

*INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE*

**ARMENIA/THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND  
FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES**

OCTOBER 21-23, 2004

**Organized by the**  
Armenian Studies Program

**Co-Sponsored by the**  
Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies  
Center for Russian and East European Studies  
Department of History  
Department of Near Eastern Studies  
International Institute  
Political Science Department

*ALL SESSIONS WILL CONVENE AT THE ALUMNI CENTER ON THE MAIN CAMPUS*

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
ANN ARBOR



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## SPONSORS

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### **THE ARMENIAN STUDIES PROGRAM**

The origins of the Armenian Studies Program (ASP) at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, lie in the Armenian language and later history classes taught beginning in 1976 by a number of known scholars and teachers. In 1981, Mr. and Mrs. Alex and Marie Manoogian endowed the Alex Manoogian Chair in Modern Armenian History and Dr. Ronald Suny became its first holder. In 1987, the Manoogians endowed a second position, the Marie Manoogian Chair in Armenian Language and Literature and Dr. Kevork Bardakjian became its first holder. In 1988, Professor Bardakjian founded the Summer Armenian Language Institute in Yerevan. The Summer Program offers introductory courses in Classical, Eastern and Western Armenian. In 1994, Professor Suny resigned from his position and Dr. Stephanie Platz was appointed to the Chair (1997-2000). Following two years of one-semester teaching, Dr. Gerard Libaridian was appointed in 2003 the Visiting Alex Manoogian Professor of Modern Armenian History.

In 1997, Professor Bardakjian moved the Marie Manoogian Chair from the Slavic to the Department of Near Eastern Studies, which became the home Department for the ASP. Since 1995, Professor Bardakjian has been Director of the ASP. A Steering Committee, made up of faculty from the University of Michigan, helps the Director run the ASP. An Advisory Council, appointed by the University of Michigan and the Alex and Marie Manoogian Fund, supports the activities of the ASP.

The Armenian Studies Program is the umbrella structure for the two Chairs and the Summer Armenian Institute in Yerevan, and coordinates their activities, organizes lectures, symposia and conferences and outreach programs for the community. The Program offers a wide range of courses on all periods of Armenian language, literature, history and culture. Occasionally, specialists are invited to teach areas not covered by the chair-holders. The ASP offers graduate degrees and undergraduate concentration (both minor and major) in Armenian Studies.

### **THE CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES**

The Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies (CMENAS) is a constituent unit of the University of Michigan International Institute (II). It brings together faculty in the Department with other area specialists in a number of disciplines within the College of Literature, Science and the Arts (e.g. Anthropology, Archaeology, History, Linguistic and Sociology) as well as the Schools of Law, Business Administration, and Public Health. The M.A. program at CMENAS is designed as a general interdisciplinary introduction to the area and to one or more of its languages. It is intended to provide broad area and language training at the graduate level for students with either academic or professional interests and is most appropriate for students who are committed to the area and interested in an interdisciplinary approach at the M.S. level. The Center is supported by the U.S. Department of Education: it organizes and sponsors numerous activities (language circles, lectures and colloquia by visiting scholars), and administers fellowships such as the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS).

### **THE CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES**

The Center for Russian and East European Studies (CREES), a constituent unit of the University of Michigan International Institute, is one of the nation's leading institutes for interdisciplinary research and training in Russian and East European studies. First designated as a Slavic Language and Area Center in 1959, CREES is now one of twenty U.S. Department of Education-supported National Resource Centers for Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. With an outstanding faculty of over sixty area specialists and visiting scholars in the humanities, social sciences, and professions, CREES is renowned for its

regional programs in Central European (particularly Polish and Czech) studies, Russian studies, and Southeast European studies.

Over two hundred students are currently enrolled in interdisciplinary REES B.A. and M.A. degree programs, REES minors and graduate certificate programs, graduate-level joint degree programs with professional schools, and school and departmental graduate-level programs with a REES focus. CREES organizes over forty public programs each year (e.g., lectures, conferences, and film screenings) and provides instructional and informational services to Midwestern schools and colleges, media, and businesses.

### **THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

The Department of History has long ranked among the top five programs in the country, contributing to the high standing of the University of Michigan. It is well known for the excellence of its teaching and research, producing new historical knowledge that changes the shape of history nationally and internationally, and transmitting it to succeeding generations of students. The Department has formulated a strategic plan to maintain and enhance its high standing by recruiting and retaining outstanding faculty, attracting and supporting the best graduate students, and providing talented undergraduates with the resources they need for the fullest development of their skills.

History helps us prepare for the future by understanding our past. History is at the center of a liberal arts education, and is a sound preparation for careers in government, law, business, medicine, journalism and education. As a part of general education it contributes to the making of informed citizens. As a graduate program it contributes to the training of the great history teachers of the future.

The Department has over 70 faculty members and offers strong programs in the histories of the United States, Europe, Africa, the Middle east, Asia, Latin America as well as in transregional and comparative studies.

### **THE DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES**

The Department of Near Eastern Studies is part of the College of Literature, Science and the Arts, which administers its undergraduate programs leading to the B.A. degrees, and of the Rackham School of Graduate Studies, which administers its graduate programs leading to the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. The regular faculty numbers about 26, of which 12 are full professors. The Department offers several programs of study at the B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. levels, covering Near Eastern languages, literatures, civilizations, linguistics, history, Ancient studies, Biblical studies, Egyptology, Medieval Islamic history and Islamic studies.

### **THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Political Science prepares students for active citizenship, for careers in public affairs, and for advanced study in the social sciences and law by training them to become astute observers of political behavior in their own country and around the world.

The Department of Political Science is a unit within the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts. Michigan was one of the first schools in the country to organize a department devoted entirely to the study of politics. Today, the department has some 40 members and has gained national recognition for the achievements of both its faculty and students. Michigan's Political Science Department was ranked within the top two departments in the nation in a study concluded in 1998. The department takes pride in its members' accomplishments as teachers, writers, and consultants or advisers to public officials.

The Department of Political Science offers an undergraduate concentration program which may be used as partial fulfillment for the College's requirement for the Bachelor of Arts degree. Students at

the graduate level may pursue work leading to the Master of Arts degree or the Ph.D. through the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. The Department also offers an undergraduate academic minor in political science.

#### **THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE**

The University of Michigan International Institute is dedicated to research, education, and service in international and area studies. The Institute sets priorities and creates opportunities for supporting faculty, students, and public engagement with a diverse and inter-connected world. It promotes education in the world's languages, societies, and environments and organizes public programs on international issues. It supports collaborative projects with partners around the globe and helps recruit international faculty, visiting scholars, and students to the University. Informed openness to the world is one of the University's greatest assets as scholarship and employment become increasingly global.

## PROGRAM

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**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21**

*Day One*

5:00 – 5:30 PM

OPENING REMARKS

1. Prof. Gerard Libaridian  
*Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*  
Opening Remarks
2. Prof. Mark Tessler  
*Vice-Provost for International Affairs; Director of the  
International Institute; Political Science Department, University of  
Michigan, Ann Arbor*  
Introduction to the Conference

5:30 PM – 7:00 PM

PANEL I **EVOLVING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE SOUTH CAUCASUS**

**How have the collapse of the USSR and events of worldwide significance since affected our understanding of international relations and relations between states? What has been the impact of these changes on the way states like those in the South Caucasus integrate in the world community? How have perceptions of the South Caucasus changed considering developments in the Near East?**

*Chair: Prof. Gerard Libaridian*

1. Dr. Vitaly Naumkin  
*Director, International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Russia*  
“The South Caucasus: A New Geo-Political Paradigm.”
2. Prof. Hadi Semati  
*International Relations Department, Tehran University*  
*Currently at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,  
Washington, DC*  
“Dealing with Strategic Complexities: Security, Democracy and Economic Development in a Changing Region”
3. Prof. Michael Kennedy  
*Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*  
“Explicit and Implicit Trajectories of International Relations Since the Collapse of the USSR.”

Q&A/Discussion

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22**

*Day Two*

08:30 – 10:30 AM

**PANEL II ARMENIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

**Can one speak of recurring foreign policy problems that have characterized Armenian history? Are there patterns in the way Armenians have perceived, developed and practiced foreign policy during the past two centuries? In what way are these questions relevant to post-Soviet Armenia? What role has the Diaspora played in the making of Armenian foreign policy?**

*Chair: Prof. Sonya Rose, Chairperson, Department of History,  
University of Michigan*

1. Dr. Ashot Sargsyan  
*Senior Researcher in History, Matenadaran; Senior Archivist,  
President Ter-Petrossian Archives, Armenia*  
“Foreign Policy as a Derivative of a Value System”
2. Prof. Kevork Bardakjian  
*Near Eastern Studies Department, University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor*  
“Unifying the Armenian World? Armenia and Diaspora relations  
in Modern and Contemporary Times”
3. Prof. Ronald Suny  
*Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*  
“Living in a Dangerous Neighborhood: Armenia’s Foreign  
Relations in the Short Twentieth Century: 1918-1991”
4. Dr. Razmik Panossian  
*Director, Policy and Programs, Rights and Democracy, Montreal*  
“Foreign Policy and the Diaspora”

Q&A/DISCUSSION

**10:30 – 11:00 AM Coffee break**

11:00 AM – 12:30 PM

**PANEL III THE WORLD AS SEEN BY THE SOUTH CAUCASUS**

**How do Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia perceive their region in relation each other, to their neighbors, and to the larger community of states? What do they see as their main challenges in their foreign policy agenda?**

*Chair: Prof. Bruno Coppieters (Free University of Brussels)*

1. Mr. Ivlian Haindrava  
*Member of Parliament, Georgia*  
“The South Caucasus: Split Personalities”



2. Ambassador Rouben Shugarian  
*Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armenia*  
“The South Caucasus: Search for a New Identity”

4. TBA

Q&A/DISCUSSION

**12:30 PM – 2:00 Lunch Break**

2:00 – 3:30 PM

**PANEL IV THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AS SEEN BY THE REGIONAL POWERS**

**What are the policies of the three major powers neighboring the South Caucasus--Russia, Turkey and Iran—toward the South Caucasus? What is the role of the region in the overall foreign policies of these three states and how does it affect their relations with other states?**

*Chair : Prof. Charles King (Georgetown University)*

1. Prof. Hossein Seifzadeh  
*International Relations Department, Tehran University*  
“Conflicting Values and Interests: Iran’s Cautious, Pragmatic Approach to the South Caucasus”
2. Prof. Ahmet Han  
*International Relations Department, Bilgi University, Istanbul*  
“Turkish Foreign Policy in the South Caucasus: History vs. Real Politics”
3. Dr. Evgueny Kozhokin  
*Director, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Moscow*  
“The Essence of Conflicts in the South Caucasus and Ways to Resolve Them”

Q&A/DISCUSSION

**3:30 – 4:00 Coffee Break**

4:00 – 5:30 PM

**PANEL V THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AS SEEN BY THE WEST**

**What are the policies of Europe and the US toward the South Caucasus? What is the role of the region in the overall foreign policies of the West and how does it affect their relations with other states?**

*Chair: Dr. Leila Alieva, Center for National and International Studies, Baku*

1. Dr. Tamara Dragadze  
*Scholar, Lecturer ( London)*  
“The South Caucasus Through Western Eyes; a Fluid View”

2. Amb. Terhi Hakala (awaiting final confirmation)  
*Ambassador of Finland to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*  
“Enhancing EU Relations with the South Caucasus”
3. Mr. John Fox  
*Director of Caucasus and Central Asia Affairs, US Department of State*  
“The US Policy in the South Caucasus: The Evolving Challenge”

Q&A/DISCUSSION

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23**

*Day Three*

8:30 – 10:00 AM

**PANEL VI THE IMPACT OF THE SOUTH CAUCASUS ON THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Do developments in the South Caucasus since independence—including problems of economic and political transformation, conflicts, and energy transportation issues—compel us to revise our understanding of international relations or are accepted models of relations between states adequate?**

*Chair: Prof. Ahmet Han, Bilgi University, Istanbul*

1. Prof. Charles King  
*Political Science Department, Georgetown University, Washington DC*  
“Theories and Realities in the South Caucasus”
2. Prof. Stephen Jones  
*Department of Political Science, Mount Holyoke College*  
“Georgia: A Little Different, But Not Much.”
3. Mr. Asbed Kotchikian  
*Political Science, Boston University*  
“(Re)defining Small States: The South Caucasus in the New World Order.”

Q&A/DISCUSSION

**10:00 – 10:30 AM Coffee Break**

10:30 AM – 12:30 Noon

**PANEL VII THE WORLD OF CONFLICTS**

**How do we explain the high concentration of conflicts in the South Caucasus? What are the similarities and differences between them? Which, if any, of the conflict resolution approaches apply to the region? Is international mediation the proper means to resolve these conflicts?**

*Chair: Dr. Razmik Panossian, Rights and Democracy, Montreal*

1. Dr. Ghia Nodia  
*Director, Center for Democracy and Peace, Tbilisi*  
“International Players and ‘Frozen Conflicts:’ Ways to Solution or Perpetuation”
2. Prof. Bruno Coppieters  
*Political Science Department, Free University of Brussels*  
“Georgia and Its neighbors: Weak Statehood and Shifting Center-Periphery Relations”
3. Mr. Arman Grigorian  
*International Relations, Columbia University/Wesleyan University*  
“The Fewer the Merrier: Why and When One Mediator is Better than Two or Three...”
4. Mr. Tom de Waal  
*Author, Institute for War and Peace Studies, London*  
“Caucasian Conundrums: Internally Driven or Manipulated?”

Q&A/DISCUSSION

**12:30 – 2:00 PM Lunch Break**

2:00 – 6:00 PM

**PANEL VIII NAGORNO KARABAKH: A CASE STUDY IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE 1990s - A Round Table discussion**

**How did the international community perceive the conflicts in the region, especially the problem of Nagorno Karabakh? What was right and what went wrong with the OSCE Minsk Group process charged with the resolution of that conflict? What lessons can be learned from it? How does the leadership of Nagorno Karabakh perceive the problem and the solution?**

*Chair: Mr. Tom de Waal, Institute for War and Peace Studies, London*

1. Ambassador Vladimir Kazimirov  
*Former Karabakh negotiator for Russia, Moscow (retired)*  
“Alternative of Karabakh Settlement”

2. Ambassador Ömer Ersun  
*Former Karabakh negotiator for Turkey, Istanbul (Retired)*  
“Why We Failed to Devise a Conclusive Peace Plan for the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict?”
3. Ambassador Joseph Presel  
*Former Karabakh negotiator for US, Washington DC (retired)*  
“Why the Minsk Process Failed”
4. Dr. Mahmood Vaezi (paper)  
*Deputy Director, Center for Strategic Research, Tehran*  
*Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran*

**3:30 – 4:00 PM      Coffee Break**

5. Ambassador Tofik Zulfugarov  
*Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Karabakh conflict negotiator, Azerbaijan*  
“Armenia’s Foreign Policy Toward Nagorno Karabagh: Critical View From Baku”
6. Ambassador David Shahnazaryan  
*Former Minister and Karabakh negotiator for Armenia*  
“New Challenges and Conflicts in the South Caucasus: The Nagorno Karabakh Conflict as the Key Conflict in the Region”

**Q&A/DISCUSSION**

*Special Presentation*

7. Ashot Ghouljian  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nagorno Karabakh, Stepanakert*  
“The NKR Factor in the South Caucasus Region”

**Q&A/DISCUSSION**

**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24**

*Day Four*

9:00 – 11:00 AM

**PANEL IX      RECONCILING THE PAST AND THE FUTURE**

**How can we assess the path traveled by the South Caucasus republics?  
What are the main similarities and differences in their foreign policies?  
Is there need and/or room for a common foreign policy? What should  
be the main focus at this time?**

*Chair: Prof. Gerard Libaridian, University of Michigan*

1. Dr. Leila Alieva  
*President, Center for National and International Studies, Baku*  
“Post-Soviet Foreign Policy Strategies in the Caucasus”
2. Dr. Archil Gegeshidze  
*Senior Research Fellow at the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies, Tbilisi; foreign policy adviser to former President E. Shevardnadze*  
“The South Caucasus: Politics and Interests of the Regional Actors”
3. Prof. Edward Walker  
*Political Science Department, University of California, Berkeley*  
“Globalization, Terrorism, and the Future of the Nation-State in the South Caucasus”
4. Mr. Andrzej Kasprzyk  
*Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office to the South Caucasus, Poland*

## ***BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SPEAKERS***

(For a select listing of publications by participants, please also consult the  
Select Bibliography included in this booklet)

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**LEILA ALIEVA** leads a think tank in Baku, Azerbaijan. Previously, she has held the position of Director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Baku, fellowships at Harvard University (1993-1994), University of California at Berkeley (2000), Woodrow Wilson Center (Kennan Institute; 1995), SAIS (Johns Hopkins University; 2001). Her publications cover conflicts, politics, security and oil related issues in the Caucasus and the Caspian basin. Most recently she contributed to the New NATO Strategy for the Greater Black Sea Region prepared by the German Marshall Fund for the US.

She was an advisor of the President of EBRD, as well as to the leading oil companies such as BP, UNOCAL and STATOIL, and served on the Board of the Open Society Institute in Baku in 1998. In 1997, she was a national coordinator of the UNDP Human Development Report of Azerbaijan.

Dr. Alieva has addressed audiences at major universities and think tanks in the US and Europe. Since 1993, she has professionally consulted the US Government, the US Congress, the United Nations, the private sector and NGOs.

**KEVORK B. BARDAKJIAN** received his BA and MA in Armenian philology from the State University of Yerevan, Soviet Armenia and his D.Phil. in Armenian Studies from Oxford University. He then taught and supervised the Armenian collection at Harvard University (1974-87) and became the first holder of the Marie Manoogian Chair of Armenian Language and Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (1987-). In 1988 he founded the Michigan Summer Armenian Institute, held annually in Armenia and, since 1995, has been Director of the Armenian Studies Program at Michigan. He has been President of the Society of Armenian Studies for two consecutive terms (1982-84) and has served on the editorial boards of a number of Armenian studies journals.

Professor Bardakjian has published and lectured extensively throughout the United States, Europe and Armenia.

**BRUNO COPPIETERS** is Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science at Vrije Universiteit Brussel, in Belgium. His fields of research are federalism, normative studies of war and secession, and the Caucasus. His recent books are: *Contextualizing Secession: Normative Studies in Comparative Perspective* (co-edited with Richard Sakwa, Oxford University Press, 2003), *Moral Constraints on War: Principles and Cases* (co-edited with Nick Fotion, Lexington Books, 2002), and *Federalism and Conflict in the Caucasus* (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2001).

**THOMAS DE WAAL** has been, since January 2002, Caucasus Editor and Project Coordinator of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting and Co-editor of *Panorama*, the only newspaper published in both Georgia and Abkhazia in the Georgian and Russian languages. He holds a First Class Degree in Russian and Modern Greek from Balliol College, Oxford, where he was from 1984 to 1988.

He has reported for several publications and television stations: he has been an analyst/reporter on the Former Soviet Union on the BBC World Service Radio focusing on events in Russia, Chechnya, Ukraine and the Caucasus (1998-2000); Political Reporter on the *Moscow Times*, *The Times* (of London), and *The Economist*, reporting on events in Russia, and the politics of the war in Chechnya (1993-1997); Reporter/Producer on the BBC World Service Radio working on news and current affairs programs, including a four month reporting for BBC Radio Ulster in Belfast, Northern Ireland (1991-1993).

He has published articles in the *London Review of Books*, *the Wall Street Journal*, *the Independent*, the *Los Angeles Times* magazine, the *Washington Post*, the *New Statesman* and *Prospect*, among others, and has written and presented *Baku: Blood and Blues* and *Boris Pasternak: After the Blizzard*, both Sunday features on BBC Radio 3. Most recently, he has authored *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War* (2003).

In 1998 he was awarded a *James Cameron Prize for Outstanding Reporting* with Carlotta Gall.

**TAMARA DRAGADZE** is a British born scholar and writer. With a doctorate in Social Anthropology from Oxford University, she has taught at the Universities of Leeds, London and Surrey and has around fifty publications on the Caucasus Region. Based in London, she is a Associate Editor of *Central Asian Survey* and serves on the editorial boards of *Nations and Nationalism* and *Third World Quarterly*.

Dr. Dragadze has also been a consultant to the British Parliament Defense and Human Rights Committees.

**ÖMER ERSUN** was born in Istanbul. He graduated from Ankara University in 1960 and conducted post-graduate studies in France (1960-61). He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Republic of Turkey in 1963 and served as First Secretary to the Turkish Embassy in Athens from 1966 to 1970. His diplomatic career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs included: Head of the Cultural Planning Section at the Department of Cultural Affairs (1970-72); Counselor of the Turkish Embassy in Algiers (1972-73); Member of the Turkish Delegation participating in the “Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe” (CSCE), first in Helsinki and later in Geneva (1973-75); Deputy Consul General in Geneva (1975-76); Head of the Department in charge of CSCE and Disarmament (1976-78); Counselor, later Deputy Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations, New York (1978-82); Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Policy Planning Staff including the Department of CSCE and Disarmament (1982-86); Ambassador to Sweden (1986-89); Ambassador to Algeria (1989-91); Director General for Relations with the Balkans and Caucasian Countries (1992-95); Ambassador to Canada (1995-98); and Permanent Representative of Turkey to the World Trade Organization, Geneva (1998-2000). Ambassador Ersun’s languages include French and English. He retired in May 2002.

**JOHN G. FOX** has been the Director of the Office of Caucasus and Central Asian Affairs in the U.S. Department of State since July 2003. Before that, he served as Deputy Political Counselor in Moscow (2001-2003) and Chief of the Political-External Section in Moscow (2000-2001). In 2000, he graduated from the National War College at Fort McNair in Washington. From 1997 to 1999, John Fox was the Chief of the Political-Economic Section at the American Embassy in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. From 1992-1996, he served in the political section of the U.S. Mission to

NATO in Brussels. From 1990-1992, he served in a variety of positions connected with the crisis in Somalia. Before that, he worked as an analyst in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1988-1990). His first tour in the Foreign Service was as Economics/Commercial officer at the American Embassy in Cotonou, Benin.

Before joining the Foreign Service in 1985, John Fox worked in the private sector in Lagos, Nigeria (1983-85), at the United Nations in Vienna, Austria (1981-1983) and as Senior Research Physicist at the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, DC (1973-1981). He holds a B.S. degree from the University of Santa Clara, and M.A. degrees from the University of Virginia and the National War College. His languages are French, Russian and German.

**ARCHIL M. GEGESHIDZE** is Senior Fellow at the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS). His professional expertise lies in the fields of regional security and cooperation in the South Caucasus, and political risk analysis. Prior to joining GFSIS, he was a Fulbright Scholar at Stanford University.

Starting in 1992 Dr. Gegeshidze worked for the Georgian government for eight years. His last position in the government was Head of the Foreign Policy Analysis Department of the State Chancellery (Office of the President) of Georgia. While working in the government, Dr. Gegeshidze also held such positions as Assistant to the Head of State on National Security and Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to President Shevardnadze.

In 1992 he developed a training program in geopolitics and wrote a textbook, and currently lectures on geopolitics in Tbilisi State University. Dr. Gegeshidze also lectures at GFSIS in various training programs. For that purpose, he has developed a course of lectures in global transformation and development.

Dr. Gegeshidze is the author of numerous articles concerning Georgia's foreign and security policies, the establishment of the New Silk Road, etc. He holds the equivalent of a Ph.D from Tbilisi State University in Economic and Social Geography. He holds the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

**ASHOT GHOULIAN** is Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh. He was born in 1965 in Nagorno Karabakh and graduated from the Department of History at the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute in 1990 as historian-jurist.

Since 1992 he has served as Senior Expert of the Commission for Foreign Relations (1992-1993), as Assistant to the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic (1993-1995), as Head of the Department of Diaspora and Bilateral Relations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh (1995-1998), as Head of the Political Department of the Republic's Foreign Ministry (1998), and as Deputy Foreign Minister (1998-2001). He assumed the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2002.

He has the diplomatic rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister.

**ARMAN GRIGORIAN** is a Visiting Instructor of Government at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, and a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science at Columbia University. He was born in Yerevan, Republic of Armenia. His dissertation—in the final stages—focuses on the question of why third party interventions in internal conflicts often lead to escalated violence. His research interests include war termination, intra-alliance politics, nationalism, as well as the post-Communist politics of the Balkans and the Caucasus. He has authored a number of articles on the politics and geopolitics of Armenia and the Caucasus.



Prior to his academic career in the United States he served in the government of the Republic of Armenia from 1991 to 1993.

His languages include English, Russian and Turkish.

**IVLIAN HAINDRAVA** was born in Georgia. He is a Member of Parliament of Georgia as well as a Member of the Committee on Defense and Security and a Member of the Delegation to the South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative. Since 1997, he has also been the Director of the Program on *South Caucasus Studies* at the Center for Development & Cooperation – Center for Pluralism(CDC-CfP).

Between 1991 and 2004, Dr. Haindrava has served as Political Analyst in various information agencies as well as a Member of Parliament of Georgia; Member of the Parliamentary Committee on Abkhazian Affairs and the Budgetary-Financial Committee (1992-1995); Member of the State Constitutional Commission of Georgia (1993-1995); and, Member of the National Committee of the Republican Party of Georgia (1996-2000), among others.

Dr. Haindrava has been an active member and participant in numerous regional and international conferences and workshops on security in the southern Caucasus, in the Caucasus, Europe and the US. He is the Co-author of *View from Georgia*, a collection of information-analytical articles in Russian), published in Tbilisi, Georgia, in 2001. In addition, he has authored about 300 analytical articles, through print and electronic media on political issues during the years 1990-2004.

**AHMET K. HAN** is on the faculty of the Institute of Social Sciences at the Istanbul Bilgi University (Dolapdere Campus) and is the Coordinator of the Istanbul Bilgi University's Continuous Management Training Seminars where he runs a seminar on Negotiation Strategy and Conflict Resolution.

His academic interests cover international energy security, US Foreign Policy, Turkish Foreign Policy, The Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asian policy. He has published in various books and scholarly journals, in English and Turkish. He appears frequently on major national and international news networks, has hosted, co-hosted, edited and advised popular TV programs (on Global Energy Economics & Security, the war in Afghanistan, the Turkish contemporary economic and political environment), and has been a commentator in national and international dailies and journals including *The New York Times*.

Dr. Han has organized various meetings in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and frequently joins in the discussions organized by the Center for Strategic Research (SAM) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Central Asia and the Caucasus. He has also served as Resident Scholar for Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), the leading Turkish think-tank and has been the Strategy Development Coordinator for National Energy Forum since 2001 and as a member of the Joint State Planning Organization (DPT) – Turkish Exchanges and Chambers Union (TOBB) Committee for the preparation of *The Role of Civil Society and Private Sector in Turkey's Relations with EU* report for the Turkish Economic Congress in 2004.

He is currently Executive Adviser for the Chairman and Board of the Turkish Exporters Assembly for International Relations and Political Issues, the umbrella organization of the Turkish exporting sectors.

**TERHI HAKALA** entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland in 1988 and has served in the Consulate General in Leningrad/St.Petersburg, in the Embassy in Moscow and in the Permanent Mission of Finland to the OSCE. She has also been involved in the OSCE Missions to Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina and in the OSCE Minsk process during the Finnish Co-Chairmanship. In the Ministry, she has served at the Political Department, at the Department for Trade and External Economic Relations as well as at the EU Department. From 2001 to 2004 she was the Director of the Unit for Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

She was appointed to serve as Ambassador to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, based in Helsinki, beginning September 1, 2004.

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**VLADIMIR N. KAZIMIROV** was born in Moscow in 1929. He graduated from the Institute of International Relations in Moscow in 1953 and from the High Diplomatic School in 1962. He has held a variety of diplomatic posts for the USSR and Russia since 1954 in Hungary, Brazil and elsewhere and was the USSR Ambassador to Costa Rica (1971-75), Venezuela (1975-80) and Angola (1987-90). His positions in the USSR Foreign Ministry in addition to those held in the Department of Policy Planning (1966-71) include Head of the Latin American Department (1980-87) and Head of the Africa Department (1990-92). As USSR Ambassador to Angola and Head of the Africa Department, he participated in the Joint Commission on South West Africa and the conflict resolution in Angola and Namibia.

From 1992 to 1996 he was designated Ambassador-at-Large and Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict resolution process and head of the Russian mediation mission. He represented Russia in the OSCE Minsk group, becoming its co-Chairman in 1995, and participated in the conclusion of cease-fire in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. From 1996-99 he was Russia's Ambassador in Costa Rica and Guatemala.

Retired from active service in 2000, he continues to perform special missions. He is Vice-President of the Russian Association of Diplomats. He has authored a number of articles. His languages include Spanish, French and Hungarian.

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Professor Kennedy has received awards in recognition of his teaching, including the Class of 1923 Memorial Teaching Award and the University Teaching Award. In 1999, Poland's President Aleksander Kwasniewski presented Professor Kennedy with the Gold Cross of Merit to recognize the contributions he has made to scholarship and education about Poland.

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He is currently writing a modern history of the Caucasus.

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**EVGUENY M. KOZHOKIN** was born in Moscow, Russia. He earned the Ph.D. in History from Moscow University in 1981 and received his Doctor of Science in History in 2000.

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In addition, he was Senior Researcher at the Moscow State University (1972-1980) and Lecturer at the Military University (1968-1970).

He has lectured at universities and research centers in the US (including the University of California, Berkeley), Britain, France, Italy, Egypt, Turkey, among others, and is the author of numerous books and articles in Russian, German, English, Arabic, French and Italian on International Relations, Strategic Studies, Oil Politics, Islamic Studies, History and Contemporary studies of the Middle East, Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Between 1972 and 1977 he was active in Russian diplomatic missions abroad and has served as a member in the Council for Foreign Policy of Russia under the Minister of Foreign Affairs and served as advisor to the Supreme Council /Federal Assembly/ and serves as an expert at the Security Council of the Russian Federation.

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**RAZMIK PANOSSIAN** has taught at the Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), on the subjects of nationalism, ethnic conflict, post-Soviet transition/democratization, and comparative politics. He defended his PhD dissertation on Armenian nationalism in 2000 at the LSE. The thesis won the Lord Bryce Prize for Best Dissertation in Comparative and International Politics in the UK (granted by UK Political Studies Association). He has published numerous articles, and has given numerous lectures on

Armenia and the Diaspora in the US and Europe. His new book, *Armenian Identities in History, Diaspora and Soviet Rule*, is currently in press. Dr. Panossian has also acted as a consultant to various government officials in the UK, USA, and Canada. He is currently Director of Policy and Programs at Rights and Democracy in Montreal, Canada.

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Ambassador Presel joined the Foreign Service in 1963. Early assignments overseas included postings at the embassies in Ankara, Paris, Moscow and the US Mission in Geneva. He served twice on the US Delegation to the Conventional Arms Control Negotiations in Vienna, Austria, the second time (1991-1993) as the Deputy US Representative. Other senior postings abroad were as Deputy Chief of Mission in Belgrade (1985-1989) and Ambassador to Uzbekistan. His career in Washington includes service as the Executive Secretary of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1981-1983) and Senior Advisor to the Ambassador at Large for Central American Peace Negotiations (1983-1984). In 1993-1994, he served as Deputy Coordinator for the multi-billion dollar bilateral American assistance program to the countries of the former Soviet Union. Following that, from 1994-1997, with the rank of Ambassador, he was Coordinator for regional issues in the former Soviet Union and Co-Chairman of the Minsk Group, the multilateral institution responsible for resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.

Ambassador Presel is a graduate of Harvard University (BA – Honors, 1963). He studied at St. Antony's College, Oxford University (1968-1969) and the US Army Russian Institute in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany (1974-1975). He retired from the US Foreign Service in October 2001. His languages include Russian and French fluently and, less well, German, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish.

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**ASHOT SARGSYAN** has been Senior Researcher at the Library of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran) in Yerevan, the Republic of Armenia, since 1976 and currently Senior Expert at President Levon Ter-Petrossian Library and Archives Foundation. He was born in Armenia in 1951 and graduated from the Department of History at Yerevan State University in 1973. He holds the equivalent of a Ph.D in History.

He has authored a critical and revised edition of Movses Khorenatsi's *History of the Armenians* (1991), *Hovhanes Draskhanakertsi and Khorenatsi's 'History of the Armenians'* (1991), *The ARF In Face of the Judgment of History* (2002) and, with Ara Sahakian, *Constitutional Amendments: A Plot Against the State and the People* (2003).

Dr. Sargsyan has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Armenian National Movement since 1993 and has served two terms (1990-1999) in Armenia's legislature.

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Among his other positions are International Advisor to the Deputy-Chancellor, Tehran University (1989-1991); Researcher, Center for Central Asian Studies, Institute for Political and International Studies, Tehran (1992-99); Director, Iranian Studies Group, Center for Strategic Studies, Tehran (1998-2002); Visiting Scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University (1991-1992); and Adjunct Scholar in Residence, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. (March 2002-2003).

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His analytical articles have been published widely in Armenia and internationally. His languages include Russian and English.

**ROUBEN SHUGARIAN** is the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Armenia and is in charge of Armenia's relations with the US, Canada, South America, the Middle East, and Europe, as well as international economic organizations. Between 1993 and 1999, he served as Armenia's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Washington, DC.

Preceding his appointment in Washington, DC, he served as the Press Secretary and Assistant on Foreign Affairs to the first President of Armenia (November 1991- February 1993) and as Senior Expert Advisor to the Standing Committee on Foreign Relations in the Armenian Parliament (December 1990- November 1991).

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Professor Suny's intellectual interests have evolved toward the nature of empires and nations, studies in the historiography and methodology of studying social and cultural history, and toward a commitment to bridging the often-unbridgeable gap between the traditional concerns of historians and the methods and models of other social scientists.

**MARK A. TESSLER** is Vice Provost for International Affairs and Director of the International Institute at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. He has studied at the University of Tunis and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and received his doctorate in political science from Northwestern University in 1969.

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His research and publications focus on the nature, determinants, and implications of political attitudes held by ordinary citizens, the characteristics, policies and strategies of governments and political leaders in the Middle East, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

He has conducted field research in Tunisia, Israel, Morocco, Egypt and Palestine (West Bank and Gaza) and has spent several years teaching and consulting in Sub-Saharan Africa.

He is presently analyzing public opinion data from six Middle Eastern countries, giving prominent attention to attitudes and values relating to democracy, Israeli-Palestinian peace, political Islam, and gender. He is president of the American Institute for Maghrib Studies, Member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (the Smithsonian Institution), Member of the steering committee of the Palestinian American Research Center, Editor of the

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He received his Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University in 1992. He has a Masters degree in international affairs from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (1987) and a B.A. from Harvard (1977). In 1997-98, he was a National Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford. Before arriving at Berkeley in 1993, he taught at Colgate and New York Universities.

**TOFIG ZULFUGAROV** graduated from Azerbaijani State University's Department of Oriental Studies in 1981. After graduation he worked in the Academy of Sciences. Since 1992 he was in the diplomatic service of Azerbaijan.

In 1994, Dr. Zulfugarov was appointed Deputy Foreign Minister. In 1998, he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, a position he resigned in 1999. Since 1999 he has continued his active involvement in public and political affairs as an independent expert.



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**THE SOUTH CAUCASUS:  
A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF  
KEY EVENTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE  
1991-2004**

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**Bethesda, Maryland**

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**AUGUST 1991**

- In the wake of a failed coup attempt in Moscow, the Azerbaijani government of President Ayaz Mutalibov, the former Communist Party leader, declares independence from the Soviet Union.
- Following a national referendum on independence, the Georgian government of nationalist President Zviad Gamsakhurdia secures a parliamentary declaration affirming Georgia's secession from the Soviet Union.
- Former USSR Politburo member and KGB General Geidar Aliev returns to Azerbaijan and becomes parliamentary chairman in the Nakhichevan exclave.

**SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1991**

- Armenia formally declares independence after holding a national referendum on independence with 94 percent voting to secede from the Soviet Union. Armenian Parliamentary Chairman and leader of the Armenian National Movement (ANM) Levon Ter-Petrossian is elected president the following month with 83 percent of the vote.
- A national referendum is held in Nagorno Karabakh in October confirming its declaration of independence from Azerbaijan. Hostilities escalate in Nagorno Karabakh, with Azerbaijani artillery shelling the Karabakh capital Stepanakert.

**NOVEMBER 1991**

- Azerbaijani and ethnic Armenian forces in Nagorno Karabakh engage in heavy exchange of artillery fire targeting several districts in Nagorno Karabakh. Azerbaijan completes blockade of Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh.
- Demonstrations by the nationalist Azerbaijani Popular Front erupt in Baku demanding the resignation of Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov.

**DECEMBER 1991**

- Nagorno Karabakh Armenians vote for independence as Azerbaijani artillery attacks continue to target the Stepanakert capital.

- Armenia and Azerbaijan formally join the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as the Soviet Union is formally dissolved.

### **JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1992**

- Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia formally join the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).
- Nagorno Karabakh officially declares independence from Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani-populated city of Shushi is surrounded and shelled by Karabakh forces as the Russian 366<sup>th</sup> Motorized Rifle Division withdraws from Nagorno Karabakh.
- After heated clashes in Tbilisi between government troops and opposition militia forces, nationalist Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia is forced from power and goes into exile.
- The United States opens its first embassy in Armenia.

### **MARCH-MAY 1992**

- Armenian President Ter-Petrossian renounces any territorial claims on Nagorno Karabakh.
- Azerbaijani President Mutalibov resigns in March but is temporarily returned to power in May before finally being deposed and forced to flee to Russia by the nationalist Azerbaijani Popular Front, which installs Parliamentary Chairman Isa Gambarov as acting president.
- Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze returns to Georgia and forms a new governmental body, the State Council, in the wake of the removal of former President Gamsakhurdia.
- In May, Nagorno Karabakh forces seize the city of Shushi and capture the Lachin district between Karabakh and Armenia proper.

### **JUNE-JULY 1992**

- Nationalist Azerbaijani Popular Front leader Abulfaz Elchibey is elected president and forms the country's first non-communist government, with Acting President Isa Gambarov returning to his post of parliamentary chairman.
- Azerbaijani forces launch a military counter-offensive targeting strategic Armenian positions and retaking much of the Mardakert district in Nagorno Karabakh.
- Russian officials mediate a ceasefire agreement between Georgian and South Ossetian forces after nearly a year of fighting over South Ossetia's attempt to unify with neighboring North Ossetia in the Russian Federation.

### **AUGUST 1992**

Fighting breaks out between Georgian troops and separatist forces in Abkhazia. The fighting triggers an exodus of ethnic Georgian refugees that continues for nearly two years.

### **OCTOBER 1992**

- Georgian State Council head Eduard Shevardnadze is elected as the Chairman of the Georgian Parliament.
- Azerbaijani President Elchibey withdraws the country from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

### **FEBRUARY-MAY 1993**

- Nagorno Karabakh forces launch an offensive retaking nearly all Azerbaijani-held areas of Nagorno Karabakh. The offensive continues with Karabakh forces capturing additional territory in Azerbaijan proper, starting with Kelbajar and Agdam.
- The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 822 calling for an immediate ceasefire and a full withdrawal of Karabakh forces from the Kelbajar district. The UN resolution is accompanied by the involvement of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which forms a small working group (the so-called “Minsk Group”) empowered to manage CSCE mediation of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.
- Azerbaijan declares a unilateral ceasefire in May and Russian military units withdraw from the Azerbaijani city of Gandja.

### **JUNE-OCTOBER 1993**

- After the resignation of Azerbaijani Parliament Chairman Isa Gambarov, President Elchibey invites Nakhichevan Parliamentary Chairman Geidar Aliyev to return to Baku. Aliyev is promptly elected as chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament. Rebel Colonel Surat Husseinov then launches a coup from his military base in Gandja and marches on Baku, overthrowing the Elchibey government. Deposed President Elchibey flees to his native Nakhichevan, and Aliyev appoints Husseinov Prime Minister. After Elchibey is formally deposed by a national referendum in August 1993, Aliyev is elected to a five-year term as President in October. The new Aliyev government then applies to rejoin the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).
- As hostilities escalate in Abkhazia, Georgian troops are driven from their positions in Abkhazia and several hundred thousand ethnic Georgians are forced to flee their homes for refuge in other parts of Georgia.
- Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze negotiates with Russian officials and agrees to rejoin the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In turn, Russian forces assist Georgian troops in putting down an insurrection by supporters of former President Gamsakhurdia in Western Georgia.
- Nagorno Karabakh forces expand their offensive southward toward the Azerbaijani-Iranian border seizing the Azerbaijani districts of Jeyrail, Kubatli, Zangelan and Goradiz. In response, Iran and Turkey deploy military units along their borders and place their armed forces on a heightened state of alert. By October, Karabakh forces reach the Arax River and seize a 80-kilometer area along the border between Azerbaijan and Iran, triggering a massive refugee flight.

### **MAY 1994**

Russia brokers an initial ceasefire agreement that is signed by Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabakh. The ceasefire freezes the line of contact between the parties but ends general hostilities. The ceasefire is made permanent in the summer of 1994 remains in place to this day.

### **OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1994**

- A failed attempt to overthrow the Aliyev government in Azerbaijan results in the flight of Prime Minister Surat Husseinov to Russia and triggers the introduction of a national state of emergency by President Aliyev. The deputy chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament

and the head of presidential security are killed in the failed coup attempt. The following month, President Aliyev successfully negotiates a multi-billion dollar “contract of the century” with a consortium of international energy companies for the exploration and development of Azerbaijan’s offshore oil and natural gas reserves in the Caspian Sea.

- Georgian Parliamentary Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze is elected president in November.

### **MARCH 1995**

- President Aliyev of Azerbaijan survives a coup attempt by a mutinous Interior Ministry police force that attacked a police station in Baku and seized buildings in several cities. A state of emergency is declared and government troops storm a facility north of Baku, crushing the rebel force and killing the alleged leader, Deputy Interior Minister Rovshan Javadov.
- An expanded bilateral security agreement is signed between Armenia and Russia, serving as the framework for the presence of Russian military bases in Armenia and providing training at Russian military academies for Armenian officers.

### **JULY-AUGUST 1995**

- Armenia holds parliamentary elections and a new constitution is adopted by national referendum.
- Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze survives an assassination attempt, prompting the U.S. to increase special training for the Georgian presidential security force.
- A new Georgian constitution is adopted, reinstating a presidential form of government and establishing a strong executive branch and a unicameral 235-seat parliament. The constitutional status of the regions and republics in Georgia remains undetermined, stipulating an official clarification of their legal status only after the resolution of all internal conflicts.

### **OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1995**

- Georgian President Shevardnadze consolidates his leadership after securing the recently reestablished post of president. A series of constitutional amendments are also adopted in a nationwide referendum.
- Azerbaijani Interior Ministry forces foil two assassination attempts targeting President Aliyev during the run up to parliamentary elections. Former Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov, who fled to Russia in 1992, is accused of organizing the assassination attempts.

### **SEPTEMBER 1996**

Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrossian is reelected to a second term as president, although the election is marred by allegations of electoral irregularities.

### **NOVEMBER 1996**

Presidential elections are held in Nagorno Karabakh, with incumbent leader Robert Kocharian securing reelection in a multi-candidate contest.

## **DECEMBER 1996**

During the Lisbon summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, formerly CSCE), Azerbaijan introduces a resolution endorsing the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, inviting an Armenian veto. The summit reaches a compromise by formulating the so-called “Lisbon Principles,” whereby the issue is diffused by its inclusion in a downgraded “chairman's statement” that declares the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan as the basis for a final settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

## **FEBRUARY 1997**

The OSCE resolves to form a new troika to lead its working group on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, the so-called “Minsk Group,” with the United States, France and Russia serving as equal co-chairs.

## **MAY - SEPTEMBER 1997**

- The OSCE offers three successive plans to resolve the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. The third, September proposal based on the “step-by-step” formula, calls on Karabakh to return all Azerbaijani territory outside of Nagorno Karabakh, except for Lachin, to be accompanied by the end of blockades, the demilitarization of freed territories and security guarantees and to be followed by the deployment of OSCE peacekeepers to ensure the return of refugees. The status of Karabakh and the future of Lachin would be negotiated in a second stage. The plan is accepted by Armenian President Ter-Petrosian but rejected by some in the Ter-Petrosian administration and the Nagorno Karabakh leadership.
- The Armenian and Russian presidents sign a new bilateral treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in Moscow.
- The Armenian parliament ratifies an accord with Russia granting Moscow the right to maintain its military bases in Armenia for 25 years

## **OCTOBER 1997**

Azerbaijan begins the first exports of its “early oil” production from its “contract of the century” production contract. The exports utilize the recently renovated Baku-Novorossiisk oil pipeline.

## **FEBRUARY-MARCH 1998**

President Levon Ter-Petrosian of Armenia is forced to resign by members of his own administration who disagree with his acceptance of the September 1997 OSCE proposal on the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. He is succeeded by Prime Minister Robert Kocharian in a special election in late March.

## **OCTOBER 1998**

Presidential elections are held in Azerbaijan with incumbent President Aliyev securing another five-year term with over 76 percent of the vote. According to observers, the election is marred by serious irregularities.

## **NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1998**

- The OSCE offers a revised peace plan for the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, based on a “package” or comprehensive approach, that proposes a “common state” entity comprising

Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan proper in a vague, new unitary sovereign entity to be defined in later negotiations.

- Although both Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh are receptive to the common state plan, Azerbaijan eventually rejects it, criticizing it for contradicting Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

#### **APRIL 1999**

A second main export pipeline between Baku and the Georgian Black Sea port of Supsa is inaugurated, allowing Azerbaijan to expand its oil export capacity.

#### **MAY 1999**

Azerbaijani President Aliyev undergoes heart bypass surgery in the United States after attending the 50th anniversary of NATO in Washington DC. The surgery fuels speculation over his possible successor.

#### **OCTOBER 1999**

A small group of gunmen storm the Armenian Parliament building and assassinate Prime Minister Vazgen Sargsyan, Parliamentary Speaker Karen Demirchian, and six other government officials.

#### **APRIL 2000**

President Eduard Shevardnadze is reelected to a second term in multiparty presidential elections.

#### **MAY 2000**

Armenian President Robert Kocharian dismisses Prime Minister Aram Sarkisian and Defense Minister Vagharshak Harutiunian, naming the head of the Republican Party of Armenia, Andranik Markarian, as his new prime minister.

#### **NOVEMBER 2000**

A new 125-seat Azerbaijani parliament is elected with most seats held by the dominant pro-government "New Azerbaijan Party" but with some opposition candidates winning seats. The parliamentary election is certified as neither free nor fair by international election observers.

#### **JANUARY 2001**

- The Council of Europe formally admits Armenia and Azerbaijan as full members.
- Russian President Vladimir Putin meets with Azerbaijani President Aliyev during a state visit to Baku and signs a new general agreement on bilateral relations, termed the "Baku Declaration," seeking to expand relations over the next ten years and including plans to develop strategic military cooperation.

#### **MARCH-APRIL 2001**

- Following the direct intervention of French President Jacques Chirac, the OSCE launches a new diplomatic initiative on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. The so-called "Paris Principles," based on the "common state" peace plan, serves as the new basis for negotiations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents.

- The Paris meetings are followed by the convening of a closed summit in the United States by Secretary of State Colin Powell. The summit, called the Key West talks, break down after last minute hesitation by the Azerbaijani president, reflecting the difficulty faced by the Aliyev government in garnering the support of the Azerbaijani public.

### **JULY-AUGUST 2001**

- Protesting the development of disputed offshore oil fields in the Caspian Sea, Iran deploys a naval warship into Azerbaijani territorial waters and dispatches two Iranian air force combat aircraft over the disputed oil fields. The Iranian naval warship threatens to fire on two commercial exploration vessels belonging to the international oil consortium led by the British Petroleum and Exxon/Mobil companies, leading to a suspension of all survey operations in the area.
- The Iranian show of force spurs Azerbaijan to stage a two-day military exercise involving naval and infantry forces, the first of its kind for the Azerbaijani military, followed by a military air show staged in Baku by a small contingent of the Turkish Air Force.

### **OCTOBER 2001**

The U.S. Congress adopts a measure to weaken the long standing restrictions on U.S. aid to Azerbaijan and makes it eligible for some \$50 million in direct U.S. aid in recognition of Azerbaijan's "support for the U.S. campaign against international terrorism". The Freedom Support Act's Section 907 restrictions, initially enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1992, prohibited direct U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan until it lifted its trade and transport blockade of Armenia. The move grants the U.S. president much broader authority to waive the restrictions.

### **NOVEMBER 2001**

Azerbaijani security forces arrest a leader of the Islamic Party of Azerbaijan at the Astara border crossing, situated at the Iranian-Azerbaijani border, on charges of engaging in espionage for Iran.

### **DECEMBER 2001**

U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld meets with President Aliyev in Baku and states that the pending waiver of restrictions on U.S. aid will allow for new military assistance to Azerbaijan.

### **JANUARY 2002**

Azerbaijani President Aliyev meets with Russian President Putin in Moscow and signs a new agreement on the Russian military's use of the Gabala air defense facility in Azerbaijan with Moscow agreeing to pay Baku \$7 million annually for ten years. The Gabala early warning radar station has the capability to monitor missile launches from the Middle East and Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean. Russia is also to assist in the modernization of Azerbaijani weapon systems and train Azerbaijani military officers in an expanded program of military cooperation and technical assistance.

### **APRIL 2002**

U.S. Special Forces initiate a new military project in Georgia. Named "Train and Equip," the \$64 million project provides targeted tactical training and military equipment for elite Georgian brigades with an overarching focus on counter-terrorism and -proliferation capabilities.



### **MAY-JULY 2002**

Armenia's Deputy Foreign Minister Tatul Markarian and his Azerbaijani counterpart Araz Azimov meet in Prague for two meetings under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) Minsk Group. The meetings of the deputy foreign ministers, held in May and July, are in a new format to replace the previous summit meetings between the Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents.

### **AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 2002**

- Nagorno Karabakh leader Arkady Gukasyan is reelected to a second five-year presidential term with 89 percent of the vote.
- Georgian-Russian relations worsen after Russia threatens to intervene to counter Chechen rebels using Georgia's Pankisi Gorge as a staging area for attacks on Russian troops in Chechnya. Georgia eventually agrees to police the area and curb cross-border operations by Chechen rebel groups.

### **FEBRUARY-MAY 2003**

- Incumbent Armenian President Robert Kocharian is reelected to a second five-year term in a contentious two-round election that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) criticizes as falling short of international standards.
- A new Armenian parliament is elected in May, with the ruling three-party pro-government coalition taking the majority of seats. This election is also criticized as flawed.
- Armenia becomes a member of the World Trade Organization in February.

### **AUGUST 2003**

- Azerbaijani President Geidar Aliyev issues a presidential decree appointing his son, Ilham Aliyev, as new Prime Minister. The appointment places Ilham Aliyev as next in line in terms of presidential succession.
- The Armenian parliament adopts a new law abolishing capital punishment, as part of a broader effort to achieve legislative conformity with the conditions imposed from Council of Europe membership.

### **OCTOBER 2003**

Azerbaijani Prime Minister Ilham Aliyev is elected as the country's new president, replacing his father. The election is criticized for not meeting international standards. Post-election violence erupts, with opposition protestors assaulted by police and hundreds arrested in Baku.

### **NOVEMBER 2003**

Georgia holds parliamentary elections marred by widespread irregularities and blatant incidents of fraud and intimidation. The elections spark a series of mounting mass demonstrations that escalate to such a degree that the opposition National Movement, led by popular reformer Mikhail Saakashvili, and the Zhvania/Burjanadze-Democrats storm the Georgian parliament and demand the resignation of the Shevardnadze government. The opposition forces succeed in pressuring President Eduard Shevardnadze to resign in what becomes known as the "Rose Revolution." Parliamentary Speaker Nino Burjanadze assumes the role of interim president.

## **DECEMBER 2003**

- U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld meets in Baku with Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev and Defense Minister Colonel General Safar Abiev to discuss expanding bilateral military cooperation.
- An official government announcement confirms media reports that the 80-year old former President Geidar Aliyev has died of cardiac and kidney failure in the U.S. clinic.

## **JANUARY 2004**

The Georgian Supreme Court nullifies the results of the November 2003 parliamentary elections and schedules new elections for March. In the wake of the resignation of President Shevardnadze, opposition parties unite behind former Georgian Justice Minister and National Movement leader Mikhail Saakashvili as their candidate in a special presidential election. Saakashvili is then elected to a five-year term as president, with Interim President Burjanadze returning as Parliamentary Speaker and Zurab Zhvania as Prime Minister.

## **MARCH 2004**

- Newly elected Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili initiates bold campaign to restore central authority over the breakaway regions of Georgia.
- Tension with the autocratic leader of the Autonomous Region of Ajaria mounts as Georgian officials attempt to restore central government control over tax revenue and commerce from the Ajarian port of Batumi.
- The elections for a new Georgian parliament result in a sweeping victory for President Saakashvili's National Movement-Democratic Front coalition, which gains a majority of seats.

## **APRIL 2004**

- Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev appoints career diplomat Elmar Mammadyarov as his new Foreign Minister.
- The new Azerbaijani foreign minister then meets Armenian Foreign Minister Vardan Oskanian in Prague, opening a new round of bilateral talks on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.
- The foreign ministers' meeting is followed by a meeting between Armenian President Robert Kocharian and his Azerbaijani counterpart, Ilham Aliyev, resuming a series of direct meetings carried out by President Kocharian and late Azerbaijani President Geidar Aliyev.
- Attempting to replicate the recent Georgian "Rose Revolution," Armenian opposition parties stage mass demonstrations calling on the Armenian president to resign. The Armenian authorities overreact, however, as uniformed arrest and assault a number of opposition activists and supporters. Deputies from the Armenian opposition parties begin a boycott of the parliament that continues to this day.

## **MAY 2004**

As tension mounts between the Georgian government and local Ajarian leader Aslan Abashidze, both Russia and the U.S. initiate a diplomatic effort to prevent the outbreak of open hostilities. The Ajarian leader is forced to resign in the face of an overwhelming Georgian military

advantage and after losing the support of the small Ajarian population. The Georgian government incorporates Ajaria in its broader anti-corruption campaign and launches an effort to impose new democratic elections in Ajaria.

#### **JUNE-AUGUST 2004**

Emboldened by the victory in Ajaria, the Georgian government adopts a more aggressive and confrontational strategy in negotiations with the South Ossetian leadership, with the goal of restoring central authority in South Ossetia. A crisis soon erupts after Georgian troops seize shipments of arms from the Russian military. As tension mounts, sporadic clashes erupt between Georgian and Ossetian forces.



Fig. 1: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia – Regional Map, 1994

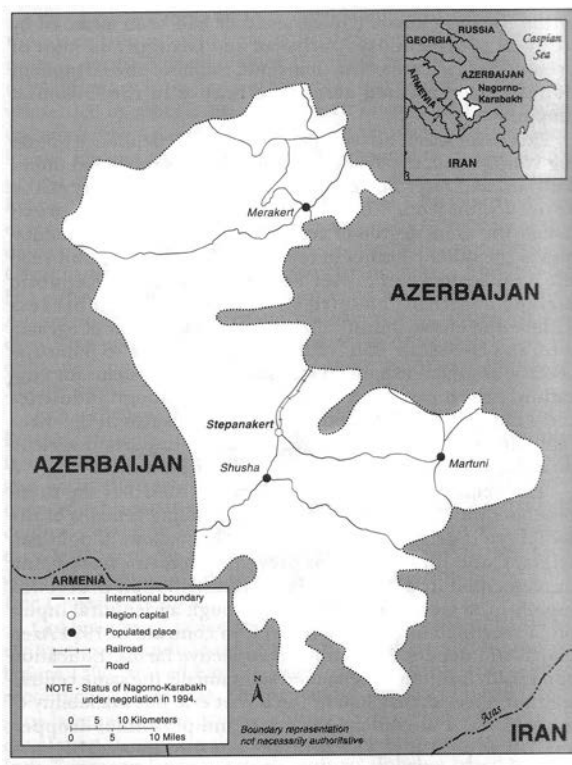


Fig. 2: Nagorno-Karabakh, 1994

Fig. 3: Armenia, 1994



Fig. 4: Azerbaijan, 1994



Fig. 5: Georgia, 1994

