The Life and Legacy of

Lyudmila Alexeyeva

A Symposium on Human Rights in Russia—Past, Present and Future

November 15-16, 2019
Indiana University—Bloomington
Lyudmila Alexeyeva, who died on December 8, 2018 at the age of 91, was widely considered the “matriarch” of the Russian human rights movement. Recipient of the Vaclav Havel Human Rights Award in 2015, at the time of her death Alexeyeva was one of the last Soviet dissidents still active in the Russian Federation. Alexeyeva was one of the founders in 1976 of the Moscow Helsinki Group, which exposed human rights abuses in the Soviet Union and inspired the creation of similar human rights watchdog organizations around the world. In 1977, Alexeyeva was forced to flee the Soviet Union for the US, where she continued to advocate for the improvement of human rights in the USSR. She returned to Russia in 1993 and was named Chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group (MHG) in 1996, a role she maintained until the end of her life.

This symposium assembles prominent human rights activists and human rights scholars from Russia and the US to reflect upon Lyudmila Alexeyeva and her impact on the Russian human rights movement. In addition to tracking the incredible longevity of Alexeyeva’s career and her influence on multiple generations of human rights advocates, the symposium will consider the past, present and future of the Russian human rights movement; deliberate the most pressing human rights issues in Russia today; and propose strategies for addressing those human rights challenges.

Thanks to the many units and departments on the campus of Indiana University for their generous support of this symposium: the College Arts and Humanities Institute, the Russian and East European Institute, Russian Studies Workshop with support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Hamilton Lugar School, the Office of the Vice President for International Affairs, Borns Jewish Studies Program, the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Cultures, the Department of History, the Office of International Affairs, the Department of International Studies, the Inner Asian and Uralic National Resource Center, the Center for Constitutional Democracy, the Department of Economics, and the Department of Anthropology.

Thank you for joining us in this opportunity to acknowledge the important work and the life of Lyudmila Alexeyeva.

Michael Alexeev, Economics, Indiana University
Emma Gilligan, International Studies, Indiana University
Sarah D. Phillips, Anthropology, Indiana University
Location of the Symposium
The symposium will take place in the Indiana Memorial Union (IMU), located at 900 E. Seventh Street on the campus of Indiana University. All panels and the roundtable will take place in the Tree Suites—the Dogwood Room and the Oak Room—which are on the main level of the IMU directly above the lobby of the IMU’s Biddle Hotel (and which are starred in the floor map, below).

Floor Map of the Main Level of the IMU

Refreshments
Coffee and tea will be available each morning, along with refreshments at the mid-morning and afternoon breaks. For lunch and dinner, please refer to the registration table for restaurant suggestions both in the IMU and nearby.

WiFi on campus
To connect your device to Indiana University’s free wireless internet service for campus visitors, first make sure the wireless networking (or Wi-Fi) is turned on. In the list of available networks, select IU Guest; if your browser doesn’t open to the IU Guest page automatically, launch your browser. On the “IU Guest WiFi” screen, enter your email address, check the box to accept the terms of use, and then click Register. Visitors from eduroam subscriber institutions can connect to the eduroam wireless network on campus.

For help with WiFi at the IMU, contact the hotel front desk at 812-856-6381.
### Friday, November 15th — Dogwood Room

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30am-9:00am</td>
<td>Coffee &amp; tea available</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00am-9:15am</td>
<td>Opening remarks by Lee Feinstein, Amb. (Retired), Dean of Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies</td>
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| 9:15am-10:45am  | **Panel 1: Memories of Lyudmila**  
|                 | Panelists’ memories and reminiscences of Lyudmila Alexeyeva the person, their friendships and relationships, and her work and influence on their lives.  
|                 | Panelists: Cathy Cosman, Paul Goldberg, Lynne Davidson, Michael Alexeev (chair) |
| 10:45am-11:15am | Break with coffee and refreshments                                    |
| 11:15am-12:45pm | **Panel 2: Freedom of assembly**  
|                 | This was a lynchpin of Alexeyeva’s work from 1976 to the end of her life. In 2009, for instance, Alexeyeva was an active participant in “Strategy-31,” a series of protest rallies in Moscow in defense of the 31st Article of the Russian Constitution, on the Freedom of Assembly.  
|                 | Panelists: Cathy Fitzpatrick, William Pomeranz, Dmitrii Makarov, Lynne Davidson (chair) |
| 12:45pm-2:30pm  | Break for lunch                                                       |
| 2:30pm-3:00pm   | Screening of *Voice of America* documentary film by Natella Boltysanskaya about Alexeyeva’s life and work (15-minute film, in Russian). |
| 3:00pm-4:30pm   | **Panel 3: Monitoring courts, police, and prisons**  
|                 | Alexeyeva and her MHG colleagues observed trials, took up the cases of victims of human rights abuses, supported political prisoners, and protested conditions and abuses in Russia’s prisons.  
|                 | Panelists: Sergei Davidis, Anastasiia Aseeva, Louise Shelley, Emma Gilligan (chair) |
Saturday, November 16th—Oak Room

8:30am-9:00am  Coffee & tea available

9:00am-10:15am  **Panel 4: Developing a regional human rights network in Russia**
Alexeyeva worked tirelessly to help civil society in Russia expand beyond Moscow and Saint Petersburg, rallying activists in Russia’s “regions” to join in a nationwide human rights advocacy network.

Panelists: Tanya Lokshina, Paul Goble, Kate Graber (chair)

10:15am-10:45am  Break with coffee and refreshments

10:45am-12:30pm  **Roundtable: Pressing human rights issues in Russia today**
The symposium will culminate in a round table to discuss the most important current human rights concerns in Russia, and strategies for tackling them.

Panelists: Tanya Lokshina, Paul Goble, Sergei Davidis, Dmitrii Makarov, William Pomeranz, Cathy Fitzpatrick, Emma Gilligan (chair)
Human Rights in Russia—Past, Present and Future: The Life and Legacy of Lyudmila Alexeyeva

Panelists

Michael Alexeev, Professor of Economics at Indiana University

Michael Alexeev received his Ph.D. in Economics at Duke University in 1984. His research and teaching interests lie mostly in the fields of comparative economics and economics of transition from a Soviet-type economy to a market economy. Recently, he has also been interested in comparative analysis of institutions and in law and economics. He co-edited The Oxford Handbook of the Russian Economy. His other research has appeared in Journal of Economic Theory, Review of Economics and Statistics, and European Economic Review, as well as in comparative economics journals and edited volumes.

Anastasiia Aseeva, Executive Director of UCSJ: Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union

Anastasiia Aseeva has been affiliated with the Helsinki human rights movement and Civil Solidarity Platform, and has been a member of the Helsinki Task Force since 2007. In 2002-2015, Aseeva was administrative director of the Moscow Helsinki Group.

Catherine Cosman, Former Senior Policy Analyst with the US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF)

Catherine Cosman retired from the staff of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom where her focus was the post-Soviet states. She was a staffer on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki Human Rights Watch, the Free Trade Union Institute, RFE-RL, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the CSCE Mission to Estonia. She graduated from Grinnell College and Brown University and attended the Free University of Berlin and the All-Union Institute of Cinematography.

Sergei Davidis, Head of Political Prisoners Support Program, Member of the Council at Human Rights Center, Moscow, Russia

For many years, Sergei Davidis has been responsible for compiling lists of Russian political prisoners of the Memorial Human Rights Center, and has been an active participant and organizer of national and international advocacy of political prisoners. He was educated in Sociology at Moscow State University and in Law at the Moscow State Law Academy. In 2019, he was a Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution at the Kennan Institute, at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. For many years, Davidis has been a participant and organizer in the democratic opposition movement in Russia, such as during the wave of protests in 2011-2012.
Panelists

Lynne A. Davidson, Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State

Policy Advisor in the State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) since 2005, Ms. Davidson’s portfolio includes shaping U.S. policy toward the 57-nation Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, or Helsinki process. She focuses on fostering implementation of the organization’s comprehensive security approach, which recognizes that respect for human rights within states is essential to lasting peace among states. Human rights defenders and civil society organizations, such as the legendary Lyudmila Alexeyeva and the pioneering Moscow Helsinki Group, have played an unprecedented role in advancing the Helsinki process, holding governments to account for the commitments they have made to their own citizens and to one another.

Lee Feinstein, Dean for the Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies

Ambassador Lee Feinstein is founding Dean of the Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies at Indiana University. He has served in senior positions at the State and Defense departments, including as principal deputy director of the Policy Planning Staff and, most recently, as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Poland (2009-2012). Amb. Feinstein is a trustee and member of the executive council of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and Chair of its Committee on Conscience, which advises the Museum’s genocide prevention work. He is member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the Board of the Kosciuszko Foundation, on the Advisory Council of IU’s Center for Global Health, and on the Advisory Committee of the U.S. Global Leadership coalition. Feinstein is co-author of Means to an End: U.S. Interest and the International Criminal Court.

Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, consultant to human rights organizations, translator, and writer

Catherine A. Fitzpatrick has been involved in the international human rights movement for many years, serving as a consultant to a number of non-profit human rights and media organizations. She is senior Russian translator and analyst for The Interpreter, an online news site dedicated to translating news and social media from Russia, Ukraine and Syria. She has also written for other news sites in the region. Previously she worked as an editor of weeklies on Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan for EurasiaNet.org and was also writer for RFE/RL’s Polygraph and editor of RFE/RL’s (Un)Civil Societies and Media Matters. She has also translated more than 40 books from Russian into English, including the memoirs of Boris Yeltsin, Edward Shevardnadze and Vladimir Putin. She is based in New York and is the mother of two children.

Emma Gilligan, Associate Professor of International Studies at Indiana University

Gilligan is an expert on human rights, particularly focusing on Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Ukraine, as well as Africa and Cambodia. She has researched war crimes in Chechnya, international human rights movements, and contemporary Russia. Gilligan wrote Defending Human Rights in Russia: Sergei Kovalev Dissident and Human Rights Commissioner, 1969-2003 (Routledge, 2004), which traces the evolution of the Soviet human rights movement from the 1960s in Moscow to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Her second book, Terror In Chechnya: Russia and the Tragedy of Civilians in War (Princeton University Press, 2010) examines the war crimes committed by Russian soldiers against the civilian population of Chechnya. Emma Gilligan has written for the Chicago Tribune and the International Herald Tribune and has appeared on MSNBC, Al Jazeera, and Radio Liberty.
Panelists

Paul Goble, analyst, writer and columnist with expertise on Russia

Trained at Miami University (B.A., 1970) and the University of Chicago (M.A., 1973), Paul Goble is the editor of four volumes on ethnic issues in the former Soviet Union and has published more than 150 articles on ethnic and nationality questions. Goble served as special adviser on Soviet nationality issues and Baltic affairs to Secretary of State James Baker. 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. Goble 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.

Paul Goldberg, journalist and novelist

Paul Goldberg is the editor and publisher of The Cancer Letter, a publication focused on the business and politics of cancer. Goldberg graduated from Duke University with a B.A. in economics in 1981. His books include: The Chateau, a novel that takes us behind the scenes of a Florida condo board election, delivering a wild spin on Miami Beach, petty crime, Jewish identity, and life in Trump’s America, (Picador, 2017); The Yid, a comedy about Stalin’s death. (Picador, 2016). The Yid was named a finalist for both the Sami Rohr Prize for Jewish Literature and the National Jewish Book Award’s Goldberg Prize for Debut Fiction; How We Do Harm: A Doctor Breaks Rank About Being Sick in America, with Otis Brawley, (St. Martin’s Press, 2012); The Thaw Generation: Coming of Age in the Post-Stalin Era (Little, Brown, 1990; and in paperback, University of Pittsburgh Press), with Ludmilla Alexeyeva; and others. His articles have appeared in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post and The Washington Monthly, and he was featured on 60 Minutes, 20/20, CNN and NPR. He lives in Washington, D.C.

Kate Graber, Assistant Professor, Anthropology and Central Eurasian Studies at Indiana University

Kate Graber is a linguistic and sociocultural anthropologist with special interests in language and media in post-Soviet Eurasia. Her research lies at the intersection of two clusters of problems. The first is indigenous language shift, endangerment, and revitalization in Russia’s Buryat territories, and the second, related cluster includes materiality, technology, circulation, and notions of property. Graber is interested in how authorship and intellectual property are figured in emerging media within socialist and (or versus) post-socialist contexts, which she is developing into a new long-term ethnographic project. Graber is also currently involved with collaborative projects on pre-Revolutionary Orthodox missionary linguistics and contemporary shamanism in Buryatia.

Tanya Lokshina, Europe and Central Asia Associate Director at Human Rights Watch, based in Moscow

Tanya Lokshina’s first job in the field of human rights was at the Moscow Helsinki Group, where she worked from 1998 to 2006, including as the group’s executive director. Having joined Human Rights Watch in 2008, Lokshina authored several reports on egregious abuses in Russia’s turbulent North Caucasus region and co-authored a report on violations of international humanitarian law during the 2008 armed conflict in Georgia. Her recent publications include a range of reports, briefings, and op-eds on Russia’s vicious crackdown on critics of the government and on violations of international humanitarian law during the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine. Lokshina is a recipient of the 2006 Andrei Sakharov Award, “Journalism as an Act of Conscience.” Her articles on human rights issues have been featured in prominent Russian and foreign media outlets, including CNN, the Guardian, Le Monde, the Moscow Times, Novaya Gazeta, and the Washington Post. Lokshina’s books include Chechnya Inside Out and Imposition of a Fake Political Settlement in the Northern Caucasus.
Panelists

Dmitri Makarov, Co-chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group

Dmitri Makarov has been the co-chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group since January 2018, focusing on issues like freedom of assembly, right to a fair trial, police impunity, citizen oversight over the courts, police and prisons, as well as human rights education. He also chairs the Coordinating Council of the International Youth Human Rights Movement, uniting activists from a number of countries to form a new generation of human rights defenders. He has been involved in the Legal team for Activists and the Joint Public Monitoring Team (гоновatch.org), as well as the International Observers Network. He also regularly consults grassroots groups on civic campaigning, runs and participates in such campaigns. Dmitri leads workshops on citizen oversight and international solidarity at Moscow and St. Petersburg Open Schools for Human Rights and is a member of the Human Rights Trainers pool for the International School of Human Rights and Civic Action, holding dozens of human rights trainings and seminars every year.

Sarah D. Phillips, Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University

Sarah Phillips received her B.A. in Anthropology and Russian from Wake Forest University, and earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She has been a faculty member at IU-Bloomington since 2003, where she teaches courses on the Anthropology of Russia and Eastern Europe, Postsocialist Gender Formations, and Medical Anthropology. Dr. Phillips’ research focuses on gender, health, disability, HIV-AIDS, and addiction, primarily in Ukraine. She recently collaborated with Dr. Jill Owczarzak (Johns Hopkins U) on an NIH-funded project on gender, substance use disorder, and service delivery in Ukraine. Her current sabbatical project explores cultural diplomacy and literary translation of American authors (especially Kurt Vonnegut) in the USSR during the Cold War.

William Pomeranz, Deputy Director of the Kennan Institute

William Pomeranz is the Deputy Director of the Kennan Institute, a part of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars located in Washington, D.C. He also has taught Russian law at the Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies (CERES), Georgetown University. Prior to joining the Kennan Institute, Dr. Pomeranz practiced international law in the United States and Moscow, Russia. His research interests include Russian legal history as well as current Russian commercial and constitutional law. He is the author of Law and the Russian State: Russia’s Legal Evolution from Peter the Great to Vladimir Putin (Bloomsbury, 2019). Dr. Pomeranz also has provided commentary and conducted numerous press interviews with CNN, NPR, C-SPAN, Reuters, VOA, Bloomberg, and other media outlets.

Dr. Louise Shelley, Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Endowed Chair and a University Professor at Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University

Professor Shelley founded and directs the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (TraCCC). Her most recent books are: Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism (Cambridge University Press, 2014) and Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective (Cambridge 2010). Her latest book, Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy is Threatening our Future (Princeton University Press, 2018) was written while an inaugural Andrew Carnegie fellow. She is a specialist on Russian organized crime and corruption as well as the Russian justice system. Professor Shelley has received Guggenheim, Fulbright, Rockefeller, NSF and many other fellowships and grants to support her research. She served for six years on Global Agenda Councils of the World Economic Forum first on the illicit trade council and then as the inaugural co-chair of organized crime.
Human Rights in Russia—Past, Present and Future: The Life and Legacy of Lyudmila Alexeyeva

[Images and text related to human rights in Russia]
Права человека в России — прошлое, настоящее и будущее
Жизнь и наследие Людмилы Алексеевой

Notes
THIS SYMPOSIUM COULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED
WITHOUT THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF OUR SPONSORS.

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Department of Economics
Department of Anthropology
Department of International Studies
Department of History
Center for Constitutional Democracy
Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Cultures
Russian Studies Workshop (RSW)

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