international commitment; the extension or repair due to that rupture. (Article 13, paragraph 2, and article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice), (cited by Guerra, 1988).

Conflicts of Political Order: These are practically those conflicts of a political, military, diplomatic, religious, or cultural nature that are not likely to be resolved through jurisdictional means, but rather through diplomatic or political means. In

addition, the difference with the first is that there is already an existing right decided, but one of the parties wants to change it (Guerra, 1988).

The expert assures that their differentiation helps to define what type of help or “treatment” each conflict should receive for its correct resolution, which is also multidisciplinary and comprehensive so that peace is lasting; Otherwise, even greater damage will continue to be caused to the international community.

1.2.2.3. Mechanisms for peaceful conflict management

Starting from the already understood intrinsic nature of the human being to coexist with conflict, it had to find ways to deal with struggle when the circumstances show a panorama that goes beyond a disagreement between the parties. One of the basic rights of human beings in a democratic state is to have free and equal access to justice mechanisms, in the words of Barataria, the person deserves “to have a space to go to claim a right when they feel injured and wait in trust that they have to be heard and they will get a response to their satisfaction” (Cornelio Landero, 2014); however, traditional legal mechanisms are usually long, tedious, and can sometimes complicate circumstances, so it was imperative to create a simple, fast and economical alternative, that is how society got the Mechanisms for Peaceful Conflict Management, also known as Alternative Dispute Resolution Methods or ADRM. These emerged little by little, and although at first, they were tertiary actors, over time they became highly regarded instruments for resolving conflicts both at the civil level and at higher level instances. Here is an explanation of the methods that exist:

Table 4: Conflict Management Mechanisms

Conflict Management Mechanism	What does it consist of?
Deliberative Dialogues	<p>According to the RAE, it is “carefully and cautiously consider the pros and cons of the reasons for a decision before making it”, analyzing the benefits and “costs” of making a certain decision.</p> <p>It can be used in a formal way, around rules and conditions; or informal, occurring spontaneously.</p>

	<p>It is based on debate, which leads to the general listening of ideas and the construction of ways to make decisions after considering the advantages and disadvantages of each of them (Fuquen, 2003).</p> <p>Jurgen Habermass (1997) discusses citizen participation in political decisions through reasons in defense or opposition of a certain proposal, opinion or position. "Conflicts can be resolved rationally, before the recognition of the best argument" (Silva, 2016) against the predisposition of the parties to modify their position.</p> <p>There is no model of what is right or wrong in the conclusions of a deliberation, but what is discussed and agreed upon becomes legitimate.</p> <p>The dynamics of the deliberative dialogues can have a significant influence in marking a path to follow based on the opinions expressed on the issues discussed.</p>
Negotiation	<p>It is the process through which the actors or parties involved reach a beneficial agreement for both parties through communication guided by a third party, the negotiator, who facilitates the exchange to satisfy objectives without using violence (Fuquen, 2003).</p> <p>The parties involved negotiate what they claim and what is sought to satisfy are the needs.</p> <p>It seeks to balance opposing interests, articulate diversity of oppositions and reconcile differences through conceived pacts, neutralizing divergences and points of view conceived as antagonistic by the linked actors.</p> <p>It requires systematic management through which an agreement in which the actors are committed is legitimized.</p> <p>The negotiator's decision is binding, this is the main difference with mediation.</p>
Conciliation	<p>Process or set of activities through which the persons or parties involved in a conflict can resolve it through a satisfactory agreement.</p> <p>In addition to the parties, an impartial person called conciliator intervenes.</p> <p>The conciliator acts with the consent of the parties or by mandate of the law, to help the actors reach an agreement that benefits them.</p>

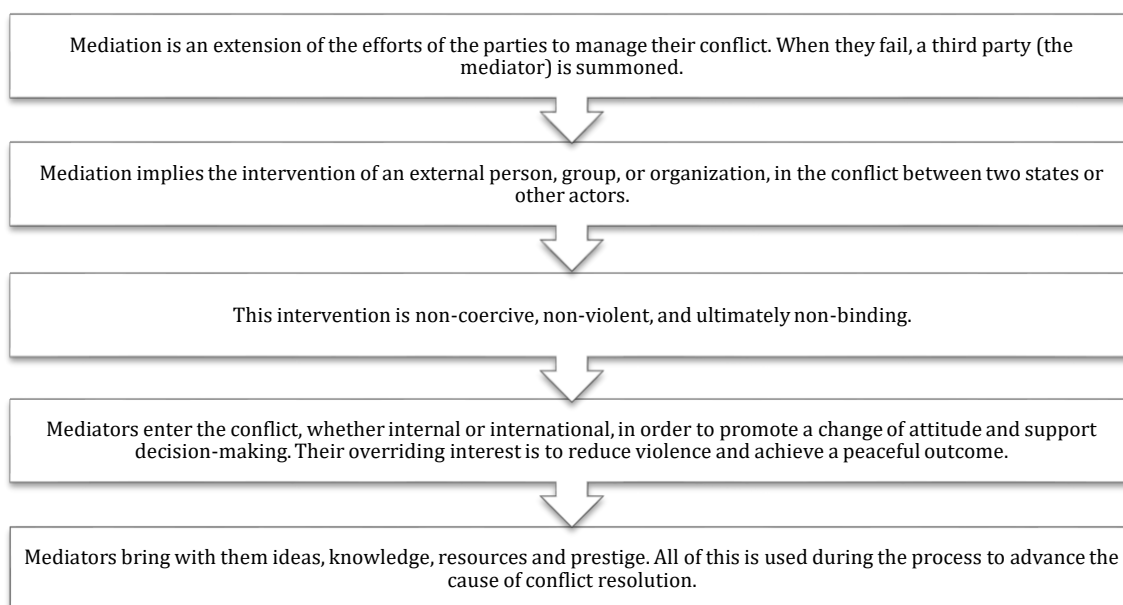
	<p>“This process seeks to complement the traditional justice system, through a brief procedure in which a judicial or administrative authority intervenes as a third party to achieve possible solutions to a dispute” (CENASEL, 1998: 50).</p> <p>The actors are directly involved, seeking reciprocal and satisfactory agreements, activating communication, reducing and alleviating tensions, and avoiding the escalation of the conflict.</p> <p>As a democratic act, it is based on the ability of citizens to be authors of the conflict and generators of solutions, an issue in which equality between the parties, the legitimacy of their interests and the will to negotiate and reach agreements are determined, synthesizing the exercise of Democracy.</p>
Arbitration	<p>It is similar to a judicial dispute, but instead of having a court that dictates a sentence, there are specialized judges known as “arbitrators”, who are private and resolve the conflict through arbitration awards.</p> <p>The resolution of disputes with the use of arbitration is much faster than through traditional judicial litigation, as well as less expensive (Bastarreche, 2019).</p> <p>The quality of justice that arbitration offers is higher since the burden of traditional courts is greater than the arbitrators’, and the time that arbitration judges take will be much more dedicated and polished than those of a traditional one.</p> <p>The participation of the parties in an international arbitration is much more active, since they can be the ones who select the arbitrator under the conditions that fits for them. In the same way, they can select the most appropriate procedure to carry out the dispute and the conditions under which it can occur.</p> <p>If the parties so desire, the arbitration may be confidential, giving way to post-case relationship maintenance, or negative publicity.</p>
Boarding Dispute	<p>These are mainly applicable to contracts, and consist of a panel of experts that is present from the beginning of an agreement or project (usually infrastructure) to guide the parties during its execution (Guerra & others, 2019).</p>

	<p>The panel may make recommendations, or resolve the matter on a binding basis, depending on how it has been agreed to act from the outset.</p> <p>Its installation is prior to the conflict being generated and the accompaniment it gives to the design and execution of the project is advantageous to avoid conflicts to a greater extent.</p> <p>Its technical nature allows greater equality between the information that is known between the project's senior managers and the rest of the actors involved.</p> <p>Its wide availability at a relatively low cost compared to other mechanisms and without requiring the intervention of institutional apparatuses with a broad constitution.</p> <p>This mechanism is specifically regulated by the International Chamber of Commerce, which means that, even if it were applied to contracts between entities located in different countries, the development of said situation would occur under private circumstances.</p>
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Own Elaboration

1.2. Mediation

Mediation is understood as the intervention process of a third party in a confrontation of ideas and positions given between two or more actors. According to Podesta Costa (1955) it is a third party that “[...] actively collaborates in the negotiations, serving as an intermediary in order to smooth out difficulties, suggesting to the parties [...] as many formulas as may serve as a basis for a possible friendly settlement”, which means that the third party in question has the full power to guide the meeting process between the parties in order to reach a common agreement and dispel a possible escalated confrontation. Other authors, such as Mitchell (1981: 287), defines it as “any intermediation activity carried out by a third party with the intention of reaching a compromise on the issues that the parties dispute or, at least, to end the conflictive behavior”. On the other hand, Moore (1986: 6) defines it as “an extension and elaboration of the negotiation process... it includes the intervention of a neutral, impartial and accepted third party that has no decision-making power over the contending parties to impose a mutually acceptable agreement”. Also, in the words of Brown (2016), mediation has been designed to be 'non-intrusive, voluntary, transparent and non-coercive', which means that it allows an open, peaceful dialogue, without pressure, deception, or retaliation.



Graphic 1: Characteristics of mediation according to Bercovitch
 Source: Jacob Bercovitch (2004), quoted by Kevin Brown (2016)
 Own Elaboration

From the point of view of Folberg and Taylor (1996), mediation constitutes a process that seeks the balance of power in a non-coercive manner, leading to agreements that conclude in arrangements. This mechanism is used according to two moments that make up a cycle in the conflict to be resolved, which begins with knowledge of the conflict, that is, when the parties involved in a cause are aware of an escalation of the problem or cause to be resolved. While the second moment consists of the desire to eliminate the uncertainties and the adoption of a conduct before the agreements or conventions generated from the controversy.

1.3.1. Origin of mediation

Mediation as an unconscious practice can be traced back to the origins of the human being. As already explained in previous sections, conflict is inherent to the human being; the dissent of ways of thinking, points of view and personalities puts into consideration the emergence of an encounter between two or more parties in the existing daily life, fragments of authors such as Heraclitus indicate that “conflict is the promoter of change and in turn a consequence of this...” so its beginning dates back to the community life. González-Capitel (2001) points out that “mediation as an alternative to conflict resolution is as old as humanity. It is not a current creation, but a modern adaptation based on cultures sociologically

differentiated from each other in different historical periods”; that is, what we know today as mediation has been the evolution of a primitive concept of mediation that existed since the beginning of humanity.

Several authors agree that giving a precise origin to the appearance of mediation as an alternative to the judicial route is a very ambiguous request since there is no exact starting point but the appearance of the use of a third party that acts as what today is known as a mediator at different times in history and in different cultures. Authors such as Pérez Saucedo (2008) indicate that in the first tribes, when there were relational conflicts between their members, someone outside that conflict but not to the tribe, took the role of mediator; and Miranzo de Mateo (2010) points out that "during the Modern Age, mediation was used especially in the field of international law, due to the importance of establishing relationships and respecting pacts based on authority." This is because the principle of sovereignty limited the capacity to obligatorily bind the states, mediation being a viable way of fulfilling this objective.

Moving forward in history and more specifically, one of the milestones in the implementation of mediation in a professional and conscious manner is given, because as will be seen in more detail in the history of international mediation, this concept is positivized in the Convention on the Hague of 1907, formalizing the recognition of this method and arbitration as non-judicial means to resolve international disputes, giving rise to the adoption of mediation as an alternative method almost simultaneously to this fact in several places in Europe, Latin America and the United States. In 1947 the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service was created, whose initial objective was the resolution of problems in the workplace, but three decades later it would adopt mediation worldwide. In the 1970s, MASCs were used experimentally as a tool to vent legal backlogs, and to help resolve environmental disputes (Jácome, 2020).

Around 1985, the Attorney General of the United States recognized the need to fully use these means to reduce time and expenses related to civil litigation. A few years later, the Department of Justice recognized the benefits of these means and supported the first MASC legislation enacted by Congress in 1990, making it a popular tool by mid-decade over arbitration. On April 19, 2002, the green book was published in Europe, which develops the notion of alternative methods of conflict resolution in the fields of civil and commercial law, labor law and everything related to consumer rights (Carabante, 2010). In countries like the

United States, the use of mediation has become mandatory not only for private conflicts, but also for those that occur within the public sphere. Based on these historical considerations, mediation gradually begins to gain more strength and to be implemented as the first alternative to litigation and arbitration (whose development puts it closer to a judicial settlement than to the MASCS).

1.3.2. Mediation Components

1.3.2.1. The contending parties

When mentioning the contending parties, it means each of the people, groups, collectives, organizations, institutions or states that are part of the conflict, whose ideas or positions are opposed and require a mediation process to resolve the situation. Commonly, a confrontation that requires mediation involves two rival parties. Taking the definition of Ezequiel Ander-Egg (1995) about the conflict, we can understand its parts as those groups, individuals or organizations that have conflicting interests, so that the behavior of one ends up being counterproductive for the achievement of the objectives of the other.

It is important to differentiate the type of actors that may be involved in a conflict, taking into account that their attitude and predisposition will be decisive for the development of the situation and its end as an escalated conflict or a peaceful solution where there are benefits for the parties involved. These can be belligerent actors or conciliatory actors. The former can be differentiated by the aggressive and direct search for their objectives and interests to prevail over those of the rest, normally they have a position of power in their favor that allows them to impose themselves. A clear example was the *IUS AD BELLUM*, the right to use military force. This opens the way to total domination by force or to an escalated conflict where the parties fight for dominance and survival; which involves not only direct armed conflicts but also economic, social measures, or indirect confrontations as seen in the Cold War period. On the other hand, conciliatory actors seek a non-aggressive solution to conflicts and prefer negotiation and mediation as alternative paths to direct confrontation.

1.3.2.2. The mediator

The mediator is the neutral third party who intervenes in the conflict, when the parties have requested it, to find a mutually agreed solution. The mediator is in charge of conducting the procedure, facilitating the dialogue through its assertive structure and recognizing the key points in the position of each party to find a solution to the conflict. For Bush and Folger (1994) the mediator “acts as a catalyst in a negotiation process, helping the parties to focus on the present, with the aim of achieving a «satisfactory» solution to the problem... trying to get them to reach an agreement valid, satisfactory and lasting”. Therefore, it implies that the mediator does not seek to impose a response, but builds it based on the experience, emotions and thoughts of each of the parties.

In the international arena, the mediator may be an individual, an NGO, an international organization, or a state.

The mediator must have the following characteristics:

1. *Impartiality*. The mediator must not and cannot be influenced to lean towards any of the parties.
2. *Neutrality*. Throughout the mediation process, none of those involved in the conflict can take part.
3. *Confidentiality*. Everything that is done or said within the mediation will be kept confidential, it cannot be disclosed to any of the parties or to individuals outside the conflict. According to Pérez, confidentiality is “perhaps the main characteristic of mediation, since it constitutes a pillar for the generation of trust”.
4. *Capacity*. The RAE dictionary has six definitions for this term, but we are interested in two: “Ability to personally exercise a right and the fulfillment of an obligation”, and; “Legal aptitude to be subject to rights and obligations”. Likewise, the Oxford dictionary defines it as “Circumstance or set of conditions, qualities or aptitudes, especially intellectual, that allow the development of something, the fulfillment of a function, the performance of a position, etc.”. There is special emphasis in the definitions of this quality, since it refers to the fact that a person is competent to carry out the assigned work and can respond to his rights and obligations.

5. *Flexibility*. This characteristic refers to the ability to adapt to changes or variations in different situations, circumstances, people's positions, ideas, attitudes, problems. The person is not subject to a single conviction or thought and that collaborates in the process of building a solution that adapts to the greatest number of needs arising within the conflict.
6. *Credibility*. Credibility is based on building trust. This quality is given in response to the experience of the mediator; his work; legal and educational history lay the foundation for how parties see him and the trust they must have in him. A mediator without credibility will not know how to take the mediation to a field of agreements, because in the absence of security in the actions of a person, the parties will tend to defense instead of communication.

1.3.2.3. Communication

It is imperative that, within a mediation or negotiation of any kind, communication is taken into account as the central axis of the process, “without communication there is no negotiation” (Fisher, Ury. 1981). To achieve a common agreement and the benefit of the parties, it is essential to understand what the other is looking for, and to make oneself understood effectively so that both know the objective points on which they must work. However, it is not always easy to communicate with those who have opposing interests and, in the process, any previous progress can come crashing down if the person is not tactful and/or does not know how to communicate efficiently.

1.3.3. Models and approaches

Mediation models are formalized schemes that explain the guidelines of the procedure to follow for a specific outcome (taking into account the particularities of each case). There are some mediation models that have been taking shape throughout history, but there are three main ones that will be explained below.

Table 5: Mediation models

Model	Main Characteristics
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<p>Harvard Model</p>	<p>Also known as the traditional linear model, theorized by Fisher and Ury. It is based on principles, or merits. It focuses on the causes of the conflict, and generates direct communication between those involved. The idea is to simplify the process, and speed it up to obtain effective responses and not abandon it.</p> <p>It is based on four basic points (Fisher & Ury, 1981):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. People. Separate individuals from the problem. In a negotiation “egos tend to be involved in substantial positions”. The parties must understand that the confrontation is not between them, but rather them against the problem. The problems will be treated in a substantial way to recognize the information of the object, concept or event on which the conflict is taking place. 2. The interests. Focus on interests, not positions. Considering only what the parties want and not why, makes the negotiation rigid. The why are the interests, and these define the problem, although superficially the appearance is different, the position is what has been decided based on what the interests motivated. Understanding it makes it easier to recognize the real needs, and not just the surface. 3. The options. Generate a variety of options before making a decision. “Increase the cake before dividing it” and invent several options that consider each part of the interests and the problem, for an optimal result for the parties. Premature judgments, the belief that “the solution to their problem is theirs”, the search for a single answer, and the fact that the parties consider the situation a zero sum⁷, are obstacles to looking for more answers than the most obvious ones. For this, it is necessary to: separate the invention of options from the act of judging them; expand the options under discussion instead of looking for a single answer; seek mutual benefits; and invent ways to facilitate decision making. 4. The criteria. The result should preferably be based on objective criteria. Although the intention is to reconcile interests, these will always be in conflict. The cost will always be high if decisions are based solely on the will, so they must be made on independent criteria. It is necessary to use objective criteria to carry out the conversation and create options, regardless of personal
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⁷ It is conceived with only two possible outcomes in a confrontation between A and B: A wins and B loses, or B wins and A loses. The total sum of the gains is equivalent to the total sum of the losses, resulting in a single winner. and only one loser. (Zalles Santivanez, 2000).

	<p>interests, to generate an effective and sensible agreement; these must ‘be independent of the will of each of the parties, they must be legitimate and practical, and be applicable to both parties’ (Gimenez Romero, 2001).</p> <p><i>The Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement, or BATNA.</i> According to Fisher and Ury, “the reason for negotiating is to obtain something better than what would be obtained without negotiating”; At the time of having a proposal, the BATNA serves as a point of comparison between it and the best alternative that could have been obtained without having been in a negotiation.</p>
<p>Transformative Model</p>	<p>Raised by Robert Bush and Joseph Folger in the 1990s, in “The Promise of Mediation: The Transformative Approach to Conflict”. The model is based on the relational point of view, it recognizes each party as a total to carry out the mediation process, which allows working on the development of each individual; the recovery of their capacities; and the construction of new ways of understanding each other. Better communication and more real relationships are encouraged, since “the purpose is not an agreement, but the development of people's potential for change” (Pérez Saucedo, 2015). He considers that the promotion of moral growth must take precedence over the rest of the objectives that can be achieved with mediation, since it implies changing not only the situation but the person itself so that the improvement can be long-term and leads to the creation of a “better world”. It requires reinterpreting the concept of conflict, no longer seeing it as a problem, but as an opportunity for growth, “the transforming orientation of the conflict”. Being like that, this model seeks to rebuild re-evaluation and recognition.</p> <p>Re-evaluation. The value of each individual is recognized within the process, the recognition of their worth and ability to face situations. Individuals recover their mental and emotional stability and can act more consciously, making use of their self-determination and autonomy, regaining control of themselves to be able to act with the other in a deeper way.</p> <p>Recognition. Produces empathy for the ideas, thoughts and feelings of the other in the face of the problem; As a consequence of the revaluation that an individual acquires, he is able to recognize himself in the other and be sensitive to what he thinks and feels. This allows them to open up more, to be attentive, empathetic</p>

	and sensitive and to generate a feeling of recognition. Recognition is only considered as such when is freely given, and not otherwise.
McGrath's Model	<p>Joseph E. McGrath, American social psychologist, he dedicated his life to studying the behavior of work groups under stressors such as time pressure, and devised a model that distinguishes three weighty factors in the negotiation of a mediation focused on the figure of the mediator and his way of acting in it (Harto de Vera, 2012).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The factors that influence the negotiators (the parties). Three participants (two opposing parties and a mediator) on whom there are three types of influences, that of the group that each one represents, that of the agreement that is sought, and that of a creative solution. - Factors due to the presence of the mediator. The mediator directly influences the parties, and this will depend on their ability and knowledge, their behavior and their mediation tactics. - The last factor depends on the task and the situation. It is related to the issues of negotiation, the thinking of the parties and the rules established to carry out the mediation. <p>Criteria for measuring the effectiveness of the negotiation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General objective criterion. It is the product of the credibility of the three judges (the two competing organizations and the social system). 2. Subjective criteria. Starting from the estimation that each member of the negotiating delegations has, of its acceptability in each group they represent. <p>These two criteria “must be taken into account if one wants to understand the process of negotiation, specify the determinants of that process and predict its results” (McGrath 1966:117).</p>
Narrative Circular Model	Proposed by Sara Cobb, professor and mediator at the University of California, who generated a model based on communication, focusing specifically on narrative and history. It is circular because she considers that the conflict does not have a specific beginning and end, but instead looks at the causality of the problem; that is, the causes, factors and results that occur during the process feed off each other. It is narrative because it considers the exchange of information between the parties to build a less rigid story with respect to the initial positions.

	<p>This model is focused both on strengthening relationships and reaching an agreement, although this is not the main objective.</p> <p>Four essential elements of the method allow it to develop.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The increase in differences. The existence of contrasts between the parties should not be hidden, staying in a state of order limits the encounter of more alternatives than those that are at first sight. 2. The legitimacy of people. The “construction of a legitimate place within the situation for each one of the people” (Gimenez Romero, 2001) provides guidelines to be able to act as an active part and recognize their capacity for action within the process. 3. Changes of meanings. Each party arrives at mediation considering their story as the only and true one, so the mediator must build an alternate story that “allows all parties to see the problem from another angle” (Suarez, 1996). 4. The creation of contexts. Keeping in mind the context and the possible changes, opportunities or threats that may occur allows giving the correct weight to cultural factors.
<p>Jacob Bercovitch Approach</p>	<p>Jacob Bercovitch considers four approaches to the origin of the literature to study mediation (Harto de Vera, 2012):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prescriptive studies, authors who suggest advice for conflict management by analyzing data and variants to find the solution, optimize resources and increase operational efficiency in real-world application. 2. Theoretical studies, experts in the field develop the general theory through the confrontation of models and hypotheses. Using problem-solving techniques, they combine research with the experimentation of this theory. 3. Studies based on Game Theory, “game theorists (who) develop mathematical models to examine how subjects would behave in conflicts under conditions of maximum rationality and knowledge” (Harto de Vera); through these studies it is possible to generate strategies that are more efficient at the time of decision making, reaching agreements and mediation in general.

	<p>4. Case studies, analysis of mediations that have already taken place to extract the most important information and continue generating lines of action in theory and practice. They seek to detail the step by step of a mediation, to study in depth the experimental and empirical applications within controlled situations, and to contrast cases to “find the formula” of efficient mediation.</p>
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Own Elaboration

1.3.4. Peculiarities of mediation

Just as the mediator has his profile, mediation, as an alternative dispute resolution tool and as a process, also has its own characteristics; these are, inherently:

- Willingness; It is necessary that both parties have the desire to consider; participate; and access a conciliatory process given by mediation. However, it is also understood that, by the same power of decision, those involved can leave the process when they consider so. It is important to know that the more voluntary, the greater the success of the conciliation, and it could be said that it is also more effective (Boqué, 2003).
- Neutrality; This power obeys much more to the guidelines that the mediator must follow, highlighting his inability to push the parties to find the expected solution, much less if the solution has conveniences for the mediator.
- Confidentiality; this is present throughout the process, in addition, it governs both the parties, as well as the mediator. According to Calcaterra (2006) “it is not enough to name confidentiality, but it must be clarified and defined with the greatest precision because it can be understood differently by the participants both in relation to its meaning and its scope”. In other words, it has to be clear; concise; and respected by all. Also, the author differentiates between what he calls “assumed confidentiality”, when the mediator can in fact communicate to one party the arguments of the other, unless the latter does not want it that way or forbids it. On the other hand, he also affirms that there can be a “restricted confidentiality”, in which nothing can be transmitted from one party to the other, unless there is something that one party requires to communicate or allows to transmit to the other through the mediator.

- The very personal character; This indicates (in a certain way) the nature of obligation that supposes in the attendance to the mediation sessions by the involved parties, closing the way to the possibility that they are replaced by a representative, however close or endorsed that this may be.

These characteristics are particular to the concept of mediation, apart from those of the mediator and even apart from the steps of the mediation process (Viana, 2011).

1.3.5. Mediation and conflict resolution in the international arena

The concept of mediation is applicable at a personal; organizational; group; and international level, whether it is between private groups located in different countries; or between two states. For the same reason, it is important to delve into the conversation around interstate mediation, since the vast complexity of state action and the international scenario make the mediation process difficult. This is how the interest arises in the international conversation, to apply mediation directly to its processes, in order to cease existing conflicts and prevent future ones, avoiding their unnecessary increase.

According to diplomat Angel Carrascal Gutiérrez (2011), "in the international sphere, mediation is a diplomatic model of dispute settlement," the most diplomatic way to avoid conflict escalation. Mediation is made up of actors such as the parties involved in the confrontation, and the neutral third party who acts as mediator, which can be an individual or a group of individuals. Likewise, mediation follows a general scheme of actions or steps, which, although they may vary depending on the type of conflict, respond to the general characteristics of mediation. In addition, mediation has different application models, and several authors have proclaimed themselves in this regard. All these features and more will be explained throughout this chapter, beginning with a brief history of mediation on the international scene.

1.3.5.1. Brief history of international mediation

The initial concept of mediation has been used at different levels of society, but its insertion at the international level has a fairly new starting point. In the international arena, three historical moments respond to the existence of mediation in the coexistence of countries

and their means to resolve conflicts peacefully. The first of these occurs in the framework of the Peace Conferences in The Hague between 1899 and 1903, in which alternative methods of conflict resolution at the international level are positivized for the first time. The second moment corresponds to the formation of the League of Nations in 1919, as a result of what occurred during the First World War; it was an intergovernmental organization that attempted to bring countries together to codify certain guidelines in order to avoid a warlike situation similar to what occurred between 1913 and 1919, introducing limitations on the use of force by states as one of its main objectives. According to Bercovitch and Zartman, cited by Richmond (2018), during the I World War, mediation was theorized as a high-level, short-term process that sought to establish a fragile strategic balance of power between states and their elite leaders using a combination of diplomacy; status; and open power. The third moment occurs for the sake of the creation of the United Nations Organization (UN), as a result of the Second World War, in which “the universal prohibition of the use of force is established for the first time and its main objective is international peacekeeping” (Betancur, 2013).

It is from these three milestones in the history of international relations and alternative means for peace that the codification of the MASC in different Summits and Treaties begins to be taken into account to a great extent, we can thus mention some of the documents that specifically speak of mediation, such as: the First Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions signed in August 1949; the UN Charter, specifically art. 33; the Protocol of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration of the Organization of African Unity given in July 1964 (arts. 20 and 21); the Treaties on maintenance and restoration of peace, prevention of controversies, good offices and mediation; the American Treaty on Peaceful Settlement, contained in the Pact of Bogotá; among others (Pardo, 1991).

When talking about its philosophical origin, it can be said that the mediation process was born in first instance from the fall of the Roman Empire, according to the French political scientist Jean-Grégoire Hiette in his doctoral thesis in 1937, as cited Laura Betancur (2013), a time that coincides with the distribution of nations, territories, and other geographical limits. However, this term began to be misrepresented and began to be used to describe any form of resolution by any third party within a meeting, often issuing solutions that had the characteristic of being mandatory. In later centuries of the feudal period, it was considered that the great mediator should be the papal figure, regardless of the fact that the dictated solutions resulted

from his "moral and political authority, which made it impossible to reject in practice, and for this reason it resembled more a compulsory arbitration than a mediation" (ibid).

Later, the thought of "Realpolitik" occurs thanks to the German theorists of the time of Bismarck. The concept states that the politics of society is given by nothing more and nothing less than power relations (Richmond, 2018). It also points out that there is a strong relationship with the idea of representation, establishing that it can be understood by seeing it through three lenses that, although different, come together in praxis. The first way to understand representation is from the perspective of political science, which is when we materialize the idea in social leaders who put the will of their communities into practice. The second way comes from technical science, and tells us that representation is what an object means to the person who analyzes it. And the third, which is a much more current perspective and is linked to the art of practice, is the one that explains and includes those channels where the ideas of people or social groups can be manifested, and the ways in which the message is conveyed is effective (Ibid). So, in this part of the study of power relations and the representativeness of the norm, is when the ability of international actors to supply all the edges of "representation" begins to be questioned, guaranteeing peace within their territories as well as in the global arena. From here arise the first forms that will give life to the norm and profile of mediation and the mediator (Latour, 2005) and the importance that the representativeness they exercise must be as representative as possible, maintaining neutrality with the outside.

It would be later, in The Hague Conferences, the phase where it is proposed to establish guidelines to generalize peace. However, this meeting took place with the situational barriers typical of the time. Specifically, the countries that participated in the meeting share both geographical and cultural characteristics, being the majority the most economically and politically dominant nations, creating what is sustained as a Euro-centrist vision in mediation (Betancur Restrepo, 2013). This, in turn, has caused disagreements that have persisted to the present day, such as the fact that at first instance, conflicts in countries of the global south are mediated by representatives of the north, often not resolving the problem from its structural root and in its own cultural and political context, allowing an escalation between the antagonist groups in the future, either within the same problem or even giving way to other smaller-scale conflicts. Although it is true that this has been one of the greatest obstacles in the practice of mediation, it has been seen that over the years this gap has been reduced, creating a more precise network of representation, especially for those countries that they were previously

considered to be from the global periphery (Becker Lorca, 2012). For instance, in 2014 the General Assembly of the United Nations began to vigorously promote the deepening of the relationship between mediation and civil society actors, in order to normalize its use and eliminate the traces of its historical partiality, precisely by managing to be seen as feasible for conventional cases in everyday life. However, it is a process that is still under daily construction (International Court of Justice, s.f.).

Returning to the timeline, the Spanish Civil War of 1937 can also be analyzed, since many authors agree that this event was the prelude to World War II, which would change the international dynamics of both, conflict and, peace, for the entire 20th and 21st century. In this context, 12 countries, including those with the greatest hegemonic concentration, such as Great Britain, Italy, France, and the Soviet Union, among others, organized themselves to form the Non-Intervention Committee, whose goal was to avoid providing aid to either side (local representations of right and left) and exacerbate the conflict. Although this agreement was not fulfilled by some countries, such as Italy or the Soviet Union, who contributed military troops, weapons and war equipment., during the two years of the conflict, countries like France, Great Britain, or the Vatican itself, sought to implement mediation to appease the situation and ensure peace at the international level; however, the individual interests of the countries truncated the various attempts to intervene in the Spanish conflict (Marquina, 2006).

With the strategic aim of going hand in hand with the new foreign policies that were being established in the United States and other Western European nations, as Oliver P. Richmond (2018) states, it is at the time of the Cold War, when Mediation is beginning to be used continuously by the great world powers, both in international conferences, as well as in the exercise of power by larger nations over smaller nations. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 20th century and even more so, at the beginning of the 21st century, mediation also began to be implemented by international non-governmental organizations and civil groups for various causes, some examples that could be cited are the case of the agreement of Naivasha, signed in 2005 and which in general terms proposes peace between the Sudan People's Liberation Army and the country's government. Or the case of Egypt and Israel during the 1970s, where mediation helped resolve a case of territorial sovereignty. Equally, the Cyprus case can be considered, where mediation was implemented to defeat nationalist thoughts and the terrorist samples generated by them. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it was used to promote an incipient liberal current with pacifist overtones, very much on the rise in post-Cold

War nations. In Northern Ireland, mediation played a fundamental role in the construction of its internal policy after its definitive separation, since a new, more comprehensive regulation was proposed that allowed the development of a new and less territorial system of government and sovereignty (ibid).

Thanks to this record we can see the evolution of the practice of mediation as a tool that has served to achieve conflict resolution in a peaceful manner at the international level and that has ensured a secure future (or “culture of peace”, as it will be analyzed later) of the parties involved in the act, or having set the precedents for it. In addition, it has made it possible to make conflicts visible with due consideration and as neutral as possible from the perspective of each party involved, trying to combat the biases of hegemony and Eurocentrism (Foucault, 1972).

In addition, blocks of great social and political influence have implemented their practice and regulation, similar to the European Union, which established a conglomerate that integrates diplomacy with the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, giving way to the European External Action Service (EEAS), where the creation of a framework of references is proposed to prevent conflicts as well as to support international mediation (European Union External Action Service, 2019).

1.4. The UN and Peace Culture

1.4.1. Background

After what the World War II implied for history, a series of meetings began and culminated in the creation of the UN, whose aims and principles sought to reduce or eliminate the probability of subjecting future generations to life in the midst of war. One of the actions that are part of this purpose is international cooperation to provide an international support network in economic; social; cultural; and/or humanitarian terms; as well as the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for everyone without distinctions. Within the actions of the UN during the 20th century, it begins a path to what will be known as the Culture of Peace.

1.4.1.1. Culture of Peace

When talking about conflict and how to cope with it and/or solve it, a term that should be taken into consideration is “peace”. RAE (2021) has eight different definitions for said term. Yet, for purposes of the topic discussed, it will be taken into consideration the three most appropriate: “Situation in which there is no armed struggle in a country or between countries”; “Relationship of harmony between people, without confrontations or conflicts”; and “Agreement reached between nations ending a war.” In general terms, peace occurs in the absence of conflict, in which the conflict can develop in any of its representations; ideological oppositions; power confrontations; encounter of force; etc. Thus, in order to deal with the scenarios that destabilize the international scene and coexistence between countries, the United Nations Organization calls for the birth of the term ‘Culture of Peace.

The epistemological foundations of the project for Peace focus on converting the anthropological notion of peace into a theoretical conception, (Calderón, 2019), giving way to three stages that converted the notions:

Table 6: Peace stages

First stage:	Negative peace and scientific studies for war.
Second stage:	Positive peace, studies on development cooperation, disarmament and refugees.
Third stage:	Cultural peace and Culture of Peace, new cultures versus new realities.

Tomado de Calderón (2019)

The Culture of Peace emerges in the regular sessions held by the UN with all its members, specifically in the program of the fifty-second session of the General Assembly, brought to the table by the Permanent Representatives of Bangladesh, Costa Rica, Ivory Coast, El Salvador, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Namibia, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, Senegal, and Venezuela. Nonetheless, the request to consider it an additional topic to the session has a historical background.

An important starting point is the official drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 after witnessing the consequences of not considering human integrity

in wars. In 1974 a document of the United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) was born, it alludes to a path towards a paradigm shift through education, in which they write the recommendation “Education for International Understanding; Cooperation, and Peace, and Education related to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms”. Four years later, in 1978, the United Nations General Assembly issued a Declaration on the Preparation of Societies to Live in Peace; and in 1984 a Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Live in Peace.

For its part, under the sight of the UNESCO, the International Congress “Peace in the Minds of Men” was organized in 1989 in Ivory Coast, where the concept of a culture of peace emerged for the first time in a positive way. From there, this term acquires importance in the international arena, “gradually acquiring the characteristics of a world movement” (General Assembly, 1997). In 1992, the UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, published the document “An Agenda for Peace”; and that same year, the Executive Council of UNESCO opens for debate an operational program for the promotion of the culture of peace, with declarations such as “since conflicts are inevitable, what matters is how to manage them”.

In mid-February 1994, the General Director of UNESCO created the Unit for the Culture of Peace Program, whose functions are coordinating the improvement of methodologies for strengthening peace, development of regional programs, with an integrated approach for the different UNESCO units; working with the UN and NGOs to create an interdisciplinary and multidimensional system (Fisas, 1998). On December 22, 1995, resolution 50/173, entitled “United Nations Decade for Education in the Sphere of Human Rights: Towards a Culture of Peace”, was approved, which referred to the interdisciplinary project approved in resolution 5.3 by the General Conference of UNESCO, “Towards a culture of peace”, approved the same year. (General Assembly, 1997/General Assembly 1996). Finally, on December 12, 1996, resolution 51/101 was issued, called “Culture of Peace”, which highlights the UN’s headlines related to peace programs that will lead to the creation of declarations and actions among a culture of peace, related to the importance of education thanks to the participation of the Director-General of UNESCO.

All these historical facts in the fulfillment of the sessions of the UN, arrive at July 31, 1997, date in which the 12 countries mentioned in the beginning, sign a letter for the inclusion of an additional topic to the period of sessions, entitled “Towards a Culture of Peace”.

The letter mentions that “the promotion of a culture of peace is an objective that is becoming increasingly important for the international community” (General Assembly, 1997) and that “the evolution of the concept has inspired the carrying out of activities... with which the culture of peace is gradually acquiring the characteristics of a world movement” (Ibid).

From these historical events within the UN headquarters, the organization continues to change the culture of war and violence to one of peace. The instruments approved under its auspices reflect the consolidation of the new objectives based on values of harmony in the international community. The logic behind the movement is based on the fact that a world of peace is not achieved by simply avoiding wars and violence, but is built around the educational, social, psychological, and civic training of all individuals. In hence, such behavior takes root in the cultural heritage of nations, and manifest itself in democracy, justice and development through the transformation of conflicts into cooperation processes.

The elements that characterize a culture of peace are non-violence and respect for human rights; respect and solidarity among all peoples and dialogue among cultures; the link between peace and democratic participation and sustainable human development; the free dissemination of information and knowledge; contribution to conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding, and equality between men and women, all supported by projects in which people actively participate in transforming their values, attitudes and behaviors. (General Assembly, 1997).

In 1997, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) proclaimed the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace. Later, in November 1998, the period between 2001 and 2010 was proclaimed as the "International Decade for a culture of peace and non-violence for the children of the world" to be carried out through a comprehensive action program between the local, the national, the regional and the international among all the member states, with the participation of organisms; non-governmental organizations, institutions, and religious groups (General Assembly, 1998). In October 1999, a “Declaration on a Culture of Peace” was finally presented to guide the actions of governments; organizations; and civil society, which has 9 articles. As well as the Action Program on a Culture of Peace is presented.

1.4.1.1.1. Bercovitch-based forms of United Nations mediation

Based on the proposal to promote a Culture of Peace and the special emphasis of the UN on the resolution of peaceful conflicts, it begins to emphasize the use of mediation as one of the most appropriate; simple; and adaptive methods to the different situations that may rise. In conjunction with the theory coined by Bercovitch, the organization generates a list of different forms of mediation that experts can use when mediating a conflict between nations.

- A. Individual external mediators:** There is a list of international experts valued by the international community, who are summoned according to the field of work to which they apply and for what they are needed, by local, national, and international organizations that are under the protection of the UN. These are mobilized to reach the place of mediation and at the end they return to their country, since they do not belong to any of the nations in conflict, respecting the principle of mediation neutrality.

- B. Internal mediators:** They are trained by the UN or by the UNDP. Their experience has been developed at the local level and they have managed to earn the respect of those who invite them to be part of the mediation of the conflict. The UN considers their background; the involvement they have in the issues that have occurred within their community; and the respect that this has generated within it in order to call for their presence in the mediation process.

- C. State mediators:** Their involvement usually occurs in conflicts that are difficult to resolve in which there are interests related to the result of the mediation. This class of mediators are usually the most funded. Regardless of the trajectory that mediation has within the states (in some it is longer than in others), these -the states- are “the most active mediators in international affairs... because they play a very important role as mediators, supporters and members of groups of friends of mediation”. (United Nations, June 25, 2012, p. 16).

- D. Organizational and institutional mediators:** When the state mediators fail to resolve the conflict, organizations such as the Carter Center, the Red Cross, and other humanitarian and civic groups are used; the same ones that are affiliated with the United Nations: UNDP, the World Bank, and others. The UN seeks its participation in conflicts

that have taken on a very high level of complexity and the time of said conflict has been prolonged too long.

E. United Nations Reserve Mediators: It is a group of eight senior expert members whose functions or missions are given in the short term, and also involve carrying out field work, supporting UN personnel and partners working in peacebuilding, conflict prevention, and mediation. They specialize in providing technical advice, agenda setting, design of mediation facilitation procedures, and such on. These mediators are constantly working, because if they are not in the field, they are in "standby mode" which implies constant research work for the design of processes, pedagogical training of their knowledge and preparation workshops and updating of the panorama. Their position implies being always at the forefront in matters of mediation, conflicts, methods of action, and security procedures. They are vital for the resolution of conflicts under the auspices of the UN, and "the demand for this rapid response service between 2008 and 2011, they were deployed on more than 100 occasions" (United Nations, 25 June 2012, pp. 9-10).

F. Group of friends in mediation: Formed in September 2010, it promotes the use of mediation for the peaceful settlement of disputes. These highlight the importance of women's participation in mediation and each of the parties that implies. In this group there are 43 member states and it is chaired by Turkey and Finland. It works at the ministerial level and focuses its activity on promoting the need and usefulness of mediation in the face of a conflict and each of its stages, mainly seeking the prevention of the same, aims to carry out mediation activities between the different main actors on the international scene; provide a space of knowledge regarding mediation and the instruments to have said knowledge at hand; expand the existing network of mediators; generate a mediation conduct manual respecting the nature of each conflict; promote the active participation of women in these processes; among others (Group of friends of mediation, s.f.).

G. Internal mediation: In general, they are politicians, leaders of governments or religious groups, or other people with civic convictions who have worked to gain the trust and respect of the community. This mediation has proven to be effective in terms of time and costs, the process is simple and the intervention can be instant. The

contradiction of belonging to one of the parties is overshadowed by the way in which the mediator is involved in the conflict, being an active part of it, he has greater knowledge about the way in which it has been unfolding and can take concrete actions and more, according to the cultural circumstance that surrounds the conflict.

1.4.1.1.2. Prevention of international conflicts

The United Nations Organization, better known as the UN, is an international organization founded after World War II, in 1945 by an initial group of 51 countries committed to finding a way to prevent that the atrocities committed in the most violent century repeat later on. Due to the existence of sovereignty of the states, this organization created a system in which it can act as a regulatory body for the states through international instruments that derive from a main document, the founding Charter of the United Nations, which establishes guidelines on how states must act and how the Organization can supervise them.

The Charter becomes official on June 26, 1945 at the end of the UN Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, California, with the signatures of 50 participating States. The Charter entered into force on October 24 of the same year. The Charter was based on the concept of peace and security that began to be devised in the Atlantic Charter of 1941, in which Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, and Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, pointed out “some principles on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world”, referring to “establishing a general, comprehensive and permanent security system”. On January 1, 1942, 26 States (that were at war with the Tripartite axis: Germany, Italy, and Japan) subscribed that document which was called the “Declaration of the United Nations”, using the term coined by Roosevelt: United Nations. Later, 21 more states joined. When preparations for the San Francisco Conference began, only states that signed the Declaration were invited (United Nations, 2022).

Thanks to the binding nature of the international treaty of the founding Charter, the Organization can make decisions on a wide variety of problems that occur in the interaction of States. The Charter includes the principles that dictate international relations, ranging from state sovereignty to the prohibition of the use of force. In general, it advocates for the stability of the international system in favor of the security of states. Since its founding, the mission and work of the UN have been guided by the purposes and principles contained in its founding Charter, which has been amended three times in 1963, 1965, and 1973.

The document consists of 29 Chapters, with 111 Articles, which refer to topics such as its Purposes, the Members, its organs, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the peaceful settlement of disputes, Regional Agreements, International Cooperation, Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, and other provisions. All topics are important, but the most relevant Article for the purposes of this study is Art. 33, which speaks of the peaceful resolution of Controversies. Article 33 in its content establishes the following:

1. The parties to a dispute, the continuation of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall seek to find a solution to it, first of all, through negotiation, investigation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, settlement legal proceedings, recourse to regional bodies or agreements, or other peaceful means of their choice.

2. The Security Council, if it deems it necessary, will urge the parties to settle their disputes by said means.

Article 33 of the Charter states that in the face of any dispute that may endanger the security of states and the stability of peace, a solution will be sought beginning with any of the peaceful means of conflict resolution such as mediation, negotiation, arbitration, or whatever is available around the regional agreements of the parties in conflict. As well as mentioning that the Security Council can intervene in favor of promoting the use of said tools to the States in conflict, having provisions of the guidelines under which the Security Council can make this type of suggestion.

The Assembly is constantly vigilant about what it means to keep the use of alternative methods updated and how the states should be aware of this; thus, at the 18th session of the General Assembly, for instance, it was approved a resolution in which the investigation was considered one of the methods of peaceful settlement and the need to develop and strengthen these methods. For its part, the Security Council has approved several resolutions in which it urges States to prioritize the use of said means, making recommendations to resume negotiations, hold new ones, cooperate with designated and/or available mediators through the Organization and authorization of the Council, willingness to cooperate to achieve results through these instruments, etc.

The intention of creating a system to deal with conflicts in an alternative way has prevention as an essential component, for which the Organization is constantly on alert and closely follows every event that occurs in the world in order to be able to recognize any type of threat that may come. Also, it can give the stability of international peace and security, being able to take actions that prevent the emergence of conflicts. The Secretary-General has a team of special envoys and representatives who work for mediation and preventive diplomacy around the world, in collaboration with regional organizations. In conflictive places, those most prone to conflict, the mere presence of an envoy keeps the situation stable, avoiding the escalation of tensions. Along with preventive diplomacy, there is also preventive disarmament, tasks that complement each other, being of vital importance in areas prone to conflict, reducing the number of small arms circulating in these areas. Countries such as El Salvador, Sierra Leone, Liberia and others have managed to demobilize combat forces and destroy weapons as part of agreements for peace in the area, or at least the reduction of violence (United Nations, 2022).

1.4.1.1.3. Mediation peacekeeping missions

UN peacekeeping operations are central among the instruments for peace within the international community. The first mission established by the Organization took place under the deployment of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) by the Security Council in 1948. This was done in the Middle East, and as its name says, it was in charge of supervising the Armistice between Israel and the countries adjoining its borders. Since then, the UN has deployed around 70 missions in different countries. The operations have evolved over the years to adapt to the needs of the conflicts in which they have been present, and to the political landscape of each one. Because its existence began in the middle of the Cold War, the missions were initially limited to maintaining a ceasefire and stabilizing the escalation of the conflict until political solutions were found. Starting in the 1990s, due to the end Cold War, the missions were able to take their actions one step further and direct the conflicts towards negotiated agreements, being able to make use of mediation and other means supported by the Organization. Therefore, missions of this type were given in countries such as Cambodia, El Salvador, Burundi, and towards the end of the century, countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, East Timor, or Kosovo. Currently there are missions deployed in Ivory Coast, Haiti, and Mali (United Nations, 2022).

The UN is managed under four terms to carry out the so-called "peacekeeping missions" which are peacekeeping, peacemaking, peacebuilding, and peace enforcement. One is relevant to the topic studied in this work, which is Peacemaking. Peacemaking, in UN terms (United Nations, 2022), "generally includes measures to address ongoing conflicts and usually involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated settlement". This refers to the passage from a state of war to a state of peace, commonly through voluntary action on the part of those involved to reach an agreement.

1.4.1.1.4. Mediation peacekeeping missions

Peacebuilding refers to the efforts of countries and their respective regions to transition from war to peace and reduce as far as possible the emergence of new conflicts or the escalation of existing ones, seeking to strengthen the capacity of management of internal conflicts and sustainable development, with the objective of focusing the efforts of the population in developing as countries. This is why the effort required is not carried out only by the Organization, but by other actors in the panorama, starting with the States, the different international organizations, and even entities such as the World Bank, NGOs, and citizen groups. An example of interstate peacebuilding has been the Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The General Assembly and the Security Council presented provisions to establish a Peacebuilding Commission, as well as the creation of a Peacebuilding Fund and a Peacebuilding Support Office (United Nations, 2022).

Chapter II: The conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh region: background, participants and current situation

2.1. Brief history and background

Karabakh is a region located in the South Caucasus, in southwestern Azerbaijan, bordering on the border with Armenia. Kara comes from Turkish and means "black", while baj in Persian is "garden", this name would come from the Persian occupation of the area that existed between the 13th and 18th centuries. Nagorno, on the other hand, comes from the Russian nagorny which means "mountainous", and is used to name the upper area of Karabakh. His first name was Artsakh, a name of clearly Armenian etymology, in reference to the tenth largest province of the former Kingdom of Armenia, but which in the future would have both political and geographical weight and would continue to be used by a large portion of the population. Armenia with more patriotism and in a symbolic way, in order to maintain its origins. Regarding its geographical panorama, it can be said that the region has an extension of 4,400 km², its terrain is mostly sinuous and rocky, being mainly mountainous. It has a majority Armenian population, of Christian religion, despite being in Azeri lands, who practice Islam. It belongs de jure to the Republic of Azerbaijan, but is de facto controlled by the separatist regime of Artsakh, mostly known as Nagorno-Karabakh. Its territory comprises about 11,500 km², a portion of territory larger than the Nagorno-Karabakh area, and has about 150,000 inhabitants; its capital is the city of Stepanakert (Chumbe, 2020).

Table 7: Ethnical groups in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh

Azerbaijan	1989	Nagorno-Karabaj	1988
Azerbaijans	82,7%	Armenians	75%
Armenians	5,5%	Minority (Azerbaijans, Russians, Kurds)	25%

The numbers are an uncertain estimate, but they give an idea of what Nagorno-Karabakh was like before the start of the war.

Tomado de Unrecognized peace in unrecognized states (Livingstone, 2020)

The Nagorno-Karabakh region, translated into English, is popularly known as Upper Karabakh, and the oldest documented ethnic group to populate the area was the Urartian. The

disappeared Urartu was consolidated in the 9th century B.C. as the Kingdom of Armenia, although their presence had been going on since before, and was preserved because they became tributaries of the Persians (Chumbe, 2020). Tigranes II the Great, king of that state, would find the province of Artsakh, which was part of the Kingdom of Armenia before its disintegration in the 5th century A.D., until 428 B.C., when the Kingdom was divided between the Byzantines and the Persians. Later, bearing the same name, it would become an emirate until the 9th century, and by the 10th century, the kingdom of Artsakh would be founded, which would maintain autonomy from the Seljuks, Mongols, and Persians by becoming the principality of Kachen. Along with this, the Seljuks arrived in the region as direct predecessors of the modern Turks, and therefore of the Azeris, although their objective at the time was Asia Minor, so their presence in the Caucasus was fleeting. The powers that later entered the area were never interested in the mountain geography of Nagorno-Karabakh, so it remained an Armenian stronghold, maintaining its religion and language regardless of its lack of complete autonomy, due to several Armenians who were expelled from Armenia by the powers and took refuge in this area (Torres, 2011). In the mid-1500s, the Principality of Kachen was divided among five meliks or Armenian princes, known as the five principalities of Nagorno, or Upper Karabakh – it should be mentioned that by then that name was already used to refer to the area of higher altitude of the region-, that would be the last iota of an independent Armenia (Chumbe, 2020). By the early 1600s, the Safavids retake control of Karabakh and annex it as part of the Karabakh khanate, considered Muslim by profession, which would later pass into the hands of the Persian Empire (what is now known as Iran) until the signing of the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813, through which it became part of the Russian Empire along with regions such as Dagestan, the eastern part of Georgia, a large percentage of Azerbaijan and parts of northern Iran (Torres, 2011). The large territory that Russia now governed was baptized as the Elizabetopol Governorate, made up of 60% Azeris and 33% Armenians, causing considerable mobilization of both ethnic groups throughout the territory.

The dispute takes place in the context of the Soviet regime, its origins can be located chronologically in 1918, when Armenia and Azerbaijan became independent (momentarily) from Russia and began to dispute the possession of Nagorno-Karabakh. After several clashes, the region continues to call itself independent under the name of the Republic of Artsakh, although it does not receive recognition from the international community and in practice is subject to the Armenian government.

2.1.1. Historical account of the parties and the conflict

Due to the historical complexity that the Caucasus represents because of its geographical location and its geo-economic importance for the powers of Europe, Asia and Africa, it is important to retrace the steps of the nations in dispute to understand the reason for the conflict. Thus, a short review will be presented of the most important milestones in the history of the two nations and the beginning of the conflict. It is easy to notice the points where the history of Armenians and Azeris is intertwined and complicated, so reviewing the beginning of the conflict is a reminder of what was already seen to come from the actions of the powers that handled the Caucasus at the time.

2.1.1.1. Armenian Background

Armenia is a landlocked country located between Europe and Asia, in the South Caucasus, bounded by Georgia to the north, Iran to the south, Turkey to the west and Azerbaijan to the east. Armenia was populated since prehistoric times, since there are archaeological indications of being one of the first areas of civilization settlements, the Armenians were one of the original peoples of Mesopotamia, and were born from the fusion of "ancient Neolithic and Middle Age cultures of the Bronze era from the South Caucasus with native peoples of Anatolia and Indo-Europeans" (Armenian Center of the Argentine Republic, 2019). Its central and strategic location has been the reason for several invasions and disputes with other conquering peoples, the Armenian people have shown great resistance to maintain their identity to the present, since the current territory would represent barely a tenth of what has been populated by Armenians throughout history (Ibid.). It was the first country in the world to adopt Christianity as its official religion.

Graphic 2: Ubicación de Armenia



Image taken from Dreamstime

Next, it is presented a brief chronological summary of the Armenian history to understand its phases and ideology regarding the conflict.

Table 8: Armenian Chronological Tour

Years	Denomination - Directed by	Description
880 B.C. - 590 B.C.	Urartu Kingdom	Rival state of Assyria, made up of tribes. The current Armenian capital, Yerevan, was founded. It fell to the Medes.
590 B.C. - 190 B.C.	Ancient Armenian Kingdom Lervandian dynasty Persian and Seleucid domination	The Lervandian dynasty, the first to rule the nascent Old Armenian Kingdom. Capital, Armavir. Strongly influenced by Hellenic culture. At the time the Persians dominated them, and then the Seleucids.
190 B.C. - 55 B.C.	Great Armenian Kingdom Artaxid dynasty	They became independent from the Seleucids at the time of their fall to the Romans. King Ardashes I found the GRA, uniting most of the Armenian-speaking regions.

		<p>King Dikrán II annexes several neighboring regions creating a great Empire. Borders: Mediterranean Sea to the south, Black Sea to the north, and Caspian Sea to the east.</p> <p>In 66 BC Dikrán is defeated by the Romans and is forced to abandon his conquests, he continues as king of Armenia as an ally of the Romans.</p>
55 B.C. - 53 A.C.	Roman and Persian domination	<p>At the death of Dikrán, Armenia is in the midst of the Roman and Persian campaigns to conquer the territory. Armenia passed into the hands of Rome, but retained its autonomy.</p> <p>Time of anarchy, internal conflicts and foreign interventions.</p>
53 - 654	Arsacid dynasty Drtad I	<p>In 301 it becomes the first nation to adopt Christianity as the official religion.</p> <p>In 405 the Armenian alphabet is created, the Golden Age of Armenian literature.</p> <p>In 387 it is divided into Western Armenia (under Roman rule), and Eastern Armenia (under Persian rule).</p>
654 - 886	Arab domination	<p>In the 7th century the Arabs conquered the Persian Empire, and came to dominate Eastern Armenia in 654. The Western part was later occupied.</p> <p>The Armenians managed to maintain their freedom of worship.</p>
886 - 1045	Bagratid dynasty	<p>Armenia regains its independence from the Arab caliphate. Ashot Pakraduní proclaimed king of Armenia, the highest point of political, social and cultural development.</p> <p>Metropolis capital, Ani.</p> <p>Recognized architecture, dome placement techniques, would influence European styles.</p> <p>The Byzantine Empire annexes Armenia in 1045, and in 1061 the Seleucids from Central Asia conquer and destroy Ani.</p>
1078 - 1375	Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia Rupenian dynasty	<p>After the fall of Pakraduni, Armenian princes fled to Cilicia, located northeast of the Mediterranean Sea, on the Anatolian peninsula, with a majority Armenian population at the time.</p>

	Zakarida Armenia	<p>In 1708, Prince Rupen founds the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia there. Important soil for the European Christian Crusades on the way to Jerusalem. The cultural influence and the fusion with it were strong at the time.</p> <p>In the early 1100s, the Zakarians established a semi-independent Armenian principality in Byzantine Armenia, when the decline of the Seleucids was in full swing.</p> <p>The Mongols conquered Zakarid Armenia in 1230, and further invasions by Central Asian tribes took place until 1400. In the 15th century, the Armenian empire was divided between the Ottoman and Persian Empires.</p> <p>The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia fell to the invasion and destruction of the Egyptian Mamluks in 1375.</p>
Siglo XV – Siglo XIX	Ottoman Armenia and Eastern Armenia	<p>The part dominated by the Ottomans was known as Eastern Armenia, the part of the Persians was Western Armenia. However, the total territory was disputed several times between the two empires due to its strategic importance. Yerevan was under different hands about fourteen times in 200 years.</p> <p>In 1828 Eastern Armenia passed into the hands of the Russian Empire, contact with Russian culture allowed Armenia to be reborn in the 19th century.</p> <p>Ottoman Armenians were considered second-class citizens, but in 1863 the Ottoman government recognized a special Armenian constitution. However, this was recognized only in Constantinople, outside of which the treatment was inhuman. Then the Armenian National Liberation Movement arises in search of an Armenian state independent of any foreign empire or nation. The Ottoman Empire strongly repressed these mobilizations. During the rule of Sultan Hamid there were massacres of around 300,000 Armenians in 1894 and 1896.</p>

1915 - 1923	Armenian Genocide	<p>1908, The "Young Turks" overthrew Hamid. The extreme ultranationalist wing took the most influence.</p> <p>On April 24, 1915, taking advantage of the atmosphere of World War I, hundreds of leaders and intellectuals of Armenian nationality were executed in Constantinople.</p> <p>In Eastern Anatolia, all Armenian men of legal age were recruited. The deportation of women and children to the Syrian desert (Der-el-Zor) was provoked.</p> <p>An estimated 1.5 million Armenians were killed.</p> <p>The survivors fled to neighboring countries in search of refuge, and from there emigrated to different parts of the world.</p> <p>By 1923, Western Armenia had been stripped of its people and occupied and incorporated as part of the nascent Republic of Turkey.</p>
1918 - 1920	First Armenian Republic	<p>The Armenian territories were a front of World War I due to the confrontation between Turkey (Ottoman Empire) as an ally of Germany and the Allies that included Russia.</p> <p>The Russian army successfully occupied several Armenian provinces on the Ottoman side and created the “Military Governorate of Turkish Armenia”, where many survivors of the genocide returned.</p> <p>In 1917 the Russian civil war begins and Russia withdraws from the World War, having to concession the reconquered Armenian territories, as well as two other provinces of Eastern Armenia.</p> <p>On May 28, 1918, the Armenians defeated Turkish troops seeking the invasion of Yerevan, keeping the territories they had left, saving them from annihilation and being able to restore the Armenian State.</p> <p>The First Armenian Republic lasted only from 1918 to 1920, as it was incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.</p>

1920 - 1991	Soviet Armenia	<p>Armenia had a considerable amount of advancement in science, industry, art, and culture.</p> <p>At the same time, there was a growth in poverty and misery, and a caste of privileges and corruption that continues to this day.</p> <p>In the midst of the Russian Soviet, the arbitrary concession of Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan is made.</p> <p>After the dissolution of the USSR, the war between Armenians and Azeris was provoked, which would continue until the ceasefire of 1994.</p>
1991 - 2019	Current Armenian Republic	<p>On September 21, 1991, Armenia proclaimed itself an independent Republic of the Soviet Union, which remains until today.</p>

Own elaboration

Source: Armenian Center of the Argentine Republic, 2019

2.1.1.2. Azerbaijan background

The Republic of Azerbaijan is located between Eastern Europe and Western Asia, occupying the largest territory in the Caucasus region. It borders Russia to the north, the Caspian Sea to the east, Georgia to the northeast, Armenia to the west, and Iran to the south. Its capital is Baku, and its official language is Azerbaijani.

Graphic 3: Azerbaijan geographic location



Image taken from rowanwindwhistler

Their cultural heritage is very old, in the Fizuli district, the Azykh cave is the site of one of the oldest proto-human dwellings in Eurasia, the remains proved to be from a Stone Age culture from two million years ago. The Sumerians and Elamites reached the Caucasus area through Azerbaijan, and the Cimmerians and Scythians settled in the 8th century B.C. in the territory of the kingdom of Mannai, present-day Azerbaijan. Around 550 B.C. the region was conquered by the Achaemenid Persians and Zoroastrianism⁸ spread in Azerbaijan; later these were defeated by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. (Alakbarov, 2001). Caucasian Albanians established their kingdom in the area in the 1st century B.C. and they were independent until the Sassanids (second Persian empire) made it a vassal state in 252 A.D. this lasted until the Muslim Abbasid Arabs defeated them in 642 A.D. (ibid). After the fall of the Arab Caliphate, several semi-independent states were formed, after that, in the 9th century, the Selucid Turks who conquered the area laid the ethnic foundations of contemporary Azerbaijan. After the Mongol-Tatar invasions that occurred between the 13th and 14th centuries, the first State with the name of Azerbaijan was proclaimed in July 1501, when the founder of the Safavid dynasty was crowned the Shah of Azerbaijan (New World Encyclopedia, 2011).

Between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a period of feudal fragmentation consisting of independent khanates. In 1813, Azerbaijan passed into Russian hands through the Treaty of Gulistan which ended the Perso-Russian War. In the mid-19th century, oil was discovered in the city of Baku, and the world's first oil pipeline was dug, which

⁸ Zoroastrianism is a monotheistic religion that worships Ahura Mazda, the sole creator of everything; and follows the teachings of the prophet Zarathustra.

supplied almost half of the oil used in the world in the mid-20th century (BBC News, 2020). When the Russian Empire fell during World War I, Azerbaijan was part of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federal Republic together with Georgia and Armenia, which was dissolved in May 1918, thus Azerbaijan became an Independent Democratic Republic; this was the first Muslim parliamentary republic (Sloame, 2017). In 1922 the Soviet Union invades and assigns its territory to Azerbaijan, making it the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic together with Armenia and Georgia, within the newly formed Soviet Union. In 1936 the RSST is dissolved and Azerbaijan becomes a constituent part of the USSR as the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR). During the German invasions in World War II, Adolf Hitler captured the oil capital of Azerbaijan, Baku, and subdued the population, especially the oil workers, fortunately the German army was stranded in the Caucasus mountains and they were defeated in the Battle of Stalingrad, leaving the Azeris once again in Russian hands.

In 1990 the so-called Black January occurred, which was a violent suppression of Azerbaijan's desire for independence by the Soviet Union, even so, the Azeris maintained the spirit of independence that materialized in the collapse of the USSR, declaring themselves independent on August 31, 1991. The first two leaders of the new Republic were unable to handle the most important situation in the country, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, from August 1993 the political situation began to stabilize (New World Encyclopedia, 2011). In 1994, the ceasefire already mentioned in this study was signed and that same year Azerbaijan signed what is considered the "contract of the century" with an international consortium of oil companies for the exploration and exploitation of three offshore oil sites (BBC News, 2020), from that the economic success of the country would be reflected mainly in the advanced technological development that it would present over the years, a situation that would give it an advantage in the conflict with Armenia. At the end of 2002, a reform was made so that Aliyev's son, who had been in power since 1993, could take his place, which happened in 2003, and which has kept him in power until today, a situation that many would qualify as undemocratic (Ibid.). In 2020 Azerbaijan retakes parts of territory in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

2.1.1.3. Beginning of the conflict

From 1917 to 1923, the political architecture of the South Caucasus would show constant changes, due to the impact of the First World War and the beginning of the Russian

civil war. During this turbulent geopolitical moment, the Republic of Transcaucasia was formed, made up of the current Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan; but between 1918 and 1920 the ethnic differences between the three territories caused the disintegration of the Republic of Transcaucasia in three independent states, from there the disputes over the Nagorno-Karabakh region between the nations of Armenia (Armenia due to the predominantly Armenian ethnic composition of the area) and Azerbaijan (under the concept of *uti possidetis iuris*⁹, considering that the region was under the Elizabetpol Territory) began. However, since 1922 there is the consolidation of Russian control over the entire Caucasus region under the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic (TSSR).

In July 1921, the Caucasian Communist Bureau decided that Karabakh would remain part of Azerbaijan when Iosif Stalin, the then People's Commissar for Nationalities, decided to withdraw it from Armenian territory along with the Najidjevan area with the intention that the populations of the Caucasus would neutralize each other; this dictum tried to be reversed with a petition backed by a million signatures of Armenians from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, but their attempt was in vain (HADJIAN, 2001b: 300-301). Two years later, in 1923, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was created, which was divided into a mountainous part (predominantly Armenian population) from the flat part (predominantly Azerbaijani); the Armenian side did not receive any type of autonomy, a decision criticized by the Armenians against Stalin's communist bureau, since in the Azerbaijani jurisdiction there was a policy of "ethnic cleansing" of the Armenian population in the area. For their part, the Azeris accuse the Soviets of having a pro-Armenian position due to several allocations of Azerbaijani territories to Armenia in 1922, 1929 and 1969, as well as the relocation of more than 100,000 Azerbaijanis from Armenia to Azerbaijan in order to receive Armenians that arrived from abroad (Torres, 2011). In 1936 the TSSR is divided into the Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, and despite the Armenians of the upper Karabakh annexing to Armenia, the oblast ends up as an enclave in Azerbaijan; being part of Soviet territory, the conflict remains inactive -a kind of tense peace- due to the principle of "the friendship of peoples" that the Russian Soviet had imposed (Boulgourdjian, 2020), but this situation changes at the moment the Soviet Union collapses (Chumbe, 2020).

⁹ Expression from Latin that means "As it is possessed according to the law, so you will possess", and is used in the delimitation of borders of new states, as its territory has been since a certain historical fact, it will be maintained for its new limits as a state.

When the dissolution of the USSR was already anticipated in the late 1980s, a war of violent escalations and an ethnic cleansing broke out in upper Karabakh, because of, after the request by referendum of the Artsaji population to be part of Armenia, Azerbaijan initiated a pogrom¹⁰ of Armenian inhabitants of Sumgait, an Azeri city, Azerbaijan wanted the Armenian population to leave Nagorno-Karabakh, but that did not happen, the Armenians abandoned the Azeri cities where persecution was latent (Boulgourdjian, 2020). Thus began the first armed clashes in Artsakh. The conflict intensified due to the geographical limits imposed by Moscow, which did not take into account the history of each ethnic group when establishing them, as well as other states that were "newly independent from the Soviet, which defied the artificial borders imposed by the Kremlin during the Soviet era" (Carley, 1998) this gave way to minorities that formed identity groups with separatist ideas, which were often paternalized by the "mother states", supporting the cause to retake the territory.

In December 1989 the Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh high commands jointly adopted a resolution on the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, but when Azerbaijan became independent in August 1991, it revoked the autonomous status of Nagorno-Karabakh by November of the same year. The conflict begins to take on a relevant character after the official dissolution of the USSR in 1991. From this, Nagorno-Karabakh organizes a referendum without the participation of the Azeri population and they declare themselves independent on December 10, 1991, causing the response of Azerbaijan to dissolve the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh in January 1992, eliminating autonomy rights and initiating an offensive against its capital (Torres, 2011; Boulgourdjian, 2020), this marked a time of high intensity in the conflict, until the ceasefire in May 1994. During this time of conflict, Armenia intervened directly as protector of Nagorno-Karabakh, while Azerbaijan was supported by Turkey.

Due to the complicated geography of the mountainous region, the rebellious Armenians considered the ceasefire a victory for their military campaign, since the enclave maintained a sovereign status; the results of this confrontation were around 30,000 dead between civilians and soldiers. Azerbaijan was defeated, and Armenia maintained control over Nagorno-Karabakh and seven other Azerbaijani provinces surrounding the region (Livingstone, 2020).

¹⁰ Premeditated acts of violence and killing towards an ethnic, religious or other group of people.

This became one of the three most militarized “frozen” firelines in the world, so security considerations by the international community increased over the years (Ibid.).

2.1.1.3.1. Political motivations

Within the political motivations that encouraged the conflict scenario in the region, it can be seen that its history dates back to 1988, when the fall of the communist regime occurred throughout the bloc and the loss of confidence in the autonomous soviets of each locality. This is why at one point the oblast of the Nagorno-Karabakh region chose to leave the limits of Azerbaijan, in order to join Armenia, whose political configuration remained relatively stable, in addition to being home to the majority ethnic group of the enclave. The direct consequence of the political weakening resulted in the last inter-ethnic conflict of the USSR as a super power. For its part, the nascent Russia was surprised by the dispute and did not have the tools to control it, which allowed a violent escalation until 1994, when a ceasefire was signed by both parties (Pesce & O'Shee, 2008).

On the other hand, the decision to leave Azerbaijan, or its haste, also had a political-ideological background marked by the establishment of glasnost, a new policy declared by the last leader of the USSR: Mikhail Gorbachev. Glasnost can be translated from Russian as “openness”, “transparency” or “frankness” (Hewett & Winston, 2010) and it focused on the liberalization of the traditional Soviet political system; including and exploring formerly western ideas such as freedom of expression, both in the mass media, as well as freedom of social and civil protest; freedom of belief, freedom of association, among others. Although all these guarantees were intended to motivate the Soviet population to accept the reforms set forth in perestroika in a more digestible way. However, as this way of thinking gained power within the Soviet civilian body, more and more people came to share their dissatisfaction with what the government has been dictating for past decades: violent military repression, enforced disappearances, political and economic scandals, etc. As a result, discontent with the Soviet government and the desire of the population to free themselves from these leaders increases drastically.

So, if we look at this from an international context, the Upper Karabakh area sees this as an opportunity for the development of its nationalist movement, supported by Gorbachev's policies regarding glasnost. As Hadjian (2001) establishes in his historical compilation, the

session for the separation of the Soviet of the Upper Karabakh Autonomous Region was carried out based on the Constitution of the communist regime of the USSR; but despite having been regulated under the eyes of the Magna Carta of the regime, it did not expect the acceptance and urgency of the enclave's society, thus voting unanimously for the separation of Azerbaijan. Immediately afterwards, acts of protest would be unleashed throughout the area, such as "bloody clashes, huge popular rallies, genocidal acts on the part of Azerbaijan and large migratory movements". In the long term, the consequences would be the "de facto independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic".

Another important part to consider is the absence of Western European countries that bring direct influence to regional powers that come to occupy this place of power in the Caucasus, these are Turkey and Iran (apart from Russia, already mentioned enough) (Aleso, 2019); Russia maintains a historic power struggle over the territories and resources of the area with these two countries. However, an influential actor of modernity is the United States, which plays a relevant role especially within the Armenian community; however, their intentions are also diverted by the interests for the resources and the intention to secure the different oil pipelines that are concentrated in the region.

2.1.1.3.2. Economic – geoeconomic motivations

Chained with political and geopolitical motivations, economic considerations come hand in hand swiping it to geo-economic considerations. It is relevant to consider the location of these countries, of the Caucasus in general, since being in the middle of three continents, Europe, Africa and Asia, it is an important means of communication between their countries. On one hand, the eastern part of the Caucasus is the entry route for hydrocarbons from Asia that, passing through Turkey, manage to reach Europe directly without the help or intervention of Russia or Iran. The biggest competition for Russia is the Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan pipeline (BTC) (Alesso, 2019), the second largest oil pipeline in the world after Druzhba, a Russian oil pipeline that runs through Belarus and feeds Poland and Germany on one side of its fork; and through its other bifurcation it reaches Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic, being one of the main sources of arrival of this resource for Europe (MAPFRE, 2022). Other oil pipelines such as the Baku-Supsa and the South Caucasus gas pipeline also reach Western Europe through the Caucasus territory, running from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea (Alesso, 2019). This alternate network of resource supply routes (oil and gas) implies a difference in costs

compared to Russia, since it changes the form of production, transportation and logistics in general; this would generate a more direct rapprochement of Azerbaijan with Western Europe, which although has led to an effective development of Baku, it has been cut short by the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh (Ibid.). For Azerbaijan, losing control of Artsakh meant losing authority as a nation to handle situations in Europe, apart from the fact that maintaining this position and Artsakh in its territory contributes to the isolation that Azerbaijan seeks for Armenia.

2.1.1.3.3. Social Motivations

Within the main social triggers for the origin of the conflict, it has been possible to distinguish throughout the history of the region that the main catalyst is the Soviet influence; in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as other adjacent territories, they had the common goal of leaving the communist conglomerate to become sovereign states. Since the dissolution of the USSR, identity recognition and nationalism were strongly reborn in the people of the three dissolved nations, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, faced the possibility of finally becoming sovereign and autonomous States (Alesso, 2019). This identity force occurred not only within nations, but in the communities that shared their history, identity and culture, so fighting to become a single State to strengthen their presence was the most logical thing for them; an example of this apart from Nagorno-Karabakh, was the regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which maintain a non-recognition status due to their desire to not be part of Georgia, but of Russia. This feeling of Armenian nationalism was enhanced by the Armenian genocide, in which, as reviewed in history, if it had not been for Russia's strategic way of occupying the territory and then of the Armenians themselves to face the Turks, this stage of the history of the Caucasus would have ended up meaning the disappearance of Armenian people.

Seeing themselves on the brink of extinction, Armenians outside of Armenia were even more motivated to be close to their peers. For their part, the Azeris also reinforced a nationalist feeling against the Armenian attitude, this with the intention of making themselves look superior to Armenia; this feeling was reinforced after the results of the war that led to the 1994 ceasefire, since the Azeris considered that the crimes committed by the Armenians were heinous.

The perceived need to protect identity and culture from both the Armenian peoples as well as the historical legacy claimed by the Azerbaijani is so entrenched into the region

that the state formation processes are dominated by narratives of existential doom. How can a people give any concessions when they believe it is tied to their existence?

These perceptions and declarations fed the spirit of being strong nations and, if possible, reduce the existence of the other as much as possible. For example, within Nagorno-Karabakh the Armenians alleged a discriminatory policy by the Azeris to reduce the Armenian population in the region, this, added to the pogroms of Sumgait and Baku (Azerbaijani cities) at the end of the 80s, represented a great attack to the Armenian population (Torres, 2011). For their part, the Azeris tried to promote the idea that the existence of minorities was not a sufficient reason for there to be a change in populations or territories, since it was not something that happened only in those nations; plus, they defended the cultural reduction arguing that migration was the main reason for the reduction of Armenians in certain areas, with the presence of around 250,000 Armenians in Baku as an example (Gahramanova 2007:4-5).

2.2. Conflict analysis (type of conflict, level, etc.)

Starting from a recount of the historical, political, geographical and social background of each State and the conflict itself, it is pertinent to make an analysis of the conditions of the conflict based on what was stated in the first chapter of this study.

2.2.1. Current state of the conflict

2.2.1.1. Some Important Distinctions

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is considered a "frozen conflict". In the words of Perry (2009), a frozen conflict is one in which "the violence has stopped, because the underlying interests of the previously warring states have not been eliminated or considered... war, without a victory or military defeat, continues to happen in peacetime politics"; which means that a kind of negative peace¹¹ has been generated but the conflict continues without resolution, which sooner or later will have negative consequences. This does not mean that the conflict remains static, but rather that a series of negotiations and agreements continue to take place that seek to resolve the conflict (Livingstone, 2020).

¹¹ Absence of violence, but not the eradication of the structure of violence that surrounds the circumstance.

On the other hand, those behind the conflict must be highlighted, these are the US, Russia, Iran and Turkey, which have intervened in the conflict initially not to stop it, but to provide military and financial support to the parties to perpetuate the warlike confrontation, in order to achieve something that satisfies the interests of their own nations (Pesce & O'Shee, 2008). In the foreground we have Russia, since the geographical location of the nations in conflict affects Russia's national security, and considering that it has the status of major nation, and is even part of the UN Security Council, it is a country whose actions will always be expected when the situation goes against its stability in any way.

What happens in the current Artsakh is the representation of one of the most extreme cases of unresolved ethnic, territorial, separatist conflicts in the world, with a worrying duration of three decades (Livingstone, 2020). Due to the actions of the two nations, it could be said that, from a legal point of view, Armenia demands respect based on the principle of self-determination of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, while Azerbaijan demands strict respect for the principle of territorial integrity. (Towers, 2011). The 2017 decision of Nagorno-Karabakh to change its name from Russian and Turkish origin to one of Armenian denomination was a clear proof of the search for recognition and legitimacy in a socio-historical context (Livingstone, 2020).

2.2.1.2. Conflict type

Once the causes or motivations of the conflict have been established, going through its history and all that it implies, it is necessary to locate the conflict in order to understand it at a more methodological level. As Armenia and Azerbaijan are two Nation States, the conflict is of an international nature, for territorial reasons, one of the most common reasons for clashes between countries throughout history. On the other hand, it must be noted that this conflict is far from being one of a nascent or growing nature, since it has already gone through several stages of depletion of weapons and increasingly violent escalations. Among the populations involved no intention to start a dialogue has been seen and, above all, the implications of the story are deeply rooted in both parties to continue acting in the light of calm and peace.

Table 9: Conflict Stages

CONFLICT STAGES

Stage	Moment of the conflict	Key Event	What it represents
Embryonic Conflict	1921	The Soviet administration awards the territory to Azerbaijan and generates discontent in the population.	There begins to be discomfort among those affected by political decisions, and the conflict begins to manifest itself, although there is no direct confrontation between the parties.
	1923	Creation of the autonomous region of NK. Division of the territory into Armenian and Azerbaijani zones.	
Immature Conflict	1936	The Soviet Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan are created, the oblast becomes an enclave of Azerbaijan.	Tension begins to rise, especially in the Karabakh population. The discontent becomes apparent, but no action has yet taken place on either side.
Mature Conflict	1980	A war breaks out with the news that the end of the USSR is near.	There were acute expressions of violence between Azeris and Armenians, interests have been openly expressed and the meeting of opposing positions has caused a situation of action-reaction between the parties.

Own elaboration

Starting in the late 1980s, with the violence that manifested between the parties, the conflict reached its maturity stage, which did not leave that status until the 2020 ceasefire. Currently, the intensity of this stage has been diminished, since the parties have been willing to engage in dialogue; however, the tensions can still be felt.

The conflict has lasted at least three decades to a point of necessary intervention, because without it, and without the vigilance of the international community, it would most likely end in catastrophic consequences for one or both nations. Apart from being a confrontation of entrenched positions unwilling to change, the use of force has already been

widely used to harm each other, and not just once, but on multiple occasions, so the measures to de-escalate the conflict are necessary to maintain control of the situation, since it is well known that when two nations confront each other, those affected are not only those who belong to these nations, but the neighboring nations, the direct and indirect stakeholders, the region, and the international community.

The reading of the conflict would then look like this:

Table 10: Reading of the Conflict

READING OF THE CONFLICT					
Parties involved	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh), Russia, Turkey, Iran, OSCE.				
Controversy	Belonging to the separatist enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh between Armenia and Azerbaijan.				
Positions of the parties	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Armenia</td> <td>It seeks to unite the enclave to its national territory in order to keep the Armenian nationality united, based on the nationalist sentiment of having been on the verge of becoming a disappeared population.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Azerbaijan</td> <td>It does not want to give up its territory, because it is to give up its power, its alliance with Turkey encourages it to show itself superior to Armenia and maintain it at all costs.</td> </tr> </table>	Armenia	It seeks to unite the enclave to its national territory in order to keep the Armenian nationality united, based on the nationalist sentiment of having been on the verge of becoming a disappeared population.	Azerbaijan	It does not want to give up its territory, because it is to give up its power, its alliance with Turkey encourages it to show itself superior to Armenia and maintain it at all costs.
	Armenia	It seeks to unite the enclave to its national territory in order to keep the Armenian nationality united, based on the nationalist sentiment of having been on the verge of becoming a disappeared population.			
Azerbaijan	It does not want to give up its territory, because it is to give up its power, its alliance with Turkey encourages it to show itself superior to Armenia and maintain it at all costs.				
Nature of the Conflict	This is of a destructive nature, since the parties have been inclined to the use of force and the search for domination of one over the other. They have opted for a zero sum solution.				
Dimension of the Conflict	International dimension Power everything that a confrontation implies. Those affected are more actors, in this case it is the population of both states, the government of both states and neighboring states, as well as their economy and political stability and of those who have been				

	involved in supporting the parties. The affected territory also has dimensions of greater length.
Stage of the Conflict	The conflict is in a mature stage, because as mentioned before, for the time it has lasted it has already reached the highest levels; dialogue without intervention has no longer been able to be implemented; and positions are strongly entrenched on each side, so changing their minds about what they want around the conflict has become difficult. This can also be interpreted as an escalated conflict, in which a dilemma became a problem, then became a conflict, and ended up being involved in the use of force.

Own elaboration

From these considerations, we proceed to the analysis of what has been done to resolve this conflict.

2.3. Means used to resolve the conflict

The resolution of said conflict can be analyzed through the concept of Peacebuilding, or construction of peace, which was already reviewed in the previous chapter. This concept is positivized by the UN in "Agenda for Peace", a report presented by the Secretary General of the UN in 1992, which describes the concept as an "action to identify and support structures that tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Based on this concept, its application would seek to find the causes of the conflict and build capacities for its management and resolution, which according to Chetail (2009) would be done through a security transition, a transition from an authoritarian government to a democratic one and a socio-economic transition that reduces conflict.

The first attempt of mediation in a conflict occurred in September 1991 by the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, in the Zheleznovodsk negotiations, seeing the need for a ceasefire, considered the participation of Nagorno-Karabakh in the negotiation process for decision-making, unfortunately the success that was anticipated for these negotiations was cut short by the attack on a helicopter of Azerbaijani officers near Nagorno-Karabakh (Galstyan, 2017).

After this incident, one of the key moments to start a Peacebuilding process came with the creation of the Minsk Group in January 1992, a group c

o-chaired by France, the Russian Federation and the United States as an effort to Organization for European Security and Cooperation to find a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (OSCE, 2022), and also the 1994 ceasefire negotiated by Russia, who at its creation declared:

We reiterate that only a negotiated agreement can lead to peace, stability and reconciliation, opening up opportunities for development and regional cooperation. The use of force created the current situation of confrontation and instability. Using it again would only bring more suffering and devastation, and would be condemned by the international community. We strongly urge the leaders of the parties to prepare their populations for peace, not war."

After the ceasefire, a series of meetings were held by the Minsk Group with the intention of finding an acceptable solution to the conflict, thus, in 1995 a trilateral agreement was signed with military measures to stabilize the situation, but to understand what needed to be done it was complicated by the lack of contact between the hostile groups and the distortion of the image of each one in front of the other that it caused (Livingstone, 2020).

In 1996, the Lisbon Conference takes place and the presidents of the Minsk group propose that Nagorno-Karabakh receive guarantees of security and autonomy while remaining within Azerbaijan territory; however, since Nagorno-Karabakh could not be part of the OSCE meetings due to lack of recognition as a state, Armenia rejected the proposal on its behalf (Livingstone, 2020). For the following year, 1997, a new proposal by the Minsk group appears, the "Package-Plan", which implied, on the one hand, maintaining the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and on the other, giving way to the demands of the breakaway enclave of having political agency, with its own constitution, government, parliament, and armed forces; in addition to a corridor connecting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia that was supposed to have international control, the latter being rejected by Nagorno-Karabakh (Ibid). The Armenian population of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh rejected this proposal for security reasons; the Armenian president, for his part, supported the proposal and said that the International Community would not tolerate separatist attempts, provoking the discontent of the Armenian people and the change of president to one who was previously the de facto president of

Nagorno-Karabakh, which became much more involved in the peace process (Ibid). In 1998, the proposal by Russian diplomats for a "Common State" arose, which implied turning Nagorno-Karabakh into an "associated state"; that is, giving the separatist unit the ability to choose between associating 'freely' with the center, or being 'free' to separate, giving way to a horizontal relationship between the states and Nagorno-Karabakh (Souleimanov, 2004).

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The next stage of this peace process was more involved in communication and mediation procedures through international forums, so that, at the end of the century, direct talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan were resumed, although in the direct meetings the presidents had in the year 2000 there was no point of convergence. It is not until the "Key West Land Swap" of 2001 that Azerbaijan is offered a corridor through the southern part of Armenia,

in the Meghri region, to the enclave of Nakhichevan, which is an Azeri territory geographically separated from Azerbaijan by Armenia and Iran, in exchange for legitimizing the Lachin corridor over which Armenia has had power since 1992 as Armenian territory (Fuller, 2002) in this a viable step on the road to peace was seen (See image); however, the Minsk group's plan outline did not completely convince the parties, and with the implementation of uncertain steps and the non-participation of Nagorno-Karabakh in the negotiations, the proposal called "The Paris Principles" was put down (Livingstone, 2020). In 2002, the Russian president at the time, Vladimir Putin, offered his presence as a mediator and guarantor of a peace agreement, implying that the Minsk group's attempts at mediation were not being fruitful. However, the parties did not legitimize their participation as a mediator because they considered that it was not neutral and impartial¹² (Livingstone, 2020). A year later, the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan reached an agreement to reduce military tension, but when the government changed from father to son in Azerbaijan, the new president suggested resuming the talks for peace, a proposal rejected by Armenia, positioning itself against of “Azerbaijan's agency to dictate how negotiations should be conducted” (Ibid).

Graphic 4: Suggestion of Corridors between the enclaves and their respective nations

¹² The fact that Russia has proclaimed itself as the guarantor of peace as part of the Minsk group (showing an individual action to the Minsk group), the state of the war with Chechnya that was going on at the time, and above all, the resurgence that began to having Russia at the time due to the management of hydrocarbons, made it look like a state interested in rebuilding a leadership status over the region to maintain control of the hydrocarbons in the area, so its intervention in the conflict showed the states of the Caucasus that Russia had hidden agendas based on self-interest.



Reference image of the connections result in the 2020 agreement. The Lachin Corridor is the area of red lines that connects Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. The green arrow indicates the current Zangezur corridor, which connects Nakhichevan with Azerbaijan, for 2001 this road was just a proposal that could not be realized.

The next important milestone on the road to peace is the Prague Process, which took place in 2004. This consisted of meetings between the constituents of Armenia and Azerbaijan, but Nagorno-Karabakh had no representation or influence in these meetings. The objective of these meetings was to build an agreement of basic principles based on international norms in terms of territorial integrity, diplomatic mediation, and confidence measures, this process lasted a few years, but reaching the goal was difficult, since Armenia refused to give in without considering Nagorno-Karabakh even as a third party to the conflict. For its part, Azerbaijan tried to pressure Armenia to cut the subsidies it provided to Nagorno-Karabakh in order to consider an approach to regional cooperation (Livingstone, 2020). The extension of the diplomatic process caused the tension in the line of contact to increase, despite the ceasefire.

Around 2005, ceasefire violations became more and more constant. By the time, Azerbaijan had increased its military strength by more than 50% thanks to an increase in the economy from oil revenues, and Armenia feared an imminent offensive, which began to turn into an arms race (Ibid). Still, conversations continued, and in 2007 a list of principles resulting

from the Prague Process was presented at the Madrid summit as part of the OSCE's step-by-step plan.

The next period of the peace process represented a setback in what seemed to be a diplomatic conciliation between the parties. Although the review of what were called the Madrid principles continued, clashes on the line of contact began to occur more frequently. In February 2008, the Armenian population took to the streets to protest alleging electoral fraud in the election of the then new president, and this was followed by the most severe confrontation at the meeting line on March 4 since the ceasefire in 1994. This event was called "the Mardakert skirmishes" and led to Resolution 62/243 of the UN General Assembly in which it said that no state should provide aid or recognize the occupation, reaffirming the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan (UNGA, 2008). This caused further tension between the Armenian and Azeri nations, yet Russian-led talks between the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan led to a signing of a declaration accepting the Madrid principles as the basis for future negotiations (UCDP, nd.). At the G8 Summit in L'Aquila, the final version of the Madrid principles was presented (See Annex 2); however, the internal instability of the countries, as well as quite deteriorated relations between them, caused none of the nations to agree with the version, moreover, the ceasefire seemed increasingly unstable (Livingstone, 2020).

This was followed by a period of strengthen nationalism. Azerbaijan decided to release an Azeri officer from a Hungarian prison where he was serving a life sentence for the murder of an Armenian officer in 2004, upon his arrival in the country, they celebrated him as a hero, sending a message of "distancing (with Armenia) and unification of Azerbaijani identity as distinctively different from and superior to Armenians" (Livingstone, 2020). As a result of this, the militarization of the line of fire was given and that made the ceasefire one of the most militarized in 2013. Even so, the international community maintained a weak, but constant vigilance to it.

Once again, on December 2015, the two nations sought to find a peaceful solution; however, the narrative of seeing the other as the enemy had been strengthened internally in each country, and the clashes that were taking place, despite the ceasefire, culminated in what was called the "four-day war" in April 2016, in which hundreds of soldiers belonging to both sides died as a result of an offense by Azerbaijan to recover the occupied territories. On April 5, a Russian-led ceasefire was achieved, it acting by its own means outside from the Minsk

group, provoking criticism as to what had motivated the Russian action. For its part, in Nagorno-Karabakh a constitutional referendum was held in which they changed the name of the de facto state to "Republic of Artsakh", which implied a claim for a territory larger than just Upper Karabakh, including to the whole part occupied by Armenia. At its 2016 Summit in Istanbul, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) established a contact group against Armenia's aggression to Azerbaijan, which was made up of seven countries: Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Morocco, Malaysia, Djibouti and Gambia; for its part, the European Union hastened the implementation of Security Council resolutions that included the withdrawal of the Armenian armed forces from occupied Azeri ground, respect for territorial integrity, international recognition of the borders of both nations, and the end of the situation of an illegitimate nature (Republic of Azerbaijan, Cabinet of Ministers, 2020). At the Brussels Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2017, the European Union's determination to uphold the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence from its allies was reaffirmed. That year, the escalations had been numerous, and in the middle of it the population feared a new breach in this war (Crisis Group, 2017).

During the next four years the violent actions did not stop, and they remained in a state of tension, but the situation was relatively stable, since there was no outbreak of great proportions like those of 1994 and 2016 (Setien, 2020). In mid-July 2020, the tension between the two countries began to become increasingly strong, and at the end of September the conflict broke out again, a situation that was reflected in defense and counter-defense offensives that lasted about a month and a half. On October 9, the Foreign Ministers of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia met in Moscow, under the auspices of the OSCE, in which they agreed on a ceasefire for an exchange of prisoners, but this was not respected by any of the two military forces, situation that happened twice more on October 18 and 26. On November 9, in the midst of an almost unsustainable situation for Armenia, the Armenian Prime Minister, Niko Pashinyan, made an announcement on the social network Facebook, in which he announced a peace agreement, in his words, "very painful, both for him and for his nation", which entered into force on November 10 (Ibid).

2.4. Mediation: the act of Russia

Since the first international intervention in the conflict, the means which is advocated to be used, trusting in its effectiveness, is that of mediation. Taking into account the complexity

involved in applying said process in a confrontation of the characteristics already presented, the attempts reviewed to make it work demonstrate a commitment to reach a peace agreement. In an international conflict, the road to an agreement is long and requires many steps before even reaching a scenario in which the parties find themselves identified with the solutions that the mediators want to take, mainly because of the implications of weight that exist with respect to its history, concerning the economic, the political, the social, and above all the cultural.

In order to be able to evaluate the process of rebuilding relations, it is first necessary to appeal to the desire of the parties to see themselves intervened by external agents, and seek means of ensuring the maintenance of the principles of security, democracy, and integrity. The intervention of external agents, that is, other states, may lack legitimacy and bring a negative form of hybrid peace, which refers to local power structures combined with aspects of international intervention that are not applicable in all cases, the “one size fits all” formula is the least adequate if all the internal aspects of the parties and the conflict as such are not taken into account. In this specific case, a situation that has complicated the situation in the peacebuilding process is the lack of agency and participation of Nagorno-Karabakh in the conversations.

The beginning of the peace process in Nagorno-Karabakh as such was symbolized by the 1994 ceasefire, but despite the constant interventions of higher states, the minor escalations in the line of fire never completely disappeared, and even until today a peace agreement has not been signed as such, since what was agreed in November 2020 is still an unstable situation that may or may not return to the path of violence, so it could be considered a “no peace, not war” situation (Livingstone, 2020).

The Prague process is one of the biggest steps that the Minsk group has been able to take in the search for a peace agreement in this confrontation. The six principles presented at the Madrid summit in 2007 show, as the main intention of the negotiations, to leave the question of the status of the enclave for last, and instead focus on confidence-building measures to gradually build a method that eventually resolves the legal status of Nagorno-Karabakh (Perchoc, 2016). The actions that range from returning the territories occupied by Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan (those surrounding the enclave), allowing refugees and displaced persons to return to their places of origin, installing an interim state for the separatist enclave that allows Nagorno-Karabakh maintaining guarantees of self-government and security, and

even a corridor between the enclave and Armenia, are optimal for reaching a common agreement (OSCE, 2009). However, not everything is negative, including the parties, Armenia and Azerbaijan, provides them with agency by being able to be part of the decision-making process in meetings with OSCE members, as it is a way of affirming the sovereignty of the state.

The last agreement reached in this conflict seems to have been successful with the help of Russia as a direct mediator, after having being in a heated year in the escalation in the line of fire. Unlike the ceasefire of 1994, this time Azerbaijan was the one with the advantage, as its technological development had allowed it to be ahead of Armenia in military and military technological capacity. After six weeks of confrontation between the troops of Armenia and Azerbaijan, thanks to the intervention of Russia, a truce was signed, a ceasefire that finally, after several failed attempts in the last four years prior to this (since the war of four days), could sustain the situation and reduce the confrontations as much as possible. On November 10, 2020, a Russian-led peace agreement was signed, which established that Azerbaijan would retake areas taken by Artsakh, Armenia would withdraw from Azeri areas adjacent to the line of fire, and as key point of the agreement, Russia would deploy peacekeepers in order to patrol the borders (BBC, 2020).

2.5. Current situation in the area

2.5.1. Economic and political consequences

The 2020 agreement caused a situation of relative stability that has been maintained in the area to date, although during the year following the ceasefire there has been no rapprochement of any kind between the states that could change during the second year of said agreement. Until mid-March 2022, actions such as the gas supply cutoff in Nagorno-Karabakh continued to be indirect attacks by Azerbaijan towards the enclave and the Armenians (swissinfo, 2022). However, on April 12, 2022, news of wide interest was reported, talks between Armenia and Turkey were resumed to normalize their relationship thanks to the intervention of Russia, which is accompanied by a possible normalization of relations (political-economic) between Armenia and Azerbaijan, taking into account the influence that Turkey has in Azerbaijan (swissinfo, 2022). This is of vital importance, since considering the current situation in Russia and Ukraine, the fear of the withdrawal of Russian troops to fight

on Ukrainian ground is latent, and a normalization of the talks can lead to a diplomatic solution to the Nagorno-Kharabakh conflict and all the problems that arose from it.

One of the facts that deserves to be widely considered is the signing of the agreement without the intervention or even the mention of the Minsk group and the OSCE, taking into account that thanks to them the journey of attempts to reach peace began in 1994. This represents a great challenge for the Organization and for the European Union, since this gives Russia an advantage over the region. For its part, Russia has remained vigilant of the situation in the line of fire since the signing of the ceasefire, its deployed troops remain alert to any attempt of violence that may occur, and even with the current situation in Moscow in their war against Kiev, the Russian troops have not left the place; on April 15 of this year, the Russian and Armenian presidents "reaffirmed their readiness to intensify efforts to develop the capacity of the forces ... including those of peacekeeping" (Sputnik, 2022). These troops will remain in place for 5 years from the signing of the ceasefire; that is, until 2027; but it could be sooner if the talks currently taking place between Yerevan and Baku bear positive results.

The fact that Russia has succeeded in calming down the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and leaving the state in charge of the situation, apart from the role it won as a mediator, gives it a fairly significant victory against a region in which it needs to maintain the influence and control to confront the West, especially Europe and NATO (Sahuquillo, 2021). Although it is in Armenia's interest to follow Europe's development models, it is not willing to lose the protection and security that Russia gives it, which is why Armenia is Russia's safest anchor in the region. On the other hand, Turkey also took a significant role (not as much as Russia's) in the signed agreement, and it seeks to create and strengthen ties with Armenia, broken thanks to the Armenian genocide, in order to gain a presence in the Caucasus and grow at a power's level in the region.

2.5.2. Geographic consequences

By 2010, as a result of this confrontation, Armenia ended up occupying 13.4% of Azerbaijani territory, about 12,000 km². Within this territory was included about 90% of the territory of what was the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, plus five districts that did not belong to it: Lachin (one of the most controversial territories after the Karabakh highlands), Jebrail, Zangelan, Kubatly and Kelbajar; and a large portion of two others, Fizuli and Agdam,

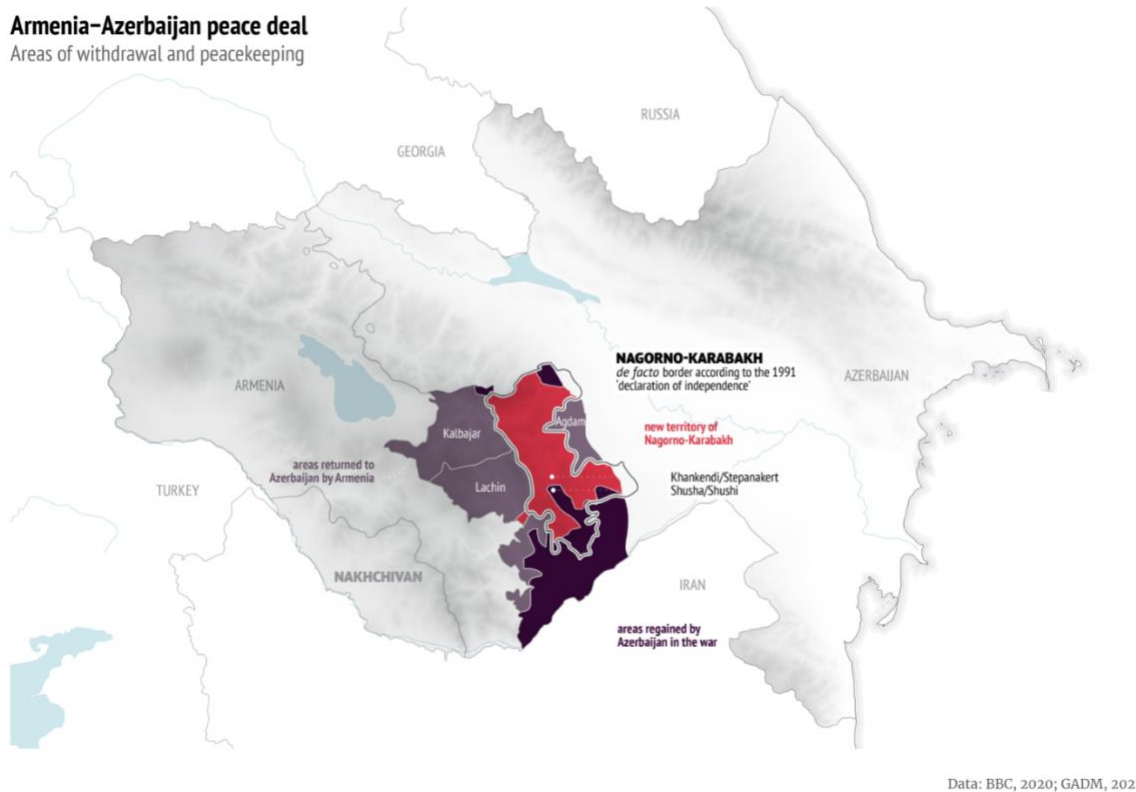
which remained in dispute for a long time, giving an estimated total of 7,500 km² of occupied territory that did not belong to the former Oblast (Torres, 2011). On the other hand, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh argued that there were two districts partially occupied by Azerbaijan that belonged to the former Oblast, Mardakert and Martuni, which represented 15% of the territory occupied by Azerbaijan, as well as Shahumian and Getashen that did not belong to the Oblast.

The conditions of the 2020 ceasefire, more than the geography of the territory as such, changed the control of zones by both states. On the one hand, Russia ordered the withdrawal of Armenia from Azeri territories it had occupied around Nagorno-Karabakh and which Azerbaijan had not yet been able to recover. For its part, Armenia would maintain control over 70% of the territory of the former Oblast (NKAO), since the remaining 30% was taken by the Azeri military at the beginning of November. The Armenian armed forces were forced to leave the Nagorno-Karabakh territory and, in its place, a Russian contingent was deployed to secure the parts of Nagorno-Karabakh under Armenian control, as well as the Lachin/Bredzor corridor, which would remain the only piece of land connecting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. For its part, Azerbaijan would receive a land corridor that connects it with Nakhichevan (See image), on the southeast side of the Armenian territory, the Border Guards Service of the Russian Federal Security Service would be in charge of this part (Rácz, 2021).

The redesign of the area with respect to the signed agreement returned to Azerbaijan the eastern district of Agdam and the Kelbajar area, and gave it control of the Lachin region (where the corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh is located), as well as of the city of Shushá, the second largest in the region; while Armenia kept the city of Stepanakert, the de facto capital of Nagorno-Karabakh (Sahuquillo, 2020). Since the ceasefire was immediate, all activity had to stop quickly, which in the future could pose problems with respect to the reconstruction of cities, towns and the region in general, due to the arbitrariness of the line of fire and the restoration of previous territorial limits.

Graphic 5: Armenia-Azerbaijan peace deal 2020

Armenia-Azerbaijan peace deal Areas of withdrawal and peacekeeping



Taken from EUISS

2.5.2. Social Consequences

The attempt of ethnic cleansing carried out by the two nations is undeniable. To begin with, the number of internally and externally displaced people is inaccurate, but as of 2010 more than 400,000 Armenians had fled from Azerbaijan and Armenian regions adjacent to Azeri territory. For their part, more than 700,000 Kurds and Azeris had to leave Armenian territory, including the Nagorno-Karabakh area and neighboring districts (Torres, 2011). Likewise, the estimated number of victims up to 2011 was between 18,000 and 20,000 Azeris, and close to or more than 18,000 Armenians (Ibid). Even with the end of the war, the displaced have not been able to return to their land. Regarding the last major escalation in September 2020, around 90,000 left the republic, more than 5,500 soldiers and about 150 civilians died (Hadjan, 2021).

Even in the areas far from the line of fire, the situation is tense, since the Armenians cannot travel to Azerbaijan freely, because if they decide to reveal their identity, they will face serious reprisals from the Azeris due to the acts committed in war of which they are accused, it would be just as complicated if they are not of Armenian nationality, but have an Armenian

surname. Visits are allowed only with special permission (Plitt, 2019). The situation is not very different being the other way around; Azeris who decide to visit Armenia would not find themselves in a safe place. The tensions between Armenians and Azeris regarding their ethnic groups seem to remain in tension for years, after each one has forged a strong image of the enemy, with great awareness of the atrocities he has committed.

The results of the negotiation were quite disturbing for the Armenian population, because as the Armenian president himself expressed at the time of the ceasefire, the agreement was "painful for his nation". The day after the signing of the agreement, a crowd of furious Armenians tried to overthrow President Pashinian for having accepted the declaration to defuse the conflict, but the disturbances did not last long and the situation calmed down (Colás, 2020).

In cities with the greatest impact in the midst of the conflict, such as Stepanakert, the capital of Artsakh, the destruction of buildings and homes was evident, "almost three months ago the Karabakh capital was a deserted city. The men went to the front, the children evacuated and the women and the elderly who remained lived in underground shelters" (Hadjan, 2021), in the first months of the ceasefire, people were afraid, but then they were faced with the opportunity to rebuild their lives, resume their businesses, rebuild their homes and so on. Little by little this has been recovering, but the conflict is not yet fully resolved, so anything could happen in the future.

Chapter III: The participation of Russia: origin and controversies

3.1. Origin of the Russian intervention in the Armenian-Azeri conflict

When reviewing the history of the region and what is behind the conflict, it can be seen that Russia has a lot to do with its origin, since the arbitrary delimitation of territories caused discontent in the region, and the reaction of the population affected directly. When since the end of the 1980s, the clashes between Karabakh Armenians and Azerbaijan deepened, the Soviet army, which was still in administrative charge of these states, was indifferent to the facts, plus the lack of authority that the Soviet was beginning to have in front of the region (Alesso. 2019). After the dissolution of the USSR, Russia largely lost its ability to influence the area, so its first approach to the conflict was the sale of weapons to Armenia.

Now, the intervention in terms of conflict resolution by Moscow in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, as already mentioned, came before any other nation, in an attempt to mediate the situation. Russia was the first country to take the initiative to find a way to resolve the conflict before any other interested state/actor. What is more important is that Russia was the first external character to consider the current Artsakh as a party to the conflict (Nixey, 2012). In September 1991, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin found in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict the perfect opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of Russian foreign policy, which at the time was led by the approach of Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the Soviet Union, and to stand out on the international scene as a mediator of favorable results, putting Russia in the role of guarantor of peace and stability in the former Soviet Republics (Laitin, 1999). The meeting took place in Zheleznovodsk, between Yeltsin and the then president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and topics such as the need for a ceasefire, the participation of representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh and the political state of Nagorno-Karabakh were discussed. However, on November 20, an Azeri helicopter with 22 officers on board was shot down near the Karabakh sky (Galstyan, 2017).

After this failed attempt in the initial mediation by Nagorno-Karabakh, in January 1992 the OSCE, then CSCE, Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, became interested in the conflict and attached the Soviet Republics to the composition of the conference (Galstyan, 2017). Two months later it was decided to create the Minsk group, made up of

eleven countries, with a board of directors made up of France, the United States and Russia. This group became the only international body with the power to promote negotiations and prepare the ground for the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

3.2. Russia as mediator

3.2.1. Negotiations around presidential terms

3.2.1.1. Yeltsin 1992-1999

After the fall of the Soviet Union, it had lost much of its power and influence, which called into question its ability to remain the economic and political authority of the former Soviet republics,-as a result, one of Yeltsin's main concerns was regaining that power; however, in the first years of his mandate, he did not have enough power to make independent decisions, so Russia anchored the Nagorno-Karabakh problem through the ministers of foreign affairs and defense (Laitin & Sunny, N/A). Despite the efforts of the Russian foreign minister, Andrey Kozirev, the escalation and inefficient management of state affairs did not allow them to go very far. In September, in the Russian city of Sochi, a two-month ceasefire agreement was reached between the defense ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan with the help of Russian defense minister Pavel Grachev, but this plan was not carried out because the Russian foreign minister had not been made aware of the agreement.

It is worth emphasizing that the actions of the Russian ministers were notably influenced by their personal interests, on the one hand, Kozirev advocated the intervention of the CSCE in the resolution of the conflict; on the other, Grachev prioritized Russian intervention before any other state or actor in the resolution, in addition to that, he supplied Armenia with weapons. For his part, Yeltsin sought to show a neutral position, convincing Azerbaijan that said supply of weapons would not be used against the Azeri nation (Galstyan, 2017). During the negotiations that took place between 1992 and 1994, it was never possible to reach a concrete agreement mainly for three reasons: the constant gaps of confrontation in the line of fire, a state control by Russia with fragile foundations; and the lack of coordination between the Russian ministers of defense and foreign affairs, poor communication and acting independently of each other.

By the beginning of 1994, Russia sought to position itself as the dominant actor in the process of appeasement and resolution of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. In February, Russia decides to promote a state of peace in the conflict and begins actions under its own authority, without involving the Minsk group (Livingstone, 2020). Grachev initiates discussions for the cessation of military operations and organizes a meeting between the defense ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan in Moscow. In early May, Russian officials met with the leaders of the parliaments of Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan in Bishkek, and signed a protocol for a ceasefire, called the "Bishkek protocol" (Ibid). The next step taken by the Russian ministers of defense and foreign affairs was to conduct "fax diplomacy", whereby they connected three ceasefire agreements sent by fax machines, thereby establishing the largest ceasefire of the decade, and on May 12 at midnight the confrontation was stopped (Galstyan, 2017). It should be noted that this ceasefire occurred without the use of peacekeeping forces, due to the existing tension between Russia and the West. Later, in July of the same year, the protocol was formalized in a positive armistice, signed by the three actors involved, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh (Livingstone, 2020). Even so, at the Budapest summit in December of the same year, at which the CSCE became the OSCE, its members expressed their desire to harmonize their mediation efforts with those of Russia, and gave it permanent co-chairmanship of the Minsk group in 1995.

At the Lisbon Summit in 1996, the Minsk group proposed three principles for the resolution of the conflict: greater self-government for Nagorno-Karabakh, territorial integrity for Armenia and Azerbaijan, and security for Nagorno-Karabakh; however, Armenia used its veto against this decision alleging that the state of Nagorno-Karabakh should be determined on the principle of self-determination. In January 1997, France joined the Minsk group's co-chairmanship, and the following month the United States became its third co-chairman. In June, the three presidents proclaimed that "the ceasefire alone is not enough, without a lasting agreement, it could break." From this, the powers focused on ways to establish a stable agreement for peace in the region, proposing the "package" agreement model, which was presented in July 1997, and was based on the end of hostilities, and the state of Nagorno-Karabakh; and the "step-by-step" model, which left the proposal of the state of Nagorno-Karabakh up in the air. Both proposals were rejected by Stepanakert due to a lack of clarity in determining their status, and due to the poor relations, that existed or could exist with Azerbaijan.

In 1998, the proposal for a "common state" was presented, which, as seen before, sought to give the enclave a common state status, but Azerbaijan rejected what was seen as affecting its territorial integrity. The Azeri position was supported by Yeltsin, considering that this mechanism was not going to resolve the conflict. The last attempt of this period was a "land swap", which proposed to cede Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, and the Armenian territory of Meghri to Azerbaijan, but in 2001 all possibilities of continuing with this proposal fell. What this period demonstrated in Russian behavior was the use of opportunities that presented themselves for Russia to make gains in the international community, and the use of the freezing of the conflict to prevent the expansion of a possible threat to Russia's influence in the region.

3.2.1.2. Vladimir Putin's administration 2000-2008

By the time Vladimir Putin became president of Russia in 2000, the country began to regain its influence in the world, especially in the region, due to the excessive demand for hydrocarbons and the escalation in their prices (PEA-RAMOS, 2018). Likewise, a new stage of negotiations began regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Starting in 2003, the "Prague Process" began. Among the most significant meetings of this process were those of the foreign ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan under the tutelage of the presidents of the Minsk group in March 2004; and a meeting in Astana in September 2004 between the presidents of the two nations with the direct participation of Putin, who declared that "Russia is interested in solving this problem, since we want direct cooperation with Armenia and Azerbaijan"; meetings between the Armenian and Azeri presidents in Warsaw in May 2005 and in Kazan in August 2005 were held. In 2006, the Rambouillet discussions took place. In it, Armenia declared that it would withdraw its armed forces from the Azeri region of Kelbajar as long as the referendum was held for the political state of Nagorno-Karabakh, a situation in which Putin maintained a position of trust that an agreement could be reached through the support of the nations involved (Galstyan, 2017). Unlike Yeltsin, Putin's main interest was not to portray Russia as a powerful state through the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process. Although he was involved and seeking a solution to it, the start of his presidential term saw his efforts to strengthen Russia through the resources it possessed, especially energy resources, which it used to conduct its foreign policy (Ibid).

One of the last developments in this matter in the Putin period was the "Madrid principles", the proposal of these principles was welcomed by a large percentage of its

composition, but the parties could not reach an agreement regarding to the political state of Nagorno-Karabakh. It should be noted that, within the Putin administration, foreign policy management took a more homogeneous direction, communication was more fluid and action was focused and coherent. Putin's control over both his internal and external affairs was more considered and thus he was able to control his state-focused administration.

3.2.1.3. Vladimir Putin's administration 2000-2008

As Medvedev entered the presidential term, Russia became much more involved in the Nagorno-Karabakh mediation process. By 2008 Russia was in a conflict with Georgia, so Medvedev sought to demonstrate to the Western powers that the Nagorno-Karabakh case was something that could be settled peacefully thanks to Russia's efforts. This is how in November 2008 the Armenian and Azeri presidents meet at the Mayendorf Castle under Medvedev's initiative and this results in the "Declaration for the Regulation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict", that was based on the Madrid principles as starting point for an agreement, this being the first agreement signed after the 1994 ceasefire (Sonnleitner, 2016). On the other hand, at the L'Aquila summit in 2009, the presidents of the Minsk group presented a joint declaration and an updated version of the Madrid principles based mainly on the right to territorial integrity and self-determination; unfortunately, there was no final agreement regarding this version and the talks had to continue.

Medvedev was quite committed to the situation, so he organized a meeting in January 2010 between the contending parties in Sochi, and another one, the Muskoka summit in June of the same year; however, the very rigid position of Armenia and Azerbaijan did not allow concrete agreements to be reached. Even so, in every opportunity that Medvedev had to express himself about the conflict and the ways to resolve it, he always stressed the importance of preserving peace in the region, as well as maintaining a good relationship with both parties and prioritizing dialogue for the resolution of the conflict. During the visit of the Armenian president to Russia in October 2011, Medvedev emphasized the preservation of relations and cooperation with the Armenian state (Galstyan, 2014). In June 2011, the Kazan summit took place, in which the Madrid principles entered their final stage. Although the expectations of the meeting were high, the results were disappointing as the parties proceeded to look for culprits as to why the talks were not getting anywhere, and once again no agreement was reached. Russia, for its part, tried to maintain the spirit, urging the parties to continue with the

necessary arrangements, because if they did not happen, the other alternative was war, and Medvedev was not willing to let that happen. The international community was indifferent to this last failed attempt and the approach to an agreement was stalled.

Medvedev's term was short, but Russia was seen to act more than ever to resolve the conflict. Compared to other periods, his commitment to peace was a priority during this government, and although the attempts were unsuccessful, the mere fact of having had so many rapprochements between the contending parties put on the table the intention of resolving said problem, and Russia's ability to bring the parties together for dialogue.

3.2.1.4. Vladimir Putin 2012 - Present

By 2012, Putin was re-elected and his approach to the conflict became more active. In May 2013, the Russian foreign minister stated that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict was a priority in Russia's foreign policy. For his part, during his visit to Armenia in December, Putin indicated that the relationship between the two states went beyond a strategic alliance and once again offered his help in directing the dialogue between the contending parties, since diplomacy was the only path they hoped to take. However, it was in this period that the hostility in the line of fire began to increase, and Putin was plunged into trying to resolve the conflict before tensions reached a breaking point and diplomacy could no longer resolve the situation (Galstyan, 2017). In November 2013, the Minsk group once again brought the parties to the conflict together in Vienna, and by 2014, Putin had already had several bilateral meetings with both Armenia and Azerbaijan, seeking to persuade the parties to reach a final acceptable agreement before the tension explodes. Even so, the efforts were in vain because in April 2016, the violence escalated to such an extent that the offensive organized by the Azeris against the Armenians triggered a four-day war in the line of fire. During this uprising, Russia tried to stop it, and on April 2 Putin communicated with the parties to stop the fire and stabilize the situation. On April 5, the heads of state decided to stop the fighting thanks to Russia's efforts, thus Russia alone achieving a second ceasefire.

In June 2016, Putin organized a new trilateral meeting with the presidents of the parties in Saint Petersburg to strengthen the ceasefire; and in August Putin declared that they sought to resolve the needs of both states without concluding that one was the loser and the other the winner. Among the proposals derived from this position, the "Lavrov Plan" came in, which

was proposed after the four-day war, and sought that Armenia withdraw its troops from the territory that was in conflict, and that instead, Russian troops would be deployed to stabilize the area and guarantee peace, while the political status of Nagorno-Karabakh was discussed (Alesso, 2019); in this case, it was Armenia who did not give way to said plan, and once again the negotiations stalled. Putin, like the rest of the Russian presidents, maintained Moscow's position of not being in favor of any of the parties. However, it should be noted that Putin's position was seen as much more neutral than in his first presidential term, and above all more than Medvedev.

After this massive escalation in 2016, things calmed down only for a while, and in 2017 escalations began to be seen more frequently, giving the population the idea that the conflict could break out once again in any moment. By this time, the parties no longer trusted Russian intentions to mediate the conflict, however this was their best and perhaps only alternative (Crisis Group, 2017). Although the conflict did not escalate until 2020, Russian efforts to bring together the administrations involved were greatly reduced compared to past Russian administrations. When the outbreak of 2020 occurred, Putin set to work once again sponsored by the Minsk group, to achieve temporary cessations for the exchange of hostages and displaced persons, and although he failed twice, in the third time he managed to get the two nations reach an agreement to enter into a state of peace. With the signed agreement, Putin has won for the moment five more years of direct intervention in the area, due to the deployment of the military in the Lachin corridor (Setién, 2020). After this event, Russia has remained vigilant to the tension in the area, and although in 2022 the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine broke out, the former remains attentive to maintaining calm in what was the line of fire.

Sergey Markedonov, an expert on the issues of ethnic conflicts, especially in the South Caucasus region, indicates that, unlike other conflicts in the region, in the case of the Nagorno-Karabakh, it is the two states involved that value the role of Russia as a mediator, so they allow their participation and have been open to the ideas of the power. But it is this same balanced intervention in the middle, looking at both sides, which has contributed to keeping the conflict in a frozen position, and that the negotiations have not given the expected results (CSIS, 2012). The fact that Russia does not take a side makes it neutral in terms of what is needed to mediate the conflict, but this concept loses its foundation when one analyzes the reason for this position,

and how it is actually part of the conflict. The motivations behind Russia's approach to each party involved and its role as mediator will be reviewed below.

3.3. The vices of Russian involvement

Thanks to the fall of the USSR, the great influence that the Russian territory had enjoyed until then had plummeted, and the 1990s were quite complicated for the nation, since having lost such an important territory for its relation to Eurasian geopolitics was seen as weak against the European powers and the coveted alliance/influence over the Asian territory at that time. It is at the beginning of the new millennium that Russia begins to recover its power and influence in the region, and little by little in the world, due to the management that was given to the energy resources of the area. This was due to the internal management that was given within the practice of "energy nationalism"¹³, and an external management, which concerns this section of the study, the influence of Moscow on the surrounding regions of the country, the European post-Soviet countries, Central Asia, and the South Caucasus, which is made up of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018), all these regions receive the direct influence of what happens on Russian ground. One of Russia's ways of maintaining its influence over these regions has been to interfere in the conflicts, this being the case of Nagorno-Karabakh. By maintaining a good position and reputation in the area, it has free rein to intervene politically, economically and militarily, paving the way to add its energy policy to the equation.

Russia's energy capacity is vast, covers a large part of its economy, but also its strength and presence on the international stage. By managing the way energy is developed in the aforementioned regions, it has maintained control over distribution to the European market, the former Soviet republics and Central Asia. But in the South Caucasus is where this stability is threatened, since the geographical location has great advantages, which depending on the use of them, could place other countries besides Russia at the head of the distribution of hydrocarbons. On one hand, this area is rich in hydrocarbon reserves, mainly located in Azerbaijan; and on the other, the location of Azerbaijan's entrance through the Caspian Sea, allows direct passage from Central Asia, being able to go through Armenia, Georgia and the

¹³ Appropriation of the energy resources of the territory for mainly national management and distribution.

Black Sea, generating a direct connection point between Europe and Asia (mainly by Azerbaijani land) without the need of Russian territory.

In the South Caucasus there are three oil pipelines and one gas pipeline, of which, according to PEÑA-RAMOS (2018), only one oil pipeline passes through Russian ground and is not controlled by Western companies; and as mentioned earlier, the second largest oil pipeline in the world, the Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan, is the main competition for Russian hydrocarbon management; should be noted that it does not even pass through Armenia due to the conflict. Likewise, the Baku-Supsa connects the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea through Azerbaijan and Georgia as can be seen in the image, these pipelines are crucial for the supply of hydrocarbons to Europe. Thanks to this, Georgia has reduced its dependence from Moscow, and for this reason Russia is interested in maintaining the position it has been losing, thus avoiding the construction of more pipelines that avoid Russian ground. For their part, the States of the region and the continent seek to reduce Russia's exclusive dependence on these resources due to the way in which this nation manages them, mainly as an element of coercion to smaller or less developed states (Alesso, 2019).

Graphic 6: Main oil pipelines of the South Caucasus



Source: Thomas Blomberg

The fact that the nations of the region have a reduced administrative capacity compared to other nations, means that they are more likely to be involved in conflicts in which their economic, political, social and military capacities are not prepared to face them. It is for this

reason that the conflicts that occur between these types of states will seek support in larger states that are prepared to generate strategic alliances and be able to have the necessary advantages to put the balance in their favor (Giaccaglia, 2017). However, when the powers that are involved are also confronted by the opposing interests that they possess, a power competition is generated, and the powers will look for a way that one of the results of completing the process involves them as leaders of the region in which the conflict has occurred. This is how the powers will seek more reasons to match such characteristics with unstable territories, this being the case of Russia with Nagorno-Karabakh, by building relationships that respond to their interests; Russian intervention has advocated for the Armenian population, partly for Russians on Armenian ground, and for the Armenian diaspora who have found refuge in Russia. For its part, Turkey created a link with the majority Muslim population of Azerbaijan, adding to the historical ethnic clash that exists with Armenia.

Some observers argue that Russia has played this benign role due to its hidden intention to keep the conflict alive in order to fulfill its purpose of maintaining its influence in the region, and that the Minsk group has been wrong from the start to ignore these considerations (Carley, 1998). In February 1997 it was revealed that the Russian Ministry of Defense had supplied Armenia with a considerable amount of military equipment between 1994 and 1996, in apparent violation of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty (Carley, 1998). Russia's role in this dispute is questioned, which is far from objective.

In political matters, Russia has a strong ally in Armenia, as it is the most stable of the three South Caucasus states in terms of partnership with Russia. This is mainly due to the fact that Armenia depends heavily on Russia's military protection, since it does not have the capacity to fight Turkey (Armenia's main enemy), and Iran. This alliance provides security to Armenia, as it is a way to guarantee its survival and well-being, since due to the embargo that Azerbaijan maintains on Armenia, its lack of access to the sea and its hostile neighbors, state aid or Russian investments keep this nation afloat (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018). Added to this is the fact of the ethnic and religious affinities that exist between the two nations, and how Russia has settled a significant number of its companies on Armenian ground (Alesso, 2019). On the other hand, Russia's relationship with Azerbaijan is quite stable, but Russia remains vigilant about Azeri energy capacity. When the USSR dissolved, the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) was founded, which was intended to become a kind of European Union for the former Soviet republics, Armenia and Azerbaijan being part of it. In 1992, six states

belonging to the CIS sign a Collective Security Treaty, which later becomes the CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization), this Organization is promoted by Russia, in an attempt to form the counterpart to the NATO, and today only Armenia remains as part of it (Ibid).

During the escalation of fire between Armenia and Azerbaijan between 1988 and 1994, Russia provided war material to both nations. Even so, it was Russia that sponsored the ceasefire with the best results in the decade, and did so again in 2020, although it has never stopped supplying military-war elements to Armenia. In 1997, Russia signed a Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty with Armenia as part of its relationship with this state; but this situation has not ment Russia's position against Azerbaijan, because within the mutual defense agreement between Armenia and Russia, the latter does not contemplate defense in matters of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, since in this way it does not compromise the interests that it maintains with Azerbaijan (Alesso, 2019). For this reason, it maintained the military supply to both nations for several years (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018). In 2010 there was an unofficial accusation that, in the midst of talks between the Armenian and Azeri presidents, Russia had made a large arms sale to Azerbaijan, at which time Russia had reiterated agreements to supply arms to Armenia and deploy of Russian troops in Armenia (Ruiz González, 2014). These agreements helped Russia maintain its Military Base 102 in Gyumri, which has a fairly consolidated position in the South Caucasus and whose contract will keep it under siege until 2044 (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018). This Russian action caused a limitation to: the continuation of hostilities in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the strengthening of its presence in terms of international security, and the income of money from arms sales.

After Medvedev's various attempts during his presidential term to bring Armenia and Azerbaijan together to resolve the conflict, Putin came to his term maintaining a strategy of balance and equilibrium between the two states, with the intention of maintaining his geo-energy interests. An example of this is when Putin announced trade agreements with Azerbaijan in August 2013, Armenia, fearing that Russia would supply weapons to Azerbaijan, who at that time was militarily based in Nagorno-Karabakh, decided to renounce to an Association Agreement with the European Union to join the Russian-Belarusian-Kazakh Customs Union, for which in December of the same year Putin announced the reduction in the prices of gas, oil derivatives and weapons in Armenia (Ruiz González, 2014).

On the other hand, with respect to the possible scenarios for the resolution of the political state of Nagorno-Karabakh that could have occurred, the one that is most convenient for Russia is the one that has been most projected in the midst of the conflict in the behavior of its participants, with Nagorno-Karabakh remaining part of Azeri territory, but with a de facto independent administration backed by Armenia; since any other in which the territory is formalized outside of Azeri integrity would imply direct military action by Russia in support of any of the parties, which would break their link with the other and break their influence over the region, leaving their geo-energy plans adrift. In this sense, the least convenient for Russia to antagonize is Azerbaijan, since the Azeri territory has a wide relevance in terms of transportation systems and hydrocarbon reserves (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018), which are exported in a large percentage by Russia, so advocating the complete handover of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia is not among their plans. Furthermore, losing Azeri support would promote the conquest of the region by Turkey or Iran, which is why Russia maintains its military support to Armenia, in order to avoid the seizure of Armenian ground and the extension of territory of either of these two nations. In this regard, Azerbaijan is the least convenient for Russia to antagonize, because the Azeri territory has a wide relevance in terms of transportation systems and hydrocarbon reserves (PEA-RAMOS, 2018), which are exported in a large percentage by Russia, so advocating for the complete handover of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia is not on their agenda. Furthermore, losing Azeri support would encourage Turkey or Iran to conquer the region, which is why Russia maintains military support for Armenia in order to prevent the seizure of Armenian territory and the expansion of territory of either of these two nations.

One of the reasons that prevents Russia from allying itself directly with Azerbaijan as it has done with Armenia is the support that Azerbaijan has expressed for the deployment of pipelines by Western companies, mainly Americans (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018). Even so, Russian influence is such that in June 2013, Azerbaijan, together with the consortium in charge of exploiting Sha Deniz (the largest natural gas reserve in Azerbaijan), which includes Lukoil, a Russian company, chose the Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) project that would supply gas to states that do not depend on Russia, instead of the Nabucco project, which was born in Turkey (Socor, 2013). In August 2013, the state oil company of Azerbaijan, SOCAR, signed a joint venture (business collaboration contract) with the Russian company Rosneft to transport Russian oil through the Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan pipeline and to send Russian oil to Azerbaijan through the Baku-Novorossiysk pipeline and increase its production and income, pipelines that originally served to reduce Europe's dependence on Russian crude (Stratfor, 2013). By

maintaining the freezing of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the construction of the pipelines was seen in doubt due to the implication of the pipelines being in the middle of war territory. As for Armenia, Russia has truncated the negotiations between Armenia and Iran regarding hydrocarbons, since the military settlements in Armenia partly control the gas pipelines that connect the two countries. With all the power that Russia has over Armenia, the former manages to supply Armenia with mainly Russian gas and oil. In January 2014, the Russian gas monopoly company Gazprom bought 100% of the shares of ArmRosgazprom, its equivalent on Armenian ground. This power that Russia maintains over Armenia is convenient for it, since the latter can be involved in projects and infrastructures for the generation of vehicular natural gas and energy, and gas transportation (PEÑA-RAMOS, 2018).

Russia's actions in the face of such a complex situation are well thought out in terms of not altering its interests. From the Minsk group to its unilateral actions and each of the states with which it is involved have a reason for being to maintain power over the region, since Russia is aware that new powers may emerge in the area and it must maintain a good relationship with them, or at least a position in which their place is respected, for the same reason their actions seek not only to maintain a good relationship with Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also with Iran, and take the necessary precautions to confront Turkey in case it is needed it, that is why it has also been vigilant of other conflicts in the area such as Crimea, Ossetia and Abkhazia (Carley, 1998). The visible end that Russia seeks for the region is peace, but also its geo-energy, commercial (with the sale of weapons), and military development.

In short, the Russian participation in this conflict has its own interests, but it has been called international mediation. For this reason, here are indicated those necessary points that must be followed to carry out a mediation, otherwise, said mechanism would not be mentioned, since it becomes another that does not achieve the expected results, generating the situation that the Nagorno-Karabakh region has been experiencing by not finding an effective and efficient solution for its situation:

Table 11: Russia as mediator

CHARACTERISTICS OF A MEDIATOR (according to the Mediation theory)	RUSSIA'S ACTIONS
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<p><u>Impartiality</u>: indicates that there should be no inclination towards any of the parties.</p>	<p>By leaving its troops on the Armenian lines, Russia exerts pressure towards one of the parties, which could indicate a certain diversion towards the other party, since they are not on equal terms.</p>
<p><u>Neutrality</u>: ignores own interests.</p>	<p>By initiating trade deals, especially with the sale of weapons to be used for war, Russia can be said to be pursuing its own interests as well, beyond peace.</p>
<p><u>Confidentiality</u>: what is done or said remains confidential, both for the parties alike, as well as for agents external to the conflict.</p>	<p>In the Russian mediation can be seen the lack of confidentiality by using supply cuts from nature reserves as attacks on nations, taking advantage of the frozen communication situation.</p>
<p><u>Capacity</u>: those skills that allow the correct performance of a position, as well as to exercise a right and fulfill an obligation.</p>	<p>Russia, as a state, has the ability to conduct a mediation process between two states. Its administrative representatives throughout the process proved to have the necessary conditions to start dialogues between the parties, such as attacks on nations, taking advantage of the situation of frozen communication.</p>
<p><u>Flexibility</u>: the ability to adapt to changes, as there are needs that arise along the way; and not be subject to a single conviction, your own is special.</p>	<p>Russia's influence in this conflict, from its historical origins to what is currently demonstrated, is argued under old perspectives of regional control, largely supported by the ex-Soviet tradition of the countries in the area. So, there is no real flexibility from the Russian perspective if the Caucasus countries continue to be perceived as their satellites, reducing their sovereignty.</p>
<p><u>Credibility</u>: is that factor that allows trust between the parties and the mediator.</p>	<p>Russia, by deploying its military forces first supporting Azerbaijan in the 1994 conflict, and then Armenia in the 2016 conflict, demonstrates its intentions to take care of the most appropriate party for its own needs at that time and context. Therefore, the credibility that emanates as a mediator is weak, since their interests rule as first within their needs.</p>

Own elaboration

So, it can be pointed out that the parameters under which a mediation process should be initiated in an ideal manner are far from the actions of Russia as a third country that wishes to execute international mediation as a tool for the effective and peaceful resolution of large-scale conflicts, for which it can be said that its mediation, although is generating results, does not obey the guidelines of the legal theory of this strategy.

Conclusions

Regarding mediation

According to what was revised in the theory, when two or more ideas, thoughts, or positions do not coincide, a distance occurs in human relations between the individuals to whom such ideas or positions belong. But when these positions put "in check" the positions of others and there is a clash or encounter that generates a state of alert in individuals, we are facing the beginning of a conflict. The predisposition of human beings to enter into conflict is inherent to their existence, and this can lead to one or more problems, but, in terms of conflictology, this social phenomenon can be studied and understood to collaborate in the transformation of societies. Depending on the point of view from which it is looked at, conflict can be something positive for society or it can be negative; but taking the conflict only from its negative perspective leads to avoidance behavior, which does not allow it to be understood in depth, causing the root of this to not be discovered and its appearance to be perpetuated in different scenarios, always obtaining the same results.

There are superpowers as well as rising states in the international community; however, whatever their relationship is, it can lead to conflict. This is why it has been necessary to analyze the tools that can deal with these scenarios, such as alternative means of conflict resolution. The creation of these instruments has served to resolve the circumstances that cause the confrontation of opposing ideas, both between individuals and between states, which are the largest scale on the international scene. Although each of these mechanisms has its particularities and usefulness depending on the case, the method that attracts the most attention is mediation. The particularity of mediation is the intervention in a conflict by a third party unrelated to said conflict to advocate for the balance of the positions and interests of the parties in a neutral and impartial manner. The final objective, although not always reachable, is the achievement of an agreement that satisfies the needs of both parties, or that, at least, does justice to what is at stake for each of the parties.

Mediation is made up of the disputing parties, and a mediator, who may be a mediating person or entity. The characteristics that the mediator must have are: impartiality, neutrality, confidentiality, capacity (to carry out the assigned work), flexibility (to listen and consider

options) and credibility between the parties and whoever that assigned them. On the other hand, mediation as such has its own characteristics that respond to the needs within the process, such as the voluntariness (of the parties to be participants in the process on their own foot and to leave it in equal conditions), the neutrality of the process (focused especially on the behavior of the mediator), confidentiality (focused on handling information from both, the parties and the mediator), and the very personal nature (referring to the obligation of the parties to comply with the process while they are in it). It is important that the concept of these characteristics be defined and respected throughout the process, because if not, the conversations, ideas, suggestions and decisions may be flawed, turning the mediation process into something that is no longer mediation. Finally, it is important to emphasize the relevance of communication within it, and this refers not only to the technicality of sender and receiver and exchange of messages, but also communication that is assertive, complemented by active listening and the ability to interpret what the other says under the notions of the mediating process.

Regarding the ways of carrying out mediation, it is worth considering that the result of the mediation will depend to a great extent on the way in which the mediator decides to organize his action. It will not be the same result in a mediation focused on the transformation of people, than one focused on each party obtaining "a slice of the cake". Likewise, the way in which the conflict and the mediation process are studied will allow the creation of roadmaps with different purposes, depending on the case. In order to act as a mediator, it is also important to review past cases, the characteristics in which cases coincide and differ from each other, and the theory behind mediation, this serves two purposes, to create more literature regarding mediation, and to broaden the range of options that a mediator can propose when guiding the process. However, it is necessary to expand the mediation literature at the international level, since the complexity of this matter requires more and better guides to be able to clarify the options that may arise in conflicts between states.

At the international level, mediation involves greater challenges, since it is not the same to organize and conduct conversations between individuals who represent themselves or organizations, than to do it with individuals who represent states, since being the largest unit of representation, it implies the representation of a greater number of people, which also includes organizations, and what results from the actions of a state has repercussions at an international level. For this reason it is necessary that there are entities that regulate this behavior and the way they carry out these processes, that is why the UN appears to shape the

ways of intervention in conflicts between nations, since there are principles at the international level that must be respected to maintain the status of the countries and the stability of the international community. The introduction of the "Culture of Peace" within the statutes of the UN allows redirecting several of its initiatives towards the construction of this concept within the global collective imaginary. The fact that the initiative to introduce said term was born from non-power states gives a plus to the way in which the Organization took on the subject, since it has not been handled as an imposition that responds to the interests of the most powerful countries, but as a concern not only to reaffirm the importance of maintaining peace at all times, but also to rebuild the behavior of societies to guarantee peace at all times. However, it should also be emphasized that the handling of this concept in the UN headquarters has been far more demagogic than practical, since due to the principles of state internationality, the organization's actions are limited to written resolutions, spoken statements, and recommendations that states may or may not abide by.

Regarding the Conflict

On the other hand, it is concluded that the conflict revised is the dispute over the ownership of the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave between the states of Armenia and Azerbaijan. The first is motivated by nationalist and ethnic feelings, while the second is motivated by the significance of the territory and its ability to demonstrate a kind of sovereignty among the former Soviet countries that comprise the South Caucasus. The conflict has escalated to the point of being considered destructive since the parties involved are in a "zero-sum" contest, betting on the use of force and domination; its dimension is international, also affecting surrounding nations; and its stage is mature (or escalated conflict), indicating that intervention through dialogue is ineffective at this stage since the positions are strongly rooted in each party.

Nagorno-Karabakh is considered an area of high conflict mainly for two reasons. The first is its resources, since the region is rich in gas and oil. In fact, Azerbaijan has had a significant growth in the present century thanks to these natural reserves; differentiating itself from Armenia, which has not had the same opportunities due to the blockade of Azerbaijan and Turkey, which demonstrates the significant change in results that occurred between the violent acts of 1994 and those of 2016, since in the first case, Armenia subjected the Azeri population, and had it not been for the ceasefire that Russia managed to get the nations to sign, the

consequences for Azerbaijan in terms of military and civilian deaths would have been higher; this scenario turned around in the second case, because due to the economic, technological and military development that Azerbaijan had after the oil boom at the beginning of the millennium, Azerbaijan had the skill to confront Armenia, who, defenseless against Azeri military capacity, found themselves defeated, until that year's ceasefire saved them from losing Nagorno-Karabakh entirely. However, other actors in the area have backed the Armenian territory, these are Russia and Iran. The second reason is its geopolitical relevance, since it is the gateway to the Transcaucasian belt, as well as the gateway to three continents: Europe, Asia and Africa. The conflict has been going on for approximately three decades and intervention is necessary on the part of the international community, otherwise it could end in catastrophic consequences for the populations of the affected parties. In this case, what is aimed at is a resolution intended to build peace, as a way to identify the causes of the conflict and build capacities for its management and resolution. In addition to support structures that strengthen peace with the greater purpose of avoiding relapse into conflict.

Regarding how the mediation process has been carried out within the zone, it has been quite active, since the duration and intensity of this conflict have generated the concern of the international community to appease it. The creation of the Minsk group, generated specifically for this conflict, exemplifies the efforts and commitment, initially, to contain the escalation of the conflict. However, were it not for the unilateral efforts of Russia (which will be analyzed separately), the appeasement of the conflict would not have occurred in the way that they did, since with the exception of Russia, the rest of the members of the group were not aware of the dynamics of the region. The proposals that came out of the Minsk group came after the appointment of the three presidents, and this did not happen until the ceasefire that Russia managed to achieve. Prior to this act, the Minsk group did not have much activity relevant to the case. On the other hand, analyzing the proposals that began to be given by the co-chairs of the group, these could be elaborated in the way they did it with an internal knowledge of the situation, hence Russia participation.

In general, it can be summed up that for the positive reconstruction of relations, one must first appeal to the desire of the parties to be intervened by external agents, since this may be illegitimate, leaving a "hybrid peace" (temporary and generic solutions, not based on real problems, much less applicable to them) result of the formula "one size fits all". In this case, the lack of agency and participation of Nagorno-Karabakh in talks about its own situation has

complicated the peacebuilding process. Symbolically, the beginning of the peace process in Nagorno-Karabakh occurs with the ceasefire in 1994. However, and despite the constant interventions of the higher states, the escalations within the conflict have never completely disappeared, and even today a peace agreement has not been signed as such, since what was agreed in November 2020 is still an unstable situation, considering that, although there is no war, there is no peace either.

Regarding Russia

From the consolidation of the USSR, its influence had a far-reaching scope in what is now the South Caucasus. After its fall, it left the economies and political regimes of the former Soviet nations unstable, as well as their populations and ethnic-cultural heritages, thus planting the origins of the conflict. At the time of the boom of the conflict at the end of the 1980s, the USSR had little interest in mitigating the situation. However, when its influence in the area was reduced due to the fall of the Soviet, Russia had the initiative to begin action plans with the supposed purpose of achieving peace for the enclave. However, by wanting to take particular actions, and even more so when the Minsk Group already existed, Russia hinted that it had intentions beyond achieving peace for the Caucasian countries by insisting on being the main mediator. From the first Russian president of the decade, the conflict has been seen as an opportunity to show the region and the world Russia's ability to manage an effective foreign policy and to be considered a guarantor of peace.

At the beginning of the Russian intervention, the lack of communication between political figures and the lack of action under the same purpose hindered the process, so what happened in 1994 could have been avoided if Russia had not only considered the result, but also taking the right steps. However, when the conflict broke out, it was the perfect opportunity for Russia to position itself as an effective mediator, since without the accompaniment of the Minsk group, the talks and arrangements that it achieved were viewed with greater admiration than it would have been if they had been made under the auspices of the OSCE. Russia took the right steps to be elected co-chair of the Minsk group. Rusetsky points out that "the development paradigm of the Caucasian conflicts is oriented towards the side of the crisis, and not that of regulation" (Rusetsky, 2012), which means that, maintaining an image of the conflict different from the real one, it is possible to have control over the outcome, which will be

expected to be inconclusive to keep control over what happens to its actors. The proposals that were made by the group between 1994 and 2000 did not have the expected acceptance by the parties, but they served to improve the dialogue between each of them directly with Russia and other countries that sought their participation in the conflict.

From the bonanza given by the high hydrocarbon trade, with Putin at the helm, Russia sees itself in a better position, and uses it to conduct a more neutral intervention, and with greater control of its foreign policy. As of this moment, this intervention begins to be questioned, since the management of hydrocarbons in the area made it clear that whoever maintains control of the area could take advantage of its benefits to be able to establish themselves in the European and Asian markets. When Medvedev occupies the presidential stage following Putin, his mediation efforts are intensified with the intention of demonstrating that dialogue will be what will effectively put an end to the confrontation, in an attempt to demonstrate to the Western powers that their own interests can be defended and attack others without having to go to war.

When Putin returns to the presidency, the actions around the mediation become more measured, but the constant attacks and counterattacks in the line of fire force Russia to take definitive steps to prevent the conflict from breaking out. When the violence could no longer be contained and a war broke out, Russia saw a new opportunity to conduct talks that defuse the confrontation. This gave it the confidence to see itself strengthened once more in the region when its efforts gave it a second ceasefire under its own power. Although the confidence of the nations of the region in Russia is limited, these actions force them to maintain Russia as a good ally, considering all that a nation of its characteristics can achieve.

Although it has become somewhat utopian for the parties to reach an agreement, Russia insisted on the dialogue resolution of the conflict and its reservation to intervene militarily if any uses force (as it did in Georgia in 2008). However, as in the South Ossetia and Abkhazia disputes, with Russia maintaining military collaboration with the two nations at the same time, there was a fairly obvious asymmetry both politically and militarily between the two nations. Furthermore, since Russia seeks to be part of the conflict solution only under the implicit conditions of maintaining full control over the geopolitical and economic situation in the region, this made it a stakeholder from the beginning in the results of said confrontation, demonstrating that his intervention as a mediator is vitiated, and therefore he should not be

acting according to that role. By the time the conflict broke out again in 2020, Russia had finally achieved a ceasefire sponsored by the Minsk group, which gave it the ability to intervene and anchor itself in the disputed area by deploying troops, securing a space in the region for an agreed time, and the freedom to intervene more directly if things get out of hand again.

Currently, Russian forces have remained vigilant in the Middle East despite the war with Ukraine, so much so that the Russian and Armenian presidents reaffirmed the desire to intensify force and peacekeeping efforts, thereby holding the presence of Russian troops in the region effective, at least until 2027. However, the mere fact that Russia has managed to "calm down" the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict after its mediation process, gives it a victory and maintains its influence and control, in order to stop the West, conformed by Europe, the United States and NATO. Although it is in Armenia's interest to follow Europe's development models, it is not willing to lose the protection and security that Russia gives it, which is why Armenia is Russia's safest anchor in the region. On the other hand, Turkey also took a significant role (not as much as Russia's) in the signed agreement, creating and strengthening ties with Armenia, broken thanks to the Armenian genocide, to gain a presence in the Caucasus and grow at the power level of the region. In other words, in the case of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, it is the two-party states that opt for Russia's participation as a mediator and have been open to their ideas; however, it is this same intervention "balanced in the middle" that has frozen the conflict and the negotiations for its resolution.

What can be synthesized from the mediation process already carried out is that it yielded certain successful results that could bring the parties closer to a cessation of their differences; the first was the creation of the Lachin corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the Zangezur corridor between Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan. Another significant argument for peace has been the effective exchange of refugees and displaced persons, which has brought both countries closer to rebuilding their relations. However, there were also certain abuses that slowed down the peace talks; what was counterproductive or negative in this case was that, although the agreement was made under the eyes of the Minsk group and the OSCE, the troops guarding the conflict zone are Russian and not a security team acting in unbiased, as would be expected.

Recommendations

To conclude, the present investigative work compiles some meeting points between the interests and needs of the parties involved, a path through which a more successful mediation process could be carried out, as well as reaffirm the sovereignty of each nation, since each one would be taking an active part in decision-making within the conciliation process:

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	NAGORNO KHARABAKH
According to the Minsk Group (Lisbon, 1996)	Respect for its territorial integrity.	Respect for its territorial integrity.	
		Provide greater autonomy for Nagorno-Karabakh.	Self-government.
	Guarantee the safety of the population of the enclave.	Guarantee the safety of the population of the enclave.	
According to the OSCE (2009)	Claims the Azeri occupation of two territories that made up the former Oblast of the region, Mardakert and Martuni. Also two other territories, Shahumian and Getashen, even though these did not belong to the Oblast.	Claims Armenian occupation of almost 90% of the enclave's territory plus five surrounding districts (Lachin, Jebrail, Zangelan, Kubatly, Kelbajar) and a large portion of two others, Fizuli and Agdam; since 2010.	Return occupied territories surrounding the enclave to Azerbaijan.
	Allow refugees and displaced persons to return to their places of origin.	Allow refugees and displaced persons to return to their places of origin.	Allow refugees and displaced persons to return to their places of origin, which by September 2020 amounted to 90,000.

			Recognize the loss of more than 5,500 soldiers in battle, as well as civilian casualties.
			Install an interim state that maintains the guarantee of self-government and security.
	Form a corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh to strengthen relations, economy, among others.		Form a corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh to strengthen relations, economy, among others.

Own elaboration

In short, these points of convergence between the nations that are parties to the conflict can be the starting line for a better mediation process. It is important to highlight that, for the accurate maintenance of peace, it is planned to go beyond a ceasefire and form a culture of peace, which allows breaking the barrier of xenophobia and ethnic-racial rejection that has been raised in the mentality of generations and generations of Armenians and Azeris, after decades of conflict with no apparent end.

As a final recommendation, the OSCE group should take more active measures to lift the economic blockade of stronger countries such as Turkey, on Armenia, since its very purpose is security and the protection of fundamental freedoms in the conflicts that occur in the globe. Likewise, due to its nature as a body at the hierarchical levels of the international order, said international organization should fulfill the role of overseer of the distribution of natural resources within the area, so that there is no cut of the same for the enclave, as well as for its surrounding territories, allowing fair access to resources to improve the quality of life and stability of the country, as well as its population.

Annexes

Annex 1. Techniques and Theories of the social sciences collected by Sara Cobb

In order to achieve the result proposed by Cobb, a series of tools are needed in the application of this model. On one hand, we have the use of language in all its forms, the verbal, the paraverbal, and the way in which the interaction takes place. On the other hand, authors such as Suarez (2008) indicate that this model includes techniques and theories from different social sciences, such as:

Table 12: Social theories of the model of Sara Cobb

<p>Bateson and Watzlawick Communication Theory (Conceptual elements)</p>	<p>Researchers trained by the "Palo Alto School" developed a model that considers communication as not only the exchange of information, but also a synergy of all the elements involved, as well as the influence of each one on the whole, such as the context, acting as the speaker and receiver, symbols, media, etc. -analog communication and pragmatic aspects of communication-. Watzlawick defines it as the interaction of elements where the modification of each one affects the others (Rizo García, 2011), with the context being the text qualifier.</p>	<p>Particularities: Watzlawick's Five Axioms (1967): All behavior is a form of interaction. Each communication has a level of relationship and content. The relationship is given by the way of structuring the communicational flow. Two levels are presented during communication, a digital, what is said; and an analog, how do you say. The interaction is symmetrical and complementary (equality or difference).</p>
<p>Systemic family therapy (keys)</p>	<p>This therapy is based on the systemic study of the person's environment, past and family context to understand the thought and nature of the disorders that a person may have, "it focuses on the human group before the individual" (Ortiz Granja , 2008). It also takes into consideration the reformulation, externalization, positive</p>	

	connotation and circular questions of what has already been tried from the beginning but has not given results (Giménez Romero, 2001).
The cybernetics of Heinz von Foerster (Epistemological innovations)	The concept of Cybernetics within epistemology is born from Weiner, defining it as feedback, a way of driving a system recognizing its past performance and correcting errors, completing the learning process. Heinz von Foerster introduces the levels of complexity: “0 order” cybernetics, the implicit one; “first order” cybernetics, which studies complex organisms from the outside, without intervening in their behavior; and “second order” cybernetics, a reflection on the first order implies including the observer as part of the system, which completely changes the results (Estrada, López and Posada, 1997), which Giménez Romero (2001) catalogs as positioning against "a reality in parentheses", being an important element the observer as part of what he observes.
Humberto Maturana's Theory of the Observer (Epistemological innovations)	Although Maturana denies any kind of openness to Constructivism, his ideas are quite Constructivist, since his theory states that the role of the individual is that of observer, and that from said observation the different behavioral forms of the environment and the individual are formed. He affirms that "human beings configure the world in which we live as we language it... we give birth to our daily world" (Ortiz Ocaña, 2015). This concept converges to a great extent with Foerster's cybernetics in terms of the observer element and the importance it has for the context.
Social constructionism of Kenneth Georgen (Contributions)	Initially, Georgen (2007) rejects the idea that knowledge is created and acquired solely by and for the individual, "all meaningful propositions about what is real and what is good have their origins in relationships", recognizing the generation of knowledge from the coordination of actions between people. Things make sense from their social use, and their meaning makes sense not only from the emergence in an individual but also when there is a reaction that determines them.
Michael White Narrative Therapy	It arises from the existence of Bateson's Family Therapy and the complementarity of Maturana's contributions, based on individuals as

(Postmodern Theory of Meaning)	social beings. The work of narrative therapy is based on the different practices of psychological analysis of the individual based on conversation. It also introduces the constructivist perspective, since "narrative therapy is a therapeutic approach that is fundamentally interested in the stories that people build about their lives and their identity" (López de Martín, 2011).
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Own elaboration.

Annex 2. The Madrid principles

In November 2007, the so-called Madrid Principles, proposed by the Minsk group under the auspices of the OSCE, were presented in Madrid to the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Obama, President of the United States; Medvedev, president of Russia; and Sarkozy, president of France, co-chairs of the Minsk group, presented seven principles for the possible resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. These are:

- A. The recovery of the surrounding territories of Nagorno-Karabakh by Armenia from the control of Azerbaijan.
- B. An interim status for Nagorno-Karabakh that provides guarantees of security and self-government.
- C. A corridor connecting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia.
- D. Definitive determination for the future legal status of Nagorno-Karabakh through a legally binding expression of will process.
- E. The right of all internally displaced persons and refugees to be able to return to their previous places of residence.
- F. International security guarantees that include peacekeeping operations.

The principles were based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act that seek Territorial Integrity, Self-determination of people and Equal Rights.

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