



*George Kennan*  
1868

## KENNAN INSTITUTE

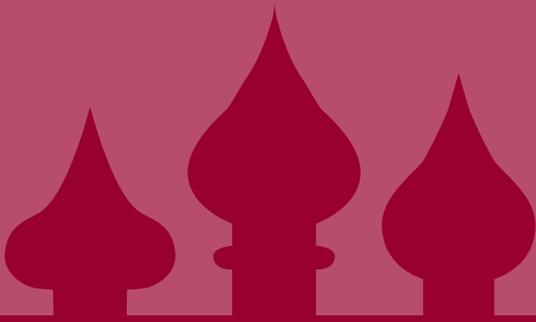
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ISSN: 1931-2083



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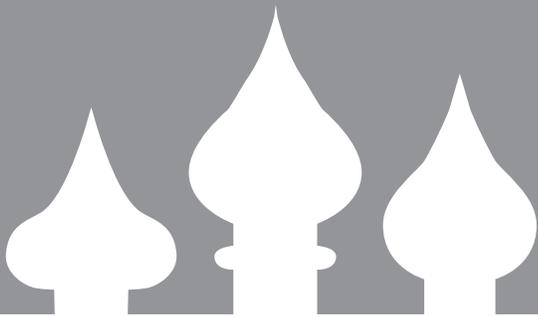
KENNAN INSTITUTE

# Annual Report 2009–2010





Woodrow Wilson  
International  
Center  
for Scholars



KENNAN INSTITUTE

*Annual Report*  
2009–2010

# KENNAN INSTITUTE

## **KENNAN INSTITUTE**

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## **KENNAN INSTITUTE STAFF**

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William E. Pomeranz, Deputy Director  
F. Joseph Dresen, Program Associate  
Mary Elizabeth Malinkin, Program  
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Edmita Bulota, Program Assistant  
Lauren Crabtree, Program Assistant  
Amy Liedy, Editorial Assistant

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Larissa Eltsefon, Editorial Assistant  
Lidiya Zubytka, Program Assistant  
Monique Principi, Program Specialist  
Alice Krupit, Program Assistant

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Ekaterina Alekseeva, Program Manager  
and Editor  
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Amy Freeman, Eugene Imas,  
Aika Karimova, George Kobakhidze,  
Patrick Lang, Emily Linehan,  
Bryce Lively, Alla Malova, Wallis Nader,  
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ISSN: 1931-2083



ZNAMENSKOE-RAEK, ESTATE HOUSE, RAEK,  
TVER', RUSSIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

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

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# OVERVIEW

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

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

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

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

CATHEDRAL OF THE DORMITION,  
EAST VIEW, DMITROV, MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)



CHORAL SYNAGOGUE, ROSA  
LUXEMBURG STREET 38, TOMSK,  
RUSSIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

summaries and other published materials on its website, which had over 24,000 unique visitors in 2009. The Institute's outreach initiatives also include a Facebook page, which currently connects approximately one hundred users to information regarding the Kennan Institute's public events, publications, grant opportunities, and latest news.

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

In addition to its office in Washington, the Kennan Institute operates centers in Moscow and Kyiv. The Kennan Moscow Project and Kennan Kyiv Project provide on-the-ground assistance to the Washington staff and maintain contact with various Russian and Ukrainian orga-

nizations. 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

## *Davai! Davai! Davai!*

The close of our 2009-2010 program year happens to coincide with the opening of the 2010-2011 season of the National Hockey League. Not so long ago, the unveiling of a new Washington Capitals squad hardly merited notice in a city noted for its pathetic professional sports teams. Washington was never a hockey town and the Caps were very much latecomers to the hockey party.

All of this began to change with the arrival of Dinamo Moscow left winger Alexander Ovechkin in 2005. Suddenly the area was full to the rafters and the Washington Metro was overflowing with Washingtonians in red t-shirts with Russian names shouting wild Russian sports chants such as the famous *Davai! Davai! Davai!* The team is trying to come back from a disappointing post-season collapse after racking up the most victories during the league's regular season. *Tout Washington* seems transfixed by Ovechkin and his teammates, including Russian stars Alexander Semin and Semyon Varlamov.

In one sense, there is nothing noteworthy about a bunch of Russians playing on an NHL team. Many Russian hands have hoisted the Stanley Cup high in the air over the past two decades in cities such as Detroit and Pittsburgh. Washington is different. A goodly number of those shouting Caps fans show up to desks and workstations across the metropolitan region the next morning only to be paid more than decent money to think rather hostile thoughts about Russia and Russians.

The story of the Washington Capitals and its Russian stars presents a parable of US-Russian relations at the moment. Americans and Russians think nothing about applauding one another in sports arenas, concert halls, and opera houses. Russian engineers help to design American word processing programs, computers and airplanes. Russian doctors treat us with care and skill. Russian professors hold forth in nearly every American university and college worthy of notice. Far more importantly, Russians and Americans appear to be cooperating closely in Afghanistan.

And yet, when the time comes to score cheap political points, an American politician need only dust off an old speech from the early 1980s and substitute the word "Russian" for "Soviet." Their Russian colleagues have an easier time. They don't have to change a word. Only the Ukrainians have to decide on an appropriate enemy of the moment, either Russian or American. Here we are two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, enjoying ourselves watching each other's geniuses (for Ovechkin, Semin and Varlamov surely are geniuses at what they do), and not at all sure if we are friend or foe. We still don't know how to think about one another; how to speak to one another; to trust one another.

CHURCH OF SAINTS KOSMA & DEMIAN,  
SOUTHEAST VIEW, KALUGA, RUSSIA  
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

The role of the Kennan Institute and our partner institutions at think tanks and universities across the United States, Russia, and Ukraine is to try to provide the knowledge and background that is necessary for productive conversations, be they artistic, academic, political, or military. This task remains as challenging as it was when we first opened our doors over three-and-a-half decades ago. In many ways, it is even more complex as Russians, Ukrainians and, in different ways, even Americans struggle to figure out who we are and how, in that self-knowledge, we can and should relate to one another.

These complex relationships continue to drive the mission of the Kennan Institute. In the past twelve months, the Kennan Institute has hosted 58 scholars who have explored the intellectual complexities of the post-Soviet region, evaluated the legacies of both the Russian Empire and Soviet rule, and identified prospects for the future through the study of a highly diverse range of topics. Two Woodrow Wilson Center fellows focused primarily on the history of Russia. Melissa Stockdale researched the correlation between patriotism and national identity during Russia's Great War, while Michael Dobbs explored the origins of the Cold War. Leah Bendavid-Val examined the ways photographic images of Siberia helped to create and perpetuate the region's history.

Comparative politics have been a point of interest, particularly in terms of international relations. Janus Reiter researched the relationship between Russia and the transatlantic community. Anna Arustomova analyzed relations between the United States and Russia through the prism of 19th century fiction, while Oleg Karmadonov examined the countries' relationship in terms of social contracts. Oleksandr Merezhko assessed the sociology of international law, while Stacy Closson researched the political relationship between Russia and Europe in the context of energy dependence. Political institutions formed a main focus for Gennadiy Druzhenko, who evaluated the role of judicial activism in Ukrainian democracy. Finally, Natalia Kudriavtseva searched for rational grounds of a just social order.

Other scholars turned their gaze inward to elucidate the growing policy ramifications of ethnicity and tolerance in the post-Soviet space. Elena Germanova Tonkova studied the theoretical aspects of multiculturalism, while Yuliya Soroka analyzed group identity dynamics in multicultural societies. Olga Vendina studied the unintended side effects of ethno-cultural policies in Russian government. Finally, Rebecca Chamberlain-Creanga analyzed the identity formations dividing and uniting post-Soviet states in relation to political-economic changes.

The Kennan Institute continues to place major U.S. policy debates as they relate to Russia and other successor states into their long term historical perspective. Yulia Khmelevskaya researched how the American press of the 1920s depicted early Soviet Russia. Evgeniy Sobolev examined the ramifications of American oil policy in the Arabian Gulf region. Oxana Lekarenko examined American policymaking in response to the common market of the early 1960s, while Sergei Miroshnikov assessed the Eisenhower Administration's legislative responses to Eastern European Communist states.

The study of religion in the successor states to the Soviet Union remained a major area of focus for the Kennan Institute. Svetlana Peshkova explored how home-schooled Islam in Uzbekistan is creating a path towards moral renewal. Lev Simkin debated the challenges of religious freedom in the context of Russian law in the 21st century. Additionally, Russian policy remained a focal point for Kennan Institute scholars. Nataliya Shagayda examined Russian agricultural policy, while Boris Lanin continues to explore Russian educational policy in the context of transformational societies. Galina Starovoitova fellow Anna Sevortian

analyzed open letters to the Russian government as a tool for understanding political controversy and dissent in contemporary Russian society.

Several scholars concentrated on studying the specific areas within the post-Soviet region, especially Ukraine and Central Asia. Elyor Karimov explored the origins and historical legacies of Islamic political culture in Central Asia, while Tom Parfitt studied Russian strategy toward insurgency in the North Caucasus. Ambassador Zamira Sydykova assessed the causes and consequences of the color revolutions in post-Soviet states, while Barbara Junisbai considered the impact of regime changes and political opposition in that region. Regine Spector is examining the politics of bazaars in Central Asia; Olena Haleta is evaluating cultural memory in Ukrainian Literature. Finally, Liudmila Pravikova is studying the changes in language identity and language law in the North Caucasus since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

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



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

The 2009-2010 Kennan Institute Program year is significant for one more sad and meaningful reason. Woodrow Wilson Center President Lee Hamilton has announced his retirement after twelve years of stellar leadership. We join everyone who cares about the Center in thanking Lee for his leadership and in wishing him well in the future. Lee created the environment which enabled all of us at the Kennan Institute to thrive and we are all in his debt.

# ADVISORY COUNCILS

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

## KENNAN INSTITUTE ADVISORY COUNCIL

**Hope Harrison, Chair**

George Washington University

**Karen Dawisha\***

Miami University

**Laura Engelstein**

Yale University

**Ilya Gaiduk\***

Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences

**Ruth Mandel\***

University College London

**Serhii Plokhii**

Harvard University

**The Honorable Paul R. Smith**

Retired Diplomat

**Viktor Stepanenko**

Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

**Grace Kennan Warnecke**

Consultant

*\*The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Advisory Council members Karen Dawisha, Ilya Gaiduk, and Ruth Mandel. We greatly appreciate their support and hard work these past years.*

## RUSSIAN ALUMNI ASSOCIATION ADVISORY COUNCIL

**Anatoly Krasikov, Chair**

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State Linguistic University, Nizhniy Novgorod

**Olga Malinova**

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**Victoria Zhuravleva**

Russian State Humanitarian University (RGGU), Moscow

## UKRAINIAN ALUMNI ADVISORY COUNCIL

**Antonina Kolodii, Chair**

Lviv Regional Institute of Public Administration, National Academy of Public Administration, Office of the President of Ukraine

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Odesa National University

**Olga Nosova**

Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs

**Andriy Rukkas**

Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University

**Nataliya Vysotska**

Kyiv State Linguistic University

# KENNAN COUNCIL

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

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

CHURCH OF THE ANNUNCIATION, EAST FACADE, CENTRAL APSE, WINDOW DETAIL, KARGOPOL', ARKHANGELSK, RUSSIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

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LLP

**Peter L. Schaffer**  
A La Vieille Russie





# 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 2009–10 program year, the Institute supported eight types of grants: Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowships, Galina Starovoitova Fellowships on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Senior Scholarships, Senior Policy Scholarships, Public Policy Scholarships, Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholarships, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholarships, and Short-Term grants. The competitive application process is open to qualified academic scholars as well as practitioners from government, media, and the private sector. All programs are limited to candidates with doctoral degrees or equivalent professional achievement, except Short-Term grants, for which an advanced Ph.D. candidate may apply.

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

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

During the 2009–10 program year, the Kennan Institute supported 58 scholars whose work included topics in politics, sociology, history, literature, economics, and the arts throughout the former Soviet Union. The scholars at the Kennan Institute during the past year came from around the world and formed a community. This community of scholars contributed to the life of the Institute and helped to further American understanding of the social, political, and economic dynamics of the successor states to the Soviet Union.

CATHEDRAL OF THE TRINITY,  
INTERIOR, VIEW EAST TOWARD  
ICONOSTASIS, KALUGA, RUSSIA  
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Every event I participated has been not only very interesting but also inspiring for the promotion of different approaches and ideas. I find the Kennan Institute program very useful and will personally recommend it to other Russian scholars.

—Olga Vendina, Galina Starovoitova Fellow, September-December 2009

### **GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

**MARYA ROZANOVA**, Associate Professor, Admiral Makarov State Maritime Academy and Head of the Center for Civil, Social, Scientific, and Cultural Initiatives, St. Petersburg. “The Migration Policy Development in Urban Areas of Contemporary Russia.” January 2010-April 2010.

**ANNA SEVORTIAN**, Deputy Director, Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights, Moscow. “Understanding Russia’s Society Today: Open Letters as a Channel of Political Communication Expressing Controversy and Dissent.” April 2010-July 2010.

**LEV SIMKIN**, Professor, Russian State Institute of Intellectual Property, Moscow. “Russian Law and Challenges of Religious Freedom in the 21st Century.” November 2009-January 2010.

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

### **PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS**

**TOM PARFITT**, Correspondent, The Guardian, Moscow. “Russia’s Strategies for Quelling Armed Insurgency in the North Caucasus: Past, Present, Future” January 2010-May 2010.

**JANUS REITER**, former Polish Ambassador to Germany and the United States; President, Center for International Relations. “Transatlantic Community and Russia.” February 2010-April 2010.

**ZAMIRA SYDYKOVA**, Kyrgyz Ambassador to the United States and Canada. “The Color Revolutions in the Post-Soviet Realm: Causes and Consequences.” July 2010-November 2010.

### **SENIOR POLICY SCHOLAR**

**WILLIAM GREEN MILLER**, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine. “Creation of a Relationship between Ukraine and the U.S.” January 2003-December 2010.

### **SENIOR SCHOLARS**

**LEAH BENDAVID-VAL**, independent scholar. “Siberia: A Photographic Portrait and Analysis.” January 2010-December 2011.

**MURRAY FESHBACH**, Research Professor Emeritus, Georgetown University, Washington D.C. “Policy Implications of Population Health, and Environment Trends in Russia.” August 2006-December 2010.

**JAN KALICKI**, Counselor for International Strategy, Chevron Corporation. “Energy and Security Issues and Opportunities in Russia and the Surrounding States.” July 2006-June 2010.

**ALEXANDRA VACROUX**, independent scholar. “Institutional Obstacles to Health Care Reform in Russia.” September 2006-August 2010.

## WOODROW WILSON CENTER FELLOWS

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

**MICHAEL DOBBS**, former Reporter, National Staff, *The Washington Post*. “Six Months in 1945: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Cold War.” January 2010-May 2010.

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

**BORIS LANIN**, Principal Research Professor of Philosophy, Academy of Education of Russia. “Transforming Educational Policy in a Transformational Society.” September 2010-June 2011.

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

## FULBRIGHT-KENNAN INSTITUTE RESEARCH SCHOLARS

**ANNA ARUSTOMOVA**, Associate Professor, Perm State University, Russia. “America and Russia: A Cultural Dialogue in 19th Century Fiction.” October 2009-March 2010.

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

**GENNADIY DRUZENKO**, independent scholar, Ukraine. “Judicial Activism: To What Extent Is It Profitable for Democracy in Ukraine.” September 2009-February 2010.

**OLENA HALETA**, Associate Professor and Director, Literary Theory and Comparative Studies, Ivan Franko Lviv University, Ukraine. “Anthologies as a Mechanism of Cultural Memory in Ukrainian Literature.” September 2010-February 2011.

**OLEG KARMADONOV**, Professor, Department of Regional Studies and Social Economics, Irkutsk State University, Russia. “Social Contract and Social Corruption: The Specifics of a ‘New Social Partnership’ in Today’s Russia and the United States.” March 2010-August 2010.

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

**NATALIA KUDRIAVTSEVA**, Assistant Professor, Kherson National Technical University, Ukraine. “Rationality of Justice: The Search for Rational

Programs like this [Fulbright-Kennan] make best contribution in the understanding between people from different countries thereby providing peace and improvement of the world.

—Evgeniy Sobolev. Fulbright-Kennan Scholar, September 2009-February 2010

Grounds of a Just Social Order.” September 2009-December 2009.

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

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

To my mind, WWICS and the Kennan Institute represent the place where all the good things have come together: learned people from all over the world, helpful staff, beautiful and cozy building, the best library ever, lots of most interesting events, a good chef, and all of these located in Washington, D.C.! In one of the annual reports compiled by the Fulbright Program in Ukraine there was a former Fulbright-Kennan scholar's opinion of the Kennan Institute as 'a paradise for scholars.' I must agree.

—Natalia Kudriavtseva, Fulbright-Kennan Scholar, September-December 2009

**SERGEI MIROSHNIKOV**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Tomsk State University, Russia. "The Studies of Process Transformation of the Decision Making and Realization of the Eisenhower Administrations toward Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary 1952-1960." March 2010-August 2010.

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

**NATALIA SHAGAYDA**, Scientist, Institute of Agrarian Problems, Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences, Russia. "Developing a State Policy on Agricultural Land as A Major Production Resource in Agriculture." September 2010-February 2011.

**EVGENIY SOBOLEV**, Senior Lecturer, World History Department, Bashkir State Pedagogical Institute. "American Oil Policy in the Arabian Gulf Region." September 2009-February 2010.

**YULIYA SOROKA**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University. "Other and Othering in a Multicultural Society: Theories, Social Practice and Empirical Evaluation Models." February 2010-May 2010.

**ELENA TONKOVA**, Dean, Department of Humanities, Syktyvkar State University. "Theoretical Review of the Concept of Multiculturalism." March 2010-August 2010.

#### **TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH SCHOLARS**

**REBECCA CHAMBERLAIN-CREANGA**, independent scholar. "Manufacturing Separatism: Transnational Economy, Identity, and State Formation on a Post-Soviet Frozen War Front." May 2010-February 2011.

**BARBARA JUNISBAI**, independent scholar. "Economic Reform Regimes, Elite Defection, and Political Opposition in the Post-Soviet States." January 2010-August 2010.

**SVETLANA PESHKOVA**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of New Hampshire. "Home-Schooled Islam in the Ferghana Valley (Uzbekistan): Towards a Moral Renewal." June 2010-September 2010.

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

### **TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED SUMMER RESEARCH SCHOLARS**

**DANIELLE GRANVILLE**, Ph.D. candidate, Oxford University. "The Ukrainian Diaspora Role in Holodomor Recognition." July 2010-September 2010.

### **SHORT-TERM SCHOLARS**

**RACHEL APPLEBAUM**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, University of Chicago. "Soviet Cultural and Social Contacts with Czechoslovakia, 1945-1969." December 2009.

**JONATHAN BRUNSTEDT**, Doctoral candidate, Oxford University. "Forging 'Common Glories': Soviet Remembrance of the Second World War and the Limits of Ethnic Particularism, 1965-2005." March 2010-April 2010.

**SVETLANA CHERVONNAYA**, Freelance Historian and Journalist, Moscow. "Alexander Vassiliev's Notebooks and the Documentation of Soviet Intelligence Operations in the United States, 1930s-1950s." February 2010-March 2010.

**NANCY W. COLLINS**, Research Director, The European Institute, Columbia University. "Seeing Through the Iron Curtain: A History of America's First Russian Institute." July 2010.

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

**TATIANA ERSHOVA**, Director, Centre for Democratic Initiatives and Economic Technologies, Rostov on Don, Russia. "Russia Needs Economic Democracy." March 2010-April 2010.

**LEE FARROW**, Associate Professor of History, Auburn University at Montgomery. "Alexis in America: The Grand Tour of a Russian Grand Duke, 1871-1872." July 2010-August 2010.

**OLGA GULINA**, Law Faculty, Potsdam University, Berlin. "Right to Equality/Non-Discrimination: Overview of Immigration and Integration Policies in USA and EU." April 2010.

**JONATHAN HUNT**, Ph.D. candidate, University of Texas, Austin. "Destroyer of Worlds: Nuclear Fallout, the Cold War and the Global Environment, 1954-1963." August 2010-September 2010.

**LISA KIRSCHENBAUM**, Associate Professor, Department of History, West Chester University. "The Comintern and the Making of International Revolutionaries." July 2010.

**JAROSLAV KOSHIW**, Author, United Kingdom. "U.S. Covert Operations in Ukraine—1948 to 1952." May 2010-June 2010.

**NIVEDITA D. KUNDU**, Research Fellow, Indian Council of World Affairs, India. "NATO & SCO in Afghanistan: Assessing U.S.-Russia Policy in Eurasia." April 2010-May 2010.

**ANTON MASTEROVOY**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, The City University of New York. "Eating Soviet: Food and Culture in USSR, 1917-1991." June 2010.

In the future,  
I hope to be  
able to again  
work with the  
Kennan Institute's  
wonderful staff  
who have made  
my stay in  
Washington not  
only possible,  
but extremely  
enjoyable.

—Anton Masterovoy,  
Short-Term Research  
Scholar, June 2010

Casual discussions with Russian colleagues at the Kennan Institute have also enhanced the quality of my work; my carrel neighbors even recommended sources for me based on their experiences as citizens of the former Soviet Union. These conversations...are, I believe, one of the most valuable aspects of my short-term grant. The Kennan staff, moreover, was extremely helpful in assuring I was settled in Washington, and facilitated a wonderful working environment, conducive both to research and the exchange of ideas among scholars. In sum, the value of my project has been greatly enhanced thanks to my tenure as a Kennan Institute short-term scholar.

—Jonathan Brunstedt, Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, March-April 2010

**RAUSHAN NAURYZBAYEVA**, Lawyer, Associate Professor, Kunaev University, Kazakhstan. “The Problem of Immigration and National Security in Kazakhstan.” February 2010-March 2010.

**ELENA OSOKINA**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of South Carolina. “Rembrandts for Tractors: Soviet Art Export under Stalin.” May 2010-June 2010.

**OLEKSII POZNIAK**, Head, Migration Research Department, Institute for Demography and Social Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine. “Development Strategy of Attracting Immigrants to Ukraine on the Basis of the U.S. Immigration Experience.” March 2010-April 2010.

**NATALIE ROULAND**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stanford University. “The

Imperial Ballet in Russian Literature and Culture, 1851–1895.” November 2009-December 2009.

**MICHAEL ROULAND**, Research Associate, Havighurst Center for Post-Soviet Studies, Miami University. “Post-Russian Culture: Youth, Music and Globalization in Kazakhstan.” November 2009-December 2009.

**TAMARA SIVERTSEVA**, independent scholar. “Islam in Everyday Life of Azerbaijanis.” March 2010.

**ROMY TAYLOR**, Visiting Assistant Professor, University of Arizona. “Black Moscow.” January 2010-February 2010.

**STEPHEN WOODBURN**, Associate Professor of History, Southwestern College. “The Post-Soviet Popularity of Danilevsky’s Russia and Europe.” April 2010.

## GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWSHIP ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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

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

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

### RECIPIENTS:

**Sergei Baburkin**  
March–August 2000

**Anatoly Krasikov**  
December 2003–April 2004

**Olga Tsepilova**  
April–June 2006

**Olga Vendina**  
September 2009–November 2009

**Emil Pain**  
September 2000–June 2001

**Aleksandr Osipov**  
April–July 2004

**Maria Belousova**  
June–August 2007

**Lev Simkin**  
November 2009–January 2010

**Aleksandr Nikitin**  
September 2001–January 2002

**Davlat Khudonazarov**  
October 2004–April 2005

**Dmitry Dubrovskiy**  
August 2007–February 2008

**Marya Rozanova**  
January 2010–April 2010

**William Smirnov**  
October 2001–July 2002

**Grigorii Pasko**  
October 2004–April 2005

**Andrey Rezaev**  
January 2008–July 2008

**Anna Sevortian**  
April 2010–July 2010

**Zaindi Choltaev**  
September 2002–June 2003

**Valentin Gefter**  
March–June 2005

**Petr Panov**  
February 2008–April 2008

**Ivan Pavlov**  
September–December 2003

**Victor Shnirelman**  
October 2005–April 2006

**Vladimir Eremenko**  
January 2009–June 2009

# 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;”



I. BILIBIN (CHISTOKLETOV) HOUSE, LENIN STREET 104, MAIN FAÇADE, KALUGA, RUSSIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Andrei Kortunov, Co-Chair

ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow, and New Eurasia Foundation

### Blair A. Ruble, Co-Chair

Kennan Institute

### Deana Arsenian

Carnegie Corporation of New York

### Aleksandr Chubarian

Board Member, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences

### Mark Johnson

University of Wisconsin-Madison

### Robert Legvold

Columbia University

### John Slocum

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

### Mikhail Strikhanov

Russian Federation Ministry of Education and Science

### Liudmilla Verbitskaya

St. Petersburg State University

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

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

Please visit [www.iriss.ru](http://www.iriss.ru), the official CASE program website administered by ISE Center, for more information.

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OF GOD, INTERIOR, VIEW NORTH,  
USTIUZHNA, VOLOGDA, RUSSIA  
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)





## CENTERS FOR ADVANCED STUDY AND EDUCATION: RECENT ACTIVITIES

During the past program year, the Kennan Institute continued to support scholars from the CASE network. In November 2009, CASE scholars participated at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) convention in Boston, Massachusetts and presented on two roundtables. One panel, “Russian Regions and the Economic Crisis: Social and Political Dimensions,” showcased the results of the ongoing CASE network project “Socio-Economic and Socio-Political Health of the Regions in a Crisis Environment.” Scholars from the Far Eastern, Tomsk, Saratov, and Irkutsk CASEs shared research findings on the social and political dimensions of the financial crisis in their respective regions. In the second CASE roundtable, “The Internationalization of Russian Universities: Problems and Perspectives” scholars from the Far Eastern, Rostov, Novgorod, Irkutsk, and Urals CASEs presented examples of the complex transition process Russian universities are undergoing.

The Kennan Institute and ISE-Center co-sponsored a conference in Washington, D.C. entitled “Universities and their Environments: Comparative Perspectives” on December 16, 2009. Representatives of the Baltic, Urals, and Tomsk CASEs gave reports on their university’s role in urban, local, and regional development in their respective regions. Experts from the U.S. and Canada provided comparative perspectives with specific case studies from Chicago, Western New York, the University of Louisville, Toronto, and Virginia Commonwealth University.

CASE scholars also participated again in the International Studies Association (ISA) convention which was held in New Orleans in February 2010. Researchers from Ekaterinburg, Kaliningrad, Moscow, Tomsk, and Vladivostok spoke on the topic: “Diversity Reaffirmed: Russian Regions and the World Crisis.” On a second panel entitled “Political and Economic Evolution in Russia’s Regions,” CASE scholars from Tomsk and Vladivostok analyzed how these two regions, respectively, have handled the impact of the recent financial crisis.

In April 2010, eight CASE scholars traveled to Washington, D.C. for the Association of American Geographers (AAG) annual meeting. Representatives from the Baltic, Irkutsk, Tomsk, and Urals CASEs gave presentations on a panel entitled “Russian Industrial Monotowns and the Economic Crisis: Social and Economic Dimensions.” On a session entitled “The Role of Universities in Regional Development,” scholars from the Baltic, Far East, Novgorod and Voronezh CASEs described ways their respective universities have had an influence on socio-economic development in their cities and broader regions.

At present, the Kennan Institute continues to support the CASE program work towards its goals of internationalizing Russian universities and encouraging interaction between Russian universities and the communities of which they are a part.

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BUKHARA, UZBEKISTAN  
(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.

LOG WINDMILL, KIMZHA,  
ARKHANGELSK, RUSSIA  
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 2009/ THIRD ANNUAL KATHRYN AND SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS AWARDS DINNER

Mayflower Hotel, Washington D.C.

### Woodrow Wilson Award for Corporate Citizenship

**George A. Cohon**, Founder -  
McDonald's Canada/McDonald's Russia

### Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service

**Mikhail B. Piotrovsky**, Director, State  
Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

### Honorary Chairmen

**The Honorable Sergey I. Kislyak**,  
Ambassador of the Russian Federation  
to the United States of America

**Dr. James H. Billington**, Librarian of  
Congress

### Co-Chairmen

**Neville Isdell**, former Chairman of the  
Board of Directors and Chief Executive  
Officer of The Coca-Cola Company

**Ian Hague**, Co-Founder, Firebird  
Management LLC

### Vice Chairman

**Herbert Lotman**, Founder, former

CEO and Chairman of Keystone Foods  
Corporation, LLC.

## MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the Kissinger  
Institute on China and the United  
States, Woodrow Wilson Center  
"The Uncertain Future: Sino-Russian  
Relations in the 21st Century," **Herman  
Pirchner, Jr.**, President, American  
Foreign Policy Council.

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9, 2009/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Cold War



STONE BRIDGE, VASILEVO ESTATE, VASILEVO, TVER', RUSSIA (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

**International History Project,  
Woodrow Wilson Center**

*Book Discussion:* "Zhivago's Children: The Last Generation of Russian Intelligentsia,"

**Vladislav Zubok**, Associate Professor of History, Temple University, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 2009/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

**Cosponsored by the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, Woodrow Wilson Center**

*Book Discussion:* "Distorted Mirrors: Americans and Their Relations with Russia and China in the Twentieth Century," **Eugene Trani**, President Emeritus and University Distinguished Professor, Virginia Commonwealth University, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2009/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

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

*Book Discussion:* "The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and its Dangerous Legacy," **David Hoffman**, Contributing Editor, *The Washington Post*.

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2009/  
SEMINAR**

**Kennan Institute/Harriman Institute Ukrainian Literature Series**

"Werwolf Sutra," **Yuriy Andrukhovych**, poet and novelist, Ivano-Frankivsk.

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2009/  
SEMINAR**

**Odesa, Ukraine**

"Contemporary Development of Ukrainian Cities: the Case of Odesa" *Chair:* **Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, Director, Kennan Kyiv Project.

*Participants:* **Volodymyr Anderson**, Associate Professor, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University, and Former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Serhii Geveliuk**, Photographer, Head, Old Odesa Civic Association; **Viktoriya Yavors'ka**, Associate Professor, Department of Geology and Geography, Odesa National University; **Volodymyr Khomutok**, Member of the Advisory Board, Old Odesa Civic Association; **Viktor Levchenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy Odesa Polytechnic University; **Oleksandr Topchiev**, Professor, Chair, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University; **Yanushevich Iryna**, Assistant Professor, Department

of Philosophy Odesa Polytechnic University; **Viktor Khomutov**, Assistant Professor, Department of Geography of Ukraine, Odesa National University; **Antonina Sheshera**, Research Fellow, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Odesa National University; **Volodymyr Tymofienko**, Research Fellow, Academy of Architecture of Ukraine, Odesa Branch.

**WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 2009/  
SEMINAR**

**Cosponsored by the Institute for Democracy and Cooperation**

"Migration in Russia and the U.S.: Problems and Solutions"

*Introductory Remarks:* **Andranik Migranyan**, Director, Institute for Democracy and Cooperation, New York, and **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

*Presentations:* "The Role of the State in Migration Processes in Russia," **Vladimir Mukomel**, Head of Department, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Immigrants and Social Acceptance in the Host Country," **Zhanna Zayonchkovskaya**, Chief, Laboratory of Migration, Institute for Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences; "The United State's Strategy for Migration Policy: Control versus Overseeing," **Marc Rosenblum**, Senior Policy Analyst, Migration Policy Institute; "Arlington County—Diversity Policy," **J. Walter Tejada**, Arlington County Board Member.

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 26, 2009/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Main Trends in Contemporary

Russian Literature," **Marina Tyurina Oberlander**, philologist, poet, and translator, Washington, D.C.

### MONDAY, OCTOBER 28, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Contemporary Trends in Christian Societies," **Patriarch of Kyiv and all Rus-Ukraine Filaret**, Head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church - Kyivan Patriarchate.

### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"How Politically Active are Russian Youth Today?" **Roman Dobrokhoto**, leader of the Russian Youth Democratic Movement "We."

### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Re-Fighting the Northern War: The Celebration of the Battle of Poltava in Russia,"

**Tatiana Tairova-Yakovleva**, Professor, Department of History, St. Petersburg State University.

### TUESDAY-WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10-11, 2009/ CONFERENCE

Boston, Massachusetts  
Cosponsored by the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University; Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta; Ukrainian Studies Fund

"Poltava 1709: Revisiting a Turning Point in European History"

November 10

Welcoming Remarks: **Michael S. Flier**, Director, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

### Session I: The International Context

*Chair:* **Serhii Plokhii**, Harvard University.  
*Discussant:* **Frank Sysyn**, University of Alberta.

*Presentations:* "Poltava 1709: A Bone of Contention," **Kristian Gerner**, Lund University; "The Impact of Poltava on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,"

**Robert I. Frost**, University of Aberdeen; "The Battle of Poltava from the Ottoman Perspective," **Cemal Kafadar**, Harvard University; "Poltava and the Geopolitics of Western Eurasia" **John LeDonne**, Harvard University.

### Session II: The Russian Context

*Chair:* **William C. Fuller, Jr.**, U.S. Navy College.

*Discussant:* **Carol Stevens**, Colgate University.

*Presentations:* "Poltava and the Military Revolution Debate," **Peter Brown**, Rhode Island College; "Peter's Dragoons: Was a Mobile Combat Arm Necessary to Obtain Tactical Decisiveness," **Donald Ostrowski**, Harvard University; "Bulavin, Mazepa, and the End of the Old Steppe," **Brian Boeck**, DePaul University; "The Great Northern War and the Administrative Reforms of Peter I," **Tatiana Tairova-Iakovleva**, St. Petersburg State University.

### Session III: The Ukrainian Context

*Chair:* **Michael S. Flier**, Harvard University.

*Discussant:* **Tatiana Tairova-Yakovleva**, St. Petersburg State University.

*Presentations:* "Mazepa's Palace in Baturyn: Western and Ukrainian Baroque Architecture and Decoration,"

**Volodymyr Mezentsev**, University of Alberta; "Mazepist Trials and Mazepynstvo in Eighteenth-Century Ukraine," **Andrii Bovgyria**, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; "Forbidden Love: Ivan Mazepa and the Author of the *History of Rus*," **Serhii Plokhii**, Harvard University.

### Session IV: Mazepa in European Musical Culture

*Chair:* **Nadieszda Kizenko**, State University of New York at Albany.  
*Presentations with Musical Illustrations:* **Lubomyr Hajda**, Harvard University and **Yakiv Gubanov**, Berklee College of Music.

November 11

### Session V: Language and Literature in the Mazepa Period

*Chair:* **Frank Sysyn**, University of Alberta.  
*Discussant:* **Taras Koznarsky**, University of Toronto.

*Presentations:* "Love's Labour's Lost: Mazepa's Grammar of Romance," **Michael S. Flier**, Harvard University; "A Linguistic Analysis of Ivan Mazepa's Universals and Letters," **Michael Moser**, University of Vienna; "Poltava: A Turning Point in the History of Preaching," **Giovanna Brogi**, University of Milan; "Mylost' Bozhiiia Ukrainu ...svo-bodyvshaia and Ukrainian Literature after Poltava," **George G. Grabowicz**, Harvard University.

### Session VI: Art and Architecture in the Era of Mazepa and Peter I

*Chair:* **Robert I. Frost**, University of Aberdeen.

## POST-SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEMS: EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION

States across the region that are governed under an authoritarian model enjoyed a year of relative stability in 2009-10; at least, in comparison with the three post-Soviet states that experienced the well-known color revolutions of the last decade: Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Georgia. Of those three states, two gained new leadership—one by the ballot (Ukraine), and one by revolution (Kyrgyzstan). The third, Georgia, is still recoiling from the loss of territory and international standing following the short August 2008 war with Russia. By contrast, more authoritarian states in the region, such as Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Russia, continue to exert increasing political control even as the societies they govern gradually change. Kennan Institute programs and speakers over the 2009-10 program year explored many of the political systems across the region.

In 2004 the Orange Revolution brought in a coalition of reform-minded democrats. By 2010, the first presidential election year since the revolution, that coalition had completely shattered. A pre-election review of Ukrainian public opinion presented by **Rakesh Sharma** and **Gavin Weise** showed a growing lack of trust in the institutions administering the elections and in the power of elections to impact decision-making. Yet, according to the survey, Ukrainians feel well-informed, comfortable with the secrecy of their vote, and satisfied with media coverage of the election. Soon after the first round of elections, **David Kramer** contended that while many consider the Orange Revolution to have been a failure, it was the revolution that made possible such free and fair elections in Ukraine. The revolution created an environment in which the media are the freest in the region, candidates run without fear, and voter ballots matter. Weeks after the election of Viktor Yanukovich in the presidential run-off, **Nadia Diuk** surveyed the state of Ukraine's democracy. While she hailed the improvement the free and fair elections of 2010 represented in comparison with 2004, she warned that much work remained for Ukraine in its pursuit of democracy. Politicians and parties need to uphold their obligations to voters outside of the election season. And while the media is no longer under direct government control, it remains in the hands of business oligarchs who slant their coverage of events. Finally, she cautioned that the new administration under Yanukovich does not seem interested in pursuing democratic reforms.

Kyrgyzstan and Georgia experienced different outcomes from their revolutions, but both face daunting challenges. The Kyrgyz government of Kurmanbek Bakiyev, which came into power in the wake of the Tulip Revolution of 2005, was overthrown in 2010 through a series of nationwide riots and ethnic clashes between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in the south of the country. The provisional government was unable to restore order in the south, leading to the displacement of some 400,000 Uzbeks. **Barbara Junisbai** said that even after the latest revolution, Kyrgyzstan resembles a failed state in many ways. Junisbai contended that neighboring Central Asian countries are hoping the new provisional government fails and serves as an example of the futility and chaos that ensues following pro-democratic uprisings. The only remaining

government brought to power through the color revolutions is that of Mikheil Saakashvili in Georgia. Yet **Cory Welt** observed that Georgia's commitment to full democracy under the Saakashvili administration is increasingly unclear, especially after the government quashed protesters calling for early elections in 2007. Georgia's, and Saakashvili's, position is now further complicated by the economic and political aftermath of the 2008 Russian-Georgian war and the continuing occupation by Russian forces in Abkhazia and North Ossetia, two territories that seceded from Georgia.

Outside of the three color revolution states, relative political stability was the rule rather than the exception. Arguably the most authoritarian state in the region, Turkmenistan underwent a leadership transition in 2006, but continues to maintain rigid state control over society. At the same time, recent *Charge d'Affaires* at the U.S. Embassy in Turkmenistan **Richard Miles** said that under the new administration Turkmenistan is more open to the outside world and is engaging with the United States on a range of issues including security, human rights, the economy and economic development, energy, and politics. Kazakhstan remains under the leadership of President Nazarbayev, who has governed the nation since it gained independence. A panel discussion on Kazakhstan featuring former U.S. ambassadors to the country concluded that while political evolution is happening slower than economic reform, Kazakhstan pays more attention to the development of human capital than any other country in Central Asia.

Political stability is not the same as an absence of political opposition. Two youth opposition leaders, one from Belarus and one from Russia, discussed their strategies for challenging the established political order. **Pavel Marozau** described how his expatriate network disseminates satirical digital political cartoons in Belarus, comparing the cartoons to *samizdat* from the Soviet era. He contended that the cartoons, whether viewed online or distributed on DVD, are an effective means to mobilize young people to engage with his movement. **Roman Dobrokhoto**v, a leader in the youth movement "We" in Russia, talked about how his group works to inspire people to make horizontal connections with each other and encourage them to be politically active. While a small group, "We" reaches over 50,000 through YouTube, where Dobrokhoto posts videos of political demonstrations he has organized.

The political stability, in terms of predictable elections, that we see in Russia today is not an accident. **Robert Orttung** observed that since the fall of the Soviet Union, the Russian government has used each electoral cycle as an opportunity to reform election laws so that the outcome is easier to affect. This combination of political control with the trappings of democracy is employed in varying combinations and to varying degrees of success throughout the post-Soviet space. Analytical explanations of such regimes include terms such as hybrid regime or managed democracy. Yet as political control increases within a state, the feedback mechanism of political accountability weakens. Orttung contended that as feedback and accountability links are degraded in Russia, the greater the chance for unanticipated events to lead to political crisis and change: "This is an unstable point for the elite—it can't address the problems people are complaining about; yet it is afraid to introduce substantive political reforms."



*Discussant:* **Liliya Berezhnaya**, University of Muenster.  
*Presentations:* "Icons of Empire: The Ukrainian Contribution to Early Petrine Imperial Imagery," **Elena Boeck**, DePaul University; "The Grand Battle Woven in the *Grande Manière*: Commemorating the Poltava Battle in Tapestry," **Tatiana Senkevitch**, University of Toronto; "Prototypical West European Church Plan Configurations in Ukrainian Architecture of the Mazepa Period," **Radoslav Zuk**, McGill University; "Looking Back, Moving Forward: The Encrypted Narrative of Reconstructed Cossack Baroque Forms," **Olenka Pevny**, University of Richmond.

### Session VII: History and Memory

*Chair:* **Carol Stevens**, Colgate University.  
*Discussant:* **Kelly O'Neill**, Harvard University.  
*Presentations:* "The Poltava Victory in Imperial Liturgy," **Nadieszda Kizenko**, State University of New York at Albany; "The Battle of Poltava in Russian Historical Memory," **Alexander Kamenskii**, Russian State University for the Humanities; "Poltava in Ukrainian Historiography," **Volodymyr Kravchenko**, Karazin National University of Kharkiv.

### Session VIII: Fact, Fiction, and the Literary Imagination

*Chair:* **Lubomyr Hajda**, Harvard University.  
*Discussant:* **George G. Grabowicz**, Harvard University.  
*Presentations:* "Literary Obsessions with Mazepa," **Taras Koznarsky**, University of Toronto; "The (Re)Fashioning of an Archetype of Genius: Mazepa in French Literature and Art," **Ksenya Kiebusinski**, University of Toronto; "Mazepa and Poltava in German-language Literature of the Nineteenth Century," **Alois Woldan**, University of Vienna.

*Concluding Remarks:* **Serhii Plokhii**, Harvard University.

### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

*Book Discussion:* "The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War," **Nicholas**

**Thompson**, Senior Editor, *Wired Magazine*, and Fellow, New America Foundation.

### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2009/ CONFERENCE Embassy of the Russian Federation Cosponsored by the Embassy of the Russian Federation to the United States

"The U.S.-Soviet Relationship: Lessons of Responsible Engagement"  
*In Honor of the Centenary of Andrei Gromyko*

### November 17

Welcoming Remarks: **Sergey Kislyak**, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States, and **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

*Remarks:* **Anatoliy Gromyko**, professor and son of Andrei Gromyko, and **Henry Kissinger**, former U.S. Secretary of State.

### Panel I: From Allies to Adversaries: World War II to the United Nations

*Chair:* **Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

*Participants:* **Ilya Gaiduk**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **Stephen Schlesinger**, Adjunct Fellow, Century Foundation, New York City, and author, *Act of Creation: The Founding of The United Nations*; **Alexander Panov**, Rector, Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

## Panel II: From Crisis to Détente: U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1960s-70s

*Chair:* **Eric Lohr**, Associate Professor, Department of History, American University. Participants: **Jack Matlock**, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union; **Nicholas Thompson**, author, *Hawk and the Dove*, and grandson of Paul Nitze; **Anatoly V. Torkunov**, Rector, Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (MGIMO-University).

## Panel III: Engaging Adversaries: Arms Control Negotiations and Superpower Relations

*Chair:* **David Hoffman**, Contributing Editor, *The Washington Post*.  
*Participants:* **Avis Bohlen**, Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University and former Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control; **Jack Mendelsohn**, Professorial Lecturer, George Washington University and former Deputy Director of the Arms Control Association; **Sergei Rogov**, Director, Institute for the USA and Canadian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

## Panel IV: The Times of Minister Andrei Gromyko from the Perspective of Today's Generation

*Chair:* **Dmitry Vetrov**, Counselor, Embassy of the Russian Federation.  
*Participants:* **Andrey Baykov**, **Alexey Dyachenko**, **Vladimir Nelidov**, and **Olga Zolotova**, Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (MGIMO-University); **Anita Kondoyanidi**, Georgetown University; **Evhenij**

**Haperskij** and **Natalia Makeeva**, American University.

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 2009/ SEMINAR

"Under Pressure: Speed, Vitality and Innovation in the Reinvention of Urban Planning in Georgia," **Kristof Van Assche**, Associate Professor, Planning and Community Development Program, St. Cloud State University.

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 2009/ INFORMAL BRIEFING

"EU Energy Security: EU-Russia Interdependence and Implications for U.S. National Security," **Angelantonio Rosato**, Fulbright-Schuman Research Scholar, University of Pittsburgh.

## MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Pursuing Democracy in Belarus through Satiric Media: Samizdat for the Modern Era,"

**Pavel Marozau**, Chair, Congress of the New Belarusian Diaspora of Europe and the United States, and Founder, The Third Way Expatriates' Network.

## MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Civil Law Reforms Pending in Russia,"

**William Butler**, John Edward Fowler Distinguished Professor of Law, Dickinson School of Law, Penn State University.

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2009/ FILM SCREENING

"A Film about Anna Akhmatova,"  
**Helga Landauer**, director and poet.

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 2009/ BRIEFING

"The Changeable Faces of Moscow: Global, Multicultural, and Russian,"  
**Olga Vendina**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Turkmenistan: U.S. Interests and Turkmen Reality," **Richard Miles**, U.S. Ambassador (retired), and recent *Charge d'Affaires*, U.S. Embassy in Turkmenistan.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2009/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia on the Pacific: The Rising Role of the Russian Far East among Pacific Rim Nations," **Rock Brynner**, Adjunct Professor, Marist College.

## WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 2009/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by ISE Center  
(Information. Scholarship.  
Education)

"Universities and their Environments:  
Comparative Perspectives"

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

## Session I: The Russian Federation

*Presentations:* "The Role of Universities in Regional Development—Russia,"  
**Vyacheslav Glazychev**, Member of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation; "Case Studies from Regions

of Russia," **Timur Gareev**, Vice-Rector for Innovation and Development, Immanuel Kant State University, Russian Federation; **Maxim Khomyakov**, Professor, Russian Academy of Natural Sciences; **Alexey Stukhanov**, Chairman, Committee for International Cooperation, Administration of Tomsk Region, Russian Federation.

### Session II: The United States and Canada

*Presentations:* "The Role of Universities in Regional Development—the U.S. and Canada," **David Perry**, Director, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago; "Case Studies from the U.S. and Canada," **Kathryn Bryk Friedman**, Deputy Director, University at Buffalo Regional Institute; **Hank V. Savitch**, Professor, Urban & Public Affairs, University of Louisville; **Richard Stren**, Professor Emeritus and Associate, Cities Centre, University of Toronto, Canada; **Eugene P. Trani**, President Emeritus, Virginia Commonwealth University.

### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 2009/ BOOK LAUNCH Kiev, Ukraine

"Non-Traditional' Immigrants in Kyiv: Seven Years Later," **Olena Malynovska**, Professor, Department of International Relations, Kyiv Slavic University; **Olena Braichevska**, Doctoral Fellow, Academy of State Government of the Office of the President of Ukraine.

### WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 2010/ SEMINAR Cosponsored by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)

"Change on the Horizon? Public

Opinion in Ukraine before the 2010 Presidential Election: Presentation of Findings from IFES Annual Survey," **Rakesh Sharma**, Director, F. Clifton White Applied Research Center, IFES; **Gavin Weise**, Deputy Director for Europe and Asia, IFES.

### THURSDAY, JANUARY 7, 2010/ SEMINAR Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series Cosponsored by the Global Energy Initiative, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Are Caspian and Middle-East Pipelines the Future of the European Gas Market?" **Jennifer Coolidge**, Executive Director, CMX Caspian and Gulf Consultants Limited, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

### MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

*Book Discussion:* "There Is No Freedom Without Bread! 1989 and the Civil War That Brought Down Communism," **Constantine Pleshakov**, Visiting Assistant Professor of Russian and Eurasian Studies and Critical Social Thought, Mount Holyoke College.

### TUESDAY, JANUARY 19, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

*Book Discussion:* "Shadow Elite: How Studying Post-Communist Societies Illuminates the Structure of Power in America and Beyond," **Janine Wedel**, Professor, School of Public Policy, George Mason University.

### MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Ukraine after the First Round of Elections," **David Kramer**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States.

### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Moscow's Energy Strategy toward Northeast Asia: Can Russia Realize Its Potential?" **Shoichi Itoh**, Associate Senior Researcher, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA), Niigata City, and Visiting Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies.

### WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2010/ BRIEFING U.S. State Department

"The Current Human Rights Situation in Russia," **Alexander Verkhovsky**, SOVA Center, Moscow; **Arseny Roginsky**, Memorial; **Ivan Pavlov**, Institute for Information Freedom Development, St. Petersburg.

### WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2010/ BRIEFING U.S. Congress

*Cosponsored by Wilson Center on the Hill*  
"The Jackson-Vanik Amendment and U.S.-Russian Relations," **Sarah Mendelson**, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Sam Kliger**, American Jewish Committee; **Karinna Moskalenko**, International Protection Center.

### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2010/ CONFERENCE

*Cosponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation*

"The Legacy and Consequences of Jackson-Vanik: Reassessing Human Rights in 21st Century Russia"

*Introductory Remarks:* **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center; **John W. Hempelmann**, President, Henry M. Jackson Foundation.

### Panel I: The Historical Origins of Jackson-Vanik

*Chair:* **Lara Iglitzin**, Executive Director, Henry M. Jackson Foundation.  
*Discussants:* **Richard Perle**, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; **Mark Talisman**, founder, Project Judaica Foundation; **Ludmila Alexeeva**, Chair, Moscow Helsinki Group.

### Panel II: Rethinking the Human Rights Issue and U.S.-Russian Relations

*Chair:* **Stephen E. Hanson**, Helpert J. Ellison Professor, Department of Political Science, and Vice Provost for Global Affairs, University of Washington.  
*Discussants:* **Blake Marshall**, Senior Vice President, The PBN Company; **Sarah Mendelson**, Director, Human Rights and Security Initiative, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Sam Kliger**, Director of Russian Affairs, American Jewish Committee.

### Panel III: Development of the Human Rights Community in post-Soviet Russia

*Chair:* **Lara Iglitzin**, Executive Director, Henry M. Jackson Foundation.  
*Discussants:* **Alexander Verkhovsky**,

Director, SOVA Center, Moscow; **Arseny Roginsky**, Chairman, *Memorial*; **Maria Chertok**, Director, Charities Aid Foundation-Russia.

### Panel IV: Emerging Social Demand for Human Rights in Russia

*Chair:* **William Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.  
*Discussants:* **Karina Moskalenko**, Founder, International Protection Center; **Ivan Pavlov**, Chairman, Institute for Information Freedom Development, St. Petersburg; **Ivan Ninenko**, Deputy Director, Transparency International, Moscow.

### TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 2010/ BOOK DISCUSSION

*Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series*  
"Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts," **David C. Engerman**, Associate Professor of History, Brandeis University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia's Energy Investments in Central and Eastern Europe: Mixing Politics and Business," **Stacy Closson**, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

### MONDAY, MARCH 1, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"The Struggle over Sharia Courts in Central Asia: Recent Trends and the Historical Context," **Elyor E. Karimov**, Professor of History, Institute of History, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

### MONDAY, MARCH 8, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Warning of Global Warming? Politics, Economics and Ecological Change in Siberia's Far East," **Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer**, Research Professor, Georgetown University, and Editor, *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia*.

### TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2010/ SEMINAR Kiev, Ukraine

*Cosponsored by the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy*  
"Prospective Development of Urban Environment: Policy, Strategy, and Tactics (the Israeli Experience)," **Yossef Offer**, Director of the Weitz Center for Development Studies.

### MONDAY, MARCH 15, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

*Book Discussion:* "Superpower Illusions: How Myths about the Cold War's End Have Poisoned U.S.-Russian Relations," **Jack F. Matlock, Jr.**, Adjunct Professor of International Relations, Columbia University, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR.

### THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 2010/ SEMINAR

*Book Discussion:* "Yalta: The Price of Peace," **Serhii Plokhy**, Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History, Harvard University, and Advisory Council Member, Kennan Institute.

### MONDAY, MARCH 22, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Democracy in Ukraine: Are We There Yet?" **Nadia Diuk**, Senior Director, Europe & Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy.

**MONDAY, MARCH 29, 2010/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Russia's Underground Fire: Politics, Security and Human Rights in the North Caucasus," **Tom Parfitt**, Correspondent, *The Guardian*, Moscow, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**MONDAY, APRIL 5, 2010/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Assessing the Reset: The First Year of the Obama Administration's Russia Policy," **Samuel Charap**, Associate Director, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for American Progress.

**WEDNESDAY-THURSDAY, APRIL  
7-8, 2010/ REGIONAL POLICY  
SYMPOSIUM**

National Harbor, MD  
Sponsored by the U.S. Department  
of State Title VIII Program  
Developed by IREX and the  
Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson  
International Center for Scholars

"Regional Security in Eastern Europe  
and Eurasia"

April 7

*Introduction:* **Joyce Warner**, Director,  
Education Program Division, IREX.

**Session I: Determinants of  
Economic System Legitimacy in  
Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan**

*Presenter:* **Azamat Junisbai**, Assistant  
Professor, Department of Sociology,  
Pitzer.

*Discussant:* **Roger Kangas**, Professor,  
Near East South Asia Center for  
Strategic Studies, National Defense  
University, Washington, D.C.

**Session II: Autocratic Antagonism:  
Explaining the Absence of  
Cooperation in the Water, Gas and  
Electricity Sectors in Central Asia**

*Presenter:* **David Szakonyi**, Ph.D. can-  
didate, Department of Political Science,  
Columbia University.

*Discussant:* **Robert Ortung**, President,  
Resource Security Institute.

**Session III: Tracking &  
Mapping Public Opinion about  
Environmental Conflict in  
Kyrgyzstan**

*Presenter:* **Amanda Wooden**, Assistant  
Professor, Environmental Studies  
Program, Bucknell University.

*Discussant:* **Roger Kangas**, Professor,  
Near East South Asia Center for  
Strategic Studies, National Defense  
University, Washington, D.C.

**Session IV: How do Uzbek  
Councils of Elders Resolve  
Disputes as Minorities in Central  
Asia and what are Possible Policy  
Implications for Law Reform  
Efforts in the Region?**

*Presenter:* **David Merrell**, Ph.D. candi-  
date, Asian Law Center, School of Law,  
University of Washington, Seattle.

*Discussant:* **Olga Olikier**, Senior  
International Policy Analyst, RAND.

**Session V: Regionalism that  
Strengthens the State?  
Understanding the Bases for  
Stability in Russian Federalism**

*Presenter:* **David Rainbow**, Ph.D. candi-  
date, Department of History, New York  
University.

*Discussant:* **Robert Ortung**, President,  
Resource Security Institute.

**Session VI: Chechen Refugees and  
the Politics of Violence**

*Presenter:* **Michael Dennis**, Ph.D. can-  
didate, Department of Government,  
University of Texas – Austin.

*Discussant:* **Olga Olikier**, Senior  
International Policy Analyst, RAND.

Dinner Introduction: **Blair A. Ruble**,  
Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow  
Wilson Center. Dinner Remarks:  
**Thomas de Waal**, Senior Associate,  
Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie  
Endowment for International Peace.

April 8

**Session I: Roads and the Diffusion  
of Insurgent Violence**

*Presenter:* **Yuri Zhukov**, Ph.D. can-  
didate, Department of Government,  
Harvard University.

*Discussant:* **Nikolai Sokov**, Senior  
Research Associate, Center for  
Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey  
Institute of International Studies.

*Session II: Elite Perceptions of the  
International System and National  
Security Policies in the South Caucasus*

*Presenter:* **Jason Strakes**, Regional  
Studies Analyst, Afghanistan Research  
Reachback Center, United States Army.

*Discussant:* **Ambassador Carey  
Cavanaugh**, Director, Patterson  
School of Diplomacy and International  
Commerce, University of Kentucky.

## THE LEGACY AND CONSEQUENCES OF JACKSON-VANIK: REASSESSING HUMAN RIGHTS IN 21ST CENTURY RUSSIA

During the Cold War, the United States and the West used the issue of human rights as a platform to question the policies and ultimately the legitimacy of the Soviet Union. One of the lasting legislative landmarks of that period was the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which linked U.S.-Soviet trade to the right of emigration. The Soviet Union dissolved some two decades ago, but the Jackson-Vanik amendment has remained on the books even though many believe that Russia is in compliance with its two main conditions. Specifically, Russia is now broadly recognized as an (imperfect) market economy, and it no longer restricts emigration. The staying power of the Jackson-Vanik amendment impinges on current U.S.-Russian trade relations. At the same time, human rights remains an area of contention in Russia, thus raising the question regarding how can the United States contribute to improving the human rights atmosphere in Russia without reverting to the dynamics of the Cold War.

The Kennan Institute and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation sponsored a one-day seminar to explore the legacy of the Jackson-Vanik amendment and to address a new agenda for human rights in Russia today. Two of the amendment's original drafters—**Richard Perle** of the American Enterprise Institute and **Mark Talisman** of the Project Judaica Foundation—reminded the audience that Jackson-Vanik was not solely directed towards the Soviet Union but applied to all “non-market economy” countries that denied the right of emigration to their people. As a result, noted Talisman, the beneficiaries included not just Jewish refuseniks from the USSR but Hungarians, Romanians, and other citizens held captive by their respective countries. Perle further described how the Jackson-Vanik Amendment became a major irritant to Soviet leaders (as was its ultimate goal). Perle read directly from Politburo transcripts that quoted Brezhnev as supporting the lifting of the USSR's emigration tax in an effort to comply with Jackson-Vanik and obtain most-favored nation trade status with the United States. However, much to Brezhnev's noticeable agitation, the Soviet bureaucracy failed to carry out his orders.

**Ludmila Alexeeva**, the chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group, emphasized that the Jackson-Vanik Amendment still upheld a fundamental human right—the right to travel—that remains as relevant today as it was during the Cold War. While no one supported the amendment's outright repeal, several speakers questioned its immediate relevance to post-Soviet Russia which was (nominally) a market economy and, more importantly, allowed for unrestricted emigration rights. According to **Blake Marshall**, Senior Vice President of the PBN Company, Jackson-Vanik had served its original purpose and its continuing application to Russia was both “anachronistic” and a distortion of the amendment's legislative intent. Marshall added that if Russia were to accede to the WTO without the lifting of Jackson-Vanik and the granting of permanent normal trade relations, the result would be an unmitigated disaster for U.S. international trade.

**Sam Kliger**, the director of the American Jewish Committee's Russian Jewish Community Affairs, highlighted Russia's improving civil rights record to support the country's graduation from the amendment. In the absence of Jackson-Vanik, Sarah Mendelson, the director of the Human Rights and Security Initiative at CSIS, identified various tools available to U.S. policy makers to promote human rights in Russia: (1) supporting the

gathering of information on abuse and the better monitoring of events on the ground; (2) increasing awareness and attention of human rights violations; (3) raising and spending funds more wisely; (4) increasing coordination with friends and allies, including the possible implementation of sanctions; and (5) increasing U.S. compliance and accountability on human rights issues. Although we can do more to support human rights in Russia, concluded Mendelson, in the end, “Russia’s fate is up to Russians.”

Regardless of how Jackson-Vanik is eventually withdrawn—whether by presidential determination (as advocated by Richard Perle) or by Congressional approval as part of the WTO accession process—the participants emphasized the continued importance of human rights in Russia today. Several speakers noted that the Russian government still associated the human rights community with the political opposition. As a result, Arseny Roginsky, the chairman of Memorial, argued that human rights activists increasingly have begun to use Soviet-era tactics to defend human rights, thereby transforming the Russian human rights community back into a “dissident” movement.

In addition to its long-running battle with the Russian state, the conference highlighted certain internal challenges confronting the human rights community. As Maria Chertok, the director of the Charities Aid Foundation Russia pointed out, the human rights movement remains largely isolated from the broader non-governmental sector although in reality, they would benefit from greater cooperation. Ivan Ninenko, deputy director of Transparency International in Russia, also identified a growing generational divide within human rights groups; for example, whereas young people did not necessarily rally around traditional calls to defend freedom of speech, they were galvanized when the Russian government threatened to interfere with certain new-found rights, such as unfiltered access to the internet.

The conference ultimately revealed not only what remains the same but also what has changed about the present-day Russian human rights movement. Alexander Verkhovsky, director of the SOVA Center, emphasized that while he was under no personal illusion as to how the Russian government presently viewed human rights, his organization nevertheless had found ways to work with government officials on combating such deep-rooted problems as racism and xenophobia. Ivan Pavlov, the chair of the Institute for Information Freedom Development (St. Petersburg), also explained how he worked with the Russian government to pass the first law on freedom of information. While much will depend on how this law is implemented, noted Pavlov, it did create a new legal right based on the presumption of openness. Finally, Karinna Moskalenko, the head of the International Protection Center, described how Russians have appealed individual cases of human rights violations to the European Court of Human Rights, a new and increasingly important legal venue that never existed during the Soviet Union.

### Session III: Russian Use of Hard and Soft Power in Abkhazia

*Presenter:* **Andrew Johnston**, MA candidate, Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, University of Texas – Austin.

*Discussant:* **Ambassador Carey Cavanaugh**, Director, Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, University of Kentucky.

### Session IV: Resurgence of Traditional, Fundamentalist, and Radical Islamic Identities in Crimea and its Implications on Regional Security

*Presenter:* **Idil Izmirli**, Research Consultant, Crimea Policy Dialogue Project, Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS) and Peace, Action, Training and Research Institute of Romania (PATRIR).

*Discussant:* **Nikolai Sokov**, Senior Research Associate, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies.

### Session V: The Tough Cases: Security Community Development in Serbia, Bosnia and Kosovo

*Presenter:* **Rebecca Cruise**, Research Fellow, Department of Political Science/International Area Studies, University of Oklahoma.

*Discussant:* **Roger Kangas**, Professor, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington, D.C.

### Session VI: Democratic Disconnects: Making Civil Society in Bosnia-Herzegovina

*Presenter:* **Daniel Hammer**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

*Discussant:* **Olga Oliker**, Senior International Policy Analyst, RAND.

### MONDAY, APRIL 12, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

#### Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

“Challenges in Building Russian Democracy,” **Robert Orttung**, President, Resource Security Institute, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

### MONDAY, APRIL 19, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

“Democratization, War, and Strategic Partnership: U.S.-Georgian Relations since August 2008,” **Cory Welt**, Associate Director, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University.

### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 2010/ SEMINAR

#### Cosponsored by Internews Interactive

“Dialogue, Defense and Media Messaging: U.S.-Russian Citizen Diplomacy Past and Present,” **Phil Donahue**, journalist and television host, New York; **Vladimir Pozner**, journalist and television host, Moscow; **David Hoffman**, Contributing Editor, *The Washington Post*; **Heather Hurlburt**, Executive Director, National Security Network.

### THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 2010/ CONFERENCE

St. Petersburg, Russia  
Cosponsored by St. Petersburg State University, Government of St. Petersburg and the Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

“International Theoretical and Practical Conference: Tolerance and Intolerance in Modern Society under World Crisis Conditions”

#### Panel I: Tolerance: Politics and Human Rights

*Moderators:* **William Smirnov**, Professor, Institute of Government and Law, Moscow, Russia; **Stanislav Tkachenko**, candidate of Political Science, Associate Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia.

#### Panel II: Tolerance: Social Processes and Marginalization

*Moderators:* **Aslakhon Boronoev**, Professor, St. Petersburg, Russia; **Aleksandr Soshnev**, candidate of Economics, Associate Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia.

#### Panel III: Ethnic Politics and Ethnic Relations

*Moderators:* **Anatoly Kozlov**, Professor, St. Petersburg, Russia; **Vladislav Volkov**, candidate of Sociology, Associate Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia.

#### Panel IV: Tolerance: Social Development

*Moderators:* **Mikhail Khomyakov**, Professor, A.M. Gorky Ural State

University, Russia; **Yevgeni Karavaev**, Professor, Academy of Economics and Management, St. Petersburg, Russia.

### Panel V: Tolerance: Communication and Cooperation

*Moderators:* **Vladimir Kozlovskii**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia; **Lyudmila Pochebut**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia.

### Panel VI: Tolerance: Philosophy, Religion, and Social Problems

*Moderators:* **Anatoly Kolesnikov**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia; **Nadezhda Golik**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia.

April 23

### Panel I: Lessons of the Second World War—65 years past

*Moderators:* **Shimon Samuels**, Director, Simon Wiesenthal Center; **Irina Pervova**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia.

### Panel II: Inter-ethnic Relations, Multi-culturalism

*Moderators:* **Aleksandr Kuropyatnik**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia; **Olga Peipinya**, Sociology, Associate Professor, Daugavpils, Latvia.

### Panel III: Tolerance, Training, Education

*Moderators:* **Vyacheslav Kelas'ev**, Dr. Philosophy, Professor, Saint Petersburg

State University, Russia; **Roman Zobov**, Professor, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia.

### MONDAY, APRIL 26, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

#### Cosponsored by the School of Public and International Affairs, Virginia Tech

"Contemporary Attitudes and Beliefs in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transdnestria: A Preliminary Analysis of Survey Data," **John O'Loughlin**, College Professor of Distinction, Department of Geography, University of Colorado; **Vladimir Kolossov**, Head, Center of Geopolitical Studies, Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Gerard Toal**, Professor, School of Public and International Affairs, Virginia Tech.

### THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 2010/ SEMINAR

"Demography, Migration, and Tolerance: Eurasian Experience in Context," **Mridula Ghosh**, Board Chair, East European Development Institute, Kyiv; **Marya Rozanova**, Associate Professor, Admiral Makarov State Maritime Academy and Head of the Center for Civil, Social, Scientific, and Cultural Initiatives, St. Petersburg, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution.

### MONDAY, MAY 3, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Song without Words: The Photographs and Diaries of Countess Sophia Tolstoy," **Leah Bendavid-Val**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

### WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 2010/ BOOK DISCUSSION

"Building States and Markets: Enterprise Development in Central Asia," **Gül Berna Özcan**, Reader in International Business and Entrepreneurship, School of Management of Royal Holloway College, University of London, UK; Associate Fellow, London School of Economics, UK; and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Henry Hale**, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Director, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, and Director, European and Eurasian Studies Program, George Washington University; **Barbara Junisbai**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Erica Marat**, Research Fellow, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University.

### MONDAY, MAY 10, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

**Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series**  
"Russian Policy in the Greater Middle East: Trying to Keep out of Trouble," **Mark Katz**, Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

### MONDAY, MAY 17, 2010/ NOON DISCUSSION

"Russian-American Intelligence Cooperation: Promise vs. Reality," **Rolf Mowatt-Larsen**, Senior Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

**TUESDAY, MAY 18, 2010/  
CONFERENCE**

Cosponsored by United States Studies Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Separation of Powers in Russia and Ukraine: A Comparative Perspective"

**Panel I: The Separation of Powers in Comparative Perspective: Germany, Brazil, and the United States**

*Chair:* **Sonya Michel**, Director, U.S. Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.

*Panelists:* **Louis Fisher**, Constitutional Law Specialist, Law Library, Library of Congress; **Fernando Limongi**, Professor of Political Science, University of São Paulo; **Jeff Anderson**, Graf Goltz Professor & Director of the BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University.

**Panel II: Separation of Powers in Russia and Ukraine**

*Chair:* **William Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

*Panelists:* **Oleg Rummyantsev**, President, Foundation for Constitutional Reforms; **Oleksandr Zadorozhnyi**, Professor of Public International Law, Institute of International Relations, Tara Shevchenko National University of Kyiv; **Maria Popova**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, McGill University.

**MONDAY, MAY 24, 2010/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

Cosponsored by East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center  
"Corrosive Reforms: Failing Health

Systems in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union," **Ellen Rosskam**, Senior Advisor and Consultant to The Global Health Programme, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, and Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 2010/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

"New Paradigms for the International Space Programs: Prospects and Forecasts," **Yuri M. Baturin**, Pilot-Cosmonaut, Russian Federation; and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**MONDAY, JUNE 7, 2010/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

"Russia as a Donor: What is Behind the Increase in Multilateral Aid?" **Marsha McGraw Olive**, Country Program Coordinator – Russia, The World Bank; **Andrei R. Markov**, Senior Human Development Specialist, Russia HD Country Sector Coordinator, The World Bank.

**TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 2010/  
SEMINAR**

National University "Lviv Politekhnik," Lviv, Ukraine  
"Urban Development in Ukraine in the Context of its European Integration," **Victor Savka**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Work, National University "Lviv Politekhnik;" **Rudolf Myrsky**, Professor, Department of Political Science, National University "Lviv Politekhnik."

**MONDAY, JUNE 14, 2010/  
NOON DISCUSSION**

"100 Days at the Office: President Yanukovich's Economic Policy,"

**Nazar Kholod**, independent scholar, Washington, D.C., and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar.

**MONDAY, JUNE 14, 2010/  
POLICY BRIEFING**

U.S. Department of State

"Improbable Oppositions: Personalist Rule, Privatization, and Elite Defection in the Post-Soviet Autocracies,"

**Barbara Junisbai**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

**TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 2010/  
SEMINAR**

"Religious Freedoms in Today's Russia,"

**Catherine Cosman**, Senior Policy Analyst, United States Commission on International Religious Freedom.

**FRIDAY-SATURDAY, JUNE 18-19,  
2010/ CONFERENCE**

Novosibirsk, Russia

Cosponsored by Kennan Moscow Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Foundation for Socio-Prognostic Studies "Trends," with the cooperation of the Novosibirsk Oblast Administration

"Siberia-America: Challenges of Innovation Development and Prospects for Economic and Humanitarian Cooperation"

June 18

*Opening Statement:* **Vladimir Nikonov**, Vice President, Minister of Education, Research, and Innovation Technologies of Novosibirsk Oblast.

## EURASIAN MIGRATION TRENDS

The Kennan Institute continued to promote a dialogue on Eurasian migration issues in a variety of ways in all three offices (Washington, Moscow, and Kyiv) in 2009–2010. This included hosting scholars-in-residence, holding conferences, and publishing research results.

Three scholars were in residence at the Kennan Institute during the past program year whose research focused on issues of migration. **Marya Rozanova**, Associate Professor, Admiral Makarov State Maritime Academy and Head of the Center for Civil, Social, Scientific, and Cultural Initiatives, St. Petersburg, received a Starovoitova grant to work on her project “The Migration Policy Development in Urban Areas of Contemporary Russia.” **Olga Gulina**, Law Faculty, Potsdam University, Berlin, was a Short-Term scholar in residence for the topic “Right to Equality/Non-Discrimination: Overview of Immigration and Integration Policies in U.S.A. and E.U.” **Oleksii Poznyak**, Head of the Migration Department of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, received a Short-term grant to work on his project “A Development Strategy of Attracting Immigrants to Ukraine on the Basis of the U.S. Immigration Experience.”

On October 21, 2009, the Kennan Institute together with the Institute for Democracy and Cooperation (INDEMCO), sponsored an all day conference on “Migration in Russia and the U.S.: Problems and Solutions.” A delegation of eight top migration experts from Moscow traveled to Washington, D.C. to discuss immigration issues with their American counterparts. On April 29, 2010, experts who focus on Russia, Ukraine and the U.S. examined the immigration situation in their respective countries at a seminar entitled “Demography, Migration, and Tolerance: Eurasian Experience in Context.” The day-long event included panelists **Mridula Ghosh**, Board Chair, East European Development Institute, Kyiv; **Marya Rozanova**, Associate Professor, Admiral Makarov State Maritime Academy and Head of the Center for Civil, Social, Scientific, and Cultural Initiatives “STRATEGIA,” St. Petersburg, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution; and **Andrew Selee**, Director, Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center. In June 2010, the Kennan Moscow Project co-sponsored an international confer-

ence entitled “Immigrants to Russia: Social Challenges” in Moscow. Nearly 30 immigration specialists from Russia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, and the U.S. participated in the two-day event.

In addition, the 2009–2010 program year marked the beginning of Kennan Institute participation in a major three year research initiative directed by Professor Cynthia Buckley of the University of Texas examining the effects of immigration on Russian cities as well as the immigrant experience itself. Conducted by an international research team and funded by the National Science Foundation, this research seeks increased understanding of the Eurasian migration system. The project explores how migration patterns reflect social structures, cultural competencies, and economic motivations, in post-Soviet states. The project will challenge theoretical assumptions regarding migration and the state. Three Russian cities have been chosen for in-depth analysis: Ekaterinburg, Krasnodar, and Nizhnii Novgorod. Preliminary site visits were made by Kennan Institute staff and the other members of the NSF research team in the summer of 2010.

Finally, migration topics have been featured in several of the Kennan Institute’s publications this past program year. The third volume in the Eurasian Migration Paper Series was published in October 2009: *Chinese Migration to Russia: Missed Opportunities*, written by **Maria Repnikova** and **Harley Balzer**. In issue #16 of the Kennan Moscow Project’s journal *Vestnik*, which was published in Fall 2009, a special section was devoted to “Cultural Diversity and Tolerance.” The section was composed of five essays that analyzed the migration situation in Russia and other countries. In November 2009, the Kennan Kyiv Project published *‘Non-Traditional’ Immigrants in Kyiv: Seven Years Later*. Based on a survey of “non-traditional” immigrants from Asia and Africa living in Kyiv, the authors, **Olena Braichevska**, **Olena Malynovska**, and **Yaroslav Pilinskiy** analyzed places of immigration in contemporary Ukrainian society and the degree of integration of the newcomers. Special attention was devoted to comparing the recent empirical data with what was gathered in a similar study in 2001–2002.

## Panel I: Preconditions for Innovation Development in Siberia: The Region Through Russian and American Research

*Moderators:* **Vladimir Suprun**, Director, "Trends" Foundation; **Emil Pain**, Professor, State University – Higher School of Economics, and Supervisor, Kennan Moscow Project.

*Presenters:* "Stages of Development of Siberia through the Prism of Modernization," **Vladimir Lamin**, Director, Institute of History of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Corresponding Member Russian Academy of Sciences; "The State and Space: Allies or Enemies?" **Sergei Artobolevskii**, Director, Department of Economic and Social Geography, Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Research Universities in the U.S.: Experience of Integration of Science and Education," **Victor Supyan**, Deputy Director, Institute of U.S. and Canada, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Political Conditions and Limitations for Innovation Development," **Irina Busygina**, Professor, Center for Regional Policy Studies, Moscow State Institute of International Relations and Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; "Strategies for Innovation Development of Siberia," **Vladimir Nikonov**, Vice President, Minister of Education, Research, and Innovation Technologies of Novosibirsk Oblast; "Siberian Resources in the System of Activity of Russian State Institutions," **Aleksei Alekseev**, Ph.D. candidate, Institute of Economics and Industrial Production; "Federal Center and Siberia: Perception and

Representation," **Oleg Donskikh**, Director, Department of Philosophy of Novosibirsk State University of Economics and Management; "Socio-Cultural Conditions for Innovation Development in Russia," **Emil Pain**, Professor, State University – Higher School of Economics; and Supervisor, Kennan Moscow Project.

June 19

*Opening Statement:* **Victor Tolokonsk**, Governor, Novosibirsk Oblast.

## Panel II: Innovation as a Breakthrough to the Future—Innovative Socio-Economic Models

*Moderators:* **Vladimir Suprun**, Director, "Trends" Foundation; **Sam Green**, Deputy Director, Carnegie Center, Moscow.

*Presentations:* "Innovation as a Response to the Challenges of our Time," **Vladimir Suprun**, Director, Socio-Prognostic Research Foundation "Trends"; "The Role of Regions in Russia's Modernization," **Nikolai Petrov**, Program Director, Regional Policy Carnegie Moscow Center; "The Role of Independent Research and Social Sciences Centers in the Innovation Processes of the U.S.," **Green, Sam**, Deputy Director, Carnegie Center, Moscow. "Innovation and Investment," **Thomas Nastas**, Founder, Innovative Ventures, Inc.; "The Innovation Process as a Factor of Regional Alignment in Russia," **Boris Lavrovskii**, Professor, Institute of Economics and Industrial Production, SB RAS (Novosibirsk); "US-Russian Cooperation in the Field of Hi-Tech: Current and Future," **Sergei Korolev**,

Director of Government Relations, Boeing; "New Forms of Communication in the Field of Innovation," **Emily Parker**, Researcher, Asia Society.

## SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 26-27, 2010/ CONFERENCE Moscow, Russia

Cosponsored by the John and Katherine MacArthur Foundation in the Russian Federation, The Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, and the Center for Ethno-political and Regional Studies of the Institute of Sociology

"Social Consequence of Immigration to Russia"

June 26

Opening Remarks: **Vladimir Mukomel'**, Director, Center for Ethno-political and Regional Studies, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Emil Pain**, Senior Academic Advisor, Kennan Moscow Project; and **William Pomeranz**, Deputy Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.

## Panel I: Migration Processes and Migration Policies

*Presentations:* "Immigration to Russia as a Reflection of International Trends," **Mikhail Denisenko**, Deputy Director, Institute of Demography, State University – Higher School of Economics; "Migration as a Factor in Russian Economic Development," **Zhanna Zaiionchkovskaia**, Head, Laboratory of Migration, Institute of Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Migrants on Russian Labor Markets: Gender

Aspect," **Elena Tiuriukanova**, Director, Center for Migration Studies, Institute of Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Russian Immigration Policy: Lost Chances and Necessary Steps," **Leonid Rybakovskii**, Chief Researcher, Institute of Sociopolitical Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Mechanisms for the Implementation of Migration Legislation Regulating Inflow of Labor," **Natalya Vlasova**, Vice-president, 21st Century Migration Foundation; "Influence of Changes in Russian Migration Legislation on External Migration in Azerbaijan," **Arif Iunusov**, Deputy Head, Department of Conflictology and Migration, Institute of Peace and Democracy, Azarbaijan.

## Panel II: Problems of Adaptation and Integration of Migrants

*Presentations:* "New Tendencies in World National and Cultural Policies," **Emil Pain**, Senior Academic Advisor, Kennan Moscow Project; "Western Experience with the Integration of Migrants," **Tatiana Vasil'eva**, Senior Researcher, Department of Comparative Law Studies, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Problems of Policies of Integration," **Vladimir Mukomel**, Director, Center for Ethno-political and Regional Studies, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Perspectives for the Return of the Russian Intellectual Elite," **Andrei Korobkov**, Associate Professor, Middle Tennessee State University, USA; "Problems of Adaptation of Migrants from Tajikistan in Russia," **Saodat Olimova**, Leading Expert on Migration, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Academy

of Sciences of Tajikistan; "Diasporas as a Resource of Social Adaptation for Migrants from Azerbaijan and Tajikistan," **Natalia Mukhametshina**, Head, Department of Political Sciences, Sociology and Law, Samara State Architecture and Building University; "Problems of the Conditions of Migrants from Central Asia to Russia," **Sergei Ryazantsev**, Head, Center for Demography and Economic Sociology, and **Elena Pis'mennaia**, Leading researcher, Center for Demography and Economic Sociology; "Migrant Tajiks in the Perm Region," **Andrei Suslov**, Head, Department of New and Modern Russian History.

June 27

## Panel III: Integration Potential of the Host Population

*Presentations:* "Migrant Phobia in Russia and Europe," **Ekaterina Arutyunova**, Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Integration Strategies of Immigrants from Armenia in Moscow," **Tatiana Yudina**; "Internal Russian Migration, Barriers to Ethnicity," **Nikita Mkrtchian**, Leading Researcher, Institute of Demography, State University – Higher School of Economics; "The Migration Situation and Integration Potential in the Voronezh Region," **Svetlana Lebedeva**; "Regional Potential for Integration," **Grigorii Piadukhov**, Independent Researcher.

## Panel IV: Social Practice in Recipient Societies

*Presentations:* "Immigration

Myths and Stereotypes Existing in Russia," **Yuri Moskovskii**, Expert, Development Promoting Foundation; "Organizational-legal Aspects of Labor Migrants: the Samara Region Experience," **Nikolai Yavkin**, Associate Professor, Samara State Architecture and Building University; "Practice of Official Documentation," **Ksenia Grigor'eva**, Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Institutionalization of Adaptation of Labor Migrants Based on St. Petersburg," **Anna Rocheva**, Post-graduate student, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Role of Non-government Organizations in the Regulating of Labor Migration," **Gavkhar Dzhuraeva**, Head, "Migration and Law" Center, Tajikistan Foundation; "Social Vulnerability and Sexual Risks of Women Migrants in Russia: Preliminary Results," **Zotova Natalya**, Researcher, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and **Viktor Agadzhanian**, Arizona State University.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 14, 2010/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Washington Kazakhstan Festival, the Embassy of Kazakhstan, the U.S.-Kazakhstan Business Association, and the Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Kazakhstan and the Modern World,"

**Erlan Idrissov**, Ambassador of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the United States; **The Honorable James F. Collins**, Director, Russia and Eurasia Program and Diplomat in Residence, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (1997-

## KENNAN INSTITUTE / HARRIMAN INSTITUTE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN LITERATURE SERIES

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

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

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

This series was successfully continued in 2010 with poetry readings and discussions of Ukrainian cultural life by **Yuri Andrukovych** and **Taras Prokhasko** at events held in Washington D.C. and New York City. Yuri Andrukhovych, born in 1960 in Ivano-Frankivsk, is one of the leading representatives of the late 1980s cultural renaissance in Ukraine, as well as one of the founding members of the Bu-Ba-Bu (burlesque-balahan-buffoonery) literary group. Bu-Ba-Bu experimented with linguistic and poetic expressions in an innovative manner, a taboo for writers in Soviet times. Yuri Andrukhovych presented his works from “Werewolf Sutra” at a Kennan Institute event, showcasing a collection of literary works dealing with the complexities of Ukraine’s role as a state in modern Europe. Afterwards, the audience enjoyed an engaging discussion with the author on a myriad of issues related to literary life in Ukraine, with a particular emphasis on international perspectives of Ukrainian culture.

Taras Prokhasko was born in 1968 in Ivano-Frankivsk. He studied biology at Lviv University and has worked as a radio operator, editor, bartender, radio host, forester, teacher, gallery proprietor, screen writer, video operator and gardener; for the past ten years he has worked as a journalist. At a Kennan Institute event in April 2010, Taras Prokhasko recited excerpts from his book FM Galicia, a collection of brief literary pieces the author once broadcast over a radio station in Ivano-Frankivsk. The reading concluded with a discussion of the artist’s approach to writing and the idea of inspiring and exciting his readership through literature.

In 2010-2011, the Kennan Institute is eager to continue its Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series with new literary figures who uniquely shape the face of Ukraine and its modern-day culture.

#### **KENNAN INSTITUTE / HARRIMAN INSTITUTE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN LITERATURE SERIES PARTICIPANTS:**

**Andrey Kurkov**, 2008

**Taras Chubai**, 2008

**Marjana Savka**, 2009

**Viktor Neborak**, 2009

**Andriy Bondar**, 2009

**Yuri Andrukovych**, 2010

**Taras Prokhasko**, 2010

2001); **The Honorable William Courtney**, Director, Strategy and Development, CSC Corporation, and former U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan (1992-1995); **The Honorable Elizabeth Jones**, Executive Vice President, APCO Worldwide, and former U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan (1995-1998); **The Honorable Larry Napper**, Senior Lecturer, Bush School, Texas A&M University, and former U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan (2001-2004); Discussant: **Martha Brill Olcott**, Senior Associate, Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 16 2010/ SEMINAR

"The Kyrgyz Crisis: Overview and Forecast," **Barbara Junisbai**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 2010/ CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Kissinger Institute and the Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Impact of US-China Relations in Asia: Regional Views," **Fyodor Lukyanov**, Editor, Global Affairs, Moscow; **Bruce Parrott**, Professor and Director, Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS; **Seiichiro Tagaki**, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo; **Gilbert Rozman**, Princeton University, Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Simon Tay**, Chairman, Singapore Institute of International Affairs; **Ernest Bower**, Director, Southeast Asia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Brahma Chellaney**, Professor, Center for Policy Research, New Delhi; **Robert Hathaway**, Director, Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Yuan Ming**, Professor, Center for International and Strategic Studies, Peking University; **Douglas Paal**, Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

#### TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2010/ SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Washington and the Canada Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Governing the Far North: Assessing Cooperation between Arctic and Non-Arctic Nations," **Joel Plouffe**, Chaire Raoul-Dandurand en études stratégiques et diplomatiques; **Betsy Baker**, Associate Professor, Vermont Law School; **Dietmar Nietan**, MdB SPD, Deutscher Bundestag; **Ted L. McDorman**, Faculty of Law, University of Victoria; **Timo Koivurova**, Research Professor, Director of the Northern Institute for Environmental and Minority Law, Arctic Centre/University of Lapland; **Don Newman**, former Senior Parliamentary Editor, CBC News.

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2010/ BOOK DISCUSSION

"The Line," **Olga Grushin**, author.

#### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 2010/ SEMINAR

"Education in Russia: Regional Perceptions of the Federal Education Reform and Modern Identity of Russian Universities," **Igor Kiselev**, Deputy Dean and Chair of Sociology, Department of Social and Political Sciences, Yaroslavl State University; **Alexandr Rusakov**, Rector, Yaroslavl State University.



## SEPARATION OF POWERS IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

One of the backbones of the American political system is the principle of the separation of powers. The U.S. Constitution established an executive, legislative, and judicial branch, each with its own assigned power and jurisdiction. Many countries have referred to the U.S. system of separation of powers while adapting this principle to satisfy local conditions and customs. However, attempts to transplant this notion to the former Soviet Union have been met with a certain amount of resistance. Although the separation of powers is enshrined in the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation, this principle has largely been replaced in practice by the “power vertical” and an increasingly strong executive branch. Alternatively, the Ukrainian Constitution calls for a mixed presidential—parliamentary system, which has resulted in persistent political battles over the actual division of authority.

On 18 May 2010, the Kennan Institute and Woodrow Wilson Center’s U.S. Studies Program held a joint conference examining how different countries understand the separation of powers and how this concept has been implemented in Russia and Ukraine since 1991. The first panel looked at the principle of separation powers in comparative perspective, focusing on the U.S., German, and Brazilian examples. The second panel addressed Russia’s and Ukraine’s attempt to introduce this concept over the past 16 years.

**Louis Fisher** explained that the American framers rejected a pure separation of powers model; rather, the central value of government was its system of checks and balances. Although the branches each had some exclusive powers, the overall emphasis was on the “overlapping of powers and forcing collaboration and joint decision-making.”

**Fernando Limongi** provided an analysis of separation of powers in the Brazilian experience. He argued that the characteristics of the decision-making process, as opposed to the system of government and electoral laws, are the key variables in explaining variation in government performance and party behavior. He used two case studies of presidential democracy in Brazil: the 1946-1964 and the post-1988 periods. In the post-1988 period, the approval of the presidential legislative agenda was based upon systematic partisan support in the legislature. Party cohesion also increased considerably from the first democratic experience to the current one despite the presence of the same electoral laws. Limongi concluded that the alterations in the decision-making process and the concentration of agenda powers in the hands of the chief executive and party leaders explain the change in observed patterns.

**Jeffrey Anderson** discussed the classic parliamentary fusion of the executive and legislative system in Germany. Anderson explained how the lessons of the Weimar republic affected the drafting of the new Basic Law in 1949, which was designed to prevent a concentration of executive power like that in the Nazi period. The new Basic Law also established high barriers for proportional representation in the legislative branch, a direct response to Germany's destabilized center of the 1930s. With this new legislation, German federalism was born, with the regional states (Länder) serving as an additional check on the power of the national government.

The second part of the conference focused on the development of the separation of powers in Russia and Ukraine. **Oleg Rumyantsev** lamented the civilizational shift that has taken place in Russia over the past decade; legislators now look towards the presidential monarchy model of Kazakhstan as legal inspiration, and the executive branch has asserted an increasing amount of power over the other branches. Rumyantsev observed that Russia currently was in a "stabilization phase," whereby the authorities control any types of civil movements or initiatives. The Constitutional Court was partly to blame for this development, added Rumyantsev, who cited examples of the court continually allowing the president and executive to assume more power.

**Oleksandr Zadorozhnii** argued that a perfect balance of power was not always necessarily desirable, since "the state should always be moving in some direction," i.e. in the direction of the overriding national interest. In the U.S. and Germany, this policy was the responsibility of the executive branch and the parliament, respectively. In Ukraine, noted Zadorozhnii, the president exercised so much authority that the question of separation of powers could be reduced to containing the executive. Finally, **Maria Popova** presented her work on the separation of powers between the political and judicial branches in Russia and Ukraine. She investigated how insulated the judiciaries are in each of these countries, and whether separation of powers on paper translates into real decisional independence for judges. In theory, Russia and Ukraine have both adopted extensive judicial reforms, including life tenure for judges and judicial control over the drafting and administration of its budget. However, "informal practices reduce the meaningfulness of these institutional reforms," said Popova, citing examples such as ex-parte communication between judges and politicians or parties to the case; deference of lower court judges to higher court decisions even when they are wrong; and judges' consideration of court administrators as their government-linked superiors rather than their assistants.



# OUTREACH

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

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

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

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

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

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

CATHEDRAL OF SAINTS BORIS  
AND GLEB, CHERNIGOV, RUSSIA  
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

distribution list of over 2,000 members and includes a list of upcoming Kennan Institute public events, two Meeting Reports, announcements of incoming scholars, and information on other opportunities and activities.

Kennan Institute followers can now review other event summaries and other published materials on its website, which had over 24,300 unique visitors in 2009. The Institute's outreach program also now includes a Facebook page which currently connects over 100 users. Members include undergraduates, graduate students, and alumni. The Facebook page publicizes information regarding public events, recent publications, and Title VIII and other grant opportunities to all of its users.

## BOOKS

**Olena Braichevska, Olena Malynovska, and Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, eds. *"Netrydytsiini" immibranty u Kyievi: sim rokiv potomu* ["Non-Traditional" Immigrants in Kyiv: Seven Years Later]. Kyiv: Stylos, 2009.

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**John W. Steinberg**, *All the Tsar's Men: Russia's General Staff and the Fate of the Empire, 1898-1914*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

## OCCASIONAL PAPERS

#304. *The Russian Constitution at Fifteen: Assessments and Current Challenges to Russia's Legal Development*. Edited by **F. Joseph Dresen** and **William E. Pomeranz** (2010).

## MEETING REPORTS

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"Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire." (4 May 2009).

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**Lilia Shevtsova**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center, and Associate Fellow, Chatham House, London.  
"Russia Today: Political and Foreign Policy Implications of the Economic Crisis." (1 June 2009).

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**David Abramson**, Foreign Affairs Research Analyst, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.  
"Transnational Religious Education and the Changing Face of Central Asian Islam." (28 September 2009).

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"Book Discussion: *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and Its Dangerous Legacy*." (19 October 2009).

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**Nicholas Thompson**, Senior Editor, *Wired Magazine*, and Fellow, New America Foundation.  
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**William Butler**, John Edward Fowler Distinguished Professor of Law, Dickinson School of Law, Penn State University.

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**Rock Brynner**, Adjunct Professor, Marist College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. “Russia on the Pacific: The Rising Role of the Russian Far East Among Pacific Rim Nations.” (14 December 2009).

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**Jennifer Coolidge**, Executive Director, CMX Caspian and Gulf Consultants Limited, and Former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

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**David Kramer**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States. “Ukraine After the First Round of Elections.” (25 January 2010).

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**David C. Engerman**, Associate Professor of History, Brandeis University, and Former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

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“Conference Report: The Legacy and Consequences of Jackson-Vanik: Reassessing Human Rights in 21st Century Russia.” (4 February 2010).

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**Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer**, Research Professor, Georgetown University, and Editor, *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia*.

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**Tom Parfitt**, Correspondent, The Guardian, Moscow, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center. “Russia’s Underground Fire: Politics, Security and Human Rights in the North Caucasus.” (29 March 2010).

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**Jack F. Matlock, Jr.**, Adjunct Professor of International Relations, Columbia University, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR. “Book Discussion: *Superpower Illusions: How Myths about the Cold War’s End Have Poisoned U.S.-Russian Relations*.” (15 March 2010).

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**Mridula Ghosh**, Board Chair, East European Development Institute, Kyiv; and **Marya Rozanova**, Associate Professor, Admiral Makarov State Maritime Academy and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution.

“Demography, Migration, and Tolerance: Eurasian Experience in Context.” (29 April 2010).

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**Gül Berna Özcan**, Reader in International Business and Entrepreneurship, School of Management of Royal Holloway College, University of London; Associate Fellow, London School of Economics, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. “Book Discussion: *Building States and Markets: Enterprise Development in Central Asia*.” (05 May 2010).

## KENNAN MOSCOW PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

*Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii* [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 16, Fall 2009.

*Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii* [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 17, Spring 2010.

## DIALOGUE TELEVISION

**Phil Donahue and Vladimir Pozner**, Dialogue Television #2234, “A Citizens’ Summit Revisited.”

## A YEAR IN BOOKS AT THE KENNAN INSTITUTE

Two decades after the end of the Cold War, the search for understanding of the Soviet period, and of how Americans confronted the challenge of this “dangerous peace,” continues to produce new and exciting scholarship. Over the past program year, the Kennan Institute has hosted or co-hosted eleven book discussions which wrestled with the histories and legacies of Soviet rule and Cold War confrontation.

Historian **Serhii Plokhy’s** book on the Yalta Conference, which he calls “the beginning of the longest, but also most dangerous, peace in European history,” benefited from the opening of the Russian archives in 1991. Previously inaccessible Russian documents allowed Plokhy to compare archival sources from all three sides and critically assess some of the harsh Cold War-era judgments on what was a World War II conference. Also emerging from the war was a new approach to scholarship known as “Sovietology,” as discussed in former Title VIII-Supported Kennan scholar **David Engerman’s** book, *Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America’s Soviet Experts*. Engerman traced the impact of government involvement on academic life, and the lesser impact of “Sovietologists” on the government’s foreign policy.

American perceptions of Russia, and Soviet Russia, were not shaped by “Sovietology” alone, according to **Eugene Trani’s** book *Distorted Mirrors: Americans and Their Relations with Russia and China in the Twentieth Century*. From 19th century travelogues (including works written by the Kennan Institute’s namesake, George Kennan “the Elder”) to 20th century press accounts of the two countries, Trani explored how American writers and journalists often made Russia the target of scorn and disillusionment, whereas China received glowing accounts of its grand history, culture, and progress. Yet another examination of the Cold War can be found in **Nicholas Thompson’s** book on the relationship between two famous statesmen, *The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War*. Thompson observed that despite the two men’s sometimes opposite positions on policy throughout the

Cold War, they shared a mutual respect and friendship with each other. Nitze, the pragmatic insider, and Kennan, the passionate outsider, have both been hailed after the fall of the Soviet Union as two important figures who contributed to a peaceful end to the Cold War.

The Gorbachev period and the end of the Cold War left far-reaching legacies. **David Hoffman** revealed in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and Its Dangerous Legacy*, Gorbachev's mixed record on arms control—successful in turning back a proposed Soviet “Star Wars” program, but unsuccessful in reining in the Soviet biological weapons program. **Constantine Pleshakov** explored the complexities surrounding the fall of communism in Eastern Europe in his book, *There Is No Freedom Without Bread! 1989 and the Civil War That Brought Down Communism*. **Vlad Zubok**, in presenting his book *Zhivago's Children: The Last Russian Intelligentsia*, predicted the last Russian intelligentsia would be the “imagined community” of Moscow intellectuals born between the 1920s and the early 1940s and that coalesced during Khrushchev's post-Stalin thaw.

Post-Soviet Central Asia serves as the focus for Wilson Center Fellow **Gül Berna Özcan's** new book, *Building States and Markets: Enterprise Development in Central Asia*. During a panel discussion on her book, Özcan described the complex characteristics and impact of the emerging entrepreneurial middle class in modern-day Central Asia.

The United States also faced unanticipated consequences from the end of the Cold War, according to former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation **Jack Matlock's** book, *Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray—and How to Return to Reality*. Matlock contended that many opportunities were missed in the 1990s because of the mistaken belief that the United States was in a “unipolar moment.” Through the prism of U.S. domestic politics, **Janine Wedel** critically compared the pernicious influence of post-communist elites enmeshed in both politics and business with what she sees as similar nexuses emerging in the United States in her discussion of *Shadow Elite: How Studying Post-Communist Societies Illuminates the Structure of Power in America and Beyond*.

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## CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia continues to sit on multiple regional fault lines. The region itself is far from cohesive, divided by different nationalities and certain deep-rooted economic disputes over natural resources such as energy and water. Central Asia further is a key geostrategic area, of interest to Russia, China, and the United States, all of whom are seeking to expand their influence in the region. Migrants from Central Asia also have moved in significant numbers to Russia and Ukraine, thereby raising serious questions about local labor markets and how best to integrate these foreign workers. Finally, as events in Kyrgyzstan demonstrated this past year, Central Asia remains an unstable region, with each country facing fundamental political challenges that could spin out of control at any time.

Throughout the 2009-10 programmatic year, the Kennan Institute organized a number of lectures examining the critical issues in the Central Asian region. These events addressed the situations in individual Central Asian states, as well as myriad topics pertaining to the region overall. **Gül Berna Özcan's** presentation explored the birth pains of the region's entrepreneurial middle class. Most entrepreneurs do not trust the legal system and its arbitrary law enforcement practices, she argued, and therefore try to solve their business problems outside of it. Moreover, arbitrary taxation and corruption hamper the abilities of their businesses to flourish. This has two effects: entrepreneurs tend to support authoritarian regimes because they provide at least some measure of political stability, and are further forced to engage in corrupt practices themselves (such as bribery) in order to be competitive in the market. Özcan concluded that while an empowered middle class and democratization cannot be automatically linked in Central Asia, middle class support will be essential for sustaining future democratic governance in this region.

Ambassador **Richard Miles** examined the situation in post-Niyazov Turkmenistan. According to Miles, when Berdimuhamedov assumed the presidency in 2006, the country began to change. Berdimuhamedov reopened theatres and other cultural institutions, enabled the internet, and allowed more students to study abroad. According to Ambassador Miles, Berdimuhamedov himself is fond of traveling outside Turkmenistan for state visits. "My hope is that as we keep working with the government of Turkmenistan on the issues, we will con-

tinue to make progress,” stated Ambassador Miles, adding, “Turkmenistan is moving forward in its own unique way.”

At a Kennan Institute seminar, **Erlan Idrissov**, Ambassador of the Republic of Kazakhstan, opened a panel discussion on Kazakhstan’s role in the modern world. Hailing the country as politically young but culturally ancient, Idrissov remarked that great strides have been made since independence in 1991, but that Kazakhstan was still a work in progress. Several former U.S. ambassadors then addressed the major milestones in the U.S.-Kazakhstan relationship over the past 20 years. As former Ambassador **William Courtney** noted, Kazakhstan took several important steps early on to achieve its independence, including: promoting tolerance among the various ethnic groups; instituting economic reforms to overcome poverty, and integrating with the outside world while avoiding any confrontations with Moscow. While Kazakhstan made good strides in their economic development, political development was tougher. “There was too little civil society, and the government had too much power,” said Courtney, who nonetheless remarked that compared to its neighbors in the south, Kazakhstan has overall been rather successful. **Martha Brill Olcott** concluded that there is an enormous opportunity for the U.S.-Kazakhstan relationship to deepen, especially as a new generation that is used to independence comes to the forefront of Kazakh political affairs.

**Barbara Junisbai** discussed the turbulent events in Kyrgyzstan during the spring of 2010, when a popular uprising ousted Kurmanbek Bakiyev from the presidency and opposition leaders established a provisional government. Upon assuming power, the main issue on the provisional government’s agenda was to reform the constitution and create a presidential-parliamentary system. “In many ways Kyrgyzstan resembles a failed state,” said Junisbai, adding that other Central Asian countries are hoping the provisional government fails and becomes an example of the futility and ensuing chaos that follows pro-democratic uprisings. According to Junisbai, Kyrgyzstan is representative of most post-Soviet autocracies. They share in common weak formal government institutions, informal political groups dominant in economics and politics, and personalist presidents who value their inner circles at the expense of competing groups. “Politics is too often about personal gain, not the public good,” Junisbai concluded.

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