Welcome to this year’s academic conference highlighting the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh. Join us in welcoming our guest speakers, including keynote speaker Robert Bradtke, former co-chair of the Minsk Process, who will speak on the search for a peaceful settlement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30 AM</td>
<td>Complimentary coffee and snacks</td>
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</table>
| 9:00 AM      | **KEYNOTE SPEAKER: AMBASSADOR ROBERT BRADTKE**  
  “Nagorno Karabakh: The Minsk Group and the Search for Peace”                         |
| 10:15 - 10:30 AM | Coffee Break                                                                                                                         |
| 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM | **Panel 1**  
  AMBASSADOR RUDOLF PERINA  
  ASBED KOTCHIKIAN  
  “No Exit in the South Caucasus?”  
  TALEH ZIYADOV  
  “Exhausting the Alternatives: The OSCE Minsk Group and its Limits”                    |
| 12:00 - 1:00 PM | LUNCH (attendees will break for lunch on their own)  
  Speakers: Meet in Beckman Corridor                                                                                                        |
### Panel 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:00 PM—2:30 PM</td>
<td>ALEXANDROS PETERSEN</td>
<td>“Energy Security Issues as affected by Nagorno Karabakh”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>TRACEY GERMAN</td>
<td>“Security Implications of the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict for the Caucasus Region”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>E. WAYNE MERRY</td>
<td>“Turkey: The Missing Variable in the Karabakh Equation”</td>
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<td>2:30 - 2:45 PM</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:45 PM - 4:15 PM</td>
<td>GEORGE ZARUBIN</td>
<td>“Nagorno Karabakh: Public Perceptions about Prospects for Reconciliation and Institutional Challenges in Armenia and Azerbaijan”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>THOMAS DE WAAL</td>
<td>“Armenia and Azerbaijan: Clashing Narratives”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>JAMES J. COYLE</td>
<td>“Competing Nationalisms and Conclusion”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Background Information

- The Nagorno Karabakh War was an armed conflict that took place from February 1988 to May 1994, between the majority ethnic Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh backed by the Republic of Armenia, and the Republic of Azerbaijan.
- The struggle in Nagorno Karabakh escalated after both Armenia and Azerbaijan attained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.
- The war generated one of the world’s largest populations of internally displaced persons. Hundreds of thousands of ethnic Azeris fled their homes in the face of Armenian forces, leaving 600,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs). For years people have lived in tents, abandoned railway cars and close to the front line areas.
- There is little likelihood of progress for the coming year, with Armenia, Azerbaijan entering electoral cycles.
- The Minsk Group spearheads the OSCE's efforts to find a political solution to the conflict. It is co-chaired by France, the Russian Federation and the United States.
- The Azerbaijan government has begun to expend significantly more resources to improve the lot of the displaced, who are an estimated 7 per cent of the total population – one of the highest rates in the world.

Sources

International Crisis Group

U.S. Department of State
1993 UN Security Council Resolutions on Nagorno Karabakh

OSCE – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
- http://www.osce.org/mg
Ambassador Robert Bradtke served as the United States Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group from September 2009 until December 2012. In this capacity, he was responsible for working with the Russian and French Co-Chairs to assist the parties to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict to reach a peaceful settlement. During his time as Co-Chair, Mr. Bradtke participated in more than thirty meetings with the Armenian and Azerbaijani Presidents and made thirteen visits to Nagorno Karabakh.

A career Foreign Service Officer, Mr. Bradtke joined the State Department in 1973. His first overseas assignments were Georgetown, Guyana and Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Returning to Washington in 1978, he served in the Office of Eastern European Affairs and as an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, working in the offices of Senator Charles Mathias and Congressman Dick Cheney. In 1983, he was posted to Moscow and then to Bonn. From 1990 to 1994, Mr. Bradtke worked in the Department of State’s Bureau of Legislative Affairs, becoming Deputy Assistant Secretary in 1992 and Acting Assistant Secretary from November 1992 until May 1993. In August 1994, Secretary of State Warren Christopher selected Mr. Bradtke as his Executive Assistant. Upon completing that assignment in 1996, Mr. Bradtke served for three years as Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in London. In July 1999, President Clinton appointed Mr. Bradtke as Executive Secretary of the National Security Council. From 2001 to 2005, Mr. Bradtke served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, responsible for European security issues, and from 2006 to 2009, he was the United States Ambassador to Croatia. Following his retirement in 2009, he was asked by Secretary Clinton to serve as the United States Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group.

A native of Chicago, Mr. Bradtke completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Notre Dame, including spending a year in the University’s foreign studies program in Angers, France. He did graduate work at the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and at the University of Virginia. He has three times been the recipient of the Department of State’s Superior Honor Award, and in 2001 and 2009 received Presidential Meritorious Service Awards for sustained superior accomplishment in the conduct of foreign policy and public service.
SPECIAL GUEST: Ambassador Rudolf Perina

Ambassador Rudolf V. Perina, a retired member of the Senior Foreign Service, most recently served as the Chargé d’Affaires at the U.S Embassies in Reykjavik (May-June 2010), Yerevan (July-October 2007) and Chisinau (June-August 2006) and as a senior State Department inspector (2008). From 2004 to 2006 he served as the Deputy Director of the State Department’s Policy Planning Staff. Previously, he was the U.S. Special Negotiator for Nagorno-Karabakh and Eurasian Conflicts (2001-2004) and Ambassador to the Republic of Moldova (1998-2001).

Ambassador Perina joined the Department of State in 1974 and specialized in Russian, East European, German and NATO affairs. He served at the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa (1975-76), the NATO desk of the State Department (1976-78), the U.S. Embassy in Moscow (1979-81), the U.S. Mission in Berlin (1981-85), the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels (1985-87), and as Director for European and Soviet Affairs on the National Security Council staff (1987-89).


Ambassador Perina earned his B.A. at the University of Chicago and did graduate study at Columbia University where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in European history. In the fall semester of 2010, he was the Scarff Visiting Professor of International Relations at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. He speaks several foreign languages, including Czech, Russian, German and French.

He and his wife, the former Ethel Ott Hetherington, have two daughters and two grandchildren and live in the Washington D.C. area.
SPECIAL GUEST: Asbed Kotchikian

Asbed Kotchikian is a Lecturer in Global Studies at Bentley University. His areas of interest include the post-Soviet South Caucasus and the Middle East, with a focus on foreign policy, political change and development.

SPECIAL GUEST: Taleh Ziyadov

Taleh Ziyadov is Research Fellow at the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy (ADA) in Baku, Azerbaijan. He holds a Master’s degree from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University (Washington, DC) and is currently completing his Ph.D. degree at the University of Cambridge (UK). He is one of initiators and frequent participant in Track II events and initiatives organized around the Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) peace process. His articles and academic papers analyzing the conflict and the NK negotiations have appeared in various journals and newsletters, including Analysis of Current Events, International Negotiation Journal, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst, Eurasia Daily Monitor, Turkish Policy Quarterly, and the Moscow Times. He is the author of the book, Azerbaijan as a Regional Hub in Central Eurasia (Baku: ADA, 2012), and co-editor of the volume, Beyond Resource Curse (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
Dr. Alexandros Petersen is a scholar of grand strategy and energy geopolitics with a decade's experience conducting research across Eurasia. He is the author of *The World Island: Eurasian Geopolitics and the Fate of the West* and co-runs chinaincentralasia.com. Dr. Petersen serves as an Advisor with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He has been a Senior Fellow with the Eurasia Center at the Atlantic Council, a Visiting Fellow with the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and a Visiting Scholar at the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS) in Tbilisi.

Dr. Petersen regularly provides analysis to publications such as the *Economist*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest* and the *Atlantic*. He has appeared on the BBC, Sky News, CTV and NPR and has taught classes at the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, the U.S. National War College and the American University of Central Asia, amongst many others. He received a B.A. in War Studies with First Class Honors from King’s College London and an M.Sc. and Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics.

Dr. Tracey German is a senior lecturer in the Defence Studies Department at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, King’s College London. Her research interests include security in the Caucasus region, the impact of the Chechen conflict and energy security in the former Soviet states. Publications include *Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus: Good Neighbours or Distant Relatives?* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), *Russia’s Chechen War* (Routledge, 2003) and the co-authored *Securing Europe: Western Interventions towards a New Security Community* (IB Tauris, 2009), as well as articles in journals.
E. Wayne Merry is a Senior Fellow for Europe and Eurasia at the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington, DC. He is widely published and a frequent speaker on topics relating to Russia, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Balkans, European security and trans-Atlantic relations.

In twenty-six years in the United States Foreign Service, he worked as a diplomat and political analyst in Moscow, East Berlin, Athens, New York and Tunis, and served in the State, Defense and Treasury Departments as well as on Capitol Hill and with the U.S. Marine Corps. He studied at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), Princeton University’s Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and the U.S. Army Russian Institute.
Struggle Between the Seas
Exploring Peace in Nagorno Karabakh
Speaker Biographies

SPECIAL GUEST: George Zarubin

George Zarubin serves as the first and founding President of the Eurasia Partnership Foundation in the South Caucasus, a part of the Eurasia Foundation Network for which he has worked since January 2000, first serving as the Regional Director for the Foundation’s 'start-up' South Caucasus Cooperation Program from 2000-2002. During his five years with Eurasia Foundation in Washington, D.C., George served as Executive Director, Acting Vice President for the South Caucasus, Acting Vice President for Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, as well as Vice President of Program Development, during which time he coordinated a process of internal change at Eurasia from a grantmaking institution to a foundation that also operates programs.

From 1995 to 1999, George worked as the Executive Director of Soros Foundation Kazakhstan. Prior to working in philanthropy, George practiced law for six years in California and three years in Russia, where he worked as a Legal Advisor to the President of the Novorossiysk Shipping Company. George holds a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, studied at the American University in Cairo, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and received his JD from McGeorge School of Law at the University of the Pacific in California. He also holds an LL.M. in Admiralty Law from Tulane University Law School.
SPECIAL GUEST: Thomas de Waal

Tom de Waal is a senior associate in the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment, specializing primarily in the South Caucasus region, comprising Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia and their breakaway territories, as well as in the wider Black Sea region.

De Waal is an acknowledged expert on the unresolved conflicts of the South Caucasus: Abkhazia, Nagorny Karabakh, and South Ossetia. From 2002 to 2009, he worked as an analyst and project manager on the conflicts in the South Caucasus for the London-based NGOs Conciliation Resources and the Institute for War and Peace Reporting.

He is author of the authoritative book on the Karabakh conflict, Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War (NYU Press, 2003), which has been translated into Armenian, Azeri, and Russian. His latest book is The Caucasus: An Introduction (Oxford University Press, 2010).

De Waal has worked extensively as a journalist and writer in the Caucasus and Black Sea region and in Russia. He has twice worked as an analyst and reporter for the BBC World Service in London, from 1991 to 1993 and from 1998 to 1999, and continues to make documentaries for BBC Radio.

From 1993 to 1997, he worked in Moscow for the Moscow Times, the Times of London, and the Economist, specializing in Russian politics and the situation in Chechnya. He is the co-author (with Carlotta Gall) of the book Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus (NYU Press, 1997), for which the authors were awarded the James Cameron Prize for Distinguished Reporting.
Parking at Chapman University

Chapman University has a mandatory parking permit policy. Parking regulations are enforced at all times. Parking in university owned or operated parking areas without a valid permit, will result in a parking citation.

From 7 AM to 4 PM, visitors to campus must purchase a visitor parking pass and park in the following designated areas:

- Argyros Lot
- Cypress Street Lot
- Knott Studios Lot

After 4 PM weekdays/ all day weekends, these parking areas are open to visitors with the purchase of a visitor parking pass:

- Barrera Parking Structure
- Lastinger Parking Structure

Visitor Parking Pass Rates

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<th>Rate</th>
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<tr>
<td>2 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 hours</td>
<td>$3</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 hours</td>
<td>$5</td>
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Vending Machines accept:

- $1 bills, $5 bills, coins and credit cards: MasterCard, Visa, American Express, and Discover

*Please note that vending machines do not give change.

For more information, please visit the Chapman University Public Safety website.
PARKING MAP

Schools and Colleges
1. Argyros School of Business and Economics G-5
2. College of Educational Studies G-6
3. College of Performing Arts H-6
4. Dodge College of Film and Media Arts D-7
5. Schmid College of Science 1-6
6. School of Law F-6
7. Wilkinson College of Humanities and Social Sciences G-6

Commuter
Resident
Staff
Faculty
Ancillary/Palm
Auctioned Lot
Visitor
Restricted
## Struggle Between the Seas
### Exploring Peace in Nagorno Karabakh

## Campus Information

### Restaurants near Chapman University

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<tr>
<th>Walking distance from campus</th>
<th>10 - 15 mins. by car</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avila's El Ranchito (Mexican) 182 S. Orange St., Orange (714) 516-1000</td>
<td>Darya (Persian) 1840 N. Tustin St, Orange (714) 921-2773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byblos Café (Mediterranean) 129 W. Chapman Ave., Orange (714) 538-7180</td>
<td>Islands (American) 550 N. Tustin St, Orange (714) 997-4085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Café Lucca (Salads, sandwiches, gelato) 106 N. Glassell St., Orange (714) 289-1255</td>
<td>Koi-San (Japanese) 1132 E. Katella Ave, Orange (714) 639-2330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citrus City Grille (American) 122 N. Glassell St., Orange (714) 639-9600</td>
<td>Marie Callender's (American) 307 E. Katella Ave, Orange (714) 633-3112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filling Station Café (American) 201 N. Glassell St., Orange (714) 289-9714</td>
<td>Moreno's (Mexican) 4328 E. Chapman Ave, Orange (714) 639-2181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francoli Gourmet Restaurant (Italian) 100 S. Glassell St., Orange (714) 288-1077</td>
<td>Royal Thai Orchid (Thai) 1315 N. Tustin St, Orange (714) 633-6560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabbi's Mexican Kitchen (Mexican) 141 S. Glassell St., Orange (714) 633-3038</td>
<td>Orange Hill (Continental) 6410 E. Chapman Ave, Orange (714) 997-2910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haven Gastropub (American/Californian) 190 S. Glassell St, Orange (714) 221-0680</td>
<td>Shiki (Japanese) 1936 E. Katella Ave, Orange (714) 633-1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutabegorz (American/Californian) 264 N. Glassell St, Orange (714) 633-3260</td>
<td>Zov's Bistro (Middle Eastern/European) 17440 E. 17th St, Tustin (714) 838-8855</td>
</tr>
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The Center for Global Education Conference Committee would like to thank the following people for their support of the Struggle Between the Seas Conference.

**Our speakers:**
- **Keynote Speaker:** Ambassador Robert Bradke
- Ambassador Rudolf Perina
- Asbed Kotchikian
- Taley Ziyadov
- Alexandros Petersen
- Tracey German
- E. Wayne Merry
- Thomas de Waal

**For organizing and running the conference:**
- The Center for Global Education Conference Committee Members
- The Peace Studies Program in Wilkinson College of Humanities and Science

**For providing administrative support for conference:**
- Ms. Angeliki Kanavou, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Peace Studies for moderating a panel
- Ms. Nadia Arriaga, Administrative Assistant and Ms. Laura Silva, Publicity Coordinator in the Political Science Department for providing additional support
- The student volunteers who help run the conference
- Catering and Sodexho for providing food services
- Facilities and Media Services for providing equipment and event set-up
- University Services for printing our conference programs
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