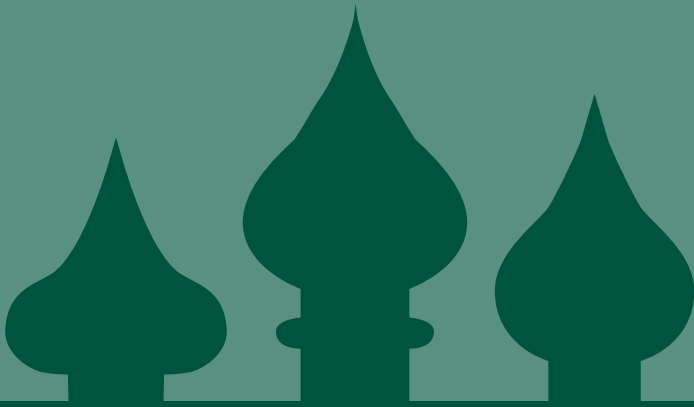




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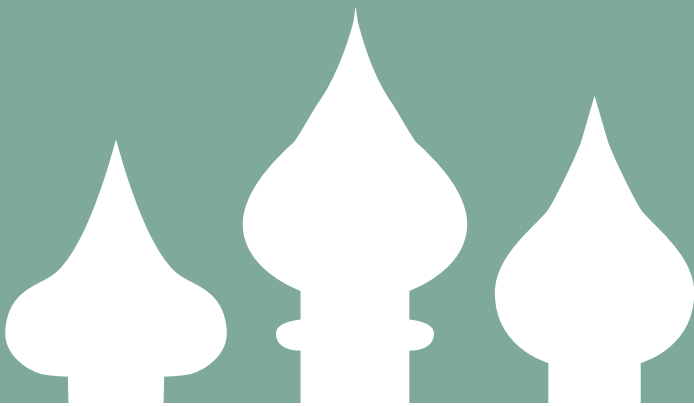


KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report 2006–2007



Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars



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Annual Report

2006–2007

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for Scholars
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OVER: CHURCH OF THE
TRANSFIGURATION, SOUTHEAST VIEW,
KIZHI, KARELIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



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Unless otherwise noted, photographs for this report were provided by William Craft Brumfield, photographer and Professor of Slavic Languages at Tulane University. The originals of these photographs are in the permanent collection of the Photographic Archives of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.



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 area 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. The 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

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BRUMFIELD)



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BOLDINO, NIZHNII NOVGOROD OBLAST
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Russian scholars into the international academic community. The CASE program is currently funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

In addition to its office in Washington, the Kennan Institute operates centers in Moscow and Kyiv. The Kennan Moscow Project and Kennan Kyiv Project provide on-the-ground assistance to the Washington staff and maintain contacts 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

Bumper Cars and Demolition Derby

On one of those exquisite spring evenings that Kyiv can offer up, I found myself wandering around the Ukrainian capital with a couple of former Kennan Institute scholars. This was a moment of intense political “crisis” in Ukraine, during which raucous demonstrators had peacefully surrounded the headquarters of the security forces just the day before. The evening’s fare reflected the city’s mood. We set out first for a Party of Regions rally on the Maidan—where we just missed hearing Prime Minister Yanukovich speak—before we walked a few hundred yards down the Khreshchatyk through a flimsy and relaxed police line to an even larger “meeting” of Our Ukraine supporters listening to Yulia Tymoshenko hold forth. After this high political excitement, we strolled around the fragrant streets of Kyiv in bloom. Suddenly, we happened upon an encounter between two groups of political opponents. Tymoshenko supporters decked out in orange were helping out-of-town Yanukovich supporters sporting blue and yellow find the entrance to the metro.

A week later I was meeting in St. Petersburg with a group of former Kennan Institute scholars who had been beaten badly at a political rally a few days before. The fragile working relationships between opposition groups and local security forces had broken down suddenly when special forces troops from neighboring regions were unleashed on the crowd. There would be no loud but orderly demonstrations confronting security forces in the Northern Palmyra; no home-grown activists showing out-of-towners the way to the metro. Political life in Russia was becoming a blood sport.

Ukraine and Russia have been on different trajectories for some time, presenting an ideal setting for comparative social science research. Ukraine is a country visibly divided by fractures and fissures which run through the entire social landscape. Politicians are like bumper cars, clumsily careening toward one another in an amusement park before bouncing off more or less unharmed only to come crashing together yet again. Society sorts out its own coping mechanisms every day on the streets so as not to allow divisions to overshadow an increasingly good life.

Russian politics, on the other hand, resemble the American automobile sport of demolition derby, in which drivers of old, beat-up cars viciously crash together with increasing violence until only one victor is left to ramble around the field. The good life in Russia seems reserved for the strong.

Russian reality is more complex than its ever-more controlled political life might suggest, with very real divisions and contrasts existing across the sprawling Russian Federation. The

social science question posed by contemporary Russia is more difficult than that presented by contemporary Ukraine. Ukraine's complexities are open for all to see. Russia's contradictions are hidden behind layers of obfuscation. No observers mistake Ukraine for the Soviet Union; analysts talk and write about the return of Soviet political practices in Russia every day. This perspective—which, at times, appears to be shared by the Russian political class—is misplaced.

While today's Russian Federation unquestionably has more strategic and economic assets than the Russian Federation of a decade ago, Russia remains a smaller country than the USSR in every respect. The boundaries—physical and mental—that so sharply demarcated the Soviet Union from the world outside have been shattered. Large numbers of Russians live in daily contact with the outside world in contrast to their Soviet predecessors, who lived in not-so-splendid isolation. The demographic and health crises that helped to bring about the end of the Soviet Union continue to eviscerate Russian society; the challenges of configuring a 21st century educational system seem more daunting than the Soviet goal of training people for their one job of a lifetime. Most importantly, today's Russia lacks an encompassing ideology that seeks human transformation at home and abroad.

Russia is changing in positive and dynamic ways. New paths for social mobility are opening up, an emergent middle class is sorting out its place in the universe, and cultural life is enriched by society's innate incongruities and contradictions. Russia continues to produce exceptional human beings who add fresh insight into the human condition and great beauty to human existence.

Ukraine and Russia present profound intellectual and policy challenges to all who seek to understand what is happening in each country. No easy model imposed from abroad or from within can explain the complexities of either society. Both countries are societies that are much more than their political systems.

INTEGRATING THE CONTRADICTIONS OF EURASIAN LIFE

In 1954, George F. Kennan wrote that “we must be gardeners and not mechanics in our approach to world affairs. We must come to think of the development of international life as an organic and not a mechanical process. We must realize that we did not create the forces by which this process operates. We must learn to take these forces for what they are and to induce them to work with us and for us by influencing the environmental stimuli to which they are subjected, but to do this gently and patiently, with understanding and sympathy, not trying to force growth by mechanical means, not tearing the plants up by the roots when they fail to behave as we wish them to.” In other words, we need to think holistically about the complexities of the world around us, bringing together the insights of multiple disciplines and intellectual traditions, and combining the insights of abstract theory with those of everyday life.

The Kennan Institute's offices and networks of scholars have been working over the past year to develop this multi-disciplinary approach. Particular attention has been given to three areas of study that returned to prominence after the end of the Soviet Union: religious diversity, migration and tolerance, and modernization. All three topics have been consistent features of human experience throughout history, and each theme deserves concentrated study in the post-Soviet context.

To the surprise of many, the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 revealed a diverse, multicultural, multi-confessional population living in its ruins. Religious beliefs and practices of many



PUSHKIN'S STUDY, MANOR HOUSE,
BOLDINO MUSEUM, BOLSHOE
BOLDINO, NIZHNII NOVGOROD
OBLAST (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

forms had persisted even while churches, synagogues, mosques, and other religious institutions were summarily repressed and destroyed. This religious diversity—and the newly dynamic and sometimes global nature of religious movements within it—is of profound importance in the region today, particularly as people continue to add new meanings to their lives after the collapse of a dominant political ideology with totalitarian ambitions.

Over the past several years, the Kennan Institute has initiated a number of activities supporting academic analysis of the diverse religious practices and beliefs visible throughout the former Soviet Union. The Institute's Washington, D.C. office is coordinating the research of its resident scholars, the deliberations of smaller working groups and larger public lectures and conferences, and is preparing publications which explore the religious dimension of contemporary life in Russia, Ukraine, and other post-Soviet countries. These activities draw on the knowledge of American and international specialists, promoting an active conversation about the meaning and significance of religious diversity throughout the region.

Another process affecting international affairs is the enormous rise in the number of transnational migrants in the world. According to the United Nations, there are currently 185 million people living in countries other than those of their birth, up from 80 million people three decades ago. Migration is an especially pressing issue for the countries of the former Soviet Union, in which large-scale international migration is a relatively new phenomenon. While the collapse of the Soviet state brought with it expanded freedom of movement, it also resulted in increased restrictions at many destination points for migrants, providing new administrative challenges.

The Kennan Institute has focused a great deal of attention on this growing policy issue. Along with lectures, workshops, working groups, and seminars held over the past several years at all three Kennan offices, the Kennan Kyiv Project has given special attention to the issue, sponsoring a number of activities intended to explore the scale and nature of migration, and of the social and official responses to the presence of migrants within the country.

Along with religion and migration, the question of how to modernize a country successfully while minimizing the human and material costs has returned to Russia, Ukraine, and other countries in the region. As the socialist state dissolved into fragments, several realities became clear: markets were undernourished and undeveloped; property rights were not secure;



CHURCH OF THE INTERCESSION,
SOUTHWEST VIEW, PERESEKINO,
NIZHNIY NOVGOROD OBLAST
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Soviet infrastructure was disintegrating with little capital available to fix it; and demographic shifts lurched the countries toward crisis.

Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus face similar problems and opportunities for reform. How will they evaluate ideas about how society develops and improves? How will discourse about (and shifting attitudes toward) “democracy,” “development,” “globalization,” and “the West” shape the reforms that these countries put into place? What can explain some of the backlash against these reforms—with countries such as Russia in particular decrying the violence with which markets opened and property went into the hands of oligarchs—and the political power of the evolving discourse on “the third way”?

For several years now, the Kennan Moscow Project has paid close attention to the question of whether or not there can be multiple forms of modernity. Is there, for example, such a thing as a “Russian-style” modernity in which Russians creatively interpret the accumulated experience of other countries while paying special attention to ethno-cultural, economic, social, and political factors? Is there a Ukrainian modernity or an Uzbek, Kazakh, or Georgian one? Some regional scholars have insisted that the specifics of the transformation processes in these regions should be considered within the framework of modernization theory. They adhere to the so-called “neo-modernistic” version of the theory, which argues that the rate, rhythm, and consequences of modernization differ greatly in various countries and spheres of social life. Others insist that modernization is a universal process that—as some schools of economists and political scientists have long insisted—cannot succeed in full form when the state interferes with processes such as the liberalization of markets. In the context of large-scale change at a global level, such competing views deserve a full and careful airing.

These and other issues continue to attract the attention of leading scholars and policymakers. The Kennan Institute will continue to focus on these core areas in the 2007–08 program year, in addition to the more traditional areas of inquiry, such as politics, economics, international relations, terrorism, and environmental issues.

It remains to be seen whether the dominant pattern of politics in Russia and Ukraine will change significantly. Indeed, in light of the upcoming elections, Ukrainian and Russian politics most likely will continue to resemble bumper cars and demolition derbies, with the collateral damage scattered around the infield. To paraphrase George F. Kennan, however, we must be more than just mechanics when investigating these very public collisions. Other powerful

social and economic forces are at work in Russia and Ukraine that merit persistent investigation and discussion. The Kennan Institute's focus on religious diversity, migration, and modernization—as well as other relevant themes—provides the necessary context to evaluate the ongoing political debates in Ukraine and Russia.

A WORD OF THANKS

Cooperative partners and generous funding agencies are essential to successful programming at an institution such as the Kennan Institute. I would like to acknowledge and express my heartfelt thanks for the generous support that we have received during the past year from Carnegie Corporation of New York; the U.S. Department of State through the Title VIII Program and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs; the U.S. Embassies in Moscow and Kyiv; Kathryn Wasserman Davis and Family; the ISE Center in Moscow; the Fulbright Scholar Program and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars; the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation; the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa; the International Research and Exchanges Board, Washington, D.C.; the Henry M. Jackson Foundation; the Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, University of Washington; the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research; The United States Naval Academy; the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund; the Fund for the European University at St. Petersburg; the History Department, American University; the Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University; the Department of Politics, The Catholic University of America; George Mason University; the Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; the Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine; the Department of Sociology and Psychology, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University; Krytyka Publishing House; the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation; St. Petersburg State University; the St. Petersburg Committee for International Relations; the Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; European University at St. Petersburg; North-West Division of the Scientific Council of the Russian Academy of Sciences on the History of Social Reforms, Movements, and Revolutions; Yale University; the Dmitri Likhachev International Charitable Fund; the Russian Humanities Fund; and the Africa Program, Asia Program, Cold War International History Project, East European Studies, Global Health Initiative, Middle East Program, Southeast Europe Project, and West European Studies of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

In addition to these program funds, the Kennan Institute is reliant on private donations to support our activities, whether through individual contributions or support of the Kennan Institute's annual dinner. I would like to take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge the support of the following individuals and organizations that helped to ensure our continuing fiscal and programmatic health over this program year: A La Vieille Russie; Access Industries; American-Russian Cultural Cooperation Foundation; Anonymous; Marjorie M. Balzer; BP America; Patricia M. Cloherty; Denning and Company, LLC; Laurel Durst and Ed Strong; Entergy Services, Inc.; ExxonMobil Corporation; Christopher Forbes; Glencore; Evelyn Harden; Pavel Ilyin; John Winthrop Charity Trust; Christopher J. Kennan; Kissinger McLarty Associates; Lawrence M. Gelb Foundation, Inc.; Barry Levine; Martha C. Mautner;

OC Oerlikon Management AG; Mr. and Mrs. George D. O'Neill; Susan and Alan Patricof; PricewaterhouseCoopers Russia B.V.; Quinn Gillespie & Associates; David J. Scullin; Sidley Austin, LLP; Anne Swartz; Margaret E. Taplin; Cornelius M. Ulman; John Von Kannon; Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.; White & Case LLP; and C. Ben Wright.



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 of the past year would have been possible. I have had the incommensurable good fortune of working with a group of individuals over the past year who have consistently set a high standard to which I can only aspire. Ekaterina Alekseeva, Summer Brown, Markian Dobczansky, F. Joseph Dresen, Jennifer Giglio, Pavel Korolev, Renata Kosc-Harmatiy, Edita Krunkaityte, Galina Levina, Rachel Madenyika, Mary Elizabeth Malinkin, Murad Pateev, Margaret Paxson, Irina Petrova, William Pomeranz, Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Nataliya Samozvanova, Anna Toker, S. Todd Weinberg, and Megan Yasenchak have been true colleagues. I value deeply their collective and individual intelligence, imagination, integrity, and good cheer.

Three longtime employees whose dedicated service greatly enriched the Institute have left during the year. Program Associate Jennifer Giglio, who joined the institute in 1998, and Program Specialist Summer Brown, accepted new opportunities in Boston and Nigeria, respectively. Senior Associate Margaret Paxson, who returned to the Institute in 2002 after having been a scholar in residence twice during the previous decade, will be leaving the full-time Kennan Institute staff to pursue field research in Russia. All who care about the Kennan Institute are in their debt for their multifaceted and profound contributions to our program.

Blair A. Ruble
October 1, 2007



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 2006–07 program year were:

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**The Kennan Institute would like to extend special
thanks to outgoing Advisory Council member
Harley Balzer. We greatly appreciate his hard work.*

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*Russian State University for the
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**The Kennan Institute would like to extend special
thanks to Council members Aleksandr Kubyshkin
and Irina Dezhina, who left the advisory council dur-
ing 2007. We greatly appreciate all their hard work.*

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*Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National
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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.

CHURCH, SOUTHEAST VIEW, LOKHTA/
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A La Vieille Russie

Richard Herold

BP





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 2006–07 program year, the Institute supported nine 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, Central Eurasian Short-Term (CEST) grants, 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 foreigners are funded by the Kennan Institute's George F. Kennan Fund.

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 2006–07 program year, the Kennan Institute supported 65 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 of scholars. 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.

OVER: CHURCH OF ELIJAH THE
PROPHET, NORTH AND WEST WALLS,
YAROSLAVL, YAROSLAVL OBLAST
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

MARIA BELOUSOVA, Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. "Using Social Sciences for the Protection of Human Rights." June-August 2007.

DMITRY DUBROVSKIY, Executive Director, Ethnic Studies Program, European University and Chair, Department of Modern Ethnography, Russian Museum of Ethnography, St. Petersburg. "Institution of Special Humanitarian Expert Examination in Russia: Struggle Against Discrimination or a Tool of Discrimination?" August 2007-February 2008.

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 2008.

SENIOR SCHOLARS

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

JAN KALICKI, Counselor for International Strategy, Chevron Corporation, CA. "Energy and Security Issues and Opportunities in Russia and the Surrounding States." July 2006-June 2008.

ALEXANDRA VACROUX, Independent Scholar. "Institutional Obstacles to Health Care Reform in Russia." September 2006-August 2008.

WOODROW WILSON CENTER FELLOWS

ANDREAS HEINRICH, Senior Researcher, Koszalin Institute of Comparative European Studies, Poland. "Eurasian Pipeline Politics: Conflict and Cooperation." September 2006-May 2007.

ALEXANDER KNYSH, Professor of Islamic Studies, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan. "Islam and Empire in the Northern Caucasus." September 2007-May 2008.

CHINGIZ MAMMADOV, Professor of Political Science, Khazar University; Program Manager, Counterpart-International, Baku. "Studying the Experience of Interfaith and Inter-Ethnic Tolerance in Azerbaijan to Moderate Current Religious and Inter-Ethnic Confrontation in Iraq." September 2007-May 2008.

SEBASTIEN PEYROUSE, Associate Scholar, Institute for International and Strategic Research, Paris. "Islam and Politics in Post-Soviet Central Asia: A Response to Globalization." September 2006-May 2007.

PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS

TEDO JAPARIDZE, Former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Georgia. "The Black Sea Region and the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)." October-December 2006.

ARKADY MOSHES, Senior Researcher, Finnish Institute of International Affairs. "U.S., EU, and the Future of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic Integration." June-July 2007.

TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH SCHOLARS

KATE BROWN, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County. "The Zone: A History of Incarcerated Space and a Spatial History of the Chernobyl Zone." January-May, September 2007-February 2008.

JENNIFER COOLIDGE, International Policy Fellow, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, U.K. "The Development of the Hydrocarbon Sector in the Caspian Region." October 2006-June 2007.

SCOTT KENWORTHY, Assistant Professor, Department of Comparative Religion, Miami University, Ohio. "To Renounce the World: Reviving Monasticism in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Russia." August -December 2006; March-August 2007.

LEYLA KEOUGH, Independent Scholar, Washington, D.C. "'Driven Women' and Migration Management in Post-Socialist Europe." August 2007-May 2008.

JAROSLAV KOSHIW, Director, Artemia Press, Ltd., U.K. "The Recordings of President Leonid Kuchma: From October 1999 to October 2000." September 2006-July 2007.

IRINA PAPKOV, Independent Scholar, Washington, D.C. "The Russian

Orthodox Church and the State: Prospects for Democracy." January-October 2007.

SCOTT RADNITZ, Independent Scholar, Boston, MA. "Mass Mobilization, Networks, and the State in Central Asia." July-December 2007.

DOUGLAS ROGERS, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Miami University, Ohio. "A Vernacular Ethics: Work, Prayer, and History in the Russian Urals." September 2006-March 2007.

FULBRIGHT-KENNAN INSTITUTE RESEARCH SCHOLARS

SERGEY ARKHIPOV, Associate Professor, Department of Russian Philology, North Ossetian State University, Vladikavkaz. "A Study of Freedom of the Press in a Country in Transition." September 2006-February 2007.

NADEZHDA AYDAYEVA, Associate Professor, Department of Applied Linguistics and Communications, East Siberian State Technological University, Ulan-Ude. "Substantiation of the Governmental Public Relations Concept as an

Effective Model of Political Communication." September 2007-March 2008.

OLGA BOLSHAKOVA, Senior Researcher, Department of History, Institute of Science Information on Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "The New Political History of Russia in the USA: Methods and Interpretations." February-June 2007.

VOLODYMYR DUBOVYK, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Director, Center for International Studies, Odesa National University. "U.S. European Policy and the Security of Ukraine." August 2006-February 2007.

OLEKSANDR FISUN, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Kharkiv National University. "Understanding Post-Soviet Politics: Neo-Patrimonial Interpretations." March-August 2007.

RUSLAN GARIPOV, Senior Lecturer and Chair, Department of State and Law Disciplines, Kazan State Pedagogical University. "The Federal Structure of the USA in Comparison with Russia." February-August 2007.

IRINA GARRI, Research Fellow, Department of Philosophy, Cultural and Religious Studies, Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Buryatia. "Buddhism and Politics in Russia and China: A Comparative Study." September 2007-March 2008.

NAZAR KHOLOD, Associate Professor, Department of Economic Theory, Ivan Franko National University, Lviv. "Rebuilding Social Security Programs: Lessons for Ukraine." September 2006-February 2007.

ANATOLY KULIK, Senior Researcher, Department of Political Science, Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Electronic Government in the USA and Russia: Comparative Perspective." September 2006-February 2007.

ELENA NEZNAMOVA, Assistant Professor, Public Administration and Legal Support of the Public Service, Russian Academy of Public Service Under the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow. "Developing Popular Participation in Municipal Governance in Large Cities

The Kennan Institute provides an excellent academic environment and research facilities. I will strongly recommend a Fulbright-Kennan grant for every scholar in any social science.

—Nazar Kholod, February 2007

The Kennan
Institute has
proved to be an
ideal base for
my research.

—David Moon, April
2007

as a Fundamental Practice." September 2006-February 2007.

ALEXANDER PETROV, Senior Researcher, Department of Oriental Studies, Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences, Far Eastern Branch, Vladivostok. "The Chinese in Russia and the U.S.: History and Present Time-Comparative Study." March-September 2007.

ELENA YUSHKOVA, Senior Lecturer, Vologda Branch of Moscow Academy for Humanities. "Isadora Duncan and Her Influence on Russian Art and Mentality." September 2007-March 2008.

VITALIY ZHUHAY, Lecturer, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, Uzhgorod National University. "The Analysis of the Criteria and Conditions for a Successful Functioning of Quality Press in the U.S." September 2007-March 2008.

SHORT-TERM SCHOLARS

THOMAS BREMER, Vice-Dean, Department of Theology and Peace Studies, University of Muenster, Germany. "Theology of Images in the Eastern

Churches and its Political Implications." May 2007.

KRISTIN COLLINS, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, The Ohio State University. "A Clash of Cultures: Gender and Empire in the 19th Century Caucasus." September 2007.

SHARYL CROSS, Professor, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch, Germany. "Russian and American Approaches to Countering Ideological Support for Terrorism/ Building a Cooperative Action Agenda." November-December 2006; June 2007.

JONATHAN DEKEL-CHEN, Lecturer, Institute of Contemporary Jewry and Department of Russian and Slavic Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "A World of Good: Jewish Philanthropy and Politics in Russia and the USSR, 1890s-1990s." September-October 2006.

NIKOLAY FYODOROV, Senior Lecturer, School of International Relations, St. Petersburg State University. "The Influence of Admiral A.T. Mahan's Ideas Upon Russian Naval Policy." January-February 2007.

BRIAN GRODSKY, Assistant Professor, Department of

Political Science, University of Maryland, Baltimore County. "Buying Revolutions? The Lessons and Implications of Post-Soviet Democratic 'Revolution' in Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine and Georgia." January-February 2007.

ZAKHAR ISHOV, Lecturer of Russian Language, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Berlin. "Joseph Brodsky as English-Language Poet: A New Assessment with Reference to Self-Translation in Transcultural Perspective." January-February 2007.

PHILIP KAZIN, Research Director, Baltic Research Center, St. Petersburg. "Institutional Frameworks of Democratization in Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus." November 2006.

NATALYA KOSMARSKAYA, Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "New Eurasian Diasporas in Russia: Research Agenda, Methodology and Conceptual Framework." October-November 2006.

LAURIE MANCHESTER, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Arizona State University. "The Colonial World Through Russian Eyes." June-July 2007.

BENOIT MATHIVET, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economics, University of Paris-Sorbonne. "The Health Care Crisis and the Reform of the Russian Health Care System During the 1990s." January-February 2007.

MAXIM MATUSEVICH, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Seton Hall University. "Africa and Africans in Soviet Popular Culture and Imagination." July-August 2007.

AKRAM MIRZAKHALOV, Director, Balance of Payments Department, Central Bank of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent. "Analysis of Monetary Approach to the Balance of Payments: The Case of Uzbekistan." September-October 2006.

DAVID MOON, Lecturer, Department of History, University of Durham, U.K. "The Environmental History of the Russian Steppes in Comparative Perspective." March-April 2007.

ELENA RABINOVITCH, Research Fellow, Institute for Philological Studies, St. Petersburg State University. "Europe: The Use of the Concept in Contemporary Russian and American Sources." October-November 2006.

GEOFFREY ROBERTS, Professor, Department of History, University College Cork, Ireland. "The Soviet Peace Campaign, 1953-1955." April-May 2007.

MARGO ROSEN, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University. "Sounds Making Waves: the Impact of Western Cultural Broadcasting on



ASCENSION-TRINITY MONASTERY,
CHURCH OF ASCENSION, SOUTH VIEW,
SOLIKAMSK, PERM OBLAST
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Leningrad Poets in the 1950s (Joseph Brodsky and his Circle)." June-July 2007.

PAMELA ANN SMITH, Writer and Journalist, London. "U.S. Relations with the Jewish Communities of Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan." August-September 2007.

MATTHEW SPENCE, Co-Executive Director, Truman National Security Project, CT. "The Impact of Western Democracy Promotion in Ukraine, Russia, and Kyrgyzstan." September-October 2006.

ALEXANDRA STAUB, Associate Professor, Department of Architecture, Pennsylvania State University. "Planning Paradigms Generated From the 1920s to the 1980s and Their Implications for the Creation of Community." June-July 2007.

ANNE SWARTZ, Professor, Department of Fine and Performing Arts, Baruch College of the City University of New York. "Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century." June 2007.

NATALIA TSVETKOVA, Associate Professor, School of International Relations, St. Petersburg State University. "Soviet and American Educational Policy in the Germanies During the Cold War." January-February 2007.

OLGA VASILYEVA, Curator, Oriental Section of the Manuscript Department, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg. "The Arts of the Book in the Middle East in Washington, D.C. Collections." October-November 2006.

PATRICK VAUGHAN, Professor, Institute for American Studies,

GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWSHIP ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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. 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 in November 1998.

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 during 1993–1994, 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 policy makers 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
Emil Payin, September 2000–June 2001
Aleksandr Nikitin, September 2001–January 2002
William Smirnov, October 2001–July 2002
Zaindi Choltaev, September 2002–June 2003
Ivan Pavlov, September–December 2003
Anatoly Krasikov, December 2003–April 2004
Aleksandr Osipov, April–July 2004
Davlat Khudonazarov, October 2004–April 2005
Grigorii Pasko, October 2004–April 2005
Valentin Gefter, March–June 2005
Victor Shnirelman, October 2005–March 2006
Olga Tsepilova, April–June 2006
Maria Belousova, June–August 2007
Dmitry Dubrovskiy, August 2007–February 2008

LOG HOUSE (PIATISTENOK), IAZ,
NIZHNII NOVGOROD OBLAST
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland. "Zbigniew Brzezinski's Role in Urging A Greater U.S. Focus on the Former Soviet Nationalities." September-October 2006.

NICK WHEELER, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Politics, University of Virginia. "On the Tsar's Errand: Boyar Elite and the Building of the Russian State." June-July 2007.

AMANDA WOODEN, Assistant Professor, Environmental Studies Program, Bucknell University, PA. "Experiences and Methodologies of Political Research in Central Eurasia." June-July 2007.

OLENA ZAPLOTYNSKA, Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary History and Politics, Institute of History, Kyiv. "Intellectual Non-Conformism in Ukraine in 1960s-1970s." August 2007.

VICTORIA ZHURAVLEVA, Associate Professor, Department of World Politics, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow. "Images of Russia in American Political Cartoons." October 2006.

CENTRAL EURASIAN SHORT-TERM GRANTS

RUSTEM ABLYATIFOV, Senior Legal Adviser, Office of the Permanent Representative of the President of Ukraine in Crimea, Simferopol. "An Aboriginal People's Rights in Russia: A History and the Present."

GEORGII KASIANOV, Chair, Department of Contemporary History and Politics, Institute of Ukrainian

The Kennan Institute's support has made a very important contribution to my research agenda. By providing me with time off teaching, the Institute has given me an opportunity to collect essential background information that will facilitate fieldwork for my primary study.

Brian Grodsky, February 2007

History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv. "Academia, Politics and Mass Consciousness: National Historiographies in Ukraine, Russia, Poland and Belarus in the Post-Communist Decade (1991-2000)."

OLGA NOSOVA, Professor and Chair, Department of Economic Theory, Kharkiv National University. "Modeling of the Regional Integration Effects: Problems and Development Perspectives."

EVGENY SERGEEV, Director, Research Center 'The Twentieth Century: Socio-Economic and Political Problems,' Institute of General History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "The Great Game in Russo-British Relations, 1856-1907."



KREMLIN WALL & KOLOMNA (MARINKINA) TOWER, SOUTH VIEW, KOLOMNA, MOSCOW OBLAST;

GOTHIC BRIDGE & COLONNADE, MARFINO ESTATE, MARFINO, MOSCOW OBLAST (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



MOSQUE, KRONVERKSKII
PROSPEKT, SAINT PETERSBURG
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

Religious diversity has become a fact of life in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Diverse cultures and religious traditions have become re-invigorated after 1991, and religions with seemingly slight historical traditions in the region have found adherents. The power and place of religious institutions within this diverse region—particularly against the backdrop of state and nation building, authoritarianism, and economic crisis—is of concern to analysts as well as policymakers. Through programming, publications, and scholarly debate, the Kennan Institute has sought to be an open forum where these questions can be engaged and discussed.

During the 2006–07 program year, the Kennan Institute became a center for scholarly discussion about the role of religion in the region. Title VIII-Supported Research Scholars Scott Kenworthy, Douglas Rogers, and Irina Papkov were in residence during this period. Religion in Russia and in many other countries in the region has often been at its most vibrant on the local level. Kenworthy studied the revival of monasticism in 19th and 20th century Russia as a historian, while Rogers approached the development of cultural and religious responses to post-Soviet changes from an anthropological perspective. At other times, religion plays a prominent role in public life as well. Papkov studied the place of the Russian Orthodox Church in Russian politics.

In March 2007, Senior Associate Margaret Paxson convened a discussion examining “Religion in the Former Soviet Union: Official, Unofficial, Secular, Diverse.” This event brought together recognized experts on religion and broached the various methodological, conceptual, and terminological approaches to studying religion. Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, Sebastien Peyrouse, as well as resident scholars Kenworthy, Rogers, and Papkov took part and offered perspectives on the importance of religion, its diversity, and the relationship of the state to various confessional groups. Papkov also presented her research and offered perspectives to policymakers at the U.S. Department of State during a Title VIII Policy Forum.

During the year, the Institute’s publications series also featured texts addressing the question of religion. Former Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar Nozima Kamalova published “The War on Terror and its Effect on Human Rights in Uzbekistan,” which described often difficult relations between the Uzbek government and various religious and non-governmental organizations, as Kennan Institute Occasional Paper #296. A book manuscript titled *Reclaiming the Sacred: Morality, Community, and Religion after Communism*, edited by Mark Steinberg and Catherine Wanner, is forthcoming from the Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

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;”

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

CASE INITIATIVES

The current phase of the CASE program calls for the development of advanced research projects, particularly those which involve collaboration among multiple CASEs, institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and academic partners abroad. The CASEs selected the following five network themes as the focus of their research: “Mid-term (up to 2015) Social, Economic, and Political Development Forecasting for Russia and for Individual Regions;” “Islamic Issues in Russia and the Prospects for Inter-confessional Dialogue;” “Models for Russia’s Inclusion into Global and Regional Systems of International Relations: Political, Economic, and Social Aspects;” “Group and Individual Identity Under Social Transformation;” and “The Problem of Migration and Migrants in Russian Regions: Comparative Analysis against the Background of Globalization.”

Information collected by the CASEs in these network projects was disseminated both in Russia and internationally through a series of conferences, publications, and fellowship opportunities. For example, a national conference, “Islam in Russia,” was hosted by the Rostov, Saratov, Tomsk, and Ural CASEs along with regional universities to coordinate scholarship on Islamic Studies in Russia. Likewise, the CASE program launched two series of edited volumes examining Islam in Russia from a regional perspective and the development of Russia’s transportation systems. In order to encourage academic exchange, CASE introduced institutionally based “Visiting Professorship” grants. These grants were awarded to scholars researching issues related to borders and migration as well as the political impact of the Russian elections in 2007–08.

The CASE initiative and research also extended to international audiences and experts throughout the United States, particularly at urban conferences examining issues of migration. Most notably, the CASE program partnered with the University of California, San Diego and San Diego State University to explore comparative issues of world migration. During this event, the CASE scholars presented their research on regions bordering China and the republics of the Caucasus, while the American experts discussed the challenges of Mexican immigration.

The Kennan Institute and the ISE Center further cooperated to organize a visit for CASE scholars to the U.S. to participate at the annual American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) convention. Last year, CASE participants presented at two AAASS sessions: “Russia and Islam: Tangled Past and Uncertain Future” and “Joint Degrees in U.S.-Russian Higher Education Cooperation.” Additionally, this year CASE research debuted at the Association of American Geographers (AAG) conference in San Francisco on topics of urban development and Russian regional transportation development.

The CASE program continued to refine its long-term strategy, focusing on issues such as the network’s growth potential and its implementation of large-scale interdisciplinary projects. In order to achieve these objectives, Mark Johnson of Colorado College conducted an intensive evaluation of the CASE system to prepare the program for the next phase. His report analyzed the overall network, project implementation, interdisciplinary research, inclusion of younger scholars, and overall advancement of social sciences and humanities research in the regions. The CASE network will incorporate Dr. Johnson’s analysis into its future strategy and programming initiatives.



EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOL, KHOROSHEVSKOE HIGHWAY, MOSCOW (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

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 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



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

ANDREI KORTUNOV, Co-Chair
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Institute of World History, Russian Academy
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Colorado College

ROBERT LEGVOLD
Columbia University

MIKHAIL STRIKHANOV
Ministry of Education and Science of the
Russian Federation

LIUDMILLA VERBITSKAYA
St. Petersburg State University

TATIANA ZHDANOVA
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur
Foundation, Moscow Office

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.

OVER: CHURCH OF THE EPIPHANY
"V GONCHARNOI SLOBODE," NORTH
VIEW, KOLOMNA, MOSCOW OBLAST
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



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.

OVER: APARTMENT BUILDING (UNDER CONSTRUCTION), KHODINKA FIELD, MOSCOW (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Two Centuries of Discovering Russia: Six Heroes of American Journalism,” **Murray Seeger**, author and former Moscow Bureau Chief, *Los Angeles Times*.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2, 2006/ FILM SCREENING

Moscow
“‘Immigrants’ and ‘They’ve Taken Over Miami,’” **Mikhail Taratuta**, journalist and documentary filmmaker.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Central Asian Energy and U.S. Security and Foreign Policy Interests,” **Ariel Cohen**, Senior Research Fellow, Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for International Studies, Heritage Foundation.

THURSDAY-SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12-14, 2006/ TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Ottawa, Canada
Cosponsored by the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation and the Chair

of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa

Civil Society and Democracy in Ukraine

Workshop leaders: Paul D’Anieri, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas; **Dominique Arel**, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa.



RAMAZAN MOSQUE, KAZAN, TATARSTAN
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Participants: **Jessica Allina-Pisano**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Colgate University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Marc Berenson**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Politics, Princeton University; **Anna Fournier**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University (not supported by Title VIII funding); **Renata Kosc-Harmatiy**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Adriana Helbig**, Adjunct Professor, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; **Serhiy Kudelia**, Ph.D. candidate, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (not supported by Title VIII funding); **Tammy Lynch**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, Boston University; **Sarah Malik**, Coordinator, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University

of Ottawa; **Vlad Naumescu**, Ph.D. candidate, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany (not supported by Title VIII funding); **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Ioulia Shukan**, Ph.D. candidate, Institute for Political Studies, Paris (not supported by Title VIII funding); **Joshua Tucker**, Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; **Lucan Way**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Temple University; **Megan Yasenchak**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute.

Session I: Explaining Popular Mobilization during the Orange Revolution

Serhiy Kudelia, Ph.D. candidate, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; **Jeffrey Kopstein**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto; **Ioulia Shukan**, Ph.D. candidate, Institute for Political Studies, Paris; **Wsevolod Isajiw**, Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto; **Tammy Lynch**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, Boston University; **Adrian Karatnycky**, President, The Orange Circle, New York.

Session II: The Energy Crisis in Ukraine

Margarita Balmaceda, Associate Professor, Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University; **Juliet Johnson**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, McGill University;

Adrian Karatnycky, President, The Orange Circle, New York.

Session III: Ukraine Portrayed in Public Opinion Surveys

Tarik Cyril Amar, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; **Joanna Konieczna**, Assistant Professor, Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw; **Timothy Colton**, Morris and Anna Feldberg Professor, Department of Government, and Director, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University; **Peter Ordeshook**, Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology; **Marianna Klochko**, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology/Criminology, The Ohio State University; **Dominique Arel**, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa.

Session IV: Society and the State in post-Orange Ukraine

Marc Berenson, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Politics, Princeton University; **Andrea Chandler**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Carleton University; **Jessica Allina-Pisano**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Colgate University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Keith Darden**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University.

Session V: The Origins of Orange Mass Mobilization

Lucan Way, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Temple University; **Yann Breault**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History and Political Science, Université du Québec à Montréal; **Joshua Tucker**, Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; **Paul D'Anieri**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas; **Anna Fournier**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University; **Oxana Shevel**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Purdue University.

Session VI: Ethnicity, Religion, and Social Change

Adriana Helbig, Adjunct Professor, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Vlad Naumescu**, Ph.D. candidate, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany; **Catherine Wanner**, Assistant Professor of History and Religious Studies, Pennsylvania State University.

Session VII: Gender, the Media, and Public Engagement

Laada Bilaniuk, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington; **Olha Zazulya**, Ph.D. candidate, Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études sur les Lettres, les Arts et les Traditions, Université Laval, Quebec City,

Canada; **Alexandra Hrycak**, Associate Professor of Sociology, Reed College; **Tanya Richardson**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Canada; **Natalya Ryabinska**, Ph.D. candidate, Graduate School for Social Research, Warsaw; **Natalka Patsiurko**, Ph.D. candidate, Sociology Department, McGill University.

THURSDAY-SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12-14, 2006/ CASE CONFERENCE

Seattle, WA

Cosponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation; the Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, University of Washington; and the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research

Russia and its Neighbors in an Era of Globalization

Introductory Remarks

Stephen E. Hanson, Director, Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; **Robert Huber**, President, National Council of Eurasian and East European Research; **Herbert J. Ellison**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington; **Irina Laktionova**, Executive Director, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.).

Keynote Address

David Kramer, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

Session I: Russia's Regions Confront Globalization

Daniel Chirot, Professor of International Studies and of Sociology, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; **Ivan Kurilla**, Assistant Professor, Volgograd State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Yury Zverev**, Assistant Professor, Russian State University, Kaliningrad; **Dmitry Lomsadze**, Assistant Professor, Voronezh State University; **Steve Pfaff**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Washington.

Session II: Russia and the Emerging Eurasian-Pacific Community

David Bachman, Professor, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; **Elvira Abdrazakova**, Department of International and Regional Affairs, Tomsk Regional Government; **Tamara Troyakova**, Senior Research Associate, Institute of History, Ethnography, and Archaeology of the Peoples of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences; Assistant Professor, Far East State University, Vladivostok; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Alexei Stukanov**, head, Department of International and Regional Affairs, Tomsk Regional Government, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Joseph Ferguson**, Vice President, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research.



APPRECIATING COMPLEXITY: KENNAN INSTITUTE PROGRAMMING ON THE CAUCASUS

Lying within and around the awesome crush of mountains between the Black and the Caspian Seas, the region of the Caucasus is today—as it has been for hundreds if not thousands of years—a region of tremendous diversity and one of great strategic importance to its neighbors, near and far alike. Comprised of countries as diverse as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and several southern republics of Russia, the many languages, cultures, histories, religions, political systems, and ideologies within the region have created a complex stage on which contemporary political dramas are played out. With a devastating and long-enduring war in the Russian republic of Chechnya; with complex ethnic discord; regular terrorist acts of a horrifying nature; environmental catastrophes; and conflicts over state sovereignty in the contested regions of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh, conflict seems, at times, to define the region. But it does not. In the wake of such devastating turmoil, it is easy to forget that the region is rich and ripe with as many models for accord as there are for discord. The Caucasus today offers object lessons in the need for nuance in understanding the implications of conflict, diversity, and a rich and variegated history.

In the years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a wealth of new scholarship on the Caucasus has steadily emerged in political science, history, anthropology, sociology, and other fields. In May 2007, the Kennan Institute hosted a conference, “The Caucasus: New Agendas in Scholarship.” The conference sought to give shape to questions that lie at the heart of the study of this complex region by engaging critical issues from a range of disciplinary perspectives. In the first session titled “Images and Lenses” participants examined how multifaceted images of the Caucasus in Russian and European literature, travelogues, popular culture, and political discourse have become central to the ways in which the Caucasus is seen and understood by peoples of the world. In a second session, “Categories and Groups,” participants closely examined the categories scholars use to analyze social and political life in the region of the Caucasus. Often, the categories of “clan,” “ethnicity,” and “territory” are treated as central to the understanding of history and contemporary politics in the Caucasus; participants in the



conference brought categories of gender, class, and a nuanced understanding of religion in its many institutional and local forms to the fore as well.

In a third session, participants analyzed the nature of violence (and peace) in the Caucasus region. They looked at the assumptions held when analyzing conflict and the role of kinship, ethnicity, and religion in creating the conditions for violence. They also questioned the role of states in fomenting and dampening social conflict and addressed possible models for stability and unity that could be culled from the region. Finally, participants discussed the problem of “memory and forgetting,” including questions about how particular historical periods and episodes are commemorated—in ceremony and ritual, or in story or symbol—and to what end this commemoration takes place.

The conference concluded with a public round-table discussion examining the Caucasus and its positioning in international policy debates. Featuring Thomas de Waal and Charles King, the discussion focused on the politics, economics, and international relations of the region. Both speakers stressed that policymakers and academics should look beyond the borders of their particular areas of expertise, and attempt to understand the region outside of national narratives. They also agreed that the Soviet legacy still affects the Caucasus, but that it functions differently in various contexts.

In addition, over the past year, the Kennan Institute hosted specialists from the region to discuss vital issues of policy importance. During his time as a public policy scholar at the Wilson Center, former Georgian Foreign Minister Tedo Japaridze researched the role of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), a group for which he had served as secretary general. Christof van Agt and Jennifer Coolidge discussed the possible scenarios facing the Caucasus region in the energy sector. Stephen Minikes, former U.S. Ambassador to the OSCE, described the possible role that could be played by this organization in resolving “frozen conflicts” in the region, and the challenges it would face.

LEFT: CHURCH OF THE DORMITION, SOUTHEAST VIEW, BOLSHOE BOLDINO, NIZHNII NOVGOROD OBLAST; ABOVE: MANOR HOUSE (BARKII DOM), LVOVKA ESTATE, LVOVKA, NIZHNII NOVGOROD OBLAST (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Session III: Russia and the Troubled South

Resat Kasaba, Professor, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; **Fedor Surkov**, Director, Center for Geo-Informational Technology, Rostov State University; **Nikolay Trapsh**, Assistant Professor, Rostov State University; **Ekaterina Arkhipova**, Senior Lecturer, Religious Studies and International Relations Department, Volgograd State University; **Mikhail Alexseev**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, San Diego State University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Session IV: The Global University and U.S.-Russian Partnership

Susan Jeffords, Vice Provost for Global Affairs, and Professor, Department of English, University of Washington; **David Fenner**, Assistant Vice Provost for International Education, and Director, International Programs and Exchanges Office, University of Washington; **Robert Huber**, President, National Council of Eurasian and East European Research; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, New Eurasia Foundation, and President, ISE Center, Moscow; **Gael Tarleton**, Director of Corporate and Foundation Relations, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Washington.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“The Internationalization of Russian Business,” **Vladimir Kvint**, Professor, Kogod School of Business, American University.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2006/ BOOK DISCUSSION

“Conversations on Russia: Reform from Yeltsin to Putin,” **Padma Desai**, Gladys & Roland Harriman Professor of Comparative Economic Systems, and Director, Center for Transition Economies, Department of Economics, Columbia University.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by West European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

“Russian Energy and Northern Europe: How Much Scope for Political Pressure?” **Krister Wahlback**, former Ambassador, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Security Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Carl Bildt, 1991-1994.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

“Women and Children at Risk in the CIS,” **Clementine Fujimura**, Professor of Language and Culture Studies, The United States Naval Academy, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Sally Stoecker**, Lead Assessor, Shared Hope International, Arlington, VA.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2006/ SEMINAR

“The Dream Life of Sukhanov: Its Cultural, Linguistic, and Personal

Context,” **Olga Grushin**, author, Washington, D.C.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“The Role and Record of the OSCE in Negotiating Post-Soviet ‘Frozen Conflicts,’” **Stephan M. Minikes**, former U.S. Ambassador to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2001-2005.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“An Assessment of the Yanukovych Government in Ukraine,” **Anders Åslund**, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2006/ SEMINAR

“Making a Discipline of Slavic Eurasian Studies: Meso-Areas and Globalization,” **Osamu Ieda**, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; **Hirotake Maeda**, Lecturer, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; **Kimitaka Matsuzato**, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; **Shinichiro Tabata**, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; **David Wolff**, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2006/ SEMINAR

Moscow

“Demographic Modernization,” **Anatoly Vishnevsky**, Director, Center for Demography and Human Ecology, Institute of Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2006/ RECEPTION

Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Cosponsored by the Fund for the European University at St. Petersburg; History Department, American University; the Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University; Department of Politics, The Catholic University of America; George Mason University; and the Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University.

American Association for the
Advancement of Slavic Studies
National Convention Opening
Reception

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2006/ FILM SCREENING

“Documentary Studies on the Gender Implications of Poverty and Labor Migration in Russia and Tajikistan,”

Zuhra Halimova, Executive Director, Tajik Branch, Open Society Institute; **Nadezhda Azhgikhina**, Executive Secretary, Russian Union of Journalists, Moscow; **Phoebe Schreiner**, Program Officer, Network Women’s Program, New York, NY; **Elena Vitenberg**, Manager, Gender Montage Program, Institute for Social and Gender Policy, Moscow.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by The United States Naval Academy

“Life on the Frontier of Death: Soldiers, Civilians, and the Ecosystem of War in Russia, 1914-1918,” **Joshua Sanborn**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Lafayette College.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

“Whose Rules Rule? Everyday Border Conflicts in Central Asia,” **Kathleen Kuehnast**, Social Scientist, Social Analysis and Policy Team, Social Development Department, The World Bank, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Nora Dudwick**, Social Development Advisor, Poverty Reduction Group, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management, The World Bank, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 2006/ STAROVOITOVA READINGS

Moscow

Nation-Building and Ethnic
Relations in the Post-Soviet World

Chair: **Victor Shnirelman**, Chief Researcher, Department for the Study of Ethnic Conflicts, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

Introductory Remarks

Olga Starovoitova, President, Galina Starovoitova Museum, St. Petersburg.

Panel Discussion:

Valentin Gafter, Director, Institute of Human Rights, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Emil Payin**,

Professor, State University—Higher School of Economics, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Boris Tsilevich**, Member of Latvian Parliament (Sejm), Riga; **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Professor, Head, Center for Ethnic Relations, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **David Petrosyan**, Political Observer, Independent Information Agency “Noyan Tapan”, Yerevan; **Alla Yazkova**, Head, Center for Mediterranean and Black Sea Regions, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 2006/ SEMINAR

Kharkiv, Ukraine

Architecture and Identity in an
Urban Environment: The Case of
Kharkiv

Moderator: **Oleksandr Fisun**, Deputy Director for Research, Kharkiv Branch, National Institute of Strategic Studies; Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Philosophy, Kharkiv National University; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: **Oleksandr Buryak**, Professor and Chair, Department of History of Architecture, Kharkiv Academy of Architecture; **Svitlana Rybalko**, Associate Professor, Department of Design, Kharkiv Academy of Architecture; **Andriy Korneev**, Associate Professor, Kharkiv Academy of Design and Arts; **Dmytro Chorny**, Professor and Chair, Department

of Philosophy, Kharkiv National University; **Volodymyr Kravchenko**, Professor and Chair, Department of Ukrainian Studies, Kharkiv National University; **Olga Filippova**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University, former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **Viktor Pasisnychenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Kharkiv Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“The Theater of Isaac Babel: Montage of Identity,” **Andrei Malaev-Babel**, Assistant Professor of Theater, Asolo Conservatory, Sarasota, FL, and Producing Artistic Director, Stanislavsky Theater Studio, Silver Spring, MD.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“A Trip to the Old Country: The Moral and Political Situation in Russia Today,” **Igor Birman**, independent scholar, Washington, D.C.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2006/ BRIEFING

“U.S.-Russian Relations,” **Igor Zevelev**, Washington Bureau Chief, RIA Novosti.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 2006/ SEMINAR

“The Fifteenth Anniversary of the End of the Soviet Union: Recollections and Perspectives,” **Stephen Cohen**, Professor of Russian Studies, New York University; **James Collins**, Senior International Advisor, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP; former Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d’Affaires, U.S. Embassy, Moscow (1990-93); and former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (1997-2001); **Jack F. Matlock, Jr.**, Sol Linowitz Professor of International Relations, Hamilton College, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR (1987-1991); **Wayne Merry**, Senior Associate, American Foreign Policy Council, Washington, D.C., and former Chief Domestic Political Analyst, U.S. Embassy, Moscow (1991-94); **Richard Miles**, Executive Director, Open World Leadership Center, Washington, D.C.; Chair, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; former U.S. Consul General, Leningrad (1988-91); and former U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, to Bulgaria, and to Azerbaijan.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 2006/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Economic Cooperation in the Black Sea Region: History and Prospects,” **Tedo Japaridze**, former Foreign Minister, Republic of Georgia; former Secretary General, Black Sea Economic Cooperation Council; and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 2006/ SEMINAR

Kyiv

Cosponsored by the Fulbright Program in Ukraine

The Art of a New Ukraine: Problems and Prospects of Cultural Development in the 21st Century

Moderator: Yaroslav Pylynskyi,
Director, Kennan Kyiv Project.

Speakers: Oleksandr Irvanets, author, Irpin, Ukraine; founder, “Bu-Ba-Bu” popular literary performance group; and former Fulbright Scholar, La Salle University; **Evhen Karas**, owner, “Atelye Karas” Art Gallery; and head, Contemporary Ukrainian Artists Association; **Bohdan Syuta**, Professor, Kyiv National Conservatory; and Research Associate, Institute for the Study of Art, Folklore, and Ethnology; **Serhiy Trymbach**, Research Associate, Institute for the Study of Art, Folklore, and Ethnology; and President, Film Critics Association; **Serhiy Proskuryina**, Producer, Director, “Mystetske Berezillia” International Theater Festival; **Taras Hrymalyuk**, Creative Director, “Art Veles” agency; Director, *Orange Maidan*, 2004; **Nataliya Musienko**, Research Associate, Institute for Contemporary Art, Ukrainian Academy of the Arts; **Volodymyr Il’yin**, Professor, Department of Economic Theory, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University; **Oleh Sydor-Hibelinda**, art critic, Kyiv; **Anatoliy Yerema**, General Producer, and General Director, “1+1 International” television channel; **Yuriy Makarov**, Chief Editor, “Studio 1+1” media; and Producer, “Imperia Kino” television show.

MODERNIZATION IN RUSSIA

One of the great debates facing the scholarly and policy communities after the fall of the Soviet Union was the nature of modernity in Russia and other countries of the region. The answers to this question would dictate the policy options that could be pursued by reformers in Russia and foreign policy practitioners everywhere. How would Russia, Ukraine, and the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus face the new opportunities for change and reform? How would they evaluate ideas about how society develops and improves? How would discourse about (and shifting attitudes toward) “democracy,” “development,” “globalization,” and “the West” shape the reforms that these countries put into place? What would explain some of the backlash against these reforms—with countries such as Russia in particular decrying the violence with which markets opened and property went into the hands of oligarchs—and the political power of the evolving discourse on “the third way”?

During the 2006–07 program year, the Kennan Institute has focused on this question in its programming, and has sought to create an open forum for discussion of these questions. The public lecture series in Washington, D.C. featured several analysts that discussed modernization from contemporary and historical perspectives. Vladimir Kvint discussed the ongoing internationalization of Russian businesses, and speculated on whether or not this would have a positive effect on Russian business practices. Stephen F. Williams discussed his book *Liberal Reform in an Illiberal Regime: The Creation of Private Property in Russia, 1906–1915*, which analyzed the agricultural reforms initiated by Petr Stolypin, and asked whether top-down style reforms could ever lead to liberal outcomes. Yury Goland compared the New Economic Policy of the 1920s with the reforms undertaken by the Russian state in the 1990s, and argued that in many ways NEP was a more subtle and effective reform process because it was keenly aware of local conditions.

The Kennan Moscow Project has, in particular, invested great energy and resources to following this issue. Several years ago, it initiated a series of interdisciplinary seminars called “The Specifics of Russian Modernization” featuring economists, sociologists, and demographers. Participants discuss the concept and essence of modernization; its economic, political, religious, ethnic, and social aspects; the influence of various socio-cultural factors on modernization processes; and the place and role of national traditions. Anatoly Vishnevsky examined the demographic crisis that hit the post-Soviet Russian Federation. Ukrainian sociologist Yevhen Holovakha provided an analysis of the societal challenges faced by Ukraine at this time, and the solutions that it has sought to implement. Aleksei Zudin, Emil Payin, and Lev Gudkov participated in a seminar examining the relationship between modernity and tradition in Russia. Andrei Makarychev and Aleksei Dakhin examined the political process and how the government contributed to reforms at a seminar in Nizhnii Novgorod. Emil Payin compared the experiences of Russia and Ukraine in their post-Soviet transitions at a lecture in Kyiv.

The Kennan Moscow Project continued to explore these themes in *Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii* [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia]. For example, issue 10 featured articles focusing on the social potential of transformation in Russian society, the implications of multiculturalism for Russian federalism, as well as the U.S.-Russian relationship. Issue 11 featured several articles on processes of transformation across the entire post-Soviet region and international relations.



APARTMENT TOWERS, MOSCOW
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

**MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“Ukraine and NATO: Dynamics of the Relationship,” **Volodymyr Dubovyk**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, and Director, Center for International Studies, Odesa National University, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar.

**TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union,” **Francine Hirsch**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**MONDAY, JANUARY 22, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“The Enduring *Propiska*: Why Do Regional Migration Restrictions Persist in Post-Soviet Russia?” **Matthew Light**, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 2007/
INFORMAL SEMINAR**

“The Distortion of International Norms and the Rule of Law in the Yukos Case,” **Claire Davidson**, International Spokesperson, Yukos International, U.K.

**MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
Cosponsored by the Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center
“Russian-Algerian Relations: Partners or Competitors?” **Mark N. Katz**, Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 2007/
SEMINAR**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“Western Foundations and Post-Communist Higher Education: A Report Card,” **Steven Solnick**, Moscow Representative, Ford Foundation, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Stephen Kotkin**, Professor and Director of Russian and Eurasian Studies, Princeton University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2007/
SEMINAR**

“Why America and Russia Need Each Other,” **Dmitri Trenin**, Senior Associate and Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“Energy Demand and Energy Security: The Russian Role Revisited,” **Leonid Grigoriev**, President, Institute for Energy and Finance, Moscow.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2007/
CONFERENCE**

Reflections on George F. Kennan: Scholar and Policymaker

Panel I: George F. Kennan the Policymaker

Jack F. Matlock, Jr., former George F. Kennan Professor, Institute for Advanced Study, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR; **Angela Stent**, Professor of Government and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University.

Panel II: George F. Kennan the Scholar

David C. Engerman, Associate Professor, History Department, Brandeis University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Allen Lynch**, Professor, Department of Politics, University of Virginia.

Keynote Address

John Lewis Gaddis, Robert A. Lovett Professor of History, Yale University.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“Institutionalizing Change: Faculty Organization in Ukraine,” **Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak**, former Director, Fulbright Program in Ukraine.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2007/ SEMINAR

Moscow

“Factors Shaping U.S. Media Coverage of Russia,” **David Ignatius**, International Columnist and Associate Editor, *The Washington Post*.



**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2007/
SEMINAR**

Moscow

“Post-Soviet Modernization: The Ukrainian Experience,” **Yevhen Holovakha**, Head, Department of Socio-Political Processes, and Deputy Director, Institute of Sociology, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kyiv.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“The Many Political Faces of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych,” **Jaroslav Koshiw**, Director, Artemia Press, Ltd., U.K., and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“Russia’s WTO Accession and the Implications for U.S. Interests,” **Randi Levinas**, Vice President of Policy and Programs, U.S.-Russia Business Council.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2007/
SEMINAR**

“Liberal Reform in an Illiberal Regime: The History and Meaning of the Stolypin Agrarian Reforms,” **Stephen F. Williams**, Senior Judge, United States Court of Appeals (Washington, D.C. Circuit); **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 2007/
SEMINAR**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union,” **Cynthia S. Kaplan**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, and former Short-Term

Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Henry Brady**, Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley.

**MONDAY, MARCH 5, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“Migration in the Post-Soviet Space,” **Timothy Heleniak**, Faculty Research Assistant, Department of Geography, University of Maryland, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 2007/
SEMINAR**

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“The Rules of War and the Reality of Occupation: Imperial Russia at the 1899 Hague Conference and as Occupying Power during the 1900 Boxer Rebellion,” **Peter Holquist**, Associate Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania; Founder and Editor, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*; and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**MONDAY, MARCH 12, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“Social Identity and Conflict in the Autonomous Republics of Russia and Ukraine,” **Karina Korostelina**, Research Professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**MONDAY, MARCH 19, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION**

“Russia, Inc.: Power, Politics, and Money in Putin’s Kremlin,” **Donald N. Jensen**, Director of Communications, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 2007/
ROUNDTABLE**

Religion in the Former Soviet Union:
Official, Unofficial, Secular, Diverse

Chair: **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Introduction: Why Religion Matters
in the Region

Scott Kenworthy, Assistant Professor, Department of Comparative Religion, Miami University, Ohio, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute

Religious Diversity and National
Unity in Multinational Russia

Irina Papkov, independent scholar, Washington, D.C., and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute

Official and Unofficial Religion:
Promises and Pitfalls of an Old
Dichotomy

Douglas Rogers, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Miami University, Ohio, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute

Religion and Secularism in the
Post-Soviet Region

Sebastien Peyrouse, Associate Scholar,

Institute for International and Strategic Research, Paris, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center

Concluding Comments

Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, Research Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Georgetown University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 2007/ SEMINAR

Moscow

“The Relationship Between Modernization and Traditionalization in Contemporary Russia,” **Aleksei Zudin**, Department Head, Center for Political Technologies; **Emil Payin**, Professor, State University—Higher School of Economics, Moscow; Director, Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies; and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Lev Gudkov**, Director, Levada Center, Moscow.

MONDAY, MARCH 26, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Original Sin, Good Works, and the Legitimacy of Privatization in Russia,” **Timothy Frye**, Professor, Department of Political Science and Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

MONDAY, MARCH 26, 2007/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by West European Studies and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

“Reinventing the OSCE for the New Century: The Case for U.S. Leadership,” **Marc Perrin de**

Brichambaut, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 2007/ SEMINAR

Kharkiv, Ukraine

Migration Processes in Northeast Ukraine

Moderator: Oleksandr Tyaglo, Chair, Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs.

Speakers: Volodymyr Novik, Professor, National Academy of Public Administration; Head, Department of Migration and Nationalities, Kyiv City State Administration; and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Zhanna Zaionchkovskaya**, Head, Laboratory of Migration Analysis and Prognosis, Institute of Economic Prognosis, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **Olga Filippova**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Viktor Pasisnychenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Mykhailo Beznosov**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University; **Oleksandr Kyzylov**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University, and Director, East Ukrainian Foundation for Social Studies; **Yana Petrova**, Postgraduate Student, Department of Sociology,

Kharkiv National University; **Valeriy Nikolayevskiy**, Professor and Dean, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University; **Andriy Artemenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs; **Anzhela Stashchak**, Postgraduate Student, Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs.

FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation and the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund
“Leading Ukraine Into a New Era of Global and European Citizenship,” **Ruslana Lyzhychko**, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Our Ukraine Bloc; Goodwill Ambassador, UNICEF; and Winner of Eurovision 2004.

MONDAY, APRIL 2/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Vladivostok: Russia’s Window to the East,” **Birgitta Ingemanson**, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Washington State University.

TUESDAY, APRIL 3/ LECTURE

Cosponsored by the Southeast Europe Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
“Dreams of Supremacy, Fears of Decline: A Greek Perspective on New-Age Russia,” **Andreas Andrianopoulos**, Senior Advisor, Competition Project, Russian Federation; former Minister of Industry and Energy, Greece; and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

ENGAGING RUSSIA: U.S. POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA IN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

How the United States engages Russia remains one of the primary challenges of U.S. foreign policy today. During the 2006–07 program year, the Kennan Institute has devoted programming to exploring this relationship and providing a forum where a wide variety of views could be expressed. A conference examining the life and legacy of George F. Kennan looked to the origins of the “containment” policy and how it influenced U.S.-Soviet relations during the Cold War. “Rarely does one idea have such a major resonance and lasting imprint on American foreign policy,” stated Angela Stent. Kennan himself, however, nearly disowned the containment theory, and Stent noted that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kennan supported a new U.S.-Russian relationship that specifically avoided preaching and direct attempts to interfere in Russia’s domestic affairs. According to Stent, Kennan today would advocate for “a long-term, patient, but firm and vigilant engagement with Russia without illusions.”

Other speakers sought to clarify the terms of present-day U.S.-Russia engagement. Padma Desai called for “selective engagement,” which meant that the West should work to help integrate Russia into Europe and the world economy. At the moment, Desai observed, Russia and the United States have common interests, but lack common values. She argued that only by taking part in international institutions and the world economy would Russia come to adopt the rules and practices of a successful modern economy. She said that continued U.S. efforts to isolate and criticize Russia would only serve to discourage reform and cause further problems in relations between the two countries.

One of the crucial tests of U.S.-Russia engagement involves Russia’s accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Randi Levinas assessed the November 2006 bilateral agreement between the two countries. According to Levinas, the agreement benefited both parties, in part by committing Russia to a rules-based system and requiring Russia to apply laws equally to foreign and domestic companies. Levinas also stated that the United States should extend Permanent Normal Trade Relations to the Russian Federation by repealing the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Levinas said that concluding the WTO bilateral negotiation with Russia and failing to extend PNTR would hurt the interests of U.S. businesses, because they will not be allowed to take advantage of the market access that was negotiated during the bilateral talks.

Sharyl Cross discussed how the struggle against terrorism could become a basis for closer cooperation between the countries. Cross stated that although Russia is now one of NATO’s most important allies in countering terrorism, the full potential for cooperation had not been realized and the overall strategic picture for the future remained uncertain. Cross outlined what she suggested might be a comprehensive “containment-like” strategy to counter ideological support for terrorism, which would integrate military, information, political, socio-economic, moral/ethical, and psychological factors, and seek to influence perceptions. According to Cross, the U.S. can best support positive change by remaining engaged with Russia, and continuing to develop cooperation based on mutual priority interests in counterterrorism and other areas.

Stephen Kotkin assessed U.S.-Russia contacts in the area of higher education. Between U.S. government and foundation sources of support, Kotkin reported, close to \$1 billion have gone toward supporting education in the social and natural sciences in formerly socialist countries, especially in Russia. Kotkin specifically highlighted those programs that provided merit-based



OVER: APARTMENT HOUSE, PESTEL
STREET, SAINT PETERSBURG
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individual grants to Russian scholars as having the greatest potential impact on Russian higher education. Overall, Kotkin characterized Western assistance to Russian higher education as a remarkable success: “I don’t know of any other example, geographically or historically, of this level of outside investment in education support, over such a concentrated period,” he said.

Other speakers emphasized the need for the United States and Russia to remain engaged despite the growing disagreements between the two countries. “The main message I have today is that we need to awaken to the importance of the relationship between Russia and the United States; we should not leave it on auto-pilot indefinitely,” said Dmitri Trenin. He added that on a wide range of issues, U.S. and Russian interests coincide, including non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, managing the rise of China, dealing with the difficult situation in the Middle East, and resolving “frozen conflicts.” Positive relations between the two countries, Trenin concluded, would lead to a more stable world, and would enhance the security of both countries.

THURSDAY, APRIL 5/ REGIONAL SEMINAR

Nizhnii Novgorod, Russia

“Modernization: Political and Administrative Resources,” **Andrei Makarychev**, Professor and Chair of Political Science and International Relations, Nizhnii Novgorod Linguistic University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Aleksei Dakhin**, Professor, Volga-Vyatka Branch of Academy of Public Administration.

MONDAY, APRIL 9/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Resisting Occupation: Lessons from a Natural Experiment in Carpathian Ukraine,” **Keith Darden**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, APRIL 12-13/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center; Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; and George Mason University

U.S.-Japan Dialogue on Russia and Northeast Asia

April 12

Panel I: Dialogue on Energy Issues in Northeast Asia

Chair: **Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute.

Panelists: **Shinichiro Tabata**, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; **Masumi Motomura**, Chief Researcher, Japan Oil, Gas, and Metals National Corporation; **Julia Nanay**, Senior Director, Country Strategies,

PFC Energy, Washington, D.C.; **John Fetter**, President, FSI Energy.

Panel II: Geopolitical Issues in Northeast Asia

Chair: **Mark Mohr**, Program Associate, Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Panelists: **Akihiro Iwashita**, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; **Junzo Nakano**, Professor, Suzuka International University; **Mark N. Katz**, Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Michael Yahuda**, Professor Emeritus in International Relations, London School of Economics; Visiting Scholar, Sigur Center of Asian Studies, Elliott School for International Affairs, George Washington University; and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

April 13

Panel III: Challenges Confronting and Presented by Russia in Northeast Asia

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

Panelists: **Kazuhiro Kumo**, Associate Professor, Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University; **Shinji Hyodo**, Senior Researcher, National Institute for Defense Studies, and Visiting Fellow, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, London; **Harley Balzer**, Associate Professor of Government and International Relations, Georgetown University; **Andrew Kuchins**, Director and Senior

Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies.

MONDAY, APRIL 16, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Language Politics in Ukrainian Popular Culture,” **Laada Bilaniuk**, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington.

TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 2007/ BOOK LAUNCH

Kyiv

Cosponsored by the Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

“Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv,” **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Viktor Stepanenko**, Acting Department Head, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 2007/ BOOK DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

Cosponsored by the Cold War

International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

“Stalin’s Wars: From World War to Cold War, 1939-1953,” **Geoffrey Roberts**, Professor, Department of History, University College Cork, Ireland, and Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Steven Barnes**, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Art History, George Mason University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Eric Lohr**, Assistant

Professor, Department of History, American University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 2007/ BOOK LAUNCH

Kyiv

Cosponsored by the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine

“Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv,” **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Hryhoriy Khomenko**, Vice Rector for Science and International Relations, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 2007/ BOOK LAUNCH

Kyiv

Cosponsored by the Department of Sociology and Psychology, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, and Krytyka Publishing House

“Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv,” **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Mykola Klymchuk**, Project Manager, Krytyka Press, Kyiv; **Volodymyr Kulyk**, Editorial Board Member, Krytyka Press, Kyiv.

MONDAY, APRIL 23, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Putin’s State-Building Project: The Case of Law Enforcement,” **Brian Taylor**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University.

TUESDAY-WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24-25, 2007/ CONFERENCE

St. Petersburg

Cosponsored by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, St. Petersburg State University, and the St. Petersburg Committee for International Relations

Tolerance and Intolerance in Modern Society: Discrimination

April 24

Plenary Session:

O.Y. Mamelund, Consul General, Royal Norwegian Consulate General; **B. Elliot**, Consul General, British Consulate General; **H. Cowan**, Consul General, Consulate General of Canada; **J. Drozd**, Consul General, Consulate General of Poland; **M. Kruger**, Consul General, Consulate General of USA in St. Petersburg; **J. Vaananen**, Consul General, Consulate of Finland; **M. Hultberg**, Consul, Consulate of Sweden; **A. V. Prokhorenko**, Chief, St. Petersburg Committee for External Relations; **S. P. Litvinov**, Deputy Chief, St. Petersburg Committee for Labor and Social Care; **S. N. Nesterova**, Chair, St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly Permanent Committee for Social Security; **T. N. Barkova**, “United Russia” political party; **V. I. Fedorov**, Communist Party of the Russian Federation; **E. V. Babich**, Liberal Democratic Party of Russia; **I. V. Lysenko**, “Just Russia” political party; **M. I. Amosov**, “Yabloko” political party; **V. M. Grusman**, Director, St. Petersburg Ethnography Museum; **A. M. Stolyarov**, author, St. Petersburg; **Rev. V. F. Fedorov**,

President, Interdenominational partnership, World Council of Churches, St. Petersburg; **E. Rehn**, Minister, Finland, and independent expert, United Nations; **A. M. Zimichev**, Professor, St. Petersburg.

Session I: National Policy, National Relations, Ethnicity

V. A. Besedina, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **O. P. Polyntseva**, Ph.D. candidate, Kyiv, Ukraine; **Z. I. Nazarov**, Associate Professor, Sterlitamak, Bashkortostan, Russian Federation; **V. N. Petrov**, Professor, Krasnodar, Russian Federation; **D. Hanovs**, Associate Professor, Riga, Latvia; **I. Vinnika**, Ministry for Social Integration, Riga, Latvia; **L. A. Jun**, Professor, Taiwan; **T. A. Abdyrakhmanov**, Associate Professor, Kyrgyzstan; **V. V. Sherstoboev**, Ph.D. candidate, Kharkiv, Ukraine; **A. S. Golikov**, Ph.D. candidate, Kharkiv, Ukraine; **A. V. Afanasieva**, Ph.D. candidate, Kursk, Russian Federation; **E. A. Mikhailova**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **S. A. Golovin**, Head, Federal Migration Services International Department for St. Petersburg and Leningradskaya region; **L. S. Alekseeva**, Associate Professor, Moscow; **I. A. Milyukova**, Associate Professor, Petrozavodsk, Russian Federation; **L. P. Shvets**, Associate Professor, Petrozavodsk, Russian Federation; **V. S.-O. Donzak**, Associate Professor, Republic of Tuva, Russian Federation; **I. N. Kharitonov**, Ph.D. candidate, Minsk, Belarus; **V. V. Menshikov**, Daugavpils, Latvia; **S. N. Chernova**, Ph.D. candidate, St. Petersburg; **O.V. Paikova**, Ph.D. candidate, St. Petersburg; **A.**



Ioannides, Professor, Kingston-on-Thames, U.K.; **M. Ponto**, Professor, Kingston-on-Thames, U.K.

Session II: Tolerance: Philosophy and Politics

V. A. Achkasov, Professor, St. Petersburg; **N. V. Golik**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **P. I. Smirnov**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **S. N. Baranets**, Associate Professor, Vsevolozhsk, Russian Federation; **M. Y. Bunakov**, Senior Teacher, St. Petersburg; **E. S. Vorobyova**, student, Orenburg, Russian Federation; **N. V. Kruglova**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **R. A. Zobov**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **V. V. Voronov**, Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia; **T. N. Voronova**, Daugavpils, Latvia; **I. N. Fedorenko**, Ph.D. candidate, St. Petersburg; **V. V. Petrenko**, Associate Professor, Tomsk, Russian Federation; **O. L. Gnatyuk**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **V. N. Lukin**, Ph.D., St. Petersburg; **M. Y. Bunakov**, senior teacher, St. Petersburg; **M. Khomyakov**, Professor, Florence, Italy; **N. V. Emelyanova**, student, Saratov, Russian Federation; **N. Y. Tashlykova**, Associate Professor, Moscow.

Session III: Tolerance and Religion

N. V. Klinetskaya, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **Moravitsky**, Ph.D. candidate, Lodz, Poland; **M. S. Stetskevich**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **A. V. Nechaev**, Associate Professor, Samara, Russian Federation; **O. V. Formazyuk**, Ph.D. candidate, Belgorod, Russian Federation; **Rev. V. F. Fedorov**, archpriest, St. Petersburg; **F. N. Kozyrev**, Director of a Religious and Pedagogic Center, St.

Petersburg; **Rev. F. Reati**, priest, St. Petersburg; **Rev. V. Khulap**, priest, St. Petersburg; **Rev. V. Zenhauser**, pastor, St. Petersburg; **S. M. Marchukova**, St. Petersburg; **Rev. I. Chabanov**, priest, St. Petersburg; **Rev. A. Tikhomirov**, pastor, St. Petersburg.

April 25

Session IV: Social Processes, Marginalization, Multiculturalism

A. S. Kolesnikov, Professor, St. Petersburg; **I. V. Kuzyutina**, Ph.D. candidate, Lyudinovo, Russian Federation; **N. G. Kuznetsov**, Associate Professor, Kaluga, Russian Federation; **K. Y. Ermetova**, graduate, St. Petersburg; **E. I. Leontieva**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **Z. Ilatov**, Ph.D., Haifa, Israel; **S. Shamai**, Professor, Haifa, Israel; **A. V. Ivanova**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **M. Botkin**, Professor, Frederick, MD; **A. Kotlinsky**, Professor, Kizhko, Poland; **J. Morrison**, Minister-Counselor and Deputy Head of Mission, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; **A. G. Zlotnikov**, Associate Professor, Homel, Belarus; **E. E. Chebotareva**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **T. P. Durasanova**, Associate Professor, Saratov, Russian Federation; **O. A. Volkova**, Associate Professor, Saratov, Russian Federation; **A. K. Sembaeva**, Ph.D. candidate, St. Petersburg; **L. Latkovsky**, Professor, Frederick, MD; **O. A. Peipinya**, Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia; **V. V. Menshikov**, Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia; **V. V. Volkov**, Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia; **Y. P. Mashoshin**, Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia; **M. M. Magomedkhanov**, Associate Professor, Makhachkala,

Dagestan, Russian Federation; **L. De-Bursk**, Ph.D., Las Vegas, NV; **K. Heller**, Professor, Henderson, NV.

Session V: Socialization, Education, Upbringing

N. I. Boenko, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **E. V. Izotova**, graduate student, St. Petersburg; **S. N. Solovieva**, graduate student, Anapa, Russian Federation; **O. V. Golub**, Associate Professor, Volgograd, Russian Federation; **T. N. Koryakina**, Associate Professor, Volgograd, Russian Federation; **L. V. Belgorodskaya**, Associate Professor, Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation; **N. K. Radina**, Associate Professor, Nizhnii Novgorod, Russian Federation; **R. Kh. Salakhutdinova**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **N. A. Skobelina**, Associate Professor, Volgograd, Russian Federation; **V. Kh. Tkhakhov**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **E. V. Shishkina**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **A. E. Banyukhova**, student, Novosibirsk, Russian Federation; **O. V. Rudykhina**, student, Novosibirsk, Russian Federation; **V. Z. Kantor**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **A. A. Hlushko**, student, Luhansk, Ukraine; **I. N. Bulanov**, Moscow; **I. A. Makeeva**, graduate, Taganrog, Russian Federation.

Session VI: Tolerance: Social Development

V. V. Glebov, Associate Professor, Biisk, Russian Federation; **Y. I. Gilinsky**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **A. V. Antyukhina**, Professor, Pyatigorsk, Russian Federation; **V. P. Byunger**, St. Petersburg; **T. G. Potashevskaya**, St. Petersburg; **E. N. Mukhranova**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **A. S. Ivanchenko**, Assistant, St. Petersburg; **E. V. Saulyak**, Assistant Professor, Orel, Russian Federation; **A. L. Bogdanova**, student, Petrozavodsk, Russian Federation; **A. P. Bogomaz**, Tver, Russian Federation; **K. N. Khabibullin**, Professor, St. Petersburg; **O. S. Osipova**, Associate Professor, Moscow; **L. M. Balashova**, student, St. Petersburg; **N. D. Sereda**, Associate Professor, Vologda, Russian Federation; **E. Y. Koltsova**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **M. A. Izgorodina**, correspondent, Ivanovo, Russian Federation; **E. Y. Zhmyrova**, student, Tambov, Russian Federation; **E. N. Lisanyuk**, Associate Professor, St. Petersburg; **G. V. Kusch**, student, Kaluga, Russian Federation; **K. Y. Kamenskaya**, St. Petersburg; **M. V. Grigorieva**, Associate Professor, Ivanovo, Russian Federation.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 2007/ SEMINAR

Lviv, Ukraine

Architecture and Identity in an Urban Environment: The Case of Lviv

Moderator: **Lyudmyla Pavlyuk**, Associate Professor, Department of Journalism, Ivan Franko Lviv National

University, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar.

Speakers: **Antonina Kolodii**, Chair, Lviv Regional Institute of Public Administration, National Academy of Public Administration, Office of the President of Ukraine, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Lyudmyla Pavlyuk**, Associate Professor, Department of Journalism, Ivan Franko Lviv National University, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Nazar Kholod**, Associate Professor, Department of Economic Theory, Ivan Franko Lviv National University, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Oksana Sapelyak**, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary Ethnology, Institute of Ethnology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; **Taras Voznyak**, Editor in Chief, Independent Cultural Magazine “Ji”; **Andriy Yurash**, Associate Professor, Department of Religious Studies, Ivan Franko Lviv National University; **Ihor Dobrochyn**, Associate Professor, Department of the Theory of State and Law, Lviv Commercial University.

THURSDAY-SUNDAY, APRIL 26-29, 2007/ REGIONAL POLICY SYMPOSIUM

Alexandria, VA

Cosponsored by IREX

Former Soviet Republics of Central Asia and the Contemporary Silk Road

April 26

Opening Dinner

Mark Pomar, President, IREX; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Burak Akcapar**, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Turkey.

April 27

Introduction

Joyce Warner, Director, Education Program Division, IREX; **David Abramson**, Analyst on Central Asia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State.

Session I: Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, OPIC, and the Retreat from Transparency

Presenter: **Blake Puckett**, Ph.D. candidate, School of Law, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Discussion Leader: **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas.

Session II: Buying Revolutions? U.S. Elite Understandings of Post-Soviet Democratic “Revolution” in Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, and Georgia

Presenter: **Brian Grodsky**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Maryland, Baltimore.

Discussion Leader: **Steven Sabol**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina-Charlotte.

ENERGY SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN EURASIA

At a time when international demand for oil and natural gas is at historic highs, and continuing security threats in the Middle East put traditional energy supplies at risk, Eurasian supplies of energy are increasingly vital to the global energy market. Russia is the world's largest supplier of natural gas, and vies with Saudi Arabia for the lead in oil production. Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan are also important energy suppliers. These energy exporters have historic opportunities to capitalize on their energy wealth to spark economic development at home. They also face difficult challenges in maintaining secure routes for energy transit and demand for their product. Kennan Institute programming continued to address the complex interrelation of security and economics in Eurasian energy.

Russia has pressed for investment opportunities for Russian companies in downstream energy enterprises in Europe. Furthermore, Russia has sought energy export routes that bypass Eastern Europe and the Baltic states, and it has locked in transit agreements that route Central Asian oil and gas through Russian territory. As Ariel Cohen noted, "energy has become the primary factor influencing developments in the region, leading to the increased assertiveness of Russian foreign policy." Economics as well as geopolitics drives Russia's strategy for integration in the global economy. Leonid Grigoriev contended that Russia's goal is to solidify its reputation as a reliable supplier of energy while helping its companies increase exports and investments abroad.

The story of Eurasian energy development is not limited to Russia. In separate Kennan events, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Araz Azimov and the former Foreign Minister of Georgia Tedo Japaridze discussed the importance of energy production and transport in the Black Sea and Caspian regions. However, the potential for economic development is restricted by the continuing frozen conflicts of the region, including Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Transnistria. These conflicts slow development and provide havens for criminal activities ranging from drug and human trafficking to arms smuggling. In addition, historical and cultural disagreements contribute to infighting among regional states, including the disputes between Turkey and Armenia and between Russia and Georgia. Both speakers expressed the hope that economic development can become a driving force for integration in the region.

Commenting on Caspian energy, Christof van Agt observed that oil supplies are increasing in terms of diversity of source and transit, and are thus moving in a more market-driven direction. The natural gas sector, on the other hand, is increasingly drifting toward monopoly-dominated development. Turkmen gas is routed only through Russia through state-controlled gas pipelines, while Russia opposes on ecological grounds the construction of a trans-Caspian pipeline for oil and gas that would provide an alternative energy transit route away from Russian pipelines.

Current and prospective consumers of Eurasian energy confront challenges of their own. Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar Jennifer Coolidge observed that European energy security policy is hindered by conflicts of interest between corporations based in member states and the individual security interests of those states. As a result, the European Union cannot speak with one voice on energy issues. At the same time, according to Mark Katz, European concerns that Russia and Algeria might attempt to form a gas supplier cartel appear overstated, as the two states are more likely to act as competitors than as a cartel.

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TATARSTAN (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



Swedish diplomat Krister Wahlback reported on concerns in his country over the planned Russian-German Nord Stream gas pipeline which would be routed under the Baltic Sea and through Sweden's exclusive economic zone. Sweden opposes the pipeline route on environmental grounds, and is concerned that if it attempts to block the pipeline, Moscow would try to mobilize gas-consuming EU states, especially Germany. "In that case," he continued, "it would develop into a test of the cohesion and solidarity inside the EU."

Russia's role as an energy supplier in Asia was a central topic in a conference cosponsored by the Wilson Center's Asia Program, George Mason University, and Hokkaido University, titled "U.S.-Japan Dialogue on Russia and Northeast Asia." Panelists noted that Russia's oil and gas resources located on Sakhalin Island and in Eastern Siberia are situated in proximity to Japan and China, two of the top three energy consuming nations in the world. However, the challenging physical and investment environment in Russia makes it difficult to bring the huge Sakhalin energy projects online. The pipeline projects needed to bring Siberian oil and gas to Asian markets are even more expensive and complex in technical, financial, and political terms, according to panelists. Speakers also noted that, if properly negotiated and implemented, energy projects in Northeast Asia have the potential to play a role in expanding regional cooperation by drawing North Korea into a regional energy framework and by helping to facilitate a resolution of the Russo-Japanese dispute over the Kurile Islands.

Session III: The Role of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Chinese Foreign Policy and Strategy Toward Central Asia

Presenter: **Jennifer Bulkeley**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Public Policy, Harvard University.

Discussion Leader: **Roger Kangas**, Professor, Central Asian Studies, George C. Marshall Center.

Session IV: Patron-Client Politics and Presidential Succession in Central Asia

Presenter: **Sean Roberts**, Post-Doctoral Fellow in Central Asian Affairs, Center for Eurasian, Russian and Eastern European Studies, Georgetown University.

Discussion Leader: **Roger Kangas**, Professor, Central Asian Studies, George C. Marshall Center.

Session V: State of the Bazaar: Policy and Politics Surrounding Central Asian Marketplaces

Presenter: **Regine Spector**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

Discussion Leader: **Steven Sabol**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina-Charlotte.

Session VI: Kitchen Talk: Silk Road Women on History, Society, and Dumplings

Presenter: **Helen Faller**, Board Vice-President, Central Asian Cultural Exchange.

Discussion Leader: **Jamsheed Choksy**, Professor, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington.

April 28

Session I: To Repress, to Regulate, or to Ignore: The Position of Central Asian Guest-workers in Three Russian Regions

Presenter: **Matthew Light**, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Discussion Leader: **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas.

Session II: Understanding Alcoholism in Rural Mongolia

Presenter: **Sean Armstrong**, graduate student, School of Public Health, University of Michigan.

Discussion Leader: **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas.

Session III: Effects of Son Preference on Contraception, Abortion, and Fertility in Central Asia: The Case of Uzbekistan

Presenter: **Jennifer Barrett**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Texas.

Discussion Leader: **Jamsheed Choksy**, Professor, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Session IV: Muslim Life in Central Asia, 1943-1985

Presenter: **Eren Tasar**, graduate student, Department of History, Harvard University.

Discussion Leader: **David Abramson**, Analyst on Central Asia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State.

Session V: The Acquisition of Religious Knowledge and Variation in Practice in the Kyrgyz Republic

Presenter: **David Montgomery**, Visiting Fellow, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.

Discussion Leader: **David Abramson**, Analyst on Central Asia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State.

MONDAY, APRIL 30, 2007/
POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State

“Former Soviet Republics of Central Asia and the Contemporary Silk Road,” **David Abramson**, Analyst on Central Asia, Office of Analysis for Russia and Eurasia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; **Jamsheed Choksy**, Professor, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington; **Roger Kangas**, Professor of Central Asian Studies, George C. Marshall Center; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Steven Sabol**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina-Charlotte.

MONDAY, APRIL 30, 2007/
NOON DISCUSSION

“From Repatriation to Remittance: The Evolution of Migration Flows from Central Asia to Russia,”

Sebastien Peyrouse, Associate Scholar, Institute for International and Strategic Research, Paris, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Marlene Laruelle**, Associate Scholar, Department of Post-Soviet Studies, Institute of Political Studies, Paris, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, MAY 1, 2007/ SEMINAR

“Sustainable Development’ Within a Global Context and Ukraine’s Current Situation,” **Mykhailo Zgurovsky**, Rector, Kyiv Polytechnic University, and former Minister of Education, Ukraine.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY, MAY 4-5, 2007/ TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH WORKSHOP

International Development
Assistance in the Post-Soviet Space

Workshop Leader: **Ruth Mandel**, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University College London, and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council.

Participants: **Melissa L. Caldwell**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Cruz; **Kelley E. Cormier**, Graduate Fellow, Institute of Legal Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison; **Brian Grodsky**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Maryland, Baltimore County; **Julie Hemment**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Armine Ishkanian**, Lecturer in Social Policy, Center for Civil Society, Department of Social Policy, The London School of Economics and Political Science; **Renata Kosc-Harmatiy**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Scott Newton**, Lecturer in Law, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; **Noor**

O’Neill Borbieva, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Blake Puckett**, Acting Director, International Programs, School of Law, Indiana University, Bloomington; **Sean Roberts**, Central Asian Affairs Post-Doctoral Fellow, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; **Matthew Spence**, Associate, Munger, Tolles, and Olson, LLP, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, MAY 7, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Oil and Gas Security Policy and Market Developments in Eurasia,” **Christof van Agt**, Manager, Caspian and Central Asian States, International Energy Agency, Paris; **Jennifer Coolidge**, International Policy Fellow, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, U.K., and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, MAY 10-11, 2007/ CONFERENCE

*The Caucasus: New Agendas in
Scholarship*

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

Discussion Chairs: **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Charles King**, Ion Ratiu Professor of Romanian Studies, Professor of International Affairs, Professor of Government, and Faculty Chair,

Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Participants: **Nicholas Breyfogle**, Associate Professor, Department of History, The Ohio State University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Cynthia Buckley**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, and Endowed Fellow, Institute for Innovation, Creativity and Capital, University of Texas, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Georgi Derluguian**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University; **Thomas de Waal**, Caucasus Editor, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, London; **Sascha L. Goluboff**, Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington and Lee University; **Bruce Grant**, Associate Professor of Anthropology, New York University; **Stephen F. Jones**, Professor of Russian Studies and Chair, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Mount Holyoke College; **Michael Kemper**, Professor and Chair for Eastern European Studies, University of Amsterdam; **Michael Khodarkovsky**, Professor, Department of History, Loyola University Chicago, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Renata Kosc-Harmatiy**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Susan Layton**, Honorary Research Fellow, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, U.K., and Research Associate, Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien, et centre-

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FRIDAY, MAY 11, 2007/ SEMINAR

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“The Caucasus: New Agendas for Scholarship and Public Policy,”
Charles King, Ion Ratiu Professor of Romanian Studies, Professor of International Affairs, Professor of Government, and Faculty Chair, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute;
Thomas de Waal, Caucasus Editor, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, London.

TUESDAY, MAY 15, 2007/ LECTURE

“Russia’s Upcoming Election Year: Does It Suggest Changes in Foreign Policy?” **Konstantin Kosachev**, Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, Russian Federation Duma.

MONDAY, MAY 21, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Russia’s Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges,” **Lilia Shevtsova**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center.

TUESDAY, MAY 22, 2007/ SEMINAR

Kyiv
“Modernization in Russia and Ukraine,” **Emil Payin**, Professor, State University—Higher School of Economics; Director, Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies; and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Putin’s Foreign Policy Viewed in Historical Context,” **Robert Legvold**, Marshall D. Shulman Professor, Department of Political Science, Columbia University.

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“A Tragic Feud: Alienation Between the Russian State and the Liberal Intelligentsia, Past and Present,”
Anatol Lieven, Senior Research Fellow, New America Foundation.

MONDAY, JUNE 11, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Orthodox Christianity and the State in Putin’s Russia: Clericalization or Secularism?” **Irina Papkov**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 2007/ SEMINAR

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“Women’s NGOs in Ukraine and the End of Western Aid,” **Alexandra Hrycak**, Associate Professor of Sociology, Reed College, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JUNE 18, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Seeking Rights, Performing the Outlaw: Youth and Democracy in Ukraine,” **Anna Fournier**, Ph.D. recipient, Department of Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University.

TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 2007/ SEMINAR

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
“U.S./NATO-Russia and Countering Ideological Support for Terrorism: Toward Building a Comprehensive Strategy,” **Sharyl Cross**, Professor of National Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch, Germany, and Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY-THURSDAY, JUNE 25-28, 2007/ CONFERENCE

St. Petersburg
Cosponsored by the Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; European University at St. Petersburg; North-West Division of the Scientific Council of the Russian Academy of Sciences on the History of Social Reforms, Movements, and Revolutions; Yale University; Carnegie Corporation of New York; Dmitri Likhachev International Charitable Fund; the Russian Humanities Fund.

Historical Memory and Russian Imperial and Soviet Society, 1860-1939

June 25

I. Historical Memory and the Orthodox Church

Heather Coleman, Canada Research Chair in Imperial Russian History and Associate Professor, Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta; **Vera Shevzov**, Associate Professor, Department of Religion, Smith College; **Maksim Pulkin**, Senior Research Associate, Institute for Language, Literature and History, Karelian Research Center, Russian Academy of Sciences, Petrozavodsk, Russia; *Discussant:* **William Wagner**, Brown Professor of History, Williams College.

II. The Russian Empire: The Role of Memory and Political Memory

Kerstin Jobst, Universität Hamburg; **Marina Vitukhnovskaia**, University of Helsinki, Finland; **Vladimir V. Lapin**, Senior Research Associate, Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; *Discussant:* **Richard Wortman**, Bryce Professor of History, Columbia University, and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council.

June 26

III. Social Memory and Family Memory

Irina Paperno, Professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of California, Berkeley; **Catriona Kelly**, Professor of Russian, Fellow of New College, Lecturer at

Merton College, University of Oxford, U.K.; **Orlando Figes**, Professor, School of History, Classics and Archaeology, Birkbeck, University of London, U.K.; *Discussant:* **John Randolph**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

IV. Regional Memory and Ethno-Religious Identity

Oleh Turiy, Associate Professor, Department of History, and Director, Institute of Church History, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv, Ukraine; **Mikhail Dmitrievich Dolbilov**, Associate Professor, Department of History, European University at St. Petersburg; **Rustem Khaziev**, Associate Professor, Department of Russian History, Bashkir State University, Ufa, Russia; **Guido Hausmann**, Lecturer in East European and Russian History, Department of Russian and Slavonic Studies, Trinity College Dublin; *Discussant:* **Paul Bushkovitch**, Professor, Department of History, Yale University.

June 27

V. Historical Memory in Twentieth Century Social and Political Life

Konstantin Morozov, Member, Advisory Council, "Memorial" Research and Information Center, and independent scholar, Moscow; **Sergei Besspalov**, Associate Professor, Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **Petr Bazanov**, Associate Professor, Department of Library Science, St. Petersburg State University of Culture and Arts; **Albert Nenarokov**, Head Research Associate,

Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History; *Discussant:* **Ziva Galili**, Professor, Department of History, Rutgers University.

VI. Memory of the "Old Regime," Memory of the Revolution

Diane Koenker, Professor, Department of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Editor, *Slavic Review*; **Timo Vihavainen**, Professor of Russian and East European Studies, Renvall Institute, University of Helsinki, Finland; **Frederick Corney**, Associate Professor, Department of History, The College of William and Mary; *Discussant:* **Manfred Hildermeier**, Chair of East European History, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany.

June 28

VII. Stalinism and Historical Memory

Martin Aust, Assistant Professor, Division for East European History, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Germany; **Frithjof Benjamin Schenk**, Research Assistant, Department of East and South European History, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany; **Evgenii Anisimov**, Professor of History, European University at St. Petersburg, and Lead Researcher, Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; *Discussant:* **Maria Ferretti**, Professor, Department of History, Università degli Studi della Tuscia - Viterbo, Italy.

VIII. Historiography and Historical Memory

William G. Rosenberg, Professor, Department of History, University of Michigan; **Jutta Scherrer**, Professor of Russian History, L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), Paris; **Irina Savel'eva**, Professor, and Director, Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies, State University—Higher School of Economics, Moscow; *Discussant:* **Daniel Orlovsky**, Professor and George Bouhe Research Fellow in Russian Studies, Department of History, Southern Methodist University.

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 2007/ LECTURE

Cosponsored by the Southeast Europe Project and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

“Black Sea Synergy: Strategies for Europe's New Frontier,” **Fabrizio Tassinari**, Contributing Scholar, Southeast Europe Project; Assistant Professor, University of Copenhagen; and Associate Fellow, Center for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 11, 2007/ LECTURE

Cosponsored by the Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

“The Security Agenda of Azerbaijan: Dealing with Regional Uncertainty and Energy Politics,” **Araz Azimov**, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

TUESDAY, JULY 17, 2007/ DIRECTOR'S FORUM

“The Current Political Situation in Ukraine,” **Raisa Bogatyrova**, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine;

Head, Parliamentary Faction, Party of Regions; and Coordinator, Parliamentary-Governmental Coalition; **Dmytro Svyatash**, Deputy and Vice-Chairman, Financial and Banking Committee, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Party of Regions.

THURSDAY, JULY 19, 2007/ SEMINAR

Odesa, Ukraine

The Demographic Situation and Migration Processes in Odesa Region

Moderator: **Volodymyr Anderson**, Associate Professor, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: **Oleksandr Topchiev**, Professor and Chair, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University; **Viktoriya Yavorska**, Associate Professor, Department of Geology and Geography, Odesa National University; **Volodymyr Anderson**, Associate Professor, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Viktor Khomutov**, Assistant Professor, Department of Geography of Ukraine, Odesa National University; **Antonina Sheshera**, Junior Research Fellow, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University.

TUESDAY, JULY 24, 2007/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Global Health Initiative, Woodrow Wilson Center
“Drug Resistant TB in Russia,”

Salmaan Keshavjee, Medical Anthropologist, Division of Social Medicine and Health Inequalities, Brigham and Women's Hospital; and Instructor in Medicine, Harvard Medical School; **Murray Feshbach**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 23, 2007/ POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
“Orthodoxy and Politics in Today's Russia,” **Irina Papkov**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 2007/ SEMINAR

“Russian Reforms: Comparing the New Economic Policy (1921–1928) to Modern Russia (1996–2006),” **Yury Goland**, Lead Researcher, Institute of Economics, Russian Academy of Sciences, and Member, Advisory Council, Committee on Budget and Taxation, Russian State Duma.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 2007/ NOON DISCUSSION

“The Next Generation in Russia and Ukraine: Agents of Change?” **Nadia Diuk**, Senior Director, Europe and Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy, and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council.



PUBLICATIONS

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.

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CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, SOUTHEAST VIEW, KROKHINO,
VOLOGDA OBLAST (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

BOOKS

Dominique Arel and Blair A. Ruble, eds. *Rebounding Identities: The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

William Brumfield, Solikamsk: *Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Solikamsk: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: "Tri Kvadrata" Publishers, 2007.

William Brumfield, Cherdyn: *Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Cherdyn: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: "Tri Kvadrata" Publishers, 2007.

O.G. Echevskaia, E.V. Priamikova, and T.A. Sidorova, et al, eds. *Sotsialnaia Spravedlivost i Mezhshektornoe Vzaimodeistvie* [Social Justice and Inter-sectoral Cooperation]. Moscow: Maks Press, 2007.

Blair A. Ruble, Kapital Rozmaitosty: Transnatsionalni Migranty v Monreali, Vashingtoni ta Kyievi [Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv]. Trans. Taras Tsymbal. Kyiv: Krytyka Press, 2007.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

#295. *Commemoration of the Chernobyl Disaster: The Human Experience Twenty Years Later* (Conference Proceedings). (2007).

#296. *The War on Terror and its Implications for Human Rights in Uzbekistan*. **Nozima Kamalova** (2007).

CATHEDRAL OF THE MENDYLIAN ICON OF THE SAVIOR, INTERIOR, ELABUGA, TATARSTAN (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



MEETING REPORTS

Vol. XXIV No. 1 2006

Alfred B. Evans, Jr., Professor of Political Science, California State University, Fresno; **Laura Henry**, Assistant Professor of Government and Legal Studies, Bowdoin College; **Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of British Columbia. “Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment.” (23 May 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 2 2006

Hugh Ragsdale, independent scholar; **Paul Stephan**, Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Professor of Law, University of Virginia; **Allen Lynch**, Professor, Department of Politics, University of Virginia; **Jack Matlock**, Sol Linowitz Professor of International Relations, Hamilton College, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR. “Putin and the Russian Tradition: Illiberal but Democratic?” (9 May 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 3 2006

Krister Wahlback, former Ambassador, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Security Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Carl Bildt, 1991-1994. “Russian Energy and Northern Europe: How Much Scope for Political Pressure?” (23 October 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 4 2006

Ariel Cohen, Senior Research Fellow, Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for International Studies, Heritage Foundation. “Central Asian Energy and U.S. Security and Foreign Policy Interests.” (10 October 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 5 2007

Anders Åslund, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. “An Assessment of the Yanukovych Government in Ukraine.” (13 November 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 6 2007

Kathleen Kuehnast, Social Scientist, The World Bank, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Nora Dudwick**, Social Development Advisor, The World Bank, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. “Whose Rules Rule? Everyday Border Conflicts in Central Asia.” (27 November 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 7 2007

Stephen Cohen, Professor of Russian Studies and History, New York University; **James Collins**, Senior International Advisor, Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP; former Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d’Affaires, U.S. Embassy, Moscow (1990-93); and former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (1997-2001); **Jack F. Matlock, Jr.**, former George F. Kennan Professor, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR (1987-91); **Wayne Merry**, Senior Associate, American Foreign Policy Council, Washington, D.C., and former Chief Domestic Political Analyst, U.S. Embassy, Moscow, (1991-94); **Richard Miles**, Executive Director, Open

World Leadership Center, Washington, D.C.; Chair, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; former U.S. Consul General, Leningrad (1988-91); and former U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, to Bulgaria, and to Azerbaijan. “The Fifteenth Anniversary of the End of the Soviet Union: Recollections and Perspectives.” (13 December 2006).

Vol. XXIV No. 8 2007

Oleksandr Fisun, Professor of Political Science, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Oleksandr Buryak**, Professor and Chair, Department of History of Architecture, Kharkiv Academy of Architecture; **Svitlana Rybalko**, Associate Professor of Design, Kharkiv Academy of Architecture; **Andriy Korneev**, Associate Professor, Kharkiv Academy of Design and Arts; **Dmytro Chorny**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Philosophy, Kharkiv National University; **Volodymyr Kravchenko**, Professor and Chair, Department of Ukrainian Studies, Kharkiv National University; **Olga Filippova**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Viktor Pasisnychenko**, Associate Professor of Sociology and Political Science, Kharkiv Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute. “Architecture and Identity in an Urban Environment: The Case of Kharkiv.” (28 November 2006, Kharkiv, Ukraine).

CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY AFTER THE ORANGE REVOLUTION

Ukraine continues to consolidate the gains of the Orange Revolution. While the process has proceeded in fits and starts, Ukraine's political transformation since 2004 nevertheless remains profound, both in terms of the actual reforms implemented and the country's overall democratic prospects. Moreover, through a series of compromises and close (but not overwhelmingly decisive) elections, Ukraine has begun to address the domestic divisions that have dominated the country's politics for much of its post-Soviet history. This internal debate also has had important consequences for Ukraine's long-term foreign policy goals. In particular, a consensus is slowly building around Ukraine's European future that will influence the country's political and economic development for years to come.

In light of these fundamental changes, scholars of Ukraine have begun to assess Ukrainian developments through new disciplines. This past year, the Kennan Institute contributed to the growing diversity of Ukrainian studies by analyzing the country's transition from a comparative, multi-disciplinary perspective.

One of the most important meetings on Ukraine this year was the Kennan Institute's workshop "Civil Society and Democracy in Ukraine." The group confirmed the difficulty of relying on traditional categories to explain Ukraine's social and political transformation. Instead, participants discussed the historical and institutional roots of social transformation that ultimately culminated with the Orange Revolution. Lucan Way provided a historical perspective by tracing the roots of regime contestation in Ukraine back to 1992. Ioulia Shukan looked further back to the student movement of the late 1980s as an impetus for the creation of a network of civic activists that ultimately played a prominent role in the Orange Revolution. Joshua Tucker broadened the analysis by putting Ukraine's 2004 elections in a larger context of waves of elections and revolutions, and trying to understand whether democratic elections were actually the result—or the cause—of democratization.

While the macro-political questions remained important indicators of the potential direction of Ukrainian politics, the group also looked at individuals "on the ground" and identified a similarly complex situation. Anna Fournier emphasized the important role of high school citizenship courses in promoting social and political change in Ukraine. Alternatively, Adriana Helbig challenged the whole notion of citizenship, instead noting that some disenfranchised groups failed to benefit at all from the Orange Revolution. Maps may have showed a clear delineation between orange and blue voting patterns, but the workshop confirmed that what was happening on the ground was much more complex than a color-coded map.

Scholars addressed other major trends in post-2004 Ukraine. Anders Åslund described Ukraine's tremendous metamorphosis after the Orange Revolution, highlighting the emergence of a free press, the strengthening of democratic processes, and the introduction of new judicial institutions. While corruption remains a serious problem, Åslund emphasized that Ukraine already has seen great changes as a result of the Orange Revolution. Jaroslav Koshiw admitted that even Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich had managed, with some success, to shed his negative image and present himself as a strong leader. Problems still remained, however, in Ukraine's pursuit of democratic reform and civil society. Alexandra Hrycak noted that state officials had co-opted the main issues raised by the women's movement, which has lessened the activity level and influence of local women's groups.



TEACHER'S BUILDING, KYIV (YAROSLAV PYLYNSKYI)

The Kennan Institute continued to examine the linkages between past and present as a means of highlighting the complexity of Ukraine's current political, economic, and social transformation. The past "continues to change" as scholars take a new look at old data, some of which have only recently become available. Keith Darden analyzed varying educational policies in western Ukraine during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, noting that the ideological content of this first round of mass schooling influenced political behavior for generations to come. Laada Bilaniuk focused on how language policies play out on the ground. Although most Ukrainians are bilingual, Bilaniuk noted that their choice of language in everyday speech was influenced both by circumstances and by broad social and political processes. Volodymyr Dubovyk demonstrated that Ukraine's "European past" helped pave the way for a European (NATO-oriented) future, while Member of Parliament Ruslana Lyzhychko identified several policy areas (improving social rights, combating human trafficking) that need to be addressed as Ukraine increases its ties to the West.

Vol. XXIV No. 9 2007
Steven Solnick, Moscow Representative, Ford Foundation, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute;
Stephen Kotkin, Professor and Director of Russian and Eurasian Studies, Princeton University.
“Western Foundations and Post-Communist Higher Education: A Report Card.” (30 January 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 10 2007
Francine Hirsch, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.
“Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union.” (16 January 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 11 2007
Jack F. Matlock, Jr., former George F. Kennan Professor, Institute for Advanced Study, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR;
Angela Stent, Professor of Government, and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University;
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Allen Lynch, Professor, Department of Politics, University of Virginia; **John Lewis Gaddis**, Robert A. Lovett Professor of History, Yale University.
“Reflections on George F. Kennan: Scholar and Policymaker.” (8 February 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 12 2007
Dmitri Trenin, Senior Associate and Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center.
“Why Russia and America Need Each Other.” (2 February 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 13 2007
Donald N. Jensen, Director of Communications, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.
“Russia, Inc.: Power, Politics, and Money in Putin’s Kremlin.” (19 March 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 14 2007
Cynthia S. Kaplan, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute;
Henry Brady, Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley.
“Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.” (1 March 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 15 2007
Keith Darden, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University.
“Resisting Occupation: Lessons from a Natural Experiment in Carpathian Ukraine.” (9 April 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 16 2007
Brian Taylor, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University.
“Putin’s State-Building Project: The Case of Law Enforcement.” (23 April 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 17 2007
Robert Legvold, Marshall D. Shulman Professor, Department of Political Science, Columbia University.
“Putin’s Foreign Policy Viewed in Historical Context.” (29 May 2007).

Vol. XXIV No. 18 2007
Lilia Shevtsova, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center.
“Russia’s Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges.” (21 May 2007).

SPECIAL REPORT

Megan A. Yasenchak, **Jennifer Giglio**, and **Margaret Paxson**. National Security and Human Rights: Conference Proceedings. 2006.

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Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 10, Fall 2006.

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KENNAN KYIV PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Ahora [Agora], Volume 4, Winter 2006.

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DIALOGUE PROGRAMS ON RUSSIA AND THE SURROUNDING STATES

Olga Grushin, Dialogue Television #1503, The Dream Life of Sukhanov

Alexandra Vacroux, Dialogue Radio #808, Russia: Reform and Reality

Alexandra Vacroux, Dialogue Television #1409, Russia: Reform and Reality

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MIGRATION AND TOLERANCE

The movement of people across frontiers and borders is an extremely important issue in today's world, and especially in the countries once part of the Soviet Union, where international migration is a relatively new phenomenon. While the collapse of the Soviet state brought with it expanded freedom of movement, it also resulted in increased restrictions at many destination points for migrants, providing new administrative challenges. Some citizens are driven to leave their places of origin because of conflict, political ambiguity, or economic deprivation. As the region continues its integration into global economic networks, it becomes an increasingly desirable transit route and destination for migrants from Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

According to a World Bank report, Russia and Ukraine currently rank second and fourth in the world, respectively, in terms of the number of international migrants each country hosts. During the 2006–07 program year, the Institute sponsored numerous events in Ukraine, Russia, and the United States that addressed the migration issue. In each case, the Institute provided an open forum in an effort to foster understanding of this complex and policy-relevant phenomenon.

Special attention was focused on the migration issue in Ukraine. The Kennan Kyiv Project hosted conferences in Kharkiv and Odesa examining the situation of migrants in these urban centers, which involved numerous researchers

and policymakers from both Russia and Ukraine. In April 2007, Kennan Institute Director Blair A. Ruble presented the Ukrainian translation of his book *Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv* at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, and the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University. In order to further the Institute's research agenda, the Kennan Kyiv Office is coordinating the activities of a research team made up of Ukrainian and Russian experts who are studying migrant communities in several cities in both countries.

During the program year, the Kennan Institute in Washington, D.C. also hosted a series of presentations by a variety of migration experts. Matthew Light discussed the *propiska* system of residency registration and the reasons for its persistence. Timothy Heleniak gave an overview of the large-scale waves of migration that have swept across the region since 1991. Joshua Sanborn discussed the refugee crisis in Russia during World War I, providing historical context for the contemporary discussion. Sebastien Peyrouse and Marlene Laruelle discussed the evolution of migrant flows from the countries of Central Asia to Russia, arguing that whereas in the early 1990s these flows were primarily made up of ethnic Russians, by the late 1990s it was Central Asian labor migrants who made up the overwhelming majority of migrants.

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