



RUSSIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

THE 30TH ANNUAL NORRIS AND MARGERY BENDETSON EPIIC INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

FEBRUARY 25-MARCH 1, 2015

Tufts
UNIVERSITY

THE INSTITUTE FOR
**GLOBAL
LEADERSHIP**

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EPIIC

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EPIIC is an integrated, multidisciplinary program that was founded at Tufts University in 1985. Through its innovative and intensive curricula and projects, EPIIC prepares young people to play active roles in their communities, whether at the local, national or global level. It is student-centered education that promotes the linkage of theory to practice and encourages moral responsibility, lifelong learning, and engaged citizenship. Each year, EPIIC explores a complex global issue that tests and transcends national sovereignty.

Past topics:

1986	International Terrorism
1987	The West Bank and Gaza
1988	Covert Action and Democracy
1988	Foreign Policy Imperatives for the Next Presidency
1989	Drugs, International Security and U.S. Foreign Policy
1990	The Militarization of the Third World
1991	Confronting Political and Social Evil
1992	International Security: The Environmental Dimension
1993	Transformations in the Global Economy
1994	Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism
1995	20/20 Visions of the Future: Anticipating the Year 2020
1996	Religion, Politics, and Society
1997	The Future of Democracy
1998	Exodus and Exile: Refugees, Migration and Global Security
1999	Global Crime, Corruption and Accountability
2000	Global Games: Sports, Politics, and Society
2001	Race and Ethnicity
2002	Global Inequities
2003	Sovereignty and Intervention
2004	Dilemmas of Empire and Nationbuilding: The Role of the US in the World
2005	Oil and Water
2006	The Politics of Fear
2007	Global Crises: Governance and Intervention
2008	Global Poverty and Inequality
2009	Cities: Forging an Urban Future
2010	South Asia: Conflict, Culture, Complexity and Change
2011	Our Nuclear Age: Peril and Promise
2012	Conflict in the 21st Century
2013	Global Health and Security
2014	The Future of the Middle East and North Africa

EPIIC's main components are a yearlong academic colloquium for both undergraduate and graduate students; a global research and internship program; an international symposium; professional workshops; public service initiatives; and Inquiry, a national high school global issues simulation program.

EPIIC is the foundation program of the Institute for Global Leadership (www.tuftsgloballeadership.org).

PROGRAM

Wednesday, February 25

Cultural Evening

- 6:30 : Reception and Exhibition Opening : St. Petersburg, Russia
Student Photography Exhibition by the Program for Narrative and Documentary Practice
Slater Concourse, Aidekman Arts Center
- 7:00 : Move to Distler Auditorium for Cultural Performances
- 7:10 : Welcome : Orlando Economos, master of ceremonies and epic colloquium'15
- 7:15 : The State of Russian Theater under Vladimir Putin : Tufts Fletcher Professor of Oratory
Laurence Senelick
introduced by Vance Matthews, epic colloquium'15
- 7:30 : "I am a Ukrainian" documentary excerpt : Ben Moses, director

: Remarks by Yulia Marushevskaya, EuroMaidan activist Stanford University Fellow
- 7:55 : Musical Presentation on the Development of Russian Music : Vera Rubin, violin and
Yevgenia Semeina, piano

Songs:
: Ivan Khandoshkin (1747-1804) : Variations for violin and basso continuo on Russian
song "I lose everything I love"
: Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881) : Variations on the theme of Nightingale by A. Aliabiev
: Pyotr Tchaikovsky (1840-1893) : Canzonetta from Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 35
: Dmitry Shostakovich (1906-1975) : Prelude Op. 34 #10
: Dmitry Kabalevsky (1904-1987) : Variations in D, Op. 40#1
: Georgy Sviridov (1915-1998) : Waltz from "The Blizzard"
: Henri Wieniawski (1835-1880) : Le carnaval russe, Op.11
- 8:35 : The Photography of Eric Bouvet
introduced by Orlando Economos and Caitlin Thompson, epic colloquium'15
- 8:50 : Ukrainian Folk Songs : Lysander Jaffe, director
featuring Lysander Jaffe, Adam Simon, and Sophie Michaux

Songs:
: Mnogaya Lita : Oy u Poli Na Rozdoli : Letila zozulia : Za gorodom kozu pasla : Kalina malina
: Zelenoje zhito
- 9:05 : Tufts Eastern European Choir : Emma Daniels, director
featuring Emma Daniels, Jessie Duda, Stephanie Evans, Lysander Jaffe, Yangming Kou,
James Mullahoo, Siobhán O'Neil, Hannah Peters, Yasmine Swanson, Kristin Tomecek,
and Amelia Wellers

Songs:
: Subrali Sa Se Subrali (Bulgarian) : Ghirs ars da martal (Georgian) : Iz strany, strany
dalyokoi (Russian)
- 9:20 : Reception, hosted by the Institute for Global Leadership's Synaptic Scholars Program

Co-sponsored by the Tufts Russian and Slavic Student Association

Thursday, February 26

Keynotes on Russia and Identity, 7:00pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Gregory Carleton, Professor of Russian Studies, Tufts University; Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

introduced by Katie Cho, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Suzanne Massie, Author; *Trust but Verify: Reagan, Russia, and Me*

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Joel Wasserman, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Religion, Politics, and Identity, 7:15pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Geraldine Fagan, Former Moscow Correspondent, Forum 18 News Service; Author, *Believing in Russia: Religious Policy after Communism*
- Michael Khodarkovsky, Professor of Russian History, Loyola University, Chicago; Author, *Bitter Choices: Loyalty and Betrayal in the Russian Conquest of the North Caucasus*
- Roman Lunkin, Director, Institute for Religion and Law; Leading Institute Fellow, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow
- Marya Rozanova, Chair, St. Petersburg NGO Center for Civil, Social, Scientific and Cultural Initiatives STRATEGIA; Associate Professor, Law Institute, St. Petersburg; former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

moderated by Grigory Khakimov, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Friday, February 27

The State and the Media, 12:30pm

Barnum Hall, Room 008

- Yevgenia Albats, Editor-in-Chief, *The New Times*, Moscow; Permanent Professor, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Aidan Nguyen, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Karina Alexanyan, Postdoctoral Scholar/Project Manager, mediaX, Stanford University; Affiliate, Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University
- Oksana Boyko, Host, *Worlds Apart*, RT TV; former Political and Foreign Correspondent
- Karoun Demirjian, Moscow Correspondent, *The Washington Post*
- Irina Gordienko, Correspondent, *Novaya Gazeta*; Nieman Fellow, Harvard University
- Max Trudolyubov, Fellow, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center; Former Editor and Columnist, *Vedomosti*

moderated by Caitlin Thompson, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Russia and Asia: The Bear Looks East? 2:30pm

Barnum Hall, Room 008

- Alexander Cooley, Professor and Chair, Political Science Department, Barnard College, Columbia University; Deputy Director, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; Author; *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*
- Guan Guihai, Associate Dean, School of International Studies, and Director, Center for Modern Russian Studies, Peking University
- Shiv Khemka, Vice Chairman and Director of investment and entrepreneurial activities in Russia and Ukraine, SUN Group, India; Chairman, Russia Country Committee, Confederation of Indian Industry

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Ben Shipley, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Artyom Lukin, Associate Professor, Deputy Director for Research, School of Regional and International Studies, Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok
- Vitaly Kozyrev, Associate Professor, Endicott College, Senior Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University; former Professor, Institute of Asian and African Studies, Moscow State University

moderated by Benjamin Spevack, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Welcome, Introductions and Keynote, 6:30pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

Anthony Monaco, President, Tufts University
James Glaser, Dean of Arts and Sciences, Tufts University
Sherman Teichman, Founding Director, Institute for Global Leadership

- Alumni and Recognition Award Presentations: Alexandra Vacroux (EPIIC'86), Executive Director, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, and David Dapice, Associate Professor of Economics, Tufts University

Benjamin Spevack, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Kirill Koroteev, Senior Lawyer, Human Rights Centre, Memorial, Moscow

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presentation

- Joshua Rubenstein, Former Northeast Regional Director of Amnesty International; Author, *Leon Trotsky: A Revolutionary's Life*; Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

Keynote Conversation: U.S.-Russian Political Dynamics, 7:00pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Robert Legvold, Marshall D. Shulman Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, Columbia University
- Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carnegie Moscow Center; former Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Europe, Moscow; served in the Russian Armed Forces, 1972-93

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Awards presented by Shelby Luce, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Keynote Address: An Ambassador's Perspective, 7:30pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Amb Jack Matlock, U.S. Ambassador to Moscow (1987-91)

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Shelby Luce, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

The New Cold War? Russia-US Relations, 7:45pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Oksana Boyko, Host, Worlds Apart, RT TV; former Political and Foreign Correspondent
- Matthew Rojansky, Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center; former Deputy Director of the Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Feodor Voitlovsky, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAN)
- Andrew S. Weiss, Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dr. Legvold, Amb. Matlock, and Dr. Trenin will join the panel discussion

moderated by Matthew Felsenfeld, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Saturday, February 28

Ruling Russia: Governance in the 21st Century, 9:30am

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Ilya Ponomarev, Member of Russian Parliament, State Duma; Chairman of Innovation and Venture Capital Subcommittee, Economic Policy, Innovation and Entrepreneurship Committee; one of the leaders of the left flank of Russian politics
- Thomas F Remington, Goodrich C. White Professor of Political Science, Emory University; Author, *Presidential Decrees in Russia: A Comparative Perspective* and *The Politics of Inequality in Russia*
- Stanislav Stanskikh, Russian constitutional expert; Civil Rights Activist; Moderator, Strasbourg Democratic Russian-Ukrainian Dialogue

Student Presentation: Grigory Khakimov, EPIIC Colloquium Member; Junior, majoring in International Relations with a thematic concentration on Europe and the Former Soviet Union; Former Member, Russian Democratic Party Yabloko

moderated by Vance Matthews, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Beyond the Barrel: The Russian Economy, 11:30am

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Ari Axelrod, Senior Fellow, Council on Emerging Market Enterprises, The Fletcher School, Tufts University; Partner, Banyan Family Business Advisors
- Maxim Bratersky, Professor, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, National Research University, Higher School of Economics, Moscow
- Birgit Hansl, Lead Economist for the Russian Federation and Country Sector Coordinator in the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network in the Europe and Central Asia Region, World Bank

- Matthew Murray, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe, the Middle East, and Africa for the International Trade Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Atanas Grozdev, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Stephan Vitvitsky (EPIIC'06), International Economist, Office of Europe and Eurasia, US Department of Treasury

moderated by Maxim Kondratenko, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Security Strategy: Military Reform and Nuclear Capability, 2:30pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Lt. Gen Arlen Jameson (USAF, ret.), Former Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Strategic Command; Vice Chairman, Air Force Academy Board of Visitors
- Michael Kofman, Russia/Eurasia Security and Defense Public Policy Scholar, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center, Adviser for military to military engagements for senior officers at National Defense University
- Brigadier General Kevin Ryan (U.S. Army retired), Director, Defense and Intelligence Projects at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs
- Svetlana Savranskaya, Director, Cooperative Projects with Russia and Editor, Russian and East Bloc Archival Documents Database, National Security Archive
- Major General Pavel Zolotarev (Russian Armed Forces, ret.), Deputy Director, Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Minkyung Kim, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

moderated by Joshua Golding, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Alumni Award Presentation: James Hershberg (EPIIC'88), Associate Professor of History and International Affairs, Elliot School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Expert-led, Small-group Discussions, 4:30pm

These will be informal sessions, resonating many of our symposium panel and workshop themes and convened by many of our panel speakers. The full list will be available at the symposium registration desk.

The topics include:

- Frozen Conflicts, with Joseph LePage Varuolo, former director, Air University, Air Command and Staff College; Director, Joint Warfare Exercises; convened in collaboration with ALLIES
- Ukraine, with Lubomyr Hajda, Associate Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
- Russian Internet and Society Research, with Russian Delegates to the Berkman Center for Internet and Society from The Center for the Study of New Media and Society (Russia)
- The Black Sea, with Carol Saivetz, EPIIC INSPIRE Fellow and Research Fellow, Security Studies Program, MIT
- Human Rights, with Joshua Rubenstein, EPIIC INSPIRE Fellow and former Northeast Regional Director of Amnesty International USA
- The End of the Cold War Wasn't the End of History, but the Beginning of the War over History, with Thomas Blanton, director of the National Security Archive, and James Hershberg, former director of The Cold War International History Project

Geopolitics: Russia and the Post-Soviet Sphere, 8:00pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Igor Istomin, Lecturer, Department of Applied Analysis of International Crises, MGIMO; Executive Editor, *International Trends*
- Carol R. Saivetz, Research Fellow, Security Studies Program, MIT; Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University
- Shorena Shaverdashvili (EPIIC'99), Partner and Editor, *Liberali*, Georgia

Alumni Award presentation

- Oxana Shevel, Associate Professor of Political Science, Tufts University
- Maxim Suchkov, Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University
- Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carnegie Moscow Center; former Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Europe, Moscow; served in the Russian Armed Forces, 1972-93

moderated by Ethan Krauss, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

- Alumni Award Presentation: Lucas Kello, Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Director of Cyber Studies Programme, University of Oxford

Sunday, March 1

Keynote Address: Russia and Global Challenges for U.S. Foreign Policy, 11:00am

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Thomas Pickering, Career Ambassador; former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation; former U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award presented by Arik Burakovsky, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Political Engagement: Civil Society and Dissent, 1:00pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- Samuel Greene, Head, King's Global Institutes and Director, King's Russia Institute, King's College, London
- Roman Lunkin, Director, Institute for Religion and Law; Leading Institute Fellow, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow
- Marya Rozanova, Director, Center for Intercultural Dialogue and Socio-Cultural Integration and Associate Professor, Admiral Makarov State Maritime Academy, St. Petersburg; Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

moderated by Eliza Davis, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Sanctioned Split? Russia and the European Union, 3:30pm

ASEAN Auditorium, Cabot Intercultural Center

- R. Bruce Hitchner, Professor of Classics and International Relations and Director, Peace & Justice Studies Program, Tufts University; Chair, Dayton Peace Accords Project
- Mustafa Nayyem, Journalist; Member of Parliament, Ukraine; Recipient, 2014 Ion Ratiu Democracy Award

- Angela Stent, Professor of Government and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Georgetown University; Author, *The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century*
- Vasily Zharkov, Director, Political Science and International Relations Programme, Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences; Columnist, Novaya Gazeta

moderated by Benya Kraus, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

Yevgenia Albats is editor-in-chief of the Russian political weekly *The New Times*. She is also an anchor with the Echo Moskva broadcasting and a recipient of several journalism awards worldwide. She received the Golden Pen Award in 1989, the highest journalism honor in the then-Soviet Union. She was an Alfred Friendly fellow in 1990 and a fellow of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University in 1993. Albats is the author of four books, including *The State Within A State: KGB and Its Hold on Russia Past, Present and Future*. She is a permanent professor at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow.

Karina Alexanyan is currently a post doctoral scholar at mediaX at Stanford University, and an affiliate of the Berkman Center for Internet and Society and the Social Media Research Foundation. Recent publications include a chapter on Citizen Journalism in Russia in "Citizen Journalism-Global Perspectives," a chapter on Russian Blogging in "International Blogging – Identity, Politics and Networked Publics," and articles on Russian Social Networks in the journal *Digital Icons*, and in the *Russian Analytical Digest*. In 2008, with the support of Harvard's Berkman Center and Columbia's Harriman Institute, she organized the "RussiaOnline" Conference at Columbia University, bringing together scholars and practitioners from Russia, the U.S. and Europe.

Ari Axelrod, a Partner at Banyan Family Business Advisors, works with leading family companies to strengthen both their businesses and their families. He has supported business families in a wide range of areas, such as executive teaming of family members, next generation development, business unit and portfolio strategy, financial policies, and incentive compensation systems. Ari leads Banyan's Family Business financial practice. Over the course of his consulting career, he has worked with clients in North America, South America, Europe, Australia, and Asia. Before joining Lehman Brothers, Ari was a Principal with The Boston Consulting Group. As a senior member of the Corporate Finance and Strategy practice, he led over 20 assignments across industries such as automotive, power, metals, financial services, and the life sciences in the United States, Canada, Germany, France, Australia, and Russia.

Thomas S. Blanton is Director of the National Security Archive at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. The Archive won U.S. journalism's George Polk Award in April 2000 for "piercing self-serving veils of government secrecy, guiding journalists in search for the truth, and informing us all." Blanton served as the Archive's first Director of Planning & Research beginning in 1986, became Deputy Director in 1989, and Executive Director in 1992. He filed his first Freedom of Information Act request in 1976 as a weekly newspaper reporter in Minnesota; and among many hundreds subsequently, he filed the FOIA request and subsequent lawsuit (with Public Citizen Litigation Group) that forced the release of Oliver North's Iran-contra diaries in 1990. His latest book, *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989*, co-authored with Svetlana Savranskaya and Vladislav Zubok, won the Arthur S. Link-Warren F. Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. He is a Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award Recipient.

Maxim V. Bratersky is the Department Head and a Professor on the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs in the Department of International Relations at the Higher School of Economics. He is a leading Research Fellow at the Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies (CCEIS) and the Programme Academic Supervisor for the International Relations in Eurasia program. He is a contributor to the Valdai Discussion Club.

Gregory Carleton is an Associate Professor of Russian at Tufts University, specializing in twentieth-century literature and contemporary culture. He is the author of two books, one on the reception of Mikhail Zoshchenko and the other on the sexual revolution in Soviet Russia in the 1920s. Currently he is working on a comparative study of war narratives in Russian and American culture.

Alexander Cooley is Professor of Political Science at Barnard College. At Columbia University, he is also Deputy Director for Social Sciences Programming at the Harriman Institute, a Doctoral Dissertation Sponsor in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Member of the Saltzman Institute for War & Peace Studies. Professor Cooley's research examines how external actors— including international organizations, multinational companies, NGOs, and foreign military bases – have influenced the development and sovereignty of the former Soviet states, with a focus on Central Asia and the Caucasus. Cooley's latest book, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest for Central Asia*, examines the multipolar politics of US-Russia-China competition for influence in Central Asia and was described by *Asia Policy* as "possibly the most cogent critique of post-Cold War orthodoxy published to date."

Karoun Demirjian is a Moscow Corespondent for *The Washington Post*, covering stories from energy politics to Ukraine. She previously served as the Washington Correspondent for the *Las Vegas Sun*, and reported for the Associated Press in Jerusalem and the *Chicago Tribune* in Chicago.

Geraldine Fagan is a journalist who has reported on religious freedom issues in the former Soviet Union, particularly Russia, for over a decade, most recently with Forum 18 News Service. She was a Crapa Fellow with the US Commission on International Religious Freedom, where she examined attitudes towards religious freedom among Muslim youth in the North Caucasus and the path taken to violence by key figures in the region's new generation of insurgents, as well as inform U.S. foreign policy on the role of religious freedom when interacting with dissident Islamic groups. She is the author of *Believing in Russia: Religious Policy after Communism*.

Irina Gordienko is a correspondent for the Russian newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*. For the past eight years she has covered the armed conflict in all North Caucasus regions, including Dagestan and Chechnya. Her articles have focused on the federal policies in that region; the root causes and consequences of Islamist resistance; and individual stories of rebels and radicals, including an investigation of suspect Tamerlan Tsarnaev's six-month stay in Dagestan prior to the Boston Marathon bombings in 2013. Gordienko is completing a book about Dagestan and regularly contributes to the Russian website Caucasus Politics and the Italian website Observatorio. She is currently a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University.

Samuel Greene is the founding Director of the King's College Russia Institute. He joined King's College London from the New Economic School in Moscow, where he was a visiting professor of political science and Director of the Centre for the Study of New Media and Society. An expert in Russian politics and social movements, and the link between Russian domestic and foreign policy, he has written extensively in policy and academic formats and is a frequent commentator in Russian and international media. His areas of research interest currently focus on understanding Russia's shifting state-society relations and the causes and implications of the recent re-emergence of contested politics in Russia, including the social, political and economic effects of new media. He previously worked for six years at the Carnegie Moscow Center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, including as deputy director.

Guan Guihai is an Associate Professor and an Associate Dean of the Institute of International and Strategic Study at Peking University. His academic interests lie in the fields of Russian diplomacy, Sino-Russian relations, China's and Russia's contemporary political and social transitions, SCO and the social-political development in the central asian countries. Guan is a director of the Center for Modern Russian Studies of PKU, and a consultant of Sino-Russian subcommittee of cooperation in Education MOE PRC. His publications include *Yeltsin's Years in Power* (co-author) and over thirty articles in Chinese, Russian, English and Japanese.

Birgit Hansl is the World Bank's Lead Economist for the Russian Federation, and Country Sector Coordinator in the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network in the Europe and Central Asia Region. Since joining the Bank in 2005 through the Young Professionals Program, she worked for the World Bank's programs in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Prior to joining the Moscow-based Russia team in May 2013, she worked at the World Bank's headquarters in Washington, DC, covering public finance and macroeconomic issues in South East Europe, with focus on Macedonia and Romania. Before joining the Bank, Hansl worked in academics and a number of bilateral and multilateral organizations, including the British Department for International Development and the United Nations Development Program.

James Hershberg is an Associate Professor of History and International Affairs at the Elliot School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. After teaching at Tufts and the California Institute of Technology in 1989-91, he directed the Cold War International History Project (and edited the project's Bulletin) from 1991-96 before going to George Washington University in 1997. He now edits the CWIHP book series co-published by the Stanford University and Wilson Center Presses. He received the 1994 Stuart Bernath Prize from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Policy. Currently working on various case studies of U.S. communications with Cold War adversaries (Cuba, China, North Vietnam, Iran), he is a co-founder of The GW Cold War Group, a Cold War studies group at GWU for both faculty and students, and works closely with the National Security Archive, a declassified documents repository and research institute based at the University.

Bruce Hitchner is Professor of Classics and International Relations at Tufts University. He served as Chairman of the Classics Department at Tufts University from 2003 to 2009 and Editor-in-Chief of the *American Journal of Archaeology* from 1998 to 2006. In 2002-2003, he was the Laurance S. Rockefeller Fellow at the Center for Human Values at Princeton University. Hitchner is also the Chairman of the Dayton Peace Accords Project (Dayton Project), a non-governmental organization. Hitchner was a member of the negotiating team that assisted the political parties of Bosnia in producing the April 2006 Package of Constitutional Amendments. Under Hitchner's direction, the Dayton Project has organized numerous international conferences, and workshops on the Dayton Peace Process, Kosovo, Montenegro, and other Balkans issues attended by the international community, regional specialists, journalists, business leaders, non-governmental organizations, and representatives from the successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

Igor Istomin is a Lecturer at the Department of Applied Analysis of International Crises at MGIMO-University, where he teaches intelligence analysis and research methods. He also serves as executive editor for *International Trends*, which is one of the most prominent Russian academic journals in the field of International Relations. In 2014, Dr Istomin joined Foreign Policy Analytical Agency, specializing in in-depth study and consulting on the current policy challenges.

Lt. Gen. Dirk Jameson retired from the U.S. Air Force in 1996 after more than three decades of service. Jameson's final assignment was as Deputy Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Strategic Command. Jameson commanded the 20th Air Force and was responsible for U.S. ICBM forces. He is now the Vice Chairman of the Air Force Academy Board of Visitors. Jameson served as Chief of Staff and Director of Command Control, Strategic Air Command, and commanded the Air Force Strategic Missile Center at Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif. He was instrumental in facilitating military-to-military exchanges with the commander of Russia's strategic rocket forces. After retiring from the Air Force, Jameson served as President of Arrowsmith Technologies Inc., a software development company; Vice President of Alliant Techsystems Inc., an aerospace corporation; President and CEO of Starcraft Boosters Inc., and Executive Director of the Texas Telecommunications Infrastructure Fund. He is a Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award Recipient.

Shiv Khemka has more than 20 years of investment and business experience, principally focused on Russia and India. After having headed up the family's Latin American activities in the 1980s, Shiv Khemka began leading SUN's investment and entrepreneurial activities in Russia and Ukraine in 1990, building a significant example of successful foreign direct and private equity investing into Russia, SUN InterBrew. He also established and led one of the first private equity funds in Russia, SUN Capital Partners. Shiv Khemka was elected a "Global Leader for Tomorrow" at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 1997, and was invited to join the Forum's "Foreign Business Leaders' Council" for Russia. Khemka serves on the EAME board of The Wharton School and on the Board of Governors of The Lauder Institute, as well as on the Advisory Board of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Shiv Khemka also participates in the work of the Council of the Moscow School of Management "Skolkovo", where he is one of the founders and partners. He is a member of the board of Eurasia Group in New York, the International Advisory Council at the International Crisis Group, and the Young President's Organisation. Shiv Khemka is Chairman of the Russia Country Committee of the Confederation of Indian Industry.

Michael Khodarkovsky is a Professor of History at Loyola University Chicago where he teaches courses in Western civilization, Russian empire, comparative frontiers and colonialism. Khodarkovsky is a historian of the Russian Empire who specializes in the history of Russia's frontier and imperial expansion into the Eurasian borderlands. His first books examined the relationship between the expanding Russian state and the peoples across the colonial frontier, notably in *Where Two Worlds Met: the Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600-1771* and *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800*. He has explored the impact of organized religion, missionary work and religious conversion on Russia's non-Christian population in *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia*, which he co-edited with Robert Geraci. His most recent book, *Bitter Choices: Loyalty and Betrayal in the Russian Conquest of the North Caucasus*, is a history of the North Caucasus during the Russian conquest.

Michael Kofman is a Public Policy Scholar at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson Center. He has spent years managing professional military education programs and military to military engagements for senior officers at the National Defense University. There he served as a subject matter expert and adviser to military and government officials on issues in Russia/Eurasia. He has represented the Department of Defense in a number of track one and track two efforts with Russia and Pakistan, along with strategic dialogues and conferences with experts in the field. His prior experience includes working at the U.S. Institute of Peace, HSBC Bank, and The Diplomatic Courier. He has published and co-authored articles on security issues in Russia, Central Asia and Eurasia, along with numerous analyses for the US government.

Kirill Koroteev is the senior lawyer with Memorial Human Rights Centre (Moscow) and has worked with the European Human Rights Advocacy Centre on numerous cases lodged against the Russian Federation with the European Court of Human Rights. He was also a charge de mission for the International Federation for Human Rights (Paris) on Belarus and Armenia. He is currently an allocataire de recherche at the University of Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne.

Vitaly Kozyrev is an expert in International Relations in Eurasia, Russo-Chinese relations, and regional security. In 1991-2007 he taught at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Moscow State University and was a visiting professor at a number of institutions, including Amherst College, Yale University, University of Delaware, Yunnan University (China), and Feng Chia University (Taiwan). He has intensively published on the political and socio-economic transformation of post-communist states, regional integration and security in Eurasia. In recent years he has explored Russia's Asia policy, Russo-Chinese energy cooperation, Soviet/Russian policy toward the United States and China, and the sociology of war. He has contributed to the following books: *Russia and East Asia: Informal and Gradual Integration, Societies at Wars in the 20th Century*, and *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*.

Robert Legvold F67 is the Marshall D. Shulman Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, where he specialized in the international relations of the post-Soviet states. He was Director of The Harriman Institute, Columbia University, from 1986 to 1992. Prior to coming to Columbia in 1984, he served for six years as Senior Fellow and Director of the Soviet Studies Project at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. For most of the preceding decade, he was on the faculty of the Department of Political Science at Tufts University. From 2008-2010, he was project director for "Rethinking U.S. Policy toward Russia" at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 2009-2012, he was director of the "Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative" sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and co-chaired by Sam Nunn, Wolfgang Ischinger, and Igor Ivanov. Dr. Legvold's areas of particular interest are the foreign policies of Russia, Ukraine, and the other new states of the former Soviet Union, U.S. relations with the post-Soviet states, and the impact of the post-Soviet region on the international politics of Asia and Europe. His most recent books are collaborative volumes, *The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia* and *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century and the Shadow of the Past*.

Artyom Lukin is currently Associate Professor of International Relations at the School of Regional and International Studies, Far Eastern Federal University in Vladivostok, Russia. He is also Deputy Director for Research, SRIS FEFU. Lukin is an expert at the Russian International Affairs Council. His main research interests are international relations and international political economy in the Asia-Pacific and Northeast Asia; Russian foreign policy; Russia's engagement with the Asia-Pacific; social, political and economic processes in the Russian Far East. Lukin has authored and co-authored over 50 scholarly publications in Russian and English. He has been involved in numerous research and publication projects both in Russia and abroad. Lukin is a regular commentator for Russian and international news media and frequent contributor to online publications, including The Huffington Post, East Asia Forum (www.eastasiaforum.org) and Russian International Affairs Council (russiancouncil.ru). He is the author of "Imagining World War III—In 2034" for *New Perspectives Quarterly*.

Roman Lunkin is a social scientist and senior researcher in the Institute of Europe at the Russian Academy of Sciences. He has been a Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Center (Public Policy Scholar, 2011) and editor of the magazine "Contemporary Europe". His research interests include the sociology of religion, field research of religion, church-state relations, interreligious conflicts, Christian churches and society, Protestantism, and new religious movements. He was a participant in the scientific project of Keston Institute (Oxford, UK) "Encyclopedia of Religious Life in Russia Today" (editors – Xenia Dennen and Dr Sergei Filatov). In field research in Russia, he focused on the social role of Russian Orthodox Church in society, and also on the development of other Christian churches, their role in civil society (presented several papers in Moscow Carnegie Center on Orthodoxy and religious minorities). In the Institute of Europe, he is running the project on American and European evangelism in the social and political transformation of society in EU at the beginning of the XXI century.

Suzanne Massie has been involved in many aspects of study and work in the Soviet Union/Russia for 38 years. Her ability as an interpreter of Russian culture and bridge builder between the Russian and American people has been acknowledged by both countries. In Russia she has been the subject of a documentary film, is the winner of a prestigious literary prize and is an active participant in the cultural and social concerns of the city of St. Petersburg. In the United States her books: *Land of the Firebird*, *Pavlovsk*, *The Living Mirror*, *Journey* and *Nicholas and Alexandra*, on which she worked with her former husband Robert K. Massie, have been read by millions. She

has worked in the development of art exhibitions with many of the foremost art museums of both the United States and Russia including the Hermitage, the Russian Museum, the National Gallery and the Metropolitan Museum. She has lectured widely in the United States before academic, military, business, government, religious, public affairs, civic and cultural groups. She has been consulted by many members of Congress and the Senate, and from 1984-88 advised President Ronald Reagan, meeting with him 21 times during the critical years of the ending of the Cold War. A fellow of the Harvard Russian Research Center (now the Davis Center) from 1985-97, she has also served on the Board of the International League for Human Rights. In 1991 she was appointed as the only lay member of the Permanent Episcopal-Orthodox Coordinating Committee which has involved bi-annual discussions in Russia and the United States with hierarchs of the church.

Ambassador Jack Matlock, Jr. is an American former ambassador, career Foreign Service Officer, a teacher, a historian, and a linguist. He was a specialist in Soviet affairs during some of the most tumultuous years of the Cold War, and served as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987 to 1991. His 35-year career encompassed much of the Cold War period between the Soviet Union and the United States. His first assignment to Moscow was in 1961, and it was from the embassy there that he experienced the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, helping to translate diplomatic messages between the leaders. At the beginning of détente, he was Director of Soviet Affairs in the State Department, and began to participate in the summit meetings between the leaders, eventually attending all but one of the U.S. – Soviet summits held in the 20-year period 1972–91. Matlock was back in Moscow in 1974, serving in the number two position in the embassy for four years. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in early 1980 ended the period of reduced tensions. Matlock was assigned to Moscow again in 1981 as acting ambassador during the first part of Ronald Reagan's presidency. Reagan appointed him as ambassador to Czechoslovakia and later asked him to return to Washington in 1983 to work at the National Security Council, with the assignment to develop a negotiating strategy to end the arms race. When Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985, arms negotiations and summit meetings resumed. Matlock was appointed ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1987 and saw the last years of the Soviet Union before he retired from the Foreign Service in 1991. After leaving the Foreign Service, he wrote an account of the end of the Soviet Union titled *Autopsy on an Empire*, followed by an account of the end of the Cold War titled *Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended*.

Matthew Murray was appointed by the Obama Administration to serve as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe and Eurasia at the U.S. Department of Commerce in March 2012. On October 1, 2013, following the International Trade Administration's reorganization and creation of the Global Markets unit, Mr. Murray became Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. In this capacity, he leads the Department of Commerce's efforts to help form trade policy and solve market access issues facing U.S. firms seeking to expand their business operations in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. He is responsible for developing and recommending policies, strategies, and programs to advance U.S. economic and commercial interests in 117 countries, as well as the European Union. Prior to his appointment to the U.S. Department of Commerce, Murray had a distinguished career in business, law, the non-profit sector, and public service. Murray was most recently President of Sovereign Ventures, Inc., a risk management firm that he founded in 1991 to advise multinational corporations and multilateral institutions on how to reduce governance and corruption risk in Russia, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe. Mr. Murray led an interdisciplinary team that provided risk-mapping, guidance on compliance with the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, forensic investigation, and government relations services. In this position, Murray helped mediate several major commercial disputes between foreign investors and local government agencies in the region. Murray has extensive experience as a business executive in the energy industry, having served as Corruption Risk Manager at TNK-BP Management Ltd., the third largest Russian producer of oil and gas, between 2007 and 2009. Mr. Murray reported directly to the CEO and Board of Directors on policy initiatives to reduce potential risk in licensing, sales, and gas station and pipeline construction.

Mustafa Nayyem, a journalist in Ukraine, worked at "Ukrainska Pravda" ("Ukrainian Truth") from 2006 to the recent revolution. In April 2013, along with several colleagues, he founded Ukraine's first independent Internet TV Channel: Hromadske.tv. This unique platform is funded by independent donations and was created in response to censorship and media monopolization. Mr. Nayyem and Hromadske.tv played a crucial role in the "Euromaidan" protests. His Facebook post in which he issued a call to go to Independence Square (Maidan) in Kyiv, to protest the Ukrainian government's decision to stop Ukraine's process of integration into the European Union, was shared over one thousand times in a matter of hours. These protests precipitated the fall of President Yanukovich's government and Mustafa Nayyem's actions around that time have placed him as an important leader of the protests. He is currently a Member of the Ukrainian Parliament and a recipient of the 2014 Ion Ratiu Democracy Award.

Ambassador Thomas Pickering is vice chairman of Hills & Company, an international consulting firm providing advice to U.S. businesses on investment, trade, and risk assessment issues abroad, particularly in emerging market economies. He retired in 2006 as senior vice president international relations for Boeing. He has had a career spanning five decades as a U.S. diplomat, serving as under secretary of state for political affairs, ambassador to the United Nations, ambassador to Russia, India, Israel, Nigeria, Jordan and El Salvador. He also served on assignments in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He holds the personal rank of Career Ambassador, the highest in the U.S. Foreign Service. He has held numerous other positions at the State Department, including executive secretary and special assistant to Secretaries Rogers and Kissinger and assistant secretary for the bureau of oceans, environmental and scientific affairs.

Ilya Ponomarev is a Russian politician, entrepreneur and author. Ponomarev started his career in 1989 in Institute of Nuclear Safety, USSR Academy of Sciences, as a system programmer and training group manager. In 1991 he founded his own company RussProfi Ltd., specialized in IT and software development. In 1996 Mr. Ponomarev joined Schlumberger Oilfield Services as CIS business development and marketing manager, responsible for search of new technologies in Russia which had global potential within oil and gas industry. In 1998 under framework of Schlumberger-Yukos alliance Mr. Ponomarev became CIO of Yukos E&P and in 1999 he founded the Yukos subsidiary Siberian Internet Company, which later gave birth to a majority of Yukos' social and education initiatives, including Federation of Internet Education and Open Russia Foundation. In 2002, he joined the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and became the party's CIO, creating the most popular partisan Web site kprf.ru and votes counting system, parallel to official ones – which helped to

prove a major fraud in Russian legislative election, 2003, barring liberal parties from getting into State Duma. Since 2004, he is one of founders and most prominent leaders of Left Front of Russia coalition, uniting Russian alternative left groups and labor unions, communist and socialist youth.

Thomas F. Remington is the Goodrich C. White Professor of Political Science at Emory University. He studies the development of political institutions in transitional states. Dr. Remington is author of numerous books and articles on Russian politics, including *The Politics of Inequality in Russia*. His current research addresses the formation of social policy in Russia and China. He was chair of the political science department at Emory from 2001-2007. He has been a member of the Boards of Directors of the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

Matthew Rojansky, the director of the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center, is an expert on U.S. relations with the states of the former Soviet Union, especially Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. He has advised governments, intergovernmental organizations, and major private actors on conflict resolution and efforts to enhance shared security throughout the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region. From 2010 to 2013, he was Deputy Director of the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. There, he founded Carnegie's Ukraine Program, led a multi-year project to support U.S.-Russia health cooperation, and created a track-two task force to promote resolution of the Moldova-Transnistria conflict. From 2007 to 2010, Rojansky served as executive director of the Partnership for a Secure America (PSA). Founded by former Congressman Lee Hamilton (D-IN) and former Senator Warren Rudman (R-NH) with a group of two dozen former senior leaders from both political parties, PSA seeks to rebuild bipartisan dialogue and productive debate on U.S. national security and foreign policy challenges. While at PSA, Rojansky orchestrated high-level bipartisan initiatives aimed at repairing the U.S.-Russian relationship, strengthening the U.S. commitment to nuclear arms control and nonproliferation, and leveraging global science engagement for diplomacy. Rojansky is an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins SAIS and American University, and a participant in the Dartmouth Dialogues, a track-two U.S.-Russian conflict resolution initiative begun in 1960.

Marya Rozanova is an Associate Professor at Law Institute (St. Petersburg, Russia). Since 2007, she has headed the Center for Civil, Social, Scientific and Cultural Initiatives STRATEGIA - that specializes in a wide variety of issues related to the prevention of xenophobia and tolerance promotion, migration processes, and migrant integration in contemporary Russia. She is a former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C. Her last book – *Migration Processes and Challenges in Contemporary Russia* - was devoted to the migration processes in contemporary Russia and St. Petersburg, migration policy, and migrants' integration.

Joshua Rubenstein has been professionally involved with human rights and international affairs for over forty years as an activist and independent scholar with particular expertise in Russian affairs. Rubenstein is a longtime Associate at Harvard University's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies. He is the author and editor of several major works on Soviet and Soviet Jewish history, including biographies of Leon Trotsky and of the writer Ilya Ehrenburg. He has also written about the history of the Soviet human rights movement and about the Holocaust in German-occupied Soviet territory. Joshua Rubenstein was on the staff of Amnesty International USA from 1975 to 2012, serving as an organizer and Northeast Regional Director. He is a 2015 Institute for Global Leadership INSPIRE Fellow.

Brigadier General Kevin Ryan (U.S. Army retired) is Director of Defense and Intelligence Projects at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. A career military officer, he served in air and missile defense, intelligence, and political-military policy areas. From 1995 to 1996, he was head of the Moscow office of the POW/MIA Commission, searching for missing Americans in the former Soviet states. From 1998 to 2000, he served as Senior Regional Director for Slavic States in the Office of Secretary of Defense and, from 2001 to 2003, as Defense Attaché to Russia. He also served as Chief of Staff for the Army's Space and Missile Defense Command, an organization with diverse missions that include deployment of missile defenses, cyber assets, satellite management and research in areas like directed energy. He has commanded at every level from platoon to brigade and served in Europe, Korea, and Iraq. In his last duty assignment he was responsible for Army Strategic War Plans, Policy, and International Affairs and coordinated Army policy in the domestic interagency and with foreign allies.

Carol R. Saivetz is a Research Affiliate in the Security Studies Program at MIT. For two years prior to that, she was a Visiting Scholar at MIT's Center for International Studies. She is also a Research Associate at Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, and an Associate at Harvard's Ukrainian Institute. From 1995-2005, she was the Executive Director of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and from 1992-2006, she was a Lecturer in Government at Harvard. She has consulted many times for the US Government, presenting on Russian-Iranian relations to the Department of State, on the legacy of Vladimir Putin's foreign policy to the CIA, and most recently on Russian foreign policy decision-making regarding the Caucasus and Central Asia, for the Department of State. She has written widely on Soviet and now Russian policy in the Middle East and the other Soviet successor states. Among the titles of her books are *The Soviet Union and the Gulf in the 1980s*, *Soviet Third World Relations*, and *In Search of Pluralism: Soviet and post-Soviet Politics*. She is currently working on two articles on Black Sea security issues and Turkish-Russian relations. She is a 2015 Institute for Global Leadership INSPIRE Fellow.

Svetlana Savranskaya is a research fellow at The George Washington University's National Security Archive where she directs its cooperative projects with Russian archives and institutes and edits the Russian and East Bloc Archival Documents Database. While completing her Ph.D., she served as a research associate and interpreter for several NSA-CWIHP joint efforts, including most prominently the Carter-Brezhnev Project of Brown University's Watson Institute, as well as the End of the Cold War Project. A Russian citizen, she has won several fellowships and awards during her graduate studies, including a prestigious dissertation fellowship from the Institute for the Study of World Politics.

Shorena Shaverdashvili (EPIIC'99) is the Publisher and Editor of the Georgian political weekly *Liberali* and a member of the Board of Trustees of Georgian Public Broadcasting.

Oxana Shevel is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University. She is an Associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, a member of the EUDO Citizenship expert group as a country expert on Ukraine, and a member of the Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia) scholarly network. Prior to coming to Tufts, Shevel taught at Purdue University and held post-doctoral appointments at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. She is the author of *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe*.

Stanislav N. Stanskikh is a Russian independent expert and columnist focusing on Russian constitutional law, history, political institutions and civic education. He worked at the TNK-BP Management, the Russian Foundation for Constitutional Reforms, the Russian Presidential Commission for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression, and the Lomonosov Moscow State University. He has served as an editor of Russian academic legal journals. He has participated in a number of professional development, educational and expert programs in the U.S. and Russia, including the Library of Congress's Open World Leadership Program, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Moscow School of Political Studies, and the Russian Government Institute for Domestic and Comparative Law. Stanskikh received the Russian Historical Society Prize in 2013 for his contributions to the preservation and study of Russia's contemporary constitutional heritage. Since 2012 Stanskikh has participated in civil protests in Russia. Following Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and other dramatic actions in Ukraine, he served as a moderator of the unofficial Strasbourg Democratic Russian-Ukrainian Dialogue.

Angela Stent is Director of the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies and Professor of Government and Foreign Service at Georgetown University. She is also a Senior Fellow (non-resident) at the Brookings Institution and co-chairs its Hewett Forum on Post-Soviet Affairs. From 2004-2006, she served as National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council. From 1999 to 2001, she served in the Office of Policy Planning at the U.S. Department of State. Stent's academic work focuses on the triangular political and economic relationship between the United States, Russia and Europe. Her publications include: *Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, The Soviet Collapse and The New Europe*; *From Embargo to Ostpolitik: The Political Economy of West German-Soviet Relations, 1955-1980*; "Repairing US-Russian Relations: A Long Road Ahead," (2009), "Restoration and Revolution in Putin's Foreign Policy," (2008), "An Energy Superpower? Russia and Europe" (2008) and "Reluctant Europeans: Three Centuries of Russian Ambivalence Toward the West," (2007). Her latest book is *The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century*. She has been a member of the advisory panel for NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

Maxim A. Suchkov is a Fellow at the Institute for Strategic Studies and Associate Professor of International Relations at Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University (Pyatigorsk, Russia). He is also a Columnist for *AI-Monitor's* Russia Pulse and a Contributor to Carnegie Moscow Center's Eurasia Outlook. He has written for the American Interest, the Moscow Times, Russia Direct, Central Asia and the Caucasus. Previously, he was a Fulbright Visiting Fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies. He can be followed on Twitter @https://twitter.com/Max_A_Suchkov "

Dmitri Trenin, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, has been with the center since its inception. He also chairs the research council and the Foreign and Security Policy Program. He retired from the Russian Army in 1993. From 1993–1997, Trenin held a post as a senior research fellow at the Institute of Europe in Moscow. In 1993, he was a senior research fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome. He served in the Soviet and Russian armed forces from 1972 to 1993, including experience working as a liaison officer in the external relations branch of the Group of Soviet Forces (stationed in Potsdam) and as a staff member of the delegation to the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms talks in Geneva from 1985 to 1991. He also taught at the War Studies Department of the Military Institute from 1986 to 1993.

Maxim Trudolyubov is an editor and columnist for Russia's most influential, independent business daily, where he has significantly furthered professional journalistic standards in Russia. He has served as the Editorial Page Editor for *Vedomosti* since 2003, nurturing and creating open, informed political debate amongst a public intellectual elite. His weekly column often addresses profound social and political issues such as changing values in Russian society. He also co-anchors a weekly talk show on Ekho Moskv, one of the editorially independent radio stations in Russia. Previously, he was Foreign Editor for *Vedomosti*, Foreign Editor and correspondent for *Kapital*, and a translator for Moscow News. He is a Fellow at the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center.

Alexandra Vacroux (EPIIC'86) is the Executive Director of the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University. Prior to joining the Davis Center, Vacroux held a variety of scholarly and business positions. Her research and non-profit experience includes tenures as Scholar at the Kennan Institute (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), Interim Eurasia Program Officer for the Social Science Research Council, and Research Associate at the Center for Financial and Economic Research (CEFIR) in Moscow. In the commercial and government spheres, she previously served as Director for Sales and President of the U.S. Brokerage for Brunswick Warburg investment bank in Moscow and as a consultant to the Russian Privatization Agency.

Stephan Vitvitsky (EPIIC'06) is an International Economist in the Office of Europe and Eurasia at the US Department of Treasury.

Feodor Voitlovsky has worked for IMEMO (Institute of World Economy and International Relations) at the Russian Academy of Sciences as a researcher since 2003. From 2009-14, he was head of the Political Section at IMEMO's Center for North-American Studies. He has published the monograph "Unity and division of the West" (2008) and more than 70 articles and chapters in books. The main publications of Voitlovsky are focused on US foreign and security policy, Transatlantic relations, Russian-American and Russia – NATO relations, US policy in the Asia Pacific, and the methodology of international and global political prognostics. In 2011, he was an editorial

board member and author of IMEMO's "Strategic Global Forecast – 2030" (published in Russian, English, Chinese and Korean) and since 2011 he annually takes part as an author in IMEMO's forecast "Russia and the World: economy and foreign policy". Since 2009 he has been teaching in the department of Political Science of MGIMO University. He is an editorial board member of the *World Economy and International Relations* journal (since 2010).

Andrew S. Weiss is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where he oversees research in Washington and Moscow on Russia and Eurasia. Prior to joining Carnegie, he was director of the RAND Corporation's Center for Russia and Eurasia and executive director of the RAND Business Leaders Forum. Weiss's career has spanned both the public and private sectors. He previously served as director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs on the National Security Council staff, as a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and as a policy assistant in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy during the administrations of Presidents Bill Clinton and George H. W. Bush.

Vasily Zharkov is the Director of Political Science & International Relations Master's Programme of the Moscow School of Social & Economic Sciences (Moscow), a Columnist for Novaya Gazeta, and an Observer of The New Times Russian Journal (Moscow). He is the Deputy Director of the Institute of Eastern Europe; Editor in Chief of Prognosis.Ru, an Eastern-European news-portal; and Executive Director of "The Territory of the Future" Foundation.

Maj. Gen. (ret.) Pavel Zolotarev is the Deputy Director of the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences and a professor at the Academy of Military Sciences. He previously served as head of the Information and Analysis Center of the Russian Ministry of Defense and deputy chief of staff of the Defense Council of Russia.

Visiting TILIP Delegations

As part of its commitment to the Clinton Global Initiative, the Institute for Global Leadership invited delegations from different countries to participate in the international symposium. As part of the Institute's ALLIES (Alliance Linking Leaders in Education and the Services) program, EPIIC has also invited students from the United States Naval Academy and the United States Military Academy to participate. We are delighted to welcome the 48 international students, five officers from the Israeli Defense Forces, and 24 cadets and midshipmen below to this year's EPIIC symposium.

We also would like to thank the many individuals who made this possible, including Robert and JoAnn Bendetson, Alexander Abashkin, Sa'ed Adel Atshan, Mario Becker, LTC Charles Faint, CDR Arthur Gibb, Guan Guihai, Zuhair Humadi, Maysaa Jaber, Ariel Kabiri, Sunny Kim and Seoul National University, Grace Koh, Gina Machado, Itzak Ravid, Gitit Sagiv, Jun Searle, Mark Simon, and Tan Ai Lian.

Brazil

Clara Corderio Tupynambá Chaves, Anna Sofia Monteiro, Thiago Moreira Gonçalves, André Nascimento Moreira, Amanda Trindade de Queiroz Motta, Janaina Santos Curi, Bernardo Silveira Mendes

China

Peking University

Dai Guojun, Hananti Hailati, Jin Meiling, Raphael Kim Sanwoong, Li Huiruo, Ma Xinyue, Tian Ziyao, Xu Boli

Iraq

Yousif Hayder Farajallah, Rand Jassar

Israel

University of Haifa

Orion Calderon, Alon Eisenman, Sahara Fadel, Daria Gomelsky, Roy Gafni, Hazem Marie

Russia

Moscow State University of Foreign Relations

Artem Baryshev, Vladimir Poluektov, Alisa Selezeneva, Viktor Katona, Natalia Velichkina, Elenea Yamburenko

Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration

Evgeny Bezlyudnyy, Menshikov Danila, Sergey Gladyshev, Roza Khusnullina
Stanislav Kozheurov, Ekaterina Kuzina, Alexander Zaritskiy

Singapore

National University of Singapore

John Caines, Clara Lishan Ong

South Korea

Seoul National University

Choung Dayae, Suk HeeJae

Ukraine

Yaroslav Brychka, Nadiia Chubatenko, Mykhailo Kiktenko, Vladyslav Kopytkov, Daryna Nekrashchuk

United States Military Academy

Wade Allen, Devin Froseth, Caitlin LaNeve, Richard Martin, Madison McGinn, Turner Shaw, Derek Swanson, Zach Zimmerman

United States Naval Academy

Daniel Antoun, Annie Norah Beveridge, Nicholas Co, Madison Denny, Matthew Dunovant, Mason Galat, Benjamin Hagan, Bronwyn Harper, William Hegarty, Lauren Hickey, Aaron Hull, Justin Knisely, Jody Lamb, David Larkin, Orion Rollins, Calvin Steber

Cyber Conflict & Cooperation: The Role of Russia

A Program of the 30th Annual Norris and Margery Bendetson EPIIC International Symposium

February 26th, 2015

In Memory of William Martel

Supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York

Russia plays a formidable role in the cyber domain. It possesses a potent arsenal of cyberweapons, is a major presence in regional and international efforts to codify norms of cyber conduct, and is at the center of contemporary debates about internet freedom and governance. No major international cooperative effort in the cyber domain is meaningful without Russia's participation in it; no conception of the future of cybersecurity is complete without an understanding of Russia's impact on it. Russia, in short, is crucial both to the understanding of cybersecurity challenges and to the formulation of effective policy responses to them.

Schedule:

Wednesday, February 25

6:00pm : Welcome Dinner, Carroll's, Medford Square

Thursday, February 26

8:30am-1:30pm : 51 Winthrop Street

8:30am : Introductions:

Shelby Luce, EPIIC 2015 Colloquium Member

Lucas Kello, Convener

Antonia Chayes on William Martel

9:00am : Talk by Herb Lin (in memory of William Martel)

9:30am : Discussion of digital surveillance and Internet censorship in Russia

11:00am : Discussion of international cyber security and conflict

Aims:

- (1) To clarify the risks of international cyber conflict and Russia's role as both a security threat to and partner of the West.
- (2) To explore opportunities for cooperation between Russia and the West in efforts to strengthen rules, norms, and laws of cyber conduct and internet governance.
- (3) To identify areas for further academic inquiry in the advancement of cyber studies at the graduate and undergraduate levels.

Discussion Questions include:

- How does Russia conceive of “cybersecurity” and how does this conception differ from the perception and interests of the United States and its partner nations?
- What role does “information security” play in Russia and how does it affect the country’s stance towards internet regulation and governance?
- How have Russian opposition groups employed the internet as an instrument of political subversion? What has been the Kremlin’s response?
- What are the prospects for internet freedom in Russia?
- What has been Russia’s involvement so far in international cooperative efforts in the cyber domain (eg, Shanghai Cooperation Organization)? What cooperative efforts has Russia abstained from or resisted and why (eg, Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime)?
- How does Russian activity in the cyber domain threaten Western interests and what are appropriate responses to the Russian threat?
- What is the role of NATO in European cybersecurity, especially in relation to Russian strategic threats?
- How and for what purposes does Russia cultivate, support, and employ proxy cyber militias? What risks do these civilian groups pose for the management of a major international cyber crisis?
- How have Russia and its foreign adversaries used cyber instruments in the current Ukraine crisis?

The session will be held under Chatham House rules.

Each speaker will have 15-20mins. to present his or her views, followed by open discussion.

Participants:

- **Karina Alexanyan**, Postdoctoral Scholar/Project Manager, mediaX, Stanford University; Affiliate, Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University
- **Graham Allison**, Director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School, Harvard University
- **Antonia Chayes**, Professor of Practice of International Politics and Law, The Fletcher School, Tufts University; former Undersecretary, U.S. Air Force
- **Lt. Gen Arlen Jameson** (USAF, ret.), former Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Strategic Command; Vice Chairman, Air Force Academy Board of Visitors
- **Lucas Kello** (Convener) (EPIIC’96), Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Director of Cyber Studies Programme, University of Oxford
- **Christian Lifländer**, Policy Officer, Cyber Defence Section, NATO HQ, Belgium
- **Herbert Lin**, Senior Research Scholar for Cyber Policy and Security, Stanford University; Research Fellow, Hoover Institution
- **Richard H.L. Marshall**, Director, Global Cyber Security Management, National Cyber Security Division, Department of Homeland Security; Member, Senior Cryptologic Executive Service and Defense Intelligence Senior Executive Service
- **Margarita Zolotova**, Director of College Strategy and Public Policy, Wickr, Inc.

The Challenges of Corruption: Impact on Russia

A Workshop for the 30th EPIIC Symposium

February 26-27, 2015



Supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York

This workshop will explore the different types of, and extent of, corruption in Russia and/or affecting Russia: its sources, victimization, evolution over time, and ways of addressing the problems in the near future.

Schedule

Wednesday, February 25

6:00pm : Welcome Dinner, Carroll's, Medford Square

Thursday, February 26

1:30pm-5:30pm : 51 Winthrop Street, Tufts University

Saturday, February 28

4:30-6:30pm : Barnum 113

Discussion Questions will include:

- What is the nature and extent of corruption in Russia?
- How has it evolved over time and how is it different from other countries?
- What are the drivers of and possible responses to corruption?
- How is Russia affected or victimized by corrupt practices inside and outside the country?
- How are private or public actors victimized outside Russia?
- What is the role of the private sector in corruption?
- Is there domestic or transnational private-to-private corruption affecting Russian interests?

- How is corruption affecting peace and security?
- How are international cooperation mechanisms operating between Russia and other States who are Parties to the UN Convention against Corruption - what can be done to improve them?
- How could anti-corruption measures improve in domestic and international cases involving Russian interests and actors?
- Is there media corruption or lack of integrity inside or outside Russia?

Participants:

Anders Agerskov, Lead Specialist, Preventive Services Unit, Integrity Vice Presidency, World Bank

Olga Bataman, Producer, Worlds Apart, RT

Jack Blum, Chairman, Tax Justice Network; former United States Senate staff attorney, involved in numerous well-known investigations, including the investigation of Bank of Credit and Commerce International, General Noriega's drug trafficking and Lockheed's overseas bribes; former Special Counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1987-1989)

Oksana Boyko, Host, Worlds Apart, RT; former Political Correspondent and Foreign Correspondent, RT

Birgit Hansl, Lead Economist for the Russian Federation and Country Sector Coordinator in the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network in the Europe and Central Asia Region, World Bank

Matthew Murray, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe, the Middle East, and Africa for the International Trade Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce

Luis Moreno Ocampo, first Prosecutor (June 2003- June 2012), International Criminal Court; deputy prosecutor, Argentina's 1985 "Junta trial"; Prosecutor, Argentina's 1991 trial against a military rebellion

Nikos Passas (Convener), Professor, Northeastern University, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Co-Director of Institute for Security and Public Policy; Editor of Crime, Law and Social Change: an International Journal

Mrjana Visentin, Attorney and International Legal Collaboration Expert, specializing in human rights; former Member, Improvement of Access to Justice in the Russian Federation, Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS), European Union

Mark Wolf, former US District Chief Judge of Massachusetts, having presided over hearings in the late 1990s that exposed the FBI's corrupt relationship with informants Stephen "The Rifleman" Flemmi and James "Whitey" Bulger; advocating for an International Anti-Corruption Court

Voices from the Field 2015

February 26th, 2015

How does Russia's search for great power status shape its engagement with the international community, and specifically its relations with the United States?

Supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York

Schedule:

Wednesday, February 25

6:00pm : Welcome Dinner, 7th floor, Cabot Intercultural Center

Thursday, February 26

9:00am-5:30pm : 96 Packard Ave, 3rd floor

Sessions

1. Social (9:00-10:30am)

Goal: To explore the social motivations behind Russia's decisions.

Questions:

How do national identity and the search for great power status shape each other?

How do different generations, both in the United States and in Russia, view Russia's role in the international system?

How does the Internet affect all of the above issues, including the possibility of it putting pressure on leaders for "results"?

2. Political (10:30am-12:00pm)

Goal: To understand Russian and Western political interests and how they interact.

Questions:

What are Russia's political interests?

How does the US view Russia in the international system, and why? How does Russia view the US in the international system and why? How do these mis/understandings affect relations?

What are Western interests in the region and how do they interact with Russian interests? How has this changed in light of recent events (i.e. Ukraine)? What common ground can be found? What are the challenges to effective communication?

Can Russia's interests in the region be reconciled with the West's? Will this always be an adversarial relationship?

3. Economic (1:00-2:30pm)

Goal: To understand how political and economic interests influence and drive each other in Russia.

Questions:

What actions is Russia taking in its effort to become a global economic power?

How will the westward shift of former Soviet republics affect Russia's role in the global and regional economy?
How will Russia's energy politics impact its economic viability in the future?

4. Strategic/Military (2:30-4:00pm)

Goal: To understand how political strategic interests manifest themselves militarily

Questions:

What role will Russia's military play in the former Soviet republics? How will this affect those countries' relationship with the EU and overall security in the region?

How does perception of US and NATO affect Russia's strategic considerations?

How does NATO presence in Russia's desired "sphere of influence" affect Russia's strategic interests?

What is Russia's current and future role in the nuclear community?

5. Conclusion (4:00-5:30pm)

What policy recommendations can be derived from these discussions?

Participants:

- **Karoun Demirjian**, Moscow Correspondent, *The Washington Post*; Fulbright Recipient, Ukraine
- **Mike Eckel**, Writer and Editor, Voice of America, covering Russia's annexation of Crimea and subsequent events; former Moscow Correspondent, Associated Press
- **Ilya Lozovsky**, Assistant Editor, Democracy Lab, Foreign Policy; former Program Officer, Freedom House
- **Stephen Schmida**, Co-Founder and Managing Director, SSG Advisers; former Regional Director, Russia and Central Asia, Eurasia Foundation; former Program Officer, National Democratic Institute
- **Shorena Shaverdashvili** (EPIIC'99), Partner and Editor, *Liberali*, Georgia
- **Zach Witlin**, Associate, Eurasia Group; former Alfa Fellow, Cargill, Moscow; Fulbright Research Scholar, Ukraine

DR. JEAN MAYER GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP AWARD

EPIIC established the Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award in 1993
to honor the work and life of Dr. Jean Mayer,
President and Chancellor of Tufts University, 1976-93.

Dr. Jean Mayer

"Dr. Mayer's life and productive career have been dedicated to the service of mankind"

– President Jimmy Carter



A world-renowned nutritionist, publishing more than 750 scientific papers and 10 books, Jean Mayer advised three U.S. Presidents (Nixon, Ford, Carter), the US Congress, the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations' Children's Fund, and the U.S. Secretary of State. He helped establish and expand the food stamp, school lunch and other national and international nutrition programs and organized the 1969 White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health.

In 1966, Dr. Mayer was the first scientist to speak out against the use of herbicides in the Vietnam War. In 1969, he led a mission to war-torn Biafra to assess health and nutrition conditions. In 1970, he organized an international symposium on famine, which produced the first comprehensive document on how nutrition and relief operations should be handled in time of disaster and was the first to suggest that using starvation as a political tool was a violation of human rights and should be outlawed.

For his service in World War II, he was awarded 14 decorations, including three Croix de Guerre, the Resistance Medal and the Cross of the Knight of

the Legion of Honor. Among his 23 honorary degrees and numerous awards, he was the recipient of the Presidential End Hunger Award and the President's Environment and Conservation Challenge Award.

As the 10th president of Tufts University, Dr. Mayer created the nation's first graduate school of nutrition, established New England's only veterinary school and the USDA Human Nutrition Research Center on Aging at Tufts, and co-founded the Sackler School of Graduate Biomedical Sciences and the Center for Environmental Management. As chair of the New England Board of Higher Education, he created scholarships that enabled non-white South Africans to go to mixed-race universities in their own country.

"...Mayer moved universities as social institutions in new directions and toward the assumption of larger responsibilities. He saw them as instruments for improving society and the world environment... Those who knew him will miss his quick grasp of complicated and often-conflicting material, the clarity of his insight, his courage in tackling formidable tasks and his unfailing charm."

– The Boston Globe

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– Dr. Jean Mayer

2014-15 Recipients:

**Yevgenia Albats | Marcelo Brodsky | Maria "Masha" Gessen | Shiv Khemka |
Robert Legvold | Suzanne Massie | Memorial | Matthew Murray | Amb Jack Matlock, Jr
Amb Thomas Pickering | Lilia Shevtsova | Dmitri Trenin | Pavel Zolotarev**

UPCOMING EVENT

the Institute for Global Leadership is joining the the Center for the Humanities at Tufts in presenting

MASHA GESSEN

on

"Putin's War Against the West"

March 5, 2015, Pearson Hall, Room 104, 7:00pm

Born in Russia, Gessen emigrated to the United States with her parents as an adolescent in 1981. She returned to Russia ten years later to make her home and pursue a career in journalism. She writes for both Russian and English language publications. A former Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard University, Gessen has written for the *New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The Guardian*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *Vanity Fair*, *New Republic*, *Granta*, and *Slate*.

Gessen is the author of *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*, *Perfect Rigor: A Genius and the Mathematical Breakthrough of the Century* (2009), a biography of Grigori Perelman (1966 –), the brilliant, young and eccentric Russian mathematician who solved the famous Poincaré Conjecture in 2006. The daughter of two engineers and a math prodigy herself during her Russian school years, Gessen made use of her ability to understand and explain difficult mathematical concepts in writing the book. In a *New York Times* review, Jascha Hoffman said that Gessen provides "a thorough account of the circumstances that led to Perelman's rise in the 'vicious, backstabbing little world' of Soviet mathematics and a brilliant reconstruction of the twisted logic that might have led to his mysterious exit [from that world]. In so doing she has written something rare: an accessible book about an unreachable man."

Other books by Gessen include *The Rights of Lesbians and Gay Men in the Russian Republic* (1993); *Half a Revolution: Contemporary Fiction by Russian Women* (1995); *Dead Again: The Russian Intelligentsia after Communism* (1997); *Two Babushkas: How My Grandmothers Survived Hitler's War and Stalin's Peace* (2004), an exploration of the author's Russian-Jewish family history.

She will receive a Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award.

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Tufts University
Celia Campbell, Assistant Provost, Tufts University

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Greg Carleton
Alex Gladstein
Justine Hardy
James Hershberg
David Kalis
Mark Kramer
Robert Legvold
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