

# THE WORLD IN 2018 FALLS IN DOWN

## 4<sup>TH</sup> TBILISI INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

SEPTEMBER 10-12- 2018

ROOMS HOTEL TBILISI.GEORGIA



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY



## ABOUT THE TBILISI INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Hosted in the heart of the Caucasus by the McCain Institute for International Leadership and the Economic Policy Research Center, the Tbilisi International Conference has earned a reputation in just four years as a can't-miss event for leaders across Georgia, the United States and Europe.

Each September, the conference brings together regional experts on security issues, along with Georgian policymakers, civil society activists, and the business community – with a view toward keeping Georgia high on the transatlantic agenda, and keeping Georgia on track in its democratic progress and transatlantic aspirations.

This year, the Conference will address the threats facing democracy today, the future of European security, the trans-Caucasus East-West corridor, hybrid warfare and disinformation, an encroaching Russia, and U.S. foreign policy under the Trump Administration. This year's Conference will also feature a workshop on Georgia's media landscape and a debate among Georgian presidential candidates ahead of elections in October.

The 2018 Tbilisi International Conference – “The World in 2018: Upside Down?” – will take place September 11-12 at the Tbilisi Rooms Hotel.

## ABOUT THE MCCAIN INSTITUTE

Founded in 2012 as part of Arizona State University, the McCain Institute is located in the heart of Washington. Inspired by the leadership of Senator John McCain and his family's legacy of public service, the McCain Institute is a nonpartisan do-tank dedicated to advancing character-driven leadership in the United States and abroad.

The McCain Institute advances character-driven global leadership and civic engagement based on security, economic opportunity, freedom and human dignity.

### THE MCCAIN INSTITUTE'S FIVE CORE PROGRAMS INCLUDE:

- Next Generation Leaders
- International Rule of Law & Security
- Combatting Human Trafficking
- Human Rights & Democracy
- Counterterrorism & National Security

## ABOUT THE ECONOMIC POLICY RESEARCH CENTER

The Economic Policy Research Center (EPRC) is a leading economic think tank in Georgia, striving to improve economic policy environment through evidence-based policy advice and guidance, capacity-building of key public institutions, and monitoring of government actions and policy commitments. EPRC's researchers and their analytical outputs serve as reliable sources of information on the state of Georgia's economy for the national community of practitioners, various international organizations, students and the academia. EPRC's policy products are widely cited in local and international printed and online media.

In order to achieve sustainable economic development and prosperity, it is key to focus on development of a predictable investment climate through strengthening of rule of law, through ensuring safety and security, and through educating groups and population at large. EPRC has positioned itself as a civil society leader working on the issues of Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration and providing impartial analysis of its current and projected socio-economic outcomes. Multiple analytical pieces, delivered by EPRC in partnership with the national and international actors have earned the organization a reputation as a reliable source of information on a wide range of issues at the heart of the Europeanization discourse.



# CONFERENCE ORGANIZERS



## KURT VOLKER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
THE MCCAIN INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP  
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Ambassador Kurt Volker is a leading expert in U.S. foreign and national security policy with some 30 years of experience in a variety of government, academic, and private sector capacities. Ambassador Volker serves as executive director of the McCain Institute for International Leadership at Arizona State University based in Washington, D.C. He is also a non-resident senior fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, a senior advisor at the Atlantic Council, and a Trustee of IAU College in Aix-en-Provence, France. He is a consultant to international business, a member of the Board of Directors of Capital Guardian Funds Trust, and had previously served as managing director—International for BGR Group. He has taught Transatlantic Relations at The George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs. In July, 2017, Ambassador Volker was also appointed U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations.



## DAVID J. KRAMER

SENIOR FELLOW AT  
FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL  
UNIVERSITY

David J. Kramer joined Florida International University's Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs as a Senior Fellow in May 2017. Previously, Kramer was Senior Director for Human Rights and Democracy at the McCain Institute for International Leadership; President of Freedom House; and Senior Transatlantic Fellow with the German Marshall Fund. Kramer served during the George W. Bush administration as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs. He also served as Executive Director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. He is author of the recent book, *Back to Containment: Dealing with Putin's Regime*.



## NINO EVGENIDZE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
ECONOMIC POLICY  
RESEARCH CENTER

Nino Evgenidze Executive Director at Economic Policy Research Center (EPRC) since 2010. She is a co-founder of Tbilisi International Conference and Leadership Academy for Development in Georgia.

Nino was a visiting scholar at John Hopkins University at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and a Stanford University Fellow in CDDRL Program. She was awarded state academic scholarship of UK Government (Chevening Fellow) and obtained a Master Degree in Economic Policy Management at London School of Economics (LSE). Also graduated from the Joint Vienna Institute, Department of Economic Policy Administration with the scholarship of the WB (Austria, Vienna); Nino Evgenidze is a Doctor of Philology, degree taken at the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University; a fellow of Netherlands Government (Nuffic Fellow) and has a diploma of Maastricht University in Management of International Projects.

Nino has an extensive experience both in working in governmental and non-governmental sectors – in various periods of times she was an advisor at the Center for Economic Reforms of the State Chancellery of Georgia (President Administration), Head of Public Outreach Department of the Anti-corruption Policy Coordination Council of Georgia, likewise – Media Coordinator of Parliamentary Assembly Monitoring Missions of the Council of Europe.



# CONFERENCE SPEAKERS



## ALI ASLAN

TALK SHOW HOST  
AND JOURNALIST

Ali Aslan is an international presenter, journalist and television host who has worked worldwide for global news networks such as CNN, ABC News, Channel News Asia and Deutsche Welle TV.

An internationally known presenter, Aslan regularly moderates at major conferences and events around the world and has shared the stage, among others with Angela Merkel, Emmanuel Macron, Justin Trudeau, John McCain, Sergey Lavrov, Christine Lagarde, Madeleine Albright and Bill Clinton.

Aslan holds masters degrees in Journalism and International Affairs from Columbia University and has received his bachelor's degree in International Politics from Georgetown University.

Aslan is a United Nations Fellow and a member of the Körber Network Foreign Policy as well as the Global Diplomacy Lab. He has been named a Young Leader by the American Council on Germany, the BMW Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, the Bertelsmann Foundation, the Munich Security Conference and the Atlantik-Brücke.



## MAMUKA BAKHTADZE

PRIME MINISTER OF GEORGIA

### Experience

**June 2018 - Present** Prime Minister of Georgia

**November 2017 - June 2018** Minister of Finance of Georgia

**March 2013 - November 2017** Georgian Railway LLC;  
Chief Executive Officer (CEO)

**October 2010 - November 2012** Georgian International Energy Corporation; Member of the Supervisory Board

**2007-2008** Hotel Chain "Rcheuli" and Associated Group of companies;  
Member of the Supervisory Board

### Education

**2009 - 2010** INSEAD; Master of Business Administration (MBA)

**2003 - 2005** Master of Business; Lomonosov Moscow State University

**1999 - 2003** Electromechanical Engineering BA; Georgian Technical University

**1999 - 2003** Tbilisi State University; Management & Microeconomics BA

**1999** Public School N169, Tbilisi

Mr. Bakhtadze also holds PhD in Electrical & Electronics Engineering from Georgian Technical University



## MICHAL BARANOWSKI

DIRECTOR OF GERMAN  
MARSHALL FUND'S WARSAW OFFICE

Michal Baranowski is the director of GMF's Warsaw office, where he focuses on transatlantic relations, U.S. foreign policy, and the relations between the United States and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Prior to helping launch the Warsaw office, he served at GMF's headquarters in Washington, DC, where he developed GMF's programming in Poland and CEE. Before that posting, Baranowski worked in GMF's Brussels office, where he focused on EU and U.S. policy toward Ukraine and Georgia, and where he also established the Young Transatlantic Network.

He has published in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, the *Warsaw Business Journal*, the *Kyiv Post*, and GMF's *Transatlantic Take* series. He is a member of the advisory council of the Institute for Western Affairs in Poznań, Poland. He holds a master's of European public affairs from Maastricht University, and has studied at Mercer University in the United States and the University of Oxford.



## GEORGE (GIGA) BOKERIA

DEPUTY LEADER OF THE  
PARLIAMENTARY MINORITY  
OF GEORGIA

George (Giga) Bokeria, MP, Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Minority of Georgia, Chairman of the Political Council of the party European Georgia-Movement for Liberty.

Mr. Bokeria is a prominent Georgian politician, who was elected to the Parliament of Georgia in 2016 and has served at multiple high rank positions: In 2010-2013 Mr. Bokeria served as a Secretary of the National Security Council; in 2008-2010 he served as a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and in 2005-2008 he held a position of the Vice-President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the council of Europe (PACE). In 2004-2008 he was elected as a Member of the Parliament and was a Deputy Chairman of the committee on Legal Issues, and Member of Committee on Defense and Security.

In 1996, he co-founded the Liberty Institute - the most vocal institution at the time that became most referenced public policy advocacy foundation. Mr. Bokeria led human rights programs and became a senior legal advisor. The Liberty Institute played a significant role in the Rose Revolution while Mr. Bokeria was one of its leaders and future architect of democratic transition of the country.

Mr. Bokeria studied in Leicester University (UK), Tbilisi State University.



## MATTHEW BRYZA

### ATLANTIC COUNCIL

Ambassador Matthew Bryza is a non-executive director of Turcas, a diversified energy company and one of Turkey's largest corporations. He is also member of the Board of Lamor Ab, the world's leading oil spill response company, and CEO of Lamor Turkey in Istanbul. Bryza additionally serves on the Board of Nobel Upstream, an oil and gas exploration and production company based in the UK.

Ambassador Bryza is a Non- Resident Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and a Board member of the Jamestown Foundation, both of which are think-tanks in Washington, DC. He also served as Director of the International Center for Defence and Security in Tallinn, Estonia, during 2012-2015.

Bryza was a U.S. diplomat for 23 years. His final assignment was as Ambassador to Azerbaijan from February 2011 to January 2012. During 2005 to 2009, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasia, with responsibility for Eurasian energy security, the South Caucasus, Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus. He simultaneously served as the U.S. Co-Chair of the OSCE's Minsk Group mediating the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (between Armenia and Azerbaijan), and as U.S. mediator of the Cyprus Question and the South Ossetia and Abkhazia conflicts (in Georgia).

During 2001 to 2005, Ambassador Bryza served in the White House as Director for European and Eurasian Affairs on the National Security Council Staff, covering the same areas as mentioned above, along with Islamist extremism.



## IAN BOND

DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN POLICY,  
CENTER FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

Ian Bond joined the Centre for European Reform as Director of foreign policy in April 2013. Prior to that, he was a member of the British diplomatic service for 28 years.

His most recent appointment was as political counsellor and joint head of the foreign and security policy group in the British Embassy, Washington (2007-12), where he focused on US foreign policy towards Europe, the former Soviet Union, Asia and Africa. He was British Ambassador to Latvia from 2005-07, receiving a CVO (Commander of the Royal Victorian Order) for his work on the Queen's state visit in 2006.

He was posted in Vienna as deputy head of the UK delegation to the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) from 2000-04, working on human rights and democracy in the OSCE area, and on conflict prevention and resolution in the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. His earlier career included postings in Moscow (1993-96) and at NATO HQ (1987-90), and working in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on the former Soviet Union, on the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy and on NATO and UK defence policy.

Ian holds an MA in classics from Oxford University.



## EDWARD CHOW

SENIOR FELLOW, ENERGY AND  
NATIONAL SECURITY PROGRAM,  
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Edward C. Chow is a senior fellow in the energy and national security program of the Center for International and Strategic Studies in Washington. He is an international energy expert with more than 35 years of oil industry experience from working in Asia, Middle East, Africa, South America, Europe, Russia and the Caspian region. He has developed policy and business strategy, and successfully negotiated complex, multi-billion dollar, international business ventures. He specializes in oil and gas investments in emerging economies. He has advised U.S. and foreign governments, international financial institutions, international oil companies, leading U.S. multinational corporations and European firms. Mr. Chow spent 20 years with Chevron Corporation in U.S. and overseas assignments. His last position at Chevron was head of international external affairs at headquarters in California. Mr. Chow is a graduate of Ohio University with degrees in economics and international affairs. He has published articles in leading academic and foreign policy journals on global energy developments, spoken on energy in international conferences, and appeared in major international media. He has testified before the U.S. Congress and lectured at leading universities around the world.





## CHARLES DAVIDSON

HUDSON INSTITUTE

Charles Davidson is Executive Director of the Kleptocracy Initiative at Hudson Institute. Davidson is also Publisher & CEO of The American Interest LLC. He co-founded The American Interest magazine with Francis Fukuyama in 2005, along with partners Josef Joffe and Walter Russell Mead. Davidson co-founded the think tank Global Financial Integrity in 2006 and is its former Board Chair. He also produced the documentary We're Not Broke that premiered at the Sundance Film Festival in 2012.

Charles Davidson is a graduate of Bowdoin College and Duke University's Fuqua School of Business.



## APRIL H. FOLEY

FORMER US AMBASSADOR TO  
HUNGARY, 2006-2009

April H. Foley served as the United States Ambassador to Hungary from 2006 to 2009. She has been an Independent Director of Vista Outdoor since January 2015, and a Director of Xerium Technologies Inc. since May 25, 2010. Ambassador Foley serves as the Chair of the Board of Trustees of The Hungary Initiatives Foundation.

Ambassador Foley has had an extensive career in professional management. Prior to serving as US Ambassador to Hungary, she worked at the Export-Import Bank of the United States. After first serving as a Director of the Bank, she was appointed to be First Vice President and Vice Chairman in 2003. Ambassador Foley drove the creation of the Trade Bank of Iraq, securing a \$2 billion short-term credit facility. She was one of six Americans on the American-Iraqi Joint Economic Council, which laid plans for strengthening the economic performance of Iraq. Ambassador Foley worked with the Minister of Finance of Afghanistan to create a development strategy that laid the groundwork for foreign direct investment. As a Director, she chaired the Audit Committee and implemented Sarbanes-Oxley processes for the first time, bringing much needed transparency and accountability to the Bank.

She also worked for 17 years as an executive for PepsiCo in roles including strategic planning, financial management, and mergers and acquisitions. Her efforts resulted in the acquisition and integration of Kentucky Fried Chicken. She led the introduction of shareholder value approaches to PepsiCo corporate-wide, which resulted in an acceleration of bottling and restaurant acquisitions. She initiated efforts to enhance strategic planning, which led to the Pepsi Challenge.



## JAMIE FLY

THE GERMAN MARSHALL  
FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

Jamie Fly is a senior fellow and director of the Future of Geopolitics and Asia programs at The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). He also works with the Alliance for Securing Democracy at GMF. He served as counselor for Foreign and National Security Affairs to Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL) from 2013–2017, serving as his foreign policy advisor during his presidential campaign. Prior to joining Senator Rubio's staff in February 2013, he served as the executive director of the Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI) from its founding in early 2009. Prior to joining FPI, Mr. Fly served in the Bush administration at the National Security Council (2008–2009) and in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (2005–2008). He was director for Counterproliferation Strategy at the National Security Council, where his portfolio included the Iranian nuclear program, Syria, missile defense, chemical weapons, proliferation finance, and other counterproliferation issues.

In the Office of the Secretary of Defense, he was an assistant for Transnational Threats Policy, where he helped to develop U.S. strategy related to the proliferation of missiles as well as nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. For his work in the Department of Defense, he was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service. Mr. Fly received a BA in international studies and political science from American University and an MA in German and European studies from Georgetown University.



## EKA GIGAURI

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL  
GEORGIA

Eka Gigauri joined Transparency International Georgia in November 2010 as Executive Director of the organisation. Under her leadership, TI Georgia's staff has increased from 20 to 40, three regional offices have been established and numerous projects have been successfully implemented. In 2015, Eka Gigauri was named one of the best Directors in the TI Global Movement.

Eka Gigauri is a specialist in International Relations, with a degree from Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Having obtained a Masters Degree in Business Administration at the Caucasus School of Business, Eka graduated from VU University Amsterdam with a LLM in International Law. Moreover, Eka completed the Senior Executive Programme at George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies. In 2017, she became a Fellow of the Stanford University Democracy and Development Programme.

Eka has extensive experience in working in governmental, non-governmental and private sectors, mainly in the fields of foreign relations (including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs etc.) and marketing and communications consultancy (including Marriott International, Institute for Polling and Marketing etc.). Her most prominent roles include the Deputy Head of the Border Police of Georgia, where she was conducting and supervising successful anti-corruption reforms of the Border Police. Eka has extensive experience in supervising projects funded by USAID, SIDA, NED and other international donor organisations.



## COLLEEN GRAFFY

PEPPERDINE UNIVERSITY

Professor Graffy served in the second Bush Administration as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy for Europe and Eurasia at the U.S. State Department. In that capacity, she travelled to over 40 countries and worked with U.S. embassies and a team in Washington D.C. to communicate U.S. policy, values and culture.

Professor Graffy was the first high-level U.S. government official to actively advance “Public Diplomacy 2.0” using Twitter and other social media platforms to further U.S. communications.

Professor Graffy was called to the Bar of England and Wales as a Barrister of the Middle Temple and received her LLM in international law through King’s College, University of London. Professor Graffy has been based in London as Director of Pepperdine Law School’s London Program and is currently at Pepperdine’s main campus in Malibu, California teaching international law

Professor Graffy has written on legal issues in the United States and Britain and is a frequent commentator for radio and television on transatlantic political, legal, and cultural issues Her teaching includes: Public International Law, International Environmental Law, and International Law and the Use of Force. She is on the Advisory Board of the McCain Leadership Institute and the British American Project.



## BENJAMIN HADDAD

HUDSON INSTITUTE

Benjamin Haddad is a research fellow at Hudson Institute specializing in European and transatlantic affairs. His work has mostly focused on the future of the European Union, US foreign policy towards Europe, domestic European politics, the rise of populism and Islamism in European societies, and Russian influence.

He is also a frequent analyst for French policymakers and media on US politics and foreign policy.

His work has appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The American Interest*, *Foreign Policy*, *Daily Beast*, *The Hill*, *Le Monde*, and *L'Opinion*. He has been quoted in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Le Figaro*, and *Le Monde*.

He is a regular guest on CNN, Fox News, C-SPAN, BFM TV, I-Tele, France 24, Voice of America, RFI, France Culture, Europe 1, etc. He is a weekly correspondent on a French Canadian TV show, 24/60 on CBC's news channel RDI, in which he discusses U.S. politics.

He holds an MA in international security from Sciences Po Paris and an MA in economics from HEC, and has lectured in international affairs at Sciences Po Paris.



## LTG (RET) BEN HODGES

PERSHING CHAIR IN STRATEGIC  
STUDIES, CEPA

A native of Quincy, Florida, Lieutenant General (Retired) Frederick Benjamin “Ben” Hodges graduated from the United States Military Academy in May 1980 and was commissioned in the Infantry.

After his first assignment as an Infantry Lieutenant in Germany, he commanded Infantry units at the Company, Battalion and Brigade levels as the 101st Airborne Division and in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. He also served in an operational assignment as Director of Operations, Regional Command South, in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

Lieutenant General (Retired) Hodges has also served in a variety of Joint and Army Staff positions to include Tactic Instructor at the Infantry School; Chief of Plans, 2nd Infantry Division in Korea; Aide-de-Camp to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe; Army Congressional Liaison Officer; Task Force Senior Observer-Controller at the Joint Readiness Training Center, Fort Polk, LA: Coalition/Joint – 3 (CJ3) of Multi-National Corps-Iraq in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; Chief of Staff, XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg; and Director of the Pakistan Afghanistan Coordination Cell on the Joint Staff, Chief of Legislative Liaison for the United States Army, and Commander, NATO Allied Land Command. His last Military assignment was as Commander, United States Army Europe from 2014 to 2017.

Lieutenant General (Retired) Hodges holds the Pershing Chair in Strategic Studies at the Center for European Policy Analysis.



## TACAN ILDEM

ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL  
FOR NATO PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Ambassador Tacan Ildem was appointed Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy in March 2016. He advises the Secretary General on public diplomacy issues and directs the Public Diplomacy Division (PDD), which plays a key role in conveying the Alliance's strategic and political messages to opinion formers and to the public in general. PDD works to raise the Alliance's profile with audiences world-wide and to build support for Alliance operations and policies.

Ambassador Ildem is a senior Turkish diplomat. Since the start of his career in 1978, he has held positions involving multilateral and bilateral affairs. Before assuming his current responsibilities, Ambassador Ildem served as Permanent Representative of Turkey to the OSCE in Vienna from 2011 until 2016. During his term in Vienna he performed the duties as the Chairperson of the OSCE Security Committee and as the Coordinator for Conflict Cycle for the Helsinki +40 process. Previously Ambassador Ildem was Director General for International Security.

Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in Ankara (2009-2011), Turkey's Permanent Representative to NATO (2006-2009) and Ambassador of Turkey to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (2003-2006).





## ALINA INAYEH

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND  
OF THE UNITED STATES

Alina Inayeh joined GMF in 2007 as the director of the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, a project dedicated to strengthening cooperation and fostering development in the Black Sea region. She is an active practitioner in the field of international development and democratization, having run the Freedom House office in Ukraine in 2004 and the NDI office in Russia between 2000-03, with a focus on civic education and political processes. She has trained NGOs throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union on issues related to NGO development and democratization. Inayeh was a leading civic activist in the 1990s in her own country, Romania, and an active promoter of the NGO sector in the country.

Inayeh received her bachelor's degree in geology from the University of Bucharest and a master's in public policy from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. She is fluent in English and Russian in addition to her native Romanian.



## LEVAN IZORIA

MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF GEORGIA

Levan Izoria was born in Georgia on 5 February 1974. Levan Izoria holds a PhD degree in Law from the Georg-August University Göttingen, Germany (with honors). After graduating in 1996 from the Law Faculty of the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (with honors), he completed a Master's Degree at the Law Faculty of the Georg-August University Göttingen, Germany (with honors) between 1998-1999.

Between 2015 and 2016 he acted as the Deputy Head of State Security Service of Georgia. Previously, between 2012 and 2015 he held a position of a Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Georgia. Mr. Izoria has been a full Professor at the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia since 2014 and was a full Professor at Grigol Robakhidze University between 2011 and 2014. Both in 2010 and 2011 Mr. Izoria undertook academic research at Heidelberg Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law. He also held a position of an associate professor at Georgian-American University (2009-2011) and Caucasus Law School (2009-2010). Previous to that he acted as a Scientist-Researcher at German University of Administrative Sciences - Speyer (Scholarship of Humboldt Foundation) (2007-2009) and as a professor Dean of the Law Faculty at Georgian Institute of Public Affairs (2006-2007).



## DONALD JENSEN

CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY  
ANALYSIS (CEPA)

Donald N. Jensen is a Senior Adjunct Fellow at the Center for European Policy Analysis where he edits the Information Warfare Initiative's weekly monitoring brief. Jensen is also a Senior Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. A former U.S. diplomat, he writes extensively on Russian foreign and domestic politics, especially Russia's relations with Europe. He is a regular commentator on post-Soviet affairs for CNBC, Fox Business, and the VOA Russian Service. From 1996 to 2008 he was associate director of broadcasting and director of research at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, where he was instrumental in expanding the station's broadcasting to Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, and the North Caucasus, and broadening its web presence. He served in Moscow and Sofia as a Foreign Service officer from 1985–1996, and was a member of the first ten-man U.S. team to inspect Soviet missile bases under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1988. Jensen received his B.A. from Columbia University and his master's and Ph.D. in government from Harvard University. He is fluent in Russian.



## KERSTI KALJULAIK

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF ESTONIA

In 2016 Kersti Kaljulaid was elected President of the Republic of Estonia.

Previously she served from 2004 to 2016 as a Member of the European Court of Auditors. Kersti Kaljulaid was the CFO and CEO of the Iru Power Plant of state-owned energy company Eesti Energia from 2002 to 2004. From 1999 to 2002, Kersti Kaljulaid was Prime Minister Mart Laar's Economic Advisor.

Kersti Kaljulaid was a member of the Supervisory Board of the Estonian Genome Center from 2001 to 2004. She was also a member of the Advisory Board of the University of Tartu from 2009 to 2011 and the Council Chair of the University from 2012 to 2016.

Kersti Kaljulaid graduated from the University of Tartu in 1992 in the field of genetics in the Faculty of Natural Sciences and completed her master's studies in the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration in 2001.



## RIINA KALJURAND

### LENNART MERI CONFERENCE

Riina Kaljurand is a Counsellor of the Policy Planning Department of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

She holds a BA and an MA in Political Science from the University of Stockholm and has also studied social anthropology at Stockholm University and the Queen's University of Belfast.

Riina worked at the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1993-1997, including tours in the Embassies in Oslo and Stockholm. In 2002, she was briefly employed as a research assistant by the University of Stockholm. From 2003-2004 she worked in Kyiv within the framework of the „Public Administration Reform” project run by SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency).

From 2004-2007 she worked at the Estonian Ministry of Defence, including two and a half years as an Adviser to the Permanent Undersecretary. From 2007 to 2012 she worked as a Deputy Director of the ICDS.

Until July 2018, she worked as a Research Fellow of the International Centre for Defence and Security (ICDS). Her main research areas included the security of the Baltic Sea region, the Nordic-Baltic Security and Defence cooperation and Russia's soft power. She was also the Director of the Lennart Meri Conference, one the biggest foreign and security policy conferences in the region.



## MIKHAIL M. KASYANOV

PEOPLE'S FREEDOM PARTY

1982-1993 - worked as economist, then head of section of industrialized countries at the Ministry of Economics.

1993 – head of External Debt Department at the Ministry of Finance. 1995-1999 - Deputy Finance Minister.

1999-2000 – Minister of Finance.

2000–2004 - Prime Minister of Russia. He started the policy of active collaboration with civil society and business community. During its four-year term Kasyanov's Cabinet launched a number of structural reforms – tax and budget reform, liberalization of capital control and external trade, customs reform, reorganization of national infrastructure, pension reform, creation of land market and others.

2005-2006 – Kasyanov came back to politics to fight for democratic values against growing authoritarian tide as Mr Putin changed the state policy with evident anti-democratic drift.

2007 – Kasyanov was nominated and registered as candidate for the 2008 presidential elections, soon he was denied participation on political grounds.

2010 – Kasyanov initiated with other politicians B.Nemtsov and V.Ryzhkov the creation of united political group - Republican Party of People's Freedom. They were elected Co-Leaders of this PARNAS party.

2011-2012 - the Party initiated massive protests of citizens against lawlessness and corruption.



## VLADIMIR KARA-MURZA

BORIS NEMTSOV FOUNDATION

Vladimir Kara-Murza is vice chairman of the Open Russia movement and chairman of the Boris Nemtsov Foundation for Freedom. He was a long-time colleague of Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov. Kara-Murza is a former deputy leader of the People's Freedom Party and was a candidate for the Russian State Duma. He has testified on Russian affairs before parliaments in Europe and North America and played a key role in the passage of the Magnitsky Act, a U.S. law that imposed targeted sanctions on Russian human rights violators. Twice, in 2015 and 2017, he was poisoned with an unknown substance and left in a coma; the attempts on his life were widely viewed as politically motivated. Kara-Murza writes regular commentary for the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, World Affairs, and other periodicals, and has previously worked as a journalist for Russian broadcast and print media, including Ekho Moskvy and Kommersant. He directed two documentary films, *They Chose Freedom* (2005) and *Nemtsov* (2016). He is the author of *Reform or Revolution* (Moscow 2011) and a contributor to *Russia's Choices: The Duma Elections and After* (London 2003), *Russian Liberalism: Ideas and People* (Moscow 2007), *Why Europe Needs a Magnitsky Law* (London 2013), and *Boris Nemtsov and Russian Politics: Power and Resistance* (Stuttgart 2018). He has led international efforts to commemorate Nemtsov, including with the 2018 Washington D.C. law designating the block in front of the Russian Embassy as Boris Nemtsov Plaza. Kara-Murza is a recipient of the Magnitsky Human Rights Award, the Sakharov Prize for Journalism as an Act of Conscience, and the Geneva Summit Courage Award. He holds an M.A. (Cantab.) in History from Cambridge. He is married, with three children.



## IAN C. KELLY

AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED  
STATES TO GEORGIA

Ian C. Kelly, a career member of the Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, was sworn in as the Ambassador to Georgia on September 11, 2015. Ambassador Kelly just completed a tour as the Department of State's Diplomat in Residence at the University of Illinois at Chicago, a position he held since 2013. Prior to that, Mr. Kelly served as U.S. Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe in Vienna, Austria from 2010 to 2013. From December 2012 – September 2013, he also served concurrently as the U.S. Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group on an interim basis.

From May 2009 until his appointment as Ambassador, he was the Spokesperson for the U.S. Department of State. Before he was named Spokesperson, Ian Kelly was the Director of the Office of Russian Affairs in Washington, D.C., from August 2007 to April 2009. Prior to his return to Washington, he served as Public Affairs Advisor at the U.S. Mission to NATO (2004-2007), Press Attaché at Embassy Rome (2000-2004) and Press Attaché at the American Embassy in Ankara (1997-2000). As Director of Democratic Initiatives to the Newly Independent States (NIS) at the Department of State from 1994 to 1996, Kelly coordinated the activities of nearly a dozen federal agencies involved in democracy building in the former Soviet Union, and oversaw an annual budget of around \$80 million. Prior to assuming that assignment, Kelly was a regional Public Affairs Officer for the NIS, a job that took him to all twelve former Soviet republics. His other assignments include Information Center Director in Belgrade, Yugoslavia (1990-92) and Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer in Leningrad and Moscow, U.S.S.R. (1987-90). Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Ambassador Kelly taught Russian at Columbia University in New York City, and received his doctorate at Columbia in Slavic Languages and Literatures in 1986. He also holds a B.A. from St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, and a M.A. from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. Ian Kelly speaks Russian and has studied Italian, Serbo-Croatian, and Turkish at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center of the Department of State.





## KETI KHUTSISHVILI

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, OPEN  
SOCIETY GEORGIA  
FOUNDATION (OSGF)

Keti Khutsishvili became the Executive Director of OSGF in late 2008. Holding an MA in Asian Studies, in the early 90's she worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Georgia. From the mid- 90's, she started to work for international aid organizations. The longest assignment (1994-2001) was with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, first as a local consultant and later as international program officer. Prior to joining the Soros network, she worked in 2002-2007 as Country director of the Eurasia Foundation Georgia office.



## RIINA KIONKA

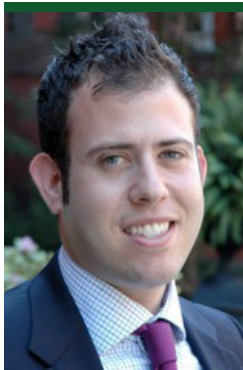
EUROPEAN COUNCIL

Riina Kionka is Chief Foreign Policy Adviser to European Council President Donald Tusk.

She earned her BA in International Relations and German from Michigan State University, where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Her MA and Ph.D. in International Relations are from Columbia University (Harriman Institute) in New York City. During the end of the Cold War she wrote on Baltic affairs as an analyst at the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute in Munich.

In 1993 Kionka joined the Estonian Foreign Ministry in Tallinn, where she held various positions including head of Policy Planning, Political Director and Undersecretary for EU Affairs. From 2000 to 2004 she served as Estonian Ambassador to Germany. In 2005 Kionka joined the EU Council Secretariat in Brussels, focussing on transatlantic affairs, counterterrorism, the UN. In 2007, EU High Representative Javier Solana named Kionka his Personal Representative for Human Rights. After the European External Action Service (EEAS) was established in 2009, Kionka ran the divisions on human rights and later on Central Asia.

She has published widely on Baltic and broader European security issues and is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations. Kionka has been decorated with the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle (1995), the German Great Service Cross with Star and Band (2000) and the Estonian White Cross, III class (2004), the last named for her contribution to Estonia's accession to NATO and the EU. In 2010, Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves awarded Kionka, a career diplomat, the lifelong rank of Ambassador. Kionka is married, is the mother of two teenagers and is a serious amateur trumpet player.



## JAMES KIRCHICK

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

James Kirchick is a visiting fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe and Project on International Order and Strategy at the Brookings Institution.

A widely published journalist, he is author of “The End of Europe: Dictators, Demagogues and the Coming Dark Age” (Yale, 2017), a correspondent for The Daily Beast, and a columnist for Tablet. He is at work on his second book, a history of gay Washington, D.C., for Henry Holt.

Kirchick’s writing has appeared in The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, Ha’aretz, Newsweek, Time, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, Slate, The Weekly Standard, The American Interest, The Virginia Quarterly Review, World Affairs Journal, National Review and Commentary, among other publications. Around the world, his writing appears regularly in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Germany’s leading newspaper, and has also been published in Britain’s Prospect, New Statesman and Spectator, Italy’s Internazionale, Canada’s Globe & Mail, National Post, and The Walrus, the Czech Republic’s Lidove Noviny and The Australian.



## IRAKLI KOBAKHIDZE

CHAIRMAN OF THE  
PARLIAMENT OF GEORGIA

Constitutional lawyer by profession, Irakli Kobakhidze was elected the Chairman of Parliament of Georgia on November 18, 2016. Previously he served as the Executive Secretary and Member of the Political Council of the Party “Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia”.

Prior to engaging in politics, Mr. KOBAKHIDZE spent eight years with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the capacity of Manager of Local Self-Government and Regional Development Project. His earlier career includes consultancies at Open Society Georgia Foundation as a Member of the Expert Committee on Human Rights and Rule of Law Program and Council of Europe Representative Office to Georgia as an Expert on Strategic Planning Issues. He has also worked as the Regional Coordinator of Public Education Project for USAID.

Irakli KOBAKHIDZE holds Ph.D and LL.M from the Heinrich-Heine-University of Düsseldorf, Germany. Author of numerous scientific papers and textbooks, Mr. Kobakhidze has been delivering lectures on Constitutional Law, Human Rights, Law on Political Parties, Municipal Law and other legal disciplines since 2005 at various levels of higher education of public and private universities in Georgia. Currently, he is a Full Professor of Law at Tbilisi State University.



## BATU KUTELIA

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE  
ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF GEORGIA

Ambassador Kutelia is the Vice President of the Atlantic Council of Georgia and the Next Generation Leader fellow at the McCain Institute for International Leadership. He served as the Deputy Secretary of the National Security Council of Georgia, since January 2011 till November 2013. From 2008 until 2011 he was the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Canada and Mexico.

In his previous capacities he has been First Deputy Minister of Defense (2007-2008), Deputy Minister of Defense and Foreign Affairs (2006-2007) and Deputy Minister of State Security (2004).

From 2005-2006 he functioned as the Head of the Intelligence Service of Georgia. Before this he was the Head of the Foreign Intelligence Department of the Ministry of State Security of Georgia and Director of the Political Security Department of the National Security Council in 2004, also numerous pol.-mil. positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Before turning into his diplomatic and political career Mr. Kutelia studied physics and holds a PhD in physics. However, he also holds a master in Public Affairs Administration. Mr. Kutelia is fluent in English, Russian and Georgian languages.



## SERHIY LESHCHENKO

MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN RADA

Sergii Leshchenko is a member of Ukrainian Parliament who had been working as investigative journalist for online-newspaper “Ukrainska Pravda” from 2000 until 2014. He helped to launch the “Stop Censorship!” movement in 2010 and “Chesno” campaign that called for transparency in parliament.

In 2013, Mr. Leshchenko was awarded a Press Prize by the German ZEIT Foundation and in 2014 he was honored with the NDI’s Democracy Award. Sergii was Reagan-Fascell Fellow in the National Endowment for Democracy (Washington, DC). He is the author of two books about high level corruption in Ukraine.



## LINAS LINKEVIČIUS

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

Linas Linkevičius serves as the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Lithuania since December 2012. Before that he was Lithuania's ambassador to Belarus. Linkevičius was twice appointed as minister of national defence (1993-96 and 2000-2004) and served twice as Lithuanian ambassador to NATO ( 2005-2011 and 1997-2000). He was first elected to the parliament of Lithuania in 1992.



## MARIA LOGAN

OPEN RUSSIA

Maria Logan, a native of St. Petersburg, Russia, received her Master's degree in international law from American University and her M.B.A. from Georgetown University. From 2001 to 2008, Maria was part of the litigation practice group at the international law firm Greenberg Traurig in Washington, DC. In 2008, she joined the worldwide campaign for Mr. Khodorkovsky's release. From 2008 to 2013 she coordinated, among other things, the efforts of many international human rights organizations in support of Mr. Khodorkovsky and represented the case before the governmental institutions worldwide. Since Khodorkovsky's release from prison and his launch of the Open Russia movement in September of 2014, Maria has spearheaded the international programme activities of Open Russia, including projects in the media production area. In 2015 as one of the media experts and professionals invited by the European Endowment of Democracy Maria took part in the feasibility study on Russian Language Media Initiatives in the Eastern Partnership and Beyond. Open Russia seeks to provide a platform for Russian citizens living both inside and outside of Russia who are committed to Euro-Atlantic values based on a strong, dynamic, and forward-looking state with effective democratic institutions and the rule of law.





## EDWARD LUCAS

CENTER FOR EUROPEAN  
POLICY ANALYSIS (CEPA)

Edward Lucas is a Senior Vice President at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA). He was formerly a senior editor at The Economist. Lucas has covered Central and Eastern European affairs since 1986, writing, broadcasting, and speaking on the politics, economics, and security of the region. A graduate of the London School of Economics and long-serving foreign correspondent in Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, and the Baltic states, he is an internationally recognized expert on espionage, subversion, the use and abuse of history, energy security and information warfare. He is the author of four books: *The New Cold War* (2008, newly revised and republished); *Deception* (2011); *The Snowden Operation* (2014), and *Cyberphobia* (2015). His website is [edwardlucas.com](http://edwardlucas.com) and he tweets as @edwardlucas.



## EDWARD LUCE

FINANCIAL TIMES, CHIEF US  
COMMENTATOR

Edward Luce was made the FT's chief US commentator in September 2011 with a weekly column and regular editorials on the US economy and politics. Prior to that he was the FT's Washington Bureau Chief from 2006 until 2011 - managing a team of ten DC-based reporters and leading the paper's coverage of US politics and economy. Previously, he was the FT's South Asia bureau chief, based in New Delhi, appointed in 2001.

He is the author of three highly acclaimed books: *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India* (2006), *Time to Start Thinking: The Spectre of American Decline* (2012) and *The Retreat of Western Liberalism* (2017). Between 1993 and 1994 he was the Geneva-based correspondent for *The Guardian* newspaper of the UK. He then moved to Manila to be the Philippines correspondent of the *Financial Times* between 1995 and 1997. Between 1997 and 1999, he was the *Financial Times*' capital markets editor, based in London.

Between December 1999 and January 2001, Edward was the speechwriter to Larry Summers, Treasury Secretary in the Clinton administration.

Edward graduated in politics, philosophy and economics from Oxford University in 1990 and completed a post-graduate diploma in newspaper journalism from City University in London in 1993.

His highly-acclaimed book on India: *In Spite of the Gods, The Strange Rise of Modern India*, was released in the US by Doubleday in 2007. His latest, and widely praised, book, *The Retreat of Western Liberalism* was listed on the best non-fiction reading lists for 2017 at Amazon, *The Economist*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Financial Times* and the *Washington Post*.



## MERLE MAIGRE

CYBEXER TECHNOLOGIES

Merle Maigre is Executive Vice President for Government Relations at CybExer Technologies, an Estonian cyber security company offering cyber training environment for large-scale and sophisticated cyber security exercises for foreign governments and international organisations.

2017-2018 Merle Maigre was Director of the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence since September 2017. Prior to this post, Maigre worked as Security Policy Adviser to the President of Estonia 2012-2017 that is the President's chief advisor on domestic and international security issues. 2010-2012 she served as the Policy Adviser in the Policy Planning Unit in the Private Office of NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, in Brussels. Maigre has also worked as a researcher at the International Centre for Defence and Security (ICDS), where she focused primarily on Ukraine policy and development, including the security situation in Crimea. She has also served as the Deputy Head of the NATO Liaison Office in Kyiv and at the NATO Department in Estonia's Ministry of Defence to support the country's NATO accession. Maigre holds degrees from King's College London, Middlebury College and Tartu University. She has also studied at the Johns Hopkins SAIS Bologna Center and the Paris Institute of Political Studies or Sciences-Po.



## GIORGI MARGVELASHVILI

THE PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA

Giorgi Margvelashvili is the President of Georgia since autumn 2013. Before being elected, he served as a Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Science of Georgia. Mr. Margvelashvili's background is in public policy, politics and academia. Before joining the Georgian Dream government after its victory in the October 2012 parliamentary elections, he was a well-known political commentator and served for more than a decade in senior positions at the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs (GIPA), a leading Georgian institution of higher education in government, law, international affairs and journalism. Mr. Margvelashvili graduated from Tbilisi State University in 1992 with a degree in philosophy. He continued his studies at the Central European University in Prague, Czech Republic from 1993 to 1994 and the Institute of Philosophy of the Georgian Academy of Sciences from 1993 to 1996. In 1998, he received a Ph.D. in philosophy from Tbilisi State University.



## DAMIR MARUSIC

THE AMERICAN INTEREST

Damir Marusic is Executive Editor at The American Interest, a magazine started by Francis Fukuyama, Eliot Cohen, Josef Joffe and Zbigniew Brzezinski in 2005, and based in Washington DC. The magazine's role is to provide in-depth analysis of issues—both foreign and domestic—to a global audience: “explaining the world to America, and America to the world.” His monthly column has recently focused on the rise of populist-style politics across the West, the role of Russia in Europe, and the return of instability to the Western Balkans.



## JUSTIN MCKENZIE SMITH

BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO GEORGIA

Mr Justin McKenzie Smith took up the appointment of Her Majesty's Ambassador to Georgia in August 2016. Previous to this, Justin was Deputy Head of Mission and Director for Trade and Investment at the British Embassy in Mexico City from 2011-2015.

Justin was Deputy Director responsible for the UK's relations with Russia, the South Caucasus and Central Asia in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office from 2008-2011. From 2004-2008, Justin was the Spokesperson for the UK Mission to the United Nations in New York and a member of the UK's Security Council team. He also served in the British Embassy in Moscow in the second half of the 1990s.

In London, Justin has also worked on European Union, human rights and press issues. Justin McKenzie Smith joined Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service in 1994 and is a graduate of Oxford and Edinburgh Universities.



## THOMAS O. MELIA

PEN AMERICA

Thomas O. Melia is Washington Director at PEN America. Prior to joining PEN America, he served in the Obama Administration as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, responsible for Europe and Eurasia, south and central Asia, and the Middle East, and as Assistant Administrator for Europe and Eurasia in the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) until January 2017. Melia has also served as Deputy Executive Director of Freedom House, Vice President for Programs at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and Associate Director of the Solidarity Center. Melia is a monthly columnist for *The American Interest* and chair of the board of the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED). Recently, Melia was a Fellow with the Human Freedom Initiative at the George W. Bush Institute, helping to lead a bipartisan initiative to reinvigorate American leadership in defense of human rights and democracy at home and abroad. He has taught at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Service, Georgetown University, and his alma mater, Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, where he received his MA and BA.



## IA MEURMISHVILI

VOICE OF AMERICA

Ia Meurmishvili is a journalist, senior editor, and the anchor of “Washington Today,” a weekly news magazine produced by the Voice of America’s Georgian Service. In this capacity, she has presented American foreign policy, values and culture to audiences in Georgia since 2009. She also covers major American foreign and national security issues as they relate to U.S.-Russian and U.S.-Georgian relations.

In addition to her work for the Georgian Service, Ms. Meurmishvili has contributed to the investigative, fact-checking publication “poligraph.info” aimed at debunking fake news and propaganda.

Ms. Meurmishvili regularly appears on a variety of Georgian television news and analysis programs to present information and commentary about the United States for a Georgian audience. She has lectured on these topics at universities in Georgia, and has appeared as a subject matter expert in various fora to discuss U.S. politics, American foreign policy, disinformation campaigns, and freedom of speech.

Prior to joining the Voice of America, Ms. Meurmishvili held a variety of positions in the public, private and non-profit sectors in the United States, including positions at the Eurasia Foundation, Finmeccanica, and the office of U.S. Representative Allyson Schwartz.





## A. WESS MITCHELL

ASSISTANT SECRETARY, U.S.  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Dr. A. Wess Mitchell took the oath of office as Assistant Secretary of State on October 12, 2017. As Assistant Secretary he is responsible for diplomatic relations with 50 countries in Europe and Eurasia, and with NATO, the EU and the OSCE.

Prior to joining the State Department, Dr. Mitchell spent twelve years at the Center for European Policy Analysis, a think-tank dedicated to the study of Central Europe. A co-founder of CEPA, he served as President and CEO from 2009 to 2017 and Director of Research from 2006 to 2009. Dr. Mitchell played an instrumental role in CEPA's growth to become a leading transatlantic think-tank with offices in Washington, DC and Warsaw, Poland.

From 2013 to 2016, Dr. Mitchell chaired the Europe Working Group for the John Hay Initiative. He also served on advisory boards for several U.S. and European institutes, including the Zbigniew Brzezinski Institute for Geostrategy, the Slovak Atlantic Commission, the Prague Center for Transatlantic Relations, Atlantic Initiative Berlin and the Alexander Hamilton Society.

Dr. Mitchell is the author of numerous articles and reports on transatlantic relations and international security. Dr. Mitchell holds: a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Otto Suhr Institut für Politikwissenschaft at Freie Universität in Berlin, Germany; a M.A. from the Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service.



## IGOR MUNTEANU

FORMER AMBASSADOR OF  
THE UNITED STATES TO MOLDOVA

Dr Igor Munteanu is acting today as Chairman of the Administrative Board of IDIS (Institute for Development and Social Initiatives). IDIS is one of the oldest think tanks in Moldova. Today, the Institute for Development and Social Initiatives (IDIS) is successfully combining social, political and economic research with solid advocacy components.

Between 2010 and 2015, Dr Munteanu served as E.P. Ambassador of the Republic of Moldova to the United States of America (September 2010 – June 2015), Canada (February 2011 – March 2013) and Mexico (2010 – 2015). From 2016 he is teaching Public Policy and Political Administrative MA Courses at the Academy of Economic Studies (ASEM) in Chisinau.

Prior to his diplomatic assignment, Munteanu served as Independent Expert to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (2001-2008), monitoring the status of local and regional autonomy in several countries of the Council of Europe. Igor Munteanu wrote several publications for the national and international audience on governmental affairs, decentralization, foreign policy, post-Soviet transformation. The latest book by Munteanu is 'Politici publice complexe' (2016, Cartier Publishing House).

Munteanu designed and launched the publishing of the Arena Politicii Journal, as the first political sciences and foreign affairs journal in Moldova (1996-2000). In 2007, Munteanu served as a member of the International Board for the BSTF (Black Sea Trust Fund) and also a Member of the External evaluation committee of the Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD).

In 2002, he pursued his PhD at the Law Department of ULIM on Moldovan and EU regionalism. Between 1997 and 2005, Dr Munteanu was involved as freelance political analyst with Radio Free Europe (RFERL). He also served as Political Advisor to the first President of Moldova (Mircea Snegur) during 1992-1994.



## JAMES NIXEY

CHATHAM HOUSE

His principal expertise concerns the relationships between Russia and the other post-Soviet states. He has published papers and articles in books and journals, and commented extensively in the national and global media. He has also organised hundreds of private expert roundtables on Russian and Eurasian affairs while at Chatham House. Publications include *The Long Goodbye: Waning Russian Influence in The South Caucasus and Central Asia*, 'Russia's Geopolitical Compass: Losing Direction' in, *Putin Again: Implications for Russia and the West*, and 'The South Caucasus: Drama on Three Stages' in *A Question of Leadership: America's Role in a Changed World*.

As the principal fundraiser for his research programme, he has raised money for projects from dozens of corporate sector companies, governments and grant-giving institutions.

James holds degrees in modern languages and international relations and has previous experience in journalism (as a reporter in Moscow in the late 1990s) and the banking sector, for Goldman Sachs.



## NATALIE NOUGAYRÈDE

THE GUARDIAN

Natalie Nougayrède is an editorial board member and columnist at The Guardian, which she joined in 2014. She was previously the editor-in-chief of Le Monde, after being its diplomatic correspondent and Moscow bureau chief. She writes about international and European affairs, with a special focus on security issues and human rights. She was awarded two French journalism prizes, the Prix de la Presse Diplomatique (2004) and the Albert Londres award (2005), for her coverage of Russia and the Chechnya war. She is on the board of the Primo Levi Centre in Paris, which helps refugees who have been victims of torture. She has contributed to books on Putin's Russia and on Anna Politkovskaya. Early 2017 she was a Richard von Weizsacker Fellow at the Robert Bosch Academy, Berlin.



## ALINA POLYAKOVA

BROOKINGS INSTITUTE

Alina Polyakova is the David M. Rubenstein Fellow in the Foreign Policy program's Center on the United States and Europe and adjunct professor of European studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. She specializes in European politics, far-right populism and nationalism, and Russian foreign policy. Polyakova's recent book, "The Dark Side of European Integration" (ibidem-Verlag and Columbia University Press, 2015) examines the rise of far-right political parties in Western and Eastern Europe. She has also written extensively on Russian political warfare, Ukraine, and trans-Atlantic relations.

Prior to joining Brookings, she served as director of research and senior fellow for Europe and Eurasia at the Atlantic Council. She is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Swiss National Science Foundation senior research fellow. Polyakova's writings have appeared in The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The American Interest, as well as a number of academic journals and media outlets. She has also been a fellow at the Fulbright Foundation, Eurasia Foundation, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, National Science Foundation, Social Science Research Council, International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), and a Senior Research Fellow and Lecturer at the University of Bern.

Polyakova holds a doctorate and master's in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley, and a bachelor's in economics and sociology with highest honors from Emory University. She speaks Russian and German.



## ŽYGMANTAS PAVILIONIS

MEMBER OF LITHUANIAN PARLIAMENT

Ambassador Žygimantas Pavilionis has served as Ambassador-at-Large for Europe's East (European Neighborhood) at the Lithuanian MFA since August 2015. He is also a Lithuanian career diplomat. As for his earlier posts, Pavilionis served as Deputy Chief Negotiator of Lithuania for the EU accession and led the European Union Department from 2002-2004, served as a Political Director and Deputy Foreign Minister from 2005-2009. More recently, he served as Chief Coordinator for Lithuania's presidency of the Community of Democracies (2009-2010) and as the Lithuanian Ambassador to the US and Mexico (2010-2015).



## SALOME SAMADASHVILI

UNITED NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Ambassador Salome Samadashvili is the member of the Parliament of Georgia, from the United National Movement Party and the Deputy Chair of the UNM parliamentary group. She serves on the Legal Committee and is a deputy Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In 2005-2013 she was the Chief of Georgia's Mission to the European Union and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Belgium and Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. In 2014 she was a visiting fellow at the Wilfried Martens Center for European Studies in Brussels and in 2015 an interim resident governance director for NDI Libya, based in Malta. Ambassador Samadashvili has been awarded a Presidential Decoration of Splendor for her outstanding service to Georgia. She holds a BA degree in Political Sciences from Allegheny College, Pennsylvania, USA, as well as LL.M with Merit in Comparative Constitutional Law from the Central European University in Budapest and Masters in Public Policy from the School of Governance, American University, Washington DC. In addition to her native Georgian she is fluent in English, Russian and French. She is the author of numerous publications, including the policy papers on the European global strategy- 'Good or Bad Neighbors-Europe's Main Security Challenge,' 'Muzzling the Bear-Strategic Defense for Russia's Undeclared Information War on Europe' and 'Lifeline for Freedom: Eastern Partnership, 2.0.'



## RANDY SCHEUNEMANN

ORION STRATEGIES

Randy Scheunemann is a foreign policy analyst based in Washington D.C. He is currently President of Orion Strategies LLC, a Washington DC-based policy consulting firm that works with governmental, corporate and non-governmental clients.

From 2007-2008, Randy Scheunemann served as Director of Foreign Policy and National Security for the McCain-Palin 2008 campaign. In 2002, he founded the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq (CLI) to promote freedom for the Iraqi people. In 2001, Scheunemann served as a consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense. From 1999-2000, Scheunemann served as Defense and Foreign Policy Coordinator for the "McCain 2000" presidential campaign. During 1996, Mr. Scheunemann was a senior adviser to Republican Presidential Candidate Bob Dole.

Previously, Mr. Scheunemann served as National Security Adviser to Senate Republican and Majority Leaders Bob Dole and Trent Lott, and also served on the staffs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the House Republican Policy Committee. Scheunemann has traveled to more than 100 countries and serves on the boards of the International Republican Institute, and the Emergency Committee on Israel.





## ROBIN SHEPHERD

HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
FORUM

Mr Robin Shepherd is the owner and publisher of Britain's fastest growing new media outlet, The Commentator. Mr. Shepherd has held senior fellowships with several top think tanks in the United States, Britain, and Europe. Before entering the think tank world a decade ago, he was a foreign correspondent, firstly for Reuters and subsequently The Times of London, where he was the Moscow bureau chief. He has been associated with Halifax International Security Forum since its inception and is a member of the Halifax International Security Forum Agenda Working Group.



## LILIA SHEVTSOVA

CHATHAM HOUSE

Russian political analyst, an Associate Fellow at the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Chatham House (London), member of the Boards of Finnish Centre for Excellence in Russian Studies (Helsinki), Liberal Mission Foundation, and New Eurasia Foundation (Moscow); member of the Editorial Boards of the “American Interest,” “Journal of Democracy” and “New Eastern Europe”. She is Honorary Doctor of the St.Gallen University (Switzerland).

Shevtsova was Senior Associate of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, founding chair of the Davos World Economic Forum Council on Russia’s Future, the Reagan-Fascell Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy. She served as Chair of the Program on Eurasia and Eastern Europe, SSRC (Washington) and member of the Social Council for Central and Eastern European Studies. She was awarded the Estonian state order – Cross Pro Terra Mariana for participation in the democracy promotion.

Shevtsova is author of Yeltsin’s Russia: Myths and Reality; Putin’s Russia; Russia –Lost in Transition: The Yeltsin and Putin Legacies; Lonely Power (Why Russia Has Failed to Become the West and Why the West Is Weary of Russia); We: Life in Time of No Time( In Russian); Change and Decay. Russia’s Dilemma and the West’s Response( with Andrew Wood); Russia-XXI: The Logic of Suicide and Rebirth (with Bobo Lo).



## VASIL (DAVID) SIKHARULIDZE

CHAIRMAN OF THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL  
OF GEORGIA

Chairman of the Atlantic Council of Georgia, Ambassador Sikharulidze has been in Public Service for 17 years and held high ranking positions including those of the Minister of Defence of Georgia (December 2008 – August 2009); Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Georgia to the United States, Canada and Mexico (Washington DC, US) (Dec 2005 – Dec 2008); Special Advisor to the President of Georgia on Foreign Policy, Deputy Minister of Defence, Undersecretary of the National Security Council of Georgia, Deputy Head of Georgian Mission to NATO (Brussels, Belgium) and Head of NATO Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. He was born on May 30, 1968 in Tbilisi.



## ZSUZSANNA SZELÉNYI

INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN  
SCIENCES, VIENNA

In the framework of IWM's Europe's Future program Zsuzsanna Szelényi conducts research about the effective political action opposing new authoritarianism within the European Union.

Between 2014-2018 Ms Szelényi has been a liberal Member of Parliament in Hungary. She covered foreign and security policy, European politics, migration, constitutional affairs and gender issues. She has been member of the Mercator European Dialogue and the OSEPI-Carnegie European Reformists program, both projects work on the future of the European Union. Before rejoining to politics in 2012 in Hungary, Ms Szelenyi spent most of her career at the international arena. For fourteen years she served at the Council of Europe advising governments and NGOs on conflict management, human rights education and human development issues. Between 2010-2013 she worked as human development consultant for international organizations in various Central European and North African countries.

Ms. Szelenyi started her career as founding member of Fidesz, a youth party at the régime change in Hungary in 1988. She became Member of Parliament of the first freely elected Parliament, where she was dealing with international and migration affairs. She left politics in 1994 and had a professional career at the Council of Europe. In 2012 she returned to the Hungarian politics for the call of former Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai, who formed a new party, Together.

Ms Szelenyi completed studies at the GMAP program within the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Boston (USA) in International Politics and Economics. She holds an MA of Psychology of the University of Eotvos Lorand, Budapest, (Hungary), and an MA of International Relations of the Corvinus University, Budapest, (Hungary) She holds various decision-making functions in several Hungarian and European nongovernmental organizations. She lives in Budapest with her husband and three children.



## JOHN F. TEFFT

Ambassador John F. Tefft served as the United States Ambassador to Russia (2014-2017), Ukraine (2009-2013), Georgia (2005-2009), and Lithuania (2000-2003). Now retired since 2017 after a 45-year career as a United States Foreign Service Officer, Tefft also served earlier in Moscow as Deputy Chief of Mission (1996-1999), Rome (1986-1989), Budapest (1979-1982), and Jerusalem (1972-1974). He was the International Affairs Advisor of the U.S. National War College and the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs responsible for Eastern Europe. Tefft originally retired from the Foreign Service in 2013 and worked as the Executive Director of the RAND Corporation's US-Russian Business Leaders' Forum until he was recalled to duty to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to Russia in 2014. He is the recipient of the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award, and the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award. He is married to Mariella Cellitti Tefft since 1971 and has two daughters and two granddaughters.



## DANIEL TWINING

INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN  
INSTITUTE (IRI)

Daniel Twining joined IRI as president in September 2017, where he leads the Institute's mission to advance democracy and freedom around the world. He heads IRI's team of nearly 400 global experts to link people and governments, motivate people to engage in the political process, and guide politicians and government officials to be responsive to citizens. Previously, he served as counselor and director of the Asia Program at The German Marshall Fund of the United States, based in Washington, DC. As counselor, he served on the executive

management team that governs GMF's annual operations; as director of the Asia Program, he led a team working on the rise of Asia and its implications for the West.

Prior to GMF, Twining served as a member of the U.S. Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff, as foreign policy advisor to U.S. Senator John McCain, and as a staff member of the U.S. Trade Representative. He has taught at Georgetown University and served as a military instructor associated with the Naval Postgraduate School.

He holds a BA with highest distinction from the University of Virginia and MPhil & DPhil degrees from Oxford University, where he was the Fulbright/Oxford Scholar from 2004-07. He has been a columnist for Foreign Policy and Nikkei and has served as an advisor to six presidential campaigns.



## ANDREA L. THOMPSON

UNDER SECRETARY FOR ARMS CONTROL  
AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, U.S.  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Andrea L. Thompson was confirmed as Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security on April 26, 2018. Before her arrival at the Department of State, Under Secretary Thompson served as the Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor to the Vice President.

Prior to her tenure at the White House, Under Secretary Thompson served as the Director of the McChrystal Group Leadership Institute. She brings more than 25 years of service in the United States military to her role, including deployments on multiple combat tours, such as: Intelligence Directorate/J2 Chief of Staff in Afghanistan, Senior Intelligence Officer for Multi-National Division (North) in Iraq, as well as tours in Iraq, Bosnia, and operational and strategic deployments around the world.

Under Secretary Thompson also served as the National Security Advisor for the Chairman, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security and Senior Military Advisor to the Chairman, U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee.

She graduated with honors from the University of South Dakota (Phi Beta Kappa), and received her Masters' Degrees from Long Island University and National Defense University. Under Secretary Thompson is the co-author of the book *Achieving Victory in Iraq: Countering an Insurgency*.

A native South Dakotan, Under Secretary Thompson lives in Alexandria with her family.



## CHRISTOPHER WALKER

VICE PRESIDENT FOR STUDIES AND  
ANALYSIS AT THE NATIONAL  
ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

In this capacity, he oversees the department that is responsible for NED's multifaceted analytical work, which includes the International Forum for Democratic Studies, a leading center for the analysis and discussion of democratic development. The International Forum pursues its goals through several interrelated initiatives: publishing the *Journal of Democracy*, the world's leading publication on the theory and practice of democracy; hosting fellowship programs for international democracy activists, journalists, and scholars; coordinating the Network of Democracy Research Institutes, a global think tank network; and organizing a diverse range of analytical initiatives to explore critical themes relating to democratic development. Prior to joining the NED, Walker was Vice President for Strategy and Analysis at Freedom House. Prior to Freedom House, he was a senior associate at the EastWest Institute, and program manager at the European Journalism Network. Walker has also served as an Adjunct Professor of International Affairs at New York University. He holds a B.A. degree from Binghamton University and an M.A. from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. Walker has testified before congressional committees and appeared regularly in the media. His articles have appeared in numerous publications, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *The American Interest*, *Foreign Policy.com*, *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, *The Moscow Times*, *Politico.com*, *Journal of Democracy*, and *World Affairs*. He is co-editor with Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner of *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, March 2016).





## DAMON M. WILSON

ATLANTIC COUNCIL

Damon M. Wilson is executive vice president of the Atlantic Council, where he is responsible for programs and strategy. His work is committed to advancing a Europe whole, free, and at peace; to strengthening the NATO Alliance; and to fostering a transatlantic partnership capable of tackling global challenges and promoting its common values. From 2007 to 2009, Mr. Wilson served as special assistant to the president and senior director for European affairs at the National Security Council. He managed interagency policy on NATO, the European Union, Georgia, Ukraine, the Balkans, Eurasian energy security, and Turkey, and planned numerous Presidential visits to Europe, including US-European Union and NATO summits. Mr. Wilson has also served at the US Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq as the executive secretary and chief of staff; at the National Security Council as the director for Central, Eastern, and Northern European affairs; and as deputy director in the Private Office of NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson. Prior to serving in Brussels, Mr. Wilson worked in the US Department of State in various positions dealing with European security and China and served in Rwanda with Save the Children. He is a graduate of Duke University, studied at the University of Grenoble in France, and completed his graduate studies at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs. Mr. Wilson also worked with the Unaccompanied Children in Exile refugee program in Croatia and Turkey, and has been decorated by the presidents of Estonia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, and Poland for his efforts to advance transatlantic relations.



## DAVID ZALKALIANI

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF GEORGIA

21 June 2018 - Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. David Zalkaliani was born on 27 February 1968 in Tbilisi. 1992 – Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, specialty International Law 1992-1995 – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Department of International Organizations, Division of European Community; Third Secretary; Second Secretary; First Secretary; Deputy Head of the Division; 1995-1996 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Department of International Organizations, Division of European Organizations; Deputy Head of the Division; 1996-2000 – Embassy of Georgia to Austria; Representation of Georgia to International Organizations in Vienna; First Secretary; Counsellor; 2000-2001 – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia; First European Department; Counsellor; 2001-2002 - Embassy of Georgia to Austria; Representation of Georgia to International Organizations in Vienna; Counsellor; March – September 2002 – Permanent Representation of Georgia to OSCE and International Organizations in Vienna; Deputy Permanent Representative; 2002-2004 - Embassy of Georgia to the United States, Mexico, and Canada; Senior Counsellor; 2004-2007 – Embassy of Georgia to the Republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; January – December 2007 – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Department of Global Relations; Director; December 2007 – January 2008 – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia; Ambassador at Large; January 2008 – September 2009 - Embassy of Georgia to the Republics of Belarus, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; 29 October 2012 – 5 November 2014 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia; First Deputy Minister; 2015 – 8 January 2016 – Executive Director of the Levan Mikeladze Foundation 8 January 2016 – First Deputy Foreign Minister.

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# THE WORLD IN 2018 IS UPSIDE DOWN