

# Blockade of Artsakh: Reactions of the French Side on the Illegal Closing of the Goris-Stepanakert Road

*Mkrtchyan Volodya A.*

*Faculty of Oriental Studies, Student of the Chair of Turkic Studies  
Yerevan State University (Yerevan, RA)*

*mkvolodya21@gmail.com*

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EDN: QJNFJL

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## **Блокада АРЦАХА: реакция французской стороны на незаконное закрытие дороги Горис-Степанакерт**

*Мкртчян Володя А.*

*факультет востоковедения, студент кафедры тюркологии  
Ереванский государственный университет (Ереван, РА)*

*mkvolodya21@gmail.com*

**Аннотация:** С 12 декабря 2022 года военные и сотрудники спецслужб Азербайджана, действующие под имени “защитников окружающей среды”, нарушив положения Трехсторонней декларации от 9 ноября, незаконно перекрыли дорогу Степанакерт-Горис, перерезав связь 120 000 армян Арцаха с внешним миром.

В этой статье мы представили позицию Франции, члена Минской группы ОБСЕ, по вопросу о незаконной блокаде Арцаха со стороны Азербайджана. Опираясь на мониторинг СМИ, заявления и выступления официальных лиц, мы попытались выделить особенности реакции французской стороны.

В результате исследования мы пришли к выводу, что французская сторона выразила свою озабоченность по поводу блокады, что еще раз показывает, что Франция рядом с армянским народом. Однако в то же время необходимо отметить, что призывов французской стороны сегодня недостаточно, поскольку многомесячная блокада является следствием безнаказанности азербайджанской стороны, и, пользуясь этим, Азербайджан продолжает проводить политику геноцида.

**Ключевые слова:** Арцах, Армения, Франция, Азербайджан, Лачинский коридор, блокада, гуманитарный кризис

## **Արցախի շրջափակում. Գորիս-Ստեփանակերտ ճանապարհի ապօրինի փակման վերաբերյալ ֆրանսիական կողմի արձագանքները**

*Մկրտչյան Վոլոդյա Ա.*

*արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի թյուրքագիտության ամբիոնի ուսանող,  
Երևանի պետական համալսարան (Երևան, ՀՀ)*

*mkvolodya21@gmail.com*

**Ամփոփագիր.** 2022 թ. դեկտեմբերի 12-ից “բնապահպանի” անվան տակ հանդես եկող Ադրբեջանի հատուկ ծառայությունների աշխատակիցներն ու զինվորականները, խախտելով նոյեմբերի 9-ի Եռակողմ հայտարարության դրույթները, ապօրինաբար փակել են Ստեփանակերտ-Գորիս մայրուղին՝ խզելով Արցախի 120 000 քաղաքացիների և արտաքին աշխարհի կապը:

Սույն հոդվածում ներկայացրել ենք ԵԱՀԿ Մինսկի խմբի անդամ հանդիսացող Ֆրանսիայի դիրքորոշումը Արցախի Ադրբեջանի կողմից ապօրինի շրջափակման խնդրի շուրջ: Հենվելով ՉԼՄ-ների մշտադիտարկման, պաշտոնատար անձանց հայտարարությունների ու ելույթների բովանդակային վերլուծության վրա փորձել ենք վեր հանել ֆրանսիական կողմի արձագանքների առանձնահատկությունները:

Հետազոտության արդյունքում հանգել ենք այն եզրակացությանը, որ ֆրանսիական կողմը բոլակապի վերաբերյալ իր մտահոգություններն է հայտնել, ինչը ևս մեկ անգամ ցույց է տալիս, որ Ֆրանսիան կանգնած է հայ ժողովրդի կողքին: Սակայն միաժամանակ անհրաժեշտ է նշել, որ ֆրանսիական կողմից հնչեցված կոչերն այսօր բավարար չեն, քանի որ ամիսներ շարունակ տևող շրջափակումը ադրբեջանական կողմի անպատժելիության հետևանք է, և օգտվելով դրանից՝ Ադրբեջանը շարունակում է իրականացնել իր ցեղասպան քաղաքականությունը:

**Հիմնաբառեր՝** Արցախ, Հայաստան, Ֆրանսիա, Ադրբեջան, Լաչինի միջանցք, շրջափակում, հումանիտար ճգնաժամ

### **Introduction**

When Azerbaijan became Sovietized, Artsakh Armenians hoped that it was a good opportunity to

join Armenia. However, the Sovietization of Azerbaijan were fatal: mass violence began, revenge against the national element, Armenian-Tatar

massacres, more simply, a struggle for the territory of Artsakh. As a result of all this, in 1921 On July 5, Artsakh was illegally annexed to Azerbaijan, and later, in 1923, as a result of the persistent struggle of the Artsakh Armenians, the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was created, including five regions: Askeran, Martakert, Martuni, Shushi and Hadrut. And in the open area between Armenia, they created the province of Red Kurdistan, declaring the elimination of the land border between Soviet Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as not including that area in Nagorno-Karabakh. However, as a result of impunity, the Azerbaijani side's national policy, territorial appropriation, and violence continued throughout the Soviet Union. Its plain region and Akna were separated from NKAO. NKAO was summed up in 4.4 km<sup>2</sup>. The region was deprived of the promised economic independence, and practically all ties with Armenia were eliminated. Finally, the Armenians, dissatisfied with all of this, took over the process of reuniting Artsakh with Armenia at the sunset of the Soviet Union, the Artsakh movement, which ended with the restoration of the just rights of the Armenian side<sup>1</sup>.

It should also be noted that during this period of relative stability, Azerbaijan repeatedly resorted to provocations, carried out sabotage attacks, and even carried out a large-scale military operation on April 2-6, 2016, which was named the Four-Day War. And the 44-day war of 2020 ended with the heavy defeat of the Armenian side. The sixth point of the declaration summarizing the results of the war, signed on November 9 of the same year with the mediation of Russia and called the "tripartite declaration", is of cornerstone importance for the Armenia-Artsakh land connection, as it was to ensure the five-kilometer wide, so-called Lachin Corridor between the two Armenian republics; the connection through which Azerbaijan would guarantee the "safety of the movement of citizens, vehicles, and cargo in both directions" until the construction of the new road within three years [12]. However, today we have a picture when Azerbaijan itself, which is obliged to ensure free movement through the corridor within the framework of its commitments, is personally obstructing free movement by keeping closed the Shushi-Karintak section of the road connecting Artsakh to Armenia since December 12, and later on April 23 Hakari river bridge, where a few days later he illegally set up a checkpoint, with this step again obstructing the

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<sup>1</sup> On September 2, 1991, the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh was proclaimed and ratified by the referendum held on December 10 of the same year. See more: The Referendum on Independence of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic | NKR: Accessed: 27.05.2023.

movement to Artsakh, continuing his criminal steps aimed at deepening the blockade and ethnic cleansing, which violates both the tripartite declaration [12] and the mandatory UN International Court of Justice [18] the enforceable decision and other fundamental norms of international law.

#### **Reactions of the French side regarding the blockade**

On December 12, around 10:30 AM [13], the employees of the special services of Azerbaijan acting under the name of the environmentalist and the military, violating the provisions of the tripartite declaration of November 9, appeared on the Stepanakert-Goris highway and closed the Shushi-Karintak intersection of the road connecting Artsakh to Armenia, leaving 120,000 citizens of Artsakh under total blockade. The fake environmentalists, who gathered at the beginning of the city of Shushi, claiming that the illegal industrial works carried out by Armenia harm the nature of Artsakh, demanded to meet with the commander of the Russian peacekeeping troops [28]. A country where it is not possible to find an environmental get even once when the main production is based on gas and oil, which has just revealed serious environmental problems, Artsakh has sent activists acting as highly concerned environmentalists on the road connecting Armenia. And who are these "eco-activists"? "Tatoyan" foundation managed to identify a group of activists [17] who are on the front lines of the demonstration. Among the demonstrators are Telman Gasimov, a former Azerbaijani military man who is a military expert in the pro-government media, Nezaket Hesenova, who fought against the "environmental disaster" with a fur coat, and others. It should also be noted that members of the Turkish "Grey Wolves" terrorist organization [17] are among the ranks of the action invented by the so-called eco-activists, which once again proves Turkey's involvement in this case.

This is the continuation of the joint statement of the factions of the Artsakh National Assembly regarding all Azerbaijani provocations, from which we quote a part:

*"We call on the international community to take concrete steps to curb Azerbaijan's aggressive ambitions"* [7].

The statements expressing the attitude and position of some countries to the created situation are not late either, from which we will study the reactions of the French side.

It deserves attention and respect the fact that France is among the first countries to respond to the situation, which on December 13 issued a condemning statement and called for *"unconditional restoration of access and supplies to Nagorno*

*Karabakh, while respecting the rights of the population living there” [22].*

In the early days of the blockade, the speech of French deputy representative Nathalie Estival-Broadhurst at the UN Security Council session on December 20 was important, where she stated that:

*“...Restrictions on free movement through the corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh are unacceptable. The direct consequence of the blockade of the Lachine Corridor is the isolation of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh the humanitarian consequences are worsening day by day...France calls for the unconditional restoration of traffic along the corridor and supplies to Nagorno-Karabakh, respecting the rights of the population living there”.* [30]

We think that a institute that is called to ensure international peace and security, in the person of the high chair of the UNSC, referring to Artsakh, the situation created around it, the humanitarian disaster caused by that situation, can turn the attention of the international community, which is one of the important levers restraining Adrebjan.

On December 23, during a telephone conversation with Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev, French President Emmanuel Macron expressed his concern about the situation, saying that it is important to respect the current standards, keeping in mind the tripartite declaration of November 9, and called for allowing free movement along the corridor of Lachine [31].

We consider important the joint article-call published by more than 200 French intellectuals, writers and artists in the French daily "Figaro" on the eve of the Christmas holidays, in which the criminal activities of Azerbaijan were condemned, and from which we emphasize the following:

*"What kind of future will we offer our children if we give the basis for dictatorship, barbarism... against our brotherly people who have been connected with us for centuries, against the bridge people who have always contributed to the dialogue between cultures? What will our children think, on what values will they be able to build themselves, if we allow the unthinkable to happen again [V. M. - 1915 Armenian genocide]" [26].*

Thus, the group of intellectuals emphasizes once again that the Azerbaijani and Turkish "manuscripts" are the same in issues related to Armenians; without hesitation, we can call it Pan-Turkism, the most important obstacle in its path is the Armenian people.

During the press conference held at the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia on January 13, President of the French National Assembly Yael Brown-Piver, assessing the importance of immediate restoration of traffic, noted

that the created anti-humanitarian situation is getting worse, and France will do everything to avoid a humanitarian disaster [3, 5:13-6:12 minutes]. In fact, we have a situation where France, one of the important players in international relations, declares in Armenia at the level of the second person that there is a crisis, opposing the claims of the Azerbaijani side that the traffic in the corridor works without interruption.

On January 24, French President Emmanuel Macron received Ara Toranyan and Murad Papazyan, co-chairs of the Coordinating Council of Armenian Organizations of France, in the Elysee Palace [29], where they discussed the situation in Artsakh due to the closure of the road. We think that this is another signal that France is trying to stand by Armenia and Artsakh.

French member of the European Parliament, head of the delegation of the "Les Républicains" party in the European Parliament, François-Xavier Bellamy, who met Syunik Governor Robert Ghukasyan on February 11 in Goris [8], also referred to the fact of the road connecting Armenia to Artsakh being closed. In his Twitter microblog, the French MP wrote [23] that thousands of people who are far from their families due to the closure of the Lachine Corridor are just waiting for the moment when they will finally be able to go home. The French MP then met with the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Artsakh Felix Khachatryan and Advisor to the Minister of State of the Republic of Artsakh Artak Beglaryan at the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Artsakh in Armenia [20]. It should also be noted that François-Xavier Bellamy regularly makes pro-Armenian publications on his Twitter microblog and his reference is so important that in one of his speeches, he called on Brussels to assume its responsibilities and impose clear sanctions against Baku [24].

Like François-Xavier Bellamy, Anne-Laurence Petel, the head of the France-Armenia parliamentary friendship group, also makes pro-Armenian publications on her Twitter microblog, of which she said the following in a February 12 post:

*"Azerbaijan has organized the blockade of the Lachin Corridor, after which it will starve the population and force them to leave the country. The international community must be mobilized and put an end to the blockade of Artsakh" [20].*

Perhaps the most high-profile event in the days of the blockade was the Hague court's decision on February 22 on a request for a temporary measure to unblock the Lachine Corridor. The court issued a legally binding order under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) [19] in the

proceedings initiated by Armenia against Azerbaijan, obliging Azerbaijan to immediately ensure free movement along the corridor. However, as we can see, the decision of the Hague Court remains incomplete and in international law, unfortunately, we do not have such an institution that deals with the forced execution of the decisions of the International Court.

On March 6, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of RA Vahe Gevorgyan received OSCE Minsk Group French Co-Chairman Brice Roquefo [25]. During the meeting, reference was made to the situation created in Artsakh due to the illegal blocking of the road by Azerbaijan. In this context, the implementation of the decision of the International Court of Justice to apply an urgent measure to Azerbaijan was highlighted.

The next day, on March 7, Brice Roquefo was received by Armen Grigoryan, Secretary of the Security Council of the Republic of Armenia, and it is noted that the interlocutors discussed the difficult humanitarian situation created around the road connecting Artsakh to Armenia and resulting from it in Artsakh [5].

In our opinion, Brice Roquefo's visit to Armenia as France's co-chairman of the OSCE Minsk Group shows that despite the statements of Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev that "The Karabakh conflict has been resolved, the Karabakh issue is closed" [16], the OSCE Minsk Group, represented by France, continues its work, and at least for France the Artsakh issue is not closed.

On March 16, a conference entitled "In Support of Armenia and Artsakh" [21] was held in the French Senate under the auspices of the Presidents of the French Senate and the National Assembly, Gerard Larchet and Yael Brown-Pivet, with the participation of prominent French intellectuals and parliamentarians [27]. French intellectuals expressed their deep concern about the anti-Armenian and ethnic cleansing policy continuously implemented by Azerbaijan and called on the international community to take immediate and effective steps to lift the blockade of Artsakh that has lasted for almost 100 days and guarantee the right of Artsakh Armenians to live safely and with dignity on their native land.

On March 31, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Artsakh Sergey Ghazaryan received the President of the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region of France, Laurent Vauquier, at the Permanent Representation of Armenia, who also held a press conference. Answering the questions of one of the journalists, Laurent Vauquier expressed his concern about the situation in Artsakh, noting that the fate of Artsakh is closely connected with the fate of Syunik, and

Syunik is the key to the integrity of Armenia [6, 9:42-10:05 minutes].

From the above quote, we can at least understand that after the depopulation of Artsakh and the dispossession of Artsakh residents, Azerbaijan will embark on the same scenario, why not repeat it in Syunik with more brutal and provocative steps, which already means the occupation of Armenia's sovereign territory.

It should also be noted that after Laurent Vauquier's visit to Syunik region, the Türkistan Haber news site, referring to the visit of the French official, called him an enemy and said that his visit and statements can be seen as interference in Azerbaijan's internal affairs [32].

On April 23, the delegation led by the chairman of the international awareness group on Artsakh and the head of the "Les Républicains" faction of the French Senate, Bruno Ratayo, arrived in Syunik and visited the Tegh community, which was welcomed by Syunik governor Robert Ghukasyan [15]. Governor Ghukasyan introduced the security crisis created in Syunik and Artsakh on the spot.

The next day, on April 24, the delegation visited the RA Foreign Ministry, where they discussed regional security and stability issues with the Armenian side. The interlocutors considered unacceptable the steps taken by Azerbaijan to illegally install a checkpoint on the Goris-Stepanakert highway, which are aimed at the ethnic cleaning of the people of Artsakh.

As part of her visit to the Caucasus, French Foreign Minister Catherine Colonna arrived in Armenia on April 27. On April 28, the meeting of the heads of the foreign ministries of the two countries was followed by their press conference. Referring to Artsakh in his speech, Minister Colonna noted that France continues to call for the restoration of unimpeded movement through the corridor following the commitments [V. M. - according to the tripartite statement of November 9] and the judgment of the International Court of Justice, the blockade lasting several months is not acceptable and creates a humanitarian crisis for the people of Artsakh [4, 16:20 -17:00 minutes].

To summarize, let's note that on April 28, Azerbaijani "eco-activists" announced that they are temporarily stopping the action on the Goris-Stepanakert highway [2]. However, earlier, on April 23, the Azerbaijani side closed the Hakar River bridge [1] and a few days later set up a checkpoint [9]. In other words, by again obstructing the movement to Artsakh with this step, Azerbaijan continues its criminal steps aimed at deepening the blockade and ethnic cleansing, which violates the well-known tripartite declaration, the binding decision of the UN International Court of Justice,

and the international law other fundamental norms of law.

**Conclusion**

Thus, after studying the reactions of the French side during the siege of Artsakh, we came to the following conclusions:

- The French side has regularly and properly expressed its concerns about the blockade at the level of the president, deputies, and similar intelligentsia and has repeatedly made appeals.

- In matters of importance for RA, especially in 2020 since the 44-day war, France has been by Armenia's side, but unfortunately, the calls and responses made by the French side are insufficient today, because what is happening today is the result of impunity on the part of the Azerbaijani side, and being excited by this impunity, they continue to carry out the genocidal policy.

- The UN Security Council has the leverage to forcibly implement the decision of the Hague Court, but it is not necessary to wait for it, because the permanent members of the Security Council act according to their interests, that is, this issue is highly politicized.

- Bearing in mind that all this is a step against not only Artsakh Armenians but also against Armenians, we emphasize that France has a significant role in the fight against genocide and its impunity in the world.

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