THE WAR CRIMES OF ARMENIA
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE MILITARY ACTS OF ARMENIA IN AND AROUND KARABAKH

YÜCEL ACER
THE WAR CRIMES OF ARMENIA
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE MILITARY ACTS OF ARMENIA IN AND AROUND KARABAKH

YÜCEL ACER
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW GOVERNING MILITARY CONDUCT</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of Armenia during the actual conflict and a legal assessment</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Yücel Acer

Prof. Yücel Acer graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University, Turkey, and went on to earn an LL.M. Degree in International Law from the Law Faculty at the University of Sheffield, UK, and a PhD in International Law from the Law Faculty of the University of Bristol, UK. His postdoctoral studies were at the William S. Richardson School of Law at the University of Hawaii, United States. Acer specializes in international law of the sea, international law of armed conflicts, and international human rights law. He is the author of numerous academic articles in addition to his books entitled The Aegean Maritime Disputes and International Law; Crime of Aggression in International Law [Uluslararası Hukukta Saldırı Suçu]; The Asylum Strategy of Turkey from the Global and Regional Perspectives [Küresel ve Bölgesel Perspektiften Türkiye’nin İltica Stratejisii]; and A Basic Textbook on International Law [Uluslararası Hukuk Temel Ders Kitabı]. Acer has taught at the Turkish Military Academy, İzmir University of Economics, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, and Atılım University. Currently, he is a professor of International Law at the Faculty of Law at Yıldırım Beyazıt University in Ankara.
SUMMARY

This analysis discusses the violations of international humanitarian laws committed by Armenia since September 27, 2020 in the occupied Azerbaijani lands.

In the last century, universal rules of law regulating arms and methods of military conflicts both in international and internal armed conflicts have been established through international conventions with broad participation. Today, these rules are called “international humanitarian law” and the vast majority of violations of these rules constitute crimes that lead to personal criminal liability. The kind of violations committed by Armenia during the occupation of the lands of Azeris in and around the region of Karabakh between 1992 and 1994 have been identified by independent international reports. However, as of September 27, 2020, such violations by Armenia have returned to the agenda in the ongoing conflict in the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Even general overview proves the violation of many international humanitarian laws by the Armenian forces during the current clashes. In order to judge the perpetrators committing these crimes, at the present stage, the detection of these activities and seeking justice at international bodies are important.
INTRODUCTION
The efforts to spread the claims of the so-called Armenian genocide across the world are known for decades. It has also become evident that these efforts are supported by Armenia, the country which gained independence with the collapse of the Soviet Union. What is surprising is that, on the one hand, the Armenian administrations give the impression that they are extremely “sensitive towards the protection of civilian lives” or, at least, that they have been “victimized” in this regard; while, on the other hand, they are actually at the forefront of aggression against civilians with the attacks they have committed against civilians in Karabakh and its environs during both the current conflict and in the period of the last 30 years.

The Artsakh Defense Army, that is the Armenian forces in Karabakh, reportedly backed by the Russian Army, took over the Azeri town of Hocalı (Khojaly) in February 1992 and committed the largest massacre to date in the conflict. More than 200 civilians were killed in the attacks only in the town of Hocalı and according to some observers, 500-1,000 civilians lost their lives in this town alone.¹

In the period of 1993-1994, an estimated 25,000 people were killed and over one million Azerbaijani citizens were displaced, became refugees, or were exiled in the clashes between Armenia and the Karabakh Armenian groups and the Azerbaijani forces over Karabakh. To this day, the displaced Azeris have not been able to return to their homes.² Only in Karabakh and its surroundings, about 450,000-500,000 Azeris were forced out of their homes during the clashes.

With Armenia beginning to use heavier weapons in 1994, the conflict entered a new stage and tens of thousands of civilians were wounded or lost their lives.³ During the course of the clashes in 1993-1994, Armenian and Karabakh forces exiled the Azeri people from all the regions they captured, took civilian hostages, and killed scores of Azeri civilians who were trying to flee. Large-scale plundering and destruction of Azeri properties accompanied these acts. In Aghdam, for instance, an Azeri city with a population of 50,000, various examples of looting were arranged and carried out by Armenian groups organized in Karabakh.⁴

After Armenia occupied Karabakh and some of the surrounding Azeri sites and perpetuated the occupation, sporadic clashes occurred between the two sides.⁵ The most violent clash erupted on September 27, 2020 and continues to this day.

² Ibid., p. ix.
³ Ibid., p. 100.
⁴ Ibid., p. 35.
In these ongoing clashes, acts are being committed that are reminiscent of the tragic events that occurred between 1992 and 1994. In the current clashes, again, the military acts of Armenia are leading to civilian losses. While such dramatic incidents continue to take place, it is important to identify and reveal Armenia’s military activities and methods that culminate in civilian loss, to analyze the violations of established international principles and the responsibilities stem from these violations. The trial and punishment of the perpetrators of these acts – that is sure to occur someday even if not immediately – will be possible only through the timely identification of such crimes as they happen and with due process of international law.

THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW GOVERNING MILITARY CONDUCT

Rules and Violations
Throughout the known history of humanity, the establishment of an effective system to punish the murder and massacre of the vulnerable has not been achieved. However, it does not mean that no progress has been made. Such acts have, at least, been identified as “prohibited acts” in humanity’s common law system.

In more than a century, states have been able to make progress toward understanding and accepting that while fighting each other, not every means of defeating the other is legitimate. With the international conventions, i.e. the Geneva Convention of 1864 and the Hague Convention of 1907, important initial steps were taken not only to improve the situation of soldiers who were wounded or ailed in war, but also to prohibit weapons and methods that inflict unnecessary pain and losses on the enemy and lead to civilian losses. International regulatory efforts on the prohibition of weapons and methods that indiscriminately cause civilian casualties in war and/or cause unnecessary suffering and deaths were resumed in the period between the First and Second World Wars. Ultimately, four separate Geneva Conventions in 1949 and two Additional Protocols in 1977 were signed to protect civilians, civilian settlements, prisoners, the wounded, and the sick from the effects of war by limiting wars to their political purposes while recognizing the requirements of a just war, and especially in the case of defensive wars.

Within this framework, two main objectives were identified. These are “limiting the weapons and methods of armed conflicts” and “protecting civilians and non-combatants (hors de combat) in armed conflicts.” These rules are now almost entirely covered by relevant international multilateral conventions. Moreover, they have been turned into universal customary rules that are applied to all parties regardless of who initiates the armed conflict. Furthermore, they are applied not only to international armed conflicts, but also to internal conflicts, as well as to all situations in which civilians should be protected collectively. That is why the concept of international humanitarian law, rather than the concept of international law of armed conflict, is preferred, as these rules apply to the protection of civilians against violence even if there is no situation of armed conflict.

The use of weapons and methods of defeating an enemy are no longer unlimited. The use of weapons that cause unnecessary deaths

---

and suffering is prohibited.\textsuperscript{7} Methods that undermine the confidence between the parties on certain principles and emblems are prohibited.\textsuperscript{8} Especially, the targeting and attack of civilians and civilian settlements not directly involved in armed conflicts are strictly prohibited.\textsuperscript{9}

The targeting and attack of civilians and civilian settlements not directly involved in armed conflicts are strictly prohibited.

\textbf{The targeting and attack of civilians and civilian settlements not directly involved in armed conflicts are strictly prohibited.}

In this general framework, some of the basic obligations imposed on all parties are the humane treatment and preservation of life of non-combatants; the appropriate treatment of those wounded and patients; showing respect for the emblems and signs of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent; protecting prisoners and civilians from armed attacks; allowing prisoners of war to communicate with their families and receive humanitarian aid; preventing all forms of torture, physical punishment, or cruel or degrading treatment; ensuring the protection of civilians by all parties by separating the fighters and civilians; and ensuring that armed attacks are aimed only at military targets.

Another point that is as important as the abovementioned binding rules for states and, therefore, for their citizens, is that violations of the prohibitions are considered criminal offenses rather than ordinary violations of the law. In this context, examples of national and international judgments and the Geneva Conventions, in particular, have established the categories of “crimes against peace” (planning, initiating, and furthering a war of aggression against international law); “war crimes” (the violation of rules regulating weapons and methods, and the protection of civilians and other non-combatants);\textsuperscript{10} and “crimes against humanity” (actions leading to the mass murder of civilians in war or peace-time including genocide).\textsuperscript{11}

According to international law, these acts lead to personal criminal liability of military or civilian persons arising from violations of the law of armed conflict or humanitarian law, which should be prosecuted and punished. It comes as little surprise that these acts have been criminalized since they offend and stand in opposition to humanity’s most fundamental values. Such violations include the killing, injury, and torture of non-combatants or civilians; the confinement of non-combatants or civilians in concentration camps or their subjection to blockades; turning civilian living spaces into war zones; obstructing non-combatants or civilians from meeting their basic needs; and the inhumane treatment of the wounded and ailed in wars.

Ensuring that all armed attacks are aimed exclusively at military targets is one of the fundamental obligations that is imposed on all parties.

\textsuperscript{7} The Hague Convention on Laws and Customs of War on Land of 1907, Article 23 (c), Protocol Additional to Geneva Conventions (Protocol I) (1977), Article 35 (2).

\textsuperscript{8} The Hague Convention on Laws and Customs of War on Land of 1907, Article 23 (f), 29-31; Protocol Additional to Geneva Conventions (Protocol I), Article 37, 46.

\textsuperscript{9} The Hague Convention on Laws and Customs of War on Land of 1907, Article 23 (c); Geneva Convention for the Protection of the Civilians of 1949, Article 13-23; Protocol Additional to Geneva Conventions (Protocol I), Article 48-58.

\textsuperscript{10} Paragraph 2 of Article 8 of the Rome Statute, which established the International Criminal Court (ICC), defines war crimes as the “grave violations of Geneva Conventions of 1949” in the first clause and “other violations of the laws and rules applicable to international armed conflicts” in the second clause, and stipulates punishment. War crimes are also counted as similar acts in the Nuremberg Statute.

\textsuperscript{11} Crimes against humanity are counted in Article 7 of the ICC Statute.
The Trial of Criminals

Undoubtedly, prohibition and criminalization of these acts by the international community should not be underestimated in order to ensure the protection of fundamental values and the legal order of the international community. The identification and punishment of those who commit these crimes is significant in this context. International mechanisms are, however, far from reaching the desired stage in terms of the effective trial of these crimes and the criminals, who are under the jurisdiction of the state of the country where the crime is committed or of the state of which the perpetrators are citizens. However, since the Second World War, in particular, some significant progress has been made in this regard.

The trial and punishment of high-ranking officials of the Nazi regime and the Japanese administration at Nuremberg and Tokyo criminal courts, the trial and punishment of the perpetrators behind the crimes committed in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda by two separate criminal courts formed by the United Nations Security Council are quite limited but promising examples.

The major development is, however, the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) by the Rome Statute which was signed in 1998 and came into power in 2002. The court has been active since 2003. The ICC has the authority to judge genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the crime of aggression. Some of the cases have appeared before the court regard the situations such as such as the situations in Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Darfur, Sudan, Kenya, Libya, Ivory Coast, Mali, the Central African Republic, Georgia, Burundi, the actions of Bangladesh in Myanmar, and the situation in Afghanistan. In this regard, the ICC has already tried certain individuals. Moreover, the court has launched investigations on the actions of Great Britain in Iraq and preliminary inquiries on the situations in Columbia, Guinea, Nigeria, Palestine, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Bolivia.

To date, a total of 123 states, including Great Britain, Germany, France, and other Western European countries, have become a party to the Rome Statute; however, others such as the U.S., Russia, China, and Israel are not party to the statute. This situation prevents the ICC from working fully effectively and does not allow the court to work on some important cases.

ACTS OF ARMENIA DURING THE ACTUAL CONFLICT AND A LEGAL ASSESSMENT

The Acts of Armenia

According to available information, Armenia used weapons and methods of war seriously harming civilians in the Armenia-Azerbaijan clashes that broke out on September 27, 2020 in the occupied Azerbaijani territories. According to the legal framework defined above, what are the noticeable actions, and their legal meanings and consequences? Although the ongoing conflicts do not yet make it possible to obtain extensive reports on this issue, some official reports have begun to be published, in addition to media reports concerning the events in the region. It must be accepted that the official statements of the Azeri authorities from time to time are also an important source of information.

When evaluated within the above legal framework, the attacks on civilians and the damage done seem to be the first issue that comes to the fore. According to official state-
ments, Armenia targets not only the front lines where the clashes take place, but also cities far from the conflict zone such as Gence (Ganja), Mingachevir (Mingachevir), Hızı (Khizi), Şemkir (Shamkir), and Abşeron (Absharon). A media report states that the Armenian army used Tochka-U tactical ballistic missiles in attacks on Azerbaijani civilians. 12

A media report states that the Armenian army used Tochka-U tactical ballistic missiles in attacks on Azerbaijani civilians. 13

Ensuring that all armed attacks are aimed exclusively at military targets is one of the fundamental obligations that is imposed on all parties.

According to the official statements of Azerbaijan, Armenia attempts some sort of “ethnic cleansing” on Azeri civilians living in Karabakh by conducting frequent attacks on civilian places. 14 It seems clear that there is a consistent pattern of conducting deliberate attacks on civilian places by Armenia. It is quite striking that although a “humanitarian ceasefire” was adopted between the two sides on October 10, 2020, Armenian attacks targeting civilian settlements continued immediately. Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Ceyhun Bayramov stated that even after the humanitarian ceasefire came into effect, Armenia deliberately bombed Azerbaijani civilians and civilian elements, and that within a few hours after the ceasefire, Armenian armed forces carried out attacks in the direction of Hadrut and Cebrail (Jabrael). 15

It was reported that in the city of Gence, nine civilians were killed by rocket fire far from the front line and 35 were wounded including minors in the city of Gence. 16 In the following days, the densely populated settlements of Shamkir, Beylagan (Beylagan), Aghdam, Fuzuli, Gabriel, Goranboy, Tatar, Barda, Agcabadi, and Gence were reportedly subjected to heavy bombardment, including medium-range missiles. 17

It has been stated that 22 civilians, including children, and the elderly, died and 111 civilians have been injured as a result of heavy artillery shots as of October 4, 2020. What is particularly worrisome is the Armenian attack using heavy artillery on major cities such as Gence, the second-largest city with the population of about 400,000. As a result of the ongoing attacks, it has been reported that more than 200 houses and civilian facilities such as hospitals, schools, kindergartens, and cemeteries have already been destroyed. 18

It is stated that up to October 12, the number of Azerbaijani civilians killed by the


15 Ibid.


17 The Interim Report on the Violation of International Human Rights Law by Armenia during the Period of New Armed Attack against Azerbaijan. [The official report released by the Human Rights Ombudsman of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the end of the first week of the clashes.] It states that the data obtained is based on the information collected by the personnel of the Human Rights Ombudsman of the Republic of Azerbaijan, on the information gathered from the Office of Chief Prosecutor of Azerbaijan, and the information confirmed by publications in the media.


Ensuring that all armed attacks are aimed exclusively at military targets is one of the fundamental obligations that is imposed on all parties.
Armenians reached 41 - that is, two weeks after the clashes recommenced. According to the statements of Azeri officials, Azerbaijan has detected more than 70 unexploded ammunitions in civilian settlements. The Azerbaijani Ministry of Defense stated that Armenia deployed a ballistic missile system in the Kelbecer (Kalbajar) region of Azerbaijan and that this missile system targeted the civilian population of Azerbaijan. It is also claimed that Armenia has also carried out direct attacks that damage civilian infrastructure facilities.

Written reports state that ambulances and medical facilities are among the targeted civilian elements; educational institutions and vital civilian infrastructures such as electricity, gas, water, and communication stations are deliberately targeted; electricity and energy infrastructure is seriously damaged; and settlements are left without electricity. Moreover, Armenia does not take the necessary measures to distinguish clearly between journalists and fighters; soldiers carrying false Press ID cards acted as fighters in active military operations; civilians and children, in particular, were recruited to participate in military activities; and the Armenian armed forces used civilians to attack Azerbaijan.

In the latest situation, it has been alleged that Armenia’s missile attack on the city of Gence at midnight – an attack that reflects the country’s modus operandi - killed 12 civilians, two of them children, and injured more than 40. Gence is the second-largest city in Azerbaijan and is very far from the conflict zone. In total, more than 60 civilians lost their lives in the attacks directly targeting civilian settlements.

A Legal Assessment

For a clear assessment, it is necessary to evaluate the aforementioned Armenian acts with reference to the legal framework discussed above. Armenian forces directly target civilian settlements with missile and artillery fire. These acts constitute killing of civilians, who are not directly involved in the fighting, by deliberate attacks. Such killings are prohibited in Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions. As one of the grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, these acts are described as prosecutable war crimes under Article 8 of the ICC Statute. On the other hand, the indiscriminate and systematic targeting of vitally important infrastructure elements in a manner that causes the death of civilians, and the widespread destruction of property illegally and arbitrarily without military necessity also constitute crimes in this context.

Based to the characteristics of these acts, they can also be included in the category of “crimes against humanity” if they are “committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.”

The violation of the right to life of the civilian population is also a clear violation of Article 2
of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) to which both Armenia and Azerbaijan are parties, and calls for Armenia as a state that is party to the Convention to be held legally responsible. Moreover, deliberate attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure can be considered as a violation of Article 14 of the ECHR, as the rights protected under the convention are violated by discrimination based on nationality and ethnic origin. Damaging civil property and preventing the use of property constitute a violation of the property right defined in Article 1 of the Additional Protocol No. 1 of the ECHR.

and calls for Armenia as a state that is party to the convention to be held legally responsible

Armenia's use of weapons and methods are prohibited by international humanitarian law and its targeting of medical facilities and vehicles are in violation of Article 35 of the First Geneva Convention of 1949. Each of these acts constitute war crimes. Similarly, deliberate attacks on educational sites violate Articles 51 and 52 of the Additional Protocol (I) to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and these violations are considered war crimes.27

The act of pretending to be a journalist is prohibited, and its

Article 79 of the Additional Protocol (I) to the Geneva Conventions grants the journalists who work in the field of war the status of protected persons. The act of pretending to be a journalist is prohibited, and its violation is considered a crime. Based on the reports that Armenia exploited such distinctive emblems (in this case journalistic documents and press ID cards), it should be noted that these acts also have a criminal nature.28

The use of children in Armenia’s military activities and conflicts is also an action that violates Article 77 of the aforementioned Protocol I. This act constitutes a war crime at the same time.29

Emphasis should also be given to the fact that such actions are also violations of Article 38 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Identifying the persons who committed these crimes or those who participated in the commission of these crimes and collecting the evidence regarding the crimes are all critical elements for the trial of those responsible. Since the aforementioned crimes were committed on the territory of Azerbaijan, primarily Azerbaijani judicial institutions have jurisdiction over them.

As universal jurisdiction is applicable to genocide, crimes against humanity, and most war crimes, the jurisdiction of other countries constitutes another basis for the trial of those who commit these crimes. Undoubtedly, it is legally possible and even obligatory for Armenia to judge its own citizens who commit these crimes. Although all countries have the right to try those who have committed war crimes or crimes against humanity, for political reasons such trials seldom take place. It does not seem politically possible to enforce Armenia to try its own officials.

To some extent, the identification of perpetrators and the collection of evidence regarding the crimes committed during the present conflicts are carried out by the competent Azerbaijani authorities, especially the Office of Public Prosecutor of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Following these processes, it can be predicted that at least Azerbaijan may initiate and carry out some judicial processes. International mechanisms could also be activated if these national mecha-
The acts mentioned above correspond to specific crimes in international law and lead to the personal criminal responsibility of the individuals who committed these acts. The bombing of civilian settlements by Armenian forces and the killing or injuring of civilians by targeting them are among the acts that are considered war crimes. When committed in a widespread manner, they are also considered crimes against humanity.

Obstructing the flow of basic needs of civilians by attacking civilian infrastructure at a level that will cause serious harm to civilians is an act that could also be regarded as a war crime - just like the attacks on health facilities, healthcare personnel, and medical equipment. The use of children in the military activities of the Armenian forces and the deliberate misuse of emblems pertaining to the press are similarly war crimes. According to reports, Armenian troops have repeatedly committed such acts. Detecting who committed these acts and collecting the evidence are very important for prosecuting the perpetrators in the future. In addition to national mechanisms for prosecuting suspects, there also exist international bodies and procedures that can be appealed to—although recourse to the latter often meets political obstacles.
In the last century, comprehensive and universal rules of law regulating arms and the methods of military conflicts, both in international and internal armed conflicts, have been established through international conventions with broad participation. Today, these rules are called “international humanitarian law” and the vast majority of violations of these rules constitute crimes that lead to personal criminal liability. The kind of violations committed by Armenia during the occupation of the lands of Azeris in and around the region of Karabakh between 1992 and 1994 have been identified by independent international reports. It is a dramatic development that such violations by Armenia have returned to the agenda as of September 27, 2020, with the ongoing conflict in the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Even a general overview lays bare the violations of numerous international humanitarian laws by the Armenian forces during the current clashes. In order to judge the perpetrators committing these crimes, at the present stage, the detection of these activities and seeking justice at international bodies are important.