



**THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE
AND THE BALTIC**

SYMPOSIUM PROGRAMME

Peterhouse Lecture Theatre, Cambridge, 4 April, 2023

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The year 2024 marks the 10th anniversary of the revolution in Ukraine, which was a landmark event in the evolution of the post-Cold War world order. What in the end of 2013 started as a diplomatic showdown between Kyiv, Brussels and Moscow over Ukraine's association agreement with the European Union, ended in the bloodiest conflict in Europe since the Second World War. Ukraine's bold shift westwards in 2014 was closely intertwined with the Baltic region, which both influenced the events in Ukraine, and was influenced by them. Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea and invasion of parts of Donbas in 2014 led to a gradual rethinking of security policy in the Baltic, including defence planning, military spending, troop deployment and the overall position of the region in the Euro-Atlantic security architecture. Revolution in Ukraine also reopened the questions of Ukraine's membership in, and Russia's relationship with, NATO. In the realm of energy policy, the region that had been largely dependent on Russian fossil fuels now faced ethical and security of supply concerns, while some states still opted to continue or even to increase their dependence on Russian energy. Ukraine's geopolitical re-orientation also rekindled the historical memory of Ukraine's association with the region and inspired thinking about the future geopolitical block of the 'lands in between'. This symposium brings together the leading experts of history, theory and practice of international relations to discuss the Baltic role in, and Baltic responses to, the revolution in Ukraine and its immediate aftermath in 2014.

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

09.15 – 09.30: INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME by Prof. Brendan Simms and Rt Hon. Charles Clarke

09.30 – 10.15: KEYNOTE LECTURE 'Reflections upon Maidan in 2014' by Rt Hon Baroness Catherine Ashton LG, GCMG (EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2009-2014)

10.15 – 11.30: PANEL 1: BALTIC PERSPECTIVES – FROM TALLINN TO WARSAW

Chair: Dr. Hugo Bromley

Dr. Argita Daudze (Latvian Ambassador to Kyiv, 2011-2015)

Mr. Lukasz Kulesa (Deputy Head of Research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs), 'Between enthusiasm and caution: Poland and Ukraine in 2014'

TBC

11.30 – 11.45: Tea break

11.45 – 13.00: PANEL 2: UKRAINE 2014 – BETWEEN BRUSSELS, MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON

Chair: Prof. Brendan Simms

Rt Hon. Baroness Catherine Ashton (EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2009-2014)

Mr. Mark Voyger (American University Kyiv; Special Advisor on Russian and Eurasian Affairs to LTG Ben Hodges, the Commanding General of US Army Europe, 2013-2018)

Dr. Sergey Utkin (University of Southern Denmark)

Mr. Vygaudas Ušackas (EU Ambassador to Moscow, 2013-2017), 'The West and Russia: clash of the worldviews'

13.00 – 14.00: Buffet lunch

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

14.00 – 15.15: PANEL 3: THE MINSK AGREEMENTS – A LOST OPPORTUNITY, OR ANOTHER MUNICH?

Chair: Dr. Donatas Kupciunas

Prof. Richard Sakwa (University of Kent), 'The Minsk Syndrome'

Dr. Andreas Umland (Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies), 'The ridicule of decentralization in the Minsk Agreements: Russian conceptual manipulation and Ukrainian political realities'

Dr. Erich Vad (retired Brigadier General, Bundeswehr; Military Policy Advisor to Chancellor Angela Merkel, Director of Security Policy in the Federal Chancellery, and Secretary of the Federal Security Council, 2006-2013), 'The Minsk Agreements: failings or hopeful diplomatic initiatives?'

Mr. Pavel Slunkin (Visiting Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations; former Belarusian diplomat), 'A Picture of Us in the Mirror of Minsk'

15.15 – 15.30: Tea break

15.30 – 16.30: PANEL 4: THE VIEW ACROSS THE BALTIC – UKRAINE 2014 FROM THE NORDIC PERSPECTIVE

Chair: Mr. Trevelyan Wing

Dr. Erkki Tuomioja (Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2000-2007 and 2011-2015), 'Finland: From non-alignment to NATO member in less than one year'

Ambassador Christian Syse (Special Representative for Ukraine, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 'Ukraine and the Baltics as seen from a founding member of NATO'

Ms. Anna Wieslander (Northern Europe Director at the Atlantic Council and Chair of the Board at the Institute for Security and Development Policy), 'Sweden: A brutal awakening and the Hultqvist Doctrine'

Dr. Hans Mouritzen (Senior Researcher, Danish Institute for International Studies), 'Danish and Nordic Russia-policies around the time of Maidan'

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

16.30 – 17.30: ROUNDTABLE – 10 YEARS AFTER EUROMAIDAN

Chair: Rt Hon. Charles Clarke

Ambassador Kaimo Kuusk (Estonian Ambassador to Vilnius; Estonian Ambassador to Kyiv, 2019-23)

Mr. Pavlo Klimkin (Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2014-2019)

Ambassador Matti Maasikas (Head of EU delegation to Ukraine, 2019-2023)

Dr. Heiko Biehl (Research Director at the Bundeswehr Center for Military History and Social Sciences)

17.30 – 17.35: Closing remarks

17.45 – 18.45: Reception and Baltic Geopolitics Programme Publication Award

19.00: Dinner

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

Bibliographies of Participants

Ashton, Catherine. Baroness Catherine Ashton served as the European Union's first High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy between 2009 and 2014. Previously she was EU Commissioner for Trade, served as a Minister in the Departments of Education and Justice, and was Leader of the House of Lords. Baroness Ashton is a Distinguished Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars in Washington D.C and senior advisor to the Geneva based organisation, Humanitarian Dialogue, and author of the book "And then What?" She has received many awards especially for her work on the Iran nuclear deal and the Brussels Agreement between Serbia and Kosovo, as well as support to Ukraine. Most recently the Order of the Garter was bestowed on her by HM King in June 2023.

Biehl, Heiko.

Bretan, Juliette.

Bromley, Hugo.

Clarke, Charles. Joint Programme Leader, Baltic Geopolitics Programme, Centre for Geopolitics, University of Cambridge. Secretary of State for Education and Skills, 2002-2004; Home Secretary, 2004-2006. He now holds Visiting Professorships at Lancaster University and Kings College London and works with educational organisations internationally. He is a consultant on international education reform for Cambridge Partnership for Education. In 2011 the Centre for European Reform published his 'The EU and Migration: A Call for Action'. In 2014 he published 'The Too Difficult Box', an analysis of the problems which need to be overcome in promoting change, and in September 2015 two studies in political leadership, 'British Labour Leaders' and 'British Conservative Leaders'; in 2015 he wrote, with Professor Linda Woodhead, "A New Settlement, Religion and Belief in Schools"; in 2020 he wrote, with Professor Ed Byrne, "The University Challenge". Mr Clarke read mathematics and economics at Kings College Cambridge.

Daudze, Argita.

Klimkin, Pavlo. Co-founder of the Centre for National Resilience and Development and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. He holds a Master's degree in Physics and Applied Mathematics from the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology. He worked as a researcher in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, before joining the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry in 1993, where his main profiles were arms control and security, nuclear safety, energy security, the EU and NATO. He was head of the negotiating team for the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the EU visa-free regime for Ukraine. He has been posted to Germany and the UK, including as Ambassador to Germany. Klimkin is a Member of the Board of the Come Back Alive foundation.

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

Kulesa, Lukasz. Deputy Head of Research Office at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. His areas of expertise include nuclear and conventional deterrence, arms control, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Russian security policy, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the transatlantic security relationship. From 2010 to 2012, he served as the deputy director of the Strategic Analyses Department at the Polish National Security Bureau. His publications include *Strategic Arms Control Deadlock and the Possible Ways Out*, in: "Russia's War on Ukraine. The Implications for the Global Nuclear Order" (2023), *Russia's military after Ukraine: down but not out* (2022), *Poland and the OSCE* (2021), *Dilemmas of Arms Control: Meeting the Interests of NATO's North-Eastern Flank* (2020), *Operationalizing the "Polish fangs": Poland and long-range precision strike* (2020), *The Future of Deterrence: Effectiveness and Limitations of Conventional and Nuclear Postures* (2019), *Managing Hazardous Incidents in the Euro-Atlantic Area: A New Plan of Action*, (co-author, ELN, 2016). Kulesa holds a master's degree in international relations and European studies from the Central European University and is a graduate of the law department of the Jagiellonian University

Kupciunas, Donatas. Baltic Fellow, Centre for Geopolitics, and Research Fellow, Wolfson College, University of Cambridge. Dr. Kupciunas specializes in modern international history, with a focus on relations between East/Central and Western Europe after 1918, cultural and intellectual history of diplomacy, geopolitics of the Baltic sea region, NATO eastward expansion and contemporary Russian foreign policy. He holds a DPhil in History at the University of Oxford, a Master of Laws in Public International Law at Leiden University, a Master of Arts in International Relations and European Studies from the Central European University, and a BA in Political Science at Vilnius University. His book 'The Vilnius conflict in European diplomacy, 1919-1923' is forthcoming with Oxford University Press. Dr Kupciunas teaches MPhil courses on the history of geopolitics of the Baltic sea region and supervises undergraduate students in the field of international security.

Kuusk, Kaimo. Estonian ambassador to Lithuania. Arrived to Vilnius in August 2023 directly from Ukrainian capital Kyiv where he was Estonian ambassador since 2019. Before these two postings he worked for more than 20 years in Estonian Foreign Intelligence Service.

Maasikas, Matti. Principal Adviser, European External Action Service. In 2019-2023, he headed the EU Delegation to Ukraine. From 2011 until 2016, he was the Permanent Representative of Estonia to the European Union. Matti Maasikas holds a degree in History from Tartu University (1993).

McRae, Isabelle.

Mouritzen, Hans.

Sakwa, Richard. Professor Emeritus of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent at Canterbury and a Senior Research Fellow at the National Research University-Higher School of Economics in Moscow. He has published widely on Russian, post-communist and international affairs. His book *Deception: Russiagate and the New Cold War* was published by Lexington Books in early 2022, and his latest book, *The Lost Peace: How the West Failed to Prevent a Second Cold War*, was published with Yale University Press in 2023.

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

Simms, Brendan. Founder and Director of the Centre for Geopolitics, University of Cambridge; Professor of History, University of Cambridge. He works on European geopolitics, past and present, and his principal interests are the German Question, Britain and Europe, Hitler's global anti-semitism, Humanitarian Intervention and state construction. He teaches at both undergraduate and graduate level in the Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS); he also supervises history undergraduates at Peterhouse, Cambridge. His MPhil courses on the History of European Geopolitics use scenarios as part of the teaching and learning process. He has supervised PhD dissertations on subjects as diverse as Intervention and State Sovereignty in the Holy Roman Empire, Sinn Fein, the American colonists and the eighteenth-century European state system, the Office of the UN High Representative in Bosnia, and German Civil-Military relations. Professor Simms is a frequent contributor to print and broadsheet media. He has advised governments and parliaments, and spoken at Westminster, in the European Parliament (Brussels) and at think-tanks in the United Kingdom, the United States and in many Eurozone countries.

Slunkin, Pavel. Visiting fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations based in ECFR's Warsaw office. He works on Belarus-related issues: its domestic and foreign policy, its relations with Russia, the European Union, and the United States. Prior to joining ECFR, he worked for the foreign ministry of Belarus. Pavel participated in the Minsk talks and worked as a political analyst at the embassy of Belarus in Lithuania. In 2020, he resigned in protest over the rigged elections and violence against the Belarusian people. He holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from Belarusian State University and is an alumnus of several programs at Clingendael Institute of International Relations in the Netherlands, Wake Forest University in the US, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Germany.

Syse, Christian.

Tamus, Elvira Viktoria.

Tuomioja, Erkki.

Umland, Andreas. Analyst at the Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies (SCEEUS) at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. Umland is based in Kyiv. He is also an Associate Professor of Political Science at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Umland holds a PhD in Politics from Cambridge, DrPhil in History as well Diploma in Politology from FU Berlin, MPhil in Russian Studies from Oxford, and MA in Political Science from Stanford (for full list see CV). Umland was a researcher at Stanford's Hoover Institution as well as Harvard's Weatherhead Center, and taught at the Ural State University in Yekaterinburg, St. Antony's College Oxford, Shevchenko University of Kyiv, Catholic University of Eichstätt, and University of Jena. He is the editor of the ibidem Press book series "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society" and "Ukrainian Voices."

THE 2014 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC

Vickers, Lisa Marie.

Voyger, Mark. Director of the Master's Program in Global Management and Associate Professor at American University Kyiv; Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA), Washington, D.C.; Senior Lecturer at the Baltic Defence College in Tartu, Estonia, 2018-2019. Prior to his academic career, in the period 2013 – 2018, he served as the Special Advisor for Russian and Eurasian Affairs to the Commanding General of US Army Europe in Wiesbaden, Germany, and as the Cultural Advisor and Senior Russia Expert at NATO's Allied Land Command in Izmir, Turkey. In the period 2009 – 2013 he was deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan as an advisor and social scientist with the US Army. Mr. Voyger holds a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University with a focus on Russia-NATO relations, and a Master of Public Administration degree from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and he has read for a PhD in Middle Eastern Studies at Cambridge University, UK. Mr. Voyger's areas of academic and professional expertise include Eastern European, Balkan and Middle Eastern politics and security issues, Russian foreign and security policy, Russian military strategies and doctrine, hybrid warfare, as well as trans-national Islamist ideologies and movements. Mr. Voyger is the editor of a book on NATO, Russia and the Baltic States published by the Baltic Defence College, Tartu, Estonia, in 2019.

Wieslander, Anna.

Wing, Trevelyan.

Syse, Christian.

Tamus, Elvira Viktoria.

Tuomioja, Erkki.

Umland, Andreas. Analyst at the Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies (SCEEUS) at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. Umland is based in Kyiv. He is also an Associate Professor of Political Science at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Umland holds a PhD in Politics from Cambridge, DrPhil in History as well Diploma in Politology from FU Berlin, MPhil in Russian Studies from Oxford, and MA in Political Science from Stanford (for full list see CV). Umland was a researcher at Stanford's Hoover Institution as well as Harvard's Weatherhead Center, and taught at the Ural State University in Yekaterinburg, St. Antony's College Oxford, Shevchenko University of Kyiv, Catholic University of Eichstätt, and University of Jena. He is the editor of the ibidem Press book series "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society" and "Ukrainian Voices."

Vad, Erich.