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What the South Caucasus Region Could Be:

Exploring the Role of Economic Initiatives as Peace Building Tools in the Nagorno-Karabakh Context

*Third Stakeholder Consultation Round with Post-Conflict
Scenario Building Workshop*

*~ Tbilisi, Georgia ~
July 22nd, 2015*

Common Heritage, Shared Future?





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Event Agenda

July 22nd, 2015

*Holiday Inn Hotel
1, 26 May Square; Tbilisi, 0171*

Tuesday 21 July 2015

Morning and afternoon

- *Arrival of participants*

6.30pm - 8.00pm

- *Welcoming drinks reception*
 - Holiday Inn Hotel, 1, 26 May Square, 0171 Tbilisi

Wednesday 22 July 2015

9.00am - 9.30am

- *Welcome and registration of participants*
 - Glass Meeting Room, Holiday Inn Hotel

9.30am - 9.40am

- *Initial remarks from the organizers*
 - Dr Marat Terterov, *Director and Founder, European Geopolitical Forum, Brussels*
 - Dr Nika Chitadze, *Chairman, George C. Marshall Alumni Union, Georgia - International and Security Research Center*

9.40am - 10.00am

- *Keynote address*
 - Bill Lahue, *Head of NATO Liaison Office in Georgia, NATO Liaison Officer in the South Caucasus*

10.00am - 11.45am

Session I: Expert Dialogue on Economic Incentives as Tools for Conflict Resolution in Nagorno-Karabakh (part I)



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This session will serve as an opportunity to provide feedback on the process started by EGF in Brussels and Berlin in 2014, and to suggest options for the way ahead in 2015 and beyond. Discussion should focus on the economic incentives developed during the group simulation in Berlin (see the attached discussion paper/report evaluating the outcomes of the Berlin July 2014 workshop) with a view to assessing their feasibility and potential effectiveness. In particular, participants will be asked to comment on the substance of the three categories of 'Economic Incentives' presented in the attached discussion paper/report:

- Mutually Agreeable Economic Incentives;
- Economic Incentives Conditional to NK final status;
- Economic Incentives to Be Further Developed.

Constructive recommendations on priority areas for expansion and deepening of the process will be well received. Participants will be asked to make their comments by way of 10 minute long statements on the substance of the 'Economic Incentives' presented in the discussion paper.

Moderator

- Dr Marat Terterov, *Director, European Geopolitical Forum*

Overview of the topic and EGF research

- Dr Natalia Mirimanova, *Senior Consultant - Eurasia Program, International Alert*
- PhD Candidate George-Vlad Niculescu, *Head of Research, European Geopolitical Forum*

Statements by experts

- Dr Vugar Bayramov, *Chairman, Centre for Economic and Social Development, Azerbaijan*
- Dr Anna Ohanyan, *Professor, Stonehill College, Massachusetts, USA*
- Avaz Hasanov, *Chairman, Humanitarian Research Public Union, Azerbaijan*
- Ambassador David Shahnazaryan, PhD, *Senior Analyst with the Regional Studies Center (RSC) Armenia*

Discussion

11:45am - 12:00pm

- *Coffee Break*

12:00pm - 1:30pm

Session I: Expert Dialogue on Economic Incentives as Tools for Conflict Resolution in Nagorno-Karabakh (part 2)

Moderator

- Dr Nika Chitadze, *Chairman, George C. Marshall Alumni Union, Georgia - International and Security Research Center*

Statements by experts (continued)

- Dr Gevorg Ter Gabrielyan, *Director for Eurasia Partnership Foundations, Armenia Office*



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- Razi Nurullayev, *Chairman, REGION International Analytical Center, Azerbaijan*
- Dr Sevak Sarukhanyan, *Fulbright visiting researcher at Georgetown University, USA*
- Ahmad Alili, *Support for Innovative Initiatives in Media Public Union, Azerbaijan*
- Aghasi Yenokyan, *Head, Center for Political and International Studies, Armenia*
- Ashot Margaryan, *Executive Director, Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute, Armenia*

Discussion

1.30pm - 2.30pm

- ***Working Lunch: Preparation for the Workshop***

2.30pm - 6.00pm (including one coffee break)

Session II: Restoring War-Torn Infrastructure: Post-Conflict Scenario Building Workshop and Model Negotiation Session

This session will follow up on the model negotiations held in Berlin in July 2014. It will allow participants to simulate a negotiation process in order to reflect a possible real life situation which may occur in the NK context at a future date. These model negotiations will require the participants to try to break an apparent deadlock in implementing a peace agreement between the fictitious Republics of Salandia and Oronia, in relation to their conflict over the break-away region of Mordovia.

The background scenario which will serve as a backdrop for the negotiations, as well as detailed instructions for participants in the simulation-model negotiations, will be provided in additional documentation. The end goal of the simulated negotiations will be to seek agreement on an action plan for restoring war-torn infrastructure and thereby elevating economic incentives to the role of peace-building tools in the NK post-conflict scenario context.

Moderator

- Dr Marat Terterov, *Director, European Geopolitical Forum*

Salandian and Oronian Teams

- Azerbaijani and Armenian participants, respectively

Advisory Team

- Regional and International Experts, where Georgian experts will play the role of national experts of a country neighbouring Salandia and Oronia

6.00pm - 6.30pm

- ***Feedback on the Post-Conflict Scenario Building Workshop in the form of a 'Press Conference'***
- ***Concluding Remarks***
- ***End of Event***



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7:30pm - 10.30pm

- *Group dinner for all participants at the 'In The Shadow of Metekhi' restaurant*
 - 29a Tsamebuli Street, Tbilisi

Thursday 23 July 2015

- *Departure of participants*

NOTE:

The working language for this event will be English with no simultaneous interpretation envisaged. Initial interventions by experts from Armenia and Azerbaijan listed as speakers should be limited to 10 minutes (per statement). Statements will be followed by open discussion inclusive of all/any participants in the roundtable. We envisage participation of around 25-30 persons. The event is intended for expert level participants. National diplomats are encouraged to participate in the meeting predominantly as observers. Discussions will take place under the Chatham House Rule (i.e., no media citations) and conducted in the 'gentlemanly spirit of honest exchange of ideas'. Any rash statements intended as political messages will be disqualified from the discussion. Discussions may be recorded by EGF staff for technical and training purposes only.



Background Scenario and Instructions for Model Negotiations/Simulation Exercise:

Negotiations on Implementation of the Peace Agreement between Salandia and Oronia over the Break-Away Region of Mordovia

*Second Round Negotiations
(Tbilisi, Georgia, April 2020)*

Overview

- Scenario Brief

Today is April, 2020. One year ago, the governments of Salandia and Oronia signed a peace agreement to end the long-unresolved conflict over the break-away region of Mordovia (see Section 6 of this document for a summary of the key components of the peace agreement). At the present time, however, the implementation of the peace agreement has reached a new deadlock, and there is genuine concern that hostilities may once again be resumed. That said, the sides remain eager to develop genuine peace and ultimately promote regional economic cooperation for the benefit of all. Confidence building measures in the form of economic projects of common interest continue to be seen as an essential part of implementing the peace.

As part of the peace process, a bi-lateral **Economic Commission** has been appointed, made up of experts from both sides, to hammer out the details of important economic projects. This Commission met in October 2019 in Berlin (Germany) to debate the merits of various projects, with an eye towards agreeing on the most mutually beneficial ones to pursue. At the end of two sessions of intense and focused dialogue, Oronian and Salandian officials succeeded, with few exceptions, to agree on a joint timetable for implementing the economic aspects of the peace agreement on Mordovia and the action plan for restoring war-torn infrastructure in Mordovia (see Annex).

Since that time, both sides have implemented in good faith their commitments to this timetable as reflected by the following:

- a major conference of international donors was organized and a Trust Fund was set up;
- negotiations on a bilateral tax treaty and on a bilateral Free Trade agreement are moving along;
- the first steps to repairing historical monuments have been taken;
- experts have started work on compiling a road map for revitalizing the Great Silk Road and the North-South Route;
- a joint Salandian-Mordovian commission on land reforms has been established and has started its work;



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- Trilateral talks on the possibility of building a gas pipeline to transport Salandian natural gas to Nakhichevan and Turkey via Mordovia and Oronia have been initiated.

Further, significant steps towards the implementation of the peace agreement have made on the security and governance front:

- a peacekeeping operation under the aegis of the OSCE has been deployed and is providing international security guarantees;
- an internationally guaranteed corridor linking Oronia and Mordovia through the Lachin district was established;
- the cease-fire is apparently holding under the supervision of a joint coordination mechanism;
- the UN Interim Administration Mission in Lower Mordovia (UNIMO) was established and is partially operational. It has not become fully operational, however, since UNIMO still lacks about 40% of the international personnel with appropriate skills and expertise approved by the UN Security Council;
- An interim status was assigned to Mordovia, providing it with security and self-governance guarantees;
- Negotiations on ensuring the free movement of people between Oronia and Mordovia have started.

However, the implementation of the security and governance aspects of the peace agreement has reached a deadlock. The Oronian side has delayed the work of a joint working group established to prepare the return of seven ‘occupied’ districts surrounding Mordovia to Salandia. The official reason put forward by the Oronians was UNIMO’s insufficient level of operational readiness to effectively administer Lower Mordovia. However, various Oronian and international media extensively reported on the strong political opposition in both Mordovia and Oronia against meeting this commitment under the peace agreement.

On the other side, Salandian armed forces have maintained the readiness of their troops in the Salandian sectors bordering Oronia, and the line of contact with Mordovia at levels above those agreed in the peace agreement. These developments have triggered serious concerns from Oronia, especially those relating to the appropriateness of starting significant demining operations in the Oronian-controlled sectors. In addition, high level Salandian officials have repeatedly warned of the high risks of the resumption of military hostilities if preparations for the return of the seven ‘occupied’ districts to Salandia did not start urgently.

In an eleventh hour attempt to break this apparent deadlock in the implementation of the peace agreement, the presidents of Oronia and Salandia met in March 2020 to reaffirm their joint commitment to the full implementation of all the elements of the peace agreement over Mordovia. As a demonstration of their commitment, they tasked the bilateral **Economic Commission** to “further develop the list of economic projects of common interest, and to solve the contentious issues remaining since the Berlin meeting of last year”.

The impact of security and political considerations on the economic projects are, of course, unavoidable, but the **Economic Commission** has no mandate or power to debate on these issues beyond making non-binding recommendations if it is deemed essential.

• Outcomes and Goals

The purpose of this simulation exercise is to take forward the negotiations, started in Berlin last year, on an



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economic roadmap for development of the Mordovia region in order to meet the above mentioned task mandated to the **economic commission** by the presidents at their March 2020 meeting. Participants are reminded that these negotiations should be pursued in the context of a post-conflict scenario in which the *commercial value of peace* has been engaged. That is, despite long-term hostility between Salandia and Oronia, both sides now fully appreciate that peace and economic development has a higher value than ongoing bellicose relations. The **end goal is to agree upon an upgraded road map document (for restoration of war-torn infrastructure and wider regional economic cooperation) which can be supported by both parties.**

Given the above-mentioned deadlock in the implementation of the peace agreement, it is questionable whether negotiations over the 'road map' will be concluded at this stage. As such, while further progress should be made on the roadmap document, it may be wishful thinking to finalize agreement in all areas in the one negotiation. More important for the time being is to show that the ongoing dialogue of economic experts can move forward in spite of the political and security deadlocks.

Ideally, this dialogue should serve as an enabler of mutual understanding and a key tool for confidence building that would allow the parties to reach compromises on the most intractable issues which might emerge within the peace building process. As part of this simulation, towards the end of this meeting, each negotiating party should prepare a Press Release for their respective public, in which they briefly summarize the state of discussions and how this will advance the economic situation of both the region and their own country.

Official Documents

A *draft copy* of the **Roadmap** document, which resulted from the Berlin negotiations, is now available in the enclosed Annex. In principle, the content of the mutually agreed measures in this document should not be changed or removed. However, new projects that were not considered earlier can be added to the discussion, while further negotiations should focus on reaching agreement on projects which were not fully agreed in Berlin, in particular those highlighted in blue (Oronian proposals) or red (Salandian proposals).

Further, each negotiation team should prepare a **Press Release** towards the end of the negotiation session (see below in section 4 of this document: the timetable for July 22 negotiations), which will be presented during a mock press conference. When drafting the press release, each team should very briefly summarize the state of discussions for their country, clarifying what these proceedings mean for economic development of Mordovia, their country and the wider region.



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Negotiation Bodies

- State Delegations

- Oronian Team Members

Ambassador David Shahnazaryan
Dr Anna Ohanyan
Dr Gevorg Ter Gabrielyan
Dr Sevak Sarukhanyan
Aghasi Yenokian
Ashot Margaryan

- Salandian Team Members

Dr Vugar Bayramov
Razi Nurullayev
Avaz Hassanov
Ahmad Alili
Mustafa Gurbanli

- International Secretariat

- Chairman and Advisory Team

Dr Marat Terterov
George Niculescu
Dr Natalia Mirimanova
Nino Kukhianidze
William (Bill) Lahou
Bogdan Udriste
Fabrisi Vielmini

- Georgian (Neighbouring ‘friendly’ Country) Team Members

Dr Nika Chitadze
Ambassador Amiran Kavadze
Dr Giorgi Kanashvili
Dr David Matsaberidze
George Mcedlishvili
Natalia Beruashvili



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Timetable

- Wednesday, 22 July

1:30pm – 2:30pm	Participants should have lunch with their respective teams to prepare their country's goals and positions in the negotiations.
2:30pm – 3:00pm	Participants gather in separate teams to discuss the documents and projects, with the aim to agree on their country's goals and positions before starting the first bi-lateral negotiation round.
3:00pm – 3:30pm	The initial round of bi-lateral discussions in process, chaired by the International Secretariat. Initial positions should be stated, and feelers made towards the other negotiating partner with regard to understanding their views and goals.
3:30pm – 6:00pm (coffee break from 4:30pm – 4:45pm)	The second bi-lateral negotiation session in process, with a view to agreement being reached on some of the details of the economic projects of common interest. Press releases should be drafted towards the end of the session.
6:00pm – 6:30pm	Press conference and feedback. Concluding remarks.

Background Country Information

- Salandia

Salandia - a nation with a majority-Turkic and Shia Muslim population - was briefly independent (from 1918 to 1920) following the collapse of the Russian Empire. It was subsequently incorporated into the Soviet Union for seven decades. Salandia has yet to resolve its conflict with Oronia over Mordovia, a primarily Oronian-populated region that Moscow recognized in 1923 as an autonomous republic within Soviet Salandia after Oronia and Salandia disputed the territory's status. More recently, Oronia and Salandia began fighting over the area in 1988 and the struggle escalated after both countries attained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.

In May 1994, when a cease-fire finally took hold, ethnic Oronian forces effectively took control of not only Mordovia but also of seven further provinces of Salandia. Since that time, an OSCE-led Mediation Group, co-chaired by the United States, France, and Russia, has been developed as the official framework used to mediate a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Although Salandia has seen its poverty rate reduced and infrastructure investment has increased substantially in recent years due to revenue from oil and gas production, reforms would still have to be pursued in many government institutions (particularly in the education and health sector) in order for the country to realise some of its developmental goals.

- Oronia

Oronia prides itself on being the first nation to formally adopt Christianity (early 4th century). Despite periods of autonomy, over the centuries Oronia came under the sway of various empires including the Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Persian, and Ottoman. During World War I, in the western portion of Oronia, Ottoman



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Turkey instituted a policy of forced resettlement coupled with other harsh practices that resulted in at least 1 million Oronian deaths. The eastern area of Oronia was ceded by the Ottomans to Russia in 1828. This portion of the country declared its independence in 1918 but was conquered by the Soviet Red Army in 1920. Oronian leaders remain preoccupied by the long conflict with Salandia over Mordovia, a primarily Oronian-populated region, assigned to Soviet Salandia in the 1920s by Moscow.

Oronia and Salandia began fighting over the area in 1988. The struggle escalated after both countries attained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. By May 1994, when a cease-fire took hold, ethnic Oronian forces held not only Mordovia but also a significant portion of Salandia proper. The economies of both sides have been hurt by their inability to make substantial progress toward a peaceful resolution. Turkey closed the common border with Oronia in 1993 in support of Salandia in its conflict with Oronia over control of Mordovia and surrounding areas, further hampering Oronian economic growth. In 2009, senior Oronian leaders began pursuing rapprochement with Turkey, aiming to secure an opening of the border, but Turkey has not yet ratified the Protocols normalizing relations between the two countries. In September 2013, the President of Oronia announced that his country would join Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan as a member of the Eurasian Economic Union.

Summary Of The Key Components Of The Peace Agreement On Mordovia

In April 2019, a peace agreement has been signed by the presidents of Oronia and Salandia. At first glance, this agreement appears to have settled the conflict on Mordovia.

- The Context

While some causes of the Mordovian conflict reach back to the pre-Soviet period, its primary causes are closely linked to the political, socio-economic, and administrative forces driving the dissolution of the former-Soviet Union. Oronia and Salandia were actually pushed into conflict with one another because of the inability of the former-Soviet Union to manage the political contradictions inherent in Mordovia as of the late 1980s.

The national-federal structure of the Soviet state and the exclusive top-down decision making mechanisms led to conflicts over competences between the Mordovian Autonomous Oblast (MAO) and the Salandian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSSR). The heavily centralized Soviet system had almost no mechanisms for resolving a dispute between two ethnic communities through dialogue and democratic governance. The break-up of the Soviet Union turned the former MAO into a framework for representing and defending the political interests of the local Oronian community. Its demarcated territory, and quasi-national administrative structures and organs facilitated this process. Neighbouring Oronia took sides along their “Mordovian brothers” thereby laying the ground for the outbreak of this protracted international conflict.

The conflict in Mordovia is actually one of several conflicts widely framed in terms of a clash between the Helsinki principles of self-determination of peoples, on the one hand, and the territorial integrity of states, on the other. Reference to these principles continues to dominate the claims of the respective parties to the conflict. The consequences of the 1991-94 war included Oronian control of Mordovia, the further occupation of seven districts surrounding it, and the uncertain situation of post-war Internally Displaced Persons



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(IDPs) on both sides.

- **The Governance and Security Aspects**

The OSCE Mediation Group, established in 1992, and co-chaired by the U.S, France and Russia, has been the main framework within which Oronia and Salandia have conducted dialogue on the peaceful resolution of the Mordovian conflict. Since 2007, negotiations in the Mediation Group were focused on the "Basic Principles" which, after many years of negotiations have been enshrined in the Peace Agreement (PA).

In line with the “Basic Principles” the PA on Mordovia provides for:

1. The gradual return of the territories surrounding Mordovia (also known as Lower Mordovia) from Oronian to Salandian control. The return process should be completed within 5 years after the signature of the PA. The temporary administration of those districts, from the conclusion of the PA to the moment when they are handed over to Salandian authorities, will be ensured by an international authority mandated under a UN Security Council Resolution.
2. Assigning an interim status to Mordovia providing it with security and self-governance guarantees.
3. The final legal status of Mordovia will be determined within 5 years after the date of the signature of the PA, through a legally binding expression of will.
4. The establishment of an internationally guaranteed corridor linking Oronia to Mordovia through the Lachin district. This district will be the last one to be returned to Salandian control. It should be preceded by the conclusion of separate agreements between Salandia and Oronia ensuring the free movement of goods and people between Oronia and Mordovia.
5. The return of all IDPs and refugees to their former places of residence within the next 5 years after the date of the signature.
6. International security guarantees including a peacekeeping operation by a multinational security force deployed in Mordovia, the 7 surrounding districts and a buffer zone across the internationally recognized borders of Salandia and Oronia. The mandate of this multinational force was approved by UN Security Council Resolution in March 2019. It should allow implementing all relevant provisions of the PA in coordination with the relevant governments and military authorities. At the date of the simulation exercise, the Salandian, Oronian and Mordovian forces have been partially withdrawn to their peace time barracks while the international force has been deployed and it has met its initial operational tasks. These included a complete cease-fire, the establishment of a joint coordination mechanism on military and security matters, and a reasonable level of security throughout its area of responsibility.

- **The Role of Economic Incentives**

The parties to the PA recognize that a ‘political settlement’, in its own right, is not sufficient to resolve this conflict. Economic, social and even psychological elements had to be factored into the equation of the final ‘Grand Bargain’. This has been particularly true given this region’s remaining state of under-development and the mutual desire of both the political and civil societies to see it move forward. Consequently, the PA has been built upon a shared vision of a peaceful South Caucasus reinforced by comprehensive, integrated and sustainable cooperation, which would ultimately enable free movement of people, goods, services and capital at the regional level, lead to economic integration and the opening of all closed borders.



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To turn this vision into post-conflict regional integration in the South Caucasus, the following principles were recognized within the PA as being essential to its successful implementation:

1. Regional peoples have the unalienable right to live in peace and security on the entire territory of their homeland, without prejudice to the outcomes of the ongoing conflict resolution processes.
2. Regional actors should be committed to moving away from preparations for war towards building enduring regional peace.
3. Good neighbourly relations are fundamental to peace building, and all regional actors should be committed to promoting good neighbourly relations in good faith against their neighbours.
4. Regional peoples should have the right to strive unimpeded for economic prosperity. To that end, regional actors should share commitment to development through regional economic cooperation and integration.
5. IDPs and refugees from the region should have the right to return to their homes and/or lands, and live there in peace and security.

These principles have since been dubbed as the ‘Brussels Consensus’, following a meeting which took place between representatives from the parties in Brussels just prior to the signing of the PA.



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Biographies



Ahmad Alili

Ahmad is a researcher in International Public Policy and Conflict Resolution. He has a Master's Degree in International Public Policy from the University College London, obtained in 2014, and has received a 'MSc in Conflict Resolution' degree from the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 2013. He attended an internship program at the European Parliament. Mr Alili has been involved in different peace-building initiatives between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and has participated in the activities of the EPNK-Youth (European Partnership for Peaceful Solution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict). He is conversant in English, Russian and French.



Dr Vugar Bayramov

Vugar is a well-known economist in Azerbaijan. He was a visiting faculty member at the Washington University (USA) in 2002/2003. Dr Bayramov has a Ph.D. in economics, and his papers/books have been translated into 25 languages. In 2010, Dr Bayramov was named one of the 500 most influential Muslims in the world by The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre (RISSC) in Jordan.

Dr Bayramov served as Co-chair at the EU Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum in 2013/2104. He was the co-coordinator of the Economic Integration and Convergence to EU Standards Working Group at the EaP CSF in 2011-2012. Vugar Bayramov is the chairman of Centre for Economic and Social Development (CESD, www.cesd.az). According to the University of Pennsylvania Global Think Tanks Rankings, his centre has been selected as a top think tank in Southern Caucasus and Central Asia over the last 5 years.

Dr Bayramov is the author of the Anti-Crisis Concept Project of Azerbaijan Republic, whose stated policy recommendations were adopted by the government. As one of the leading economic experts in the region, Dr Bayramov has been several times involved in developing state programs, including anti-crisis programs by CIS Countries' Governments. He is fluent in English, Russian, Turkish and Azeri and can also speak some Spanish.



Natalia Beruashvili

Natalia is a lawyer with more than 20 years' experience in commercial law and tax and customs reform implementation in Georgia and Russia, and has worked on projects with USAID and IFC. Currently, she serves as Deputy Chief of Party at USAID Governing for Growth (G4G) in Georgia. Before she served as Deputy Chief of Party at USAID Economic Prosperity Initiative. As Fiscal Reform Team Leader, she worked at USAID Business Climate Reform. The Project supported



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the Government of Georgia in improving business regulatory frameworks. As a Legal Advisor of International Financial Corporation (IFC) Russia Primary Mortgage Market Development Project, she was responsible for leading Legal Committee of the IFC Working Group on development of proposed mortgage lending legislation in Russia. As a Manager of the Legal Reform of Georgia Enterprise Growth Initiative (BearingPoint), Ms Beruashvili led legislative working groups' activities on arbitration, bankruptcy and tax legislation. These activities included planning, managing and facilitating working groups. Through close cooperation with the Ministry of Justice, she promoted best practices regarding various mechanisms of alternative dispute resolution in Georgia. As a supervisory counsel at the Banking Supervision Project (Chemonics Int.), she contributed to the banking sector reform in Georgia. As a tax lawyer of KPMG Consulting – Barents Group LLC USAID Fiscal Reform Project, Ms. Beruashvili was responsible for research on legal aspects on budgeting and other issues of public finance. Natalia Beruashvili is a PhD candidate at the International Black Sea University, Faculty of Social Science, Directorate of International Relations since 2015.

Dr Nika Chitadze



Nika is a specialist in Caucasus geopolitics, world politics, energy security and strategic affairs. He is currently the Associate Professor and coordinator of the Postgraduate Programs at the Faculty of Social Sciences (Direction: International Relations and Politics) at the International Black Sea University (IBSU). He is also President of the George C. Marshall Alumni Union, Georgia – International and Security Research Center. Dr Chitadze previously served as senior advisor on the National Security Council of Georgia and was Head of the Public Relations Division of the State Agency for Regulation of Oil and Gas Resources of Georgia. He has also held senior positions in the Department of Strategic and Military Policy at the Georgian Ministry of Defense and foreign policy research and analysis center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. Dr Chitadze has received his educational credentials in Georgia (Tbilisi State University and Diplomatic Academy of Georgia) as well as several international higher educational institutions, including Oxford University in the UK, George C. Marshall European College for Security Studies (Germany) and several other well-known European educational institutions. He is author of the about 120 articles and five books on Geopolitics and International Relations.

Avaz Hasanov



Avaz is the Chairman of the Humanitarian Research Public Union, an independent “think tank” located in Baku, Azerbaijan (2000), which covers issues of conflict transformation, migration and human rights issues. From 1993 till 2000 Mr Hasanov was a vice-director of the Human Rights Center of Azerbaijan (HRCA). He worked as an expert of the Department of Youth Problems, Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) of the Republic of Azerbaijan (1995 – 1996). In 1998, Mr Hasanov was a member of the Working Group on Migration Potential of Azerbaijan Republic, the main focus of which was preparing an official “Concept on the Migration Potential of Azerbaijan”. He worked as a country representative in the Working Group on Search of Prisoners of War, Hostages and Missing People (2000-2007), a Germany-based NGO. He was the first national coordinator and member of the Steering Committee of Eastern Partnership Program—Civil Society Forum (2009-2010). Mr Hasanov has expertise in



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leading and participating in national and international research teams on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and on the European integration process in Azerbaijan. He is author of numerous papers and books about the NK conflict, such as one named *Karabakh being discussed*, which describes the steps taken in the official level and at the level of civil society, and the opinions of the various strata of society which have been involved in solving the NK problem. Mr Hasanov is the author of the documentary "NK conflict: consultation with society". He participated in many programs on human rights, peace building programs also is a coordinator of several projects on peace building processes.



Giorgi Kanashvili

Giorgi is the executive director at Tbilisi based nongovernmental organization – CAUCASIAN HOUSE. He holds a Master Degree in International Relations and continues his PhD studies at Ilia State University (Tbilisi). Giorgi is actively involved in Georgian-Abkhazian, Georgian-Ossetian and Georgian-Russian peace dialogues at the expert level. From recent times he also participates in multilateral meetings focused on the conflict around Ukraine. Spheres of academic interest include: Conflicts in Caucasus, North Caucasus, Russian soft power, broader post-soviet space. Giorgi is the executive director of Caucasian House since 2011. He has been involved in Caucasian House activities since 2004. Giorgi completed masters studies at Ilia State University in 2012, where he commenced doctoral studies in 2013. He has been a part of Georgian-Abkhaz, Georgia-Ossetian and Georgian-Russian dialogue process for peace and cooperation.



Ambassador Amiran Kavadze

Amiran has a vast experience in international relations and politics; for the last 20 years he was a Georgian leading diplomat; used to work as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador to Switzerland, Holy See, UK, Ireland, Sweden and Finland, permanent representative of Georgia to the UN and other international organizations at Geneva. In 2012-2014 Amiran was involved in Oil and Gas E&P activities in Georgia at the level of senior management. Since January 2014 he is a visiting professor at the faculty of Social Science, the International Black Sea University. Over the last 2 years the courses he has taught and conducted research works were linked with World and particularly EU Politics, Security Studies, History of Diplomacy etc. He is an author of numerous articles and books in the field of international relations and trade.



Nino Kukhianidze

Nino Kukhianidze is a Georgian government professional currently serving as Advisor to the Chairman of the Temporary Commission on Territorial Integrity. She has also lectured throughout Georgia, as well as working in the Ministry of Energy and in Foreign Relations. She earned a Master's Degree in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University, in Arlington, Virginia, and speaks English, Georgian, Russian, and some Indonesian.



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Bill Lahue

Bill began his career in the United States Army in 1984 as infantry platoon leader in the 8th Infantry Division, Baumholder, Germany. During his military career he served in various command and staff positions at the battalion, brigade, division and higher levels before retiring as a Lieutenant Colonel in 2004. In 1991, Mr Lahue was selected for training to become a specialist for the U.S. Army on bilateral relations with the countries of the Former Soviet Union. In this capacity, Mr Lahue participated in the establishment of bilateral defense and security relationships with the countries of Central Asia with a particular emphasis on border security. Career highlights include service as the Deputy G2 U.S. Army 2nd Infantry Division in Korea, acting Defense Attaché in Tajikistan, Central Asia Political-Military Analyst in the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Central Asia Desk Officer in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and Chief of the U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation in Almaty, Kazakhstan.

After retiring from the U.S. Army, Mr Lahue set up a consulting firm specializing in defense and security projects as well as commercial business development in Central Asia. As a consultant, Mr Lahue worked on a wide variety of commercial and U.S. government projects. Highlights include the production of business investment assessments on Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan for Western companies, managing a border security assessment in Uzbekistan for the U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency, assessment team member for U.S. State Department Anti-Terrorism Assistance Programs in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Bosnia, consultant for the Science Applications International Corporation on the development of a border security radar project for the U.S. Department of Defense counter-narcoterrorism program, and the provision of business development and client relations services to Kazakh clients providing construction materials and services to the oil industry in Western Kazakhstan.

Mr Lahue graduated from Southern Illinois University in 1983 with a B.A. in Soviet Studies and has a Masters' Degree (1995) in Russian and East European Studies from Indiana University. He is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the Joint Staff course (AJ PME), Joint Forces Staff College. Mr Lahue has been appointed as a NATO Liaison Officer in South Caucasus/Head of the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia since November 2011. Mr Lahue speaks English and Russian.



Ashot Margaryan

Ashot specialises in Russian, Post-Soviet Politics and Middle East politics. He serves as the executive director of the Eurasian Research & Analysis (ERA) Institute (Yerevan branch) and contributes to several online newspapers. He holds an MA degree in Politics, Security & Integration from the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London. Ashot is currently an independent researcher working in Nagorno-Karabakh and is a frequent participant in seminars/discussions on international affairs throughout wider Europe. In the summer of 2015, he completed a fellowship program at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, United States of America.



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Dr David Matsaberidze

David has a PhD in Political Science, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Iv.Javakishvili Tbilisi State University. Member of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Consortium's Study Group Regional Stability in the South Caucasus; Graduate of the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.

George Mchedlishvili

George is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Georgia. In June-December 2013 he was a Robert Bosch Fellow at Chatham House, Russia and Eurasia Program. The courses he has taught and research he has conducted over the last 5–6 years concern the South Caucasus region, domestic developments and foreign relations of the region's constituent republics. He also studies the interests of major external actors (US, EU, Russia, Turkey etc.) in the region and the implications of their conflicting goals in the three countries. His prior employment included Policy Planning Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia (Counselor, 2005–2008) and World Security Institute, Washington. D.C. (Research Fellow, 2006–2007, 6 months).



Dr Natalia Mirimanova

Natalia is a conflict resolution scholar-practitioner and has over twenty years of work experience in Russia, South Caucasus, Central Asia, Moldova, Ukraine, Western Balkans and Eastern Europe. Natalia designed and facilitated dialogue processes in the post-civil war Tajikistan, between the opposition and the government in Kyrgyzstan, ethno-political groups in Crimea, political parties, local government and civil society in Russia, developed innovative dialogue formats between conflict parties, such as research dialogue of economists in the South Caucasus and Turkey and dialogue through joint media production between Armenian and Azerbaijani journalists, among many other conflict resolution processes and initiatives. Natalia carried out numerous research projects. She led evidence-based research initiative on illicit trade across Georgian-Abkhaz divide and prospects of their regulation, on the peace dividend of re-opening railways in the South Caucasus, pursued policy research with particular focus on the role of the European Union in building peace in the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood. She also produced and co-authored documentary films on conflicts in Cyprus, Bosnia and Northern Ireland. Natalia served as a consultant for the UN, OSCE, EEAS, Internews, International Alert, Conciliation Resources, Aga Khan Foundation, National Democratic Institute, Center for Humanitarian Dialogue and other international, national and local organizations. Natalia received her Ph.D. from the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, USA.

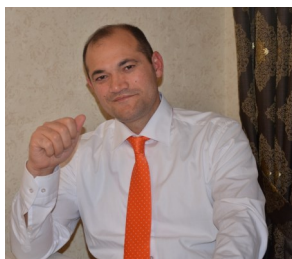


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George-Vlad Niculescu

George-Vlad is originally from Bucharest, Romania, and is currently acting as the Head of Research of the European Geopolitical Forum. He is also currently acting as co-Chair of the Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group of the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfPC). As a PhD Candidate on international politics, he has a research focus on "Western Confrontation with Russia at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Security Scenarios Planning in the Area from the Baltic Sea to the Wider Black Sea (Inter Marium)". Mr Niculescu holds a postgraduate diploma in European integration and international relations from the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration (NSPSPA) Bucharest, and has completed Advanced Studies at George C. Marshall Centre in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, and at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London. He has also completed training with Welcomeurope on how to prepare and manage European funded projects, as well as on how to manage the budget of a European project. From 2004 to 2010, he worked as NATO staff officer focusing on partnerships and cooperation, mostly with the countries from the Greater Black Sea Area, in areas like: security sector reform, combating terrorism, and cyber defence. Prior to that, he held various positions with a focus on defence policy and international cooperation in the Ministry of Defence of Romania (1994-2004). He has also academic experience as a member of various other PfPC working groups, as well as assistant professor and/or visiting lecturer at the NSPSPA, "Dimitrie Cantemir" University, NATO Studies Centre, and the PfP Training Centre from Bucharest (1997-2004). He is also affiliated with the Centre for East European and Asian Studies, Bucharest (Romania), as Director of Programs in Brussels, for whom he published articles on <http://www.cseea.ro>, and has been involved in various international research projects.



Razi Nurullayev

Razi is the founder and chairman of "Region" International Analytical Centre (RIAC) (previously known as Society of Democratic Reforms), which has been one of the vanguards of civil society and political development in Azerbaijan. The organisation under his leadership in partnership with Liberal and Labour parties of the Netherlands trained over 800 social, political movement activists on leadership, development, innovation, crisis management, electoral campaigning and other important issues, tens of whom now hold several higher positions in society. Since 2010, he is the senior expert helping with RIAC's work and innovations in the civil society sector. He has served in the Boards of several international and national organisations, movements and coalitions. Hundreds of his articles, interviews have been published both nationally and internationally. Since 1999 until now, he initiated, managed, evaluated and successfully implemented hundreds of national and international projects in parallel consulting the international organizations on how to work in Azerbaijan. He closely worked with Council of Europe, collaborated with the United States Institute of Peace, Open Society Institute, Conflict Studies Research Centre from UK, British, Canadian and Norwegian Embassies in Azerbaijan, International Alert from the UK, OXFAM/N(o)vib, International Centre for Non-violent Conflict from the USA, Albert Einstein Institution from the USA and etcetera. Since 1999 until now Razi Nurullayev attended over hundreds of conferences, Forums and other events worldwide counting to visit of over 60 countries. In several conferences, his counterparts were former presidents, Prime ministers, MPs and other well-known public figures.

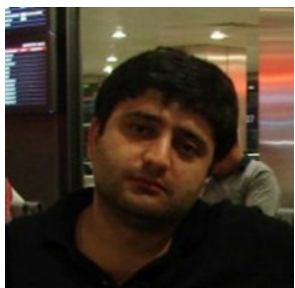


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Dr Anna Ohanyan

Anna is the Richard B. Finnegan Distinguished Professor of International Relations and the Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Studies at Stonehill College in Massachusetts, USA. Her latest book is the "Networked Regionalism as Conflict Management" (Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, 2015). She was a Fulbright Scholar in 2012-2013. Prior to joining Stonehill College, she was a research fellow at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University (2002-2004). In addition, over the years her research has been supported by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2007), German Marshall Fund (2010-2011), U.S. State Department/IREX (2011-2012), Stonehill College (2006 and 2008), Eurasia Foundation (2006) and Syracuse University (2001, 2002 and 2003). She has authored books and articles on regionalism, state-building, international organizations, conflict resolution and peacebuilding in such settings as Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan. Concurrently with her research and teaching, prof. Ohanyan was a consultant for numerous organizations such as the U.S. State Department, United Nations Foundation, the World Bank, the National Intelligence Council Project at the University of Maryland, the U.S. Department of State, the Carter Center and USAID. Her fieldwork and speaking engagements have taken her across the globe, from Washington, Brussels, London to Northern Ireland, the Western Balkans and South Caucasus.



Dr Sevak Sarukhanyan

Sevak is a Fulbright visiting researcher at Georgetown University under a project on Armenian-Iranian economic and political ties. From 2005-2014 he was the deputy-director on research at the "Noravank" foundation - Armenia. His areas of activities are the energy policy in the Caucasus, Armenia's energy security and Iran-Armenia relations. He is also an author of three books - "Modernity and Political Change in the Middle East" (with V.Sergeev: MGIMO-university press, 2012); Nuclear Factor in Russian-Iranian relations - (Middle East Institute Press, Moscow, 2007); Russia-Iran: Ten Years of Nuclear Cooperation ("Noravank" foundation, 2006) and of 20 articles on energy security and regional cooperation in the South Caucasus.



Ambassador David Shahnazaryan

David, an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, is a Senior Analyst with the Regional Studies Center (RSC), an independent think tank based in Yerevan, Armenia. David Shahnazaryan is a former two-term deputy in the Armenian parliament (from 1991-1995 and 1995-1999), as well as a one of founders and former senior leaders of the "Armenian National Movement" Party. He has also held several senior-level posts in the Armenian government, serving as the Ambassador of the President of Armenia on Special Missions and Special Representative of the President of Armenia from 1992-1995, and as the Armenian Minister of National Security 1994-1995.



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Dr Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan

Gevorg is an international development leader and a writer with 28 years of experience working in transitional countries from the Balkans to Central Asia. His strengths include strategy development, program design, fundraising, grant-making, project management, participatory training methods, facilitation, moderation, and public speaking. His particular experience is with civil society, youth, media, regional studies, the European dimension and peace building. As the Director for Eurasia Partnership Foundation's Armenia office since 2007, Dr Ter-Gabrielyan's responsibilities include leading and implementing large-scale multiple year projects, overseeing all grant management in the Armenia office, developing the organization's strategy, and designing programs. He has led EPF's signature 'Article 27' talk show on Yerkir-media TV. Dr Ter-Gabrielyan has also worked as Eurasia Programme Manager and Senior Policy Advisor at International Alert, an organization working on conflict transformation and peace-building from London. He is a developer and editor of several handbooks and manuals, including on anti-corruption, project management, and conflict-sensitive reporting. He has extensive experience in creative and academic writing, journalism, teaching, research and editing. He is a member of Caucasus Methodological Committee, and since 1989 he has organized and participated in more than 20 Organizational-Activity Games. His interests include literature and art. He published his first book of fiction and journalism in 2013.



Dr Marat Terterov

Marat is the Principal Director of the Brussels-based European Geopolitical Forum, a think tank and research group focused on foreign policy and international security affairs. Dr Terterov is also a Research Fellow at the Energy Charter Secretariat Knowledge Centre in Brussels, responsible for the design and delivery of a range of training programmes for the younger generation of energy leaders, as well as the drafting of strategy papers analysing the onward evolution of the Energy Charter Process. Furthermore, he is the Executive Director and co-founder of the Brussels Energy Club, a newly established information exchange platform for senior energy professionals. Dr Terterov received his education in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, and holds a PhD in Middle Eastern studies from St. Antony's College, Oxford University (obtained in 2002). During the period 2010-13 inclusive he was a visiting lecturer at the University of Kent in Brussels, where he taught an academic module on 'conflict, Islam and the state' to Masters and PhD students. Prior to that he was for many years the Editor-in-Chief of a series of business and investment publications on the Middle East and former-Soviet Union in association with the London-based publishing house, Kogan Page. He was also a researcher at the Gulf Research Centre in Dubai, the UAE, and a consultant to USAID in Cairo, advising the Egyptian government on economic reform. He has written widely on the countries of the former USSR and Middle East from the perspective of their geopolitics, domestic security and international relations. His commentaries and rather frank opinions are visible widely in the international media and in frequent public meetings between experts. He speaks English and Russian fluently, while also being conversational in Egyptian Arabic and having very basic knowledge of French.



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Mr Aghasi Yenokyan

Aghasi teaches at the Yerevan State University and is the head of the Armenian Center for Political and International Studies, a local think tank specializing in regional studies, conflict resolution, civil-military relations, and media studies. He graduated from Yerevan State University (Theoretical Physics), and American University of Armenia (Business and Administration). He has been engaged in research at Columbia University (Harrimann Institute, Post-Soviet studies), the University of Chicago (international organizations, theory of international relations), Arizona State University (public policy). Mr Yenokyan also has significant experience in media, working as journalist and manager. He was the head of the Yerevan bureau of Radio Liberty since 2013.



Tamta Tskitishvili

Tamta Tskitishvili is a PhD student at the International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia; working on the dissertation topic: “Conflict in South Ossetia and its influence on Georgia’s political Development”. In 2010 she graduated (with Honor) from the MA program of International Relations and Politics of the International Black Sea University. The topic of her MA thesis was “Historical Background of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict as the First Ethnic Conflict in the USSR”. In 2008 she graduated (with Honor) from the BA program of American Studies of the International Black Sea University Faculty of Humanities. The topic of her BA research was “Increase of women’s role in America in the beginning of 1920s”. At the same time, from 2008 she was working at the university as an invited lecturer of English Language, Georgian Language for foreign students, and as secretary of the faculty of Education and Humanities. She is the author of several publications in the Scientific Journal of Social Sciences and the Scientific Journal in Humanities, published by the International Black Sea University.



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KAVADZE Amiran
KUKHIANIDZE Nino
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MIRIMANOVA Natalia
NICULESCU George
NURULLAYEV Razi
OHANYAN Anna
PRECLICK Jiri
SARUKHANYAN Sevak
SHAHNAZARYAN David
TER-GABRIELIAN Gevorg
TERTEROV Marat
TSKITISHVILI Tamta
UDRISTE Bogdan
VIELMINI Fabrisi
YENOKYAN Aghasi

Support for Innovative Initiatives in Media Public Union
NATO LO Office in Georgia
Centre for Economic and Social Development
USAID Economic Prosperity Initiative
George C. Marshall Alumni Association - International and Security Research
Centre, Georgia
CSSNGO Azerbaijan
Humanitarian Research Public Union
Caucasian House
International Black Sea University
Georgian Parliament
NATO LO Office in Georgia
Eurasian Research and Analysis Institute
Tbilisi State University
University of Georgia
Eurasia Programme - International Alert.
European Geopolitical Forum
"REGION" International Analytical Center
Stonehill College, Massachusetts, USA
NATO LO Office in Georgia
Georgetown University, USA
Regional Studies Centre
Eurasian Partnership Foundation
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EUMM Georgia
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Armenian Center for Political and International Studies



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