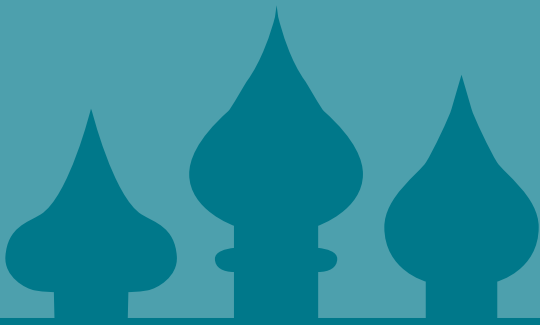




Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars



KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report 2010–2011



Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars



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Annual Report

2010–2011

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CHURCH OF NATIVITY OF THE MOTHER
OF GOD, WEST VIEW, PODMOKLOVO,
MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

Photographs for this report were
provided by William Craft Brumfield,
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OVERVIEW

The Kennan Institute was founded as a division of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in December 1974 through the joint initiative of Ambassador George F. Kennan, then Wilson Center Director James Billington, and historian S. Frederick Starr. Named in honor of Ambassador Kennan's relative, George Kennan "the Elder" (1845–1924), a nineteenth-century explorer of Russia and Siberia, the Kennan Institute is committed to improving American expertise and knowledge about Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region. It is one of several regional studies programs of the Wilson Center. The Center is an international, interdisciplinary, scholarly institution that fosters scholarship in the humanities and social sciences and encourages dialogue between the disciplines and the professions. The director of the Kennan Institute reports to the director of the Woodrow Wilson Center and receives guidance from the Kennan Institute Advisory Council and the Kennan Council.

The Kennan Institute offers residential research scholarships in the humanities and social sciences to academic scholars and specialists from government, the media, and the private sector. Thanks to its location in Washington, D.C., the Kennan Institute is able to provide its scholars with access to libraries, archives, research facilities, and human resources that are among the finest in the United States. Following in the tradition of the Wilson Center, the Institute also provides decision makers in the private and public sectors with access to the expertise of its scholars in residence through such activities as Policy Forums at the Department of State, its public lecture program, and interviews with the media.

In addition to its residential scholar program, the Institute administers an active program of public lectures featuring scholars and public figures from the United States, Russia, and other successor states to the Soviet Union. The Institute makes the results of its activities known in a variety of publications including Meeting Reports, Occasional Papers, Special Reports, and commercially published books. The majority of Kennan Institute publications are available free of charge and are regularly distributed to individuals, university libraries, and companies throughout the world, and are available through the Internet.

The Kennan Institute's outreach program continues to thrive through its utilization of both traditional and modern social networking media. The Institute continues to distribute its print calendar, which has over 6,000 subscribers. Recipients of Kennan Institute publications include specialists in the U.S. government; members of the business, academic, and other professional communities; and legislative aides and congressional researchers. All Kennan Institute information that previously appeared in hard copy is now distributed via the web, including the Kennan Institute E-Newsletter (an electronic version of our monthly mailing), occasional papers, and special reports. It is distributed nine times per year to an email distribution list of over 2,000 subscribers. Alternatively, Kennan Institute followers can review other event summaries and other published materials on its website, which had over 25,000 unique visitors

CATHEDRAL OF SAINT SOPHIA,
SOUTH VIEW FROM CATHEDRAL BELL
TOWER, VOLOGDA, RUSSIA.



in 2010. The Institute's outreach initiatives also include a Facebook page, which currently connects approximately three hundred users to information regarding the Kennan Institute's public events, publications, grant opportunities, and latest news.

The Kennan Institute and the ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow, administer the Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASE) program. The CASE program has established nine thematic research centers at regional Russian universities. CASEs support advanced research in the social sciences and humanities in Russia's regions, build networks of scholars within Russia, and provide opportunities for the integration of Russian scholars into the international academic community. The CASE program is currently funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

In addition to its office in Washington, the Kennan Institute operates centers in Moscow and Kyiv. The Kennan Moscow Project and Kennan Kyiv Project provide on-the-ground assistance to the Washington staff and maintain contact with various Russian and Ukrainian organizations. The offices organize publications, seminars, and conferences on important current themes featuring Kennan Institute alumni. They serve as the core for Kennan's Russian and Ukrainian alumni networks.

The Kennan Institute, as part of the Woodrow Wilson Center, is a nonpartisan institution that values its independence from the world of politics. Unlike many academic research centers, however, it seeks to promote dialogue between academic specialists and policymakers. To this end, the Institute convenes scholars, governmental specialists, and other experts to discuss political, social, and economic issues affecting Russia and the other successor states to the Soviet Union, seeking always to place these issues within their historical context.

CHORAL SYNAGOGUE, INTERIOR,
VIEW TOWARD ARK,
SAINT PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.



DIRECTOR'S REVIEW

The Russian Stage and Russian Realities

The mood in London the third week of March 2002 had been sour. The Middle East was in flames as the Israelis besieged Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Ramallah Compound. The World Meteorological Organization released yet another, more strident, report warning against the dire consequences of global warming. The papers and television news shows had little to offer that could bring joy into anyone's life. At least the first signs of Spring were taking hold as rains early in the week gave away to clear skies with temperatures climbing into the upper 50s (when measured by the scale conceived by the good physicist Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit).

At the edgy Royal Court Theatre on the city's tony Sloan Square, a young Russian playwright from beyond the Urals—twenty-five year old Vasili Sigarev—was offering a strange-sounding premiere play that was said to hold the promise of a new era in Russian dramaturgy. Sigarev, despite the entire hubbub surrounding his arrival in London, was but one among many young provincial playwrights who were setting Russian theater on edge. Together with dozens more authors who had come of age as the Soviet Union collapsed, Sigarev was seeking a voice for his country's post-Soviet confusion, violence, frustration, anger, and carnivalesque debasement. Simultaneously, he and his colleagues embraced more eternal Russian beliefs in the salvation to be found in the impact of theatre as a sacral rite, in the potency of redemption, and in the transcendental power of human soul. The play premiering that night at the Royal Court—Sigarev's *Plasticine*—tried to square the circle between spiritual degradation and salvation.

Plasticine was not totally untried by the time it opened at the Royal Court. Debuting in 2000, the play had won Sigarev the revered Russian Anti-Booker Prize, and already had been performed at Moscow's prestigious Playwright and Director Center under the inspired direction of Kirill Serebrennikov. The Royal Court committed itself to stage a full-fledged production after a successful reading of an English translation of the text a year before.

In writing his play, Sigarev drew on his own life to set forth a shocking tale of violence, drunkenness, hypocrisy, humiliation, rape, sadistic sexual relations, aggression, and vengeance. The title is derived from the material with which the hero "first molds his double, then a phallus of socking size, and then the cast for a kuckleduster which he uses to avenge his aggressors." A native of a small city of about 50,000 souls 120 miles-or-so north of the Urals city of Yekaterinburg, Sigarev left home to study at the Nizhny Tagil Pedagogical Institute before seeking out the master dramatist Nikolai Kolyada at the innovative Yekaterinburg Theater

CATHEDRAL OF SAINT SOPHIA,
INTERIOR, VIEW NORTHEAST,
VOLOGDA, RUSSIA.

Institute. The city's cutting edge theater and cultural scene enveloped the small town youth, who arrived just as the restrictions of Soviet life.

Initial critical reaction to Sigarev's play was confused. Michael Billington of *The Guardian*, wasn't impressed. "But the real problem," Billington wrote, "is that [the] play never analyses the source of [the main character] Maksim's alienation and at only two moments rises above a generalized portrait of urban squalor. One is when Luopkha's mother bribes a teacher with a swimming-pool pass; the other is when Maksim's gran urges the boy to buy some cheap beef reduced in price for Election Day. Suddenly you get a glimpse of the endemic corruption that has survived the collapse of the Soviet system."

The Independent's Paul Taylor was more taken with what he saw as Sigarev's "bracingly clear-eyed tragicomic vision of a world where a woman would think of the local elections principally as the opportunity to grab some of the cut-prime meat the politicians offer as bribes." "Sigarev," he continues, "sees the chaos of contemporary Russia steadily, and he sees it whole. He's an exciting talent and I look forward keenly to encountering more of his work." Other critics agreed. *The Evening Standard* named Sigarev as the "Most Promising Playwright of 2002." In presenting the award to Sigarev, Tom Stoppard voiced his opinion that, "If Dostoevsky were writing in the 21st century, no doubt he would have written *Plasticine*." Billington, Taylor and dozens of other critics would have plenty of opportunity to write about *Plasticine* in the years ahead as the play—together with other Sigarev works—would be performed regularly on stages around the world.

Sigarev's Yekaterinburg has proven to be a particularly powerful environment for nurturing new cultural forms reflecting the disorientation of a society in crisis. The city's status as a hub of creativity looks much more plausible in retrospect than it did at the time. For all too many observers, Yekaterinburg—known for much of the Soviet period as Sverdlovsk—seemed destined for a post-industrial historical dustbin already filled by the likes of Manchester and Detroit.

As was the case everywhere across Russia, local leaders in Yekaterinburg were left on their own to confront the terrible dislocations of post-Soviet de-industrialization. They tried with varying degrees of success to parlay connections with their former colleagues in Moscow to open the city and its economy to the world at large in order to sustain a city population hovering just over 1.3 million.

Two decades later the city's continued vitality demonstrates the local leaders' general success. At a time when many Russian cities were losing population, Yekaterinburg's slowly grew in no small measure due to the arrival of migrants from neighboring Central Asian countries. In 2009, census takers counted 1,332,264 residents in the city (just below third ranked Novosibirsk, which had 1,397,191 residents; and just ahead of fifth place Nizhny Novgorod, which was home to 1,272,527).

Sigarev is but one piece of a larger local theater scene. Nikolai Kolyada became a center of gravity around which much of the new drama world of Yekaterinburg revolved. Kolyada was born in 1957 in the bleak and remote provincial settlement of Presnogor'kovka in the Kustanay Region just across the Russian-Kazakh border south of the Siberian city of Chelyabinsk. He trundled off to the Sverdlovsk Theater School at a young age, graduating at twenty to begin a career on stage with the Sverdlovsk Academic Theater of Drama. The aspiring actor played the sort of wide range of ever more prominent roles that are typical of Russian repertoire, including increasingly important parts in plays by Nikolai Gogol, Alexander Ostrovsky, and Mikhail Bulgakov. Drawn to writing, Kolyada enrolled at the prestigious Gorky Literary Institute

in Moscow to study with prominent writer Vyacheslav Shugayev. This move brought him to Moscow at the height of the excitement and ferment prompted by Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) policies.

Once back in the Urals, Kolyada began to write plays (more than one-hundred, of which more than half have been performed in Russia and abroad), to teach others to write and act (his students include some of Russia's most exciting young playwrights such as Anna Baturina, Anna Bogcheva, Oleg Bogyaev, Nadezhda Koltysheva, Yaroslava Pulinovich, and Vasilii Sigarev), to direct and produce plays, to organize theater festivals (such as the Eurasian Drama Competition Festival which began in 2003, as well as the Kolyada-Plays Festival, which began in 2006, together with the earlier "Real Theater Festival" which has been an annual event since the beginning of the decade), and to serve as an intellectual leader in the Urals region (as confirmed by his decade-long editorship of the journal *Ural*).

Yekaterinburg playwrights, directors, producers and actors are hardly unique on the Russian stage in that the travails of post-Soviet Russian life have inspired one of this new century's most vibrant national theater scenes. The Togliatti writers Iurii Klavdiev, Mikhail and Vyacheslav Durnenkov, Rostov-na-Donu's Sergei Medvedev, Khanty-Mansiysk's Bulat Shiribazarov, and Nizhny Tagil's Ekaterina Vasilyeva, to name just a few, have written works which have electrified, shocked, disturbed, and inspired audiences on stage, screen and television. Yekaterinburg's Urals' competitor Perm has made an ambitious commitment to the visual arts by allocating three percent of the regional budget to promote cultural development. These policies are producing a vibrant and noteworthy theatrical world all its own. Collectively, Russian playwrights have given meaning to life in an era of Russian history when nothing other than material wealth seems of value. Through their frank, bleak, and brutal portrayals of everyday life outside Russia's "two capitals" (e.g., Moscow and St. Petersburg) they have re-infused magic, spirituality, truth-seeking, a sense of awareness, and humanity into the Russian sense of self.

The Yekaterinburg playwrights and the larger New Russian Drama Movement have taken the world's stages by storm; as have any number of Russian cultural figures. They represent a Russia that is coming to terms with its new realities and with the world at large. They are part of a Russia that remains obscured from view when approaching Russia through the lens of politics.

Writers in Ukraine are often playing a similar role in Russia's post-Soviet neighbor. Observing Ukraine through its literary landscape offers an opportunity to understand much of the transformation that has occurred in the past nineteen years of Ukrainian statehood. The creative energy that contemporary Ukrainian writers have unleashed through their literature in recent decades has been able to address the lingering vestiges of Ukraine's Soviet past, while simultaneously providing a new image of Ukraine for a new generation of readers that has no personal memory of the Soviet Union.

As the scope and spirit of the literary revival in Ukraine continues to develop rapidly, the Kennan Institute collaborates with the Harriman Institute's Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University to host a series showcasing prominent modern Ukrainian writers. Since its inception in 2008, the Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series has featured literary figures that are considered reflections of Ukraine's present-day literary, political and linguistic diversity, and uniquely shape the face of Ukraine and its culture. At annual events held in both New York City and Washington, D.C., the Kennan Institute has hosted Andrey Kurkov, Taras Chubai, Marjana Savka, Viktor Neborak, Andriy Bondar, Yuri Andrukovich, Taras Prokhasko, and Serhii Zhadan to read and discuss their diverse literary works.

Playwrights such as Sigarev, Kolyada, the Presnikovs and writers such as Andrukhovych, Kurkov, and Bondar reveal societies which are much more responsive to the world at large than many observers both at home and abroad seem to think. They underscore the necessity of approaching complex societies such as Russia and Ukraine through multiple vantage points which include but are not limited to the worlds of politics and economics. This has been what we at the Kennan Institute have tried to do since we were established in December 1974; and this has been our continuing goal during the past program year.

These complex relationships continue to drive the mission of the Kennan Institute. In the past twelve months, the Kennan Institute hosted 42 scholars who have explored the intellectual complexities of the post-soviet region, evaluated the legacies of both the Russian Empire and Soviet rule, and identified prospects for the future through the study of a highly diverse range of topics.

Kennan Institute scholars in several disciplines—economics, history, and international relations—examined the policy implications of their research. Natalia Shagayda considered economic challenges with regard to land reform in Russia and the lack of state policy protection of agricultural lands. Rebecca Chamberlain-Creanga analyzed the identity formations dividing and uniting post-Soviet states in relation to political-economic changes, while Stephen Crowley researched Russian labor during the Putin administration. Additionally, scholars turned their gaze inward to elucidate the policy ramifications of economics. Grygorii Shamborovskyi conducted a comparative examination of Ukrainian regional economic integration versus the European Union and Russian Federation. Regine Spector, whose expertise includes economics in Central Asia, analyzed the administrative economy of marketplaces in Kyrgyzstan.

Comparative politics were a point of interest among Kennan Institute scholars this program year, particularly in terms of international relations. Nataliia Pohorila's case study encompassed the Ukraine and using comparable survey data to test two theories of political support. Maxim Kharkevich examined the complexities of governance systems in the context of world politics, while Oxana Lekarenko examined American policymaking in response to the common market and European integration of the early 1960s. David Engerman compared the United States, Europe, and Russia and how India traversed the conflicts between the superpowers. Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow Bruce Parrott juxtaposed Russia and Eurasia in the context of the current geopolitical arena. Finally, Ambassador Zamira Sydykova assessed the causes and consequences of the color revolutions in post-Soviet states.

Additionally, issues of global concern were discussed in relation to elements of national security. Nicholas Schmidle studied transnational crime and international law enforcement, while Sergiy Fedunyak addressed U.S.-European affairs being a factor of security in the NIS and Ukraine. Gordon Hahn researched the criteria for inclusion and omission of various North Caucasus terrorist emirates on the U.S. State Department's terrorist list.

Vladimir Malakhov compared the dynamics of immigration administration practices employed in Russia versus those in industrially-established Western countries. Galina Starovoitova Fellow Natalya Klevalina analyzed the fluctuation of Russian immigration in the United States in connection with the effects of Russian culture on American society. Mikhail Grachev performed a meta-analysis of what factors dictate effective leadership in present-day Russia, while Tatiana Indina surveyed the influential elements of political voting

Several Kennan Institute scholars focused primarily on the historical aspects of politics in the post-Soviet region. Alexey Antoshin wrote about the political difficulties of Russian



BRIANCHANINOV ESTATE, MAIN HOUSE,
PARK (SOUTH) FAÇADE, POKROVSKOE,
VOLOGDA, RUSSIA.

Americans during the Cold War, while James Meyer examined Muslim communities during late imperial Russia. Elena Sitnikova studied the American perception of the USSR between 1945 and 1962, while Benjamin Raiklin reviewed the propaganda of Stalinist newsreels produced between 1928 and 1948. Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow Melissa Stockdale assessed nationalism and government mobilization efforts among the Russian population during Russia's Great War.

Specific regions across the post-Soviet region and the study of their historical and cultural significance remained a popular topic at the Kennan Institute this past program year. Galina Starovoitova fellow Evgeny Tsymbal assayed the experience of children living in the Kovno ghetto in Kaunas, Lithuania during the Stalin era, while Sarah Cameron researched the Kazakh famine that lasted from 1921 until 1934. Liudmila Pravikova studied the changes in linguistic diversity in the North Caucasus region after the fall of the Soviet Union. Finally, Yedida Kanfer explored industry and religion in Łódź, Poland between 1880 and 1914.

Kennan Institute scholars also investigated topics of social and religious relevance. Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow Boris Lanin discussed Russian educational policies in the context of that country's transforming society. Ruslan Garipov explored the politics of self-determination among minority populations throughout Russia and the globe, while Oleksandr Merezhko studied the sociological structure and phenomena of international law. Victoria Smolkin-Rothrock analyzed atheism, socialist rituals, and soviet customs between 1954 and 1999. In addition, Roman Lunkin examined the place of religion in state and social conflicts within

Russia and surrounding regions, and Roger Reese described the Russian Orthodox Church during World War II. Straddling the areas of art and religion, Chris Chulos studied depictions of religion in early Russian cinema.

The study of arts and literature remained a significant area of focus for several Kennan Institute scholars. Eric Duskin researched the history of Soviet cooking and cookbooks; Lauren Brown explored arts funding and dance in the USSR, and how it influenced American identity. Two scholars examined arts and literature specifically in Ukrainian culture: Olena Haleta centered on compiling Ukrainian literary anthologies as a means of preserving Ukrainian identity, and Natalia Moussienko studied Ukrainian identity by virtue of public art in cities.

In addition to this impressive array of scholars who have enriched the intellectual vitality of the Kennan Institute this past year, the Institute is proud to continue hosting Senior Scholars and Senior Policy Scholars. Murray Feshbach continues to consider the policy implications of population, health, and environmental trends in Russia. Leah Bendavid-Val examined the ways photographic images of Siberia helped to create and perpetuate the region's history. Alexandra Vacroux's work revealed institutional obstacles of the Russian state through assessing failed healthcare reform in Russia. Jan Kalicki continues to evaluate energy and security issues and opportunities in Russia and its surrounding states, while Ambassador William Green Miller works toward providing understanding for the evolving U.S.-Ukraine relationship.



In closing I would like to make special note of the Kennan Institute staff in Washington, Moscow, and Kyiv, without whom none of the accomplishments contained in this report would have been possible. I have had the incommensurable good fortune of working with a group of individuals over the past year that have consistently set a high standard to which I can only aspire. Ekaterina Alekseeva, Thea Cooke, Lauren Crabtree, Joseph Dresen, Pavel Korolev, Galina Levina, Amy Liedy, Mary Elizabeth Malinkin, Emil Pain, Irina Petrova, William Pomeranz, Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Nataliya Samozvanova, Anna Toker, S. Todd Weinberg, have been true colleagues. Edmita Bulota left the Institute this past year, and is already being missed. I value deeply their collective and individual intelligence, imagination, integrity, and good cheer. All who care about the Kennan Institute are in their debt.

This Kennan Institute Annual Report represents the last edition of the publication in printed format. We invite you to visit our website, www.wilsoncenter.org/kennan, to access past and future Kennan Institute news and information.

GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWSHIP ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Galina Starovoitova was a leading human rights advocate and a deputy in the Russian lower house of parliament (Duma). She won her Duma seat from St. Petersburg in Russia's December 1995 legislative elections. Starovoitova served in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies during 1989–1991 and was a presidential advisor on ethnic relations until 1992. She was a co-founder of the Democratic Russia movement. She was assassinated in the stairwell leading to her St. Petersburg apartment on 20 November 1998.

The Galina Starovoitova Fellowship on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution was established following U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's 25 January 1999 speech in Moscow, in which she announced funding for a memorial fellowship at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in honor of Galina Starovoitova. The Fellowship is funded and administered in cooperation with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State and the Public Affairs office of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

In 1989, Galina Starovoitova was a visiting scholar at the Kennan Institute. She was also a visiting professor at Brown University, and a fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program at the United States Institute for Peace, where she completed research on self-determination movements in the former Soviet Union. In keeping with the legacies of both Woodrow Wilson and Galina Starovoitova, the Starovoitova Fellowship is available to prominent scholars or policymakers from the Russian Federation who have successfully bridged the worlds of ideas and public affairs to advance human rights and conflict resolution.

RECIPIENTS:

Sergei Baburkin, March–August 2000	Anatoly Krasikov, December 2003–April 2004	Olga Tsepilova, April–June 2006	Olga Vendina, September 2009–November 2009
Emil Pain, September 2000–June 2001	Aleksandr Osipov, April–July 2004	Maria Belousova, June–August 2007	Lev Simkin, November 2009–January 2010
Aleksandr Nikitin, September 2001– January 2002	Davlat Khudonazarov, October 2004–April 2005	Dmitry Dubrovskiy, August 2007–February 2008	Marya Rozanova, January 2010–April 2010
William Smirnov, October 2001–July 2002	Grigorii Pasko, October 2004–April 2005	Andrey Rezaev, January 2008–July 2008	Anna Sevortian, April 2010–July 2010
Zaindi Choltaev, September 2002–June 2003	Valentin Gefter, March–June 2005	Petr Panov, February 2008– April 2008	Evgeny Tsymbal, December 2010–May 2011
Ivan Pavlov, September– December 2003	Victor Shnirelman, October 2005–April 2006	Vladimir Eremenko, January 2009–June 2009	Natalya Klevalina, March 2011–May 2011

ADVISORY COUNCILS

The Advisory Council advises the Kennan Institute on all scholarly aspects of its work. The Council reviews Title VIII-Supported Research Scholarship, Short-Term, and Central Eurasian Short-Term grant applications. Council members, who normally serve for four years, also assist the Institute individually by advising staff members and helping organize conferences. The Russian Alumni Association Advisory Council advises the Kennan Institute on the direction and form of alumni activities in the Russian Federation. The Ukrainian Alumni Association Advisory Council performs similar duties in Ukraine. Alumni Council members normally serve for two years and represent various regions of Russia and Ukraine. The members during the 2009–10 program year were:

KENNAN INSTITUTE ADVISORY COUNCIL

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**The Kennan Institute would like
to extend special thanks to outgoing
Advisory Council member Serhii Plokhii.
We greatly appreciate his support and
hard work these past years.*

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University

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KENNAN COUNCIL

For over 30 years, the Kennan Institute has worked to improve American expertise and knowledge about Russia and the other successor states to the Soviet Union. Recognizing the need to build on the successes of the past, in 2001 the Institute established a private sector advisory board—the Kennan Council. Members are drawn from the worlds of business, finance, law, and public policy. The Kennan Council was founded with two goals in mind. First, it is intended to help ensure the financial strength of the Kennan Institute. Second, it enables the Institute to broaden its programming to inform and learn from the issues confronting the private sector in Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region. Members are asked to help identify which issues, whether political, social, or economic, are of the greatest concern to the private sector, and to help with fundraising.

The Kennan Institute has always brought together the worlds of academia and public policy in discussing Russia and the other successor states to the Soviet Union. The creation of the Kennan Council has allowed the Institute to bring the concerns and experience of the private sector into this discussion as well.

MAUSOLEUM OF THE MOTHER OF THE SULTAN, SHAKHI-ZINDA (FORMERLY CALLED KAZI-ZADE-RUMI MAUSOLEUM), SAMARKAND, UZBEKISTAN.

KENNAN COUNCIL

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SCHOLARS

The Kennan Institute's residential fellowship program supports outstanding research on Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities. During the 2010–11 program year, the Institute supported eight types of grants: Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowships, Galina Starovoitova Fellowships on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Senior Scholarships, Senior Policy Scholarships, Public Policy Scholarships, Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholarships, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholarships, and Short-Term grants. The competitive application process is open to qualified academic scholars as well as practitioners from government, media, and the private sector. All programs are limited to candidates with doctoral degrees or equivalent professional achievement, except Short-Term grants, for which an advanced Ph.D. candidate may apply.

The Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholarship program, which began in September 2003, is funded by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) of the United States Department of State. ECA also funds the Galina Starovoitova Fellowship on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution. Research Scholarships and Short-Term grants for U.S. citizens are funded by the Program for Research and Training on Eastern Europe and the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (Title VIII), administered by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the Department of State.

Kennan Institute scholars have direct access to libraries, research facilities, and human resources that are among the finest available in the United States. Resident scholars regularly participate in public lectures and seminars, specialized conferences, and informal presentations at the Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center. The Institute provides a professional working environment where scholars forge links with American and international colleagues and institutions. Resident scholars have the opportunity to disseminate their research to a larger audience through the publications and public lecture programs of the Institute.

During the 2010–11 program year, the Kennan Institute supported 42 scholars whose work included topics in politics, sociology, history, literature, economics, and the arts throughout the former Soviet Union. The scholars at the Kennan Institute during the past year came from around the world and formed a community. This community of scholars contributed to the life of the Institute and helped to further American understanding of the social, political, and economic dynamics of the successor states to the Soviet Union.

I found everyone extremely warm and welcoming—something you do not always experience when you will not be in residence long—and the only thing I'd truly like to ask of the Kennan Institute now is to let me stay longer, or come back soon.

—Lauren Erin Brown,
Short Term Scholar,
June 2011

GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

NATALYA KLEVALINA, Editor, Solzhenitsyn House of Russia Abroad. "The Rise and Fall of Russian Immigration in U.S. in the 20th Century." March 2011–May 2011.

EVGENY TSYMBAL, Film Director. "The Holocaust and Children's Destinies of the Kovno Ghetto." December 2010–May 2011.

PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS

RUSLAN GARIPPOV, Senior Lecturer and Chair, Department of State and Law Disciplines, Kazan State Pedagogical University. "People's Right to Self-Determination in the Contemporary World." February 2011–April 2011.

MAXIM KHARKEVICH, Administrator, Moscow State Institute of International Studies. "Governing Complex Adaptive Systems in World Politics." September 2011–October 2011.

ROMAN LUNKIN, Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences. "Religion, State and Social Conflicts Today: Features of New Role of Religion in Civil Society, Field Experience of Research in U.S. and Study of Religion in Russia and Surrounding States." September 2011–December 2011.

NICHOLAS SCHMIDLE, Fellow, New America Foundation; Contributor, *The New York Times Magazine*. "Transnational Crime and Global Law Enforcement." September 2011–January 2012.

ZAMIRA SYDYKOVA, former Kyrgyz Ambassador. "The Color Revolutions in the Post-Soviet Realm: Causes and Consequences." July 2010–November 2010.

SENIOR POLICY SCHOLAR

WILLIAM GREEN MILLER, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine. "Creation of a Relationship between Ukraine and the U.S." January 2003–December 2011.

SENIOR SCHOLARS

LEAH BENDAVID-VAL, independent scholar, Washington, D.C. "Siberia: A Photographic Portrait and Analysis." January 2010–December 2012.

MURRAY FESHBACH, Research Professor Emeritus, Georgetown University, Washington DC. "Policy Implications of Population Health, and Environment Trends in Russia." August 2006–September 2012.

JAN KALICKI, Counselor for International Strategy, Chevron Corporation, CA. "Energy and Security Issues and Opportunities in Russia and the Surrounding States." July 2006–June 2012.

WOODROW WILSON CENTER FELLOWS

BORIS LANIN, Principal Research Professor of Philology, Academy of Education of Russia, Moscow, Russia. “Transforming Educational Policy in a Transformational Society.” September 2010–May 2011.

BRUCE PARROTT, Director of Russian and Eurasian Studies, The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. “Russia and Eurasia in a New Geopolitical Era.” December 2010–June 2011.

MELISSA STOCKDALE, Associate Professor of History, University of Oklahoma. “A Hard Country to Love’: Patriotism and National Identity in Russia’s Great War, 1914–1918.” September 2010–May 2011.

FULBRIGHT–KENNAN INSTITUTE RESEARCH SCHOLARS

ALEXEY ANTOSHIN, Associate Professor, The Urals State University, Ekaterinburg, Russia. “Russian Americans during the Period of the Cold War: A Problem of Political Choice.” March 2011–June 2011.

SERGIY FEDUNYAK, Professor, International Relations, Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi, Ukraine. “US–Europe Relations as a Factor of Security in the Region of the Newly Independent States.” March 2011–August 2011.

OLENA HALETA, Associate Professor and Director, Literary Theory and Comparative Studies, Ivan Franko L’viv University. “Anthologies as a Mechanism of Cultural Memory in Ukrainian Literature.” September 2010–February 2011.

TATIANA INDINA, Senior Researcher, Psychological Institute, Russian Academy of Education (Moscow). “Values and Motivational Determinants of Decision Making in Political Voting.” September 2011–February 2012.

OXANA LEKARENKO, Associate Professor, Department of Modern and Contemporary History and International Relations, Tomsk State University. “American Policy towards the Common Market in 1958–1963.” September 2010–February 2011.

VLADIMIR MALAKHOV, Leading Research Fellow, Department of Social and Political Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences. “National Integration and Transnational Migration: Dynamic of Immigration Regimes in Industrially Developed Countries.” March 2011–August 2011.

OLEKSANDR MEREZHKO, Head, International Law, University of Economics and Law, Kyiv, Ukraine. “Sociology of International Law.” September 2010–February 2011.

The Kennan
Institute staff were
all tremendously
helpful, resourceful
and generous in
their time and
efforts to make our
stays productive.

—Regine Spector, Title VIII-
Supported Research Scholar,
September 2010–May 2011

NATALIA MOUSSIIENKO, Senior Research Fellow, Cultural Strategies, Innovations and Technologies Department, Modern Art Research Institute, National Academy of Art of Ukraine. “Public Art in the City’s Identity Formation: American Experience in Ukrainian Realities.” September 2011–February 2012.

NATALIIA POHORILA, Analyst, SOCIS (Center for Social and Marketing Research), Kyiv, Ukraine. “Support for Political Regime: Institutional Efficiency Explanation versus Political Culture Theory.” March 2011–August 2011.

I would like to encourage the continued efforts of the Kennan Institute and Wilson Center to maintain both the academic and the policy-oriented aspects of the Wilson Center's mission. I feel that I have benefited enormously from my interactions with both academia and policy, and that the combination of these two worlds at the Wilson Center is a really important reason why the Wilson Center is such an important, indeed special, place. I feel very thankful to have spent the past seven months at the Wilson Center and hope to return one day.

—James Meyer, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, January–August 2011

LIUDMILA PRAVIKOVA, Professor, Interpreters' Department, Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University, Pyatigorsk, Russia. "Language Identity Change in the North Caucasus after the Collapse of the Soviet Union." September 2010–April 2011.

NATALIA SHAGAYDA, Scientist, Institute of Agrarian Problems, Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences, Moscow, Russia. "Developing A State Policy on Agricultural Land." September 2010–February 2011.

GRYGORII SHAMBOROVSKYI, Assistant Professor, International Economic Relations, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv. "Comparative Analysis of Geo–Economic Effects of Ukrainian Regional Economic Integration with the European Union and the Russian Federation." September 2011–February 2012.

ELENA SITNIKOVA, Senior Lecturer, Department of Law, Russian Academy of Justice, Central Branch. "Visualization of the USSR Image in the United States, 1945–1962." September 2011–February 2012.

TITLE VIII–SUPPORTED RESEARCH SCHOLARS

SARAH CAMERON, independent scholar. "The Hungry Steppe: Soviet Kazakhstan and the Kazakh Famine, 1921–1934." August 2011–April 2012.

REBECCA CHAMBERLAIN-CREANGA, independent scholar. "Manufacturing Separatism: Transnational Economy, Identity and State Formation on a Post–Soviet Frozen War Front." May 2010–December 2010.

YEDIDA KANFER, independent scholar. "Łódź: Industry and Religion in Russian Poland, 1880–1914." September 2011–April 2012.

JAMES MEYER, Assistant Professor, Montana State University. "Homeland in the Tsar's Domain: Muslim Communities and Regional Rule in Late Imperial Russia." January 2011–August 2011.

REGINE SPECTOR, Visiting Researcher, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. "Protecting Property: The Politics of Bazaars in Central Asia." September 2010–May 2011.

TITLE VIII–SUPPORTED SUMMER RESEARCH SCHOLARS

STEPHEN CROWLEY, Associate Professor of Politics, Oberlin College. “Russian Labor under Putin and the Monogoroda.” May 2011–July 2011.

BENJAMIN RAIKLIN, Ph.D. candidate, Soviet History, University of Wisconsin–Madison. “Stalinist Newsreel Efforts and the Politics of War and War Memory, 1928–1948.” May 2011–July 2011.

TITLE VIII–SUPPORTED SHORT-TERM SCHOLARS

LAUREN BROWN, Assistant Professor, High Point University. “Cultural Czars: American Nationalism, Dance and Cold War Arts Funding, 1945–1989.” May 2011–June 2011.

CHRIS CHULOS, Associate Professor of History and Chair, Department of History and Philosophy, Roosevelt University. “Representations of Religion in Early Russian Cinema (1908–1919).” June 2011–July 2011.

ERIC DUSKIN, Associate Professor of History, Christopher Newport University. “The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food: The Book that Taught Soviets to Cook.” August 2010; December 2010.

DAVID ENGERMAN, Professor of History, Brandeis University. “The Global Politics of the Modern: India and the Three Worlds of the Cold War.” August 2011.

MIKHAIL GRACHEV, Professor of Management, Western Illinois University. “Organizational Leadership in Russia: Perceptions and Effectiveness.” June 2011–July 2011; December 2011.

GORDON M. HAHN, Professor, Monterey Terrorism Research and Education Program, Monterey Institute for International Studies. “The U.S. State Department’s Terrorist List and the ‘Caucasus Emirate.’” July 2011.

ROGER REESE, Professor of History, Texas A&M University. “The Russian Orthodox Church in World War II.” July 2011.

VICTORIA SMOLKIN-ROTHROCK, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Wesleyan University. “A Sacred Space is Never Empty: Scientific Atheism, Socialist Rituals, and the Soviet Way of Life (1954–1999).” July 2011–August 2011.

Without a doubt I would recommend the program to other scholars, particularly those in need of conducting research at the National Archives or the Library of Congress. Moreover, the Kennan Institute’s staff, facilities, and resources can only be categorized as overly generous. I cannot see how a scholar would not find his/her time to be of great benefit to their research and development as professionals and individuals.

—Benjamin E. Raiklin, Title VIII-Supported Summer Research Scholar, May 2011–July 2011

RUSSIA AND THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Twenty years after the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia continues to struggle with the implementation of the rule of law. Practices ranging from inadequate protection of property rights, extensive pretrial detentions, and external influence on the courts have all earned Russia international criticism. In the absence of adequate rule of law at home, many Russian citizens are taking their appeals abroad to the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in Strasbourg, France. Russia joined the Court in 1998 with its ratification of the European Convention on Human Rights (the “Convention”), a pre-condition for Russia’s membership in the Council of Europe. Today, approximately 28 percent of the cases before the ECtHR are from Russia, by far the largest percentage of any member nation.

The Kennan Institute and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation sponsored a one-day seminar to explore this increasingly important avenue of international influence on the development of the rule of law in Russia. **Janet Evans**, a senior lawyer at the European Human Rights Advocacy Center, described the Convention’s idealistic and ambitious origins. The right of citizens to pursue individual petitions against their own state was nothing short of revolutionary, Evans argued. The Court also prides itself on its open access; applicants do not require a lawyer, for example, to commence an action, although one must first exhaust domestic legal remedies before appealing to the Strasbourg. Evans further noted that the Court handles a wide variety of cases on the cutting edge of human rights, with significant impact both on legal and political developments in Europe.

William Pomeranz, Deputy Director of the Kennan Institute, reviewed Russia’s ratification of the Convention and decision to submit to the jurisdiction of the ECtHR in 1998. As Pomeranz described, several European countries initially questioned Russia’s ability to live up to the Convention’s stringent human rights requirement. In the end, however, the Council of Europe decided that integration was better than isolation, and let Russia join the organization. The ECtHR subsequently has become a major conduit by which international law flows into the

Russian judicial system, both from the Convention and from actual court decisions. According to Pomeranz, the Court’s influence on the Russian appellate review process has been profound, leading to increased complaints from Russia’s political leaders that ECtHR is interfering with the country’s national sovereignty.

Natalya Taubina, director, Public Verdict Foundation, discussed the important role that NGOs play in relation to implementing the goals and objectives of the ECtHR. Although the Convention assigned no formal role to NGOs, Taubina nevertheless insisted that such groups have an important role to play, most notably, by highlighting the enforcement (or lack thereof) of ECtHR decisions. NGOs also publicize important ECtHR rulings among members of the legal community and overall serve as an important informational source about the rights set forth in the Convention. Finally, NGOs engage in advocacy, primarily related to implementation of judgments, and further provide expert analysis and recommendations regarding important ECtHR cases.

Alexei Trochev, lecturer, University of Wisconsin Law School, described how Russians bring cases before the ECtHR. The procedure itself is not overly complicated. No lawyers are required for the initial complaint; instead a potential applicant need only observe the filing deadlines and pay for postage to France. As a result, noted Trochev, Russians have proceeded to flood Strasbourg with petitions. The largest number of these cases involves the non-execution of decisions of national courts, followed by cases dealing the protection of property, the need for a speedy trial, inhuman or degrading treatment of detainees, and the right to liberty and security. Trochev added that overall (with the exception of the Chechen cases) Russia has cooperated with the ECtHR and almost always pays out compensation so ordered by the Court.

Chechnya is a special case when it comes to the official recognition of ECtHR decisions, noted **Tanya Lokshina**, Deputy Director, Human Rights Watch’s Moscow Office; in over 170 rulings against Russia dealing with forced disappearances, abduction, and torture, the Russian government consistently has chosen not to

implement the ECtHR's policy recommendations. In addition, Russia has been extremely reluctant to provide important documents in the Chechen cases, furthering undermining the ECtHR's ability to complete its investigation and render a final verdict. Lokshina recently interviewed several Chechen citizens who theoretically "won" in Strasbourg, but years later, they were still looking for justice, particularly against those Russian officials who had gone unpunished for these human rights violations. Although Lokshina found some areas for optimism vis-à-vis the Court such as Russia's recent ratification of Protocol 14, she argued that the EU itself should become more proactive on human rights issues.

Anton Burkov, a long time human rights lawyer from Ekaterinburg and now at Management Systems International (Moscow), focused on how the Convention has been applied in Russia's regions. When local lawyers first tried to refer to the Convention and to ECtHR decisions in domestic courts, Burkov noted, they faced strong resistance from judges who refused to recognize "foreign law" as a source of law. Today, primarily as a result of the initiative of NGO lawyers, a growing number of district courts accept the Convention as a part of Russian law. Burkov recommended that in order to raise the standing of the ECtHR, official publications of court decision should be distributed to local judges, as the judiciary prefers to cite official—as opposed to unofficial—sources. Burkov also argued that courses on the European Convention should be added to the standard legal curriculum in Russian law schools to educate students about Russia's responsibilities under the Convention.

Karina Moskalkenko, the founder of the International Protection Center, described how her organization has helped develop the relevant ECtHR case law as it relates to various Russian human rights issues (discrimination, election laws, extremism). Going forward, Moskalkenko noted that Russia's recent ratification of Protocol 14—expediting cases before the ECtHR—may force the Russian government to show a greater interest in the enforcement of judgments. At the same time, however, Moskalkenko argued that Protocol 14 was not

the future of the ECtHR, since it could not eliminate the backlog of cases. Moskalkenko also raised the question about the future composition of the ECtHR, emphasizing the need for experienced jurists. The ECtHR does not serve as a substitute for the Russian judicial system, concluded Moskalkenko, but it nevertheless still represents the court of last resort.

Paul Saunders, Executive Director, Center for the National Interest, put Russia's experience with the ECtHR in a broader perspective. As a great power, Russia prefers to be a rule setter, as opposed to a rule taker, and this makes it difficult to integrate Russia into global institutions such as the ECtHR. Saunders also raised the Khodorkovsky case and noted that any substantial judgment in Strasbourg in Khodorkovsky's favor would raise serious question about Russia's implementation of such a ruling. Finally, Saunders addressed the question of human rights and WTO accession, and whether the U.S. should use human rights as leverage to Russia's membership in the organization. Saunders added that any post-Jackson Vanik legislation may want to focus on concrete topics—such as corruption or the Russian judiciary—instead of more narrowly on human rights in order to gain broader support for such efforts.

Nadia Diuk, executive vice-president at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), began by noting that the NED has supported programs that help Russians prepare petitions for the ECtHR. As such, the ECtHR was not as removed from U.S. foreign policy interests as some might think. Diuk asked more generally whether the U.S. should maintain its support for human rights activists in Russia (with no end sight), or alternatively, simply try to make the ECtHR work better. Diuk also examined what the U.S. has in its legislative arsenal that might compare to the ECtHR. Diuk proposed various institutional approaches—a U.S. commission to monitor human rights and the rule of law, State Department certification of human rights compliance, or a prohibited persons list related to human rights violations—that could be employed in a post-Jackson-Vanik world to promote Russian human rights.



CENTERS for ADVANCED STUDY and EDUCATION

In 1998, Carnegie Corporation of New York, with the support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, invited the Kennan Institute's Blair A. Ruble and Nancy Popson, together with Susan Bronson, formerly of the Social Science Research Council, to prepare a study about how best to protect the welfare of the intelligentsia of the former Soviet Union, especially in its regional universities. Their report in 1999, titled *The Humanities and Social Sciences in the Former Soviet Union: An Assessment of Need*, formed the basis for a partnership between Carnegie Corporation, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, MacArthur Foundation, and the Open Society Institute that led to the establishment of Russian Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs) in 2000.

Higher education in Russia has faced a number of problems in the post-Soviet period, but one of the most serious has been the absence of national and international networks uniting institutions and individual scholars. The goal of the CASE program is to develop an “invisible university” that would foster these networks in the social sciences and humanities. The program is administered jointly by the Kennan Institute and the ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.) in Moscow, and directed by an international advisory board.

The CASE program recognizes that higher education, in the words of Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian, “is our connection with the future. It is in institutions of higher education where the best minds of every culture and country ask the questions that will lead to advances in social, scientific, and governmental policies, and the development of science and philosophy—the kinds of breakthroughs that will advance a nation.”

NINE THEMATIC CENTERS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AT REGIONAL RUSSIAN UNIVERSITIES:

FAR EASTERN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (Vladivostok), “Russia and the Asia-Pacific Region: Comprehensive Security, Conflicts, and Cooperation in the 21st Century;”

IRKUTSK STATE UNIVERSITY, “Siberia in Russia and in the World: Challenges to Development Strategies;”

CHURCH OF THE PRAISE OF THE
MOTHER OF GOD, INTERIOR,
VIEW SOUTHE, OREL, PERM', RUSSIA.

NESTOROV BARN, FROM SHAPSHA
VILLAGE (KHAROVSK REGION)
(RECONSTRUCTED AT ARCHITECTURAL-
ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM,
SEMENKOVO), SEMENKOVO,
VOLOGDA, RUSSIA.



KALININGRAD STATE UNIVERSITY (Baltic CASE), “Russia and Europe: Past, Present, Future;”

NOVGOROD STATE UNIVERSITY, “State, Society, and Individual in the Context of Russian Culture: the Dimension of Values;”

ROSTOV STATE UNIVERSITY, “Russia’s Modernization Problems;”

SARATOV STATE UNIVERSITY, “Phenomenology of Power: State, Society, and Individual Destiny (Russian and International Experiences);”

TOMSK STATE UNIVERSITY, “Eurasian Frontier: Inter-Cultural Community and Communication System;”

URALS STATE UNIVERSITY (Ekaterinburg), “Tolerance and the Integration of Societies under Globalization;”

VORONEZH STATE UNIVERSITY, “Dialogue and Continuity among Cultures in Contemporary Society.”

In addition, a CASE Resource Center was opened at St. Petersburg State University to support the research of CASE-affiliated scholars and St. Petersburg educational, cultural, and archival institutions.

Phase one of the CASE program focused on the selection of nine universities to host the Centers for Advanced Study and Education. The CASE Program Board selected these university sites from a large applicant pool collected during a series of three open, national competitions. The thematic goals and organizational structures of the CASEs were established and administrative details were finalized during this beginning phase of the project.

Once the structures were in place, the second phase of the program was initiated. Vibrant academic communities formed around each CASE as a result of the innovative, advanced research in the social sciences and humanities taking place at these Centers. The CASEs earned

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD FOR CENTERS FOR ADVANCED STUDY AND EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

Andrei Kortunov, Co-Chair

ISE Center (Information. Scholarship.
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Foundation

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Foundation

Mikhail Strikhanov

Russian Federation Ministry of Education
and Science

Liudmilla Verbitskaya

St. Petersburg State University

strong reputations as research centers at the forefront of Russian scholarship by attracting high-caliber scholars to be individual fellows and participants in CASE activities, hosting a variety of conferences and seminars, producing numerous publications, and establishing extensive open-access research libraries. An increase in academic mobility was achieved in Russia during this period and over 3,500 scholars from across the country have benefited from the CASE program, either through direct fellowships or through engagement in CASE activities.

Currently, the third stage of the project focuses on the development of advanced research projects, particularly those resulting from collaborative efforts involving multiple CASEs, academic institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and international partners. This phase calls for integrating the CASEs into a fully standardized network which allows for more effective collaboration on network-wide research endeavors; extending their reach into the international academic community; offering intensive training on contemporary research methodologies; emphasizing the development of high-quality applied research at CASEs with specific attention to issues affecting the regions in which they are located in order to attract the interest of local civil society institutions, the private sector, and the public sector; and enhancing the cooperation of CASEs with the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, which has been encouraged to utilize the network of CASE universities in its program of higher education reforms. In addition to these goals, the CASEs are now also tasked with establishing the conditions within their host universities which will allow them to sustain their operations once Western funding for the program comes to an end.

Please visit www.iriss.ru, the official CASE program website administered by ISE Center, for more information.

RELIGION

The fall of the Soviet Union revealed a diverse, multicultural, multi-confessional population living in its ruins. This religious diversity—and the newly dynamic and sometimes global nature of religious movements within it—is of profound importance in the region today, particularly as set against the post-1991 background of new state formation, local authoritarianism, concerns over the meaning of democracy as well as the ethics of the new economy, and—in far too many instances—of poverty and war.

Over the past several years, the Kennan Institute has initiated a number of activities supporting academic analysis of the diverse religious practices and beliefs visible throughout the former Soviet Union. These activities promote an active conversation about the meaning and significance of religious diversity throughout the region.

Much of this year's programming framed the discussion in terms of the Russian Orthodox Church and its role in shaping society. **Olga Kazmina**, Professor, Department of Ethnology, Moscow State University; Visiting Fulbright Scholar, Department of Religion, Emory University; and Former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute examined the topic at a **25 April 2011** Kennan Institute event in terms of the direct challenges to the institution, tracing the ways that religious principles evolved to correspond with the changing ideals of the Russian population. Her talk connected the modern day evolution of the Russian Orthodox Church to a rise in the interconnectedness of ethnicity to religion as understood more generally across Russia, coinciding with the rise of nationalist impulses.

Scott Kenworthy, Associate Professor, Department of Comparative Religion, Miami University-Ohio and Former Title VIII-supported Research Scholar presented his recently published book, *The Heart of Russia: Trinity-Sergius, Monasticism, and Society after 1825* at a 28 March 2011 event. This book traces the sway of Russian Orthodoxy through the lens of monasticism. For example, as monasticism gained prominence in the 19th century, particularly under the positive portrayals from enlightened artists, including Dostoevsky and Chekhov, the Orthodox Church began to take on philanthropic activities, thereby spreading its sphere of influence. Kenworthy argued that this was particularly central in “awakening an Orthodoxy that coincided with a Russian national identity in the aftermath of the Napoleonic invasions, seeking what was unique to Orthodoxy in distinction from Russian models that had dominated in the 18th century.” Though monasteries came under attack from Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet attempt to undermine popular belief angered the pious, who felt that their faith had been invaded. Though fewer than 20 monasteries remained in 1985, Kenworthy pointed to

the substantial revival of monasticism in the post-Soviet period, with the Russian Orthodox Church reporting 788 monasteries.

Roger Reese, Professor of History, Texas A&M University and Title VIII-supported Short-Term Scholar focused his work on the Russian Orthodox Church during World War II. By narrowing in on this period, Reese demonstrated that the Patriarchal Church was able to reassert itself through its wartime activities and become relevant in the lives of the Soviet people in a way unfelt since the October Revolution. Reese argues that this fills in the blank spot on the study of the social history of the war that is left by the omission of religion and the Church, a position that the Church is currently set on remedying to bolster its perceived legitimacy in Russia.

James Meyer, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Philosophy, Montana State University and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar addressed the reach that turn-of-the-century politics among Muslim communities and the Imperial regime has on politics today. The discordance produced by a burgeoning sense of national identity against a backdrop of a Muslim communities struggling for representation led to the rise of politicization of Muslim spiritual assemblies: “religious in form, but actually largely administrative in content.”

Chris Chulos, Associate Professor, Roosevelt University and Title VIII-supported Short-Term Scholar looked at the representation of faith during the period following the abdication of the tsar in February 1917 and leading up to Lenin’s nationalization of the cinema in August 1919. This brief window into the public role of faith and traditional life connects to the resonance of Orthodoxy as it develops into a key institutional actor in post-Soviet Russian civic life and national identity formation.

At the other end of the spectrum, **Victoria Smolkin-Rothrock**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Wesleyan University and Title VIII-supported Short-Term Scholar, worked with surviving atheists as they struggled to find meaning in the post-Soviet space. This is an extension of her larger project, “A Sacred Space is Never Empty: Scientific Atheism, Socialist Rituals, and the Soviet Way of Life (1954–1991),” wherein she examined the work of Marxist-Leninist scientific atheism as it attempted to fill the space left empty by the war against religion with a distinctly Soviet spiritual content and the parallel narratives of Soviet citizens whose lives were ordered and made meaningful by Soviet beliefs and rituals.

The Kennan Institute is eager to continue to facilitate informed dialogue about the meaning and significance of religious diversity throughout the post-Soviet region in the 2011–2012 program year.



MEETINGS

The Kennan Institute sponsors an extensive program of meetings that bring together experts from academia, government, business, and the media in a non-partisan forum. The majority of meetings are open to the public; speakers and audience engage in dialogue on a broad range of issues regarding Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region.

Weekly noon discussions allow scholars and experts to present their research findings to a diverse and challenging audience. Seminars and colloquia provide opportunities for more lengthy discussions of new research, and policy forums provide an opportunity to demonstrate how research results funded by the Title VIII program can be applied to contemporary policy issues affecting U.S. relations with Russia and the surrounding states. Noon discussions and seminars are covered regularly by the Voice of America as well as by journalists from the print and television media, including C-SPAN TV.

In addition to noon discussions and seminars, the Institute organizes conferences and convenes small workshops to bring together leading experts to examine specialized topics in depth. Numerous informal discussions give scholars in the Woodrow Wilson Center community ample opportunity to trade ideas and get to know one another, and often provide a Russian-language forum for visiting Russian scholars to discuss topics in the social sciences and humanities with resident scholars.

CHURCH OF NATIVITY OF THE
MOTHER OF GOD, SOUTHWEST VIEW,
PODMOKLOVO, MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"National Identity through the Prism of Immigration: The Case Study of Modern Russia," **Ekaterina Romanova**, Assistant Professor, School of International Service, American University.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 2010/ SEMINAR AND POETRY READING

Russian Cultural Center,
Washington, D.C.
Cosponsored by the Likhachev
Foundation and the Russian
Cultural Center

"Brodsky's Places: The Life and Poetry of Joseph Brodsky," **Jane Taubman**, Professor of Russian, Emerita, Amherst College; **Polina Barskova**, poet and Assistant Professor, Hampshire College; **Catherine Ciepela**, Professor of Russian, Amherst College; **Michael Milchik**, photographer, St. Petersburg, Russia; **Nina Popova**, Director, Anna Akhmatova Museum, St. Petersburg; **Mary Jo Salter**, Professor, Johns Hopkins University.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15 2010/ DIRECTOR'S FORUM

"U.S. Policy on Eurasian Energy,"
Ambassador Richard Morningstar,

Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy, U.S.
Department of State.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
Book Discussion: "Rock and Roll in the Rocket City: The West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dniepropetrovsk, 1960–1985," **Sergei Zhuk**, Associate Professor of History, Ball State University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Geostrategic Interest and Democracy Promotion: Evidence from the Post-Soviet Space," **Grigory Ioffe**, Professor of Geography, Radford University.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 2010/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Kettering Foundation, the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue, and the International Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Moscow

"The Russia-U.S. Relationship: Where Is It Going? Why Is It Important? A Day of Reflection with Veterans of the Dartmouth Conference"

Opening Remarks: **Harold H. Saunders**, Director, International Affairs, Kettering Foundation; President, International Institute for Sustained Dialogue; former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State; and Dartmouth Conference Task Force Co-Chair.

Does the Relationship Matter? Citizens Talk about the Relationship

Chair: **Philip D. Stewart**, Professor Emeritus, The Ohio State University; Executive Director, the Dartmouth Conference, 1972–1990 (Co-Moderator, 2000–present); Associate, the Kettering Foundation; and Secretary, International Institute for Sustained Dialogue

Reports on a Decade of Public Forums on the Relationship in Russia and the United States and on Russian and U.S. Roles in the World

Discussants: **Igor Nagdasev**, President, Russian Center for Citizenship Education, St. Petersburg; **Denis**

Makarov, Associate Professor and Vice-Chair for International Relations, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Moscow State Pedagogical University; and Executive Director, Foundation for Development of Civic Culture, Russia; **Brad Rourke**, Associate, Kettering Foundation; **John Doble**, Senior Research Fellow, Public Agenda.

Reflections on the Implications of Public Attitudes for the Relationship

Discussants: **Alexsey Bogaturov**, First Vice-Rector, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Irina Zvyagelskaya**, Vice President, International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow; and Professor, MGIMO; **James Leach**, Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities, and former Member of Congress; **Nancy Kranich**, Lecturer and Special Projects Librarian, Rutgers University, and former President, American Library Association

The Dartmouth Conference: A Citizens' Movement

Discussant: **David Mathews**, President, Kettering Foundation; former President, University of Alabama; and former Secretary, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Public Judgment and Public Policy

Discussant: **Daniel Yankelovich**, founder and chairman of Viewpoint Learning; founder and chairman of DYG, Inc.; founder and chairman, Public Agenda.

Afternoon Panels: What is the Relationship's Future?

Chair: **Harold H. Saunders**, Director, International Affairs, Kettering Foundation; President, International Institute for Sustained Dialogue; former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State; and Dartmouth Conference Task Force Co-Chair.

Conducting a Collaborative Great Power Relationship in the 21st Century: Dartmouth's Role, Past and Future

Discussants: **Vladimir Lukin**, Human Rights Ombudsman of the Russia Federation; former Russian Ambassador to the United States; former Deputy Speaker, State Duma of the Russian Federation; **Veniamin Popov**, Director, Center for Partnership of Civilizations at MGIMO, Moscow; **James Collins**, Director, Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and former U.S. Ambassador to Russia; **Blair Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Future of the Russia-U.S. Relationship in a New Euro-Atlantic Security System

Discussants: **Evgeny Velikhov**, Chairman of the Public Chamber, Russian Federation, and President, Kurchatov Institute, Moscow; **Vitaly Naumkin**, Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, and President, International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow; **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, former National Security adviser; Professor of American Foreign Policy, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; and Counselor and Trustee, Center for Strategic and

International Studies; **Jack Matlock**, Adjunct Professor of International and Public Affairs, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, and former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 2010
Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Awards Dinner
Renaissance Mayflower Hotel, Washington, DC

Woodrow Wilson Award for Corporate Citizenship
Piotr Galitzine, Chairman, TMK IPSCO

Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service

Sarah Carey, former Chair, Eurasia Foundation, and former Partner, Squire, Sanders & Dempsey LLP in memoriam
Honorary Chairs: **Hon. Sergey Kislyak**, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States; **Hon. Thomas Pickering**, Vice Chairman, Hills and Company
Co-Chairs: **Rostislav Ordovsky-Tanaevsky Blanco**, founder and President, Rostik Group Corporation; **Margaret Richardson**, Oakwood Enterprises, LLC
Vice Chair: **Randy Bregman**, Partner, Salans

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia," **Stephen Blank**, Research Professor of National Security Affairs, Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 2010/ SEMINAR

"The Modernization of the Russian Criminal Code in the Economic Sphere," **Leonid Grigoriev**, Leading Expert, Center for Legal and Economic Studies; President, Institute for Energy and Finance; and former Deputy Minister of Finance of the Russian Federation; **Konstantin Kolpakov**, Director, Legal Department, Sberbank, and former Minister of Justice, Republic of Kazakhstan; **Elena Novikova**, Scientific Leader, Center for Legal and Economic Studies; **Vladimir Radchenko**, Chief Scientist and Leading Expert, Center for Legal and Economic studies, and former First Deputy Chairman, Supreme Court of the Russian Federation; **Viktor Zhuykov**, Leading Expert, Center for Legal and Economic Studies, and former Deputy Chairman, Supreme Court of the Russian Federation.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
Book Discussion: "All the Tsar's Men: Russia's General Staff and the Fate of the Empire, 1898–1914," **John W. Steinberg**, Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2010/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored By the History and Public Policy Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

Book Discussion: "Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin," **Timothy Snyder**, Professor of History, Yale University.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 2010/ SEMINAR

Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine
Kennan Kyiv Project

"The Limits of Democracy," **William Smirnov**, Chair, Department of State and Law Theory, Institute of State and Law, and Former Kennan Institute Scholar (Russia); **Florent Guenard**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Nantes University (France); **Olivier Remaud**, Research Associate, Raymond Aron Center for Political Studies (France); **Evhen Bystrytskyi**, Director, International Renaissance Foundation; **Vsevolod Rechytskyi**, Associate Professor, Department of Constitutional Law, National Academy of Law (Kharkiv); **Viktor Stepanenko**, Chair, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Former Kennan Institute Scholar; **Anatoliy Karas**, Professor, Chair, Department of Philosophy, Lviv National University; **Volodymyr Fadeev**, Chair, Sector of Philosophic Problems of Ethnos and Nation, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Sergiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Ethno-Political Science, Institute of Political and Ethno-National Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Former Kennan Institute Scholar; **Myroslav Popovych**, Director, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Kostiantyn Maleev**, President, Non-Governmental Organization Kyivske Bratstvo; **Vitaliy Liakh**, Chair, Department of Foreign Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Valentyn Omelianchuk**, Senior

RUSSIAN CULTURAL PROGRAMMING AT THE KENNAN INSTITUTE

Since its inception, the Kennan Institute has always viewed the examination of Russian culture as part of its mission to improve American understanding of Russia. Our founder Ambassador George F. Kennan long held that it was essential that both scholarship and policy on Russia take into account Russia's cultural heritage. Of course, not only specialists benefit from this study. As Kennan observed, Russia has "brought forward people whose perceptions of life have been of world value." Considering Russia's contribution to the arts and to literature over centuries, Kennan's words were, if anything, an understatement. It is with this contribution in mind that the Kennan Institute organized and cosponsored lectures, conferences, and performances over the past year examining Russian literature, theater, and film.

One of the first Kennan Institute events of the past year was a conference hosted and cosponsored by the Russian Cultural Center commemorating the 70th anniversary of the birth of Nobel Laureate Joseph Brodsky. The conference convened poets and scholars to discuss the life and career of Brodsky. Key themes emerging from the conference included his life and art as an enduring tie between Russia (where he emerged as a poet, protégé of Anna Akhmatova, and Soviet dissident) and the United States (where he eventually settled and taught generations of American students). Brodsky's art and teachings transcended the Cold War rivalry during his life, and now serve as a bridge between two cultures who continue to benefit from his life's work. In January, **Leon Aron** extolled Vasily Grossman's *Life and Fate* as the greatest Russian novel of the 20th century. Spanning from Siberia to Germany during World War II, Grossman's book evoked the importance of human freedom and dignity, even and especially in the face of death. Aron noted that Grossman confronted the same dilemma as his characters in his efforts to publish his novel, a dangerous act even at the height of Khrushchev's cultural thaw.

Theater and its relationship to society, past and present, were explored in separate Kennan lectures. **Andrei Malaev-Babel** explained how two early 20th century giants in Russian theater, Konstantin Stanislavsky and his pupil Yevgeny Vakhtangov, developed their different philosophies on theater in part as a reaction to the Orthodox Church's objections to theater as a purveyor of deception. Stanislavsky, creator of the famed Stanislavsky Method, envisioned theater "as honest as life itself." Vakhtangov saw the art form as providing a "theatrical mask that allows actors to reveal deeper truths," leading to a "fantastic realism." During a lecture on the difficulties of staging the Russian novel *Master and Margarita* for a modern audience, theatri-

cal director **Paata Tsikurishvili** and playwright **Roland Reed** also touched on the importance of incorporating “fantastic realism.” The essence of successful adaptation is to draw upon the universal themes of the novel, while delineating between the literary and theatrical form: “A novel is forever...the theater is something else—the theater is for now.” The theoretical tension between realism and fantasy in Russian theater was put on practical display at the Kennan Institute with the North American premier of the Russian play “One Hour Eighteen.” A “theatrical documentary” about the 2009 death of Russian lawyer Sergei Magnitsky in pretrial detention, the play draws upon testimony and documents from Magnitsky’s diary; a radio interview with his mother; and the depositions of two judges, a prison doctor, a paramedic, an investigator, and a young ambulance driver.

Two film screenings at the Kennan Institute showcased the power of historical documentaries in coming to terms with the tragedies of World War II and its aftermath. **Evgeny Tsybal** screened his new documentary *Diary from the Burned Ghetto*, about a survivor from the Nazi occupation of Lithuania who kept a diary and hid it from the Nazis, then hid it for another thirty years during Soviet rule. Tsybal talked about incorporating material from the diary, interviews with the survivor, and historical research on the era. Filmmakers **Olha Onyshko** and **Sarah Farhat** screened their film *Three Stories of Galicia*, set in the territory that stretches from modern-day southeastern Poland to western Ukraine. The film focuses on three individuals who had the courage to reach out to the other side and overcome barriers of prejudice and hatred during the most difficult circumstances: during war, oppression, and ethnic conflict.

Peter Rollberg delivered a lecture on director Slava Tsukerman, who, like Joseph Brodsky, was a Russian artist who left the Soviet Union and went on to live and work in the United States. Best known for the cult classic *Liquid Sky* and *Perestroika*, Tsukerman, who never felt at home as a Soviet or American citizen, wrestled with themes of identity and feeling like an “alien.”

Through the lectures and performances of Russian culture at the Kennan Institute this past year, our audience gained deeper insights into the complexities of Russian life, from the challenge posed by the Orthodox Church to early Russian theater or the situational dilemma of a prison doctor in present day Moscow. The Institute celebrated the shared cultural influences of artists from Brodsky to Tsukerman, and new works of film and theater. It is clear that Russia continues to bring forward “people whose perceptions of life have been of world value.”



CHURCH OF THE VLADIMIR ICON OF THE MOTHER OF GOD IN RUBEZHSKAIA, USSULE, RUSSIA.

Research Fellow, Center for European Humanitarian Studies, Kyiv Mohyla Academy; **Yuriy Bauman**, Director, Research Center Image Control; **Evhen Andros**, Chair, Department of Philosophical Anthropology, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Anatoliy Yermolenko**, Chair, Department of Social Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Galina Levina**, Program Manager, Kennan Institute Moscow Office; **Yaroslav Pylinskyi**, Director, Kennan Institute Kyiv Office.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

Book Discussion: "Russia's Peacetime Demographic Crisis," **Nicholas Eberstadt**, Henry Wendt Scholar in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Master and Margarita: Staging for a Post-Cold War Generation," **Paata Tsikurishvili**, Founder and Artistic Director, Synetic Theater.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 2010/ STAROVOITOVA READINGS

7th Annual Starovoitova Readings
National Research University-
Higher School of Economics (NRU-
HSE), Moscow, Russia
Cosponsored by the Kennan
Moscow Project, NRU-HSE,
"Liberal Mission" Foundation, and
the INDEM Foundation

"Is it Possible to Build a Legal State in Russia?"

Opening Remarks: **Mikhail Fedotov**, Head, the Presidential Council for Human Society Development and Human Rights; **Olga Starovoitova**, President, Saint Petersburg Public Foundation "Museum of G.V. Starovoitova;" **Arseny Roginsky**, Chairman of the Board, Human Rights Center "Memorial."

Panel I: The History of Attempts to Build a Legal State in Russia

Moderator: **Emil Pain**, Professor, NRU-HSE.

Speakers: **Georgy Satarov**, President, INDEM Foundation; **Lev Ivanov**, Leading Expert, Institute of Law and Public Politics; **Valentin Gefter**, Director, Institute of Human Rights, Member, the Presidential Council for Civil Society Development and Human Rights.

Panel II. Russian Society and Possibilities of Building a Legal State

Moderator: **Georgy Satarov**, President, INDEM Foundation.

Speakers: **Igor Klyamkin**, Vice-President, "Liberal Mission" Foundation; **Lev Gulkov**, Director, Levada-Center; **Vladimir Krzhevov**, Deputy Head, Department of Social Philosophy, Philosophical Faculty, Moscow State University; **Emil Pain**, Professor, NRU-HSE.

Round Table: "Ways of Forming a Modern Legal System in Russia"

Moderators: **Georgy Satarov**, President, INDEM Foundation; **Emil Pain**, Professor, NRU-HSE.

Speakers: **William Smirnov**, Head, Sector of Political Studies, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Science; **Viktor Sheinis**, Leading Researcher, Institute of International Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Science; **Mikhail Gokhman**, Editor-in-Chief, *France Magazine*; **Aleksander Altunyan**, Deputy Dean, Faculty of Journalism, International University in Moscow; **Sergei Magaril**, Lecturer, Faculty of Sociology, Russian State University for Humanities; **Svetlana Pistryakova**, Associate Professor, Russian Academy of State Service; **Nikolai Rudensky**, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, *Grani.ru*; **Lev Simkin**, Lawyer; **Olga Starovoitova**, President, Saint Petersburg Public Foundation "Museum of G.V. Starovoitova;" **Zaindi Choltaev**, Political Scientist; **Boris Nadezhdin**, Member of the Federal Political Council, "Pravoe Delo" Party; **Arkady Konikov**, Member of the Moscow Branch, Joint Democratic Movement "Solidarnost'"; **Andrei Medushevsky**, Professor, NRU-HSE.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the History and Public Policy Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

Book Discussion: "The Victims Return: Survivors of the Gulag after Stalin,"

Stephen F. Cohen, Professor of Russian Studies and History, New York University.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 2010/ POLICY BRIEFING U.S. Department of State

"Moldova's 2010 Parliamentary Election: Toward Stability and Reintegration?"

Rebecca Chamberlain-Creanga, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2010/ SEMINAR

"Russia in Search of an Independent Judiciary," **Susan Glasser**, Editor in Chief, *Foreign Policy*; **Vadim Klyuvgant**, Lead Defense Attorney for Mikhail Khodorkovsky; **Richard Sakwa**, Professor of Russian and European Politics, University of Kent; **Peter Solomon**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 6, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Moldova's 2010 Parliamentary Election: Toward Stability and Reintegration?"

Rebecca Chamberlain-Creanga, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 2010/ SEMINAR

"Modernization of the Russian Economy, Sustainable Development, and Civil Society," **Vladimir Zakharov**, Director, Institute of Sustainable

Development, Russian Federation Public Chamber; **Sergey Bobylev**, Professor, Faculty of Economics, Moscow State University; **Alexander Adam**, Head, Department of Natural Resources and Nature Protection, Tomsk Oblast Administration; **Vladimir Kuznetsov**, Director, Center for Russian Environmental Policy.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2010/ SEMINAR

Kennan Institute/Harriman Institute Ukrainian Literature Series

"Gospels & Spirituals," **Serhiy Zhadan**, Writer, Kharkiv.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Emerging Trends in Russian-American Trade Relations," **Philip H. de Leon**, President, Trade Connections International, LLC.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 17, 2010/ WORKSHOP Chernigiv, Ukraine Kennan Kyiv Project

"Strategic Planning and Leveraging Local Assets for Local Development," **Volodymyr Boiko**, Doctor of History, Director, Center for Advanced Training of Public Officers, Government Officials and Business Executives, Chernigiv Regional State Administration (Chernigiv); **Volodymyr Udovychenko**, Mayor, Slavutych City, Doctor of Economy, Professor, President, The Club of Mayors, Member, Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the European Council; **Yossi Offer**, Director of Training, Weitz Center for Development Studies, Israel;

Yoel Siegel, Consultant, Community Development, Weitz Center for Development Studies; **Amos Avgar**, Chief Operations Officer, TAG International Development, Israel; **Alia Hindawi**, Reports Officer, Danish Refugee Council, Jordan; **Natalia Alshuk**, Chair, Department of International Relations, Volgograd Administration; **Valeriy Nikolaevsky**, Doctor of Sociology, Professor, Dean, Department of Sociology; Kharkiv National University; **Nataliya Moussienko**, Doctor of Philosophy, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Modern Art, National Academy of Arts; **Viktor Stepanenko**, Doctor of Sociology, Chair, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Viktor Savka**, Doctor of History, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Work, National University "Lvivska Politekhnikha"; **Irina Lipkina**, Director, Hesed Ester; **Yulia Feigina**, Director, Kyiv Institute of Social and Community Workers; **Vira Chaikovska**, Professor, State Educational Geriatric Center, Chief Gerontologist, Ministry of Health.

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The U.S.-Russia Reset: Status and Prospects," **Paul J. Saunders**, Executive Director, The Nixon Center, and Associate Publisher, *The National Interest*.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Revisiting Life and Fate after 50 Years: Vasily Grossman and the 'Spirit of Freedom,'" **Leon Aron**, Resident Scholar and Director of Russian Studies, American Enterprise Institute.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 2011/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Center for Asian Democracy, University of Louisville

"Civil Society in Kazakhstan: Scope and Prospects," **Charles E. Ziegler**, Professor and University Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Louisville; **Ruslan Kazkenov**, Managing Director, "Civic Peace" NGO, Astana, Kazakhstan; **Vadim Ni**, Executive Director, civic foundation "Asian American Partnership," Almaty, Kazakhstan.

MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Kazan's New Spirit: Lasting Social Effects of Tatarstan's Sovereignty Movement," **Helen Fallner**, independent scholar, Philadelphia.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 2011/ BOOK LAUNCH

Moscow, Russia

Cosponsored by the Kennan Moscow Project and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation

Book Launch: "The Ideology of a Special Path in Russia and in Germany: Origins, Content, Consequences"

Moderator: **Galina Kozlova**, Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

Panelists: **Ekaterina Genieva**, Director, All-Russian Library for Foreign Literature; **Lev Gudkov**, Director, Levada-Center; **Vladimir Krzhevov**, Associate Professor, Moscow State University; **Sergei Magaril**, Lecturer, Russian State University for Humanities; **Emil Pain**, Professor, Higher School of Economics; **Olga Malinova**, Senior Fellow, Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences,

Russian Academy of Science; **Nikolai Rudensky**, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Grani.ru; **Viktor Shnirelman**, Chief Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Science; **William Smirnov**, Head of the Sector of Political Studies, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Science; **Alexander Verkhovsky**, Director, "Sova" Center; **Olga Zdravomyslova**, Executive Director, Gorbachev Foundation.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 2011/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the History and Public Policy Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, and the Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Ensuring Compliance: Strategies for Popular Cooptation by the Party and State Security in Communist Europe and in Ba'athist Iraq," **Martin Dimitrov**, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Joseph Sassoon**, Public Policy Scholar, Wilson Center; **Sheila Fitzpatrick**, Bernadotte E. Schmitt Distinguished Service Professor of Modern Russian History, Department of History, University of Chicago.

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"An Alien in Moscow/An Alien in New York: The Cinema of Slava Tsukerman," **Peter Rollberg**, Professor of Slavic Languages, Film Studies and International Affairs, George Washington University.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2011/ SEMINAR

"The Battle for Moscow's Billions: Power and Money in the Russian Capital

under Mayor Sergei Sobyanin," **Donald N. Jensen**, Senior Fellow Center for Transatlantic Relations, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"When Pro-Democracy Organizations Take Power: What Poland and South Africa Should Have Told Us about Georgia," **Brian Grodsky**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC).

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2011/ SEMINAR

"Anthologies as a Literary Ontology: the Modern Project of Ukrainian Literature," **Olena Haleta**, Associate Professor and Director, Literary Theory and Comparative Studies, Ivan Franko Lviv University, Lviv, Ukraine, and Fulbright-Kennan Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2011/ SEMINAR

"Practicing Public Interest Law in Russia Today," **Anton Burkov**, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, National Endowment for Democracy.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Rule of Law in Eurasia: Selected Case Studies from Russia, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan," **Catherine Newcombe**, Regional Director for Eurasia, Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training (OPDAT), Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2011

"Religious Revival in the 21st Century: What Impact on Politics?"

Robin Wright, USIP-Wilson Center Distinguished Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Roger Hardy**, Former Middle East and Islamic Affairs Analyst, BBC World Service; **André Laliberté**, Full Professor, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa; **Daniel Levine**, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan; **José Casanova**, Professor of Sociology and Senior Fellow, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, Georgetown University.

WEDNESDAY-THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16–17, 2011/ CONFERENCE

Moscow, Russia

Cosponsored by the Kennan Moscow Project, the Russian State University for the Humanities, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, and the Fulbright Program in Russia

"International Conference: Russian/ Soviet Studies in the United States, American Studies in Russia: Mutual Representations"

February 16, 2011

Welcome Speeches: **Alexander**

Chubarian, Academician, Director of the Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Anthony Koliha**, Director of the Fulbright Program in Russia; **Galina Levina**, Program Coordinator, Kennan Moscow Project.

Plenary Session: **Victoria Zhuravleva**, Associate Professor of History, Director of the American Studies Program at the Russian State University for the Humanities; **Ivan Kurilla**, Professor of History, Director, "Americana" Center,

Volgograd State University, Russia; **Yuri Rogoulev**, Professor of History, Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation for the Study of the United States, Moscow State University; **Mark Kramer**, Professor and Director, Cold War Studies Program, Harvard University; **Vladimir Sogrin**, Professor of History, Director of the Center for North American Studies, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Anthony Koliha**, Director of the Fulbright Program in Russia; **Tatiana Venediktova**, Professor of Philology, Chair of the Department of Discourse and Communication Studies, Moscow State University.

Panel I: Russian Studies in the United States, American Studies in Russia: from Imagination to Studying, from the 19th Century to the 20th Century

Moderators: **Victoria Zhuravleva**, Associate Professor of History, Russian State University for the Humanities; **Norman Saul**, Professor of History, University of Kansas.

Panel II: Study of Each Other through the Prism of Culture

Moderators: **Irina Morozova**, Professor of Philology, Russian State University for the Humanities; **Olga Zinovieva**, Director, the Center for Russia and the United States, Moscow State University-State University of New York.

February 17, 2011

Panel III: Sovietology in the United States, Amerikanistika in the Soviet Union: "Enemy Studies"

Moderators: **Vladimir Pechatnov**, Professor of History, Moscow State Institute of International Relations;

Mark Kramer, Professor and Director, Cold War Studies Program, Harvard University; **David Engerman**, Associate Professor of History, Brandeis University; **Natalia Egorova**, Doctor of History, Chief of the Center for Cold War Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Panel IV: The Russian/American Other in Textbooks, University Courses, and School Curricula

Moderators: **Ivan Kurilla**, Professor of History, Volgograd State University; **Mark H. Teeter**, Adjunct Professor, Russian State University for the Humanities.

Panel V: Russian/American Studies in the Context of Human Sciences: Interdisciplinary Dialogue

Moderators: **Michele Rivkin-Fish**, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of North Carolina; **Elena Trubina**, Professor of Philosophy, Ural State University, Ekaterinburg.

Round Table: "Study of Each Other after the Cold War: Issues and Prospects"

Moderator: **Efim Pivovarov**, President, Russian State University for the Humanities.

Speakers: **Olga Bolshakova**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Scientific Information on Social Sciences, Moscow; **Tatiana Shakleina**, Professor of Political Sciences, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; **Sergey Shenin**, Professor of History, Saratov State University; **Lika Rygina**, independent scholar, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland, and University of Gothenburg, Sweden; **John Ryder**, Professor of Philosophy and President, Khazar University, Baku.

RULE OF LAW

The rule of law has dominated the political conversation for much of the first 20 years of the Russian Federation's existence. President Boris Yeltsin stands out as a law creator, since his administration re-wrote the Constitution and much of Russia's legislation to meet the demands of a democracy and market economy. President Vladimir Putin assumed the role as the enforcer of law as he re-centralized the Russian political system and called for a "dictatorship of law." Finally, President Dmitry Medvedev has tried to present himself as the great promoter of the rule of law, attacking corruption and seeking to overcome Russia's historical "legal nihilism."

The Kennan Institute held a series of events that addressed all three of these legacies in order to assess the current state of legal reform in Russia today. At a November 4, 2010 seminar, a panel of speakers addressed the apparent disconnect between Russia's Civil Code—one of Boris Yeltsin's most important legislative accomplishments and the foundation for Russia's market economy—and present-day Russian criminal legislation. **Leonid Grigoriev**, President, Institute for Energy and Finance and former Deputy Minister of Finance, argued that current Russian law regulates the financial arena in such a way that criminalizes economic transactions that may not necessarily require "criminal repression on the part of the state." Furthermore, the legal codes in place employ vague vocabulary that provides Russian law enforcement the chance to interpret the legislation as needed. This combination of factors threatens the Russian economic sphere's ability to exist legally and actually thrive simultaneously; as Grigoriev noted, "normal businesses live under the fear of prosecution."

The panelists elucidated that, in order to ameliorate these legal uncertainties in the financial arena, it was imperative that the Russian government reforms existing legislation. If the legal codes specifically explained which acts the government considered to be criminal, commercial bodies operating in the Russian Federation would be confident in the legality of their business practices. **Vladimir Radchenko**, the former First Deputy Chairman, Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, insisted that increasing the specificity of the language in the legal codes would also improve business practices: "the more clearly defined the laws are... the less corruption there is."

Elena Novikova, director, Center for Legal and Economic Studies addressed the existing challenges of reforming the economic legal codes: the laws should exist to protect those who utilize "liberal ideas," not to criminalize entrepreneurial activity in such a young country. "This movement of people in law represents a changing country," Grigoriev concluded, adding that the Russian Federation is "trying to find a new stable structure" for the people.

A December 3, 2010 seminar focused on Putin's legacy on the Russian legal system and the broader search for an independent judiciary in the Russian Federation. **Richard Sakwa**, Professor of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent, provided a theoretical overview of the Russian legal system. Sakwa depicted Russia as a state torn between extant and "perfectly adequate" instruments of constitutionalism, and the "shadowy world" of the arbitrary state which undermines genuine constitutionalism. Sakwa highlighted several recent court decisions that, while involving external political influence, also demonstrated

that Russian courts can, in certain circumstances deliver impartial justice. Sakwa further noted that the government's general willingness to follow the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) served as an additional positive sign in Russia's legal development. **Peter Maggs**, Professor of Law, Clifford M. and Bette A. Carnet Chair in Law, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, noted, however, that Sakwa's point of view was qualified by the possibility of the Kremlin's continued influence over the courts of general jurisdiction and the Constitutional Court. Maggs further suggested that there are limits to Russia's willingness to comply with the decisions of the ECtHR.

No assessment of Putin's legal legacy would be complete, however, without some examination of the Khodorkovsky case. **Vadim Klyuvgant**, lead defense attorney for Mikhail Khodorkovsky, insisted that the Russian state's problem is not merely found in its judiciary, but rather in the state's legal context at large, and argued that the law has been "crushed." The corruption of the Russian system was exemplified through the Khodorkovsky trial, which Klyuvgant described not as a substantive legal case, but as a body of fiction. **Susan Glasser**, Editor in Chief, *Foreign Policy*, analyzed Khodorkovsky's trial from a foreigner's perspective, asserting that the political implications of the Khodorkovsky case are overgeneralized both by the media as well as by politicians. Due to economic and political interests, foreign political actors avoid putting too much pressure on Russia on Khodorkovsky's behalf. Glasser extrapolated on the nature of Khodorkovsky as a businessman-turned-activist in terms of his ability to cultivate a public relations campaign around his trial to his advantage. She added that Khodorkovsky speaks more eloquently on topics of justice and corruption than the Russian politicians who oppose his cause. The discussion concluded that, while Khodorkovsky does not plan to become a politician, it seemed likely that he expected to continue his work as an activist.

A final seminar provided some insights into President Medvedev's rule of law agenda and fight against corruption. The meeting focused on recent efforts to promote transparency within the government procurement system. **Mikhail Evraev**, Head, Department for Control Over Public Procurement, Federal Antimonopoly Service (FAS), noted that state procurement, at \$200 million per year, represents a large segment of the Russian economy. In January 2006, Russia shifted from an open tender system of procurement to an on-line auction for products and services overseen by the FAS. This open system not only emphasizes competition for government contracts on the basis of price, Evraev said, it also increases transparency in the procurement system. Media and interested individuals are able to monitor purchases, and are able to raise awareness of questionable government purchases, such as luxury cars. According to Evraev, last year 25,000 complaints were lodged and investigated by the FAS, and 50 percent of the complaints were judged justified. As a result, many government auctions were cancelled, either by the agency or by the FAS. For those auctions that went forward, the cost savings to the state were impressive: for tenders under 50 million rubles, savings were twice as great; for tenders over 50 million rubles were more than four times as great.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17,
2011/ BOOK LAUNCH**

Moscow, Russia

Kennan Moscow Project

Book Launch: "Dilemmas of Diversity after the Cold War: Analyses of 'Cultural Difference' by U.S. and Russia-Based Scholars," **Tatiana Venediktova**, Professor of Philology, Chair of the Department of Discourse and Communication Studies, Moscow State University; **Michele Rivkin-Fish**, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of North Carolina; **Elena Trubina**, Professor of Philosophy, Ural State University, Ekaterinburg.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17,
2011/ POLICY BRIEFING**

U.S. Department of State

"Protecting Property: Patronage, Politics, and Bazaars in Kyrgyzstan," **Regine Spector**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2011/
NOON DISCUSSION**

"All in the Family? Property Struggles and Patronage Politics in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan," **Regine Spector**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 2011/
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Killed without Consequence: Why the Murder of Russian Journalists Matters beyond Russia," **Nina Ognianova**, Program Coordinator, Europe and Central Asia, Committee to Protect Journalists.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 2011/
FORUM**

Cosponsored by the Southeast Europe Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Turkey's Regional Perspectives on Eurasia and East Asia," **Ambassador Fatih Ceylan**, Deputy Undersecretary for Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Central and East Asia, and the Pacifica, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Turkey).

**MONDAY, MARCH 7, 2011/
NOON DISCUSSION**

Cosponsored by the Foundation for Jewish Studies, and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Holocaust Revisionism, Ultrationalism, and the Nazi/Soviet 'Double Genocide' Debate in Eastern Europe," **Dovid Katz**, Editor, *www.DefendingHistory.com* and Chief Analyst, Litvak Studies Institute, Vilnius.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 10 2011/
BOOK DISCUSSION**

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

Book Discussion: "Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall," **Jonathan Haslam**, Professor, History of International Relations, University of Cambridge; **Melissa K. Stockdale**, Fellow, Wilson Center.

**FRIDAY, MARCH 11, 2011/
SEMINAR**

"The Current State of Civil Society as a Reflection of the Paradoxes of Modern-Day Russia," **Ella Pamfilova**, former Chair, Russian Presidential Council for the Promotion of Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights.

**MONDAY, MARCH 14, 2011/
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Familiar Strangers: The Georgian Diaspora in the Multiethnic Soviet Empire," **Erik R. Scott**, Mellon/ACLS Fellow and Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley.

**MONDAY, MARCH 21, 2011/
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Reassessing Russia's Decision Making Community: Intra-elite Conflicts, Political and Business Networks, and Ideological Constructions," **Marlene Laruelle**, Senior Research Fellow, Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 2011/
SEMINAR**

Book Discussion: "No Precedent, No Plan: Inside Russia's 1998 Default," **Martin Gilman**, Director, Centre for Advanced Studies, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, and former Senior Resident Representative, Moscow Office, International Monetary Fund (1996–2002).

**MONDAY, MARCH 28, 2011/
NOON DISCUSSION**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

Book Discussion: "The Heart of Russia: Trinity-Sergius, Monasticism, and Society after 1825," **Scott Kenworthy**, Associate Professor, Department of Comparative Religion, Miami University, Oxford, OH, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 2011/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by Beyond Nuclear and the Trust for Mutual Understanding

"The Chernobyl Nuclear Catastrophe 25
Years Later: What Have We Learned?"

Nataliya Mironova, founder, Movement
for Nuclear Safety, Chelyabinsk; **Natalia
Manzurova**, Radiation Ecology Expert,
"Planet of Hope," Chelyabinsk.

MONDAY, APRIL 4, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"'A Hard Country to Love:' Patriotism
and National Identity in Russia's Great
War, 1914–1918," **Melissa Stockdale**,
Associate Professor of History,
University of Oklahoma, and Fellow,
Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, APRIL 5, 2011/ SEMINAR

Lviv, Ukraine Kennan Kyiv Project

"Political, Social, and Economic
Dimensions of Urban Environment,"
Viktor Susak, Associate Professor,
Department of History and Theory of
Sociology, Lviv National University, and
Former Regional Exchange Scholar,
Kennan Institute; **Viktor Savka**,
Associate Professor, Department of
Sociology and Social Work, National
University "Lvivska Politechnika;"
Anatoliy Karas, Professor, Chair,
Department of Philosophy, Lviv National
University.

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 2011/ SEMINAR

Ternopil, Ukraine Kennan Kyiv Project

"Strategic Planning and Leveraging
Local Assets for Urban and Rural

Development," **Roman Loza**, Deputy
Director, Ternopil Regional Center for
Advance Training of Local Government
Officials; **Petro Goch**, Deputy Head,
Ternopil Regional State Administration;
Grygoriy Monastyrskyi, Associate
Professor, Department of Public and
Municipal Management, Ternopil
National Economic University.

MONDAY, APRIL 11, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Stanislavsky vs. Vakhtangov:
Reconciling the Russian Theatrical
Avant-Garde with Russian Orthodoxy,"
Andrei Malaev-Babel, Assistant
Professor of Theatre, Florida State
University.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 2011/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the European Studies Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

"The NATO-EU-Russia Triangle:
Different Perceptions and Approaches
to International Security," **Franz Cede**,
former Ambassador of Austria to the
Russian Federation (1999–2003).

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 2011/ SEMINAR

"Political Systems and Political
Identities in Post-Communist Eurasia,
1992–2010," **Alexander Chvorostov**,
Director, Center for Comparative
Eurasia Studies and Surveys, Institute
for Advanced Studies, Vienna and
Visiting Professor, University of
Vienna, Austria; **Natalia Waechter**,
Senior Research Fellow, Center for
Comparative Eurasia Studies and
Surveys, Institute for Advanced Studies,
Vienna, Austria and Visiting Professor at
the University of Innsbruck, Austria.

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 2011/ BRIEFING

"New Initiatives to Prevent Corruption
and Fraud in Public Procurement
in Russia," **Mikhail Evraev**, Head,
Department for Control over Public
Procurement, Federal Antimonopoly
Service, Russian Federation; **Sergey
Puzyrevskiy**, Head, Department of
Legal Affairs, Federal Antimonopoly
Service, Russian Federation; **Anna
Katamadze**, Deputy Director,
Department for the Development of
Competition, Ministry of Economic
Development, Russian Federation.

MONDAY, APRIL 18, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Unique Aspects of Human Trafficking
in Eurasia," **Louise Shelley**, University
Professor, School of Public Policy and
Director, Terrorism, Transnational Crime
and Corruption Center (TraCCC),
George Mason University and former
Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar,
Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 2011/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Social Science Research Council

*Book Discussion: "Odessa: Genius and
Death in a City of Dreams,"* **Charles
King**, Professor, School of Foreign
Service, Georgetown University, and
former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term
Scholar, Kennan Institute.

SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 2011/ REGIONAL SEMINAR

Volgograd, Russia Kennan Moscow Project

"Memory and Memorials"

Panel 1: Role of Memory and Memorials in Constructing Identity

Moderator: **Emil Pain**, Professor, National Research University—Higher School of Economics (NRU-HSE), Moscow, Russia.

Discussants: **Ivan Kurilla**, Head, Chair of Foreign History and World Politics, Volgograd State University, Volgograd; **Sergei Mokhov**, M.A. candidate, NRU-HSE, Moscow; **Sergei Prostavkov**, M.A. candidate, NRU-HSE, Moscow; **Nadezhda Abalmasova**, Postgraduate Student, NRU-HSE, Moscow.

Panel II: Place of Memory and Memorials in a Modern Cultural Situation

Moderator: **Ivan Kurilla**, Head, Chair of Foreign History and World Politics, Volgograd State University, Volgograd.

Discussants: **Olga Rvacheva**, Researcher, Russian Academy of Sciences—Southern Scientific Center, Volgograd; **Marina Nazarova**, Researcher, Volgograd State Architecture and Construction Academy, Volgograd; **Anna Stepanova**, Co-chair, Club of Political Action “November 4”, Volgograd Department, Volgograd; **Yuri Vetyutnev**, Volgograd Academy of Public Administration.

MONDAY, APRIL 25, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

“The Russian Orthodox Church in the Post-Soviet Period: Challenges and Responses,” **Olga Kazmina**, Professor, Department of Ethnology, Moscow State University; Visiting Fulbright Scholar, Department of Religion, Emory University; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, APRIL 26, 2011/ SEMINAR

Book Discussion: “Swimming in the Daylight: An American Student, a Soviet-Jewish Dissident, and the Gift of Hope,” **Lisa C. Paul**, author and attorney, Milwaukee, WI.

MONDAY, MAY 2, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Life as a Black Ukrainian: How Some Natives Are Treated like Foreigners,” **Terrell Starr**, independent scholar, New York.

MONDAY, MAY 2, 2011/ BRIEFING

U.S. Department of State
Cosponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, and the Wilson Center on the Hill Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

“Russia’s Rule of Law Challenge: Implications for U.S. Policy,” **Anton Burkov**, Deputy Director, “I’ve Got Rights” Program, Management Systems International, Moscow; **Tanya Lokshina**, Deputy Director, Human Rights Watch, Moscow, Russia; **Richard Sakwa**, Professor of Russian and European Politics, University of Kent.

TUESDAY, MAY 3, 2011/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation

“Russia and the European Court of Human Rights: Implications for U.S. Policy”

Panel I: Russia, the Council of Europe, and the ECtHR: An Introduction

Moderators: **John W. Hempelmann**, President, Henry M. Jackson

Foundation; **Joanna Evans**, Senior Lawyer, European Human Rights Advocacy Centre; **Natalya Taubina**, Director, Public Verdict Foundation.

Panel II: The Russian Experience before the ECtHR

Moderators: **William Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute; **Alexei Trochev**, Associate Lecturer, University of Wisconsin School of Law; **Anton Burkov**, Deputy Director, “I’ve Got Rights” Program, Management Systems International, Moscow; **Tanya Lokshina**, Deputy Director, Human Rights Watch, Moscow.

Panel III: The Future Role of the ECtHR and Policy Implications for Russia and the U.S.

Moderators: **Lara Iglitzin**, Executive Director, Henry M. Jackson Foundation; **Karinna Moskalenko**, Founder and Director International Protection Center; **Paul Saunders**, Executive Director, Center for the National Interest; **Nadia Diuk**, Vice President, Programs for Europe and Eurasia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, National Endowment for Democracy.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 2011/ PERFORMANCE

Cosponsored by the Center for International Theatre Development
“One Hour Eighteen,” **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Randy Bregman**, Partner, Salans; **William Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute; **Yurii Urnov**, Director, “One Hour Eighteen.”

MONDAY, MAY 9, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

“The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco

Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine," **Oxana Shevel**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Tufts University.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 2011/ SEMINAR

Report Presentation: "St. Petersburg, 1993–2003: The Dynamic Decade,"

William Craft Brumfield, Professor, Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies, Tulane University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Arthur L. George**, Senior Counsel, Baker & McKenzie, Chicago; founder and former managing partner, St. Petersburg Office, Baker & McKenzie; and author, *St. Petersburg: The First Three Centuries*.

MONDAY, MAY 16, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Muslims and the State in Late Imperial Russia and Today," **James Meyer**, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Philosophy, Montana State University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, MAY 16, 2011/ REPORT RELEASE

Cosponsored by the United States Studies Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, the No Limits Foundation, the International Labor Organization, and the Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Expanding Opportunities in the Global Marketplace"

Authors: **Guy Ryder**, Deputy Director General, International Labour Organization; **Lisa Wong-Ramesar**, Senior Declaration Officer, Program on Promoting the Declaration on FPRW; *and remarks from:* **Barbara Shailor**, Special Representative for International

Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of State; **Sara Manzano-Diaz**, Director of the Women's Bureau, US Department of Labor; **Sarah Fox**, Representative to the International Labor Organization (ILO), AFL-CIO; **Ronnie Goldberg**, Executive Vice President and Chief Policy Officer, United States Council for International Business; **Marcia Greenberger**, Founder and Co-President, National Women's Law Center.

MONDAY, MAY 23, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

Film Screening: "Diary from the Burned Ghetto," **Evgeny Tsymbal**, film director, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 2011/ SEMINAR

Kyiv, Ukraine

Cosponsored by the Kennan Kyiv Project, Kennan Moscow Project, NASU Institute of Philosophy, and NGO "Kyivske Bratstvo"

"Political Culture: the Dilemmas of Ethnic and Civic Identities,"

Myroslav Popovych, Director, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Justine Lacroix**, Professor of Political Science, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium; **Janie Pélabay**, Research Fellow, Center for Political Research at Sciences Po; **Aleksandr Polunov**, Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration, Moscow State University; **Viktor Stepanenko**, Chair, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and former Kennan Institute Scholar; **Oleg Bilyi**, Senior Research

Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine;

Mariya Kul'taeva, Professor, Chair, Department of Philosophy, Kharkiv National Pedagogical University;

Anatoliy Yermolenko, Chair, Department of Social Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Ukraine after One Year of Yanukovich," **Alexander Motyl**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University-Newark.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 2011/ SEMINAR

"Immigration and Social Power: The Russian Case," **Vladimir Malakhov**, Leading Research Fellow, Department of Social and Political Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia, and Fulbright-Kennan Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia's WTO Accession and PNTR: The Business Community Perspective," **Randi Levinas**, Executive Vice President, U.S.-Russia Business Council.

TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 2011/ FILM SCREENING

"Three Stories of Galicia," **Olha Onyshko**, filmmaker, Bethesda, MD; **Sarah Farhat**, filmmaker, Washington, D.C.

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia and Eurasia in a New Geopolitical Era," **Bruce Parrott**,

BRICS: SHAPING THE NEW GLOBAL FRAMEWORK

Five scholars and experts from Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa spoke on **28 June 2011** at a Woodrow Wilson Center conference on “BRICS: Shaping the New Global Architecture.” The original BRIC acronym traces its origins to a 2001 paper by Jim O’Neill, a Goldman Sachs economist, which analyzed the emergence of Brazil, Russia, India, and China as economic powerhouses. This analytical concept took a life of its own when the leaders of the BRIC nations agreed to hold regular summits starting in 2009 to discuss a broad range of issues. In late 2010, the BRIC countries invited South Africa to join in recognition of that country’s natural resources and as a gateway into the African continent. The group held its third summit in April 2011 in Sanya, China with all five leaders.

Over the last decade, the BRIC, now BRICS, term has come to symbolize the growing power of the world’s largest emerging economies and their potential impact on the global economic and, increasingly, political order. All five members of BRICS are current members of the United Nations Security Council—Russia and China are permanent members with veto power, while the rest are non-permanent members currently serving on the Council. The BRICS countries collectively represent about 26 percent of world’s geographic area and 40 percent of the world’s population.

Moderator **Amy M. Wilkinson**, Senior Fellow, Center for Business and Government, Harvard University, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, guided the discussion among panelists **João Augusto de Castro Neves**, Founding Partner, CAC Political Consultancy, and Contributing Editor, Politics and Foreign Policy, *The Brazilian Economy*; **Fyodor Lukyanov**, Editor, *Global Affairs*, Moscow; **Inderjit Singh**, Professor of Economics and Strategic Studies, National War College; **Da Wei**, Director and Research Professor, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR); and **Francis A. Kornegay**, Research Associate, Institute for Global Dialogue, Pretoria.

A key issue which emerged from the presentations and discussion was the degree to which BRICS represents a cohesive group or just a clever acronym. The panelists agreed that the differences between the group, in terms of values, economics, political structure, and geopolitical interests, far outweighed commonalities. One panelist suggested the main commonalities between the five members were a mild anti-Americanism and generally internal or domestic challenges facing the BRICS, including institutional stability, social inequality, and demographic pressures. But all five agreed that the BRICS grouping is important for each of the members in terms of the symbolism of creating for themselves an important role on the global

stage. The members also share an alternate perspective on the global economic order, and a desire to wield greater influence over the rules governing international commerce and economic policy. The five nations combined hold less than 15 percent voting rights in both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, yet their economies are predicted to surpass the G7 economies in size by 2032. The annual summits provide an important talk shop for the members to discuss issues such as agricultural subsidies that they perceive as unduly advantageous to the traditional economic powers in the West.

The BRICS group does not represent a political coalition currently capable of playing a leading geopolitical role on the global stage, the panelists emphasized. Castro Neves described how Brazil's foreign policy priority is to consolidate its economic gains at the national level by building international influence and partners, and the BRICS group represents an important opportunity to realize that vision. Lukyanov noted that the group was unable to take a concerted stand on the new head of the IMF, but sees an opportunity for the group to have a more influential, if not major, global role in the future. Wei stressed that China wants to remain a partner within BRICS, not lead it. By way of perspective, he noted that China's trade with the rest of the group combined was smaller than its bilateral trade with the United States or Japan. Singh contended the absence of shared values between all members limits the potential for the group, and suggested that the pull toward expanding the group to new members would dilute what cohesiveness it does possess. Kornegay argued that while the symbolism of its inclusion in BRICS is important for South Africa, its national interests are better served by pursuing greater regional cooperation, as well as with existing groups with greater shared geographic interests and political values, such as IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa).

One of the driving forces behind transforming a Goldman Sachs paper's analytical tool into an emerging global coalition was a shared frustration among its members with the U.S.-led global economic architecture. While the panelists agreed that BRICS lacks the ability and willingness to mount a challenge to that system, its members do want greater influence in how that system is governed, now and in the future. Wei recommended that "the United States should take it easy—even we are not confident about the future of BRICS!" Instead, he suggested that the United States should be prepared to engage with BRICS, and in fact noted that he sees an improvement in the United States' willingness to listen to other countries—a greater willingness than he sees from the European Union.



ABAMALEK-LAZAREV HOUSE,
NORTHWEST VIEW, USOL'E,
PERM', RUSSIA.

Professor and Director, Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, School of Advanced and International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, JUNE 14, 2011/ SEMINAR

Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow,
Russia

Cosponsored by the Gorbachev
Foundation and the Kennan
Moscow Project

"Search for New Models of Interaction
between Different Cultures"

Opening Remarks: **Olga**

Zdravomyslova, Executive Director,
The Gorbachev Foundation, Moscow;
Mikhail Fedotov, Head, the Presidential
Council for Human Society Development
and Human Rights, Moscow; **Emil Pain**,
Professor, National Research University-
Higher School of Economics, Senior
Academic Advisor, Kennan Moscow
Project, Member, the Presidential
Council for Civil Society Development
and Human Rights, Moscow.

Panel I: Policy of Interaction between Different Cultures- Theoretical Approach

Moderator: **Olga Zdravomyslova**,
Executive Director, the Gorbachev
Foundation, Moscow.

Speakers: **Lilia Nizamova**, Associate
Professor, Kazan' (Volga Region) Federal
University, Kazan', Russia; **Emil Pain**,
Professor, Research University-Higher
School of Economics, Senior Academic
Advisor, Kennan Moscow Project, and
Member, the Presidential Council for
Civil Society Development and Human
Rights, Moscow; **Arkadii Lipkin**,
Professor, Russian State University for the
Humanities, Moscow; **Galina Soldatova**,
Professor, Moscow State University,
Moscow; **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Head,
Center for Research on Ethnic Relations,
Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy
of Science, and Chair, Academic Council
on National Policy Issues, Department
of Social Sciences, Russian Academy of
Science.

Panel II: Encouraging Dialogue between Cultures—Practical Experience

Moderator: **Emil Pain**, Professor, National
Research University-Higher School of
Economics, Senior Academic Advisor,
Kennan Moscow Project, Member, the
Presidential Council for Civil Society
Development and Human Rights,
Moscow.

Speakers: **Tatyana Merzliakova**,
Ombudsman, Sverdlovsk Region,
Yekaterinburg; **Svetlana Gannushkina**,
Chair, "Civil Assistance" Committee,
Member and Head, "Migration and Law"
Net (Human Rights Center "Memorial"),
Member, Presidential Council for Civil
Society Development and Human Rights,
Moscow; **Igor Savin**, Institute of Oriental
Studies, RAN, NGO "Nonviolence
International", Moscow; **Gul'nara
Bekirova**, Lecturer, Department of History
and Literature, Crimean Engineering
and Pedagogical University; **Volodimir
Pritula**, Director, Crimean Independent
Center for Political Researchers and
Journalists; **Margarita Lyange**, Chair,
Guild of Inter-ethnic Journalism.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 2011/ CONFERENCE

Embassy of the Russian Federation
Cosponsored by the Embassy
of the Russian Federation to the
United States

"U.S.-Soviet Relations during the
Second World War: History and Lessons
for Today"

Opening Remarks: **H.E. Sergey**

Kislyak, Ambassador of the Russian
Federation to the United States;

William Pomeranz, Deputy Director,
Kennan Institute.

Panel 1: Diplomatic Aspects of the Wartime US-Soviet Relations

Panelists: **Sergey Mironenko**, Director,
Russian State Archive; **Serhii Plokhii**,
Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor of
Ukrainian History, Harvard University,
and author, *Yalta: The Price of Peace*;
Yuri Matveev, Second Secretary, North
American Department, Russian Ministry
of Foreign Affairs.

Panel 2: Economic and Military Aspects of the Wartime U.S.-Soviet Relations

Panelists: **Elena Tyurina**, Director,
Russian State Archives of Economics;
John Haynes, Historian, Manuscript
Division, Library of Congress; **Nikolai**
Nikiforov, Deputy Director, Military
History Institute, Russian Armed Forces
General Staff Academy.

TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 2011/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Kissinger
Institute on China and the United
States, the Asia Program, the Brazil
Institute, the Program on America
and the Global Economy, and the
Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson
Center

"BRICS: Shaping the New Global
Architecture"

Moderator: **Amy M. Wilkinson**,
Senior Fellow, Center for Business and
Government, Harvard University, and
Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson
Center.

Speakers: **João Augusto de Castro**
Neves, Founding Partner, CAC Political
Consultancy, and Contributing Editor,
Politics and Foreign Policy, The Brazilian
Economy; **Fyodor Lukyanov**, Editor,
Global Affairs, Moscow; **Inderjit Singh**,
Professor of Economics and Strategic
Studies, National War College; **Da Wei**,
Director and Research Professor, China
Institute of Contemporary International
Relations (CICIR); **Francis A. Kornegay**,
Research Associate, Institute for Global
Dialogue, Pretoria.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2011/ SEMINAR

Kyiv, Ukraine

Cosponsored by the Kennan
Kyiv Project and the Institute of
Legislation, Verkhovna Rada of
Ukraine

"Legislative Provision of Democracy
in Ukraine," **Oleksandr Kopylenko**,
Director, Institute of Legislation,
Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; **Olena**
Kyivets, Chair, Department of European
Law and International Integration,
Institute of Legislation; **Ihor Slidenko**,
Senior Consultant, Department of



CHURCH OF SAINT ANDREW, SOUTHWEST DETAIL, KIEV, UKRAINE.

Theory and Practice of Lawmaking,
Institute of Legislation; **Sergiy**
Rymarenko, Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of Political and Ethno-National
Studies, National Academy of Sciences
of Ukraine; **Yuriy Bauman**, Senior
Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy,
National Academy of Sciences of
Ukraine; **Kostiantyn Maleev**, Director,
NGO "Kyivske Bratstvo."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2011/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Evolution of Soviet Policies
towards Dissidents," **Peter Reddaway**,
Professor Emeritus of Political Science
and International Affairs, George
Washington University, and former
Director, Kennan Institute.

EURASIAN MIGRATION TRENDS

According to the United Nations, as of 2010 there were 214 million people living outside of their country of birth, up from 80 million almost four decades ago. This is a particularly prescient issue in the countries of the former Soviet Union, where large scale migration is a relatively new phenomenon. The collapse of the Soviet state brought with it expanded freedom of movement, and many citizens have chosen to relocate away from ethnic conflict, political ambiguity, and economic hardship. In addition, the loosening of border controls has made the region a desirable corridor for migration from Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

For these reasons, migration remains a primary focus for the Kennan Institute. In the 2010–2011 program year, the Kennan Institute continued its work on migration to Russia for a grant funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) and led by Professor Cynthia Buckley of the University of Texas, Austin. The project takes an up-close look at the effects of migration on Russian cities as well as the migrant experience itself. Furthermore the research team seeks to increase understanding of the Eurasian migration system and to explore how migration patterns reflect social structures, cultural competencies, and economic motivations in post-Soviet states. Three Russian cities have been chosen for in-depth analysis: Ekaterinburg, Krasnodar, and Nizhny Novgorod. Kennan Institute staff and the other members of the research team made visits to the three sites to conduct expert interviews and ethnographic research in the summer and fall of 2011.

The Kennan Institute simultaneously continued to promote a dialogue on migration issues in a variety of ways in 2010–2011. This included hosting scholars-in-residence, holding conferences, and publishing research results.

Two scholars were in residence at the Kennan Institute in Washington during the past program year whose research focused on issues of migration: **Vladimir Malakhov**, Leading Research Fellow, Department of Social and Political Philosophy, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow who received a Fulbright-Kennan grant to study “National Integration and Transnational Migration: Dynamic of Immigration Regimes in Industrially Developed Countries” and **Natalya Klevalina**, Editor, Solzhenitsyn House of Russia Abroad and Galina Starovoitova Fellow focused on “Rises and Falls of Russian Immigration in U.S. in the 20th Century.”

The Kennan Moscow Project cosponsored a conference with the Gorbachev Foundation on June 14, 2011 in Moscow entitled “Searching the New Models of Intercultural Cooperation.”



KREMLIN, WITH CATHEDRAL OF THE DORMITION & BELL TOWER, SOUTHWEST, RIAZAN', RUSSIA.

This was part of a new series entitled “Challenges of Cultural Diversity in the Global World.” The second event in the series was held on September 19, 2011, and featured a lecture on “Challenges of Urban Diversity and the Search for Answers in the Era of Large-scale Migration” from **Blair A. Ruble**, followed by commentary from **Anatoly Vishnevsky** and **Vladimir Malakhov**.

Finally, migration topics have been featured in several of the Kennan Institute’s publications this past program year. The fourth and fifth volumes in the Eurasian Migration Paper Series were published: “Remittances, Recession... Returning Home? The Effects of the 2008 Economic Crisis on Tajik Migrant Labor in Moscow” by **Hilary Hemmings** and “Demography, Migration, and Tolerance: Comparing the Russian, Ukrainian, and U.S. Experience” edited by **Nancy Popson**. Furthermore, in issue #18 of the Kennan Moscow Project’s journal *Vestnik*, which was published in fall 2010, a special section was devoted to “Migration and Problems of Ethnic Minorities” and had four articles by Kennan Institute alumni working on migration issues.

The Kennan Institute will continue bringing scholars and policymakers together to discuss issues of migration in Eurasia. Migration in Russia and Ukraine has significant implications not only for the two countries respectively, but for the wider surrounding region and ultimately for the increasingly globalized world.



OUTREACH

The Kennan Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center are philosophically and operationally committed to broad dissemination of the research they sponsor by means of books, Special Reports, Occasional Papers, and Meeting Reports.

In conjunction with the Wilson Center Press, the Kennan Institute publishes both monographs and essay collections. Special Reports are booklets that summarize research findings intended for general dissemination or that document the institutional history of the Institute. Occasional Papers are reports on completed research projects or works-in-progress. Submitted by resident scholars, visiting speakers, and workshop participants, these papers are normally longer than standard journal articles and are aimed primarily at an audience of specialists. Some conference papers and proceedings are also published as Occasional Papers. An average of two to five Occasional Papers are published each program year. Meeting Reports are single-page summaries of those Institute lectures of greatest relevance to the general public and the policy-making community. The Institute publishes two such reports for each month from October through June.

With the exception of books, all Institute publications are offered to the public free of charge and are regularly distributed to individuals, university libraries, and companies throughout the United States, Europe, Russia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. Most publications are also available on the Internet.

Meeting Reports are the heart of the Institute's publication program; together with the Institute's monthly calendar, these reports reach a readership that exceeds 6,400 people. This readership includes scholars and researchers at universities and research institutions worldwide, as well as U.S. government officials, and professionals such as lawyers and businessmen. By far the most popular publication the Institute produces, Meeting Reports are used widely in college classrooms in the United States and serve to keep scholars and professionals throughout the world in touch with current research in the field.

The Kennan Institute also makes extensive use of the Woodrow Wilson Center's award-winning radio and television program *Dialogue*, which explores the world of ideas through weekly, half-hour conversations with renowned public figures, scholars, journalists, and authors. *Dialogue* offers its listeners informed discussion on important ideas and issues in national and international affairs, history, and culture, and provides commentary that goes beyond the superficial analysis presented in many of today's talk shows. Through *Dialogue*, The Kennan Institute broadcasts select events to audiences beyond its monthly readership and event attendees.

All Kennan Institute information that previously appeared in a printed format is now distributed via the web, including the Kennan Institute e-newsletter (an electronic version of our monthly mailing), occasional papers, and special reports. The e-newsletter enjoys an email distribution list of over 2,000 members and includes a list of upcoming Kennan Institute public

CHURCH OF SAINT SERGII RADONEZH,
NORTHWEST VIEW FROM CATHEDRAL
BALCONY, (BACKGROUND: VOLOGDA
RIVER & CHURCH OF SAINT JOHN
CHRYSOSTOME), VOLOGDA, RUSSIA.

events, two Meeting Reports, announcements of incoming scholars, and information on other opportunities and activities.

Kennan Institute followers can now review other event summaries and other published materials on its website, which had over 25,000 unique visitors in 2010. The Institute's outreach program also now includes a Facebook page which currently connects over 300 users. Members include Kennan Institute alumni, students, and members of academia and the policy-making community. The Facebook page publicizes information regarding public events, recent publications, and Title VIII and other grant opportunities to all of its users.

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS

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MEETING REPORTS

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Erlan Idrissov, Ambassador of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
“Kazakhstan and the Modern World.” (14 July 2010).

Vol. XXVIII No. 2 2010

Ellen Rosskam, Senior Adviser and Consultant to the Global Health Programme, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, and Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.
“Corrosive Reforms: Failing Health Systems in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.” (24 May 2010).

Vol. XXVIII No. 3 2010

Alexandr Rusakov, Rector, Yaroslavl State University; **Igor Kiselev,** former Fulbright-Kennan Scholar and Deputy Dean and Chair of Sociology, Department of Social and Political Sciences, Yaroslavl State University.
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Ekaterina Romanova, Assistant Professor, School of International Service, American University.
“National Identity through the Prism of Immigration: The Case Study of Modern Russia.” (4 October 2010).

Vol. XXVIII No. 5 2011

Stephen Blank, Research Professor of National Security Affairs, Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College.

“The Great Power Rivalry in Central Asia.” (1 November 2010).

Vol. XXVIII No. 6 2011

Timothy Snyder, Professor of History, Yale University.

“Book Discussion: *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*.” (10 November 2010).

Vol. XXVIII No. 7 2011

John W. Steinberg, Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

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Vol. XXVIII No. 8 2011

Rebecca Chamberlain-Creanga, independent scholar, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

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Vol. XXVIII No. 9 2011

Paata Tsikurishvili, founder and Artistic Director, Synetic Theater; **Roland L. Reed**, Playwright and Writer-in-Residence, Synetic Theater.

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Vol. XXVIII No. 10 2011

Paul J. Saunders, Executive Director, The Nixon Center, and Associate Publisher, *The National Interest*.

“The U.S.-Russia Reset: Status and Prospects.” (10 January 2011).

Vol. XXVIII No. 11 2011

Helen Faller, independent scholar, Philadelphia, PA.

“Kazan’s New Spirit: Lasting Social Effects of Tatarstan’s Sovereignty Movement.” (24 January 2011).

Vol. XXVIII No. 12 2011

Regine Spector, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

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Vol. XXVIII No. 13 2011

Catherine Newcombe, Regional Director for Eurasia, Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training (OPDAT), Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

“The Rule of Law in Eurasia: Selected Case Studies from Russia, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan.” (14 February 2011).

Vol. XXVIII No. 14 2011

Donald N. Jensen, Senior Fellow, Center for Transatlantic Relations, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

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Vol. XXVIII No. 15 2011

Anton Burkov, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, National Endowment for Democracy.

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Vol. XXVIII No. 16 2011

Ella Pamfilova, Senior Research Fellow, Center for the Study of Civil Society, State University-Higher School

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“The Current State of Civil Society as a Reflection of the Paradoxes of Modern-Day Russia.” (1 March 2011).

Vol. XXVIII No. 17 2011

Melissa Stockdale, Associate Professor of History, University of Oklahoma, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. “A Hard Country to Love: Patriotism and National Identity in Russia’s Great War, 1914–1918.” (4 April 2011).

Vol. XXVII No. 18 2011

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Christian F. Ostermann and Oleg Kozlovsky, Dialogue Television #2305, “New Tools in the Struggle for Democracy.”

KENNAN INSTITUTE / HARRIMAN INSTITUTE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN LITERATURE SERIES

As political and economic upheavals occur in Ukraine, public life seems unimaginable without the cultural phenomena that have continued to enliven Ukrainian society ever since the collapse of pervasive Soviet censorship on literary and artistic expression. Observing Ukraine through its literary landscape offers an opportunity to understand much of the transformation that has occurred in the past twenty years of Ukrainian statehood. The creative energy unleashed in Ukrainian literature in recent decades has displayed such a variety of styles, themes and approaches that readers, many of them youth, continue to be enthralled by literary depictions of Ukrainian life: the lingering vestiges of the old Soviet system, the new freedom of open borders, the unremitting turbulence of social and political life, and the individual search for meaning and fulfillment amidst these changing circumstances. The scope and spirit of the literary revival in Ukraine continues to develop rapidly and “the number of writers is growing larger than that of readers,” as one of the Kennan Institute speakers wittingly remarked.

In 2008, the Kennan Institute collaborated with the Harriman Institute’s Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University to launch a series on contemporary Ukrainian literature. That year, the series featured two prominent Ukrainian authors—**Andrey Kurkov** and **Taras Chubai**—who are considered reflections of Ukraine’s present-day literary, cultural, political and linguistic diversity.

In 2009, the series featured three prominent Ukrainian authors—**Marjana Savka**, **Viktor Neborak**, and **Andriy Bondar**. A former actress and journalist, Marjana Savka presented her widely-acclaimed poems accompanied by an artful performance, as well as discussed the nature of Ukraine’s publishing industry. Viktor Neborak has been one of the leading representatives of the late 1980s cultural renaissance in Ukraine. Viktor Neborak presented his works from “The Flying Head” at a Kennan Institute event, showcasing a collection full of rich imagery bordering on fantasy where individuals seek to make sense of an increasingly senseless world. Finally, Andriy Bondar, a vibrant poet, translator, literary critic, and publicist was the youngest guest featured in Kennan Institute’s Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series in 2009. His creative works exhibited his lyrical protagonist’s inner conflict between the new and the old, the small town and the capital city mindset, home loyalties and allures of foreign lands—these being some of the many challenges Ukrainian youth face today.

This series was successfully continued in 2010 with poetry readings and discussions of Ukrainian cultural life by **Yuri Andrukhovych** and **Taras Prokhasko** at events held in Washington D.C. and New York City. Yuri Andrukhovych is one of the leading representatives of the late 1980s cultural renaissance in Ukraine, as well as one of the founding members of the Bu-Ba-Bu (burlesque-balahan-buffoonery) literary group. Bu-Ba-Bu experimented with linguistic and poetic expressions in an innovative manner, a taboo for writers in Soviet times. Yuri Andrukhovych showcased a collection of his numerous literary works related to the complexities of Ukraine’s role as a state in modern Europe, with a particular emphasis on international

perspectives of Ukrainian culture. The Kennan Institute also hosted Ivano-Frankivsk native Taras Prokhasko at the Kennan Institute in 2010. Taras Prokhasko has worked as a radio operator, editor, bartender, radio host, forester, teacher, gallery proprietor, screen writer, video operator and gardener; for the past ten years, however, he has worked primarily as a journalist. Taras Prokhasko recited excerpts from his book *FM Galicia*, a collection of brief literary pieces the author once broadcast over a radio station in Ivano-Frankivsk. The reading concluded with a discussion of the artist's approach to writing and the idea of inspiring and exciting his readership through literature.

The Kennan Institute continued its collaboration with the Harriman Institute in the 2010–2011 program year with a poetry reading from **Serhiy Zhadan**. Born in 1974 in the village of Starobilsk in the Luhansk Region of eastern Ukraine, Serhiy Zhadan is regarded as one of the most popular poets of the post-independence generation in Ukraine. Serhiy Zhadan is the author of numerous collections of poetry and prose publications that have been translated into a dozen languages, as well as theatre pieces that have been staged in Kharkiv and New York. He currently lives in Kharkiv and writes poetry, prose and essays and also translates from German, Belarusian, Polish and Russian. In December 2010, Zhadan read a selection of excerpts of his work at the Kennan Institute, where he discussed how his work speaks to the disillusionment, difficulties and ironies that the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought to the world.

The Kennan Institute plans to continue its Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series with new literary figures who uniquely shape the face of Ukraine and its modern-day culture.

KENNAN INSTITUTE / HARRIMAN INSTITUTE UKRAINIAN LITERATURE SERIES PARTICIPANTS:

Andrey Kurkov, 2008

Taras Chubai, 2008

Marjana Savka, 2009

Viktor Neborak, 2009

Andriy Bondar, 2009

Yuri Andrukovych, 2010

Taras Prokhasko, 2010

Serhiy Zhadan, 2010

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United States Embassy in Russia
United States Embassy in Ukraine
United States Studies Program, Woodrow Wilson Center
Wilson Center on the Hill Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

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CENTRAL ASIA AND THE KENNAN INSTITUTE

Central Asia continues to sit on multiple regional fault lines. The region is far from unified, divided by different nationalities, deep-rooted economic disputes over natural resources such as energy and water, and political frameworks. Central Asia further is a key geostrategic area, of interest to Russia, China, and the United States—all of which are seeking to expand their influence in the region. Additionally, migrants from Central Asia also have relocated in significant numbers in Russia and Ukraine, thereby raising serious questions about local economies and labor markets, and how best to integrate these foreign workers into such fluid systems.

Throughout the 2010–11 programmatic year, the Kennan Institute organized a number of lectures examining the critical issues in the Central Asian region. These events addressed topics related to particular Central Asian states, as well as myriad questions pertaining to the region overall. **Catherine Newcombe**, Regional Director for Eurasia, Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training (OPDAT), outlined the mission and work of the U.S. Department of Justice and its rule of law programming in Russia, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan. In Kyrgyzstan, new parliamentary-style democracy is in its infant stages. As Newcombe described, OPDAT has one Resident Legal Advisor who assists the Kyrgyz government with legislative drafting, skills building, and bringing Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) into compliance with international treaties. The Department of Justice also works with the Kyrgyz parliament—as well as the Kyrgyz Ministry of Justice—to cultivate government officials and citizens on their rights and responsibilities under CPC.

The Kennan Institute also hosted several scholars in residence this program year whose work specialized in studying Central Asia. Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar **Regine Spector** researched her project, “Protecting Property: The Politics of Bazaars in Central Asia” at the Kennan Institute this year, and gave a talk on her findings. “In the developing world,” Spector emphasized, “business and property owners face significant challenges in securing their property... the post-Soviet region is no exception.” Spector explored the current political situation in Kyrgyzstan’s economic sector, particularly in terms of property struggles. Among the assets and property struggles that have been most contentious in Kyrgyzstan are those found in the country’s bazaars, where much of the trade sector’s business takes place. As Spector noted, there were over 400 bazaars as of 2005, with annual sales turnover in the billions of dollars. Kyrgyzstan’s location in the heart of Central Asia—in addition to the economic policies the country has pursued—has allowed these bazaars to serve as hubs for regional and international commerce. Nevertheless, in the past twenty years, major changes in the political and economic environment have contributed to ongoing struggles over property rights in Kyrgyzstan. The country has experienced two major waves of political change in the last decade: the forced removal of Kyrgyzstan’s president, Askar Akaev and the deposal of the second president, Kurmanbek Bakiyev. These bouts of political unrest, concluded Spector, further contributed to the struggles over property throughout the country today.

Charles Ziegler, Professor and University Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Louisville, spoke at a Kennan Institute seminar focusing on the development of civil society in Kazakhstan. He stressed the importance of social interaction in democracy and to what extent the citizens of Kazakhstan have been able to develop new social associations in the post-Soviet environment. Kazakhstan is more developed, and perhaps has more opportunities, than its Central Asian neighbors. It has a growing, educated middle class and possesses major economic resources. Moreover the country’s international education exchange

programs send Kazakh students abroad to study. Nevertheless, the Soviet legacy continues to serve as a major impediment to Kazakhstan civil society, according to Ziegler. The absence of free, social organization during the Soviet period and its emphasis on state power left many citizens in Kazakhstan lacking necessary experience to structure and establish a new relationship with the state. The emergence of state-supported social groups also has hindered the development of a genuine civil society in Kazakhstan. **Ruslan Kazkenov**, Managing Director, “Civic Peace” NGO, Astana, Kazakhstan, discussed the necessity to develop cultural awareness of civil society and how such awareness can develop on its own. **Vadim Ni**, Executive Director, civic foundation “Asian American Partnership,” Almaty, Kazakhstan, highlighted recent government initiatives to promote NGOs in Kazakhstan. In particular, the number of environmental groups has grown significantly over the past few years, with some even gaining important political influence.

The political climate present in Central Asia today is a perfect example of power play dynamics in international relations. **Stephen Blank**, Research Professor of National Security Affairs, Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College described the geopolitical strategy unfolding in Central Asia, and the dynamics and interests that exist at the core of relationships between Central Asian states and larger world powers. Specifically, Blank outlined the geopolitical goals that the three major hegemonies—the United States, Russia, and China—have in the region. The United States has five major political goals in Central Asia: the U.S. war on terror; prevention of the emergence of regional empires; the prevention of state failure due to a rise in Islamic fundamentalism; economic goals and the energy resources of the region; and the U.S. lack of concern regarding democratization in Central Asia. As both a world power and a neighbor to Central Asia, the Russian Federation’s geopolitical interests in the region reflect the country’s unique position in regional international relations. According to Blank, Russia has three major objectives in the political arena in Central Asia: maintain state stability through the elimination of terrorism—a goal Russia shares with the U.S.; ensure the status quo in the region remains intact; and maintain the “neocolonial status quo” in the region—that is, by maintaining the existing authoritarian governmental systems, Central Asian states’ infrastructures are a “direct correlate of the nature of the regime” in today’s Russia. This power dynamic allows the Russian Federation to exercise notable political leverage over its smaller neighbors, especially in terms of regulating trade and commerce in and out of the region. Blank argued that China’s main geopolitical interests in the Central Asian space is the preservation of China’s state integrity. The Chinese share the desire to ensure regional stability with the U.S. and Russia, as they seek to maintain a “zone of stability and peace” around China. In addition, the Chinese share the aforementioned security concern over the potential introduction of Islamic fundamentalism to Central Asia political infrastructures. At the same time, China wants to increase its political and economic leverage over the region.

The Kennan Institute looks forward to continuing its programming on Central Asia in the future with the introduction of the Institute’s “Spotlight on Central Eurasia” series—which aims to inform Washington, D.C.-based scholars and practitioners of the latest research on a range of topics impacting the future of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Throughout the academic year, speakers from various disciplines, including political science, anthropology, sociology, and history, will present highlights from their recent articles and books on Central Asia and the Caucasus.

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