## SORBONNE COLD WAR HISTORY PROJECT

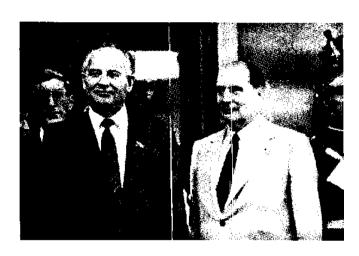
International Conference organized by

Universities Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne and Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III

In partnership with

the Gorbachev Foundation (Moscow) and the Institut François Mitterrand (Paris)

## FRANCE, THE USSR, AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR, 1975-1991 January 24-25, 2014



## **PARTICIPANTS**

**Nicolas BADALASSI:** Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the University of South Brittany. He is the author of *En finir avec la guerre froide*. *La France, l'Europe et le processus d'Helsinki, 1965-1975* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014). He published various articles on French foreign policy during the Cold War. He co-edited with H. Ben Hamouda, *Les pays d'Europe orientale et la Méditerranée*. *Relations et regards croisés*. *1967-1989*, Les cahiers IRICE, n°10, 2013. Email: <a href="mailto:nicolas.badalassi@yahoo.fr">nicolas.badalassi@yahoo.fr</a>

**Una BERGMANE:** PhD candidate at Sciences Po Paris under the supervision of Professors Maurice Vaïsse and Anne de Tinguy. She works on a comparative study of "French and American Foreign Policy facing the disintegration of the Soviet U nion: the case of the Baltic States 1989-1991". She was a Fox fellow at Yale University during the academic year 2.011/2012 and has been awarded with the Prize Jean-Baptise Duroselle for her Master thesis on "French foreign policy facing the Baltic claims for independence 1989-1991" written at Sciences Po under the supervision of Professor M. Vaisse. She has published in French international relations revues such as *Histoire Diplomatique* and *Revue des Relations Internationales*. She teaches history at Sciences Po and works as an assistant at the Paris School of International Affairs.

Email: una.bergmane@gmail.com

Laurence BADEL: Professor of International Relations at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. She teaches the history of international relations. Her research fields are, on one side, the evolutions of diplomatic practices (19th to 21st centuries), and, on the other, the process of interregionalism between the European Union and Asia. Her recent publications include: *Diplomatie et grands contrats: L'État français et les marchés extérieurs au XXe siècle* (Paris, 2010); *L'Europe, quel numéro de téléphone?* (Paris, 2011, co-edited with E. Bussière, F.-X. Ortoli); « CNPF-International, acteur du dialogue Asie-Europe (ASEM): jalons pour une recherche historique sur les interrégionalismes », in *Hommes et réseaux: Belgique, Europe et Outre-Mers. Liber amicorum Michel Dumoulin* (Bruxelles, Peter-Lang, 2013, pp. 193-202); « Le verbe et le corps: anthropologie de

l'écrivain-diplomate», in L. Badel, G. Ferragu, SJeannesson, R. Meltz (eds.), *Ecrivains et diplomates, L'invention d'une tradition. XIXe-XXIe siècles* (Paris, Armand Colin, 2012); « France's renewed commitment to commercial diplomacy in the 1960s», *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 21, n°l, February 2012, pp. 61-78. Email: <u>badel@univ-parisl.fr</u>

**Thomas BLANTON:** Director of the National Security Archive at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. A graduate of Harvard University, he served as the Archive's first Director of Planning & Research beginning in 1986, became Deputy Director in 1989, and Executive Director in 1992. His latest book, *Masterpieces of History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989*, co-authored with Svetlana Savranskaya and Vladislav Zubok, won the Arthur S. Link-Warren F. Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. He serves on the editorial board of H-DIPLO, the diplomatic history electronic bulletin board. His articles have appeared in *The International Herald-Tribune, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Boston Globe, Slate*, the *Wilson Quarterly*, and many other publications.

Email: tblanton@gwu.edu

**Pierre BOUILLON:** Ph.D. A former student at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, he has completed his PdD in 2013 at the university of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne under the supervision of Professor Marie-Pierre Rey. His works deal with Cold War history and French foreign policy in Eastern Europe, more particularly with Hungary and Romania during the 1960s and the 1970s.

Email: pierre.bouillon@normalesup.org

**Frédéric BOZO:** Professor at the Sorbonne Nouvelle (University of Paris III, Department of European Studies). Born in 1963, Frédéric Bozo was educated at the École Normale Supérieure and at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris. He received his doctorate from the University of Paris X -Nanterre (1993) and his *Habilitation* from the Sorbonne - Paris III (1997). He also studied at Harvard University and served as a Senior Fellow at the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo in 2002 and in 2007, and as a Public Policy Scholar and a Fulbright Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington in 2010-2011. His focus is on French foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations and Cold War history. His book publications include: Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009, first published in French by Odile Jacob, 2005); Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States and the Atlantic Alliance (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, first published in French by Plön, 1996). He also co-edited Europe and the End of the Cold War: A Reappraisal (London: Routledge, 2008) and Visions of the End of the Cold War in Europe, 1945-90 (New York: Berghahn, 2012), and published a book of interviews with Stanley Hoffmann, Gulliver Unbound: America's Imperial Temptation and the War in Iraq (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). Other books published in French include: La Politique étrangère de la France depuis 1945 (Paris: Flammarion, 2012); La France et l'OTAN. De la guerre froide au nouvel ordre européen (Paris : Masson, 1991). He has published articles in Cold War History, Contemporary European History, Diplomatic History, Politique étrangère, and Survival. He also has a chapter in the recently published Cambridge History of the Cold War (Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds). His latest book, Histoire secrète de la crise irakienne. La France, les Etats-Unis et l'Irak, appeared in 2014 with Perrin.

Email: frederic.bozo@univ-paris3.fr

Andrei GRATCHEV: Russian politician and political scientist. He was consultant and Deputy Director of the International Department of the Central Committee of CPSU in 1974-1987, and adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev during the Perestroika. In 1990-1991, he served as President Gorbachev's official Spokesman. He received his Ph. D in history from the Academy of Social Sciences, Moscow, in 1976. He was Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1992-1995. He was visiting professor at the Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto (Japan) and various French universities. He was a Research fellow at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politic (SWP) in Ebenhausen/Isar, Germany, and Senior Researcher at St Antony's College at Oxford University. He published several books in Russian, French and English (translated

into Spanish, Polish, Bulgarian, Romanian and Chinese). Among them are: *Political extremism* (Moscow, 1982); *L'histoire vraie de la fin de l'URSS"* (Paris, éditions du Rocher, 1992); *La chute du Kremlin. L'empire de non-sens* (Paris, Hachette, 1994); *Final Days. The Inside Story of Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1995); *L'Exception russe. Staline, est-il mort?* (Paris, Éditions du Rocher, 1998); *Le mystère Gorbachev. La terre et le destin* (Paris, éditions du Rocher, 2004); *Gorbachev's Gamble. Soviet Foreign Policy and the End of Cold War* (Cambridge, UK, Polity, 2008).

Email: gratchserafim@aol.com

**Irina GRIGOROVA:** Research Fellow at the Bulgarian Academy of Science. She received her Ph.D. in History from the Institute for Historical Studies (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) in 2008. She taught at the Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski". Her thesis explored the relations between Bulgaria and France during General de Gaulle's presidency. After completion of her degree, she was appointed in the Department of "History of Bulgaria after the Second World War" at the Institute for Historical Studies. Her interests are focused on the Cold War era - international relations and Bulgarian foreign policy. She is the author of several articles in which she studies the Bulgarian approach towards Algeria, its Balkan neighbors, the EEC and France.

Email: grigorova\_irina@abv.bg

Catherine HOREL: Senior Fellow (Research Director) at the CNRS (IRICE, Paris I University). She is a specialist of the contemporary history of Central Europe and has taught at the universities of Strasburg, Louvain-la-Neuve, Vienna and CEU-Budapest. Her research focuses on social, political and military history, urban and Jewish studies. Her latest publications include: "The Rediscovery of Central Europe in the 1980's", in Péter I. Barta (Hg.), *The Fall of the Iron Curtain and the Culture of Europe*, Londres, Routledge, 2013, pp.24-39; "Die Finanzierung der Vereine in den Städten der Habsburgermonarchie", in Christopher Walsch (dir.), *Einhundertfünfzig Jahre Rückständigkeit? Wirtschaft und Wohlstand in Mitteleuropa von 1867 bis zur Gegenwart*, Herne, Gabriele Schäfer Verlag, 2013 p.112-123; "Die Enteignung des Adels in Ungarn nach 1945. Eine vergleichende Perspektive", in *Das Fürstenhaus, der Staat Liechtenstein und die Tschechoslowakei im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vaduz, Liechtensteinisch-Tschechische Historikerkommission, 2013, pp. 105-113; Les *guerres balkaniques 1912-1913. Conflits, enjeux, mémoires*, Actes de colloque, Peter Lang (collection Enjeux internationaux), to be published in 2014, *Miklôs Horthy (1868-1957)*, Paris, Perrin, to be published in September 2014.

Email: horel.c@wanadoo.fr

Chantal KOURILSKY-AUGEVEN, former Research director at the CNRS, is now associated researcher at the CHAD (Center for Legal History and Anthropology of Law) at the University Paris-Ouest Nanterre-La Défense. With a double training in Law and Russian Language, she initially specialized in Soviet Law. She turned to legal sociology at the beginning of the 1980s and became a specialist in the field of legal socialization phenomena. Author of a new theoretical and methodological approach of these phenomena adopted in several European countries, she has published numerous articles and books in French, English and Russian. Among her publications: Socialisation juridique et modèle culturel. L'image du droit en Russie et en France (Paris, LGDJ, 1996); Obrazy prava v Rossii i vo Francii (Moscou, 1996, avec Arutiunyan & Zdravomyslova), Socialisation juridique et conscience du droit, (Paris, LGDJ, 1997); Images and Uses of Law Among Ordinary People, D&C Special Issue 2004, SLC; « Legal socialization : from compliance to familiarization through permeation », European Journal of Legal Science, 2007; "La justice alternative en Russie: de la valorisation de la répression à celle de la médiation », D&C, 2013.

Email: <a href="mailto:chantalkourilsky-augeven@orange.fr">chantalkourilsky-augeven@orange.fr</a>

**Victor KUVALDIN:** Professor and Chair, Moscow School of Economies, Moscow State University. Born in Moscow (USSR) in 1943, he first studied history at the Moscow State University. He earned his Ph.D. in world history after completing the postgraduate school of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) at the Academy of Sciences. He continued to work at the IMEMO for many years, analyzing social and political problems of western societies. As a member of the M. Gorbachev's team, he was adviser and speechwriter for the president of URSS in the area of

foreign policy. After 1991, he worked in Gorbachev Foundation, heading diverse research centers. From 1993 to 2009 he was Professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since 2009, he has been the Chair of the Department of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Moscow School of Economics. Email: vkuvaldin@yandex.ru

Céline MAR ANGE: Post-doctoral Fellow at the University Paris I - Panthéon Sorbonne. She received her Ph.D. in political science from the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po) in 2010. She was a lecturer in the French Department at Columbia University in 2010-2013. She was awarded the Fox International Fellowship at Yale University in 2006-2007, and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs scholarship to study Vietnamese in Vietnam in 2002-2004. Among her recent publications are: *Le Communisme vietnamien, 1919-1991. Construction d'un État-nation entre Moscou et Pékin* (Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2012) and « Une réinterprétation des origines de la dispute sino-soviétique d'après des témoignages de diplomates russes », *Relations Internationales*, 2011, n°4, pp. 17-32. A graduate of the Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO), she is also a Russian translator. She translated five essays on religious freedom and human creativity written by the Russian philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev (Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 2009). Emails: <a href="mailto:celine.marange@hotmail.com">celine.marange@univ-parisl.fr</a>; <a href="mailto:celine.marange@univ-parisl.fr">celine.marange@hotmail.com</a>

Michael MAYER: Assistant Professor of Contemporary History at the Political Academy in Tutzing which is funded by the Bavarian Parliament. Besides he is a lecturer in contemporary history at the University of Augsburg and liaison professor of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation. He studied at the University of Munich and the Université de Paris IV - Sorbonne Nouvelle. In 2007, he completed a Franco-German PhD-Thesis at the University of Munich and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. From 2008 to 2011, he was postdoctoral research fellow at the Institute for Contemporary History (Department in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin). He published books and articles especially on the Holocaust in Nazi Germany and Vichy France, on foreign policy, notably Franco-German and German-Soviet relations, as well as on German reunification.

Email: m.mayer@apb-tutzing.de

Mikhail NARINSKIY: Professor, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO); Chair of Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy of Russia at the MGIMO since 1995. He held the positions of researcher, head of the department, and vice-Director of the Institute of General History of the Academy of Sciences between 1968 to 1995. He received his doctorate in history in 1985, and became full professor in 2001. Among his main publications are: Komintern: L'histoire et les hommes. Dictionnaire biographique de l'Internationale communiste (Paris, 2001, co-editor and author); Essays on the History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. Vol. 3. (Moscow, 2002, in Russian, co-author); « Histoire orale de la fin de la Guerre froide », Communisme, 2003, n°74-75; History of International Relations, 1945-1975. A Handbook (Moscow, 2004, in Russian); "Origins of the Second World War", in White Spots, Black Spots. Complicated Questions in the History of Russian-Polish Relations (Moscou, 2010, in Russian). Email: intrel@mgimo.ru

**Pavel PALAZHCHENKO:** high-level Soviet conference interpreter and principal English interpreter for Mikhail Gorbatchev and Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevarnadze from 1985 and 1991. Born in 1949, he graduated from Moscow State Institute of Foreign Languages and the United Nations Language Training Course. He worked as interpreter at the United Nation in 1974-1979, and in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Executive Office of the President in 1980-1991. He participated in all US-Soviet summits in 1985-1991. He is the author of *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze: The Memoirs of a Soviet Interpreter*, published in the United States in 1996. He currently heads International and Media Relations at the Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow.

Email: pavelpal@hotmail.com

Marie-Pierre REY: Professor of Russian and Soviet Histor/ and Director of the Centre de Recherches en Histoire des Slaves at the University of Paris I Sorbonne since 1998. A graduate of the École

Normale Supérieure, with a BA in Russian (1981), she received her doctorate in History in 1989. She was a research fellow at the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo in 2002 and 2012. She wrote many articles and several books devoted to Russian and Soviet history. Among her latest publications on the tsarist period are: *L'effroyable tragédie, une nouvelle histoire de la campagne de Russie* (Paris, Flammarion, 2012 - Prize of the Foundation Napoléon in 2012; translated in Czech); *Alexandre 1er* (Paris, Flammarion, 2009 and 2013). This biography was awarded the Prize Drouin de Lhuys from the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, and was published both in English under the title *Alexander I, The Tsar Who Defeated Napoleon* (NIUP, 2012) and in Russian (ROSSPEN, 2013). She is also the author of numerous works on the Soviet period. She notably co-edited *Europe and the End of the Cold War: A Reappraisal* (London, Routledge, 2008) and *Visions of the End of the Cold War in Europe, 1945-90* (New York, Berghahn, 2012). She is a knight in the Legion of Honor.

Email: marie-pierre.rey@univ-parisl.fr

**Youri RUBINSKI:** Diplomat, historian and political scientist, affiliated with the Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Science. Born in 1930, he graduated with honors from the MGIMO in 1953. He received his doctorate in history in 1969 with a thesis on political parties in France during the Third Republic. He taught and carried out research at the Institute for Social Sciences (IMEMO) in Moscow until 1977, when he became a diplomat. From 1978 to 1985 and from 1987 to 1997, he served as political counselor at the Soviet and, after 1991, Russian embassy in Paris. He holds the diplomatic rank of first counselor. In 1997, he was appointed Chair of the Russian Department of the Institute of Europe at the Russian Academy of Sciences. In 2002, he became Professor at the Moscow School of Economics. He lectured in many French-speaking countries in Europe and Africa. He is the author of more than 20 books and numerous articles on France, French politics, and international relations. He was awarded the Prix Guizot from the French Academy in 1997 for his book *La Russie à Paris*.

Email: yuri.rubinski@mail.ru

**Svetiana SAVRANSKAYA:** Director of Russia programs (since 2001) at the National Security Archive, George Washington University, and an adjunct professor teaching U.S.-Russian relations and contemporary Russian politics at the American University School of International Service in Washington. She is a graduate of Moscow State University (History, 1988), studied at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1989-90, and received her Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from Emory University in 1998. She is the editor of the new book by the late Sergo Mikoyan, *The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev and the Missiles of November* (Stanford: Stanford University Press/Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012) and coeditor (with Thomas Blanton and Vladislav Zubok) "Masterpieces of History": The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe 1989 (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2010, 730 pp.), which won the Link-Kuehl Prize in 2011 from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

Email: <a href="mailto:svetlana@gwu.edu">svetlana@gwu.edu</a>

Ksenia TATARCHENKO: Post-doctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University. She received her Ph.D. from the History of Science Program, History Department, Princeton University (2013), and a M.A. in history from Université Paris-Sorbonne (2006). Her dissertation "A House with the Window to the West: The Akademgorodok Computer Center, 1958-1993" was awarded the Charles Babbage Institute 2012-2013 Erwin & Adelle Tomash Fellowship. In the dissertation, Tatarchenko uses the Akademgorodok Computer Center as a prism and a node to address major issues of modern science and technology, namely: big techno-science and Soviet society after Stalin, the formation of a new international community of computer experts during the Cold War, and the Soviet version of the "information society" as part of the socialist project of an alternative modernity. At the Harriman Institute sliITwNrdevelop her interests in transput ionaTcolnpTrting and late Socialism into a book project exploring a possibility for an alternative history of the "Information Age," one integrating Soviet experiences and expertise in Computer Science and Cybernetics.

Email: kt2422@columbia.edu

Anne de TINGUY: Professor, National Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures (INALCO) and senior researcher, Sciences Po, CERI (Center for International Studies and Research). Director, School of International Relations, INALCO; Academic advisor of the dual degree in International Studies Sciences Po-MGIMO; Vice-president of French Association of Ukrainian Studies; member of several editorial boards; Ph.D. in political science from Sciences Po Paris. Research interests: International relations of Russia and Ukraine; migration and diasporas of / in Russia; history of the Cold War. Author of numerous books and articles. Among her latest publications: Великая миграция. Россия и россияне после падения железного занавеса, Moscou, Rosspen, 2012 (Traduction russe de La grande migration, 2004); « Jacques Chirac: le rapprochement avec la 'nouvelle' Russie », in C. Lequesne, M. Vaïsse (ed.), La politique étrangère de Jacques Chirac, 2013; « Représentations du monde dans l'espace postsoviétique», Anatoli, 2011; « L'Union soviétique et l'unification allemande » in Martens (ed.), l'unification allemande et ses conséquences pour l'Europe, 20 ans après, 2011; Loin des yeux, près du coeur: les États et leurs expatriés (co-ed.) 2010. Emails: anne.detinguy@inalco.fr; anne.detinguy@sciences-po.org

Christian WENKEL: Researcher at the German Historical Institute in Paris, where he heads an international research group on France between the Cold War and the European integration during the 1970s and 1980s. He holds a PhD from Sciences Po Paris and the University of Munich. His dissertation on the Franco-East-German relations was awarded by the Franco-German committee of Historians and will be published in early 2014 by Oldenbourg Press in Munich. He works and publishes on French foreign policy, Franco-German relations, Parliamentarian diplomacy, Europeanization and Historiography. Among his recent publications are a source book *La diplomatie française face à l'unification allemande* (edited with Maurice Vaïsse, Paris, Tallandier, 2011) and a book chapter « L"autre' dans le rapport franco-allemande» (in Reiner Marcowitz, Hélène Miard-Delacroix (eds.), *50 ans de relations franco-allemandes*, Paris, Nouveau mondes, 2013). He also teaches history of international relations at Sciences Po.

Email: <a href="mailto:cwenkel@dhi-paris.fr">cwenkel@dhi-paris.fr</a>

**Amélie ZIMA:** PhD candidate in political sciences at Paris Ouest University. Her thesis, under the supervision of Prof. Georges Mink, deals with the reshaping of the European region after the Cold War through the analysis of the 1999 NATO enlargement. She worked as a junior research fellow in Paris Ouest University from 2010 to 2013 and at the CEFRES in Prague in 2011. From 2011 to 2013, she was a lecturer at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at Paris Ouest University. She co-organized a colloquium on post-communism at Sciences-Po Paris in June 2013 and she was a guest editor of a special issue on security questions for the peer-reviewed journal *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest* (published in September 2013). She holds master degrees with first-class honors in contemporary history and political sciences from Paris Ouest University.

Email: zima.amelie@gmail.com

Olga M. ZDRAVOMYSLOVA: Executive Director of the Gorbachev Foundation; Doctor of Philosophy; sociologist. Since the 1980s she has carried out research in the area of theoretical and empirical sociology, and lectured at Moscow State University and the State University - Higher School of Economics (Moscow). In 1997, at the invitation of Raisa Gorbachev, she joined the public project "Raisa Gorbachev Club" that Mikhail Gorbachev's wife had initiated. Since 1999, she has been vice-President of the "Raisa Gorbachev Club". Since 2000, has been working at the Gorbachev Foundation as the Head of the Foundation's Public Affairs Center and since March 2005, she is also Executive Director of the Gorbachev Foundation. Her area of academic expertise includes social transformation with a focus on gender and family, as well as legal socialization phenomena. She is the author of numerous articles and books, and coordinates the projects carried out by the Gorbachev Foundation.

Email: <u>olgazdrav@gorby.ru</u> - Website: <u>www.gorby.ru</u>

**Vladislav M. ZUBOK:** Professor of International History at the London School of Economics. Fellow at the National Security Archive at the University of George Washington, and for the Cold War International History Project at the Wilson Center for International Scholars. In 1995-98, he was one of the principal consultants of the CNN 24-part series "Cold War." In 2007-2012, he was director of

the Carnegie Corporation's International Summer School Project for Social Sciences and Humanities for the young educators of the post-Soviet space. Currently he finishes a book on the life and works of Dmitry Likhachev, and starts a new project "1991. Russia destroys the Soviet Union." Email: V.M.Zubok@lse.ac.uk