

# MARIANA BUDJERYN

## ACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCE

### **Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center, Managing the Atom (MTA) Project, Cambridge, MA**

Senior Research Associate (2022-present)

- Contributing academic and policy research and publications on European security, Ukraine and Russia, nuclear nonproliferation, arms control, crisis dynamics, deterrence, and nuclear security
- Organizing and moderating special events and conferences in close collaboration with MTA fellows and staff, other Belfer projects, and Belfer communications team
- Leading “Data for Deterrence” research project as part of the “Mitigating pathways to nuclear war” working group, MacArthur Rethinking Nuclear Deterrence research network
- Leading MTA’s diversity and inclusion program *Atomic Voices*, a series of seminars to empower marginalized voices and perspectives in the nuclear field
- Leading MTA’s research on nuclear security lessons from the war in Ukraine, including Nuclear Security in Ukraine interdisciplinary working group.
- Contributing papers and participating in Track-II dialogue with the Russian Academy of Sciences, Committee on International Security and Arms Control, National Academy of Sciences

Research Associate (2020-2022)

Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, MTA/International Security Program (2017-2018; 2019-2020)

Stanton Nuclear Security Post-Doctoral Fellow (2016-2017)

### **Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA**

Postdoctoral Fellow (2018-2019)

### **Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Germany**

Visiting Professor (Summer 2019)

Research project exploring Germany’s role in the future of US-Russian arms control endeavors

### **Tufts University, Medford, MA**

Visiting Professor, Experimental College, School of Engineering, Arts and Sciences (Spring 2018)

Course designed and taught: “The Bomb and Its Meanings”

## EDUCATION

### **Central European University, Budapest, Hungary**

PhD in Political Science (2010-2016)

Dissertation title: “The Power of the NPT: International Norms and Nuclear Disarmament of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine, 1990-1994.”

Doctoral Committee: Paul Roe, Alexander Astrov, Xymena Kurowska (CEU), David Holloway (Stanford)

Teaching Assistant, Critical Security Studies, MA course, Spring 2012

### **Nuclear Proliferation International History Project Bootcamp, Allumiere, Italy**

Student, Certificate of completion (June 2015)

Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars and Roma Tre University

12-day intensive nuclear history immersion course

**Central European University, Budapest, Hungary**

MA in International Relations and European Studies (2009-2010)

Thesis title: "Role of Context in Securitization Theory: Holodomor Discourses and Societal Security in Ukraine"

Recipient, 2010 Outstanding Academic Achievement Award

**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine**

BA in Political Science (1993-1997)

Co-founder, Student Government

**ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS**

*Inheriting the Bomb: The Collapse of the USSR and the Nuclear Disarmament of Ukraine*, Nuclear History and Contemporary Affairs Series, John Hopkins University Press (Baltimore), 2023.

"Structure amid Change: The Global Nuclear Order and the Soviet Collapse," *Journal of Security Studies*, forthcoming 2024.

"Non-Proliferation and State Succession: The Demise of the USSR and the Nuclear Aftermath in Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine," *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 24 (2), Spring 2021: 46-94.

"Damage Control: The Breach of the Budapest Memorandum and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime," with Andreas Umland, in Oxana Schmies, ed., *NATO's Enlargement and Russia: A Strategic Challenge in the Past and Future*, ibidem-Verlag (Stuttgart, Germany), 2021: 177-189.

"Interpreting the Bomb: Ownership and Deterrence in Ukraine's Nuclear Discourse," with Polina Sinovets, Wilson Center Nuclear Proliferation International History Project, Working Paper #12, December, 2017.

"The Power of the NPT: International Norms and Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament," *The Nonproliferation Review* Vol. 22 (2), June 2015.

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

"Distressing a system in distress: Global nuclear order and Russia's war against Ukraine," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 9, 2022.

"Chernobyl: 35 years after the disaster began," in *World Nuclear Industry Status Report 2021* (Paris), September 2021: 208-217.

"Arms control by and for Europe," with Alexander Bollfrass, *CSS/ETH Policy Perspective*, Vol. 8/10, September 2020.

"Budapest Memorandum at 25: Between Past and Future," conference report co-authored with Matthew Bunn, *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Project on Managing the Atom*, March 2020.

"Ukraine and the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons," *Sources and Methods*, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, October 15, 2018.

"Against All Odds: Kostiantyn Morozov and the Unlikely Establishment of Ukraine's Military," *Sources and Methods*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, March 6, 2017.

“North Korean missile engines: Not from Ukraine,” with Andrew Zhalko-Tytarenko, *Atlantic Council*, September 12, 2017.

“25 Years of Nuclear Security Cooperation by the US, Russia and the Newly Independent States: A Timeline,” with Simon Saradzhyan and William Tobey, Russia Matter Project, Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center, June 16, 2017.

“Was Ukraine’s Nuclear Disarmament a Blunder?” *World Affairs Journal*, Summer 2016.

“Looking Back: Ukraine’s Nuclear Predicament and the Nonproliferation Regime,” *Arms Control Today* 44 (10), December 2014: 35-40.

“The Breach: Ukraine’s Territorial Integrity and the Budapest Memorandum,” Issue Brief #3, Nuclear Proliferation International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., September 2014.

## COMMENTARY AND OPINION

“A message from Ukraine: Do not provoke Putin – with weakness,” *Wilson Center Global Europe Program*, April 29, 2024

“When Ukraine set course for Europe: Revolution of Dignity a decade later,” *Brookings Institution*, February 20, 2024.

“Ukraine in Europe: One hard-earned step closer,” *Wilson Center Global Europe Program*, December 15, 2023.

“The ‘murky’ morality of opposition for US support of Ukraine: A response,” *Just Security*, October 10, 2023.

“Calling the war in Ukraine a ‘tragedy’ shelters its perpetrators from blame and responsibility,” *The Conversation*, October 5, 2023.

“Missiles and miracles: Notes from Kyiv,” *Inkstick*, June 28, 2023.

“The breach of Ukraine’s Kakhovka dam and the nearby power plant,” *Boston Globe*, June 28, 2023.

“A journey to the edge of war and peace,” *Inkstick*, January 24, 2023.

“Factoring the human dimension of Putin’s takeover of Ukraine’s nuclear power plant,” *Boston Globe*, October 24, 2022.

“Was Ukraine wrong to give up its nukes?,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 8, 2022.

“If Ukraine chooses neutrality, what could that look like?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 7, 2022.

“In Ukraine, there’s no second Chernobyl disaster in the making – not yet,” *Boston Globe*, March 10, 2022.

“Ukraine building a number bomb? Dangerous nonsense,” with Matthew Bunn, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March 9, 2022.

“Breaking the mold of the nuclear patriarchy: Five steps to advancing gender diversity in the nuclear field,” *Inkstick*, January 11, 2022.

“A pragmatic turn in Geneva,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June 17, 2021.

“Revisiting Ukraine’s nuclear past will not help security its future,” *Lanfare*, May 21, 2021.

“Neither NATO, nor nukes: The answer to Ukraine’s security is a strategic alliance with the United States,” with Thomas Graham, Jr., *Just Security*, May 20, 2021

“Nuclear shades of Red racism,” with Togzhan Kassenova, *Inkstick*, September 24, 2020.

“Impeachment backstory: Nuclear dimension of US security assistance to Ukraine,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 13, 2019

“Chernobyl’s effects go far beyond what you’re seeing on HBO. It shook up politics for years,” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage blog*, July 12, 2019.

“Without the INF Europe could see a new missile power. (Spoiler: It’s not Russia),” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage blog*, February 26, 2019.

“Denuclearization Again? Lessons from Ukraine’s Decision to Disarm,” with Polina Sinovets, *War on the Rocks*, April 19, 2018

## INTERVIEWS AND PODCASTS

“With Putin losing, the risk of nuclear war grows. How could it happen?,” *iRozhlas*, Czech Radio, October 26, 2022.

“Alexey und die Katastrophe,” Ukraine – Der Riss mit Mirko Drotschmann, *ZDF*, October 2022.

“A blip on the radar,” *Sideways* with Matthew Syed, *BBC Radio 4*, August 1, 2022.

“Did Ukraine make a mistake by giving up nuclear weapons?” *At the Brink*, March 30, 2022.

“Mariana Budjeryn: A personal perspective on the war in Ukraine,” Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center, Spring 2022.

“Nuclear weapons and the war in Ukraine: A conversation with Dr. Mariana Budjeryn,” *Machiavelli in the Ivory Tower*, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, March 17, 2022.

“What’s next in the Russia-Ukraine crisis?,” *Bloom Europa Podcast*, February 20, 2022.

Regular contributor to *CNN*, *NBC*, *NPR*, *BBC*, *France 24*, *Al Jazeera*, *Voice of America*, *Radio Liberty* as well as multiple Ukrainian and Eastern Europeans TV and radio outlets. Quoted in *The Guardian*, *New York Times*, and *Economist*.

## OTHER AFFILIATIONS AND EVENTS

**National Academy of Sciences**, Washington, DC (2020-present)

Member, Committee on International Security and Arms Control, from January 2023

Participant, Track-II Russia Dialogue with the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Arms Control Negotiations Academy (ACONA), (2019-present)**

One of the architects, organizers of, and contributors to a year-long immersive course in arms control history, technology, and negotiations skills in a multi-institutional international collaborative aimed at honing a new generation of arms control negotiators. ACONA is in its 4<sup>th</sup> year and attracted 64 fellows from 25 nationalities.

**Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington, DC (2015-present)**

Global Fellow, History and Public Policy Program (2019-present)  
Lecturer, NPIHP Nuclear Bootcamp

**“Cuban Missile Crisis at 60: Lessons of the Past and Relevance for the Present,”** Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center, Cambridge, MA (October 14, 2022)

Jointly with Belfer Applied History Project and Intelligence Project, organized a one-day conference that brought together prominent historians and direct participants of the Cuban Missile Crisis to revisit its lessons and consequences and relate it to the war in Ukraine.

**“Ukraine’s Nuclear Disarmament: 25 Years After the Budapest Memorandum,”** Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center, Cambridge, MA (December 6, 2019)

Organized a one-day conference that brought together decision-makers and experts from the U.S., Ukraine, and Russia to reflect on the history and impact of Ukraine’s nuclear disarmament.

**National Security Archive Oral History Conference “Nuclear Weapons and Ukraine,”** Siena, Italy (September 2019)

Contributed to the oral history conference on Ukraine’s nuclear disarmament that brought together direct participants of Ukraine’s nuclear disarmament from the U.S., Ukraine, and Russia.

**Ukrainian Nuclear History Fellowship,** Odesa-Kyiv, Ukraine (Summer 2018)

Wilson Center Nuclear Proliferation International History Project and Odesa Center for Nonproliferation at the Odesa National Mechnikov University.

**OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE**

**Cultural Survival,** Cambridge, MA, USA

Intern and contributor, part-time (2004-2006), indigenous rights advocacy group

**Porohy Magazine,** Prague, Czech Republic

Editor and contributor (2002-2003), magazine of the Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic

**Goldfarb Consultants,** London, UK

Research analyst (2000-2002), qualitative research Ford Motor Company, Jaguar Cars, Ogilvy & Mather, Accenture, Standard & Poor’s, British Telecom, ICO Global Communication

**Western NIS Enterprise Fund,** Kyiv, Ukraine

Public relations manager (1997-1999), US government-funded venture capital fund for Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus

**Council of Advisors to the Parliament of Ukraine,** Kyiv, Ukraine

Research assistant (1993-1996), policy think-tank and advisory body

## MISCELLANEOUS

- Brookings Institution, Center on the United States and Europe, senior nonresident fellow.
- Nuclear Policy Education Center, member of the Board of Advisors.
- International Studies Association (ISA), American Political Science Association (APSA), Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), Women in International Politics and Security (WIPS), member.
- Highly NRiched, contributor and mentor.
- *International Security, The Nonproliferation Review*, reviewer.
- Languages: Ukrainian (native), English, Russian (fluent), Belarusian, Czech, Polish (listening and reading comprehension), French (beginner).