

After 1994:

The Treatment of Armenian Prisoners of War

By

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*Master's Essay in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts degree in Political Science and International
Affairs.*

May 2015

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Arpie Balian for her effort, intellect, patience, motivation and continuing support. The topic I chose was very sensitive and responsible which I could not have completed without her rich acumen, intellect, and professionalism. Her endless positive energy motivated me to gain the most insight into the topic and feel confidence in my abilities. Thank you, Dr. Balian!

I would also like to thank my AUA professors for the knowledge and experience gained from the School of Political Science and International Affairs that led and supported my learning for the completion of the program, creating a pleasant environment throughout my graduate education. I am most thankful to the Ministry of Defense for their constant patience and assistance in this long process. Their contribution played a significant role in the entire writing of my master's essay.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
NK	Nagorno-Karabakh oblast
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
POW	Prisoner of War
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

After 1994: Treatment of Armenian Prisoners of War

CHAPTER I — FRAMING THE CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

On October 10, 2014, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) issued the following news release to the media:

“The body of an Armenian citizen who died in custody in Azerbaijan in August 2014 was repatriated today and handed over to representatives of the Armenian authorities in an operation facilitated by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The handover took place on the road between the Azerbaijani town of Gazakh and the Armenian town of Ijevan, at the international border.”

The above is but one of many cases of Armenians detained by Azerbaijan. The continuing maltreatment of Armenians fallen into the hands of Azerbaijan prompts the current case study. The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan has persisted even after the Bishkek protocol came into force — the ceasefire agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan signed in May 1994. Tensions between these two neighboring countries have risen in recent times while the negotiations run by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) continue without producing any tangible resolution in over 20 years.

The over two-decade ceasefire agreement has largely served as a document not followed by concrete steps to stop the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh oblast (NK). Brokered by Russia, the 1994 Bishkek Protocol called on the sides to:

“come to common senses: cease to fire [...] and work intensively to confirm this as soon as possible by signing a reliable, legally binding agreement envisaging a mechanism,

ensuring the non-resumption of military and hostile activities, withdrawal of troops from occupied territories and restoration of communication, return of refugees.”¹

Thus, since 1994 the two countries have been unable to move beyond the ceasefire into a more comprehensive agreement on what the final status of the former NK oblast would be. Moreover, skirmishes and gunfire from the enemy side have escalated in recent months.

HISTORY OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH AT A GLANCE

As discussed in a number of studies and analytical articles, among which studies by Huntington² and Wallenstein et al.³ there have been several intra-state conflicts since the fall of the Soviet Union, of all sorts of lengths and with all sorts of death tolls. The *third wave* of democratization, intense globalization of information, and growing efforts at economic integration and international coordination of security policy have not stopped violent expressions of claims to rights based on national (ethnic and cultural) identity and self-determination. Without doubt, this raises questions regarding states’ new responsibilities for dealing with the *torturer problem* and the *praetorian problem*, rights to self-determination, and the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes in the world community.

The landlocked mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh is a revived claim of the right to self-determination by its ethnic Armenian population. Tracing key events in history, the Soviet regime established the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast with a predominantly Armenian population within the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan in the early 1920s soon after the end of WWI and the Bolshevik revolution. Throughout its rule over Nagorno-Karabakh, the authorities of the Azerbaijani SSR systematically violated the

¹ Bishkek Protocol, 5 May 1994. Available at: http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ArmeniaAzerbaijan_BishkekProtocol1994.pdf

² Huntington, 1993.

³ Wallenstein and Sollenberg, 1996

basic human rights and freedoms of the Armenians of Karabakh. The Azerbaijani authorities also purposely hampered the social and economic development of Karabakh, turning it into a source of raw materials. The Azerbaijani SSR pursued a policy of eviction of the Armenian population from Karabakh parallel to a systematic destruction and appropriation of Armenian cultural and historic monuments.

THE KARABAKH WAR AND POST-WAR CONFLICT

After more than six decades, as Soviet control began to loosen in the late 1980s, latent Armenian-Azeri tensions intensified exponentially exploding into armed violence. The enclave's parliament had voted in favor of uniting itself with Armenia and a referendum was held whereby the vast majority of the residents cast their votes in favor of independence. As the Soviet Union's collapse neared, the conflict gradually grew increasingly violent. NK separated from Azerbaijan by the December 1991 referendum and its subsequent *de facto* independence when the war of 1992-1994 forced the Azerbaijani withdrawal. Azerbaijan continues to reject the referendum and views NK as an integral part of its territory.⁴

Much like in other armed conflicts, the Karabakh War caused thousands of deaths, prisoners of war, and displaced people. In 1991 alone, official records show 757 Armenian detainees and 524 hostages taken by Azerbaijan.⁵ The high number of casualties at the end of the War and continuing border activities afterwards made border security the most important issue for the authorities of Nagorno-Karabakh, which triggered the establishment of the State Committee on Prisoners of War, Hostages and Missing People in 1992. The founding

⁴ Dietzen, Mark, 2012. "Stopping Europe's Next War: Why Nagorno-Karabakh's Quest for Freedom and Self-Determination Must Be a Foreign Policy Priority." Regional Studies Center, September.

⁵ MFA NKR, and NKR National Assembly, 2005. "State Building: Progress toward Freedom, Democracy and Economic Development." Nagorno Karabakh Republic Artsakh.

principles and activities of the Committee are guided by the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols.

Without doubt, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict caught the attention of the international community. As a result, the OSCE Minsk Group was created in 1992 by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (formerly Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) to encourage a peaceful, negotiated resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.⁶ To date, no significant advances have been reported, although occasional positive glimpses appear in reports issued by the Minsk Group.

THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND ADDITIONAL PROTOCOLS

The Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and their Additional Protocols for the protection of war victims form the core of international humanitarian law for the handling of *inter alia* prisoners of war and civilians who find themselves in enemy hands. In this context, the Geneva Convention provides for the protection of any person captured or interned by a belligerent power during war. Strictly speaking, the Convention applies only to members of organized armed forces. But, looking at the broader definition offered by the Encyclopedia Britannica, the same provisions also protect guerrillas, civilians who take up arms against an enemy openly, or noncombatants associated with a military force.

Congruent to the stated broader definition, the convention of 1949 has redefined the term prisoner of war to include not only members of the regular armed forces who have fallen

⁶ Dietzen, Mark. 2012. "Stopping Europe's Next War: Why Nagorno-Karabakh's Quest for Freedom and Self-Determination Must Be a Foreign Policy Priority." Regional Studies Center, September.

into the hands of the enemy but also others, including militia, volunteers, members of resistance movements, war correspondents, civilian supply contractors, and people working in service units. The protections afforded to prisoners of war under the Geneva Conventions are applicable throughout the period of captivity and

“... cannot be taken from them by the captor or given up by the prisoners themselves. During the conflict prisoners might be repatriated or delivered to a neutral nation for custody. At the end of hostilities all prisoners are to be released and repatriated without delay, except those held for trial or serving sentences imposed by judicial processes.”⁷

The Geneva Convention is applicable to every case of declared war or new armed conflict which may occur between two or more of the High Contracting Parties. Article 3 of the Geneva Convention provides that

“Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, color, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria. Violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture, will remain prohibited at any time and in any place.”⁸

In elaboration of the aforementioned provision, Article 4 gives a definition of persons who can be classified as prisoner of war. Article 9 sets the span of control by the Convention placing no obstacles to humanitarian activities initiated by the International Committee of the Red Cross or any other impartial humanitarian organization for the protection of prisoners of war and facilitation of their release.⁹

Furthermore, Article 12 places responsibility for the humane treatment of prisoners of war by the government of the enemy state. Article 26 further clarifies the necessity for daily

⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/477235/prisoner-of-war-POW>.

⁸ Yingling, Raymond T., and Robert W. Ginnane. 1952. “The Geneva Conventions of 1949.” *American Journal of International Law*, 393–427.

⁹ *Ibid.*

food provision sufficient in quantity, quality, and variety for keeping prisoners of war in good health. Additionally, according to Article 69, the Detaining Power is required to inform about the specific measures taken immediately after a prisoner of war falls out of its control.¹⁰ Other provisions in the Convention articulate the rights of prisoners of war and the obligations of the detaining government.

Leaving aside the provisions of the Geneva Conventions, human rights are protected under the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Since then, human rights issues have been at the heart of the global community. Following WWII, the United Nations delineated the rights of human beings with regard to freedom, slavery, and torture. Subsequently, the addition to the UDHR related to this research topic is the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), which delineates in detail the issue of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment of human beings. As Salomon¹¹ posits, this international law has been established to insure cooperation among the international community of nations with respect to sharing responsibility in the protection of human rights, including socio-economic, cultural, and religious rights.

However, despite the fact that Azerbaijan has acceded to both the GC I-IV in 1993 and the Human Rights CAT in 1992, it has time and time again failed to follow the provisions of the Convention in the treatment of Armenian prisoners of war and detainees¹². The current

¹⁰ University of Minnesota. 1950. "Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War." Human Rights Library.

¹¹ Salomon, M. (2009) 'Sources and Content of an International Responsibility to Cooperate for Human Rights', in Marks, S. (ed.) *Global Responsibility for Human Rights: World Poverty and the Development of International Law*. Oxford Scholarship Online. Available at: <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199284429.001.0001/acprof-9780199284429-chapter-3>.

¹²Armenian National Committee of America. 2014. "Azerbaijan: Destabilizing the Caucasus and Inciting Hate."

case study will analyze the most recent cases elaborating in greater detail on activities of maltreatment. (See Chapter III for the research methodology used in this case study.)

ICRC PRESENCE IN ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN

In a neutral intermediary capacity, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has established presence in Armenia and Azerbaijan mediating the repatriation of prisoners of war and detainees. The ICRC regularly visits prisoners of war and civilians interned in connection with the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict since 1992. The aim of the visits is to monitor their conditions of detention or internment and ensure that they are treated with dignity, in accordance with international standards. At the request of the parties and with the consent of those concerned, the ICRC also facilitates the transfer of prisoners of war and internees in coordination with both sides of the conflict.¹³ ICRC also protects and support communities living along Armenia's border with Azerbaijan.¹⁴

In 1995, the ICRC Mission in Nagorno-Karabakh was instrumental in returning to Armenia two children, two women, two elders and three sick people. ICRC negotiations are conducted on the basis of exchange. There was even a case when one 10-year old Armenian boy was returned home in exchange for eight Azerbaijani POWs. The Nagorno Karabakh Republic has worked with ICRC on the creation in 1995 of a working group comprising representatives of Azerbaijan, NKR and Armenia. The charge of this working group is to pay

¹³ Nagorny Karabakh Conflict: ICRC Visits Prisoners of War - ICRC. Available at: <https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/news-release/2013/08-30-azerbaijan-armenia-prisoners.htm>.

¹⁴ ICRC Annual Report 2013. (2013). Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5374af710.pdf>. Retrieved from <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5374af710.pdf>

visits to the prisons where POWs and detainees are held and to facilitate the process of their exchange.¹⁵

The ICRC permanent delegations in Azerbaijan and Armenia and mission in Nagorno-Karabakh were established in 1992.¹⁶ Aimed at providing assistance for and improving the protection of people directly affected by the conflict, the ICRC has for over 20 years facilitated the handover of several hundred POWs, detainees held on conflict-related or security reasons, internees and mortal remains, as well as missing persons at the request of the Azerbaijani and Armenian authorities, respectively. According to the Head of the ICRC delegation in Azerbaijan, “to date, ICRC has registered more than 4,600 persons gone missing in connection with the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict; 3,753 of them are for Azerbaijan.”¹⁷

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Prisoner of War (POW)

In its simplest form, a POW is a person captured in war, *especially* a member of the armed forces of a nation who is taken by the enemy during combat. POWs generally are members of regularly organized armed forces, but in a broader definition they also include

¹⁵ MFA NKR, and NKR National Assembly. 2005. “State Building: Progress Toward Freedom, Democracy and Economic Development.” Nagorno Karabakh Republic Artsakh.

¹⁶ The ICRC delegations in Azerbaijan and Armenia have been implementing different projects together with representatives of governmental and non-governmental institutions. The State Commissions on POWs, hostages, and missing persons of both countries, as well as the Azerbaijan Red Crescent Society, Armenian Red Cross Society, along with other Azerbaijani and Armenian NGOs are active counterparts in different assistance projects.

¹⁷ Pashayeva, Gulshan. "Assessing the impact of track two initiatives on the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process." *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (n.d.): 105-119.

civilian and noncombatants joined with armed forces¹⁸. According to international and humanitarian laws, there are basic differences between combatants and civilians. One of the differences is that combatants are direct participants in armed conflict or hostilities who may also be given the status of POW; whereas civilians directly participating in hostilities are not treated as such, but must be protected from suffering.¹⁹

Internee

Civilian Internees are persons who are captured during the armed conflict or occupation. They too are protected according to the provisions of Geneva Convention regarding Civilian persons.²⁰

Detainee

Detainees are persons who are captured, detained and kept under the control of the DOD personal. The detainee categories are Belligerents, Retained Personnel and Civilian Internees.²¹

Hostage

Hostage is a person who is held in order to get the other party realize certain demands. There are two types of hostages: voluntary and involuntary hostages.²²

¹⁸ Prisoner of War (POW) (international Law). 2014. Encyclopedia Britannica. Accessed December 15. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/477235/prisoner-of-war-POW>.

¹⁹ Asser Institute. 2012. "Combatant/Prisoner of War Status." Available at: http://www.asser.nl/Default.aspx?site_id=9&level1=13336&level2=13374&level3=13458.

²⁰ Global Security. 2014. "Civilian Internees." Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/3-19-40/ch5.htm>.

²¹ "Detainee Operations." *Joint Publication 3-63*, November 2014, 1-73.

²² Herrmann, Irene, and Daniel Palmieri. "A Haunting Figure: The Hostage Through the Ages." *International Review of The Red Cross*, 2005. doi:10.1017/S1816383100181226.

CHAPTER II — LITERATURE REVIEW

Considering that the Geneva Convention was ratified after WWII, the literature reviewed in relation to the current case study does not include a review of cases before that period when the actual conditions under which POWs were held captive differed enormously in terms of housing, food, disciplinary rules, medical treatment, as well as social and cultural facilities. Below is a depiction of several case studies on the treatment of POWs. The order of the cases presented follows a chronological order to better understand if improvements in the treatment of POWs are observed from one period to the next.

A *Wall Street Journal* case study by Michael Phillips²³ depicts the case of Leonard Kingcade, a WWII veteran imprisoned by the Japanese for three years. When Kingcade died at 46, his obituary noted simply that “He never fully recovered from the treatment he received at that time.” There was hardly any mention of the treatment Kingcade got by the U.S. Veterans Administration.

“Pvt. Kingcade headed to war healthy. He returned to the U.S. so mentally ill that VA doctors gave him a lobotomy, making him one of more than 2,000 psychologically damaged veterans the government treated with the controversial operation, according to a trove of decades-old VA and military documents found by The Wall Street Journal.”²⁴

This study stands out not only because of the hardships and torture in captivity, but also because of the analysis of U.S. hospital records documenting his mental deterioration.

²³ Phillips, Michael. "A Descent Into Madness." *Wall Street Journal*, 1955.

²⁴ Ibid.

Another case study conducted by the U.S. government²⁵ in the form of a historical survey looks to the treatment of POWs of the Korean War, 1950-1953. The study establishes that several thousand American prisoners died or were executed in POW camps, while many others were the object of inhuman torture. The study also shows that most of them were subjected to *brainwashing* or mental conditioning. "Of the 75,000 U.N. and South Korean soldiers captured by Communist forces, only 12,000 returned home, leaving more than 60,000 unaccounted for."

The same report quotes Colonel Norris Overly, who was shot down over North Vietnam in October 1967 and released a year later.

"The North Vietnamese have on occasion tortured some of our men-but I think there is danger in dwelling on that particular aspect because the North Vietnamese are much more subtle ... The subtle inhumanity of the whole situation was placing men in a small 8 by 10 cell and not pressuring them to do anything one way or the other, but just put them away and feed them a subsistence diet for 3, 4, 5, 6, and in several cases almost 7 years. I think we can all answer the question what kind of physical and mental condition they are going to be in when they come out of this sort of environment."

Other studies on South Asian prisoners of war (POWs) have focused, among other aspects, on questions of encounters shaped by hierarchies and violence based on racial and social differentiations. Scholars have examined social experiences in imprisonment, including detainee strategies of survival and insubordination. However, because of the availability of archival source-material, more research has been done on the Indian POWs in Europe than in Mesopotamia, though most of the Sepoys fought in the latter theatre.²⁶

²⁵ Oglesby, Samuel C. "Communist Treatment of Prisoners Of War." *The U.S. Committee on the Judiciary*, August 1972, 1-32.

²⁶ Liebau, Heike. "Prisoners of War (India)." *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, December 2014, 1-11.

In his study Skelton²⁷ describes North Koreans as especially brutal. Any prisoner of war they captured they forced him to take off shoes and nearly all clothes. Wounded prisoners of war were not provided any help. Those who were unable to walk were shot on right away. They repeatedly told the captive Americans: "We want you to die. You came over here to kill us, now we are the boss." The author also conducted another case study on Vietnam which he represented in two separate theatres: South and North Vietnam. He mentioned that 114 out of 772 captured prisoners of war were killed in Vietnam. In South Vietnam there was less torture and interrogation than in North Vietnam. In North Vietnam prisoners of war were used for psychological and propaganda purposes, there was harsh physical and mental torture and suffering from food shortage.

Navy Lieutenant Everett Alvarez, who was shot down in North Vietnam August 5 1964 notes:

"They had everyone there. They brought in droves of kids. They brought in women, too. I could hear them screaming at night." Lieutenant Colonel Richard Kiern, who was a prisoner of war in World War II and Vietnam, said: "Captivity in German was rough, but at least I was treated like a human being. Captivity in North Vietnam was unreal, unbelievable, not of this world."²⁸

The *Eritrea Ethiopia Claims Commission* (2003)²⁹ has a case study on the unlawful treatment of Ethiopian prisoners of war. Eritrea has captured 1,100 Ethiopian prisoners of war, all males. Nearly twenty of them were wounded at capture and the rest were subjected to mistreatment or wounded by Eritrean troops during evacuation. Ethiopia claims that Eritrean forces have regularly beaten and repeatedly killed Ethiopians upon capture and subsequently.

²⁷ Skelton, William P. "American Ex-Prisoners of War." *Department of Veterans Affairs*, April 2002, 1-98.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Houtte, Hans V., George H. Aldrich, John R. Crook, James C. Paul, and Lucy Reed. "Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Commission." *Partial Award*, July 2003, 1-33.

Ethiopia has introduced a *prima facie* case, bringing obvious and convincing evidence, to support its claim:

“Eritrea failed to comply with the fundamental obligation of customary international law that POWs, even when wounded, must be protected and may not, under any circumstances, be killed. Consequently, Eritrea is liable for failing to protect Ethiopian POWs from being killed, for permitting beatings and other physical abuse of Ethiopian POWs at capture or aftermath. In addition to the fear and mental anguish that accompanied these physical abuses, there is clear evidence that some POWs, particularly Tigrayans, were treated worse. Ethiopia alleged that each of Eritrea’s POW camps failed to provide healthy conditions of captivity. There were violations which warrant the imposition of damages because they clearly endangered the lives or health of POWs in contravention of the basic policy of the Convention and customary international law.”

In the same study one former Ethiopian prisoner of war witnessed that medical care was inadequate in all Eritrean POWs camps. He mentioned that the prisoners of war were often given painkillers in lieu of antibiotics and other drugs. After returning to Ethiopia nearly four years of detention, the health of this POW was not improved.³⁰

The next case study³¹ delves into the measures of ill-treatment, murder, enslavement and other inhumane behavior and the punishment of individuals who violate the rules of the treatment of POWs. The author looks into the case of treatment of U.S. prisoners of war during the Gulf War in Iraq. He describes it as follows:

“The torture inflicted included severe beatings, mock executions, threatened castration, and threatened dismemberment. The POWs were systematically starved, denied sleep, and exposed to freezing cold. They were denied medical care and their existing injuries were intentionally aggravated. They were shocked with electrical devices and confined in dark, filthy conditions exposing them to contagion and infection. The POWs suffered serious physical injuries, including broken bones, perforated eardrums, nerve damage, infections, nausea, severe weight loss, massive bruises, and other injuries.”

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Jennifer, Elsea K. "Lawfulness of Interrogation Techniques under the Geneva Conventions." *CRS Report for Congress*, September 2004, 1-39.

Elsea³² depicts a recent case of the treatment of U.S. prisoners of war in the Gulf War in Iraq when Iraqi representatives used concealing actual information on a POW and instead reporting that he had been killed during the war causing the POW severe mental suffering. The POW told that he was suffered knowing that Iraqi authorities refused to inform his family that he was alive. In this context she illustrates the case of Doolittle who was a POW in the hands of Japanese after World War II where mental torture also existed.

“After having been subjected to the various other forms of torture, we were taken one at a time and marched blindfolded a considerable distance. I could hear voices and marching feet, then the noise of a squad halting and lowering their rifles as if being formed to act as a firing squad. A Japanese officer then came up to me and said: “We are Knights of the Bushido of the Order of the Rising Sun; we do not execute at sundown; we execute at sunrise.” I was then taken back to my cell and informed that unless I talked before sunrise, I would be executed.”

In that context, Kyoichi³³ illustrates that though international norms stipulate the humane treatment of prisoners in the spirit of humanitarianism and demand that the capturing country provide the prisoners of war with the same level of nutrients as to its own army, nevertheless there have been breaches in this sphere and inhuman treatments due to differences in culture, customs and standards of living.

Another study by Costanzo and Gerrity³⁴ describes the abusive treatment of the POWs held in the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. For the illustration of this case the authors refer to a series of pictures taken by U.S. soldiers on their personal cell phones and cameras. These photos depict the brutal and inhumane treatment of the POWs at the hands of U.S. troops.

“In one photo, a handcuffed, terrified prisoner is shown cornered by a snarling military dog straining against its leash. In many photos, naked prisoners had been forced to lie on

³² Ibid.

³³ Tachikawa, Kyoichi. "The Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy Focusing on the Pacific War." *NIDS Security Reports*, 2008, 45-90.

³⁴ Costanzo, Mark A., and Ellen Gerrity. "The Effects and Effectiveness of Using Torture As an Interrogation Device: Using Research to Inform the Policy Debate." *Social Issues and Policy Review* 3, no. 1 (2009): 179-210.

top of one another in a pile to simulate sexual acts. Several pictures show naked, hooded inmates handcuffed in painful positions to beds and cell bars. Some inmates have bleeding wounds; others appear to have wires attached to their bodies. Some photos were especially disturbing because they show soldiers (both men and women) posing next to the abused prisoners, grinning or giving “thumbs up” signs, appearing to take sadistic pleasure in the abuse.”

The only explanation given to these pictures by the guards was that they were given instructions to “soften up” the prisoners of war in order to get all the necessary information from them.

A case study by Sadat³⁵ illustrates the treatment of the combatants in the Taliban conflict. Particularly, she refers to the cases of John Walker, Jose Padilla and Zacharias Moussaoui. Padilla’s case is noteworthy because after his capture he was classified as an “enemy combatant” and transferred to military custody.

“He was allegedly held in isolation in a 7 by 9 foot cell, deprived of sleep, hooded and forced to assume stress positions for long periods.”

Another case study by Fletcher and Stover³⁶ aims at revealing the experiences of the detainees, evaluating their treatment in detention and investigating the consequences of detention in terms of integration into their families and society. This study was conducted by interviewing 112 people, 62 of whom were former detainees and suffered from physical and mental abuse, enforced nakedness, etc. In the words of a former detainee:

“When they brought me food, they would untie my hands from the ceiling and hand me a plate. But it was difficult moving the food into my mouth because my hands were still tied together. If some of the [guards] were treating me okay, they would tell me, “Sit on the floor and eat your meal.”... Sometimes I fell asleep, and I would think I was just dreaming about all these things. Some of the soldiers who were guarding us weren’t very nice. They would untie our hands from the ceiling, and make us do pushups while our hands were still tied to each other. Because we had handcuffs on, we were unable to do the pushups. And so they would beat us and yell, “Do the pushups!””

³⁵ Leila, Sadat N. "A Presumption of Guilt: The Unlawful Ebemy Combatant and the U.S. War on Terror." *Sadat Macro*, September 2009, 539-553.

³⁶ Fletcher, Laurel E., and Eric Stover. "Guantánamo and Its Aftermath." *Human Rights Center* (n.d.): 1-124.

The next study reviewed is by Hickman³⁷ which presents morally legitimate and illegitimate purposes of long-term custody of POWs and captured non-combatants. It indicates that morally legitimate purposes serve to prevent POWs from rejoining their army in order not to give them the opportunity to provide material support to the combatants, thus delaying their release and repatriation until the end of the conflict. Morally illegitimate purposes include recruitment or conscription as combatant, punishment, labor and intelligence exploitation, displaying POWs as proof of victory and for ideological propaganda. He states that his analysis of cases shows that custody is often motivated by both legitimate and illegitimate reasons.

“After defeating the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Viet Minh forced many of the almost 7,000 prisoners of war to re-enact their own surrenders in front of movie cameras (Fall 1966). They were then marched 500 miles north through villages where the visual evidence of Viet Minh victory — ragged survivors suffering from dehydration, dysentery, malnourishment and sunburn — was unmistakable to a peasant population that had once held the French in awe.”

Hickman also adds that for the state that captured the POWs, long-term custody can also be conditioned by the multiple purposes of its political/military leadership. The underlying reasons may change from time to time triggered by new opportunities and/or frustration. This kind of multiple-purpose behavior is more likely to be the norm than the exception.

“Captor states success in indoctrinating prisoners of war may exploit them in propaganda exercises that permit prisoners of war to be displayed as a demonstration of victory. Finally, indoctrinated prisoners of war may be used to impose client regimes on conquered nations.”³⁸

³⁷ Hickman, John. "What is a Prisoner of War For?" *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 36, no. 2 (2008): 19-35.

³⁸ Hickman, John. "What is a Prisoner of War For?" *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 36, no. 2 (2008): 19-35.

Lyall and Wallace³⁹ reveal that the treatment of the Iraqi prisoners of war can also be viewed as a prisoner's policy governed by the U.S. because the treatment was different and contradicting across other wars. The study showed that the U.S.-led UN Coalition ensured health care for the Iraqi POWs, providing them with culturally aligned meals, distributing gas masks in order to protect them from chemical weapons' attack, etc. This kind of prisoner policy is akin to treating humans as objects of exploitation to induce enemy soldiers to surrender (thereby weakening their defense).

Moreover, prisoner policy produced several benefits even after war over. The humane treatment of the Iraqi prisoners of war significantly decreased the potential of the complaint against their captor state; it also weakened the hostilities against the Coalition forces, while increasing distrust towards Hussein government. As a result about 13,000 prisoners of war refused to return to their country. In this regard one historian of war remarked,

“At the prison, the prisoners reported that they received better food, clothing, medical supplies, and shelter as prisoners of war than what they had been provided by their own army.”⁴⁰

A study by Rath and Clifton⁴¹ depicts cases of psychological warfare. The U.S. Army's chief psychiatrist has studied 1,000 American POWs released and returned by North Korea. He notes that American soldiers kept in North Korean camps were not subjected to physical brutality or extraordinary treatment by conventional standards — they were provided with sufficient food, water, and shelter; there were fewer cases of physical torture and reported abuse. But many soldiers died in those camps. No soldier attempted to escape

³⁹ Lyall, Jason, and Geoffrey Wallace. "Wartime Prisoner of War (POW) Abuse and the Rise of Postwar Insurgencies." 2011.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Rath, Tom, and Donald O. Clifton. *How Full Is Your Bucket?: Positive Strategies for Work and Life*. New York: Gallup Press, 2004.

even in cases where there were no armed guards. After the prisoners of war were released they refused to have any friendship or relationship with one another. Mayer reveals a new disease in those types of POW camps:

“... a disease of extreme hopelessness. It was not uncommon for a soldier to wander into his hut and look despairingly about, deciding there was no use in trying to participate in his own survival. He would go into a corner alone, sit down, and pull a blanket over his head. And he would be dead within two days.”

Mayer analyzes that in spite of minimal torture, “marasmus” increased the rate of POW deaths to an unbelievable 38 per cent, which was the highest in the whole military history of the United States. He adds,

“The North Koreans had put the American soldiers into a kind of emotional and psychological isolation, the likes of which we had never seen.”⁴²

Another case study by Palic⁴³ focuses on trauma-related issues of POWs originating from studies of post WWII concentration camps. The study examines former POWs who could not adapt to everyday life for more than a decade after returning. The author scrutinizes the Israeli ex-POW in comparison with Israeli soldiers from the same war who were not detained and subjected to torture. The study shows that Israeli ex-POWs were frequently diagnosed with “delayed” and “reactivated” Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). It was also found that, besides PTSD, POWs also had a large number of different symptoms of psychiatric illness.

“... 47 years of age, construction worker from Knin, Croatia, married, father of four children, refugee in Serbia since 1996 when he was finally released from the camp in Knin after 160 days of captivity during which he was subjected to psychophysical torture. Prior to that, he had spent 48 months at the frontline. After preliminary examination, we have established the existence of posttraumatic stress disorder and gave indications for psychotherapy. The patient demonstrated high motivation for treatment, since for the past 7 years while his discomforts persisted he has had very few nights

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Palic, Sabina. "Measurement and Documentation of Complex PTSD in Treatment Seeking Traumatized Refugees." *Danish National Centre of Psychotraumatology, University of Southern Denmark*, 2013, 1-188.

without nightmares related to traumatic events during his frontline experience and captivity.⁷⁴⁴

*Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Research Quarterly*⁴⁵ also illustrates combat-related symptoms in POWs who had a prolonged brutal experience in camps. The case study was conducted by examining 188 former POWs. The results showed that 67 percent of the prisoners of war had suffered from PTSD. Of those, 29 percent fully recovered, 39 percent continued to show mild symptoms, 24 percent improved but had moderate residual symptoms, whereas 8 percent did not recover or their health even worsened. In addition to the symptoms of cognitive abnormality and physical discomfort, most common symptoms among surviving POWs were isolation, suspiciousness, hostility, confusion, detachment, and apprehension.

Similarly, Najafi, Akochkian and Nikyar conducted a study⁴⁶ aimed at evaluating mental disorders from captivity of POWs and its effects on their families. They claim that effects vary depending on their religious convictions, duration of captivity and severity of stress during captivity. They posit that POWs can suffer from mental and behavioral disorders even after release. These can limit their adaption to society and reduce their social role and activity accordingly. Due to diseases developing from captivity the mortality rate is very high among them.

Another article observes the psychological thinking of POWs. The article states that captives often believe that they would be released very soon and any delay of their release

⁴⁴ Ilic, Zoran. "EMDR in the Treatment of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder with Prisoners of War." *Part Y Therapy and Rehabilitation: Treatment of Torture Victims*, 1999, 281-291.

⁴⁵ Paula, Schnurr P. "PTSD and Combat-Related Psychiatric Symptoms in Older Veterans." *The National Center for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 1-8.

⁴⁶ Mostafa, Najafi, Shahla Akochkian, and Hamid R. Nikyar. "Being Child of Prisoners of War: The Case of Mental Health Status." *Iran J Pediatr* 18, no. 2 (June 2007): 154-158

may cause significant disappointment to them. Also, captives are often used as a propaganda tool and, along those lines, subjected to beating, blinding, blindfolding and other tortures, the article reveals that

“Captives usually cope best by turning their attention inward — thinking of loved ones, home, and freedom — because psychological dissociation from the painful situation is adaptive in this setting. The POW has suffered the most severe stressors of war. Repatriated POWs are a select group of survivors who have been able to adapt to captivity and maintain morale, hope, and health for months to years.”⁴⁷

Wallace⁴⁸ argues that the difference in prisoner’s abuse is conditioned, alongside the regime type and the nature of the conflict, by democratic norms and seeking territorial conquest. Democratic norms and domestic institutional motivations accompany democracies to show more restraints in treatment of prisoners of war. The abusive treatment of the prisoners of war is stipulated by the barbaric character of the adversary motivated by racial, religious, or other cultural differences. There is evidence that democracies are more than 50 percent less possible to abuse POWs than do autocratic regimes.

“If democratic values promote tolerance, nonviolence, and respect for legal constraints, then democracies should wage their wars more humanely than other forms of government.”

However, countries pursuing particular aims of territorial claim or seeking to conquer enemy territory are mostly inclined to abuse POWs. To support this argument, Wallace brings forth the case of Nagorno-Karabakh. He mentions the abusive treatment of POWs by both Armenia and Azerbaijan during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the early 1990s.⁴⁹

“Abuse,” according to the *Kojien* dictionary, is “to treat with cruelty; cruel treatment; and according to the *Shakaifukushi jiten*, abuse is “a physical or psychological attack inflicted on a defenseless or extremely weak person by a person with power. Inhumane

⁴⁷ Ursano, Robert, and James Rundell. "The Prisoner of War." *Courtesy of US Army Center of Military History* (n.d.): 431-455.

⁴⁸ Geoffrey, Wallace P. "Welcome Guests, or Inescapable Victims? The Causes of Prisoner Abuse in War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 6 (June 2012): 955-981.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

treatment includes direct physical abuse, psychological abuse, and sexual abuse as well as neglect (deprivation of food, failure to provide medical treatment by not taking a person to the hospital when ill, etc.).”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Tachikawa, Kyoichi. "The Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy Focusing on the Pacific War." *NIDS Security Reports*, 2008, 45-90.

CHAPTER III — STUDY OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

A review of news clips and internet postings reveals that Azerbaijan has held many Armenian political prisoners in its jails. Over the years, several political analysts and international organizations have pointed to Azerbaijan's mistreatment of Armenian POWs without offering any commentary or analysis of human rights violations. This case study examines the mistreatment of Armenian political prisoners in Azerbaijan, with a focused analysis of human rights violations pertaining to their treatment by Azerbaijan. The discussion in this case study attempts to demonstrate that, although evidence is limited, there is sufficient reason to hypothesize that political prisoners continue to be mistreated in Azerbaijan.

Aside from focusing on the human (moral) aspects of the treatment of Armenian POWs and detainees by Azerbaijan, limited reference is made to the legal aspects as provided by international law(s). Here, this case study draws a line between what is legal and what is moral. According to Ivison, "moral rights are valid in virtue of the moral claims underlying them, and legal rights are valid to the extent that the legal system in existence is legitimate and capable of enforcing them."⁵¹ Beyond the fact that the legal aspect in human rights is largely influenced by the diversity of laws among states and the vast differences in interpretation and legal context, the case study delves into analyzing the political undertones of the treatment of POWs and detainees. Attention is paid to the use of detainees as instruments of propaganda, also addressing the implications of such actions in a broader international context.

⁵¹ Cited in Bell, D. (2010) *Ethics and World Politics, Human Rights*, p. 242.

Parallel to the analysis of enemy treatment of POWs and detainees, the case study also examines the treatment of released prisoners upon return home. Formerly and mainly, the case study discusses and distinguishes the line between human rights and prisoners' rights and later between the prisoners' rights and treatment outside of enemy hands at home.

Objectives of the Case Study

The primary objective of this case study is to illustrate the kinds of treatment Armenian POWs experience in Azerbaijan, to identify common health problems that surface as a result of such experience and that develop after return. The study is grounded in analysis that reviews the cases from the perspective of international law violations related to using detainees as propaganda tools. The study also aims to look into the treatment and the rights of repatriated prisoners of war by the country of origin after release.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions tackled in this case study are derived from the aforementioned objectives and are as follows:

RQ1: How is the treatment of POWs and detainees described by Azerbaijan? Assessed?

RQ2: Does Azerbaijan violate international conventions on the treatment of POWs and detainees? How about violation of human rights laws?

RQ3: What are the existing provisions and practices in the treatment of former POWs after release?

H1: The Azerbaijani government follows the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and human rights laws in treating POWs and detained civilians.

H0: The Azerbaijani government does not follow the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and human rights laws in treating POWs and detained civilians.

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

This is a case study research that uses a convergent qualitative design with applications of both discourse analysis and content analysis as primary research techniques for making generalizable and valid inferences through interpretation and coding of oral, visual, and textual material. By systematically analyzing the selected sample of material in reference to the treatment of POWs (e.g., documents, oral communication, and speeches, news clips, etc.), qualitative data are converted into quantitative data and analyzed using the statistical software SPSS. This method has been used frequently in the social sciences, and recently it has become more prevalent among scholars of political science.

In the context of this case study, both discourse and content analyses have allowed retrieving and examining the nuances of human behavior, different stakeholder perceptions, and societal trends in evaluating the treatment of POWs in enemy hands and at home. In this regard, discourse and content analyses have allowed analysis of socio-cognitive and perceptual constructs that are difficult to study via traditional quantitative methods in political science research. At the same time, this research design has allowed gathering and analyzing data that may have been difficult or impossible to apply otherwise.

The content analysis related to this case study included the following types of documents: transcripts of interviews with former POWs; in-depth interviews with officials closely associated with POWs; reports on the treatment of POWs; medical reports on the physical and mental condition of POWs; and other documents directly connected to such texts.

Parallel to the content analysis, the case study also used discourse analysis to analyze the sociological elements in discourse. In order to interpret discourse from this standpoint, discourse was first analyzed from both a textual and a contextual approach. Here, three different levels of analysis were used: a textual level, a contextual level and an interpretive level. Textual analysis allowed the researcher to characterize discourse as an object of study. Contextual analysis, on the other hand, allowed understanding the discourse focusing on the expression considering the discourse as a singular act or event.

Finally, interpretation provided an explanation of the discourse as it addressed sociological aspects and considered the discourse as information or social product.⁵² The discourse analysis related to this case study included news clips, speeches directly referencing POWs; photographs; and other related visuals related to POWs.

DATA COLLECTION STRATEGY

The case study used a methodical approach to selecting documents pertinent to the research topic and to identifying interviewees directly associated with the issue under examination. Considering the researcher's inability to access classified documents (mostly captor's documents and reports), interviews served as an essential tool to fill that gap. Interviews provided the needed depth of information on the treatment of POWs. Further, interviews with POWs or families of POWs served as a tool for collecting first-hand information on POW experiences.

⁵² This tiered approach to sociological discourse analysis is similar to that proposed by Alonso (1998). Nonetheless, there are important differences between the two approaches. On the one hand, the first two levels proposed — the informational and the structural level — are embedded in this research approach at an initial textual level. On the other hand, the contextual level is applied strictly at a sociological or interpretive level.

Taking into account that Non-Governmental Organizations also are directly involved in the repatriation of POWs, interviews were conducted with the chairpersons of the Organization against Legal Arbitrariness, the Council of Relatives of Missing Freedom Fighters, and the Head of the Center of Protecting the Rights of Missing Persons, Hostages and Prisoners of War NGO. These organizations were selected for inclusion in the sample because their mission is to protect the human rights and interests of former POWs and their families and their reintegration into society.

And finally, to ensure the full depiction of the treatment of POWs, in-depth interviews also included the Head of the RA AF General Staff Frontier Representation Department; the Head of the International Legal Relations Department at the RA General Prosecutor's Office; the Deputy Ombudsman for Military Affairs; and the Press Secretary of the Ministry of Defense of Armenia.

In-depth interviews were selected for filling gaps in data using open-ended questions — a discovery-oriented approach to obtaining detailed information about a topic from people closely connected with the research topic. The decision to conduct in-depth interviews was driven by the necessity to get interviewees' points of view, experiences, feelings and perspectives. The in-depth interviews gave the opportunity to uncover valuable insights and enabled finding out “the true story” from those involved. It also gave a chance to clarify understandings, search for deeper meanings of important concepts related to the hypotheses, and to probe further to better assess mood and intensity of feeling.

The list of interviewees was divided into two groups: one group represented people who directly experienced enemy captivity and members of their families; the other group included specialists that have worked with issues related to POWs. There were two sets of

interview questions that corresponded to the two groups' classification. Although a limited number of closed-ended questions were also used during interviews, the bulk of the questions were open-ended encouraging expansive, detailed responses. Questions were worded so that respondents would not give short answers, but had to expound on the topic. The questions were ordered from general to more specific in order to provide context and to prepare respondents to give more thorough responses to the specific questions closely related to the research.

SAMPLING STRATEGY

For this case study purposive sampling was used. The rationale for employing this strategy is that only select people have had to deal with POW-related issues or have any perspective on that phenomenon. To draw a purposive sample, two different groups of people were interviewed: One group included former prisoners of war themselves and their families; and the second group represented representatives of organizations that are closely associated with POWs. The goal was to find participants who had very specific experiences and perspectives on the research topic.

Based on the above strategy, in-depth interviews were conducted with five repatriated prisoners of war and with the families of three deceased prisoners of wars. Considering that the topic is very sensitive, the selection focused on including POWs with different kinds of problems, of course provided they were willing to give an interview to answer the research questions. Many refused stating that they did not want to recall the horrible days of their lives. The other problem was accessibility since most former POWs or civilian detainees lived in border villages and there were no contact information on them. Therefore, interviews were possible only with those who were accessible and expressed willingness to participate.

In the second group, in-depth interviews were conducted with eight specialists directly involved in issues related to POWs and/or their families. These interviewees included officials from different departments of the government and representatives of non-governmental organizations. They were selected according to the roles they played in the process of working with ICRC to bring them back home, organizing their repatriation, as well as following up with their wellbeing after release. The selection of the specialists interviewed was driven by the different functions performed by state officials and heads of organizations. The strategy was designed to purposely include individuals engaged in the cooperation with ICRC and repatriation of POWs, including the defense of RA citizens' rights while in foreign countries, observation of the implementation of all POW-related activities and dealing with complaints concerning violations of human.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The data collected for this case study is somewhat handicapped because of the difficulties involved with collecting data from Azerbaijani authorities on the treatment of POW's. Although the case study uses information collected in the postwar period from hearings and investigations, personal narratives of combatants and POWs related to the treatment of POW's by Azerbaijan, other recent information from the enemy side would have been useful. The difficulties are compounded by the complete lack of cooperation on the part of the Azerbaijani authorities that often refuse to even allow ICRC officials to visit POWs or check on the condition of prisons from humanitarian perspectives.

CHAPTER IV — DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION, AND FINDINGS

CONTENT ANALYSIS

The qualitative analysis in the current covered a review of statements by various organizations and officials and in-depth interviews with former prisoners of war and specialists in the field. The content analysis aims to analyze and understand the subject matter of statements made by different officials and organizations, especially the underlying meaning of those statements.

As mentioned earlier, this study also used discourse analysis to examine speeches by high-level officials and NGOs. The analysis involved categorizing content of speech and analyzing for intensity of behavior, as well as the frequency that each category appeared. Discourse analysis helped fill gaps in the findings from the content analysis.

The interviews were coded using 11 categories or descriptors measured on a five-point scale, where 1 meant total congruence⁵³ with the descriptor and 5 meant total divergence.⁵⁴ The higher the value of the mean for the descriptors, the more the descriptor is applicable to the respondents. The mean values of the descriptors were calculated enabling discussion and conclusion. The coding of discourse analysis will be measured by the corresponding strength of the criteria used throughout the speech analyzed.

⁵³ Congruence refers to the harmony with the meaning of the specific descriptor studied.

⁵⁴ Divergence was used for measuring the degree to which the speech moved in the opposite direction from the intended meaning.

Table 1 — Results of Content Analysis

N	Descriptors	Mean
1	Azerbaijan conceals information on captured POWs or civilian detainees	3.37
2	Azerbaijan misrepresents actual information about captured POWs or civilians	4.37
3	Captured POWs or civilian detainees are subjected to interrogation	4.37
4	Azerbaijan forces POWs and civilian detainees to make forced statements on video camera	4.62
5	POWS and civilian detainees are subjected to torture	4.90
	▪ Physical torture	5.00
	▪ Mental torture	4.81
	▪ Driven to death	4.31
6	POWS and civilian detainees are kept in unbearable conditions during their captivity	3.68
7	POWS and civilian detainees were not provided sufficient daily food	3.68
8	POWS and civilian detainees were not received sufficient medical assistance	4.25
9	Azerbaijani government hinders ICRC visitations	4.12
10	After release POWs suffer from various health problems	4.25
	▪ Physical problems	4.18
	▪ Psychological problems	4.43
11	Treatment of POW/family by the Armenian government	3.43

The analysis demonstrates that Azerbaijan conceals information on captured POWs or civilian detainees on a regular basis. The specialists interviewed showed that Azerbaijan does not inform the Armenian authorities on detainees for a long time after capture (mean is 4.62 / 5.00, descriptor #1). Two of the eight interviewed prisoners of war and their families confirmed that Azerbaijan had concealed information about their detention. These interviewees also stated that Azerbaijan covered information about their whereabouts for a long time (mean is 2.12). The overall mean equals 3.37 (see [Table 1](#) above), indicating that there is an incline in the direction of concealing information.

The views of sides are somewhat different to the extent that specialists' answers were more general including cases of concealing information on POWs starting from 1994 up to 2015, whereas the answers of the prisoners of war were more personal. Specialists also claim that Azerbaijan not only conceals but misrepresents actual information about the POWs and civilian detainees. The main argument put forth is that Azerbaijan presents POWs as saboteurs (mean is 4.75, descriptor #2).

The majority of POWs interviewed mentioned that Azerbaijan misrepresented information about them. Six POWs confirmed that most of the personal information Azerbaijan publicized on their capture was not true and did not correspond to reality (mean is 4.00). Moreover, discourse analysis of video recordings analyzed revealed the same as one interviewee's assessment of the Azerbaijani media as "a total shameless lie, which is obvious without question." The overall mean is 4.37 indicating that Azerbaijan uses POWs as instruments of anti-Armenian propaganda.

The discourse analysis also showed that the Azerbaijani government adopted a practice to subject captured POWs to interrogation (descriptor #3). After capturing an Armenian citizen Azerbaijani representatives asked various questions and periodically posted clips of such interrogations on internet. In the videos it is evident how Armenians are interrogated by Azerbaijanis in Russian. One such video clip shown on Azerbaijani TV depicts an Azerbaijani Army General interrogating an Armenian POW, representing him as a defector. The images of the same video released by the Azerbaijani authorities showed two masked men in army fatigues posing for a photograph with the POW. The prisoner of war wore army boots and a camouflage vest in the photo; in earlier pictures the same POW was shown by Azerbaijan wearing sneakers and no military uniform (descriptor #2). All interviewed prisoners of wars confirmed that Azerbaijan consistently pursued getting

information about the political, social and military situation prevailing in Armenia (mean is 4.75).

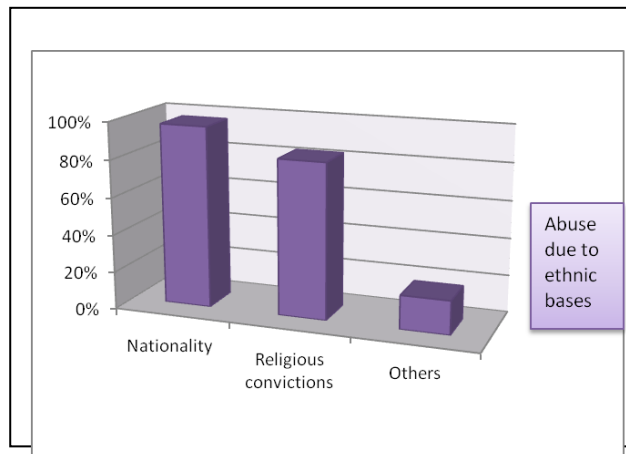
POWs also claim that all referenced interrogations were conducted in front of video cameras (descriptor #4). The mean of the descriptor regarding forced video recording is 4.62 which indicates the use of force during those interrogations. They were forced to repeat or read dictated text and express complimentary words about the detaining side. On this descriptor, a specialist added that the underlying purpose of those forced videos is political and Azerbaijan manipulates Armenians in their captivity (mean is 4.62).

The discourse analysis confirmed the earlier statement made by an NKR official that the Azerbaijani government forces prisoners of war (descriptor #4) to read given text and to make statements along dictated lines. Another official commented that it is obvious that POWs are forced to come up with controversial statements under psychological pressure and most probably under the threat of physical abuse. In addition, the NKR State Commission for POWs and Missing Persons has condemned official Baku's politicizing fabricated depictions of maltreatments of soldiers in the Armenian armed forces. The Commission's statement particularly reads:

“To reap dubious dividends, the Azerbaijan authorities continue cashing in on the humanitarian problem, manipulating the Armenians that are in captivity in Azerbaijan. The latest glaring example is the video record on the Azeri websites. The persons on the video speak of ‘unbearable conditions in the Armenian army and comfortable life in Azerbaijan.’”

As was shown in the literature reviewed, in some countries violence is practiced on the basis of racial and social differences of POWs. Similarly, the analysis of interviews reveals that in the case of Azerbaijan, physical and psychological abuse is driven by the nationality, religion, beliefs, sense of identity with their land and culture of those captured.

About 90% of former POWs interviewed mentioned that when they were in captivity being Armenian made them extremely vulnerable since every act of violence was filled with expression: “You, Armenians...” Moreover, 80% of POWs former interviewed them also mentioned religion as reason for torture remembering instances when they were tortured because of being Christian. Even in some cases a cross was drawn on their head or other body parts as a symbol associated with Christianity (crescents were used to symbolize Islam).

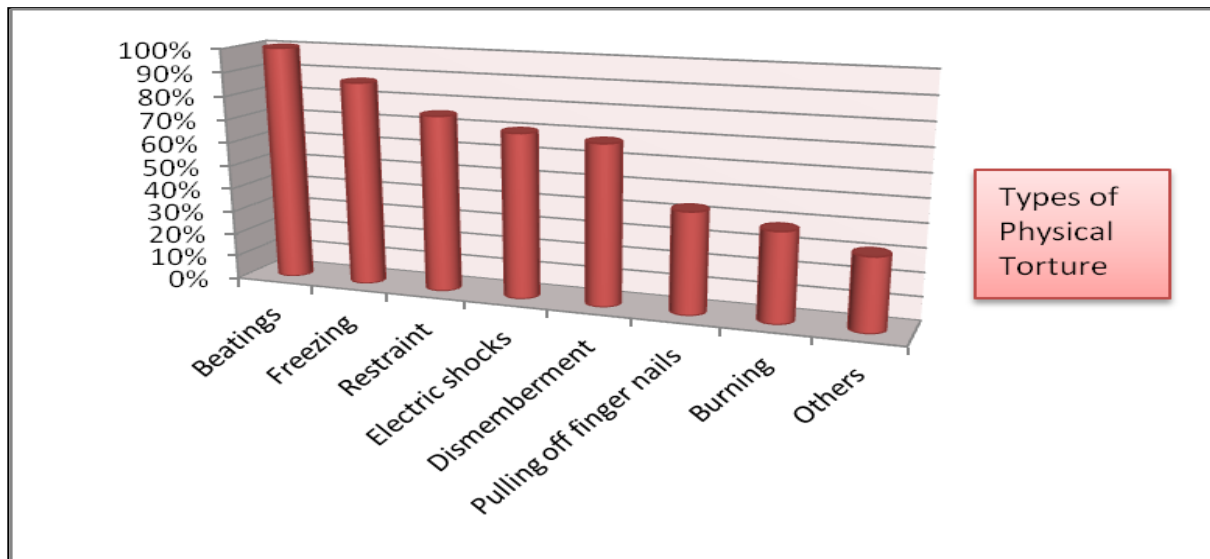


Though respondents also accounted other causes or triggers of abuse, including territorial demand, cultural and social differences the graph above shows that nationality and religion played a more important trigger in the maltreatment of POWs and detainees. This is a clear breach of the fundamental provisions of the Geneva Convention and International Law defining that in all circumstances POWs should be treated humanely.

RA President Serzh Sargsyan in his statement at the 69th session of the UN General Assembly referred to the issue of maltreatment of Armenian prisoners of war by Azerbaijan stating that Azerbaijan’s cruel and inhuman treatment of Armenian civilian detainees has regularly resulted in their deaths.

The term “inhuman treatment” is defined by the International Criminal Court as the infliction of “severe physical or mental pain or suffering” and “torture” or any act causing severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, which is intentionally inflicted on a person for purposes of obtaining from him or a third person information or confession.

Analysis of the interviews on the use of physical torture by Azerbaijan shows a mean of 5 (descriptor #5), which fully confirms the existence of such maltreatment by Azerbaijan.



The specialists interviewed also articulate with assurance derived from their examination of cases that each captive subject has clearly shown use of physical torture. All of the interviewed POWs confirmed that they have been subjected to different kinds of physical torture. Of special mention was the use of electric shocks, pulling off finger nails, beating with clubs, burning, etc. (mean = 5.00). The discourse analysis also illustrated that after release POWs have consistently shown evidence of physical torture of different types.

The graph above illustrates the main types of physical abuse used by Azerbaijan on captive Armenians, as categorized by types drawn from the literature reviewed. The graph shows that beatings comprise nearly 100% of physical torture, which means such acts of violence are used consistently; 86% of respondents mentioned exposure to freezing temperatures as another way of torture, particularly in the wintertime. Commonly, the cells where the POWs were held were not heated, and in cases where the cells had windows they were intentionally kept open to maintain the outside temperature. Nearly 70% of former POWs described restraints and electric shocks as widely used types of torture by Azerbaijan.

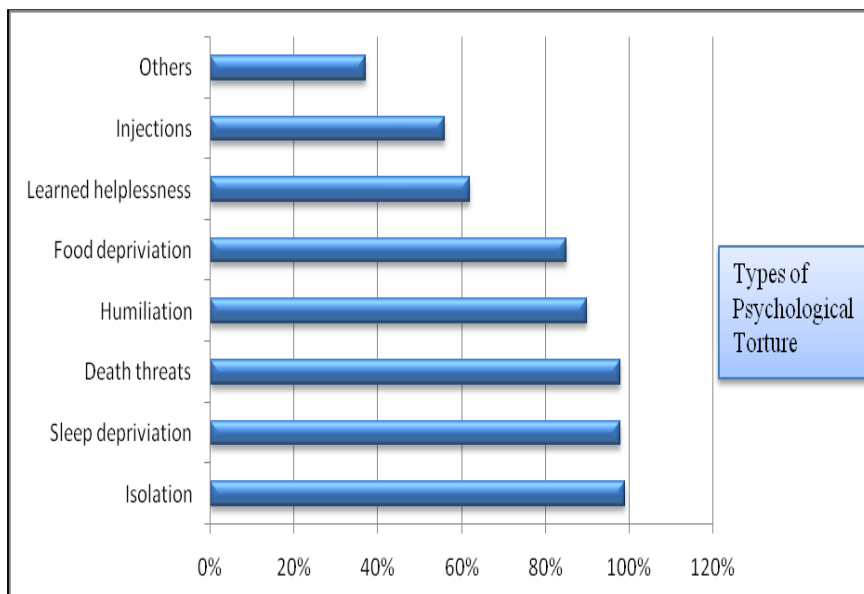
Approximately the same percent of interviewees also accounted dismemberment, which is also revealed in postmortem examinations of returned bodies of deceased POWs.

In this context, some interviewees also noted that, as a rule, Azerbaijan returns bodies of deceased POWs three or four months after death to minimize physical traces of the types of violence that had caused the death of the detainees. There have been cases of dismembered bodies of POWs, the head and the arms cut off from the body and organs missing. 45-50% mentioned that their finger nails were pulled and parts of their body burned by pouring hot oil on them. Besides, 31% of respondents also mentioned other methods of torture such as cutting different parts of their body, pouring boiling water on them, and using other types of torture.

Mental / psychological torture was also cited by both the specialists interviewed and the former POWs. Specialists affirmed that use of mental torture has been evident through the psychological problems that have appeared in former prisoners of war (mean is 4.75). The POWs interviewed also gave assertive responses to being subjected to mental torture. Specifically, POWs mentioned isolation, humiliation, death threats, etc. (mean is 4.75). The overall mean of both physical and psychological torture is 4.90 indicating that Azerbaijan uses torture extensively in the treatment of prisoners of war.

In addition, statements made by RA President Serzh Sargsyan, the U.S. Department of State, and other high-ranking officers show that all types of torture were used by Azerbaijan causing the death of prisoners of war while in captivity. Particularly, the U.S. State Department has noted that "The United States is deeply concerned with POW's death and his captivity in Azerbaijan proves that his death was not due to natural causes" (descriptor #5).

The results of in-depth interviews showed complete accord with the specialists' statements that the Azerbaijani government has tortured POWs to death or driven them to commit suicide (mean is 4.31). Some specialists interviewed gave full accounts of cases when the suicide-deaths of POWs were announced after they had made statements not to Azerbaijan's liking (mean is 4.37). The same claim was made by the families of deceased POWs bringing evidence of different traces of violence observed on the returned bodies of POWs (mean is 4.25).



Content analysis of the interviews conducted showed that the types of psychological torture found in the literature reviewed also are relevant to the treatment

of POWs by Azerbaijan. All of the respondents confirmed that after capture Azerbaijan kept Armenian captives in isolation inside four empty walls. In addition, they mentioned that at night Azeri guards intentionally knocked on their doors every minute constantly threatening them and not allowing them to fall asleep.

Almost 100% of the interviewees accounted that Azerbaijan threatens POWs of death and subjects them to humiliation if they refuse making statements in front of cameras following ordered scripts. Nearly, 85% of them spoke of depriving POWs from food. Further, when provided with food, they described it as a piece of bread and tea for the entire day. Similar to accounts of POWs held by North Korea, the analysis of interviews revealed that

about 60% of POWs lapsed to hopelessness. The emotional and psychological isolation which they experienced in captivity, as well as continuous delays of their release made them lose hope that they would ever be released. Furthermore, 58% noted that they were injected with dangerous drugs that cause mental disorders and cause other medical problems that have stayed with former POWs for more than a decade after release.

According to the Geneva Convention, the provision of appropriate quarters free from humidity and adequately heated and lit (descriptor #6) are important requirements in the treatment of POWs. However, as the mean derived from in-depth interviews shows, while in captivity POWs did not even have basic accommodation. Most of them used the term ‘unbearable conditions’ when describing their prison cells. Some of them were kept in two-by-two feet isolation cells with no heating, window, or bench, and ‘damp walls’ (mean is 3.62). The findings also show that the Azerbaijani government often relocated them temporarily to show good conditions to ICRC visitors.

Furthermore, the findings from interviews with specialists also show that aside from poor prison conditions, the provision of nutrition was deficient. Specialists assert that food deprivation is a new approach employed by Azerbaijan because it does not leave traces of physical abuse, although the long-term effect from lack of basic nutrition is even more serious in some cases and may cause serious injury (mean is 3.62, descriptor #7). Discourse analysis of speeches by several doctors also affirms that food deprivation, lack of air and water cause medical problems with stomach, kidney, heart, lungs, and skin.

Specific accounts by the POWs interviewed revealed that the quality, amount and frequency of food were below basic nutrient requisites (mean is 3.75). One POW affirmed that ICRC commented on the quality of food as ‘rice full of worms’. This information is kept classified by ICRC as indicated in a statement that states: “ICRC periodically visits POWs

to see their living conditions, however, ICRC does not publish information about the conditions of prisoners of war.”

Discourse analysis of the video released by Azerbaijan shows how Azeri doctors had provided medical assistance to an Armenian civilian detainee who, according to the Azeri statement in the video, was captured with a broken arm (descriptor #8). However, the analysis of the video content revealed a contradiction showing the POW before detention with no signs of injury or broken arm. Former POWs also accounted that the Azerbaijani government did not provide them with any type of medical assistance (mean is 4.25). The specialists interviewed also stated that POW health issues revealed after returning to Armenia are proof that they have not received any medical assistance while in captivity (mean is 4.12).

As was mentioned earlier, ICRC was allowed visits to prisoners of war and civilian detainees only when asked (descriptor #9). Quoting directly from a statement by ICRC on one specific case, “... since the Azerbaijani party does not allow ICRC staff to meet the prisoner of war, negotiations on visiting this person continue.” Former POWs interviewed recalled instances when a representative of the Azerbaijani government visited them to obtain information in the presence of ICRC. One of the former POWs also stated that the first time ICRC visited him was after a year and four months of being in captivity. ICRC asserts that the Azerbaijani government limits their activities related to POWs (mean is 3.62). The interviewees claim that Azerbaijan undermines the mission of the ICRC and treats its Baku office with disregard to its mission often totaling ignoring ICRC efforts for POW repatriations. As a result, ICRC activities have been less productive in the recent past as compared to 1992-1994 results achieved by them (mean is 4.62).

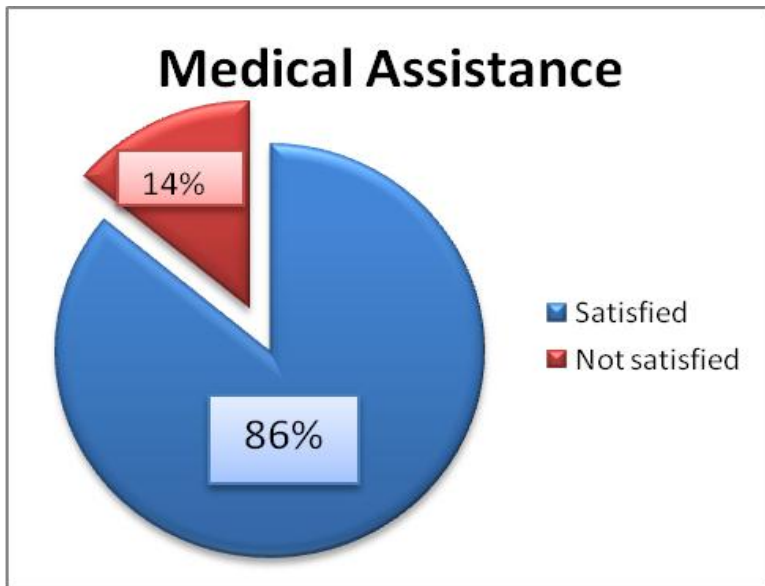
The analysis of POW medical records reveals that after release many suffer from serious health issues (descriptor #10), including both physical and psychological problems.

The mean of 4.25 confirms that the treatment of POWs has caused a number of health problems. Specialists argue that captivity alone causes stress, which may lead to mental disorder and other medical problems (mean is 4.75).

Medical reports also illustrate that in spite of the treatments received after release POWs do not fully recover, often showing further decline of health. The analysis of one POW medical record showed that his whole body was covered with wounds and burns, a moon drawn on his head, and legs full of holes. He had a fracture of the chest and other traces of cuts by knife that was subsequently stitched. Two months after return, the POW died (descriptor #10).

Prisoners of war also complained of nightmares and sleeplessness (mean is 3.87). The medical records include depictions of POWs' psychological conditions, including constant headaches, solitary behaviors, hearing murmurs and voices calling them, and recurring images of people they have encountered in Azerbaijan (descriptor #10). Specialists noted that though POWs get treatment in Armenian psychological centers after return, progress is minimal given that they hardly communicate with anyone and want to be alone. They are otherwise aggressive, nervous and volatile (mean is 4.00).

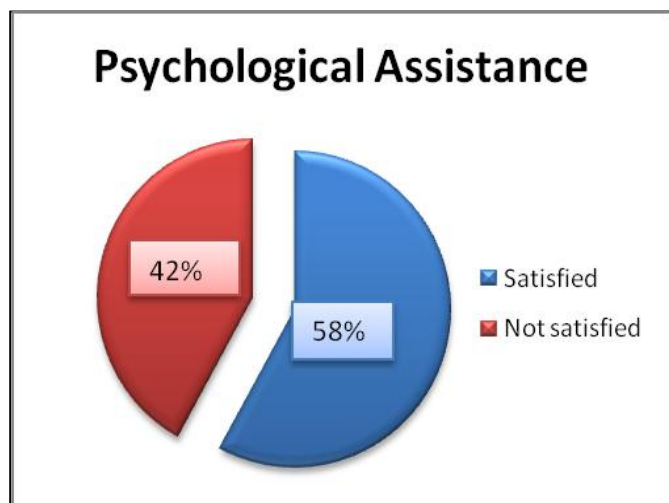
Finally, results of in-depth interviews concerning the treatment of POWs in homeland show that after returning to Armenia no prisoner of war has been imprisoned upon release. Moreover, there is a commission on POWs which includes five NGOs, as well as other state departments responsible for dealing with the problems of former POWs and their families. They work in different marzes and provide various kinds of assistance to former POWs and their families.



The interviews also tried to determine the level of satisfaction with the medical assistance detainees received after return to Armenia. 86% of POWs emphasized that they have received proper medical treatment and medicine

immediately after repatriation. However there was a concern expressed by both POWs and specialists that regardless of the quality of the medical assistance they receive, POWs do not recover fully from the maltreatment experienced in captivity.

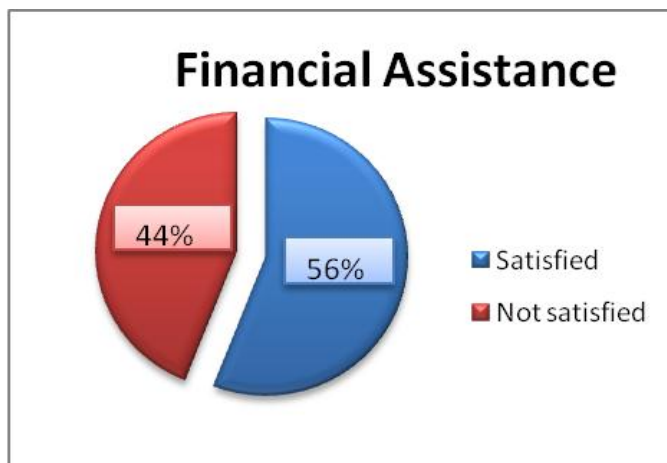
With respect to the state-provided psychological assistance to repatriated detainees, specialists directly involved in issues of human rights protection and defense of the interests of former POWs and assistance with their reintegration into society stated that they



have established a center that works with POWs with psychological problems. 58% of the POWs interviewed confirmed that they do visit this center to get psychological advice with readapting to everyday life.

Of those POWs and families interviewed, 56% confirmed that they receive financial support through different sources, mainly from local state representatives and NGOs. Specialists confirmed that if POWs or their families apply for assistance, they are never

turned down. However, they consider that the major problem in this regard is that there is no defined state rules and mechanisms for dealing with the issues of POWs and their families, as a result of which some POWs may be marginalized.



CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CASE FILES

The content of three case files was analyzed using descriptors intended to reveal the construct and conditions of detention. Each descriptor was measured by its frequency and relative precision, measured on a scale of 1 to 9 (where 9 meant the highest level of accuracy of that statement and 1 meant the lowest). Frequency was simply measured by the number of times that descriptor appeared in the document, signifying the level of importance attached to that experience.

Table 2 — Results of Content analysis of documents			
N	Descriptors	Mean	
		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Intensity</i>
1.	POWs and civilian detainees lost their way	5.3	3.0
2.	POWs and civilian detainees were kidnapped by Azeri	4.6	5.6
3.	Azerbaijan conceals information on captured POWs or civilian detainees	5.6	7.6
4.	Subjected them to physical torture	12.3	8.6
5.	Subjected them to mental torture	10.6	8.0
6.	Drove them to death	4.0	6.3
7.	Forced them to leave for a third country	9.3	8.3
8.	Azerbaijani government hindered ICRC visitations	13.6	8.3
9.	Azerbaijan violated the Geneva Conventions / International Law	10.3	7.3

The case files present full descriptions of a POW or civilian detainee case. These documents cover three different cases in three periods of times, 2008-2010, 2010-2012 and 2012-2014. The description of each case describes exactly how each captured person was kidnapped and taken to Azerbaijani territory. Most importantly, each of the cases describe that neither had crossed the border (Showing an average frequency of 3.0; and an average intensity of 5.3; descriptor #1) but was kidnapped by Azerbaijanis on Armenian territory (Frequency mean is 4.6, intensity mean is 5.6; descriptor #2).

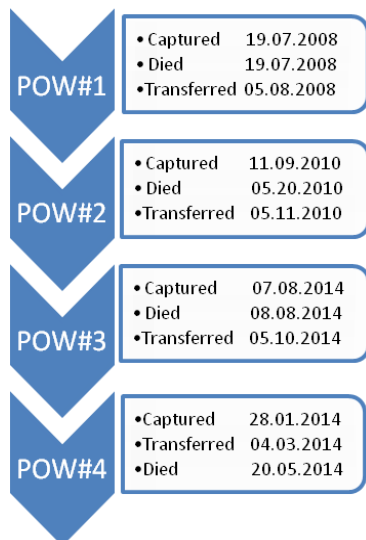
The motivations underlying these kidnappings were noteworthy — each case was meant to be used as a ‘sacrifice’⁵⁵ on a typically important Muslim holiday celebrated in Azerbaijan — on May 9th which is observed as a public holiday in Azerbaijan (and ironically also is the day of Liberation of Shushi by Armenians), the Muslim *Eid-al-Udha* also known as *Bayram* (feast), and other such holidays. Researchers of POW studies claim that such actions are common and are intended primarily to showcase Armenians as *animals*.

The documents reveal that Azerbaijan has concealed information on the respective case for a period of time also stating that there are proven cases of civilian detainees still in captivity in Azerbaijan, which have not been revealed. In 2010, the Armenian side in cooperation with ICRC presented a document depicting undeniable facts related to Armenians captive in Azerbaijan, as shown on Azeri TV and recognized by their families and relatives. Moreover, former POWs have brought back evidence of meeting Armenian detainees in Azerbaijan whom Azerbaijan uses for different purposes, as slaves, hard labor, etc. However, Azerbaijan continues to deny that there are any Armenian detainees in its territory (Frequency mean is 4.6, intensity mean is 5.6; descriptor #3).

⁵⁵ Derived from the practice of Eid-ul-Adha, which according to Islamic teaching, is a time for Muslims to learn the value of self-denial by making a sacrifice of something living to God.

In each of the case files analyzed, subjecting detainees to physical torture has the highest frequency of 12.3 and intensity of 8.6 — calculated by the number of times cases have made reference to being subjected to torture. Repeatedly, there were descriptions of beatings, wounding/cutting, dismemberment, etc. The analysis of these case files also revealed that these cases were subjected to psychological torture. In one of the cases, Azerbaijan refused to provide any information about the detainee who was kept in captivity from 1995 to 1998 and subsequently returned to Armenia in a very bad state of mind. After repatriation he never spoke again.

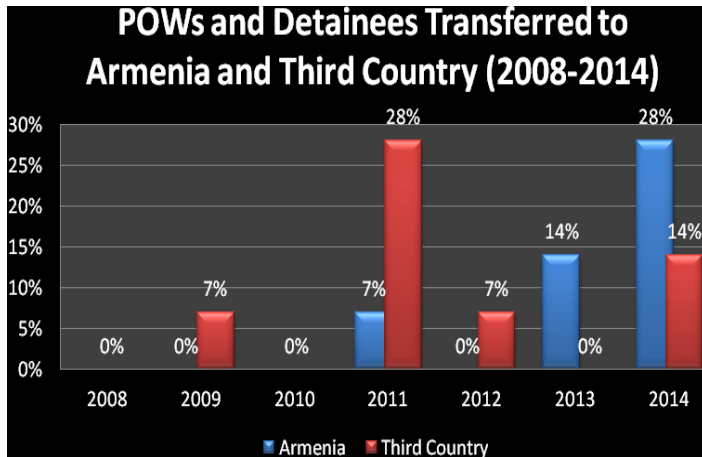
The analysis of different cases on file showed that Azerbaijanis’ inhumane treatments drove detainees to death. One case of an Armenian soldier was taken to an Azerbaijani fighting position and executed before Azerbaijani servicemen. After a month the body of the soldier was returned with traces of severe physical torture. The autopsy showed broken, a gunshot wound on the skull, knife cuts on legs and hands, etc. (Frequency mean is 4.0, intensity mean is 6.3; descriptor #6).



In the period of 2008-2014 there were three cases of death while in custody, bodies being transferred to Armenia within a period of one to three months. The side bar depicts cases occurring in summer months when the bodies of killed detainees were kept for months and returned deteriorated and smelling terrible. One civilian detainee died shortly

after he was repatriated to Armenia. According to medical examination, the latest POW died because of injections with oil-products while in captivity.

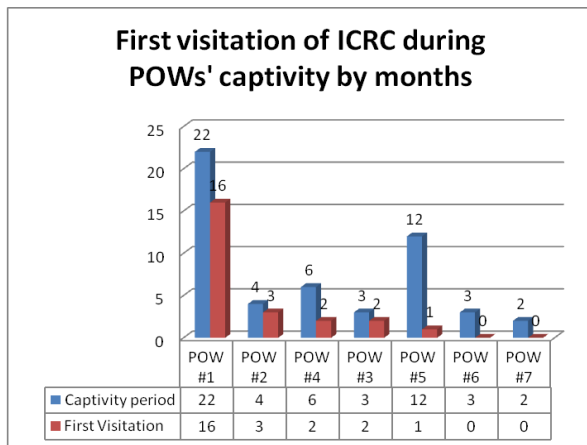
Starting from 2008, the Azerbaijani government employed a policy forcing detained Armenian servicemen to ask to be transferred to a third country. They were told “... we either



kill people like you or send them to a third country.” During the period of 2008-2014, there were eight POWs and seven civilian detainees, all of whom were returned to Armenia or sent to a third country.

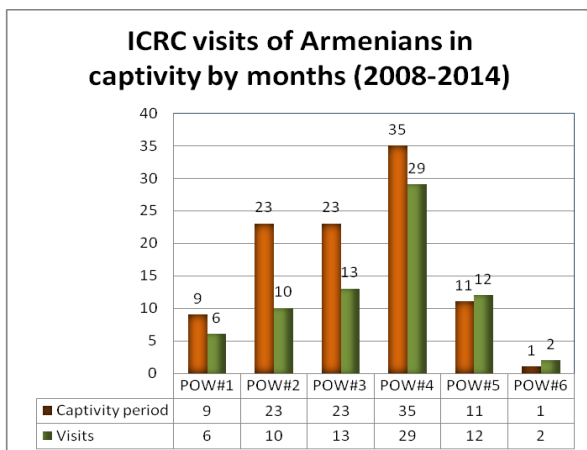
What is noteworthy is the insistence of Azerbaijani officials for Armenian servicemen to leave to a third country in Europe, while civilian detainees were transferred to Armenia. In that period, not one captured Armenian serviceman returned to Armenia: one POW captured in May 2008 was transferred in March 2009; three POWs captured in February 2009 were transferred in March 2011, two captured in May and July 2009 were transferred in April 2012, one captured in June 2009 was transferred in April 2014 and the last POW captured in August 2013 was transferred in August 2014. However, this last case was exceptional as the POW was able to return to Armenia from the third country after being there for two months (Frequency mean is 9.3, intensity mean is 8.3; descriptor #7). The accompanying chart depicts POWs and detainees transferred to Armenia or to a third country in the most recent period, 2008-2014.

In each of the case files studied, it was clear that the Azerbaijani government hinders ICRC visitations to captured POWs and civilian detainees, especially in the initial period of captivity (Frequency mean is 13.6, intensity mean is 8.3; descriptor #8).



The side graph shows one case where ICRC was allowed to visit a POW only 16 months after detention given that Azerbaijan had concealed information on the subject detainee. There were cases when ICRC did not have any chance to visit captives at all.

However, according to the data on file, the minimum time period after which ICRC was permitted to visit captives is 2-3 weeks from detention up to several months contrary to international laws that allow regular access to ICRC.



This side graph shows the number of times ICRC was allowed to visit each POW. While ICRC visitations do not follow any reasonable scheme or regularity, there is an average period of nearly two months between visits. ICRC also has facilitated, in most cases, connecting the POWs with their

families by letter.

The information drawn from the case files analyzed and earlier analyses clearly lead to the conclusion that Azerbaijan has consistently violated the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and other International Law on Human Rights.

CORRELATIONS

The rest of the analysis is devoted to finding common threads among the different types of treatment of POWs and detainees by Azerbaijan. The findings depicted below show significant correlations measured by Pearson's r between several factors, including POW interrogations; forced statements on video cameras; and physical and psychological torture that POWs or civilian detainees have experienced.

	Captured POWs or civilian detainees are subjected to interrogation	Azerbaijan forces POWs and civilian detainees to make forced statements on video camera	POWS and civilian detainees are subjected to physical torture	POWS and civilian detainees are subjected to psychological torture
Captured POWs or civilian detainees are subjected to interrogation	1	.210	.788**	.615*
		.435	.000	.011
	16	16	16	16
Azerbaijan forces POWs and civilian detainees to make forced statements on video camera	-.292	1	-.144	.560*
	.237		.595	.024
	16	16	16	16
POWS and civilian detainees are subjected to physical torture	.788**	-.144	1	.808**
	.000	.595		.000
	16	16	16	16
POWS and civilian detainees are subjected to psychological torture	.615*	.560*	.808**	1
	.011	.024	.000	
	16	16	16	16

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

As shown in the table above, the correlation coefficient between those who accounted of being interrogated were also subjected to physical torture (r is strong at 0.788 at a 99% significance level). Similarly, there is a strong correlation where r is equal to 0.615 at a 95% significance between detainees who were interrogated also were subjected to psychological pressure. The overwhelming majority of cases, 81.2% confirmed being treated inhumanely during interrogations.

Further, there is a correlation between cases that were forced into making scripted statements on video cameras and psychological torture with a correlation coefficient of r equal to 0.560 at a 95% significance level. This shows that Azerbaijan has used mental anguish by forcing captives to make statements on their bad conditions in Armenia. Also the strong correlation coefficient r of 0.808 at a 99% significance level shows that those subjected to physical torture were also subjected to psychological torture.

The next set of correlations depicts the relationship between the unbearable conditions where POWs were kept, including provision of food and lack of medical assistance and detainees' physical and psychological problems after release.

	POWS and civilian detainees are kept in unbearable conditions during their captivity	POWS and civilian detainees were not provided sufficient daily food	POWS and civilian detainees did not receive sufficient medical assistance	After release POWs suffer from various health problems	After release POWs suffer from physical medical problems	After release POWs suffer from psychological problems
POWS and civilian detainees are kept in unbearable conditions during their captivity	1	.083	-.048	-.454	-.505*	-.451
		.760	.859	.077	.046	.079
	16	16	16	16	16	16
POWS and civilian detainees were not provided sufficient daily food	.083	1	.379	-.758**	-.658**	-.579*
	.760		.148	.001	.006	.019
	16	16	16	16	16	16
POWS and civilian detainees were not received sufficient medical assistance	-.048	.379	1	-.263	-.250	-.359
	.859	.148		.325	.350	.172
	16	16	16	16	16	16
After release POWs suffer from various health problems	-.454	-.758**	-.263	1	.977**	.834**
	.077	.001	.325		.000	.000
	16	16	16	16	16	16
After release POWs suffer from physical problems	-.505*	-.658**	-.250	.977**	1	.869**
	.046	.006	.350	.000		.000
	16	16	16	16	16	16
After release POWs suffer from psychological problems	-.451	-.579*	-.359	.834**	.869**	1
	.079	.019	.172	.000	.000	
	16	16	16	16	16	16

The table above shows that those POWs and civilian detainees who were detained in bad living conditions suffered from different kinds of medical problems after repatriation. As shown above in the analysis of hospital records, there is a negative correlation (Pearson's r is - 0.505 at a 95% significance level) between being kept in 'unbearable conditions' and suffering from physical problems after release. Similarly, a strong negative correlation of r equal to - 0.758 exists at 99% significance, between insufficient daily food provision while in captivity and detainees' health problems after release.

The above shows that the Azerbaijani government uses food deprivation as an approach of physical abuse that leaves no traces but results in long-term health issues that are more serious and affect the physical as well as psychological state of humans. Here Pearson's r is 0.658 at a 99% significance level and 0.579, respectively at a 95% significance level.

The table that follows shows the correlations between the medical and psychological assistance that POWs and civilian detainees receive after release and the extent to which state assistance helps them to integrate into society, and adjust to life back in Armenia.

While there is no significant correlation between the different types of state assistance detainees receive after release and their wellbeing considering that there is evidence that detainees do not recover from the maltreatment in captivity. The same is also true in measuring the effect of psychological assistance provided by the state and other organizations. Medical professionals estimate that it would take 10 to 15 years to get them back to normality, if ever. However, the same table shows a positive correlation where Pearson's r equals 0.544 at a 95% significance level between the negative attitude by society and the ease of integration of POWs into society upon release (Pearson's r equals 0.547 at a 95% significance level). It is obvious that the negative attitude of people influences integration of former POWs into society and readjustment to normal life.

	Medical assistance	Psychological assistance	Negative attitude by society	Integration into society	Adjustment to life	Negative influence of captivity on career/job	Negative impact of captivity on life
Medical assistance	1	.316	-.056	.126	-.292	-.076	.356
		.141	.837	.641	.272	.779	.175
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Psychological assistance	.316	1	-.050	.184	-.053	-.344	-.024
	.141		.853	.496	.846	.192	.930
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Negative attitude by society	-.056	-.050	1	.544*	.325	.547*	.471
	.837	.853		.029	.220	.028	.065
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Integration into society	.126	.184	.544*	1	.807**	.585*	.793**
	.641	.496	.029		.000	.017	.000
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Adjustment to life	-.292	-.053	.325	.807**	1	.643**	.583*
	.272	.846	.220	.000		.007	.018
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Negative influence of captivity on career/job	-.076	-.344	.547*	.585*	.643**	1	.767**
	.779	.192	.028	.017	.007		.001
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Negative impact of captivity on life	.356	-.024	.471	.793**	.583*	.767**	1
	.175	.930	.065	.000	.018	.001	
	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Similarly, there is a strong relationship between the impact of captivity on life after repatriation and detainees' integration and adjustment to life with Pearson's r at 0.793 and 0.583 respectively, at a 99% level of significance. This is also relevant to the correlation between the negative influence of captivity in enemy land and readjustment to life back in Armenia, with Pearson's r at 0.643 at a 99% level of significance.

CHAPTER V — CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The case study aimed at describing the treatment of POWs and civilian detainees by Azerbaijan. The analysis of documents and interviews, as well as discourse analysis of speeches generated the following key findings affirming that Azerbaijan uses inhumane methods in the treatment of POWs and civilian detainees, mostly for anti-Armenian propaganda. As the literature reviewed showed (albeit in the earlier century), Azerbaijan mistreats POWs, subjecting them to physical and mental torture in this 21st century.

Further, the analysis completed, including the correlations tested provide sufficient evidence of Azerbaijan's current policies in the treatment of POWs and civilian detainees. Evidence of torture through various methods is confirmed in all completed analyses, also showing long-lasting health problems or death. The case study also found that the Armenian government provides repatriated POWs and detainees systematic medical treatment, psychological assistance, and financial support. There is sufficient evidence that no repatriated POW or civilian detainee has been imprisoned by Armenia (by records dating back to 1994).

Overall, the evidence collected and analyzed lead to rejecting the hypothesis that the Azerbaijani government follows the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and human rights laws in treating POWs and detained civilians is rejected, and the null hypothesis is accepted. Strong evidence exists that the Azerbaijani government subjects Armenian captives to physical and psychological torture in serious violation of international laws. Moreover, all the aforementioned issues raised are military crimes that have consequences of criminal penalties

and/or liability. This study should get the attention of the international community in terms of calling Azerbaijan to justice for the gross violations of accepted international policies and standards for the treatment of Armenian POWs and civilian detainees.

Considering the absence of scientific studies on this topic, it is recommended that this study be continued on multiple levels and longitudinally. Scholars should look into this issue closely and conduct comparative studies on the treatment of POWs by Armenia versus Azerbaijan. It is timely to also assess the treatment of Azerbaijani POWs by the Armenian government and to analyze the opposite side of the case study. It is also recommended to carry out a study that aims to assess the role and authority of international organizations in the protection of POWs' human rights. Such study could take a legal look at the extent to which international law has the power of oversight and punishment of breaches of existing provisions. An evaluation of the adequacy of such conventions and international policies is timely.

ANNEX 1 — QUESTIONS USED IN INTERVIEWS WITH SPECIALISTS

1. Being a party to the Geneva Convention, what are the main obligations that you have with respect to POWs?
2. In your opinion and assessment of the prevailing conditions, how does the government of Azerbaijan fulfill its obligations related to the Geneva Convention?
3. More, specifically, how would you assess the treatment of prisoners of war by the government of Azerbaijan?
4. Beyond the Geneva Convention, how would you assess Azerbaijan's protection of the human rights of POWs? [human rights, including physical and spiritual wellbeing....]
5. How would you assess Azerbaijan's treatment/showing of POWs on television and other media outlets? [probe: Would you consider such actions as use of POWs as objects of propaganda. Further, propaganda against the Republic of Armenia?] \
6. From your perspective, how does the government of Armenia treat POWs upon return to their homeland? [probing: What kind of treatment or assistance do POWs experience in their homeland after release?

ANNEX 2 - QUESTIONS USED IN INTERVIEWS WITH FORMER POWS

1. What is your name, date of birth and place of birth?
2. What did you do before captivity?
3. How did you get captured/How did you get there?
4. What was your first reaction when realized that you were in the territory of enemy?
5. What was their first step towards you?
6. What did you feel when you woke up in the custody for the first time? Describe your impressions (any nightmare, scare). What did you think about first?
7. How did you pass under the control of military authorities or who did you hand over them?
8. Did they conceal or misrepresent any information about you to the party concerned (international organizations, etc)?
9. Did you subject to interrogated? If yes, how often and how the process was organized? Describe this.
10. What type of questions were you asked during interrogation?
11. Did you express your thoughts or the ones dictated by them on TV or to ICRC?
12. Did they ever subject you to torture or mock because of being Armenian or Christian?
13. Were there any prison guards/How did they treat you?
14. Were you injured/wounded? If yes, were you provided any kind of medical assistance?
15. Did you suffer from any illness or disease? If yes, were you ever taken to hospital?
16. What were the conditions of prison? Describe the place where you were kept (sleeping place, walls, floor, window - if there is such). Was the room heated in cold weather? Was there a light in the room?
17. Describe the food you were provided/its quality and how many times a day? Did you ever starve? Were you provided by water?
18. How long a day were you allowed to sleep? How did you fill in your time during the day?
19. What did you think about in captivity (home, freedom, etc)?
20. Did you believe that you would soon be released/did any delay of release cause disappointment to you?
21. Did ICRC visit you? How long did it pass when they first visited?
22. What were your feelings after ICRC visits (any hope, change of attitude/situation/behavior)?
23. Did you write letters to family? If yes, how often?
24. What did it mean to you to get/not get letters from home?

25. Was it your decision to return to Armenia/leave for the third country?
26. Did you need any medical treatment after release from captivity?
27. If yes, what kind of illnesses or health problems did you have?
28. Were you hospitalized? Did you receive relevant medical treatment?
29. Did you fully recover?
30. Who did cover your medical expenses?
31. Did you still have nightmares?
32. What was the attitude of Armenian people towards you? Did you feel any dislike from people?
33. Did you experience any inability to settle in the society?
34. How difficult did you find the adaptation to life outside?
35. Did your captivity have any effect on your career/job?
36. Do you receive any financial assistance?
37. What does your experience of having been a POW mean to you now and what impact it has on your life?

Appendix –POWs history

POW#1 (33 years old) was born in the Chinari village. Before captivity, he worked in the plant. On 7 August 2014, he went to the forest to collect firewood for domestic use and carry it home on the donkey. Two hours later, Azerbaijani TV informed about the capture of an Armenian “saboteur”⁵⁶: he was forced to speak in front of camera being dragged by masked soldiers and subjected to interrogation by Azerbaijani 3rd Army General Akperov⁵⁷. After a day, on August 8, Azerbaijan stated that “*acute cardiopulmonary failure and acute myocardial failure caused POW's death*”⁵⁸.

During the interview with his parents, they told that POW knew forest very well and could not pass the border. They claimed that he was kidnapped in the territory of Armenia and the evidence that they presented was the existence a bottle of mineral water with a label in Azerbaijani (Jermuks), packs of cigarettes found in the place his donkey had been tied; besides the territory was mined. They also argued that Azerbaijan deliberately chose the day when Vladimir Putin held a trilateral meeting with the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and the President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan in Sochi⁵⁹ in order to show the world that Armenia initiated provocative actions towards Azerbaijan. Regarding the Azerbaijani statement on POW as an Armenian saboteur, they rejected it by saying that their son had completed his army service, he did not wear any military item: he wore white sport shoes, blouse with blue-black strips and grey jeans as it was in the initial video uploaded by Azerbaijanis⁶⁰.

On October 10, 2014, the body of POW was handed over to Armenia⁶¹. Father of the POW told that the body was repatriated after two months:

“My son did not die; he was slaughtere – beheaded. .. The reins were removed. The arms were torn out. There was no meet above the waist, and bones of the waist were broken with multiple visible injuries. Ribs too were broken and crashed.”

⁵⁶ <http://az.apa.az/news/352050>

⁵⁷ <http://apa.tv/video/12499>

⁵⁸ <http://en.trend.az/azerbaijan/karabakh/2301182.html>

⁵⁹ <http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/22793>

⁶⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IW3o84-9PF4>

⁶¹ <http://news.am/eng/news/233420.html>

POW#2, (77 years old) was born in Karmir Verinaghbyur village. On 29 January 2014, he went to vineyards to harvest grapes. Few hours later hours Azerbaijan showed him on TV representing him as a leader of sabotage group⁶². On 31 January 2014, Azerbaijani TV showed him being interviewed, where his hand was already broken⁶³. According to his medical record⁶⁴, he suffered from schizophrenia. On 3 March 2014, he was returned to the Armenian side with serious injuries⁶⁵. He died on May 20, 2014, two months after being released from captivity⁶⁶.

During the interview, his son told, *“My father was not a saboteur, he suffered from mental illness and he was forced to speak on TV. He was severely beaten. There were traces of burns on his body, a drawing of moon on his head, an arm was cut by knife and sewed, legs were full of holes, and the whole body was covered with wounds. Before captivity, despite his mental illness, he interacted with people easily/, but after his return from captivity, he remained silent most of the time, sitting or laying on his bed. It was painful to observe old wounds bleeding and new one emerging on his body due to poor blood clotting. He had a fear from people, especially from crowd. Unfortunately, he did not regain his memory and failed to recognize anyone. According to doctors, my father died because of injections with oil-products in Azerbaijan.”*

POW#3 (20 years old) was born in TtuJur. Before captivity, he worked in a woodworking enterprise. On September 11, 2010, in search of their lost cow in the forest in the territory of RA, he was kidnapped by Azerbaijanis. Three days later, Azerbaijan announced that an Armenian sabotage passed the border and released a video where POW admitted that he went to Azerbaijan for the purpose of blowing up a school⁶⁷. During the meeting, POW's father claimed that in the abovementioned POW's interview *“There were traces of violence on POW' face which proved use of force to urge him to speak. His look, gestures and behavior were very strange. ICRC was not even allowed to visit him”*.

⁶² <http://musavat.com/news/son-xeber/mudafie-nazirliyi-temas-xettinde-tutulan-ermeni-ile-bagli-melumat-yaydi-video>

⁶³ <http://novostink.ru/azerbaijan/58634-armyanskiy-diversant-dal-svoe-pervoe-intervyu-v-baku.html>
<http://www.kanals.az/news/politics/19354>

⁶⁴ Medical record

⁶⁵ <http://en.aravot.am/2014/03/06/164100/>

⁶⁶ http://www.panorama.am/en/current_topics/2014/05/21/mamikon-khojoyan-dies/

⁶⁷ <http://www.azxeber.com/news/29881.htm>

On October 5, 2010, Azerbaijan stated that POW committed suicide by hang himself by making a knot from his own shirt⁶⁸. On November 5, the body of POW was returned⁶⁹. In his parents words, *“My son’s eyes were put out; neck, lips and ears were cut. The whole body was tortured”*.

POW#4 (24 years old) was born in Voskevaz village. On the night of August 7, POW, 22 years old conscript in the Armenian Armed Forces, who had already completed one year of military service, accidentally crossed into Azerbaijani-controlled territory. On August 13, Azerbaijan released the first video interview of POW’s⁷⁰. On this regard he recounted, *“They threatened me, beat for a long time and started to interrogate. I was forced to say that I crossed the border because of bad political situation in Armenia, bad social condition of my family, etc. They gave a ready text to me and forced to read. There were militaries standing behind the camera with guns during my video interviews.”*

“They threatened to shoot me to death if I try to flee from captivity or return to Armenia and not make a decision to leave for the third country. Before the Red Cross visits they gave me instructions what to say and read all my letters given to ICRC”. Regarding the second interview⁷¹ released on August 22 2013, POW commented, *“When I refused to make a statement on camera, 4-5 people tied me with a rope and beat me on the head, kidneys and other parts of my body so hard that I was unable to walk for several days.”*

POW#5 (23 years old) was born in Verin Karmiraxbyur village and was a cattle-breeder before his captivity. On March 6, (year), he was captured as a prisoner of war. During the meeting, POW told that he took animals to the pasture near the border when some civilian dressed people kidnapped and passed him to their authorities. He recounted that he was interrogated even when he was sleeping. There was fixed timing for interrogation, or more precisely tortures with weapons, filmed by video cameras and during each interrogation video cameras and weapons were used. In case his answers were not satisfactory for them,

⁶⁸ <http://arxiv.az/az/az.apa.az/191097/Oten+ay+cebhe+xettinde+tutulan+ermeni+keshfiyatcisi+Manvel+Sarib+ekya+n+bu+gece+intihar+edib>

⁶⁹ <http://www.azatutyun.am/content/article/2210440.html>

<http://www.azadliq.org/content/article/2210646.html>

⁷⁰ <http://www.ikisahil.com/index.php/x%C9%99b%C9%99r/%C3%B6lk%C9%99d%C9%99n-x%C9%99b%C9%99rl%C9%99r/item/6581-erm%C9%99ni-%C9%99sg%C9%99r-%C9%99sir-d%C3%BC%C5%9Fm%C9%99sind%C9%99n-dan%C4%B1%C5%9Fd%C4%B1-%7Bvideo%7D.html>

⁷¹ <http://www.easyrepeat.com/video/?id=cf093a0nV2o>

the group of 6-7 people starting to beat him for a long time and tortured by pulling the nails of his fingers. POW remembered that the only day he was not beaten was March 9 – his birthday. He also added that before real ICRC visits, Azeri came under the pretence of ICRC and asked questions. *“When true ICRC representatives visited me, Azeri forced me to say that I voluntarily passed the border, by mentioning details on the location provided earlier by Azeries. They also forced me to state that I wished to leave for the third country: otherwise, they threatened that I would never be out from the prison.”*

On April 10, he was repatriated⁷² and spent a year in a hospital. As a result of strong fear and stress, he acquired a skin disease⁷³.

“The lamp in the room was switched on for 24 hours. They intentionally knocked the door almost every minute in order to threaten and keep me sleepless. I had not eaten anything so long that I could not recognize people after repatriation. Now after release I always have nightmares and cannot sleep at nights. Though I visit the psychological centre, however I cannot feel joy anymore and want to stay alone in every minute”.

POW#6 (38 years old) was born in Ttujur village. On August 31, 2001, he was a contractual serviceman, when he accidentally crossed into Azerbaijani-controlled territory. Azerbaijan concealed information about his captivity for a month. After two months only, the ICRC could visit him. During the interview, POW said, *“When I realized that I am on the enemy territory I was frightened to death. They took me to one of their military units, kept in a very small cell; the length and width were about 2 m, there was no window, electricity, heating. Food included one piece of bread and tea for the whole day. They were interrogating once a week before cameras, and filmed my tortures. Every night they knocked the door every minute to threaten and disrupt my sleep. When I returned to Armenia, no one recognized me as I was very pale, beaten and emaciated.”*

POW#7 (36 years old) was born in Haxarcin village. He was married and had one child. On May 9, 2009, he went to pick mushrooms in the forest where he was captured by Azeries. During the interview, POW told that four individuals dressed in civilian cloths asked for cigarettes in our territory and then kidnapped and gave him to their authorities. That was a public day in Azerbaijan⁷⁴ and the day of Liberation of Shushi⁷⁵ by Armenians. For sixteen

⁷² <http://www.tert.am/en/news/2014/04/10/arsen-khojoyan/1055509>

⁷³ Medical record

⁷⁴ <http://www.advantour.com/azerbaijan/holidays/victory-day.htm>

⁷⁵ http://www.nkrusa.org/country_profile/national_holidays.shtml

months, Azerbaijan concealed the information about his' captivity. In order to torture him psychologically, he was told that his family had even built a grave for him. He was kept in extremely bad conditions:

“They throw me to a basement, which was 2x2m and not heated, it did not have window, any bedding, and the walls were wet. Four months I slept on the ground. They did not provide any food, drink; I survived on scarce leftovers they gave me. They broke my legs, tortured me by electric shocks,, beat me with truncheon, and kept a weapon on my head forcing to speak on camera and tell about my country and say that I voluntarily passed the border. Twice they injected soporific draughts. One night I heard a shop inside my cell: I thought they shot me; when I opened my eyes, I saw that they just wanted to scare me by shooting very close.

. POW was interrogated about types of armaments of the Armenian army, ammunitions, locations of military unites, etc. To force answers, they gave him an apple injected with medicine and forced him to eat it with white-painted glass button in it. In his words, after that “waves penetrated” into his brain⁷⁶. “If anyone answered their question they gave him cigarette and one piece of normal bread”. After sixteen months only, the Red Cross visited him. He was returned to Armenia on March 17, 2011. Three years of medical treatment, however, help him to recover his health only partially. Until now, he suffers from insomnia and nightmares. POW rarely communicates with anyone and prefers to stay alone.

POW#8: In 2010, the family (five members) crossed the border and only on 12 December 2014, they were returned to Armenia. In Azerbaijan, they lived in the corridor of the Police building. Father of the family remembered April 24 specifically, since on that day he was tortured “exquisitely”: he was forced to reject Genocide and state that Karabakh belongs to them. His wife, who was pregnant at that time, underwent forced abortion.. One of the Azeris said, “No one should give birth to an Armenian on the territory of Azerbaijan”. They threatened her that if she wanted to see her husband alive and her children by her side, she had to sign that she voluntarily asked for abortion, no one forced her.

“When the Bayram ended, a group of 10-20 people came and wanted to take my wife to doctor. As she did not agree, they carried me from the corridor to a cell. They wet my fingers and feet and switched on the electricity. Then tied my hands and started to kick to my kidneys with military boots. All these happened in the presence of children. Children were crying and they threatened them if they did not calm down, they would not see their mother anymore”.

⁷⁶ Medical record

On May 30, 2014, they were promised money, car and a house if they agreed to receive Azerbaijani surname and stay in Azerbaijan. On December 12, 2014, they were handed over to Armenia⁷⁷.

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⁷⁷ <http://armenpress.am/eng/news/787621/>

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