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2500 Calvert Street N.W.
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BANQUET KEYNOTE SPEAKER



Carl Gershman is President of the National Endowment for Democracy, a private, congressionally supported grant-making institution with the mission to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. In addition to presiding over the Endowment's grants program in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and Latin America, he has overseen the creation of the quarterly *Journal of Democracy*, International Forum for Democratic Studies, and the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program. He also took the lead in launching in New Delhi in 1999 the World Movement for Democracy, which is a global network of democracy practitioners and scholars. Mr. Gershman is currently

encouraging other democracies to establish their own foundations devoted to the promotion of democratic institutions in the world.

Prior to assuming the position with the Endowment, Mr. Gershman was Senior Counselor to the United States Representative to the United Nations, in which capacity he served as the U.S. Representative to the U.N.'s Third Committee that deals with human rights issues, and also as Alternate Representative of the U.S. to the U.N. Security Council.

While at the U.S. Mission to the U.N., Mr. Gershman also served as lead consultant to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and helped draft the final report.

Prior to his assignment at the United States Mission to the United Nations, Mr. Gershman was a Resident Scholar at Freedom House and Executive Director of Social Democrats, USA.

Mr. Gershman has lectured extensively and written articles and reviews on foreign policy issues for such publications as: *Commentary*, *The New Leader*, *The New Republic*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *Democratization*, *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Democracy*. He is the co-editor of *Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East* (Bantam, 1972) and the author of *The Foreign Policy of the American Labor* (Sage, 1975). He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Council on Foreign Relations.

He received The Order of the Knight's Cross, Government of Poland; President's Medal, George Washington University; The Distinguished Person for Advancing Democracy in China, Chinese Education Democracy Foundation; International Campaign for Tibet's 2005 Light of the Truth Award and Romania's National Order of "faithful service"; Order of Diplomatic Service Merit (Heung-In Medal) of the Republic of Korea; Lithuanian Diplomacy Star of the Government of Lithuania; Leadership in International Relations Award of the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute; The Freedom Award of the Atlantic Council, received on behalf of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

Mr. Gershman was born in New York City on July 20, 1943. He graduated Magna Cum Laude from Horace Mann Preparatory School in 1961; received a B.A. degree from Yale University, Magna Cum Laude in 1965 and M.Ed. from Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1968.

Mr. Gershman is married to Laurie Pfeffer. They have three children (Sarah, Joseph and Jacob).

SPEAKER - MODERATOR BIOGRAPHIES

In Conference Program Order



Petro Kostiv is the current President of the Ukrainian American Bar Association, resides in Los Angeles and runs the main office of Kostiv & Associates, P.C. His areas of practice include various aspects of business law, bankruptcy, and immigration. Mr. Kostiv focuses on helping foreign investors to open and develop their businesses in the United States. He also advises American individuals and businesses on how to succeed in foreign business environments. For his undergraduate degree, Mr. Kostiv attended UC Berkeley. He later received an MA in Political Science from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban.

Thereafter, he completed his JD at the University Of Michigan School of Law in Ann Arbor. While at the University of Michigan, Mr. Kostiv spent a summer working at the Supreme Court of Argentina and studying Argentine law at a law school in Buenos Aires. He is admitted to the California State Bar and the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California.



Ivanna Bilych is General Counsel for Razom Ukrainian-American Human Rights organization RAZOM. Ivanna is a lawyer and activist. She represented Viktor Smalyy, an attorney from Ukraine prosecuted by the former regime and helped mobilize and advocacy campaign in support of him. Ivanna Bilych holds a Masters in International Affairs from Columbia University and LLM from NYU School of Law. She also received her LL.B. degree and LL.M. degree from Kyiv National T. Shevchenko University.



Victor Rud has more than thirty-five years of experience as an international attorney. Before Ukrainian independence, he was co-counsel, in the West, for members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Accords Watch Group, and for other dissidents in Ukraine. He was also counsel to the U.S. Public Member to the Helsinki Accords Review Conference in Madrid. Mr. Rud is a founder and past Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Ukrainian American Bar Association, and presently is the Chairman of its Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Policy. He is an honors graduate of Harvard University and Duke Law School.



Hon. Volodymyr Vassilenko is a pre-eminent Ukrainian legal scholar, jurist, and diplomat whose fifty-year long career has been illustrious in each of these fields. For over 25 years he has been a renowned professor of Public International Law at the Institute of Foreign Relations of the National Kyiv University. He was legal advisor to the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine. He was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Belgium, (non-resident) to

the Netherlands and Luxemburg; to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and (non-resident) to Ireland, as well as Representative of Ukraine to the European Union, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the International Maritime Organization. He was Judge *ad litem* of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. He was Representative of Ukraine to the UN Commission on Human Rights. He participated in a number of important international Conferences and Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. He also formed part of the Ukrainian delegation at the Summits of the Commonwealth of Independent States. He has also served as Representative of Ukraine to the UN Council on Human Rights, Deputy Representative of Ukraine to the Venice Commission, Agent of Ukraine to the International Court of Justice in the case of Ukraine v. Romania concerning the delimitation of maritime space in the Black Sea.



Danylo Kurdelchuk is a Ukrainian attorney and the president of the firm, Ukriniurkolegia, the Ukrainian Bar for Foreign Affairs, located in Kyiv, Ukraine. During his four decade career, he has concentrated on representing Ukrainian individual and corporate interests worldwide -- from North America to Australia, North Africa and the Persian Gulf. His experience includes such issues as the representation of a major Ukrainian gas utility in commercial negotiations and litigation matters throughout the world; to representing certain EU embassies on legal issues in Ukraine; to class action litigations such as the WW II Slave and Forced Labor litigations against German and Austrian Industry that culminated in settlements awarding compensation of over \$1.2 Billion US to Ukrainian victims alone. Danylo Kurdelchuk regularly participates in

international negotiations as a member of and legal counsel to official Ukrainian governmental delegations and, since 2002, has been the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Panama to Ukraine.



Myroslava Gongadze, TV anchor and reporter for VOA's Ukrainian Service, has won numerous awards for her accomplishments as a journalist, including her reporting on the eve of the 2004 Orange Revolution, and as a champion of democracy and independent media. Gongadze, who came to the United States as a political refugee in 2001, has gained an international reputation for her support of press freedom in countries of the former Soviet Union. She is the widow of Georgy Gongadze, an investigative reporter who was allegedly murdered by government police in Ukraine in 2000. After her husband's death, Gongadze formed the Gongadze Foundation, an internationally recognized organization dedicated to protecting journalistic rights and freedoms,

providing support to the families of journalists killed in the line of duty and promoting the investigation of her husband's murder. She won a landmark negligence ruling against the Ukrainian government from the European Court of Human Rights in November 2005. Gongadze has been awarded a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship to study the role of the media in Ukraine's transition to democracy (2001), and was ranked 52nd in a top 100 of "most influential women in Ukraine" compiled by experts for the Ukrainian magazine "Focus" (2010), after being ranked 91st in the same survey the previous year.



Paul Goble is a longtime specialist on ethnic and religious questions in Eurasia. Most recently, he was director of research and publications at the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy. Earlier, he served as vice dean for the social sciences and humanities at Audentes University in Tallinn and a senior research associate at the EuroCollege of the University of Tartu in Estonia. While there, he launched the "Window on Eurasia" series. Prior to joining the faculty there in 2004, he served in various capacities in the U.S. State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the International Broadcasting Bureau as well as at the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He writes frequently on ethnic and religious issues

and has edited five volumes on ethnicity and religion in the former Soviet space. A graduate of Miami University in Ohio and the University of Chicago, he has been decorated by the governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for his work in promoting Baltic independence and the withdrawal of Russian forces from those formerly occupied lands.

Ernest Constant Raskauskas, Jr. practices law in Washington, D.C. He previously chaired the Lithuania Working Group with the American Bar Association's Central and Eastern European Law Initiative (CEELI), establishing training centers for Commercial Law and for Judicial Training in Lithuania, and organized numerous Rule of Law Projects. He was appointed by the Lithuanian Seimas (Parliament) Foreign Advisor to the Constitutional Drafting Committee for the Constitution adopted in 1992, following independence from the USSR. He served for over a decade on the Board of Trustees of The American University of Rome. He has represented the Lithuanian Embassy in Washington, D.C.



David J. Kramer is president of Freedom House, which he joined in October 2010. Prior to joining Freedom House, Mr. Kramer was a Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. He was an Adjunct Professor at the Elliott School for International Affairs at The George Washington University. Before joining GMF, Mr. Kramer served as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor from March 2008 to January 2009. He also was a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, responsible for Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus affairs, as well as regional non-proliferation issues. Previously, he served as a Professional Staff Member in the Secretary of State's Office of Policy Planning. Before that he served as Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs. He also was Executive Director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy in Washington. Before joining the U.S. Government, Mr. Kramer was a Senior Fellow at the Project for the New American Century, Associate Director of the Russian and Eurasian Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Assistant Director of Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, all in Washington. Prior to moving to Washington, he was a Lecturer in Russian Studies at Clark University in Worcester, MA and a Teaching Fellow at Harvard University. He also served as an analyst for the Christian Science Monitor Network during the collapse of the Soviet Union. A native of Massachusetts, Mr. Kramer received his M.A. in Soviet studies from Harvard University and his B.A. in Soviet Studies and Political Science from Tufts University.



Robert A. McConnell, Esq. is a political consultant with the firm of R.A. McConnell & Associates. He has been very active in matters concerning Ukraine since the late 1970s playing a significant role in the Congress establishing the Ukraine Famine Commission in the 1980s, was a leader in gathering Washington support for the celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine (1988) and seeing to it that no American official participated in Mikhail Gorbachev's fraudulent ceremonies claiming the millennium for Russia, Co-Founded the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation in 1990 (which opened an office in Kyiv in late 1990 – Ukraine was still in the Soviet Union – making the Foundation the oldest American presence in Ukraine) and between 1990 and 1993 testified or submitted testimony in approximately 30 hearings relevant to events in Ukraine. Mr. McConnell has been Vice President of a technology development company and spent eleven years at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP having established and co-chaired the firm's Legislative Advocacy & Government Relations Practice Group. During the years of 1985-1988, he was with CBS, Inc. as Vice President of its Washington Bureau.. Throughout the entire first term of President Reagan, he was Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, United States Department of Justice. He practiced law in Arizona from 1973 through January 1981, and immediately after law school (1970-1973) he was a Legislative Assistant to Congressman John J. Rhodes (R-AZ)



Hon. Mykola Onischuk, S.J.D. is a Ukrainian politician and lawyer, with a Doctor of Law degree. Presently, he is rector of the National School of Judges of Ukraine. He is the President of the Institute of Legal Policy and was a member of the Constitutional Assembly (May 2012). He is the First Deputy Chairman of the Union of Lawyers of Ukraine, President of the Kyiv branch of the Union of Lawyers of Ukraine and Vice President of the World Congress of Ukrainian Lawyers. He is the co-founder and a member of the Charitable Fund for Political and Legal Reforms and served as Ukraine's Minister of Justice from 2007 to 2010.



Dr. Nadia Diuk serves as Vice President, Programs for Europe, Eurasia, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). For over twenty years prior to her appointment as Vice President, she supervised NED programs in Europe and Eurasia. She has published articles in *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Washington Times*, *The Journal of Democracy*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and numerous other publications. Dr. Diuk has also appeared on

the PBS Nightly News Hour, Al-Jazeera, and CNN International, and has given radio interviews on the Diane Rehm Show (NPR), BBC, and Sirius XM The Agenda. Dr. Diuk is the author of *The Next Generation in Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan: Youth, Politics, Identity and Change* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), and co-author of *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence* (John Wiley & Sons, 1993) and *The Hidden Nations : The People Challenge the Soviet Union* (William Morrow and Company, 1990). She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and holds a Doctorate (D. Phil.) in Modern History from St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.



H.E. Žygimantas Pavilionis, is the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Lithuania to the United States of America and Mexico. From 2009-2010, he was Ambassador-at-Large, Transatlantic Cooperation and Security Policy Department, Coordinator for Lithuania's Presidency of the Community of Democracies. He previously served as Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania and was Counsellor at the Lithuanian Permanent Mission to the European Communities, Minister Counsellor, Brussels. He started his diplomatic career in 1993 serving as Third Secretary of West European Division; Assistant of Political Director; First Secretary, Head of Political Cooperation Division, European Integration Department. Amb. Pavilionis graduated from

the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University and obtained a Master of Philosophy and a PhD at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science at Vilnius University.



H.E. Igor Munteanu is the Ambassador of the Republic of Moldova to the United States of America and Mexico. He serves in this capacity from September 2010 and has also represented Moldova as Non-Resident Ambassador to Canada (2010 – 2013) and Mexico (2010 till now). He started his professional career as Policy Advisor to the First President of Moldova (1992-1994). He earned his MA in 1992 in Political Analysis at the SNSPA (National School of Political Sciences and Administration) in Romania and a PhD in Public Law at ULIM (International University of Moldova) in 2012. Since 1996 till 1999 he acted as Chief-Editor of the Political Science Journal 'Arena Politicii'. Since 1995, he established one of the most prowess think tanks in Moldova, which emerged into a national

independent center in public policy and economic and political research. He was associated with RFERL (Radio Free Europe, based in Prague) and SEER Journal of Social and Labor Affairs in Dusseldorf (Hans Boeckler Stiftung). He joined the Institutional Committee of the Council of Europe (in Strasbourg), where he acquired experience in regional governance and the EU. He continues to lecture at the ASEM (Academy of Economic Studies) in Chisinau, Moldova. He is an author and contributor to several books and publications.



Hon. George Khelashvili serves as Deputy Chief of Mission at Embassy of Georgia to the United States. He joined Foreign Ministry in 1997 as a policy analyst at the Center for Foreign Policy Research and Analysis. Afterwards, Mr. Khelashvili was Assistant Professor of International Relations and Research Director of the Center for Social Sciences at Tbilisi State University. He completed his doctoral thesis on U.S. policy toward Georgia at the University of Oxford. Before the current appointment, he served as deputy director of the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry of Georgia.



H.E. Olexander Motsyk is Ambassador of Ukraine to the U.S. Being a career diplomat, Ambassador Motsyk has worked for more than 30 years in the field of foreign relations. Prior to his assignment in the U.S. he served as Ambassador of Ukraine to Turkey and Poland. He was also Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for a number of years. He headed Ukrainian delegations at negotiations with the Russian Federation on delimitation of state borders, maritime delimitation in the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait, with Romania on the legal status of the state border and establishment of the Agreement on Delimitation of the Continental Shelf and the Exclusive Economic Zone in the Black Sea, and the European Commission on readmission issues. Ambassador Motsyk graduated summa cum laude in 1981 from the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University, School of International Relations, Department of International Law. He published numerous essays and articles in the field of international law and international relations, in particular on succession of states in respect of state property, archives and debts, the Law of the Sea, on Black Sea Economic Cooperation, bilateral Ukrainian-Turkish, Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-American relations.



Hon. Bohdan A. Futey is a Judge on the United States Court of Federal Claims in Washington, DC, appointed by President Ronald Reagan in May 1987. Judge Futey has been active in various Rule of Law and Democratization Programs in Ukraine since 1991. He served as an advisor to the Working Group on Ukraine's Constitution, adopted June 28, 1996. Judge Futey is a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany, and is a visiting professor at Kyiv-Mohyla University School of Law. Judge Futey graduated from Western Reserve University receiving a B.A. in 1962 and an M.A. in 1964; he received a Doctor of Law degree from Cleveland Marshall Law School in 1968. Judge Futey formerly served as Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States from May 1984 until his appointment to the Federal bench. Previously, he was a partner in the law firm of Bazarko, Futey and Oryshkewych, 1975 - 1984; Executive Assistant to the Mayor of Cleveland, 1974-75; Chief Assistant Police Prosecutor, City of Cleveland, 1972-74; and a partner in the law firm of Futey & Rakowsky, 1968 - 1972.



Amb. William Green Miller is a graduate of Williams College, the University of Oxford and Harvard University. Amb. Miller joined the United States Foreign Service in 1959 and served as a diplomat in Iran through 1964. His career then moved on to the position of a staffer for Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and in the Senate for John Sherman Cooper. From 1981 to 1983, he served as Associate Dean and Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. In 1986, Mr. Miller was a Research Fellow at the Harvard Institute of Politics and became President of the American Committee on United States-Soviet Relations. From 1993 to 1998, he served as the United States Ambassador to Ukraine. Amb. Miller is currently a Senior Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., as well as a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and the Middle East Institute. He is the co-Chairman of the Kyiv Mohyla Foundation of America and a Director of The Andrei Sakharov Foundation. He has also been a senior consultant for the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.



Amb. John Edward Herbst is the director of the Atlantic Council's Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center. Ambassador Herbst served for thirty-one years as a Foreign Service officer in the US Department of State, retiring at the rank of career-minister. He was the US ambassador to Ukraine (2003-2006). Prior to his ambassadorship in Ukraine, he was the ambassador to Uzbekistan (2000-03). In his last four years at the State Department, he served as the coordinator for reconstruction and stabilization, leading the US government's civilian capacity in societies in transition from conflict or civil strife, and to provide support to countries at risk of instability. Ambassador Herbst previously served as US consul general in Jerusalem; principal deputy to the ambassador-at-large for the Newly Independent States; the director of the Office of Independent States and

Commonwealth Affairs; director of regional affairs in the Near East Bureau; and at the embassies in Tel Aviv, Moscow, and Saudi Arabia. He most recently served as director of the Center for Complex Operations at National Defense University



Amb. Steven Pifer is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, where his work focuses on arms control, Ukraine and Russia. A retired Foreign Service officer, his more than 25 years with the State Department included assignments as deputy assistant secretary of state with responsibilities for Russia and Ukraine (2001-2004), U.S. ambassador to Ukraine (1998-2000), and special assistant to the president and senior director for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia on the National Security Council (1996-1997). He served at the United States Embassies in Warsaw, London and Moscow, and as advisor on the U.S. delegation to the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces in Geneva. He was a Visiting Scholar at the Stanford Institute for International Studies in 2000-2001.



Amb. Roman Popadiuk, the former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, is a principal in Bingham Consulting. A retired member of the career Senior Foreign Service, Amb. Popadiuk brings more than 30 years of experience in the areas of national security, political risk analysis, communications strategy and energy policy, including serving on the National Security Councils of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. With his vast experience and contacts that span the globe, Amb. Popadiuk brings a unique insight into international political and business matters. Prior to joining the firm, he served for 13 years as the executive director of the George Bush Presidential Library Foundation at Texas A&M University. At Texas A&M, Amb. Popadiuk also served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the China-U.S. Relations Conference, a biennial conference

that examined the mutual relationship between the two countries. He served as International Affairs advisor and senior civilian on the staff of the Commandant of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at Fort McNair from 1995 to 1998. Prior to serving in that capacity, Amb. Popadiuk spent two years as a member of the faculty of the School of Area Studies at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute. From 1989 to 1992, Amb. Popadiuk served as deputy assistant to the President and deputy secretary for Foreign Affairs under President George H. W. Bush, a position he also held toward the end of President Ronald Reagan's administration.