



# EURASIA PROGRAM



FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE



*Co-chairs:* Amb. Adrian A. Basora, John R. Haines  
*Director:* Chris Miller  
*Deputy Director:* Maia Otashvili

# EURASIA PROGRAM

The Eurasia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute was founded in 2015 with the aim of examining the political, security, economic, and social trends shaping Europe and Eurasia. The United States today faces a complicated set of challenges and opportunities across the Eurasia region, an area where it is more deeply involved than ever before. A resurgent Russia is challenging the United States across Europe and the Middle East. A string of conflicts across the post-Soviet space continues to smolder. Meanwhile, Europe remains the United States' largest trade partner, and the Eurasia region continues to play a major role in world energy markets, making understanding the region both a political and an economic imperative.

The Eurasia Program aims to provide impartial, evidence-based analysis of the region, drawing on scholarship to illuminate contemporary trends. Eurasia Program scholars are recognized experts with training in history, political science, economics, security studies, and other disciplines. They have deep regional expertise and understanding of the countries about which they write. At a time when the Eurasia region is at the center of America's foreign policy debate, it is imperative that public discussion and government decision-making be grounded in the type of historically minded analysis that Eurasia Program scholars provide.

The Eurasia Program covers the increasingly tense competition roiling the region from several angles. It has a multi-year focus on the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, emphasizing how geography, economics, ideology, and history continue to shape politics and security in both regions. The program also publishes analyses of Russian foreign policy, including Russia's role in Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East. The *Russia Political Economy Project*, along with the *Bear Market Brief (BMB Russia)*, analyzes the linkages between Russia's economy and its political system. The Program also continues to deepen its focus on Russia's role in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly with regard to North Korea's nuclear program. The Eurasia Program's thematic initiatives also include the *Democracy at Risk Initiative*, which examines the trends of democratization and authoritarian pushback in the region.

At a time when Europe, Russia, and Eurasia are playing a major role in American foreign relations, a clear-eyed view of the dynamics of the region, informed by evidence-based scholarship and historical perspective, is as crucial as ever. This is the type of research that the Eurasia Program at FPRI is proud to produce.



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# Baltic Initiative

FPRI's Baltic Initiative is designed to advance Americans' awareness of the region while providing a platform for voices from the region. Questions of security, diplomacy, and politics are an area of focus because these are key questions in these countries' own political debate. Yet, the Baltics' story is much broader than most people realize. From energy to economics and from trade to technology, the future of Europe is being debated and decided in the Baltics. **The Baltic Bulletin** is the Initiative's monthly publication series which shares insights about the region with thousands of readers worldwide. The Baltic Bulletin analyzes the Baltic states and their role in European security. Bulletins feature research by both American experts and analysts from the Baltic States and Central Europe. The Initiative also organizes public events.



@BalticBulletin



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FOREIGN POLICY  
CORRUPTION  
BALTICS & CHINA  
CITIZENSHIP POLICY  
ESTONIA  
DIVERSIFICATION  
DISINFORMATION

## SPOTLIGHT ON:

### DEVELOPMENTS IN BALTIC DEFENSE SINCE TRUMP TOOK OFFICE

*Lukas Milevski*

The Baltic states have felt themselves to be in something of a defense crisis since the Russian annexation of Crimea, which revealed Russia's revisionist intentions to the extent that even Western Europeans began to take them seriously. While all three Baltic states worked to improve their own national defenses, they also had to rely on NATO to provide the resources necessary to deter or, if necessary, defeat Russia. Trump's disparagement of NATO on numerous occasions throughout his campaign and into early 2017 spurred Baltic efforts to improve their own defenses and, for Latvia and Lithuania, to join Estonia in reaching 2% of GDP spent on defense—a goal to which they had already committed by NATO's 2014 Wales summit, but whose urgency Trump's rhetoric redoubled. What in fact have the Baltic states achieved in defense during Trump's first year in office?

In the broader context, in 2017, the forward deployment forces to the Baltic from other NATO member states began to trickle in, as agreed at the 2016 Warsaw Summit. This included even a pair of F35s sent by the United States to their temporary new base in Estonia. This was also the year of Russia's Zapad-2017 military exercise, which although modeling a conflict with the United States in Lithuania and Poland, fortunately failed to live up to the hype generated by the Western press. The United States sent some forces to the Baltic states to calm nerves during this time, including Patriot missile systems for air defense and other forces for small exercises during the summer of 2017.

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# Black Sea Initiative

Through the **Black Sea Initiative**, FPRI aims to affect policy via cutting-edge research, publications, and public events. We are particularly interested in providing a platform for analysts from the Black Sea region, in order to expand the voice that experts from these countries have in Washington and in American public debate more broadly. The Black Sea Initiative produces a regular publication series called the **Black Sea Strategy Papers**. The Eurasia Program is also proud to partner up with **War On The Rocks** on a special Black Sea publication series. The articles will cover a wide array of issues surrounding the Black Sea region including Russia's Black Sea fleet, Ankara-Moscow relations, NATO's Black Sea presence, Georgia's Anaklia city project, and Ukraine's military reform since 2014.

RUSSIAN DISINFORMATION

CAUCASUS DEFENSE ARMENIA

BLACK SEA STRATEGY SOUTH OSSETIA  
FROZEN CONFLICT

RUSSIA TRADE BULGARIA

FOREIGN POLICY CORRUPTION

ENERGY DIVERSIFICATION ABKHAZIA

MOLDOVA UKRAINE

NATURAL GAS RESOURCES

EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION

GEORGIA CRIMEA TRANSNISTRIA

POST SOVIET TURKEY DONBAS

MILITARY BLOC INFORMATION WARFARE  
GEOPOLITICS

 @BlackSeaFPRI

## The 2018 Black Sea Research Agenda

**T**he Black Sea region in recent years has been marked both by sharp shifts and by intractable dilemmas. The biggest shift is Russia, which has expanded its military role throughout the broader Black Sea region even as it stumbles into conflicts with most of its neighbors. A second shift is in Turkey, where relations with other Western powers are at their lowest ebb in decades. Third, the West itself appears unsure whether it will continue pursuing its strategy of integrating Black Sea countries into NATO and the EU. Fourth, China is playing a bigger role in the Black Sea region than it ever has before. **Every great power that touches the Black Sea, in other words, has a strategy that is currently in state of flux.**

Geopolitical shifts have coincided with persistent problems. Most notably, the region's conflicts—some frozen, some less so—remain no closer to resolution. From Moldova's breakaway Transnistria region, to Georgia's Abkhazia and South Ossetia, to the open wound of Ukraine's Donbas—none of these conflicts is closer to resolution this year compared to last. If anything, the passage of time has frozen divisions and reduced the incentive to compromise. One might consider Syria part of the broader Black Sea world insofar as that country's civil war has drawn in Russian and Turkish intervention, and in that Russian warships en route to Syria sail through the Black Sea. Yet, adding Syria to the mix would make the picture no brighter. True, the ISIS Caliphate has collapsed. True also that Russia has declared "mission accomplished" and promised, now for the third time, to withdraw its military forces. Yet, fighting still rages, if perhaps slightly less intensely than a year earlier. There is no guarantee that the new balance of forces within Syria is any more stable than a year ago.

The economic picture of the Black Sea looks slightly brighter, if no less complicated. Russia's economy has emerged from recession, but Turkey's is reeling from sharp currency devaluations. And the regional economy remains divided by politics. As Russia and Turkey have improved their political relations, Russia has removed some trade sanctions that it imposed on Turkish firms. But Russia continues to impose a punishing tariff on Ukrainian imports, in

response to Kyiv's decision to sign a trade agreement with the European Union. Kyiv, in response, levied countermeasures against Russia. Trade has declined to a trickle.

Yet, the conflict between Russia and Western countries is not the only dividing line in the Black Sea. Turkey's relations with Western powers are increasingly adversarial, as Turkey blames the West for funding and arming Kurdish groups that it considers terrorists. The West meanwhile criticizes Turkey for cracking down on its domestic opposition. Turkey has tacked toward Russia in response, and some analysts even ask whether Turkey may leave NATO. Such a move remains unlikely, but it underscores the extent to which the international politics of the Black Sea region are in flux. Understanding the drivers of change is no simple task, particularly given the complexity and opacity of both domestic politics and foreign policy decision-making in many of the region's countries. Nevertheless, a proper understanding is essential, particularly as the United States and Europe remain deeply involved in the region, funding the Ukrainian government, imposing sanctions on Russia, using Turkish airbases to bomb ISIS, importing gas, conducting trade, and participating in military alliances. The Black Sea is near the top of U.S. and European policy makers' agendas in ways that many people do not even realize.

To understand changes in the Black Sea region, FPRI will be continuing to publish Black Sea Strategy Papers throughout 2018. Key themes will include:

- **Russia's changing ambitions and capabilities in the region**
- **Frozen and non-frozen conflicts**
- **Turkey's domestic politics and its relations with neighbors**
- **China's One Belt One Road initiative and its growing Black Sea influence**
- **Successes and failures of Western initiatives in the Black Sea**



## RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

**F**PRI's Russian Political Economy Project was launched in September 2017 and aims to set the stage of a clear-eyed assessment of Russia's political economy trends. The program will feature credible expert analysis on key themes on Russian political economy. The initiative will include a series of events and lectures featuring eight research reports written by leading scholars, as well as a daily newsletter: **BMB Russia**. Are U.S. sanctions on Russia working? Does Russia use its energy resources as a tool to coerce European countries? Will Russia's economic stagnation affect the country's presidential election scheduled for March 2018?

Any assessment of Russian foreign policy and the Kremlin's relations with the United States depends on an understanding of Russian political economy. The Russian Political Economy Project has published papers and hosted events in Washington, New York, and other cities on the subject. Upcoming Russia Political Economy reports will cover the current **Russian-Ukrainian bond dispute**, the **Russian Military Industrial Complex under the sanctions regime**, **Russia's foreign economic relations**, as well as **debt and Russian foreign policy**.





### GOVERNING BUSINESS: THE STATE AND BUSINESS IN RUSSIA



RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
JANUARY 2018

David Szakonyi



### BUYING SUPPORT? PUTIN'S POPULARITY AND THE RUSSIAN WELFARE STATE



RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
FEBRUARY 2018

Sarah Wilson Sokhey



### RUNNING IN PLACE: THE LATEST ROUND OF RUSSIAN ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION



RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
MARCH 2018

Yuval Weber



### CORRUPTION AND POWER IN RUSSIA



RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
APRIL 2018

Noah Buckley



# BMB RUSSIA

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

FPRI's BMB Russia brings you news about Russia's economy, politics, business climate, and political risk environment. It features a daily news brief and blog. BMB Russia also runs a bi-weekly news roundup on Eurasia, covering 11 post-Soviet states. BMB Russia strives to be a resource for specialists and generalists, a platform for analysis, particularly for emerging area experts and academics, and a space for even-handed, fact-based conversations in hopes of improving Russia/Eurasia analysis and coverage.

Sign up for the brief on [www.bearmarketbrief.com](http://www.bearmarketbrief.com)

## THE BRIEF TEAM

Nick Trickett is Editor-in-Chief  
Stephanie Petrella, Deputy Editor  
Helen Simpson, Deputy Editor  
Ola McLees, Deputy Editor  
T.J. Sjostrom, Research Assistant

## COLUMNISTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Aaron Schwartzbaum  
Alex Nice  
Nicholas McCarty  
Anna Nadibaidze  
Fabrice Deprez  
Max Hess

## THE BLOG TEAM

Marita Petherbridge, Manager & Editor  
Eloise Goldsmith, Deputy Blog Editor

BMB Russia is meant **for anyone who wants to understand what is going on in the world of politics and economics** in one of the world's key emerging markets as well as a **peek into the broader Post-Soviet space**. The brief and blog are a resource for those looking for business opportunities, to make sense of one of the U.S.'s most significant bilateral relationships, and to cut through the cacophony of noise out there to find the important signals few outlets cover. We're a team **dedicated to making Russia and Eurasia more accessible**, both to rising area experts and specialists and to those who don't know what kvass is, have no strong opinions about dill, and don't have any feelings about Moscow's macroeconomic policies. It's our aim to bring our passion and the joy our love of the subject brings us to life for others. Finally, **we're here to keep you ahead of the curve and spot what most in English-language media aren't talking about.**

 @BearMarketBrief





# DEMOCRACY AT RISK INITIATIVE

Liberal democracy is under siege globally, and the traditional U.S. policy of defending democracy abroad is very much in question. Does democracy abroad matter to U.S. security interests? Do democracies make safer neighbors and better allies? Does democracy promote peace, security, and economic prosperity? How should the U.S. deal with the democratic recession of the past decade and the authoritarian counter-offensive that has reversed some of the spectacular democracy gains of the 15 years following the fall of the Berlin Wall? These are the issues that

FPRI's Democracy at Risk Initiative aims to address through its publications, events, study groups, and collaborative efforts with many partner institutions.

In 2018-2019, we will team up with University of Pennsylvania's Andrea Mitchell Center to co-sponsor an event series called "Democracy in Trouble?" This collaboration will seek to both examine and counter the trends of democratic backsliding with wide-ranging discussions that reach a diverse audience of students, public, and policymakers.



## DOES DEMOCRACY MATTER? The United States and Global Democracy Support

Edited by Amb. Adrian A. Basora, Agnieszka Marczyk, and Maia Otarashvili  
Rowman & Littlefield, 2017



Does Democracy Matter? Conference at Perry World House, September 2017.

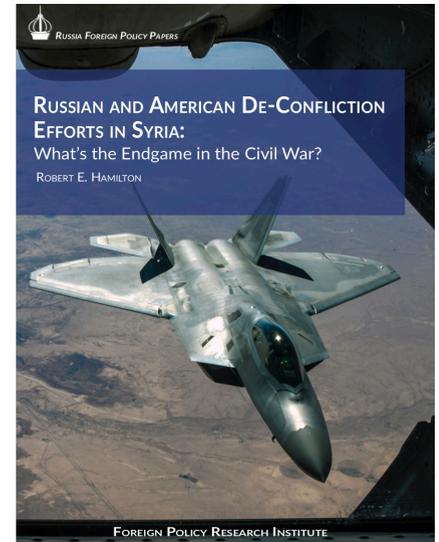


Democracy Promotion in the Age of Trump at Carnegie Council, May 2018

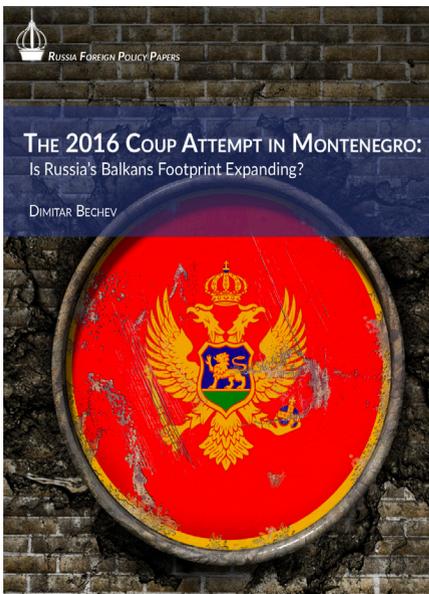


# Russia Foreign Policy Papers

With Russia playing an ever-larger role in global politics, understanding the drivers of Russian foreign policy is crucial. This series of papers examines the factors that shape Russia's relations with countries around the globe. What are Russia's foreign policy goals? What tools has it used to try to achieve them? And to what extent is Russia attaining its aims? Drawing on scholars with deep regional expertise and based on fresh research, Russia Foreign Policy Papers provide new insight into understanding Russia's international role.



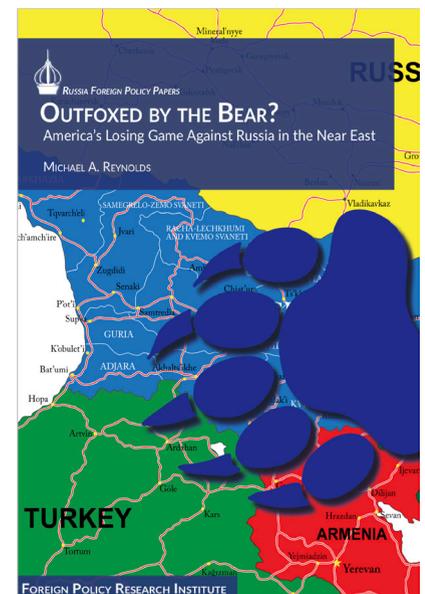
Robert E. Hamilton



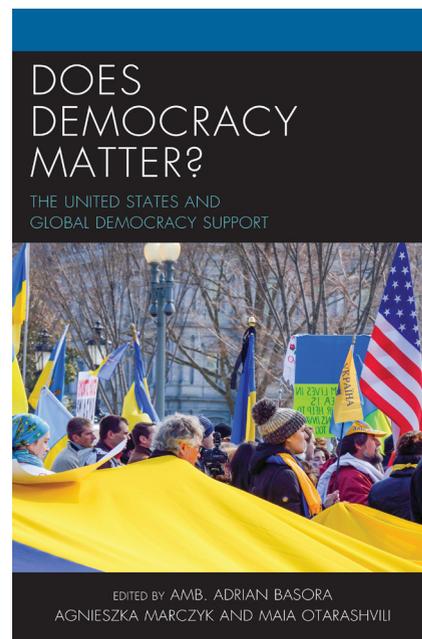
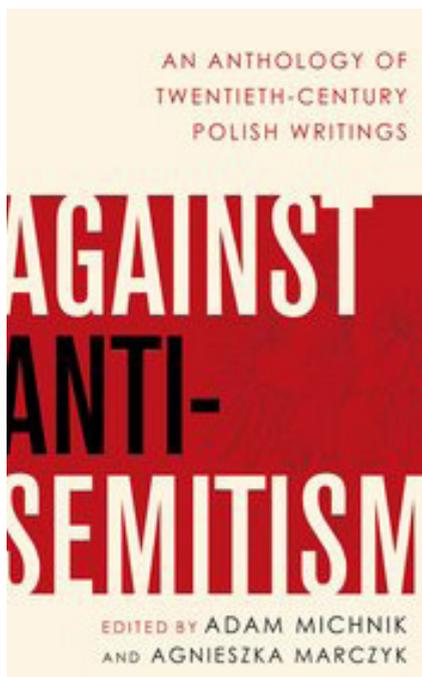
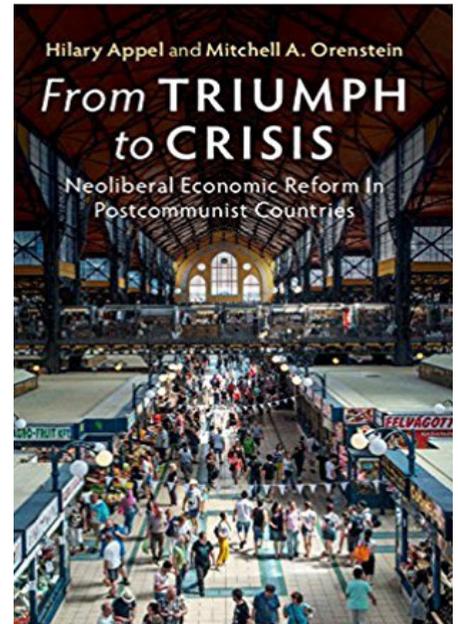
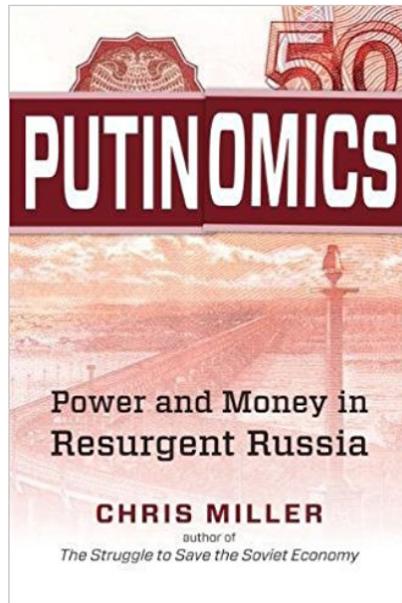
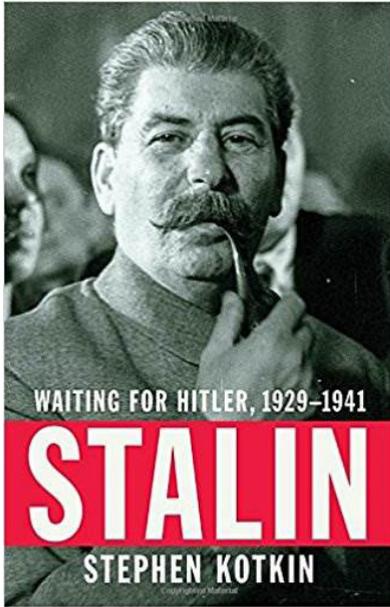
Dimitar Bechev



Joshua Krasna



Michael Reynolds



# LEADERSHIP



**Ambassador Adrian A. Basora** is a FPRI Senior Fellow and co-Chair of its Eurasia Program. He was the last U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and then the first to the Czech Republic, after witnessing Czechoslovakia's peaceful "Velvet Divorce." He spearheaded early U.S. support for democracy and market economics in the Czech and Slovak republics. Immediately prior to that, he was Director for European Affairs at the National Security Council as the Iron Curtain fell, and he participated in the design of U.S. policies and programs to encourage democratic transitions in Central and Eastern Europe. Ambassador Basora holds an MPIA from Princeton University.



**John R. Haines** is a FPRI Senior Fellow and co-Chair of the Eurasia Program. He is a trustee of FPRI, where he is a member of its executive, finance, and nominating committees, and directs FPRI's Princeton Committee. An active investor and entrepreneur whose current efforts focus on nuclear smuggling and terrorism, John founded and directs a private company developing proprietary particle accelerator and fissile material detection technologies for applications in homeland security and national defense.



**Chris Miller** is the Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Eurasia Program. He is also Assistant Professor of International History at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Dr. Miller is the author of *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia* and *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR*. He received his PhD from Yale University and his BA from Harvard University. For more information, see [www.christophermiller.net](http://www.christophermiller.net)



**Maia Otarashvili** is a FPRI Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Eurasia Program. She is co-editor of FPRI's 2017 volume *Does Democracy Matter? The United States and Global Democracy Support*. Her research interests include the geopolitics of the Black Sea-Caucasus region, the post-Communist CEE countries, EU and Russian foreign policy. Maia is a regular contributor for the *Majalla Magazine*. She holds an M.A. in Globalization, Development and Transition from the University of Westminster in London, with emphasis on post-authoritarian transitions. Maia is currently pursuing her PhD at the Department of War Studies, King's College, London, researching the post-Soviet conflicts of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transnistria.



**Stephen Kotkin** is the 2018 Eurasia Fellow at FPRI. Dr. Kotkin is the Birkelund Professor in History and International Affairs at Princeton University, where he directs the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies and co-directs the Program in the History and Practice of Diplomacy. He is also a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He was the business book reviewer for the New York Times Sunday business section (2006-09). His essays and reviews appear in Foreign Affairs, the Wall Street Journal, and the TLS. His Stalin: volume I: Paradoxes of Power, 1878-1928, was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize.



**Nikolas Gvosdev** is a Senior Fellow at the Eurasia Program. Professor of National Security Affairs at the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. He was formerly the Editor of The National Interest magazine and a Senior Fellow at The Nixon Center in Washington, D.C. Gvosdev received his doctorate from St Antony's College, Oxford University, where he studied on a Rhodes Scholarship. A frequent commentator on Russian and Eurasian affairs, his work has appeared in such outlets as Foreign Affairs, The Financial Times, The Los Angeles Times, and Orbis, and he has appeared as a commentator on CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, National Public Radio, and BBC.



**Stephen Blank** is a Senior Fellow at the Eurasia Program, and a Senior Fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council. He has published over 900 articles and monographs on Soviet/Russian, U.S., Asian, and European military and foreign policies, testified frequently before Congress on Russia, China, and Central Asia, consulted for the Central Intelligence Agency, major think tanks and foundations, chaired major international conferences in the U.S. and in Florence; Prague; and London, and has been a commentator on foreign affairs in the media in the U.S. and abroad. He has also advised major corporations on investing in Russia and is a consultant for the Gerson Lehrmann Group.



**Thomas O. Melia** is a Senior Fellow at the Eurasia Program. Mr. Melia is also a fellow with the Human Freedom Initiative at the George W. Bush Institute where he helps lead an effort to reaffirm core values of freedom, free markets, and liberal democracy. One of the goals of the Human Freedom Initiative is to foster a new bipartisan consensus that it is in the American interest to advance these principles at home and around the world. Mr. Melia recently served in two senior positions in the Administration of President Barack Obama. As Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Democracy and Labor from 2010 to 2015, he was responsible for the bureau's work in Europe, South and Central Asia, and the Middle East. From December 2015 to January 2017, he served as Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

# SCHOLARS



**Mitchell A. Orenstein** is a Senior Fellow at the Eurasia Program. He is Professor of Central and East European politics in the Slavic department of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Orenstein's published work has explored the political economy of transition in Central and Eastern Europe, pension privatization worldwide, and the role of policy paradigms in economic reform. His research lies at the intersection of comparative politics, international political economy, and global public policy, employing a problem-driven research approach based on asking policy-relevant questions and answering them through carefully designed, in-depth field research. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Yale University.



**Melinda Haring** is a Fellow at the Eurasia Program. A longtime observer of political developments in the Eurasia region, Melinda has worked for Eurasia Foundation, Freedom House and the National Democratic Institute, where she managed democracy assistance programs in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Russia. She has served as an international election observer in Kazakhstan and Ukraine. A graduate of Georgetown University's Democracy and Governance program, she holds an M.A. in Government with a Certificate in Russian, Eurasian and East European Studies. She is a regular contributor to Foreign Policy's Democracy Lab and is currently writing a book on the Cold War.



**Richard Kraemer** is a Fellow of FPRI's Eurasia Program and formerly senior program officer for Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey at the National Endowment for Democracy. Previously, he oversaw projects in the aforementioned countries and the Levant at the Center for International Private Enterprise. Earlier, he further taught and researched at the Jagellonian University in Poland. He is also an affiliated expert of the Public International Law and Policy Group, having advised the governments of Georgia and Montenegro. He has a particular interest in the role that democracy assistance plays in the maintenance of U.S. national security. He holds a BA from William and Mary and a JD from American University.



**Agnieszka Marczyk** is a Fellow at the Eurasia Program. She holds a Ph.D. in Intellectual History from the University of Pennsylvania, and her research explores how teaching historical thinking skills can help students analyze both the past and the present. Her translations of essays on politics, culture, and democracy have appeared in periodicals like *Common Knowledge*, *The New Republic*, and *Salmagundi*. She holds an M.A. from Bucknell University and a B.A. from Brown University.



**Anna Mikulska**, is a Fellow at the Eurasia Program and a nonresident scholar in energy studies at the Baker Institute and a senior fellow & lecturer at the Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests center around European energy markets and energy policy. She has presented papers at numerous national and international conferences, authored and co-authored articles in the *European Journal of Political Research* and the *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, a chapter in the “Introduction to American Government” textbook as well as energy policy op-eds on *Forbes*. She has served as a reviewer for numerous scholarly journals and was on the editorial board of the law review at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland. She received a law degree from Adam Mickiewicz University, a master’s degree in international relations from the University of Windsor in Canada, and a Ph.D. in political science from the University



**Luis Navarro** is a fellow at FPRI’s Eurasia Program. He served as Senior Resident Director for the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs in Georgia (2009-2014) and as both presidential campaign manager and the last chief of staff for then-United States Senator Joe Biden (2007-2009). He is currently Electoral Strategist for the National Education Association.



**Alexandra Sarlo** is a Fellow at the Eurasia Program. She is currently a Ph.D. candidate and a former Teaching Assistant in Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, with a focus on comparative politics. She also holds an MA from Georgetown University in Russian and East European Studies, and a BA in Russian from Cornell University.



**Aleksandr Fisher** is an Associate Scholar at the Eurasia Program. Aleksandr is pursuing his Ph.D. in Political Science at George Washington University in the fall with an emphasis in comparative politics and international relations. Aleksandr is particularly interested in democratization in the Post-Soviet region, ethnic and identity politics, and the political economy of post-communist states.

# SCHOLARS



**Arzu Geybullayeva** is an Associate Scholar at the Eurasia Program. Based in Istanbul, Turkey, Arzu holds a Master's in Global Politics from London School of Economics and Political Science and serves as managing editor and co-director of Imagine Center for Conflict Transformation. Her research and writing focuses on the Caucasus and the Black Sea region.



**Nick Trickett** is the Editor in Chief of BMB Russia, FPRI's daily briefing on the Russian economy, and a blog manager, columnist, and contributor covering Russian energy. He writes the Tuesday Energy Outlook column as well as the Eurasia Roundup, a twice-monthly supplement on Eurasia. He is a contributor for Global Risk Insights and writes for outlets like The Diplomat and Oilprice.com. He holds an MA in Eurasian studies through the European University at St. Petersburg. He focuses on energy security, economic foreign policy, Russia within China's Belt and Road Initiative, and political economy in the post-Soviet space.



**Simon Hoellerbauer** is an Associate Scholar at the Eurasia Program. A graduate of Kenyon College, he is pursuing a Ph.D. in Political Science, focusing on Comparative Politics and Research Methodology. His research interests include the role democracy assistance plays in democratization and democratic transitions and the how civil society operates in both authoritarian and democratic regimes.



**Aaron Schwartzbaum** is an Associate Scholar in the FPRI Eurasia Program, and is the editor of the FPRI Bear Market Brief. He is currently pursuing an MA in International Relations from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), with concentrations in International Political Economy and International Economics. Prior to starting at SAIS, he worked at Eurasia Group as a researcher for the Eurasia and Global Macro practices. Aaron holds a BA in International Relations and Russian from Haverford College, and has completed the Overseas Language Flagship program in Saint Petersburg, Russia.



**Eriks K. Selga** is an Associate Scholar at the Eurasia Program. He holds LL.M. degree from Temple University. His research interests focus on the legal issues surrounding citizenship and cybersecurity in the Baltic States. Eriks holds an LL.B. from the Riga Graduate School of Law.

# BALTIC SEA FELLOWS



**Una Bergmane** is a Baltic Sea Fellow at the Eurasia Program. She holds a Ph.D. from Sciences Po Paris. She is a 2016-2017 postdoctoral fellow at the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University. Her research focuses on the Soviet disintegration and the end of the Cold War, Russian media propaganda in the Baltic States, and contemporary politics of Latvia.



**Indra Ekmanis** is a Title VIII Research Scholar at the Kennan Institute in the Woodrow Wilson Center. She completed her PhD in International Studies at University of Washington in 2017 where her research focused on social integration and democratic transition in Latvia. Her current project examines the effects of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on Baltic independence movements and post-Soviet transition.



**Anke Schmidt-Felzmann** is a Baltic Sea Fellow in the FPRI Eurasia Program. She holds a PhD from the University of Glasgow (Scotland, UK) and is currently lecturing at the General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania in Vilnius. She has been a research fellow at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in the Special Research Programme on International Studies (Särskilda forskningsprogrammet, SFP) and a post-doctoral fellow at Stockholm University with a grant from the Swedish Research Agency (Vetenskapsrådet). Over the past five years she has been a visiting researcher at the Latvian Institute of International Affairs (LIIA) in Riga, at the Centre for EU-Russia Studies in Tartu (Estonia), at ARENA Centre of European Studies at the University of Oslo, at the Centre for European Politics at Copenhagen University and at the Danish Institute of International Affairs (DIIS).

# BLACK SEA FELLOWS



**U.S. Army Colonel Robert E. Hamilton** is an Associate Professor of Eurasian Studies at the U.S. Army War College and a Black Sea Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. In a 30-year career in the U.S. Army, spent primarily as a Eurasian Foreign Area Officer, he served overseas in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Germany, Belarus, Qatar, Afghanistan, the Republic of Georgia, Pakistan and Kuwait. He is the author of numerous articles and monographs on conflict and security issues, focusing principally on the former Soviet Union and the Balkans. He is a graduate of the German Armed Forces Staff College and the U.S. Army War College and holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the United States Military Academy, a Master's Degree in Contemporary Russian Studies and a Ph.D. in Political Science, both from the University of Virginia.



**Selim Koru** is an analyst at the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), where his research focuses on Turkish politics and foreign policy. Before TEPAV, he worked and interned at various media organizations. Selim holds a BA in History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison an MA in International Relations and Economics from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Koru has published in outlets such as War on the Rocks, Foreign Policy, and Foreign Affairs.

# MEDIA APPEARANCES



# PROGRAM PARTNERS

Russia Matters



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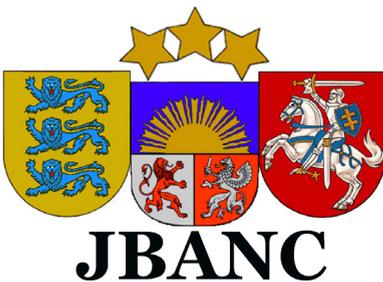
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