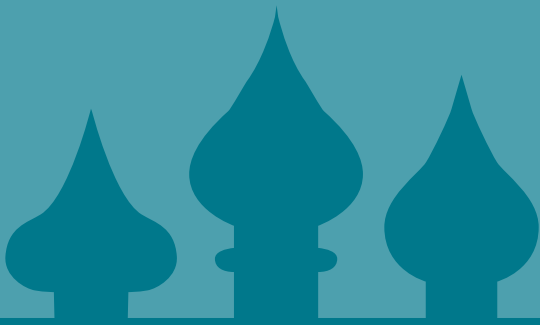




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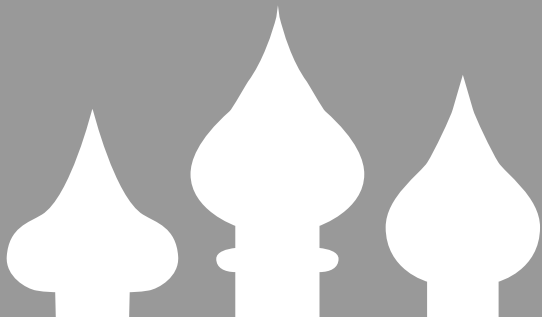


KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report 2008–2009



Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars



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for Scholars
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Lidiya Zubyt'ska, Program Assistant

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Rachel Madenyika, Program Associate

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KENNAN KYIV PROJECT

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Nataliya Samozvanova, Office Manager

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Anthony Zannino

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CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY OF CHRIST, SOUTH
VIEW, SHEKSNA, VOLOGDA OBLAST', RUSSIA
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



Unless otherwise noted, photographs for this report were provided by William Craft Brumfield, photographer and Professor of Slavic Languages at Tulane University.

OVERVIEW	3
DIRECTOR'S REVIEW	5
ADVISORY COUNCILS	10
KENNAN COUNCIL	11
SCHOLARS	13
CASE PROGRAM	22
MEETINGS	29
OUTREACH	55
FUNDING	62



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.

Through its innovative workshop series, the Kennan Institute serves as a forum where scholars can develop and discuss their research pertaining to a variety of topics concerning the region. The workshops bring together scholars with recent field experience from a variety of disciplines, with the goal of producing an original edited volume.

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

ARCHANGEL CATHEDRAL, MOSCOW
KREMLIN, NORTHEAST VIEW (WILLIAM
C. BRUMFIELD)



PRAYER HOUSE AND COURTYARD,
PREOBRAZHENSKOE JEWISH CEMETERY,
ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA (WILLIAM C.
BRUMFIELD)

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.

DIRECTOR'S REVIEW

CELEBRATING THE POWER OF HUMAN ENGAGEMENT

On the evening of 5 December 2008, the Kennan Institute honored Neville Isdell, the former Chief Executive Officer of Coca-Cola, and Ludmila Verbitskaya, the President of St. Petersburg State University, with the presentation of the Woodrow Wilson Corporate Citizenship and Woodrow Wilson Public Service Awards at the annual Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Awards Dinner. The dinner is designed to highlight the accomplishments of those who have played integral roles in the American relationship with Russia and Ukraine.

Isdell, the son of a police officer from Northern Ireland who grew up in South Africa, and Verbitskaya, a daughter of two “enemies of the people,” would seem to have little in common with one another. Though contemporaries, they grew up continents apart in cultures which were as far removed from one another as cultures could be.

They stood on the same stage that evening because they shared much more than these superficial differences might suggest. Both overcame tremendous obstacles: Isdell began his career at Coca-Cola working in a warehouse in Southern Africa, eventually to lead the entire company, one of the largest in the world. Verbitskaya studied hard, became a world class linguist, and rose through faculty ranks to be elected the head of her university by her colleagues at a time of tremendous change. Both played significant roles in the dramatic transformations of their countries during the 1990s. Perhaps most importantly, they succeeded where others did not because they shared a core belief in the dignity of their fellow human beings, no matter how stark were the realities of apartheid South Africa and Soviet St. Petersburg.

Isdell and Verbitskaya share another belief, one close to the mission of the Kennan Institute, namely that culture and history matter. As Isdell said to the audience that evening, “You have to understand how your words will be heard...When you start talking to the Russian people, and you realize how proud they are, you realize the depth of their culture. You realize how significantly and deeply educated they are. And you also realize, by necessity, how tough they are.” Verbitskaya similarly reinvigorated her beloved university from a late Soviet-era stupor by speaking with her faculty about understanding the institution’s strengths – insights which do not emerge from marketing surveys and mathematical formulas. Both Isdell and Verbitskaya have shown an understanding of the complexity of the human condition and of human institutions. They speak of non-linear developments and of inner vibrancy rather than of abstract models and concepts. They value the power of human engagement.

These ideals inform the work of the Kennan Institute as it moves to support scholarship and inform traditional discussions of international relations and politics by broadening the scope of that conversation to include that which makes us all human. This approach – which accents

bottom-up textured complexity – stood at the core of George F. Kennan’s founding vision for the Institute. “When it comes to the relationship between great peoples,” he declared, “there has to be, and particularly in the case of Russia, another supplementary dimension to these relations, and that is the dimension of the meeting of people, in the work of the intellect, in the respect for scholarship and history, in the understanding of art and music, and in all the intuitive feelings that go to unite us, even in most difficult times, to many people in Russia.”

George Kennan’s statement continues to inform the mission of the Kennan Institute. In the past twelve months, the Kennan Institute has hosted 70 scholars who have explored the post-Soviet space, assessed the legacies of both Soviet rule and the Russian Empire, and identified prospects for the future through the study of a highly diverse range of topics. Two Woodrow Wilson Center Fellows focused on economic policy and its associated political context. Gül Berna Özcan researched how the ruling elites of post-Soviet states in Central Asia exercise control over economic assets and the overall relationship between markets and governance regimes. Stacy Closson’s project examines the international politics of Russian energy, particularly the Russian energy business in Europe and Eurasia.

Political institutions by themselves have been a point of interest, particularly in the framework of democratic processes. Volodymyr Kulyk examined the relationship among language beliefs, language policies, and democratization in post-Soviet Ukraine. Henry Hale focused on former Soviet countries in assessing patterns of interaction between political institutions of the transition period and the pervasive system of patron-client relations. Tatiana Riabova assessed gender in Russia’s contemporary political discourse, while Victor Pasisnychenko rethought civil society and democracy relationships by looking at America after September 11, 2001. The United States formed a main focus for Larisa Deriglazova, who examined how American analysis conceptualizes the asymmetric conflict phenomenon in American historiography, while Anastasia Fakhrutdinova evaluated the U.S. contribution to civil education theory in the context of globalization. Oleg Timofeev studied the U.S. in an international context, focusing on its relationship with China and implications for Northeast Asia.

Other scholars turned their gaze inwards to elucidate the growing policy ramifications of ethnicity and tolerance in the post-Soviet space. Vladimir Eremenko studied the ethnic discrimination faced by resident aliens and stateless people in Russia. Conversely, Adriana Helbig observed the rapidly changing ethnic and racial composition of Ukraine, showing how the hip-hop movement together with African migrants have altered post-Orange Revolution political discourse. Darima Amogolonova focused on Siberian ethnic elites and the challenges of globalization, while Olga Vendina explored ethno-cultural policies in Moscow and their unintended side effects.

Several scholars conducted research in comparative law and comparative legal institutions. Roman Kalytchak studied the U.S. federal and state relationship in international affairs and its lessons for Ukraine. Natalia Nikitenko analyzed law sources to formulate compatibility criteria between U.S. national interests and international law standards. Finally, Yuriy Nosik evaluated the U.S. trade secret concept as a turning point in the development of intellectual property theory.

The study of religion in the post-Soviet spaces remained a major area of focus for the Kennan Institute. David Abramson assessed the Islamic resurgence in Central Asian through social network analysis. Elyor Karimov looked at Islam in Central Asia, focusing specifically on the roots and historical legacies of its political culture. Luce Foundation Fellow Akhmet



RATKOV-ROZHN OV APARTMENT
BUILDING, GRIBOEDOV CANAL 71, ST.
PETERSBURG, RUSSIA (WILLIAM C.
BRUMFIELD)

Yarlykapov took a contemporaneous approach in his study of Islam's modern forms in the Caucasus. Svetlana Peshkova explored how home-schooled Islam in Uzbekistan is creating a path towards moral renewal. Oleh Yarosh embarked on a study of the development of Sufi doctrine in South Asia.

The Kennan Institute continues to place major U.S. policy debates as they relate to Russia and other successor state into their long term historical perspective. Melanie Feakins examined the post-Soviet development of St. Petersburg. Vladislav Zubok, Heather DeHaan, and Cynthia Hooper researched various facets of Russia's Soviet past: the generation of Russian intelligentsia after Stalin, the business of the Avtozavod in Nizhnii Novgorod, and the values and practices of the Soviet secret police, respectively. Vladyslav Grynevych assessed the Second World War and the Holocaust in the historical memories of Jews and Ukrainians. Addis Mason delved back further into Russia's past in researching the origin and evolution of Russian progressive romantic nationalism.

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. Alexandra Vacroux's work reveals 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.

The Kennan Institute recently welcomed several new Fulbright scholars. Currently, Olena Borysova looks at reforms in university environmental education in Ukraine; Gennadiy Druzenko assesses to what extent judicial activism is profitable for Ukrainian democracy; Yulia Khmelevskaya examines how American press of the 1920s depicts early Soviet Russia; Natalia

Kudriavtseva searches for rational grounds of a just social order; and Evgeniy Sobolev studies American oil policy in the Arabian Gulf.



CHURCH OF THE INTERCESSION,
POKROVSKII POGOST, NORTHWEST
VIEW, LENINGRAD OBLAST, RUSSIA
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

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, Edmita Bulota, Joseph Dresen, Larissa Eltsefon, Sarah Klump, Pavel Korolev, Renata Kosc-Harmatiy, Edita Krunkaityte, Galina Levina, Rachel Madenyika, Mary Elizabeth Malinkin, Margaret Paxson, Irina Petrova, William Pomeranz, Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Nataliya Samozvanova, Anna Toker, S. Todd Weinberg, and Lidiya Zubytska have been true colleagues. Renata Kosc-Harmatiy, Sarah Klump, Edita Krunkaityte, and Rachel Madenyika left the Institute this past year, and are 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.

Blair A. Ruble
October 15, 2009



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 2008–09 program year were:

KENNAN INSTITUTE ADVISORY COUNCIL

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Miami University

Laura Engelstein

Yale University

Olga Filippova*

Kharkiv University of Humanities

Ilya Gaiduk

Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences

Juliet Johnson*

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Viktor Stepanenko

Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

Michael Thumann*

Die Zeit

Grace Kennan Warnecke

Consultant

**The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Advisory Council members Olga Filippova, Juliet Johnson, and Michael Thumann. We greatly appreciate their support and hard work these past years.*

RUSSIAN ALUMNI ASSOCIATION ADVISORY COUNCIL

Anatoly Krasikov, Chair

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Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University

Nataliya Vysotska

Kyiv State Linguistic University

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.

CATHEDRAL OF THE INTERCESSION,
INTERCESSION CONVENT,
NORTHEAST VIEW, SUZDAL, RUSSIA
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

KENNAN COUNCIL

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ExxonMobil Corporation

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Patricia Cloherty
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Richard Herold
BP

Fawzi Kyriakos-Saad
Credit Suisse

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LLP

Shawn McCormick
TNK-BP

The Honorable Thomas Pickering
Hills and Company

Paul Rodzianko
Hermitage Museum Foundation

Peter L. Schaffer
A La Vieille Russie

Laurel Durst Strong

**The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Kennan Council Vice Chair, Len Blavatnik, for his years of support for and dedication to the Kennan Institute.*





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 2008–09 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 and permanent residents 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. Short-Term grants for non-U.S. citizens are funded by the Kennan Institute's George F. Kennan Fund. The Institute also assisted the Social Science Research Council with the implementation and administration of a project in the Russian Federation entitled "Social Science Approaches to HIV/AIDS with a focus on Local Governance, Gender and Sexuality, and Health."

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 2008–09 program year, the Kennan Institute supported 70 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.

KUTEKROM TOWER, WEST WALL OF
CITADEL, PSKOV, RUSSIA (WILLIAM
C. BRUMFIELD)

I will recommend to all of my colleagues the Fulbright-Kennan program as a brilliant possibility to put themselves into an extraordinary atmosphere of friendship and science.

—Natalia Nikitenko, Fulbright-Kennan Scholar, August-December, 2008

GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

VLADIMIR EREMENKO, Attorney, Krasnodar Regional Bar, Russia. “Ethnic Discrimination of Resident Aliens and Stateless People.” January 2009-June 2009.

OLGA VENDINA, Senior Researcher, Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. “Playing the Ethnic Card in Moscow: Ethno-Cultural Policies and Their Unintended Side Effects.” September 2009-November 2009.

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 2010.

WOODROW WILSON CENTER SENIOR SCHOLARS

MURRAY FESHBACH, Research Professor Emeritus, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. “Policy Implications of Population, Health, and Environment Trends in Russia.” October 2006-December 2008.

JAN KALICKI, Counselor for International Strategy, Chevron Corporation, CA. “Policy Issues and Opportunities in Russia and the New Independent States.” July 2006-June 2010.

ALEXANDRA VACROUX, independent scholar. “Inside the Black Box: What Failed Health Care Reforms Tell Us About the Russian State.” September 2006-August 2010.

WOODROW WILSON CENTER FELLOWS

STACY CLOSSON, independent researcher. “Energy Empire: Russia, Europe, and the Politics of Energy Dependence.” September 2009-May 2010.

ELYOR KARIMOV, Professor, Institute of History, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan. “Islamic Political Culture in Central Asia: Roots and Historical Legacies.” September 2009-May 2010.

VOLODYMYR KULYK, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine. “Language, Identity, and Democracy in Post-Soviet Ukraine.” September 2008-May 2009.

GÜL BERNA ÖZCAN, Senior Lecturer in Corporate Governance and International Business, School of Management of Royal Holloway College, University of London; Associate Fellow, Enterprise LSE, London School of Economics. “Control of Markets and Governance through Strategic Assets in Central Asia.” September 2008-May 2009.

WOODROW WILSON CENTER PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS

DAVID ABRAMSON, Foreign Affairs Analyst, U.S. Department of State Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center. “Understanding Central Asia’s Islamic Resurgence through Social Network Analysis.” October 2008-October 2009.

VLADISLAV ZUBOK, Associate Professor, Department of History, Temple University and Co-Director of Summer Programs in Russia and NIS Countries, The National Security Archive. “Children of Zhivago: The

Generation of Russian Intelligentsia After Stalin." September-December 2008.

TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH SCHOLARS

HEATHER DEHAAN, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Binghamton University. "Whose Business Was the Socialist City?: The Austin Company and the Design of Avtozavod (Nizhnii Novgorod)." January 2009-May 2009.

MELANIE FEAKINS, Visiting Assistant Professor and Researcher, Institute for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, University of California, Berkeley. "Invisible City: St. Petersburg Expanding Between the Walls." September 2008-May 2009.

HENRY HALE, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Affairs, The George Washington University. "Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution: Two Decades of Regime Change since Perestroika." January 2009-August 2009.

ADRIANA HELBIG, Assistant Professor, Department of Music, University of Pittsburgh. "Hip-Hop, African Migrants, and Transnational Articulations of Racialized Class Identities in Post-Orange Revolution Ukraine." May 2009-August 2009.

CYNTHIA HOOPER, Assistant Professor, Department of History, College of the Holy Cross. "Terror from Within: Collaboration and Coercion in Soviet Power, 1924-1964." September 2008-May 2009.

ADDIS MASON, Visiting Scholar, Department of History, Stanford University. "The Origin and Evolution of Russian Progressive Romantic Nationalism." January 2009-July 2009.

SVETLANA PESHKOVA, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Religion, Syracuse University. "Home-Schooled Islam in the Ferghana Valley (Uzbekistan): Toward a Moral Renewal." June 2009-August 2009.

FULBRIGHT-KENNAN INSTITUTE RESEARCH SCHOLARS

DARIMA AMOGOLONOVA, Senior Researcher, Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ulan-Ude, Russia. "Siberian Ethnic Elites and the Challenges of Globalization." September 2008-March 2009.

OLENA BORYSOVA, Associate Professor, Kharkiv National Academy of Municipal Economy. "Reforms in the University Environmental Education in Ukraine: Learning from U.S. experience in the Search for Sustainability." September 2009-December 2009.

LARISA DERIGLAZOVA, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Tomsk State University. "Studying and Conceptualizing the Asymmetric Conflict Phenomenon in American Historiography." March 2009-September 2009.

GENNADIY DRUZENKO, independent scholar, Kiev. "Judicial Activism: To What Extent Is It Profitable for

Democracy in Ukraine." September 2009-February 2010.

ANASTASIA FAKHRUTDINOVA, Assistant Professor, Department of Foreign Languages, Kazan State University, Russia. "The U.S. Contribution to the Development of Civil Education Theory and Practice at the Time of Education Integration and Globalization." January 2009-July 2009.

VLADYSLAV GRYNEVYCH, Senior Research Associate, Department of Jewish Studies, Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv. "The Second World War and the Holocaust in the Historical Memory of Jews and Ukrainians." April 2008-December 2008.

ROMAN KALYTCHAK, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Diplomatic Service, Faculty of International Relations, Ivan Franko Lviv National University. "The U.S. Federal and State Relationship in International Affairs: Lessons for Ukraine." September 2008-March 2009.

YULIA KHMELEVSKAYA, Associate Professor, Department of History of State and Law, Southern Urals State University. "American Press of the 1920s and Making the Image of Early Soviet Russia in the American Mind." September 2009-August 2010.

NATALIA KUDRIAVTSEVA, Assistant Professor, Kherson National Technical University. "Rationality of Justice:

The opportunity to interact and collaborate with researchers from all over the world was extremely useful. The atmosphere provided particularly valuable comparative perspective. Such academic socialization was invaluable for me.

—Roman Kalytchak, Fulbright-Kennan Scholar, September 2008-March 2009

The Search for Rational Grounds of a Just Social Order.” September 2009-December 2009.

NATALIA NIKITENKO, Associate Professor, Department of State and Law, East Siberian Institute of the Ministry of Interior, Irkutsk. “National Interests of State and International Law Standards in Fields of Human Rights and Justice: the Problem of Compatibility.” August 2008-December 2008.

YURIY NOSIK, Assistant Professor, Department of Civil Law, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University. “Trade Secret Concept at the Turning

Point of Intellectual Property Law Theory.” September 2008-March 2009.

VIKTOR PASISNYCHENKO, Associate Professor, Department of Political Sociology, Kharkiv National University. “Rethinking Civil Society and Democracy Relationships: America after September 11 and Dealing with Civil Society Paradoxes.” March 2009-September 2009.

TATIANA RIABOVA, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Ivanovo State University, Russia. “Gender in the Political Discourse of Contemporary Russia.” September 2008-March 2009.

EVGENII SOBOLEV, Senior Lecturer, World History Department, Bashkir State Pedagogical Institute. “American Foreign Oil Policy in the Arabian Gulf.” September 2009-February 2010.

OLEG TIMOFEEV, Associate Professor, Department of Sinology, Amur State University. “U.S.-China Relations and Their Implications for Northeast Asia.” March 2009-September 2009.

OLEH YAROSH, Chair of Oriental Philosophy Research Group, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv. “ ‘Unity of Being’ and ‘Unity of Contemplation’ after Ahmad Sirhindi: A Study of Doctrinal Development of Naqshdandi-Mujaddidi Tariqa.” March 2009-September 2009.

SHORT-TERM SCHOLARS

RAFIS ABAZOV, Adjunct Assistant Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Harriman Institute, Columbia University. “Contemporary Debates on Reevaluating the Place of Islam in Central Asia’s Public Space.” November 2008.

SHELDON ANDERSON, Professor, Department of History, Miami University, Ohio. “Sports, Soviet Bloc Relations, and Globalization.” October 2008; January 2009.

ALLA ASLITDINOVA, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Tajik National University, Dushanbe. “Tajikistan: The Bazaar as a Social Phenomenon and Societal Transformation Indicator.” April 2009-May 2009.

IRYNA BEKESHKINA, Director of Research, Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv. “Democratization in Transitional Societies: Problems of Measurement.” October 2008.

NADEZHDA BIKALOVA, Chief Expert, Institute for Finance and Economic Monitoring, Ltd., Moscow. “Performance Budgeting and Performance Management for CIS Countries.” February 2009-March 2009.

NANCY COLLINS, Research Director, the European Institute, Columbia University. “Seeing Through the Iron Curtain: A History of America’s First Russian Institute.” July 2009.

STEPHEN CROWLEY, Associate Professor, Department of Politics,

Oberlin College. "Labor Conflict and Relative Prosperity in Putin's Russia." August 2009-September 2009.

JULIEN DANERO, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Brussels, Belgium. "The Current Version of 'Moldovanism' and its Oppositions." January-February 2009.

GERALDINE FAGAN, Moscow correspondent, Forum 18 News Service. "Believing in Russia: Religious Policy After Communism." April 2009.

ZVI GITELMAN, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. "Dimensions of the Holocaust in the USSR: Policies, Perceptions, Paradoxes." June 2009.

KEVIN KAIN, Lecturer, Humanistic Studies/History, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. "Orthodox Material Culture and the Construction of Religious-Based Conceptions of Russian National Identity, 19th Century to the Present." August 2009.

GEORGE KHELASHVILI, Ph.D. candidate, Department of International Relations, St. Anne's College, University of Oxford, UK. "American Foreign Policy Towards Georgia." September 2008-October 2008.

HRYPHORIIY KHOMENKO, Vice-Rector, Department of International Relations and Science, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Kyiv. "Political Aspects of Integration in the Western Hemisphere: Strategic Options and Practical Experience for Ukraine." December 2008.

RICHARD KRICKUS, Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science and International Affairs, Mary Washington

College, Fredericksburg, Virginia. "Russian Participation in a Trans-Atlantic Security System." December 2008.

ANNA KUSHKOVA, Associate Research Fellow, Petersburg Judaica Center, European University at St. Petersburg. "Histories of the Holocaust in Transnistria: The Dialogue Between Jewish-Ukrainian Communities." May 2009-June 2009.

SERGIY KVIT, President, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv. "The University Autonomy as a Means for Ukrainian Societal Development." April 2009.

RENSELAER LEE, President, Global Advisory Services, McLean, Virginia. "Evaluating United States-Russian Nuclear Security Cooperation." January 2009.

GEORGE LIBER, Professor, Department of History, University of Alabama at Birmingham. "Modern Ukraine: A Short History." July 2009.

ELENA MARASINOVA, Senior Researcher, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Enlightened Absolutism and Enlightened Nobility of Russia in the Second Half of the 18th Century: A Comparative Perspective." July 2009-August 2009.

ERIKA MARAT, Research Fellow, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. "The Military and the State in Central Asia: From the Red Army to Independence." October 2008.

LAWRENCE MARKOWITZ, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Rowan University. "Unlootable Wealth and State Violence in Central Asia." July 15, 2009-August 14, 2009.

It is very important that scholars from different sciences meet in this common space to discuss topics they did not think about before.

—Vladyslav Grynevych,
Fulbright-Kennan Scholar,
April-December 2008

I will return to Russia with enhanced knowledge, academic contacts, and a wide range of research and teaching resources, which will also be of benefit to my colleagues and students. This visit will also have added further to my American perspective. This was an intensive period of research likely to add to Russian understanding of American social policy, contemporary American conservatism, and comparative analysis. I hope further American-Russian links have been established through this visit. This seems to have been a most worthwhile project with beneficial long-term implications. I am most grateful to the Kennan Institute for making it possible. —Vladimir Zolotykh, *Short-Term Scholar, November-December 2008*

VLADIMIR MELETIN, Director and Producer, Film Studio “Art-Nuvo,” Moscow. “A Documentary Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the First American Exhibition in Moscow ‘The Discovery of America.’” April 2009-May 2009.

IRINA PAPKOVA, Assistant Professor, Central European University, Budapest. “The Second Civil War? Reinterpreting the Great Patriotic War.” July 2009-August 2009.

VERONIKA PASYNKOVA, Department Administrator, Department of Political Science and Sociology, European University at St. Petersburg. “Successor Parties, Trade Unions and State in Belarus, Russia and Ukraine.” January 2009-February 2009.

LYUDMYLA PAVLYUK, Associate Professor, Department of Journalism,

Ivan Franko Lviv National University. “The NATO Issue in Ukrainian Electoral and Media Discourses: Analysis of Frames and Arguments.” October 2008-November 2008.

PAVEL POLIAN, Senior Researcher, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. “Materials on O.E. Mandelstam in the Library of Congress and the National Archives.” October 2008-November 2008.

AARON RETISH, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI. “In the Courts of Revolution: Legality, Vengeance, and Citizenship in the Rural Soviet Courtroom, 1917-1953.” December 2008.

MARYA ROZANOVA, Associate Professor, Faculty of Public

Administration, North-Western Academy of Public Administration, St. Petersburg. “Ethnic-Cultural and Religious Diversity and the Clash of Identities in Contemporary Russia.” April 2009-May 2009.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV, Researcher, Russian Institute for Cultural Research, Moscow. “American Geopolitical Utopias in Comparative Perspective in the Late 19th-Early 20th Century.” June 2009-July 2009.

DARIA VAISMAN, independent scholar. “The Cultural Cold War: KGB Disinformation Campaigns and the History of American Democracy Promotion,” and “Nunn-Lugar and the Future of American Nonproliferation Policy in the Former Soviet Union.” April 2009.

NATHAN VIGIL, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, Emory

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	Ivan Pavlov September–December 2003	Valentin Gefter March–June 2005	Andrey Rezaev January 2008–July 2008
Emil Payin September 2000–June 2001	Anatoly Krasikov December 2003–April 2004	Victor Shnirelman October 2005–April 2006	Petr Panov February 2008–April 2008
Aleksandr Nikitin September 2001–January 2002	Aleksandr Osipov April–July 2004	Olga Tsepilova April–June 2006	Vladimir Eremenko January 2009–June 2009
William Smirnov October 2001–July 2002	Davlat Khudonazarov October 2004–April 2005	Maria Belousova June–August 2007	Olga Vendina September 2009–November 2009
Zaindi Choltaev September 2002–June 2003	Grigorii Pasko October 2004–April 2005	Dmitry Dubrovskiy August 2007–February 2008	

The Kennan
Institute deserves
highest marks
for intellectual
stimulation
simply for
bringing together
such an array
of interesting
and bright
individuals, not
to mention a
highly effective
and friendly staff.

—Heather DeHaan, Title
VIII-Supported Research
Scholar, January-May 2009

University. “Disarming the Cold War: The International History of the INF Treaty.” May 2009.

ANGELINA VOLOVIK, Chair, English Language Department, Ryazan State University. “The Role of NGOs in Building a Civil Society: Comparative Analysis of Russia and the U.S.” September 2008-October 2008.

NATALIYA YAKUBOVSKA, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Law, Odesa National Law Academy, Ukraine. “The Problems of Applying the U.S. Experience of Trust Regulation in Ukraine.” October 2008-November 2008.

DENISE YOUNGBLOOD, Professor, Department of History, University of Vermont. “Double Vision: Soviet and American Cinema During the Cold War.” December 2008.

VLADIMIR ZOLOTYKH, Associate Professor, Department of Contemporary History and International Relations, Udmurt State University, Izhevsk, Russia. “Conservative Approaches to Social Policy in the U.S. and the Role of Policy Transfer and International Learning in the Development of Contemporary Conservatism in the Russian Federation.” November 2008-December 2008.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL GRANTEES

ANDREI ANDREEV, Institute of Sociology-Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

NATALYA BELETSKAYA, Novosibirsk State University.

OLGA BENDINA, Saratov State Technical University.

NATALIA FEDEROVA, European University of Saint Petersburg.

VIOLETTA KHABIBULLINA, Kazan State University.

JULIA KONDINSKAYA, Siberian AIDS Fund, Tomsk.

SVETLANA MAXIMOVA, Altai State University.

MIKHAIL NEMTSEV, Novosibirsk State University.

STANISLAV POZDNYAKOV, Kuban State University.

ANNA PUSTARNAKOVA, Samara State University.

JULIA VIKTOROVA, Saint Petersburg State University.

TRINITY CATHEDRAL AND BELL TOWER, SOUTHEAST
VIEW ACROSS PSKOVA RIVER, PSKOV, RUSSIA
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



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;”



ESTATE HOUSE, PUSHCHINO-NA-NARE,
MOSCOW OBLAST, RUSSIA
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

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. Education.), Moscow, and New Eurasia Foundation

Blair A. Ruble, Co-Chair

Kennan Institute

Deana Arsenian

Carnegie Corporation of New York

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The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur 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.

CATHEDRAL OF SAINT SOPHIA, EAST
VIEW, KYIV, UKRAINE (WILLIAM C.
BRUMFIELD)



CASE INITIATIVES

During the past program year, the CASEs collaborated on four network projects. “Russian Transformations within the Context of the World’s Development” moved into the second phase of the project’s plan: the preparation of a collaborative monograph that would provide an analysis of Russia’s social, economic, political and cultural development over the past 20 years. The research for this book involved the ISE-Center, the Gorbachev Foundation, and the New Eurasia Foundation. A second network project, “Soviet Culture within Modern Social Space: Transformations and Prospects,” was led by the Urals CASE. The Voronezh, Irkutsk, Novgorod, Saratov and Tomsk CASEs also participated in this collaborative project with Columbia University’s Harriman Institute in New York. The project identified the fundamental parameters of Soviet culture that have developmental and transformational values for today’s Russia, and the results were published in a collaborative monograph entitled, *The Soviet Past and the Culture of the Present*.

Over the past year the Irkutsk CASE completed the network project “Transboundary Migration and the Host Society: Mutual Adaptation Mechanisms and Practices.” This was a comprehensive comparative research effort to analyze the interaction between migrants and their host societies. Researchers from the Baltic, Voronezh, Far East, Irkutsk, Rostov, Saratov, Tomsk and Urals CASEs are participating in the project. A fourth network project, “Development of Russia’s Fuel and Power Sector: Social and Environmental Impacts and Prospects,” studies the impact of fuel and power industries on society and environment in regions of Russia. The Tomsk CASE has spearheaded this study in each respective region of the participating CASEs (Tomsk, Baltic, Irkutsk, Rostov, and Saratov).

Finally, the ISE-Center has been designing a new network project during the past program year entitled, “Socio-Economic and Socio-Political Health of the Regions in a Crisis Environment.” This project will include a comprehensive study of the socio-economic and socio-political dimensions of the 2009 crisis based on a statistical analysis. The goal of the project is to estimate the diversity and depth of the crises’ affect on Russian society and to suggest alternative recovery and post-crisis development scenarios for Russia’s various regions.

In addition to these network projects, CASEs participated in several international meetings. The Urals CASE held an international academic conference entitled “The Images of Modernity: Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Countries in a Global Context” on 28-29 May 2009 in Yekaterinburg. The Rostov CASE held several workshops and training sessions in Rostov-on-Don including: “Regional Libraries under Globalization: New Challenges, New Solutions: the Case of University Libraries” on 27-28 May 2009; the Young Teachers’ Summer School, “Applying International Work Experience to Improve

Educational Activities under the CASE Program” on 1-5 July 2009; an undergraduate-level practicum, “Russia’s Modernization Problems” on 22 April 2009; and a graduate-level practicum, “Russia’s Modernization Problems” on 13 May 2009. Furthermore, the Rostov CASE established two new Master degree programs: Regional and Municipal Governance and European Studies. The Baltic CASE utilized their institutional development grant to hold three seminars in Kaliningrad during the reporting period: a workshop entitled “The Role of CASE in Developing International Contacts at Host Universities” on 24–27 April 2009; a conference called “CASE Positioning within the Regional Information Domain” on 17-19 April 2009; and “Developing Teamwork Skills” on 30 April–2 May, 2009. The Irkutsk CASE implemented two new research projects thanks to an institutional development grant: “Demographic Development of the Region: Challenges and Opportunities” and “Education System and Regional Labor Markets.”

During the past year, the CASEs also continued to send scholars to present their research at international conferences in the United States. CASE sponsored two panels in November 2008 at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Philadelphia. “International Migration Patterns in Russia and Abroad” brought four CASE migration experts from Rostov, Voronezh, Ekaterinburg, and Kaliningrad together to discuss the migration issues facing their respective regions. A second roundtable, “U.S.-Russian Cooperation in Higher Education: Present and Future Opportunities,” examined the successes and shortcomings of academic exchange programs and joint projects between the U.S. and Russia. Representatives from the Tomsk, Baltic, Irkutsk, and Urals CASEs gave presentations.

The following spring, at the 2009 International Studies Association (ISA) in New York, CASE scholars formed a roundtable with colleagues from the University of California-Berkeley on “Modernity and International Relations.” The scholars discussed how the 20th century assumptions of the traditional Western understanding of modernity are being increasingly contested in the 21st century, and that this will inevitably lead to new conceptions of modernity. A representative from the Urals CASE participated in the roundtable.

In March 2009, CASE researchers partook in paper sessions at the annual meeting for the Association for American Geographers (AAG) in Las Vegas. One session, entitled “Spatial Transformations in Russian Cities,” brought scholars from the Urals and Far East CASEs together to discuss recent insights into urban theory and urban organization in Russia. A second session, “Social and Economic Perspectives on the Russian Far East,” examined the social dynamics of the Russian Far East and Siberia and its integration into the Russian state economy. Scholars from the Far East and Tomsk CASEs presented their research at this session.



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.

CHAR-MINAR MOSQUE, BUKHARA,
UZBEKISTAN (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"North Ossetia's Geopolitical Entanglements," **Gerard Toal**, Professor and Director, Government and International Affairs, Virginia Tech National Capital Region, Virginia Technical University.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Azerbaijan and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia: Foreign Policy Strategies, Caspian Energy Security, and Great Power Politics," **Elkhan Nuriyev**, Director, Center for Strategic Studies

under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 2008/ SEMINAR

Rethinking Russia and U.S.-Russian Relations Series

"Rethinking Russia and U.S.-Russian Relations: The Role of Russia in the Global World Order," **Michael Mandelbaum**, Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy, and Director of the American Foreign Policy Program, Johns Hopkins University, The Paul H. Nitze School of

Advanced International Studies.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russian Orthodoxy Resurgent: Faith and Power in the New Russia," **John Garrard**, Professor of Russian Studies, University of Arizona, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Carol Garrard**, independent scholar and author, Tucson, Arizona.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 2008/ SEMINAR

"Stalin vs. Science: The Life and Murder of Nikolai Vavilov," **Peter Pringle**,



MEDRESE ABDULLAZISKHAN, BUKHARA,
UZBEKISTAN (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

journalist and author, New York; **Yuri Vavilov**, Senior Scientific Associate, Lebedev Physical Institute, Moscow.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"New Voices in a Shifting Age: Recent Russian Drama and Theater," **John Freedman**, author and theater critic, *The Moscow Times*.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2008/ SEMINAR AND PERFORMANCE Kennan Institute/Harriman Institute Ukrainian Literature Series

"Don't take it literally!" **Marjana Savka**, poet and publisher, Lviv, Ukraine.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"WTO and Russia's Future: An Industry Perspective," **James Class**, Assistant Vice President, International Affairs (Europe), Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"In Honor of Galina Starovoitova: Ten Years After," **Harley Balzer**, Associate Professor of Government and International Affairs, Georgetown University, and former Title-VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer**, Research Professor, Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies and the Department of Anthropology, Georgetown University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2008/ SEMINAR

Rethinking Russia and U.S.-Russian Relations Series

"Rethinking Russia and U.S.-Russian Relations: Russia's Role in the Global Economy," **Charles Ryan**, Chairman of Deutsche Bank in Russia.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"The War in Georgia: Past, Present, and Future," **Eric Lohr**, Associate Professor, Department of History, American University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 2008/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Likhachev Foundation, St. Petersburg, and the Open World Program, Washington, DC

"Improving Russian-American Understanding through Cultural Exchanges"

Panel I: American and Russian Experience in Organizing Cultural Exchanges

Chair: **Blair Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

Participants: **Aleksandr Kobak**, Director, Likhachev Foundation, St. Petersburg; **Maura Sheldon**, Public Affairs Officer, Open World Program, Washington, DC; **Richard Lanier**, Member of the Board, Trust for Mutual Understanding Board.

Discussant: **Paul Smith**, consultant, Washington, DC and former U.S. Consul General, St. Petersburg.

Panel II: First U.S. Alumni of the "Residencies in Russia" Program in the Field of Arts and Culture Share Their Experiences

Chair: **Elena Vitenberg**, Program Coordinator, Likhachev Foundation, St. Petersburg.

Participants: **Ann Kjellberg**, Director and Treasurer, Joseph Brodsky Memorial Fellowship Fund; **Milena Kalinovska**, Director of Public Programs, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution; **Judith Dutcher**, President and Director, The Museum of Russian Art, Minneapolis; **Carol Rocamora**, playwright, author, and Adjunct Professor, Tisch School of the Arts,

New York University; **Ilya Prizel**, UCIS Research Professor of East European Studies, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh.

Discussant: **John Brown**, Research Associate, School of Continuing Studies, Georgetown University, and former Cultural Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy, Moscow.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Medvedev's Challenges in Governing Putin's Russia: What a New American President Should Know," **Kathryn Stoner-Weiss**, Associate Director for Research and Senior Research Scholar, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 2008/ SEMINAR

St. Petersburg, Russia
Cosponsored by the Research Committee on Human Rights of the Russian Association of Political Science, and the Chair for Applied Political Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, State University, Higher School of Economics

Fifth Starovoitova Readings/Sixth St. Petersburg Human Rights Seminar

"Human Rights in Russia: Reviewing the Past Decade"

Welcome Address: **Olga Malinova**, Advisory Council Member, Moscow.

Opening words on Galina Starovoitova: **Sheila S. Gwaltney**, Consul General.

Presentations: "Institutionalization of Human Rights in Russia: Steps Back and Forth," **Aleksandr Sungurov**, Coordinator, Research Committee on Human Rights of the Russian Association of Political Science, and President, STRATEGIIA, St. Petersburg; "Evident and Impossible Results of Human Rights Research," **Maria Belousova**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch; "Observance of Human Rights in the Sphere of Public Administration," **Rebeka Voulfovich**, Associate Professor, North-West Academy for Public Administration, St. Petersburg; "Observance of Human Rights of Minorities and Freedom of Speech," **Dmitrii Dubrovsky**, Director, Ethnic Studies Program, European University, St. Petersburg.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 2008/ STAROVOITOVA READINGS

Moscow

Cosponsored by the Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences

Fifth Starovoitova Readings

"Ethnic and Federal Relations in the Post-Soviet World: 10 Years without Galina Starovoitova"

Welcome Address: **Sergei Arutyunov**, Head of Department, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Victor Sheinis**, Chief Research Fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations,

Russian Academy of Sciences.

Chair: **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Head, Center for Nations Studies, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Presentations: "Social Resource of Federalism: Past and Present,"

Leokadia Drobizheva, "Ethnic Component of Federalism: The Crimea Problem in Ukraine," **Sergei Kisselyov**, Head, Political Science Master Program, Department of Sociology, University "Kiev-Mohila Academy"; "Semantics of Self-Identification: Tatarstan," **Nail Moukariamov**, Director, Institute of Economics and Social Technologies, Kazan State University of Power Engineering; "Integration Problems in Estonia: Minorities and Diaspora," **Klara Hallik**, Consultant, Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn University and Integration Foundation; "Skinheads: Russian Youth - Escalation of Violence," **Victor Shnirel'man**, Chief Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Major Tendencies of Evolution of Ethnic and Federative Relations in Russia," **Emil Pain**, Professor and Director, The Center for Ethno-Political Studies, The Higher School of Economics University, Russia. Roundtable – "Galina Starovoitova Heritage and the Modern World: Evolution of National and Federative Policy."

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 2008/ SEMINAR

Chernivtsi, Ukraine

"Urban Environment: Interaction of Political, Economic, Ethnic, Cultural, and Personal Factors"

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN EURASIA

Since the start of the global financial crisis in late 2008, the Wilson Center's Kennan Institute has organized a number of lectures exploring the impact of that crisis on the Eurasian region. In the years leading up to the crisis, the nations of the region — particularly Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine — had enjoyed strong economic growth largely because of cheap international credit and high prices for the natural resources and commodities they were exporting. Many in the region thought they would be immune, or “decoupled,” from the collapse of the Western housing bubble and the consequent crisis in the United States and other Western nations. However, the crisis soon produced a rapid decline in the international prices of commodities produced by these nations — from oil and gas to metals and chemicals — as well as a severe credit crunch. By late 2008, the Eurasian region found the global economic crisis had arrived at their door.

Russia

“In early August 2008, Russian financial reserves combined with the Sovereign Wealth Fund reached about \$600 billion,” said Charles Ryan, Chairman of Deutsche Bank in Russia. By November 2008, when he spoke at the Wilson Center, the financial picture for Russia was much shakier. During 2007-08, Russia had reached a high point in terms of its economic strength. It had amassed the third largest foreign currency reserves in the world. Foreign direct investment (FDI) during the first nine months of 2008 had already surpassed the total for 2007, and fixed investment growth was approximately 22 percent. “It was the first time Russia had fixed investment growth similar to that of an Asian tiger,” Ryan observed.

In addition to the mounting global financial crisis, there was a series of mini-shocks in Russia over the summer of 2008, ranging from the war in Georgia to a public feud between BP and Russian shareholders over the multinational energy firm TNK-BP. These shocks undermined not only the confidence of foreign investors, but of Russian investors themselves, according to Ryan. Capital outflows grew, and banks stopped lending money. Fixed investment growth plummeted, and the Russian government scrambled to protect Russia's banking system and to prevent assets of overleveraged Russian businesses from falling to foreign creditors. As the crisis continued, the Russian government started burning through its foreign currency reserves in an attempt to manage the declining value of the ruble, and by spring 2009, Russia's reserves fell below \$400 billion.

The effect of the crisis, and Russia's response to it, extends beyond Russia's economy. “The social dimension of Russia's response to the current economic crisis will define the future of Russia's political development,” said Andrei Kortunov, President, New Eurasia Foundation at a February talk. In Kortunov's view, the crisis only heightens existing contradictions in Russian society such as income disparity and gaps in regional development, which will test the stability of the political system. The Russian dream of owning a car, an apartment, and a dacha now seem out of reach to most Russians, and the devaluation of the ruble is making imports and travel abroad more expensive.

More seriously, Kortunov observed, the Russian consumer is shifting focus from consumption to salaries and jobs. Employment outside of Moscow is declining and one-company or industry towns are seeing layoffs and plant shutdowns. Unemployment is likely to hit 10 to 15 percent by the end of 2009, he predicted, and regions with metals or machine-building industries, as well as the North Caucasus, are most at risk. All of these developments are putting stress on Russian state capacity at all levels.

Ukraine

Between 2003-07, Ukraine had one of the fastest growing economies in the region with booming domestic demand and strong exports. Over the first eight months of 2008, real GDP grew 6.3 percent, the fiscal budget was in surplus, and foreign currency reserves reached \$37 billion.

Despite this success, Ukraine proved more vulnerable than other emerging markets to the detrimental effects of the current global financial crisis, said Edilberto Segura, Partner and Chief Economist, SigmaBleyzer, Kyiv at an April lecture. Segura explained that once the global crisis hit in October 2008, GDP contracted sharply. The crisis struck both pillars of Ukrainian growth – domestic demand and exports. In January and February 2009, industry declined by 32.8 percent and construction by 57 percent. Ukraine's exports declined by 38 percent during the same period as world prices for its principal products, metals and chemicals, went into steep decline.

Segura identified three factors which make Ukraine particularly vulnerable to the continuing crisis: its current account deficit, an external debt burden amounting to 60 percent of GDP, and weakness in a banking sector suffering from non-performing loans and deposit flight. Despite this, he believed that Ukraine could still contain the impacts of the crisis if it implemented certain economic measures, including macroeconomic stabilization, conservative fiscal policy, and efforts to boost exports. Even with the right policies, Ukraine's economic recovery would depend on quickly securing long-term foreign financial assistance and on the recovery of the world economy.

Central Asia

"Recent financial scandals and economic distress in the United States and Western Europe have demonstrated how deep the paradoxes of capitalism extend in the most advanced forms of free market capitalism," stated Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow Gul Berna Ozcan during a lecture in January 2009. She noted that previous advocates of the virtue of free markets and economic liberalism are now at the forefront of interventionist policies, and as a result, Western capitalism appears all the more perplexing and confusing for those in the post-Soviet region.

Ozcan has analyzed the nearly 20-year experience of three Central Asian states — Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan — with market building and private enterprise development. She found that these efforts, guided by international organizations and foreign advisors, have resulted in oligarchic markets, consolidated authoritarian regimes, and a wary engagement with Western institutions. Market reforms were proposed and implemented without regard to existing capacity in these new states and without any credible supporting international ties comparable to the European Union's engagement with Eastern Europe. Although each of the three nations she studied approached economic reform differently, from shock therapy to incrementalism, the result was strikingly similar: privatization and deregulation under authoritarianism allowed presidential families, their associates, and select private groups to dominate the market.

As deep economic and financial disruption continues to unfold in Western capitalism, Ozcan predicted that new questions about economic development would emerge in the region, state interventions would increase, and oligarchic control of markets would deepen. Overall, a general lack of enthusiasm towards Western prescriptions indicates that Central Asia is likely to look to China, Russia, and Turkey as models, as well as successful authoritarian development models such as Singapore. "Western democracy and market capitalism," she concluded, "are no longer aspirations."



Chairs: **Sergiy Osachuk**, Associate Professor, Department of General History, Chernivtsi National University; **Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, Director, Kennan Kyiv Project.

Participants: **Anatoliy Kruglavshov**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Chernivtsi National University; **Oleksandr Masan**, Associate Professor, Department of History of Ukraine, Chernivtsi National University;

Mariya Nikirsa, Research Fellow, Museum of the Chernivtsi National University; **Svitlana Bilenkova**, Associate Professor, Department of Architecture, Kyiv National Architecture University; **Igor Zhaloba**, Associate Professor, Department of History of Ukraine, Kyiv National Pedagogical University; **Igor Piddubnii**, Associate Professor, Department of History of Ukraine, Chernivtsi National University;

Oleg Khavich, Associate Professor,

Department of Political Science, Chernivtsi National University; **Nataliya Shevchenko**, Research Fellow, Museum of Architecture, Chernivtsi; **Oleg Lyubkivskii**, artist; **Petro Rikhlo**, literary critic, writer; **Volodymyr Gindich**, artist; **Serhii Fedunyak**, Professor, Department of International Relations, Chernivtsi National University; **Volodymyr Fisanov**, Professor, Chair, Department of International Information, Chernivtsi National University.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Reagan's Evolving Views on Russians and their Relevance Today," **Suzanne Massie**, Author and Consultant, Blue Hill, Maine.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Georgia-Russia: A Challenge for American Foreign Policy," **Salomé Zourabichvili**, Chairman, Georgia's Way Party and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgia.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 2008/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Southeast Europe Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Euro-Atlantic Disunion? The Western Response to Russia," **Dimitris Kerides**, Assistant Professor of International Politics, Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia and Visiting Scholar, Onassis Foundation.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Citizen Boss: Memoirs of a GULAG Camp Boss," **Deborah Kaple**, Associate

Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, Princeton University.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2008/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Minority Education in Ukraine: Combining Identity and Integration," **Volodymyr Kulyk**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 2008/ LECTURE AND PERFORMANCE

"The David Oistrakh Centenary: What Did Oistrakh's Violin Sing About?" **Victor Yuzefovich**, musicologist and art critic, Washington, DC, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Jonathan Carney**, Concertmaster, Baltimore Symphony Orchestra; **Igor Yuzefovich**, Assistant Concertmaster, Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Priorities for U.S. Policy toward Ukraine in the Obama Administration," **William Green Miller**, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, and Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Hard-Currency Foreigners' and the 'Cultured West': The Unknown Origins of the Soviet Tourist Agency *Inturist*," **Michael David-Fox**, Associate Professor of Russian History, University of Maryland, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Youth Movements in Post-Communist Societies: A Model of Nonviolent Resistance," **Olena Nikolayenko**, Visiting Scholar, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION Cospponsored by the Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

Book Discussion: "Persian Dreams: Moscow and Tehran since the Fall of the Shah," **John Parker**, Chief, Division for Caucasus and Central Asia, Office for Russian and Eurasian Analysis, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Paradoxes of Capitalism: Market Building in Central Asia," **Gül Berna Özcan**, Senior Lecturer in Corporate Governance and International Business, School of Management of Royal Holloway College, University of London, UK; Associate Fellow, Enterprise LSE, London School of Economics, UK; and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28 2009/ BOOK DISCUSSION

Cospponsored by the West European Studies Program, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany," **Ruth Mandel**, Department of Anthropology, University College London, and former Title VIII-

Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Commentators: Richard Friman, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Eliot Fitch**, Chair for International Studies, and Professor of Political Science, Marquette University; **Omer Taspinar**, Foreign Policy Director, Turkey Project, Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings Institute, and Professor, National War College.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 2009/ SEMINAR

Kennan Institute/Harriman Institute Ukrainian Literature Series
"The Flying Head and Other Poems," **Viktor Neborak**, poet, Lviv.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in the Former Soviet Union," **Henry E. Hale**, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Baltic Pearl Project in St. Petersburg: Chinese Investment and Sino-Russian Relations," **Megan Dixon**, independent scholar, Caldwell, Idaho.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Chief Culprit: Stalin's Grand Design to Start World War II," **Viktor Suvorov**, military historian, and former intelligence officer, GRU (The Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Soviet Army).

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 2009/ SEMINAR

"The New Russia: A Look at Internal Developments," **Andrei Kortunov**, President, New Eurasia Foundation, Moscow.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2009/ SEMINAR

Cospponsored by Wilson Center on the Hill

"U.S. Foreign Policy Challenges in the 111th Congress: Brazil, Russia, India, and China," **Stapleton Roy**, Director, Kissinger Institute; **Robert Hathaway**, Director, Asia Program; **Paulo Sotero**, Director, Brazil Institute; **Henry Hale**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Affairs, The George Washington University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Defining National Identities: The Role of History Education in Russia and Ukraine," **Karina Korostelina**, Research Professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2009/ SEMINAR

Lviv, Ukraine

"Development of Ukrainian Cities: Galychyna"

Viktor Susak, Associate Professor, Department of History, Lviv National University; **Liudmyla Pavliuk**, Associate Professor, Department of Mass Media Language, I. Franko Lviv National University; **Viktoriya Sereda**, Associate Professor, Department of History and

Theory of Sociology, I. Franko Lviv National University; **Oleh Demkiv**, Associate Professor, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, I. Franko Lviv National University; **Natalia Kovalisko**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, I. Franko Lviv National University; **Ruslan Savchynskyi**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Work, National University "Lvivska politekhnika;" **Oksana Ivankova-Stetsiuk**, Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Larysa Klymanska**, Chair, Department of Sociology and Social Work, National University "Lvivska politekhnika;" **Viktor Savka**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Work, National University "Lvivska politekhnika."

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Putin as Peter: Russia's Re-emergence as a Great Power," **Bo Petersson**, Professor of Political Science and Deputy Head, Centre for European Studies, Lund University, Sweden.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
Book Discussion: "Inside the Stalin Archives: Discovering the New Russia," **Jonathan Brent**, Editorial Director, Yale University Press.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Dissatisfaction and Disillusionment in Ukraine: Findings from the 2008 IFES Public Opinion Survey," **Rakesh**

Sharma, Director, F. Clifton White Applied Research Center (ARC), International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES); **Gavin Weise**, Deputy Director for Europe and Asia, IFES.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2009/SEMINAR Moscow, Russia

"Religions in Modern Russia and Their Interrelations," **Anatoly Krasikov**, Head, Center for Socio-Religious Studies, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences.

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION Cosponsored by the Global Health Initiative, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Reform and Retrenchment: The Russian Healthcare System under Putin," **Alexandra Vacroux**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION Cosponsored by International Security Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"The Trilateral Process: Washington, Kyiv, Moscow and the Removal of Soviet Nuclear Weapons from Ukraine," **Steven Pifer**, Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution; Senior Adviser, Russia & Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 2009/ SEMINAR Cosponsored by the Middle East Program

"Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy: the Orthodox Church in Russia, Europe, and the Middle East," **Elizabeth**

Prodromou, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Boston University.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Jewish Philanthropy, Education, and Nationalism in Late-Tsarist Russia: The Society for the Promotion of Enlightenment among the Jews of Russia," **Brian Horowitz**, Sizeler Family Chair Professor of German and Slavic/Jewish Studies, Tulane University.

MONDAY, MARCH 16, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Habima (The National Theater of Israel) in Russia," **Andrei Malaev-Babel**, Assistant Professor of Theater, Florida State University/Asolo Conservatory.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 2009/ CONCERT, EXHIBITION, AND LECTURE

Cosponsored by the Embassy of the Russian Federation, Washington, DC, the Library of Congress, and the Russian Arts Foundation

Music from The Czar's Library: Concert and Exhibition with Commentary

Welcome: **Sergey I. Kislyak**, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States.

Opening Remarks: **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Performance: Quintet, **Alexander A. Aliab'ev**; arranged by Anton Usov; performed by the United States Army

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

During the Cold War, relations between Russia and the United States frequently oscillated between détente and dangerous animosity. The fall of the Soviet Union opened up the Russian Federation both politically and culturally, allowing professionals, academics, politicians, and citizens to better interact. The Kennan Institute hosted several programs over the past year that have spoken to the nature of the U.S.-Russia relationship in these various aspects.

Suzanne Massie represents the success of cultural bridge-building that can occur on an individual level. At a lecture hosted by the Kennan Institute, Massie discussed her conversations with President Ronald Reagan and described how the President was more interested in the psyche of the Russian people than that of the Kremlin power-holders. Reagan understood that the Russian populace was full of vast contrasts and contradictions. At the same time, the President respected Mikhail Gorbachev and treated him as an equal, which led to a feeling of trust and friendship between the two heads of state.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss discussed the more recent U.S.-Russia relationship, focusing particularly on the current power structure of the Kremlin. She argued that the connection between Vladimir Putin's soft authoritarianism and Russia's economic growth is tenuous, yet the latter has allowed him to ignore issues of poor governance. Stoner-Weiss suggested that Putin's autocratic ways may actually impede further growth in light of the recent economic crisis. She therefore advised that the U.S. should use foreign investment as a leveraging tool to remind Russia that autocracy and economic growth are not positively linked in Russia.

Henry Hale detailed the institutional changes that occurred after the fall of the Soviet Union and that subsequently led to the creation of large oligarchic corporations and a strong presidential system. Hale argued that such a power structure would not be conducive to establishing a more democratic system, which could only be achieved through a stalemate of forces where neither side would hold too much power. Lilia Shevtsova argued that Russia is using its "reset" with the U.S. to pursue its own geopolitical interests. She suggested this would only cause future mutual frustration rather than harmony between the two countries.

Speakers at the Kennan Institute during the past year emphasized that the relationship between Russian and U.S. elites is only half the story. Panelists at a seminar entitled "Improving Russian-American Understanding Through Cultural Exchange" discussed the growing amount of individual unstructured contact that is occurring among cultural-exchange participants via the internet. The conference concluded with the idea that the salience of the human presence, and the detail and variety in viewpoints, were vital to effective cultural mutual understanding. Unfortunately, some media and policy circles in the U.S. attempt to drive public opinion toward a negative view of Russia – an argument put forward by Andrei Tsygankov. Tsygankov explained how anti-Russian interest groups were threatening a successful U.S.-Russian relationship by mobilizing the support of high profile politicians and launching prolific media campaigns.

Michael Mandelbaum stressed that the U.S. had no good options in dealing with Russia; it could either extend NATO membership and provoke confrontation, or back away and admit political defeat. Although the 2008 war against Georgia symbolized a growing rift between Russia and the U.S., Mandelbaum stated that it was still possible to end Russia's estrangement from the West. To accomplish this, he advised that NATO should either include Russia as one of its members, or give way to a new and more inclusive security order.

Brass Quintet and the Russian National Orchestra Brass Quintet.

"*The Czar's Library* at the Library of Congress," **Harold M. Leich**, Russian Area Specialist, European Division, Library of Congress.

Performance: Suite from The Czar's Library, arranged by **Andrey Rubtsov**; *Polonaise*, **Maria Pokroshinskaya**; *Lullaby*, **Arkadiy A. Poluboiarinov**; *Dream*, **Arkadiy A. Poluboiarinov**; *Russian March*, **N. V. Zhukovskiy**; performed by the United States Army Brass Quintet and the Russian National Orchestra Brass Quintet .

"Music in High Places," **Richard Stites**, Professor of History, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

Performance: Rossiya, **Anton G. Rubinstein**, arranged by Andrey Rubtsov; performed by the United States Army Brass Quintet and the Russian National Orchestra Brass Quintet.

Concluding Remarks: Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

The United States Army Brass Quintet: **Sergeant Major Dennis Edelbrock**, trumpet; **Sergeant Major Woodrow English**, trumpet; **Master Sergeant Joseph Lovinsky**, horn; **Sergeant First Class Harry Watters**, trombone; **Sergeant First Class Jon Voth**, tuba. The Russian National Orchestra Brass Quintet: **Vladislav Lavrik**, trumpet; **Andrei Kolokolov**, trumpet; **Denis Volodichev**, horn; **Dmitrii Zheleznov**, trombone; **Dmitrii Anakovskiy**, tuba.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 2009/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the International Institute of Global Development and the Foundation for Constitutional Reforms, Russian Federation

The Russian Constitution at Fifteen: Assessments and Current Challenges to Russia's Legal Development

Opening Remarks: Mikhail Gorbachev, President, Gorbachev Foundation; **Lee Hamilton**, President and Director, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Panel I: Constitutional Guarantees of the Rule of Law State: Problems of Implementing the Russian Constitution

Sergei Pashin, Federal Justice (retired), Professor, Moscow Institute of Economics, Politics and Law; **Oleg Rummyantsev**, President, Foundation for Constitutional Reforms; **Peter Solomon**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto; **Alexei Trochev**, Law and Society Fellow, University of Wisconsin Law School. *Commentary: Alexander Lebedev*, President, International Institute of Global Development.

Panel II: Problems of Political-Legal Culture and Civil Society

Leonid Volkov, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, *Konstitutsionnyi vestnik*; **Victor Sheinis**, Chief Research Fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Andrei Illarionov**, Senior Fellow, Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity, Cato Institute;

Regina Smyth, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University; **Eugene Huskey**, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Political Science, Stetson University.

Panel III: Constitutional Guarantees of Social, Economic, and Regional Development, and the Development of Local Self-Government

Vladimir Mazaev, Professor, State University–Higher School of Economics, Department of Constitutional and Municipal Law; **Jeffrey Kahn**, Assistant Professor, Dedman School of Law, Southern Methodist University.

Panel IV: Globalization and the Role of International Law in the Development of the Russian Constitution

Viktor Kuvaldin, Head, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Moscow School of Economics, Moscow State University; **Vladimir Lafitsky**, Deputy Director, Institute of Legislation and Jurisprudence under the Government of the Russian Federation; **William Butler**, John Edward Fowler Distinguished Professor of Law, Dickinson School of Law, Penn State University; **William Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Anti-crisis Public Initiatives in the Russian Federation," **Alexander Lebedev**, President, International Institute of Global Development, and Chairman, National Reserve Corporation/National Reserve Bank.



CATHEDRAL OF STS. BORIS AND GLEB,
SOUTHEAST VIEW, CHERNIHIV, UKRAINE
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 2009/ SEMINAR

Moscow, Russia

"Architectural Scene of Contemporary Moscow," **Oleg Shvidkovsky**, Rector, Moscow Institute of Architecture Moscow, Institute of Philosophy.

MONDAY, MARCH 23, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Toward an Intelligence-Based Nuclear Security Policy in Eurasia," **Rensselaer Lee**, President, Global Advisory Services, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 2009/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Library of Congress and the Carnegie Corporation of New York

Designing U.S. Policy Toward Russia

Welcoming Remarks: **James Billington**, Librarian of Congress.

Panel I: Overview of U.S.-Russian Relations

Moderator: **Jessica Mathews**, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Presentations: "Formulating a Strategic Vision for U.S.-Russian Relations,"

Robert Legvold, Marshall D. Shulman Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; "U.S.-Russian Relations and the Rise of China and India," **Thomas Graham**, Senior Director, Kissinger Associates; "U.S.-Russian Interaction in the Post-Soviet Space and the Tension over Conflicting Political Values,"

Stephen Sestanovich, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; "Coping with Areas of U.S.-Russian Disagreement and Conflicts of National Interest," **Dimitri Simes**, President, Nixon Center.

Panel II: Prospects for U.S.-Russian Arms Control

Moderator: **Strobe Talbott**, President, Brookings Institution.

Presentations: "Immediate Steps in the U.S.-Russian Nuclear Arms Control

Agenda and Looking beyond START I," **Steven Pifer**, Visiting Fellow, Brookings

Institution, Senior Advisor, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; "U.S.-Russian Relations in the Context of Iran and Nonproliferation," **Thomas Pickering**, former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation; "Rethinking the Role of Nuclear Weapons and U.S.-Russian Strategic Arsenals," **Steven Miller**, Editor-in-chief, International Security, and Director, International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University; "Taking Steps toward a World Free of Nuclear Weapons," **Sam Nunn**, Chief Executive Officer, Nuclear Threat Initiative.

Keynote Address: **John Kerry**, U.S. Senator, and Chairmen, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Panel III: U.S.-Russian Economic Relations and Energy Security

Moderator: **Arthur Hartman**, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION AT FIFTEEN

President Medvedev repeatedly has extolled the virtues of the 1993 Constitution as the founding document of the Russian state. At the time of its adoption, the Russian Constitution represented a clear break from the past; gone were the references to the supremacy of the Communist Party and the requirement that citizens comply with standards of socialist conduct. Instead, the Constitution contained specific sections devoted to civil rights, the division of powers, property rights, and an independent judiciary. Despite such lofty principles, many commentators have pointed out the obvious gap between paper and practice when analyzing the performance of the Russian Constitution.

The 15th anniversary of the Constitution's adoption marked an appropriate time to assess its impact on Russia's post-Soviet political, economic, and legal development. On 19 March 2009, the Kennan Institute, in cooperation with the International Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Cultures and Foundation for Constitutional Reforms, sponsored a one-day seminar on the "Russian Constitution at Fifteen: Assessments and Current Challenges to Russia's Legal Development." Participants included former President Mikhail Gorbachev, several "founding fathers" of the Russian Constitution, and leading Western scholars on Russian law. The conference began with an inspiring address by former President Gorbachev, who identified the introduction of the new constitution as a "watershed event" in Russian history while adding that its adoption remained part of a transitional process that Russia had yet to complete. Gorbachev highlighted the unique role played by *glasnost* in beginning this transition, and emphasized that this "openness" had specifically laid the foundation for fundamental political, social, and economic change. Gorbachev recognized, however, that Russia's democratic transition was at best only halfway complete, and he closed his remarks by warning that democracy would not grow in Russia without genuinely free elections.

The first panel discussed problems associated with the implementation of the 1993 Russian Constitution. Alexei Avtonomov summarized the difficult circumstances surrounding the ratification of the Constitution, adding that despite its imperfections, the Constitution at least enshrined the notion of the "rule of law" as one of its founding principles. Peter Solomon explored the realization of the Constitution by focusing on efforts to create an independent judiciary. While important institutional protections associated with judicial independence have been put into place (including security of tenure, increased salaries, etc.), Solomon identified several additional changes that, if adopted, would enhance judicial professionalism.

Oleg Rumyantsev described how Russia's founding fathers underestimated the importance of the principle of popular sovereignty in drafting the Constitution, and instead placed too much emphasis on state sovereignty. As a result, the Constitution had become an expression of the society's ideals rather than being directly applicable to every-day problems. Sergei Pashin discussed the Constitution's slow implementation as evidenced in the delayed introduction of jury trials and the decade-long struggle to grant judges the right (as assigned under the Russian Constitution) to issue arrest warrants. Finally, Alexei Trochev highlighted the problem

of enforcing Constitutional Court decisions as one example of the challenges that still confront Russia in implementing its Constitution.

The second panel addressed problems of Russian political and legal culture in the aftermath of the Russian Constitution's adoption in 1993. Leonid Volkov argued that the Constitution had been designed to promote the modernization of Russia but largely failed to do so because of the self-interest of a small group of political actors. Victor Sheinis also addressed the issue of modernization by calling for Russia's integration into the community of democratic nations. In retrospect, Sheinis added, Russia's founding fathers should have focused on protecting the rights of parliament and the individual instead of assigning so much power to the executive branch.

Eugene Huskey discussed the important role of the Russian bar in the realization of constitutional norms relating to civil society. As Huskey demonstrated, despite some advances, the bar still was not a respected member of the Russian legal family. Regina Smyth noted that in addition to examining the development of institutions, it was also necessary to pay attention to the preferences of decision makers within those institutions. Smyth particularly focused on the importance of auxiliary rules that govern legislative decision-making, arguing that they sometimes assume greater importance than the broader constitutional rules. Andre Illarionov concluded that despite the positive rights expressed in the Constitution, the overall demand for the rule of law in Russia has remained low.

The third panel examined the issue of federalism and Russia's social, economic, and regional development. Vladimir Mazaev identified the Constitution's recognition of private property as a significant breakthrough in changing Russia's economic and social structure. Jeffrey Kahn highlighted the Russian Constitution's failure to stop the shift from decentralized to increasingly centralized control. Kahn argued that the Russian Constitution had been read in a historical vacuum, leading to interpretations that were contrary to the recognized structures of the federal state.

The final panel analyzed the role of globalization and international law in the development of the Russian Constitution. William Butler reviewed the importance of Article 15(4), which provides that generally recognized principles and norms of international law, as well as international treaties, form an integral part of the Russian legal system. As Butler noted, this provision ultimately has allowed Russia's highest courts to cite international acts as part of their decisions. Vladimir Lafitsky discussed how globalization has influenced the constitutional process through various supranational bodies, although as the example of the Commonwealth of Independent States demonstrated, Russia had not aligned itself with very strong organizations. Viktor Kuvaldin emphasized the need for Russia to produce specialists in global studies so that experts in law could interact with experts from other fields. William Pomeranz closed the conference by looking at the procedural issue of supervisory review (*nadzor*) in order to underscore the critical role that European and international law now play pursuant to the Russian Constitution.

Presentations: "The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Russian Foreign Policy," **Andrew Kuchins**, Director and Senior Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; "Energy Cooperation and the Larger U.S.-Russian Economic Relationship," **James Collins**, Director, Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and former U.S. Ambassador to Russian Federation; "Innovative Approaches to Trade and Investment Issues," **Ed Verona**, Chairman, U.S.-Russia Business Council; "Reconciling U.S. and Russian Business Practices," **Sarah Carey**, Senior Counsel, Squire, Sanders, and Dempsey, LLP.

MONDAY, MARCH 30, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russian State Corporations: A Stabilizing Economic Force or a Drag on Growth?" **Toby Gati**, Senior International Adviser, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP.

TUESDAY, MARCH 31, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Islam(s) in Post-Soviet Eurasia: One or Many?" **John Schoeberlein**, Lecturer on Central Asia, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations, Harvard University.

WEDNESDAY-FRIDAY, APRIL 1-3, 2009/ REGIONAL POLICY SYMPOSIUM

National Harbor, MD
Cosponsored by International
Research and Exchanges Board
(IREX)

Prospects and Challenges for the
First Post-Communist Generation:

Young People Today in Eurasia and Eastern Europe

April 1

Opening Dinner

William E. Pomeranz, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Joyce Warner**, Director, Education Programs Division, IREX.

April 2

Introduction

Joyce Warner, Director, Education Programs Division, IREX.

Session I: Varieties of Educational Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Cultures after Socialism

Presenter: **Iveta Silova**, Assistant Professor, Department of Comparative and International Education, College of Education, Lehigh University.
Discussant: **Courtenay Dunn**, Deputy Director, SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Division, Office of the Coordinator of US Assistance to Europe and Eurasia, US Department of State.

Session II: Lost in Transition: Educational Inequality in Post- Soviet Tajikistan

Presenter: **Christopher Whitsel**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, Indiana University.
Discussant: **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas–Austin.

Session III: The First Post- Communist Generation of Russian Diplomats and Prospects for

Change in Russian Foreign Policy

Presenter: **Yelena Biberman**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, Brown University.

Discussant: **Doug Blum**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Providence College.

Session IV: History Education and Historical Remembrance: Sources of Political Attitudes of Pro-Kremlin Youth

Presenter: **Ekaterina Levintova**, Assistant Professor, Department of Public and Environmental Affairs, University of Wisconsin – Green Bay.
Discussant: **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas – Austin.

Session V: We Shall Refashion Life on Earth!: The Political Culture of the Young Communist League in Soviet Russia, 1918-1928

Presenter: **Sean Guillory**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, University of California – Los Angeles.
Discussant: **Thomas Garza**, Director, Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, University of Texas – Austin.

Session VI: Nation-State and the Politics of Youth in Contemporary Lithuania

Presenter: **Marina Mikhaylova**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
Discussant: **Courtenay Dunn**, Deputy Director, SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Division, Office of the Coordinator of US Assistance to Europe and Eurasia, US Department of State.

April 3

Session I: Beyond a Colored Revolution: Exploring the Meaning of Membership in the Kyrgyz Youth Movement

Presenter: **Kyle Rearick**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Discussant: **Doug Blum**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Providence College.

Session II: Ethnic Russians Converting to Islam in Tartarstan Challenging the Status Quo?

Presenter: **Matthew Derrick**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Geography, University of Oregon.

Discussant: **John Schoeberlein**, Director, Program on Central Asia and the Caucasus, Harvard University.

Session III: Migratory Employment in Post-Soviet Rural Azerbaijan: Changing Traditional Gender Roles and Diminishing Educational Prospects of Females

Presenter: **Jennifer Wistrand**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, Washington University – St. Louis.

Discussant: **John Schoeberlein**, Director, Program on Central Asia and the Caucasus, Harvard University.

Session IV: Media Portrayals of Sexuality, Young Women's Perceptions of It, and Sex Trafficking in Bulgaria

Presenter: **Elza Ibroscheva**, Assistant Professor, Department of Mass Communications, Southern Illinois University – Edwardsville.

Discussant: **Thomas Garza**, Director, Center for Russian, East European and

Eurasian Studies, University of Texas – Austin.

MONDAY, APRIL 6, 2009/ POLICY BRIEFING

U.S. Department of State

"Prospects and Challenges for the First Post-Communist Generation: Young People Today in Eurasia and Eastern Europe," **Doug Blum**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Providence College; **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas-Austin; **Courtenay Dunn**, Deputy Director, SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Division, Office of the Coordinator of US Assistance to Europe and Eurasia, US Department of State; **John Schoeberlein**, Director, Program on Central Asia and the Caucasus, Harvard University.

MONDAY, APRIL 6, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy," **Anders Åslund**, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, APRIL 7, 2009/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council

"Ukraine: Dealing with the Financial Crisis," **Edilberto Segura**, Partner and Chief Economist, SigmaBleyzer/The Bleyzer Foundation.

TUESDAY, APRIL 7, 2009/ ROUNDTABLE

Moscow, Russia

Cosponsored by the The Tolerance Institute of the All-Russian State

Library of Foreign Literature

"Russia's Specific Way: Thoughts about its Predetermination"

Introduction: **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for Ethno-Political Studies, Professor, State University - Higher School of Economics.

Co-chairs: **Ekaterina Genieva**, Director, All-Russian State Library of Foreign Literature, Director, Charity Foundation "Tolerance Institute" and **Andrei Sorokin**, Director General, Publishing House "Russian Political Encyclopedia" (ROSSPEN).

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 2009/ ROUND TABLE

Moscow, Russia

Cosponsored by the Gorbachev Foundation

"Russia and the United States: Images of Each Other"

Co-chairs: **Olga Zdravomyslova**, Executive Director, Gorbachev Foundation and **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for Ethno-Political Studies, Professor, State University – Higher School of Economics.

Participants: **Mikhail Gorbachev**, President, Gorbachev Foundation; **Leon Waskin**, Director, USAID in Russia; **Dmitrii Trenin**, Director, Moscow Center Carnegie; **Blair Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Lev Gudkov**, Director, Levada-Center; **Sam Greene**, Deputy Director, Moscow Carnegie Center; **Elizabeth MacKeon**, Head of the Representative Office Ford Foundation in the Russian Federation; **Fedor Lukyanov**, Editor-in-Chief, *Russia in Global Policy*.

TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 2009/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the U.S.
Commission on International
Religious Freedom

"Russia's Battle with Religious Extremism:
A Return to Past Methods?" **Geraldine
Fagan**, Moscow correspondent, Forum
18 News Service, and Title VIII-Supported
Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Katyn: The Politics of Mass Murder,"
Dariusz Tolczyk, Associate Professor
of Slavic Languages and Literatures,
University of Virginia, and former Title
VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar,
Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 20, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by East European
Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Nationalism, Myth, and Politics in Russia
and Serbia: The Role of Ideas in the
Soviet and Yugoslav Collapse," **Veljko
Vujacic**, Associate Professor of Sociology,
Oberlin College, and Title VIII-Supported
Research Scholar, East European Studies,
Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 2009/ SEMINAR

Kennan Institute/Harriman Institute
Ukrainian Literature Series

"Jogging," **Andriy Bondar**, poet, Kyiv.

MONDAY, APRIL 27, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Does the Political Regime in Belarus
Change?" **Alexandra Goujon**, Assistant
Professor of Political Science, University
of Bourgogne, Dijon, and Lecturer,
Sciences Po, Paris.

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Russian Nannies from Pushkin to
Stalin," **Steven A. Grant**, independent
scholar, Washington, DC; *Discussant*:
Richard Stites, Professor of History,
School of Foreign Service, Georgetown
University.

MONDAY, MAY 4, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Book Discussion: "Russian Eurasianism:
An Ideology of Empire," **Marlene
Laruelle**, Senior Research Fellow, The
Central Asia and Caucasus Institute,
Johns Hopkins University, and former
Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Russian-Jewish Immigrants in the
United States: Identity and Integration
Challenges," **Sam Kliger**, Director
of Russian Affairs, American Jewish
Committee.

MONDAY, MAY 11, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Global Financial Crisis: Will
Russian Law Gain Increased Relevance
in Contemporary Politics?" **Ethan
Burger**, Adjunct Professor, Georgetown
University Law Center.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 2009/ SEMINAR

Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine

"Contemporary Ukrainian Cities:
Dnipropetrovsk as an Economic,
Political, and Cultural Regional Center"

Chair: **Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, Director,
Kennan Kyiv Project.

Participants: **Nadiya Kapustina**,
Director, Dnipropetrovsk Historical
Museum; **Tetiana Vvedenska**,
Associate Professor, Dnipropetrovsk
National University, Fulbright Program
Alumna; **Valentyna Beketova**, Deputy
Director, Dnipropetrovsk Historical
Museum; **Alina Liasota**, Associate
Professor, Dnipropetrovsk National
University; **Olena Alivantseva**, Chair,
Literaturne Prydnirpovia Museum;
Mariya Roshko, Academic Secretary,
Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum;
Eleonora Nosenko, Associate
Professor, Dnipropetrovsk National
University, Fulbright Program Alumna;
Angelina Perkova, Chair, Museum
of D.I.Yavornytskyi; **Liudmyla Gaida**,
Chair, Department for Research
and Enlightenment, Dnipropetrovsk
Historical Museum; **Vadym Osin**,
Associate Professor, Dnipropetrovsk
Academy of Tax Administration, Muskie
Program Alumna; **Tetiana Zvorykina**,
Chief Custodian, Dnipropetrovsk
Historical Museum; **Liudmyla Baisara**,
Associate Professor, Dnipropetrovsk
National University, Fulbright Program
Alumna; **Tetiana Shaparenko**, Chair,
Museum of Local Self-Government.

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 2009/ BRIEFING

Cosponsored by the U.S.
Commission on International
Religious Freedom

"The Status of Human Rights in
Kazakhstan in Light of its OSCE
Chairmanship in 2010," **Evgeny
Zhovtis**, Executive Director, Kazakhstan
International Bureau of Human Rights
and the Rule of Law.

**MONDAY MAY 18, 2009/
NOON DISCUSSION**

Cosponsored by the Global Energy Initiative, Woodrow Wilson Center

"The Central Eurasian Hydrocarbon Energy Complex: Evolution and Prospects," **Robert Cutler**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of European, Russian & Eurasian Studies, Carleton University.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 2009/
SEMINAR**

Cosponsored by the Embassy of Finland, the West European Studies Program, and the History and Public Policy Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

"EU-Russia Relations: Business as Usual?" **Arkady Moshes**, Program Director, Russia in the Regional and Global Context Research Program, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki. *Discussant:* **William E. Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 2009/
SEMINAR**

"Social and Political Responses to Economic Crises: Reflections on the State of Democracy in EU Member States Bordering the CIS," **Ginta T. Palubinskas**, Undergraduate Program Director, Department of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 2009/
BOOK DISCUSSION**

"Two Suns in the Heavens: The Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy, 1962-1967," **Sergey Radchenko**, Fellow, International History, London School of Economics; **Mark Kramer**, Program

Director, Project on Cold War Studies, Harvard University.

**TUESDAY, MAY 26, 2009/
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Still the Dark Double? America's Political and Media Presentations of Russia after 9/11," **Andrei Tsygankov**, Professor, Departments of Political Science and International Relations, San Francisco State University.

**TUESDAY, MAY 26, 2009/
SEMINAR**

Moscow, Russia
Cosponsored by the Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

"Socio-cultural Specifics of Russian Modernization. Did George Kennan's Forecasts Come True?"

Chair: **Igor Yurgens**, Chair of the Board of Directors, Institute of Contemporary Development.

Participants: **Aleksandr Asmolv**, Director, Federal Institute for Education Development; **Aleksandr Auzan**, President, Institute of the National Project "Social Agreement"; **Andrei Blokhin**, Councilor, INSOR; **Aleksandr Budberg**, *Moskovsky Komsomol*ets, INSOR Board Member; **Aleksandr Gagua**, Adviser to the Chair of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation; **Evgeny Gontmaher**, INSOR Board Member; **Sam Greene**, Deputy Director, Moscow Carnegie Center; **Lev Gudkov**, Director, Levada-Center; **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Head, Center for Nations Studies, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Igor Dubov**, Head of Laboratory, Institute

of Psychology; **Ilya Kukulin**, Literary Critic, Senior Research Fellow, Moscow Humanitarian Pedagogical Institute, Observer of Openspace.ru; **Aleksei Levinson**, Head, Department of Socio-cultural Studies, Levada-Center; **Maria Maioffice**, Editor, *New Literary Review*; **Boris Makarenko**, INSOR; **Vadim Mezhuev**, Chief Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Aleksandr Obolonsky**, Chief Research Fellow, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for Ethno-Political Studies, Professor, State University – Higher School of Economics; **Svetlana Pestryakova**, Associate Professor, Chair of National and Federative Relations, Russian Academy of Public Administration; **Abram Reinblat**, Editor, *New Literary Review*; **Kirill Rogov**, Political Observer, researcher, Institute for the Economy in Transition; **Aleksandr Rubtsov**, Director, Center for Studying Ideological Processes, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences.

**FRIDAY, MAY 29, 2009/
BRIEFING**

Cosponsored by the U.S.-Russia Business Council and the Global Energy Initiative, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Global Energy and Russia: Key Issues," **Yuri Shafranik**, President, Russian Union of Oil and Gas Producers.

**MONDAY, JUNE 1, 2009/
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Russia Today: Political and Foreign Policy Implications of the Economic Crisis," **Lilia Shevtsova**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center,

MIGRATION

The economic boom of the past few years has transformed the labor markets of Russia and Ukraine. Prior to the 2008 financial crisis, Russia ranked second only to the U.S. in terms of the number of international migrants it was hosting, while Ukraine had the fourth highest number of migrants in the world. The influx of migrant workers broadly supported economic development, but also exacerbated social tensions in both countries and placed significant strains on public infrastructure. For the past decade, the Kennan Institute has been conducting in-depth research on transnational migration in Russia and Ukraine. This program year (Or: In the 2008-2009 program year), the Institute has supported several major studies of migrant communities in Moscow, Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odesa using surveys, census information and interviews to collect data.

This past program year the Kennan Institute released several significant publications focused on migration issues. In July 2009, the Kennan Moscow Project published the culminating result of its research project, “The Socioeconomic Life and Cultural Landscape of Moscow under the Influence of Ethnic Migration,” which was implemented by the Center for Migration Studies under the leadership of Zhanna Zainchkovskaya. *Immigrants in Moscow*, published by Tri Kvadrata, depicts the effects of migration on the Moscow population during the post-Soviet transformation. It analyzes the current migration policy of the city, examines the problem of ethnic integration of migrants in an urban society, and provides an overall picture of the ethnic landscape of Moscow. Special attention is given to three groups of migrants new to Moscow: Tajiks, Afghans and Chinese. The book is a substantive contribution to an increasingly salient dialogue in Russia about migration.

In November 2008, the Kennan Institute launched a new series of reports —produced jointly by the Kennan Institute and the Comparative Urban Studies Program of the Woodrow Wilson Center — examining migrant communities in Eurasian cities. Blair A. Ruble wrote the first issue of the *Eurasian Migration Papers* series, “Establishing a New Right to the Ukrainian City.” Having analyzed research conducted by the Kennan Kyiv Project’s migration research team, Ruble examined to what degree transnational migrants in Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Odesa have assimilated to life in Ukraine beyond their immediate communities. Ruble also determined how successfully these migrants have been able to claim a “right to the city” and comfortably frequent public space beyond the markets in which many of them work.

For the second issue in the *Eurasian Migration Papers* series, the Kennan Institute published the conference proceedings of the Kennan Institute and Comparative Urban Studies Program's federal conference entitled, "Transnational Migration to New Regional Centers: Policy Challenges, Practice, and the Migrant Experience." Held in June 2008, the conference brought together leading migration experts from Africa, Europe, and Central and North America to discuss how new migrant communities are transforming cities around the world. Lauren Herzer, Sarah Dixon Klump, and Mary Elizabeth Malinkin edited the volume released in April 2009.

In September 2009, the third volume in the *Eurasian Migration Papers* series was published: "Chinese Migration to Russia: Missed Opportunities," by Maria Repnikova and Harley Balzer. The authors questioned why Chinese migrant workers left Russia in large numbers in 2008 and 2009 given that Russia was in need of workers and China had an excess supply. They predicted that the failure to establish a more stable community of Chinese migrants in Russia during better economic times would make future migration far less likely as the Russian economy recovered.

In addition to releasing these publications, the Kennan Institute also hosted two scholars during the past program year whose research focused on issues of migration. Adriana Helbig, Assistant Professor, Department of Music, University of Pittsburgh was in residence from May-August 2009 as a Title VIII Research Scholar exploring the topic "Hip-Hop, African Migrants, and Transnational Articulations of Racialized Class Identities in Post-Orange Revolution Ukraine." Olga Vendina, Senior Researcher, Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, was in residence September 2009-December 2009 as a Starovoitova fellow and migration expert. Vendina's project, entitled "Playing the Ethnic Card in Moscow: Ethno-Cultural Policies and their Unintended Side Effects," examined the ethnic minority community in Moscow, which includes many migrants.

The Kennan Institute will continue bringing scholars and policy makers together to discuss the growing impact of migration in Russia and Ukraine. As the past year of activities demonstrates, 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.

and Associate Fellow, Chatham House, London.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Terror from Within: Brotherhood and Betrayal in the Soviet Political Police,"

Cynthia Hooper, Assistant Professor, Department of History, College of the Holy Cross, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 2009/ BOOK LAUNCH

Moscow, Russia

Cosponsored by the Center for Migration Studies

"Immigrants in Moscow"

Zhanna Zaionchkovskaya, Science Director, Center for Migration Studies;

Olga Vendina, Leading Research Fellow, Center for Geo-Political

Studies, Institute of Geography,

Russian Academy of Sciences; **Nikita**

Mkrtchyan, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Demography, State University

– Higher School of Economics; **Elena**

Tyuryukanova, Director, Center for Migration Studies, Leading Research Fellow, Institute of Socio-Economic Studies of Population, Russian Academy

of Sciences; **Vilya Gelbras**, Chief

Research Fellow, Institute of World

Economy and International Relations,

Russian Academy of Sciences, and

Professor, Institute of Asian and African

Studies, Moscow State University.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 2009/ FILM SCREENING AND DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Where Does Europe End?"

Moderator: **Nida Gelazis**, East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Participants: **Alina Mungiu-Pippidi**, film co-director, Hertie School of Governance; **Charles Gati**, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; **Rodger Potocki**, National Endowment for Democracy.

MONDAY, JUNE 15, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Kazakhstan: The Road to Independence. Energy Policy and the Birth of a Nation," **Ariel Cohen**, Senior Research Fellow, Russian and Eurasian Studies and International Energy Security, Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for International Studies, Heritage Foundation.

SATURDAY– SUNDAY, JUNE 20 JUNE 21, 2009/ SUMMER SCHOOL

Moscow Region, Russia

Valentinovka Training Center of the Library

Cosponsored by Friedrich Naumann Foundation and The Tolerance Institute of the All-Russian State Library of Foreign Literature

"Tolerance as a Norm of Global World and Readiness of Post-Soviet Societies to Cope with It"

Co-chairs: **Ekaterina Genieva**, Director, All-Russian State Library of Foreign Literature, and Director, Charity Foundation "Tolerance Institute"; **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for Ethno-Political Studies, Professor, State University – Higher School of Economics.

Introduction: **Sasha Tamm**, Head, Moscow Office, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

Participants: **Aleksand Fisun**, Professor, Chair of Political Sciences, Department of Philosophy, Kharkov National University; **Evgeniya Rossinskaya**, Director, Information Office of the European Council in Russia; **Yaroslav Pilinsky**, Director, Kiev Kennan Office; **Natalya Rubinstein**, Essay Writer, Literary and Theater Critic, BBC Russian service; **Irina Zhdanova**, Head, Social Programs, Analytical Center "Open Policy"; **Anatoly Kruglashov**, Professor, Head, Chair of Political Sciences, Chernovtsy National University

TUESDAY, JULY 07, 2009/ MEDIA TELECONFERENCE CALL

Media Teleconference Call on President Obama's Trip to Russia

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center; **William E. Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Henry Hale**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, and Kennan Institute Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 2009/ SEMINAR

Kiev, Ukraine

Cosponsored by Kennan Kyiv Project

"Russian and Ukrainian Societies: the Development Tendencies"

Participants: **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for Ethno-Political Studies,

Professor, State University - Higher School of Economic; **Sergey Kisselev**, Head, Political Science Master Program, Department of Sociology, University "Kiev-Mohila Academy"; **Sergey Rymarenko**, Leading Research Fellow, Department of Ethno-Political Studies, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; **Yuri Bauman**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; **Nataliya Amel'chenko**, Associate Professor, Head, Chair of Political Studies, University "Kiev-Mohila Academy"; **Irina Zhadan**, Head of Laboratory, Institute of Social and Political Psychology, Ukrainian Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; **Vladimir Boiko**, Director, Chernigov Center for Retraining and Upgrading of Skills of State Officials, Local Government Members, Employees of State Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations; **Konstantin Maleev**, Deputy Director, Research Center "Image-Control."

THURSDAY, JULY 23 2009/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by George Washington University's Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication, the Kennan Institute, Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Blavatnik Family Foundation, and the Walter Roberts Endowment

Face-off to Facebook: From the Nixon-Khrushchev Kitchen Debate to Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century

Welcoming Remarks: **Frank Sesno**,

Professor of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University; **Sean Aday**, Director, Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication, George Washington University; **Walter Roberts**, Founder, The Walter Roberts Endowment.

"Premiere: Documentary Film on Kitchen Debate, U.S. National Exhibition at Sokolniki Park"

Introduction: **Nina Gilden Seavey**, Director, Documentary Center, George Washington University.

Panel I: The Kitchen Debate and the Cold War Summer of 1959

Moderator: **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Participants: **Sergei Khrushchev**, Senior Fellow, Watson Institute, Brown University; **Hans (Tom) Tuch**, former public diplomacy official, U.S. Information Agency; **Tomas Tolvaisas**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Winona State University; **William Safire**, columnist, *New York Times*, and former speech writer for Richard Nixon.

"Return to Sokolniki: A Visual Reintroduction to the 1959 U.S. Exhibition in Moscow"

Introductory Remarks: **William H. Luers**, President, U.S. United Nations Association
Presented by: **Jack Masey**, former Designer and Chief of Design and Construction, U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniki Park.

Panel II: The U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniki Park

Moderator: **Marvin Kalb**, Journalist

and James Clark Welling Presidential Fellow, George Washington University.
Participants: **Eugene "Rocky" Staples**, Development Official, former Deputy Managing Director, U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniki Park; **George Feifer**, Author and former exhibit guide, U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniki Park; **Tatiana Sochurek**, Advertising Executive, former exhibit guide, U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniki Park.

Remarks: **William Burns**, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation.

"The New Media in Today's Public Diplomacy"

Moderator: **Frank Sesno**, Professor of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University. *Remarks:* **Clay Shirky**, Adjunct Professor, Interactive Telecommunications Program, New York University.

"Presentation of 'hubA!' Concept," **Linda Gottlieb**, film producer and former exhibit guide, U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniki Park; **John O'Bryan**, School for Advanced and International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

"'Emergence:' The Debut of a Massively Multi-Player Online Game Designed for Public Diplomacy," **Tim Lenoir**, Professor of History and Chair, Program in History and Philosophy of Science, Stanford University, and member, Duke Jenkins Collaboratory; **Harrison Lee**, Undergraduate student, Duke University, and member, Duke Jenkins Collaboratory; **Patrick Jagoda**, Graduate Instructor, Department of English, Duke University, and member, Duke Jenkins Collaboratory; **Casey Alt**,

Administrative Director, Information Science and Information Studies Program, Duke University, and member, Duke Jenkins Collaboratory.

Panel III: Opportunities for Public Diplomacy in the Digital World

Moderator: **Frank Sesno**, Professor of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University.

Participants: **Marc Lynch**, Director, Institute for Middle East Studies, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University; **Ivan Sigal**, Executive Director, Global Voices;

George Clack, Director, Office of Publications, Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State; **Nina Khrushcheva**, Associate Professor, Graduate Program of International Affairs, New School; **Adam Conner**, Washington DC Associate for Privacy and Global Public Policy, Facebook.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 2009/INFORMAL BRIEFING

“Socially Sustainable Development in Russia,” **Mike Bradshaw**, Professor of Human Geography, University of Leicester, UK; **Elisa Gollub**, Ph.D. Candidate, Brown University; **Tim Heleniak**, Faculty Research Assistant, Department of Geography, University of Maryland.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2009/POLICY BRIEFING U.S. Department of State

“Socially Sustainable Development in Russia,” **Mike Bradshaw**, Professor of Human Geography, University of Leicester, UK; **Elisa Gollub**, Ph.D. Candidate, Brown University; **Tim Heleniak**, Faculty Research Assistant,

Department of Geography, University of Maryland.

MONDAY-TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21-22, 2009/ CONFERENCE

Kyiv, Ukraine

Cosponsored by the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine and the George F. Kennan Fund

City as a Factor of Ukraine’s Democratic Development

September 21

Moderator: **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Professor, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Former Kennan Institute Scholar, Kyiv.

Opening Remarks: **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington, D.C.; **Susan Cleary**, Cultural Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, Kyiv; **Ksenia Liapina**, People’s Deputy of Ukraine.

Presentations: **Viktor Stepanenko**, Chair, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and former Kennan Institute Scholar, Kyiv; **Nataliya Musienko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Problems of the Contemporary Art, Academy of Arts of Ukraine, and former Kennan Institute Scholar, Kyiv; **Kostiantyn Matvienko**, Expert, Corporation of Strategic Consulting “Hardaryka”, Kyiv; **Svitlana Shlipchenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; **Vasyl Gavryliuk**, Chair, Political Party “The Third Force”, Kyiv;

Viktor Pasisnychenko, Associate Professor, Kharkiv National University, and former Kennan Institute Scholar, Kharkiv; **Liudmyla Bordiuk**, Associate Professor, National University “Lvivska Politechnika,” and former Fulbright Scholar, Lviv; **Volodymyr Boiko**, Director, Center for Advanced Training of Public Officers, Governemnt Officials and Business Executives, Chernighiv Regional State Administration, and former Kennan Institute Scholar, Chernighiv.

September 22

Moderator: **Viktor Pasisnychenko**, Associate Professor, Kharkiv National University, and former Kennan Institute Scholar, Kharkiv.

Presentations: **Iryna Novak**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Demography and Social Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and former IREX Scholar, Kyiv; **Vasyl Gorbachuk**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Cybernetics, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and former IREX Scholar, Kyiv; **Viktor Savka**, Associate Professor, National University “Lvivska Politechnika,” Lviv; **Serhiy Lepiavko**, Professor, Chernighiv State Pedagogical University, and former Fulbright Scholar, Chernighiv; **Nataliya Vysotska**, Professor, Kyiv National Linguistic University, and former Kennan Institute Scholar, Kyiv; **Oksana Ivankova-Stetsiuk**, Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Lviv; **Nataliya Musienko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Problems of the Contemporary Art, Academy of Arts of Ukraine, and former Kennan Institute

Scholar, Kyiv; **Anatoliy Kruglashov**, Professor, Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi.

**WEDNESDAY-SUNDAY,
SEPTEMBER 24-26, 2009/
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**
Kyiv, Ukraine

World War II and the (Re)
Creation of Historical Memory in
Contemporary Ukraine

Sponsors: British Council, Kyiv, Ukraine; Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U. S. Department of State; Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, Netherlands; Central European University Budapest, Department for Nationalism Studies, Budapest, Hungary; Embassy of Poland in Ukraine; Fulbright Program in Ukraine; Goethe Institute, Kyiv, Ukraine; Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine; Institute of International Education, New York, New York; Jean Monnet Chair/ Institute of European Studies and International Relations; Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia; The Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.; I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, NASU, Kyiv, Ukraine; Krytyka, Kyiv, Ukraine; Memorial Complex "National Museum of

the History of the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945," Kyiv, Ukraine; National University at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine; Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, Kyiv, Ukraine; University of Vienna, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political Sciences, Vienna, Austria.

September 24

Opening session

Conference Co-chairs: **Myron O. Stachiw**, Director, Fulbright Program in Ukraine; **Ihor Yukhnovskiy**, Director, Ukrainian Institute of National Memory; **Vladyslav Hrynevych**, I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, NASU; **Yatsek Kliuchkovskii**, Polish Ambassador to Ukraine; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Session I: Models of National
Memory of World War II

Moderator: **Yuriy Shapoval**, I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, NASU. *Presentations*: "Rethinking the Past, Remaking the Future," **Richard Ned Lebow**, Dartmouth College, London School of Economics and Political Science; "World War II in Official Politics of Memory and Political Disputes in Ukraine Today," **Vladyslav Hrynevych**, I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Kyiv; "Polish Historical Memory of World War II with a Special Focus on the Period after 1989," **Rafal Wnuk**, Lublin Institute of Public Memory; **Volodymyr Nevezhin**, Institute of Russian History, Moscow.

Session II: Models of Official
History of World War II

Moderator: **Aleksandra Hnatiuk**, Embassy of Poland in Ukraine. *Discussant*: **Yuriy Shapoval**, I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, NASU. *Presentations*: **Vladyslav Verstiuk**, Ukrainian Institute of National Memory; **Janusz Kurtyka**, Institute of National Remembrance, Poland; **Birute Burauskayte**, Lithuanian Institute of Genocide Studies.

September 25

Session III: Politics of Memory in
Ukraine

Moderator: **Yaroslav Pylinskyj**, Kennan Kyiv Project. *Discussant*: **Vladyslav Hrynevych**, I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Kyiv. *Presentations*: "The War over the War: World War II and the Great Patriotic War in Ukrainian History Textbooks," **Olena Radziwill**, publishing house "National Aviation University-Druk" (Kyiv); "Armed Anti-Soviet Resistance in Lithuania and Western Ukraine: Why the War in Europe Did Not End in 1945," **Aiste Bertulyte-Žikevičienė**, Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; "The Clash of National-Consolidating Myths: 'The Great Patriotic War of the Socialist people' and the 'Genocidal Holodomor (Famine) of the Ukrainian Nation,'" **Roman Serbyn**, Université du Québec Montreal, Emeritus; "World War Myth War in Contemporary Ukraine," **Oleksandr Zaitsev**, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv; "Learning Like a State: Archives, Repression, and the Politics of Historical Knowledge in Ukraine, 1942-1944," **Oleksandr Melnyk**, University of Toronto. "The

Role of the Media in the (Re)Creation of Historical Memory: Competing Narratives of World War II in Ukrainian Mainstream Newspapers," **Volodymyr Kulyk**, I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Kyiv.

Session IV: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Comparative Studies on Political Memory: Ukraine and the Central and Eastern European Region

Moderator: **Karin Liebhart**, Department of Political Science, University of Vienna.
Discussant: **Dominique Arel**, Chair, Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa.
Presentations: "Politics of Memory and Identity: How (Not) to Study Museum Exhibitions," **Andrej Findr**, Comenius University, Slovakia; "The Presence and Absence of Memory: How Societies Deal With Remains of National Socialism," **Heidemarie Uhl**, Austrian Academy of Sciences and University at Graz, Austria; "Re-Narrating World War II: Politics of Memory in the Ukrainian-Russian Borderlands," **Tatiana Zhurzenko**, Kharkiv National University/University of Vienna; "Analysis of National Master Narratives in the Post-Imperial Space: Ukraine vs. Russia" **Heiko Paabo**, University of Tartu, Estonia; "The Shukhevych Cult in Ukraine: Myth Making with Complications," **Per Rudling**, University of Alberta, Canada; "Memorial Narratives of WWII Partisans and Genocide in Belarus," **Alexandra Goujon**, University of Bourgogne, France.

Session V: Models of Collective and Individual Memory

Moderator: **Vladyslav Verstiuk**, Ukrainian Institute of National Memory.
Discussants: **Margaret Paxson**, Senior

Associate, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Alexandra Goujon**, University of Bourgogne, France.
Presentations: "Memory of the German Occupation of Ukraine, 1941-1944," **Tetiana Pastushenko**, Institute of the History of Ukraine; "The Memory of Forced Labor in Nazi Germany: Eastern Europe, Soviet, and Contemporary Ukrainian Versions," **Gelinada Grinchenko**, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine; "Ukrainian Concentration Camp Guards: World War II Realities and Post-War Trials," **Orest Subtelny**, Professor, York University; "Re-examining the World War II Ukrainian Refugee Experience," **Marta Dyczok**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Western Ontario; "Peculiarities of Collective Memory Formation of the Former Soldiers of Division 'Galicia,'" **Oksana Tovaryanska**, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; "The Re-construction of WWII Memory and its Contemporary Political Framing: The Case of Ukrainian Surrendered Enemy Personnel," **Olesya Khromeychuk**, London School of Economics; "How World War II Affected the Lives of Ukrainian Women: An Oral History," **Iroida Wynnyckyj**, Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center; "Negation, Separation, Marginalization: Repressions and the War in the Biographical Narrations of the Oldest Generation of Poles from Zhytomyr, Kyiv and Podillia Regions," **Anna Wylegala**, Graduate School for Social Research, Poland; "Atomic Forgetting and the Tragedy of Chernobyl," **Kate Brown**, University of Maryland-Baltimore County; "Weddings and War in Kyiv," **Johanna Lärkner**, Linköping University, Sweden; "A

Different Version of the War: Memory of World War II of the Residents of a Burned Village in the Kyiv Region," **Guido Hausmann**, University of Freiburg, Germany.

Session VI: Culture and the Formation of Memory

Moderator: **Myron O. Stachiw**, Fulbright Program in Ukraine.
Discussants: **Boris Dubin**, All-Russian Centre for the Study of Public Opinion (VTsIOM); **Tamara Hundorova**, Institute of Literature, NASU.
Presentations: "Visualization as a Means of Formation of Historic Memory about the War: Soviet and Contemporary Ukrainian Experiences," **Oleksandr Lysenko**, Institute of History of Ukraine, NASU, and **Lyubov Lehasova**, Memorial Complex "National Museum of the History of Great Patriotic War; "Modification of the Aesthetics of Socialist Realism under the Conditions of a 'Threatened' Culture (on the basis of Ukrainian war-time prose)," **Valentyna Kharkhun**, Institute of Literature, NASU; "Memory of World War II in Ukrainian Immigrant Literature," **Mykola Soroka**, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Canada; "Historical Memory of World War II and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Ukrainian Rock and Hip Hop Music," **Bohdan Klid**, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Canada; "Film and the Mythology of the Soviet Totalitarian Era," **Oksana Moussienko**, I. Karpenko-Karoho National University of Theater, Film and Television; "The Second World War in the Lviv Cityscape: Creating the Cornerstone for the City's Postwar Identity," **Sofia Dyak**, Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, Ukraine;



TRINITY CHURCH, NORTHEAST VIEW,
DMITRIEVSKOE, VOLOGDA
OBLAST, RUSSIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

"The Unresolved Heritage of the War: Lost Cultural Treasures in the Context of Historical Memory," **Serhiy Kot**, Institute of History, Ukrainian NAS.

September 26

Session VII: Genocide, Holocaust, and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts

Moderators: **Leonid Finberg**, Center of Judaica Studies, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; **Anatoliy Podolsky**, Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies, and I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Ukraine. *Discussants:* **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Bogumila Berdychovska**, independent scholar; **Dominique Arel**, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa.

Presentations: "The Deportation of 1944 in the Historical Memory of the Crimean Tatars," **Hulnara Bekirova**, Crimean

State Industrial-Pedagogic Institute; " 'Jews, Poles, and other Swine': Ruda Róznaniecka, 30 June 1941," **Marco Carynnyk**, independent scholar; "The Ukrainian-Polish Nationality Conflict in Public Consciousness and Collective Memory: The Humane Stereotypes and The Historical Facts," **Ihor Illyushyn**, Kyiv Institute Slavonic; "A Secondary Genocide: 'The Troubles' (Poraimos) as an Element of the Historical Memory of Ukrainian Society and an Instrument in the Construction of the Identity of the Roma," **Myhaylo Tyahlyy**, Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies; "A Noisy Silence: Soviet Discourse on the Holocaust in Lviv 1941-1987," **Tarik Cyril Amar**, Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, Ukraine; "Politico-Ideological Conception of the 'Justification of the Holodomor Through the Victory of the Great Patriotic War' in the Political Battles and Historiography between Russia

and Ukraine," **Lyudmyla Hrynevych**, Institute of History of Ukraine; " 'Through an Ethnic Lens, Darkly': The Massacre at Malyn, July 1943," **Jared McBride**, University of California – Los Angeles; "Memory of the Holocaust: Its Subjective Formation and Functionality in Ukraine," **Maksym Gon**, Rivne State Humanitarian University, Ukraine; "The Creation of Collective Memory about the Holocaust and National Identity," **Olena Ivanova**, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Transnational Religious Education and the Changing Face of Central Asian Islam," **David Abramson**, Foreign Affairs Research Analyst, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.



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.

CHURCH OF ELIJAH THE PROPHET,
NORTHEAST VIEW WITH KAMENKA
RIVER, SUZDAL, RUSSIA (WILLIAM C.
BRUMFIELD)

BOOKS

William Brumfield, *Buriatiia: Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Buriatiia: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: “Tri Kvadrata” Publishers, 2008.

William Brumfield, *Solovki: Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Solovki: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: “Tri Kvadrata” Publishers, 2008.

William Brumfield, *Kolomna: Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Kolomna: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: “Tri Kvadrata” Publishers, 2009.

William Brumfield, *Suzdal: Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Suzdal: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: “Tri Kvadrata” Publishers, 2009.

John J. Czaplicka, **Nida Gelazis**, and **Blair A. Ruble**, eds. *Cities after the Fall of Communism: Reshaping Cultural Landscapes and European Identity*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Alexander C. Diener, *One Homeland or Two? The Nationalization and Transnationalization of Mongolia's Kazakhs*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Paul Hagenloh, *Stalin's Police: Public Order and Mass Repression in the USSR, 1926–1941*. Washington,

D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Shiping Hua, *Chinese Utopianism: A Comparative Study of Reformist Thought with Japan and Russia, 1898-1997*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Ivan Kurilla, ed. *Istoriia kraia kak pole konstruirovaniia regionalnoi Identichnosti (materialy seminar)* [Regional History as a Field for Reconstruction of Regional Identity (Seminar Proceedings)], Volgograd, Volgograd University Press, 2009.

Jennifer Patico, *Consumption and Social Change in a Post-Soviet Middle Class*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Sergey Radchenko, *Two Suns in the Heavens: The Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy, 1962-1967*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Blair A. Ruble. *Novitne pravo na ukraïnske misto / Pereklad z angliyskoyi O. Lototskogo* [Establishing a New Right to the Ukrainian City / Translated from English by O. Lototskyi]. Kyiv: Zovnishtorgvydav Ukrainy, 2009.

Marilyn Rueschmeyer and **Sharon L. Wolchik**, eds. *Women in Power in Post-Communist Parliaments*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center

Press; and Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Mark D. Steinberg and **Catherine Wanner**, eds. *Religion, Morality, and Community in Post-Soviet Societies*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Zaionchkovskaya, Zh. A., ed. *Immigranty v Moskve* [Immigrants in Moscow]. Moscow: Tri Kvadrata, 2009.

V.I. Zhuravleva and **I.I. Kurilla**, eds. *Rossiia i SSHA na stranitsakh uchebnikov: opyt vzaimnykh reprezentatsii* [Russia and the United States: Mutual Representations in Textbooks]. Volgograd State University Press, 2009.

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. 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. 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. This series was successfully continued in 2009 with poetry readings and discussions of Ukrainian cultural life by Marjana Savka, Viktor Neborak, and Andriy Bondar, at events held in Washington D.C. and New York City.

A former actress and journalist, Marjana Savka presented her widely-acclaimed poems accompanied by an artful performance. A native of Kopytchyntsi, she has also edited *We and She*, an anthology of poems by women writers from Lviv, Ukraine where she currently lives. Savka has been a Fellow of the William Joiner Center at the University of Massachusetts, Boston when she wrote the poetry for her newest book, *Boston-jazz*. As a co-owner of a publishing house specializing in children’s literature, Marjana Savka also discussed the nature of Ukraine’s publishing industry.

Viktor Neborak, born in 1961, has been one of the leading representatives of the late 1980s cultural renaissance in Ukraine. He is best known as the founding member of the *Bu-Ba-Bu* (burlesque-balahan-buffoonery) literary group that became very popular and impacted a whole new generation of authors in Ukraine. The group experimented with linguistic and poetic expressions in an innovative manner, a taboo for writers in Soviet times. 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. Afterwards, the audience enjoyed an engaging discussion with the author on a myriad of issues related to cultural life in Ukraine and the city of Kyiv in particular.

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. Born in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Andriy moved to Kyiv where he served as Editor-in-Chief for *Literatura-plus*, the newspaper of the Association of Ukrainian Writers, and was also a long-time editor and columnist for the literature section of *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*, one of the most prominent newspapers in Ukraine. A representative of the new generation of Ukrainian writers that was finally able to travel and study abroad, Andriy’s 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.

In 2009-2010, the Kennan Institute is eager to continue its Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series with new literary figures who uniquely shape the face of Ukraine and its modern-day culture.

A YEAR IN BOOKS AT THE KENNAN INSTITUTE

While we live in an age where accessing information is becoming more about using search engines than flipping through catalogue indices, and online content is taking over the printed word, nothing quite yet has replaced the book as the best method to communicate complex ideas.

Over the past year, the Kennan Institute has hosted book discussions featuring authors from the worlds of academia, journalism, and government. While the subjects range from Stalin's archives to modern Russian Orthodoxy to Russian-Iranian relations, the common thread among them is that bullet points and position papers are not able to convey deep analysis backed by meticulous research. Five book discussions held at the Kennan Institute featured returning scholars, demonstrating the critical role that resident scholars play in the Institute's mission of improving American understanding of Russia and the surrounding region.

Former Wilson Center Fellow John Garrard, together with co-author and wife Carol Garrard, discussed their book on Russian Orthodoxy in modern Russia, and how Orthodoxy has "re-branded itself as the repository of Russian patriotism" through its cooperation with the Russian state. John Parker from the U.S. Department of State drew on research conducted in part during his tenure as a Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar to produce his history of Russian-Iranian relations since the fall of the Shah. In his book discussion, Parker outlined the broad array of issues beyond nuclear proliferation that shape that strategic relationship. Another former Wilson Center Fellow, Marlene Laruelle, presented her book on Russian Eurasianism—an increasingly popular doctrine in Russia that rejects Europe and the West in favor of Russian primacy within the cultural and geographic space of Eurasia. Former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar Brian Horowitz discussed his book on how wealthy Jews in late imperial Russia organized to promote education among Jews throughout Russia, prompting a reexamination of both the Jewish experience in late-Tsarist Russia and how historians' conceive of it today. Finally, former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar and current Advisory Council member Ruth Mandel presented her new book on the way migrants, including Turks and Russians, are challenging traditional notions of citizenship in Germany.

In addition to returning scholars, the Kennan Institute welcomed the authors of three different books about Stalin, his reign, and his legacy. *Stalin vs. Science: The Life and Murder of Nikolai Vavilov* by journalist Peter Pringle and Vavilov's son, Yuri, tells the story of how one man, and the entire scientific discipline of genetics, fell under Stalin's repression with disastrous consequences for food production in the Soviet Union. In his controversial book, *The Chief Culprit*, military historian and former Soviet military intelligence officer Viktor Suvorov contends that Stalin had been making extensive preparations to launch a surprise attack on Hitler's Germany before Hitler's own surprise attack on the Soviet Union. Finally, Jonathan Brent presented his book, *Inside the Stalin Archives*, detailing his team's examination of Stalin's personal archives in the 1990s.

Brent remarked that the Soviet model of interpreting authority still governs present-day Russia in many subtle and stark ways. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Brent argued, the cultural substratum formed by its Stalinist past remained, although its visible symbols and organizational mechanisms disappeared. An alternative value structure was not able to replace it and therefore, Brent concluded, "the subsequent return of Russia to its Stalinist past must be understood as a search for its own identity."

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

#302. *Rethinking the Nation: Imperial Collapse, Eurasianism, and George Vernadsky's Historical Scholarship*. **Igor Torbakov** (2008).

#303. *On the Way to Transparency: A Comparative Study on Post-Soviet States and the Aarhus Convention*. **Tatiana R. Zaharchenko** (2009).

EUROPEAN MIGRATION PAPERS SERIES

Establishing a New Right to the Ukrainian City. **Blair A. Ruble**. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Kennan Institute and Comparative Urban Studies, Eurasian Migration Paper #1, 2008.

Transnational Migration to New Regional Centers: Policy Challenges, Practice, and the Migrant Experience. Conference Proceedings. **Lauren Herzer, Sarah Dixon Klump, and Mary Elizabeth Malinkin**, eds. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Kennan Institute and Comparative Urban Studies. Eurasian Migration Paper #2, 2008.

MEETING REPORTS

Vol. XXV No. 17 2008
Jeffrey D. Kahn, Assistant Professor of Law, Southern Methodist University. "Vladimir Putin and the Rule of Law in Russia." (17 April 2008).

Vol. XXV No. 18 2008
Anders Åslund, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Russia's Capitalist Revolution: Why Market Reform Succeeded and Democracy Failed." (21 April 2008).

Vol. XXVI No. 1 2008
Marshall Goldman, Kathryn Wasserman Davis Professor Emeritus of Russian Economics, Wellesley College, and Senior Scholar, Davis Center, Harvard University. "Petrostate: Putin, Power, and the New Russia." (2 June 2008).

Vol. XXVI No. 2 2008
David S. Foglesong, Associate Professor of History, Rutgers University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute. "The American Mission and the 'Evil Empire': The Crusade for a 'Free Russia' since 1881." (9 June 2008).

Vol. XXVI No. 3 2008
Gerard Toal, Professor and Director, Government and International Affairs Program, Virginia Polytechnic and State University. "North Ossetia's Geopolitical Entanglements." (6 October 2008).

Vol. XXVI No. 4 2008
Michael Mandelbaum, Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy, and Director of the American Foreign Policy Program, Johns Hopkins University, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. "Rethinking Russia and U.S.–Russian Relations: The Role of Russia in the Global World Order." (17 October 2008).

Vol. XXVI No. 5 2009
John Garrard, Professor of Russian Studies, University of Arizona, and former fellow, Woodrow Wilson center; and **Carol Garrard**, independent scholar and author, Tucson, Arizona. "Russian Orthodoxy Resurgent: Faith and Power in the New Russia." (20 October 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 6 2009
John Freedman, author and theater critic, *The Moscow Times*, and visiting artist, Department of Theater Arts, Towson University. "New Voices in a Shifting Age: Recent Russian Drama and Theatre." (27 October 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 7 2009
Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Associate Director for Research and Senior Research Scholar, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Medvedev's Challenges in Governing Putin's Russia: What a New American President Should Know." (24 November 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 8 2009

Suzanne Massie, author and consultant.

“Reagan’s Evolving Views of Russians and their Relevance Today.” (1 December 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 9 2009

Charles Ryan, Chairman of Deutsche Bank in Russia.

“Rethinking Russia and U.S.-Russian Relations: Russia’s Role in the Global Economy.” (13 November 2008).

Vol. XXVI No. 10 2009

William Green Miller, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, and Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

“Priorities for U.S. Policy toward Ukraine in the Obama Administration.” (5 January 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 11 2009

Olena Nikolayenko, Visiting Scholar, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University.

“Youth Movements in Post-Communist Societies: A Model of Nonviolent Resistance.” (15 January 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 12 2009

Gül Berna Özcan, Senior Lecturer in Corporate Governance and International Business, School of Management of Royal Holloway College, University of London; Associate Fellow, London School of Economics; and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

“Paradoxes of Capitalism: Market Building in Central Asia.” (26 January 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 13 2009

Andrei Kortunov, President, New Eurasia Foundation.

“The New Russia: A Look at Internal Developments.” (5 February 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 14 2009

Karina Korostelina, Research Professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute. “Defining National Identities: The Role of History Education in Russia and Ukraine.” (9 February 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 15 2009

Steven Pifer, Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution; Senior Advisor, Russian and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

“The Trilateral Process: Washington, Kyiv, Moscow and the Removal of Soviet Nuclear Weapons from Ukraine.” (9 March 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 16 2009

Dmitrii Shvidkovskii, Rector, Moscow Institute of Architecture. “The Architectural Scene in Present-Day Moscow.” (19 March 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 17 2009

Steven Grant, independent scholar, Washington D.C. “Russian Nannies from Pushkin to Stalin.” (30 April 2009).

Vol. XXVI No. 18 2009

Tobi Gati, Senior International Advisor, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer and Feld LLP. “Russian State Corporations: A

Stabilizing Economic Force or a Drag on Growth?” (30 March 2009).

KENNAN MOSCOW PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 14, Fall 2008.

Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 15, Spring 2009.

KENNAN KYIV PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Ahora [Agora], Volume 8, Fall 2008.

Ahora [Agora], Volume 9, Summer 2009.

DIALOGUE TELEVISION

Mark Medish, Dialogue Television #2107, “Russia’s Reset Button.”

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