



KENNAN INSTITUTE

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
One Woodrow Wilson Plaza
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-3027

Tel. (202) 691-4100
Fax (202) 691-4247

www.wilsoncenter.org/kennan

Annual Report

2003-2004



Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars



KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report

2003-2004

Kennan Institute

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
One Woodrow Wilson Plaza
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-3027

T 202-691-4100

F 202-691-4247

www.wilsoncenter.org/kennan



Back row (left to right): Edita Krunkaityte, Blair A. Ruble, Nancy Popson, F. Joseph Dresen, Atiq Sarwari
Front row (left to right): Margaret Paxson, Summer Brown, Erin Trouth, Jennifer Giglio, Thecla L. Frazier

Kennan Institute Staff

Blair A. Ruble, Director
 Margaret Paxson, Senior Associate
 Nancy Popson, Senior Associate
 F. Joseph Dresen, Program Associate
 Jennifer Giglio, Program Associate
 Atiq Sarwari, Program Associate
 Summer Brown, Program Specialist
 Thecla L. Frazier, Program Assistant
 Edita Krunkaityte, Program Assistant
 Erin Trouth, Program Assistant

Also employed at the Kennan Institute during the 2003-04 program year:

Muhitdin Ahunhodjaev, Financial Management Specialist
 Claudia Roberts, Secretary

Kennan Moscow Project

Galina Levina, Program Manager
 Ekaterina Alekseeva, Program Manager and Editor

Irina Petrova, Office Manager
 Pavel Korolev, Program Officer
 Anna Toker, Accountant
 Murad Pateev, Technical Support

Kennan Kyiv Project

Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Project Manager
 Nataliya Samozvanova, Office Manager

Research Interns 2003-2004

Jaime Atteniese, Galina Belimenko, Jamey Burho, Philip Butler, William Clark, Donna M. D’Aleo, Miranda Der Ohanian, Sapna Desai, Adam Fuss, Natalya Grokh, Brooks Hickman, Conway Irwin, Oksana Klymovych, Kiiha Manty, Peter Mattocks, Elyssa Palmer, Sofia Plagakis, Emily Resnick, Stephen Rogers, Caitlin Ryan, Aaron Sander, Gregory Shtraks, Victoria Snigur, Maria Sonevytsky, Erin Urban, Maria Vassilieva, Ves Vorobyev

CONTENTS

OVERVIEW	2
DIRECTOR'S REVIEW	4
ADVISORY COUNCILS	8
KENNAN COUNCIL	10
SCHOLARS	11
CENTERS FOR ADVANCED STUDY AND EDUCATION	19
MEETINGS	30
PUBLICATIONS	54
FUNDING	59

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

OVERVIEW

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

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

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

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

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 in order to foster scholarship in the social sciences and humanities. It seeks to integrate Russian scholars into the international academic community through a system of individual research fellowships, library and publications support, and professional community-building efforts. The



Irkutsk. City Theater. (Photo: William Brumfield)

CASE program is currently funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation.

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

The Kennan Institute, as part of the Woodrow Wilson Center, is a nonpartisan institution that values its independence from the world of politics. Unlike most 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

George Kennan's Siren Call

In the fall of 1988, after having just been invited to become director of the Kennan Institute, I arranged to spend a day in Princeton, New Jersey with Professor George Frost Kennan. The day, not surprisingly, turned out to be memorable for many reasons—not the least for my being able to have so much time with Professor Kennan.

Professor Kennan wanted to be sure that I shared his vision of what the Kennan Institute should be. He adamantly informed me that our institute should always be a place where scholars and the public talked not only about Russian economics, politics, and foreign policy, but about culture and history, literature and tradition as well. Most importantly, Professor Kennan forthrightly maintained that the Kennan Institute must remain an institution in which all of these different subjects and perspectives could blend together.

As the day came to an end—it was a beautiful autumnal day in Princeton with the crisp blue sky that one often gets in the American northeast at that time of year—I found myself strolling with then-84-year-old Professor Kennan toward the tiny railroad station next to campus to catch the shuttle train that runs back and forth between the town of Princeton and the mainline at Princeton Junction. Suddenly the conductor, who was probably as old as Professor Kennan, started honking on the little train's horn for us to move more quickly. Before I knew what was happening, I looked up to see George Kennan running in front of me to hold the train until I could catch up.

I am reminded of the image of Professor Kennan running after that train because it is, in many ways, a metaphor for much of his life, and for his relationship with Russia. Throughout nearly all of the 20th century, George F. Kennan was hearing sounds emanating from deep within Russia before any of the rest of us ever noticed. Like his ancestor George Kennan the Elder (after whom our institute is named) before him, George Kennan the Younger did not shy away when he heard these sounds; he ran towards them. Both George Kennans always embraced Russia and believed that Russia's embrace enriched them in return.

George Kennan the Younger ("our George Kennan") turned 100 on February 16, 2004. The institute he founded will turn 30 in just a few weeks in December 2004. This is a good moment, therefore, to reflect on the extent to which we have managed to live up to the high standards set by the institute's founders George F. Kennan, S. Frederick Starr, and James Billington.

If the Kennan Institute has been successful over the past thirty years, I would argue that it has been so at those moments when we too have chased sounds from across the Russian steppe. We've been able to do so because my remarkable predecessors—S. Frederick Starr, Abbott "Tom" Gleason, John Glad, Herbert J. Ellison and Peter Reddaway—and the dozens of people who have served on the Kennan Institute staff in Washington, Moscow and Kyiv, the hundreds of wonderful interns, and the more than 1,200 scholars who have worked at the Kennan Institute, have enabled us to honor Professor Kennan's challenge that the Kennan Institute always approach Russia in its entirety. Hopefully, in the process, we have both improved ourselves, and fulfilled our mission of improving understanding of Russia in the United States.

George F. Kennan, it is certain, enriched our country in many ways over the past century. He was a leading public servant and a great figure in twentieth century American letters. He taught and contributed to scholarship, and founded our little institute. He also happened to exert a remarkable influence over U.S. foreign policy. As a rising diplomat, George F. Kennan set down a strategy for American engagement with the Soviet Union that would last half a century. His approach to meeting the security threat of an expansionist Soviet Union after World War II offers key lessons for current policymakers grappling, in this radically different era, with challenges to international order from “rogue states.”

Kennan was a senior State Department official in 1947 when he wrote the path-breaking *Foreign Affairs* article, published under the pseudonym “X”, that advocated the “long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies” through “the adroit ...application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points....” But this strategy was not merely a balance-of-power response to Stalin’s emerging threat. At the core of Kennan’s containment doctrine was a concept of domestic change for the Soviet Union—one that led him to prophesize accurately how the Cold War would one day end. In the “X” article, tellingly entitled “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” Kennan elucidated how “the political personality of Soviet power” would shape “Russia’s conduct as a member of international society.” Having been trained in Berlin during the 1920s as a Russianist, having watched the Soviet Union from next door in Latvia before the United States established diplomatic relations in 1933, and having traveled extensively within the USSR for more than a decade, Kennan had a grasp of Soviet reality unparalleled among his contemporaries. His genius at the time was in appreciating how ideas and other forces shaping Russian culture nurtured societal changes that would prove to be as important as missiles and tanks in the Cold War struggle.

For Kennan, containment was thus essentially a long-term holding strategy by the United States and its allies to balance Soviet power until the endemic internal contradictions of the Soviet system became unsustainable and precipitated change. His prediction came to pass in the late 1980s through the combination of successful U.S. containment (under President Ronald Reagan in its pivotal final phase), which raised the costs of Soviet adventurism, and the rise of a qualitatively different Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. Kennan declared the end of the Cold War in 1989, arguing that the Soviet Union under Gorbachev had evolved from a revolutionary expansionist state into an orthodox great power. Gorbachev’s grand strategy—a form of regime change by internal evolution—was to integrate a transformed Soviet Union into the international order.

Although today’s security challenges are wholly different from those of the Cold War (not least because non-state actors, such as Al Qaeda, fall outside Kennan’s model), his approach to strategy nonetheless still offers a relevant guide. Just as his containment strategy took for its premise a concept of political change in the Soviet Union, so too must current U.S. strategies toward “rogue states” be based on a sound understanding of the unique “political personality” (to use Kennan’s term) of each.

More importantly for the Kennan Institute, the sensibility inherent in Kennan’s original formulation of containment sets standards for scholarly engagement with Russia, Ukraine, and the entire region in which they are found. Change takes place, though often in ways cloaked in disorienting complexity. The “universal” laws of social science theory apply to the region, at times producing unexpected outcomes as they are filtered through layers of history, culture, and experience. The writings of both nineteenth century satirical writer Nikolai Gogol’ and twentieth century Nobel Laureate in Economic Sciences Simon Kuznets are necessary to understand how and why Ukraine has come to supply a quarter of the world’s export market for railway cars, or how Cyprus has come to invest more in Russia since 1992 than the United States.



Throughout nearly all of the 20th century, George F. Kennan was hearing sounds emanating from deep within Russia before any of the rest of us ever noticed. Like his ancestor George Kennan the Elder (after whom our institute is named) before him, George Kennan the Younger did not shy away when he heard these sounds; he ran towards them.



Taltsy (Irkutsk Region). Log post house. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Those of us charged with stewardship of the Kennan Institute over the 2003-04 program year have tried as best we could to implement Professor Kennan's vision for how one thinks about Russia and the region. We hosted 92 events, including conferences on the integration of Russian scholarship into the international academic community, Islam in Russia, the Ukrainian Man-Made Famine of 1932-33, and Russia and Northeast Asia; Title VIII-Supported Research Workshops on contemporary and historical perspectives on conflict in the former Soviet Union, multicultural legacies in Ukraine and Russia, and migration in Central Eurasia; a regular program of seminars and Noon Discussions; and alumni seminars and conferences in Russia and Ukraine. Over 3,600 people attended Kennan Institute public events throughout the program year. In addition, the Institute hosted 75 residential scholars and supported the work of 156 scholars in Russia through the CASE program.

Cooperative partners and generous funding agencies are essential to successful programming at an institution such as the Kennan Institute. I would like to acknowledge and express my heartfelt thanks for the generous support that we have received during the past year from Carnegie Corporation of New York, the U.S. Department of State through the Title VIII program and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the U.S. Embassies in Moscow and Kyiv, the ISE Center in Moscow, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, the American Center in Moscow, the College of Arts and Sciences of Baylor University, the Embassy of Ukraine to the United States, the Environmental Film Festival, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Institute on Religion and World Affairs at Boston University, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the Kennan Institute/Woodrow Wilson Center Alumni Organization in Moscow, the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Ukrainian Studies Center of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University, the University of Paris-X in Nanterre, the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, The Washington Group, and the Asia Program, Cold War International History Project, Comparative Urban Studies Project, Conflict Prevention Project, East European Studies, Environmental Change and Security Project, and Middle East Project of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

In addition to these program funds, the Kennan Institute is growing increasingly reliant on private donations to support our activities, whether through individual contributions or support of the Kennan Institute's annual dinner. I would like to take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge the support of the following individuals and organizations that helped to ensure our continuing fiscal and programmatic health over this program year: A La Vieille Russie; Access Industries, Inc.; Eleanor Adams; Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld; Madeleine Albright; Alfa-Bank; Anders Åslund; Adele Baker; Baker & Botts LLP; Harley Balzer and Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer; Nancy Bedford; Ruth Bell; Stephen F. Cohen and Katrina vanden Heuvel; The Boeing Company; Christina Bolton; Alexander Boyle; BP; Ellen Hotchkiss Brown; Sarah Carey; Jacqueline Cavalier; CEC ArtsLink; Chadbourne & Parke LLP; ChevronTexaco; Julia Colton; Esther Coopersmith; Piers Cumberlege; James A. Duran, Jr.; Alexander Dzhaparidze; Terry English; Eurasia Foundation; ExxonMobil; F.J. Elsner North America Ltd; Roger Felberbaum; David Fishman; Mr. and Mrs. Evan Fotos; Mr. and Mrs.

Werner Friedlaner; Patrice Gancie; Gardiner, Kamy & Associates, P.C.; John Garrard; Bruce Gelb; Jay Haft; Evelyn J. Harner; Peter A. Hauslohner; Pavel Ilyin; Jan Kalicki; the Kennan Family; Korben International Industrial and Fincancial Corporation; Gary Lazor; Edward Lozansky; Lukoil; David Manel; Jack F. Matlock; Sergey Matveev; Martha Mautner; Thomas Metts; Kenneth Mitchell; Beth Mitchneck; Moncrief Oil International; Kathryn Moore; the Mumford Family Trust; Matthew Murray; National Committee on American Foreign Policy; Mr. and Mrs. George D. O'Neill; Ludmilla Orelup; Susan Pearce; Clyde E. Rankin; Lois Rice; David Rockefeller; Blair A. Ruble; Andrea Rutherford; The Scowcroft Group; Raja Sidawi; Gordon Smith; The Sputnik Group; Helen Teplitskaia; Trust for Mutual Understanding; Michael H. Van Dusen; Margaret van Shaack; VimpelCom; Enzo Viscusi.

In closing, I would like to acknowledge our remarkable staff in Washington, Moscow, and Kyiv, who do all the work, often without appropriate recognition. All of the accomplishments listed in the pages to follow are their achievements. If we have managed to convert Professor Kennan's vision for our institute into reality, it is the staff who has done so and it is they who have turned our words into deeds, our plans into reality every day of the past year: Muhitdin Ahunhodjaev, Ekaterina Alekseeva, Summer Brown, F. Joseph Dresen, Thecla Frazier, Jennifer Giglio, Pavel Korolev, Edita Krunkaityte, Galina Levina, Murad Pateev, Margaret Paxson, Irina Petrova, Nancy Popson, Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Claudia Roberts, Nataliya Samozvanova, Atiq Sarwari, Anna Toker, Erin Truth, and S. Todd Weinberg.

Blair A. Ruble
October 1, 2004

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 2003–04 program year were:

Kennan Institute Advisory Council

Amb. Thomas W. Simons, Jr.,
Chair
Harvard University and Stanford
University

Harley Balzer
Georgetown University

Timothy J. Colton
Davis Center, Harvard University

Leokadia Drobizheva
Institute of Sociology, Russian
Academy of Sciences

Catharine Nepomnyashchy
Barnard College and Harriman
Institute, Columbia University

Oleksiy Haran
Center for National Security
Studies, University of Kyiv-Mohyla
Academy

Kathleen Kuehnast
Institute of European, Russian,
and Eurasian Studies, George
Washington University

Beth Mitchneck
University of Arizona

John Tedstrom
EastWest Institute, New York; and
Transatlantic Partners Against
AIDS

Heinrich Vogel
German Institute for International
and Security Affairs; and
University of Amsterdam

Grace Kennan Warnecke
Consultant

*The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Advisory Council members Timothy Colton and Catharine Nepomnyashchy. We greatly appreciate all their hard work over the past four years.

Russian Alumni Association Advisory Council

Iurii Baturin, Chair
Russian Cosmonaut Center,
Zvezdnyi gorodok

Vladimir Iakimets, Vice Chair
Institute for Systems Analysis,
Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow

Viktor Avksentiev
Stavropol State University

Larisa Loginova
Russian Securities and Exchange
Commission, Irkutsk Office

Revekka Voulofvich
Northwestern Academy for Public
Administration, St. Petersburg

Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council

Oleksandr Fisun, Chair
Kharkiv National University

Olha Filippova
Kharkiv National University

Ihor Koval
Odesa National University

Viktor Susak
L'viv National University

Antonina Kolodii
Kyiv International University

*The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council members Olha Filippova and Viktor Susak. We greatly appreciate all their hard work.



Blagoveshchensk. Former Roman Catholic Church.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

KENNAN COUNCIL

For 30 years, the Kennan Institute has worked to improve American expertise and knowledge about Russia and the other successor states to the Soviet Union. To this end, the Institute brings together scholars, governmental specialists, and other experts to discuss political, social, and economic issues affecting this area of the world, seeking always to place these issues within their historical context.

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 the surrounding states. 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.

Kennan Council

Christopher Kennan, Chair
Director
LuxeFragrances, LLP

Len Blavatnik, Vice Chair
Chairman
Access Industries

Peter Francis
International Senior Advisor
ExxonMobil Corporation

Richard Herold
Director, International Affairs
BP Government Relations

Ted Jonas
Of Counsel
Baker & Botts LLP

Boris Jordan
President
The Sputnik Group

James C. Langdon, Jr.
Senior Executive Partner
Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer &
Feld, LLP

Richard W. Moncrief
Chairman
Moncrief Oil International, Inc.

The Honorable Thomas Pickering
Senior Vice President
The Boeing Company

Daniel Poneman
Principal
The Scowcroft Group

Paul Rodzianko
Senior Vice President
Access Industries

Peter L. Schaffer
A La Vieille Russie

SCHOLARS

The Kennan Institute's residential fellowship program supports outstanding research on Russia and the successor states of the Soviet Union in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities. During the 2003-04 program year, the Institute offered nine types of grants: Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowships, Galina Starovoitova Fellowships on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Senior Scholarships, Senior Policy Scholarships, Public Policy Scholarships, Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholarships, Title VIII Research Scholarships, Central Eurasian Short-Term (CEST) grants, and Short-Term grants. The competitive application process is open to qualified academic scholars as well as practitioners from government, media, and the private sector. All programs except Short-Term grants are limited to candidates with doctoral degrees or equivalent professional achievement.

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 most Short-Term grants 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. A number of Short-Term grants are also provided by the Kennan Institute's George F. Kennan Fund.

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

During the 2003-04 program year, the Kennan Institute hosted 75 resident scholars whose work included topics in politics, sociology, history, literature, economics, and the arts throughout the former Soviet Union. The Institute also supported the work of 156 scholars in Russia through the CASE Program (see pg. 20). The scholars at the Kennan Institute during the past year came from around the world and formed a community of scholars. This community of scholars contributed to the life of the Institute and helped to further American understanding of the social, political, and economic dynamics of the successor states to the Soviet Union.



I feel that my work was immeasurably advanced and improved by the time I was able to spend in Washington thanks to the Kennan Institute travel grant...I now return, re-energized with my new perspective and new material.

*Lise Namikas
August 2004*

Galina Starovoitova Fellows on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

Anatoly Krasikov, Director, Center of Social and Religious Studies, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Religious Freedom as a Condition for Revival of Russia in the 21st Century." December 2003–April 2004.

Aleksandr Osipov, Program Coordinator, Human Rights Center "Memorial," Moscow. "Prevention and Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Can Western Experience Be Exported to Russia?" April–July 2004.

Ivan Pavlov, Director, Bellona Environmental Human Rights Center, St. Petersburg. "Comparative Military Justice Systems: U.S. and Russia." September–December 2003.



Yakutsk. Original log tower, Yakutsk Fort. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Senior Policy Scholar

William Green Miller, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine. "Creation of a Relationship between Ukraine and the U.S." January 2000–February 2005.

Senior Scholar

Murray Feshbach, Research Professor Emeritus, Georgetown University. "Policy Implications of Population, Health, and Environment Trends in Russia." October 2000–September 2006.

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellows

John Garrard, Professor of Russian Studies, University of Arizona. "From Party to Patriarch: Russian Orthodoxy Resurgent." September 2004–June 2005.

Christian Haerpfer, Professor of Political Science, University of Vienna, Austria. "Democracy and Market Economy in Post-Soviet Europe." September 2004–June 2005.

Dmitry Gorenburg, Director of Russian and East European Programs, The CNA Corporation, Alexandria. "Soviet and Post-Soviet Nationalities Policy and Assimilation." September 2003–May 2004.

Tomila Lankina, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for the Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Germany. "The Impact of the 'West' on Russia's Northwest." September 2004–June 2005.

Public Policy Scholars

Natalia Lakiza-Sachuk, Professor, National Institute for Strategic Studies, Kyiv. "U.S. Technical Assistance to Ukraine—The Role of International Advisors and Consultants." November 2003–March 2004.

Anatoly Mikhailov, Rector, European Humanities University, Minsk. "The Structure of the Life-World of the Post-Soviet Reality." April–August 2004.

John Vafai, Attorney at Law, John Vafai & Associates, New York. "Public Corruption in Russia—Structural Defects and Institutional Weaknesses." August–October 2003.

Research Scholars

Alexander Diener, Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies and Languages, Pepperdine University. "One Homeland or Two?: Diaspora, Territorialization, and Identity in Kazakhstan." October 2003–June 2004.

Paul Hagenloh, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Alabama. "Police, Crime, and Public Order in Stalin's Russia." August 2004–May 2005.

Steven Harris, independent scholar. "Moving to the Separate Apartment: A Social and Cultural History of Housing in the Soviet Union, 1950s–1960s." October 2003–June 2004.

Ruth Mandel, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University College London. "An Anthropological Critique of International Development Assistance in the Former Soviet Union: The Case of Kazakhstan." September 2004–May 2005.

Maria Rewakowicz, Research Assistant Professor, Rutgers University. "Literature, Literary Canons, and National Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine: A Comparative Approach." October 2003–May 2004.

Tatiana R. Zaharchenko, Visiting Scholar, Environmental Law Institute, Washington, D.C. "Second Thoughts on Transparency: a Comparative Study on Post-Soviet States and the Aarhus Convention." November 2003–July 2004.

Fulbright-Kennan Research Scholars

Olga Demidova, Professor, Department of Literature, St. Petersburg State Pedagogical University. "Compiling the History of the Russian Writers' Union in Exile." September 2004–March 2005.

Mikhail Fedotov, Vice President, INDEM Foundation, Moscow. "Public Television: U.S. Experience and Russian Perspectives." March–September 2004.

Kostyantyn Glomozda, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. "A Free World of History: The Importance of American Experience for Post-Soviet Ukrainian Historical Science." September 2003–March 2004.

Aleksandr Khodnev, Professor, Chair of the World History Department, Yaroslavl' State Pedagogical University. "Russia and Multilateral Institutions: New Patterns, Dilemmas, and Challenges." September 2004–March 2005.

Antonina Kolodii, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary Ethnology, Institute of Ethnology, Ukraine National Academy of Sciences, L'viv. "National Consolidation in the United States: Ways and Means of Managing Ethnic and Cultural Diversity." September 2003–March 2004.

Pavlo Kyrpenko, Consultant, Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National

University, Kyiv. "Afghanistan and U.S. Foreign Policy 1991-2003." September 2004–March 2005.

Anatoly Lashkevich, Professor and Deputy Director, Department of Western Literature, Udmurt State University. "From Exceptionalism to Multicultural Globality: American Voice in Contemporary Culture Theory." September 2003–March 2004.

Rachit Latypov, Associate Professor, Department of History, Institute of Regional History, Astrakhan State Pedagogical University. "The Dialogue of Deaf Across the Atlantic: American and British Approaches to a New World Order in 1919–1922." March–September 2004.



Constant communication with colleagues from different backgrounds and many opportunities for academic discussions and exchanging of views were a great benefit. I was very much pleased with the friendly and encouraging atmosphere of the Center. All administrative and technical support was perfectly organized and very helpful.

Alexander Osipov
July 2004



By simply providing the time and space for a recently minted Ph.D. to advance her or his research agenda, the Kennan Institute and its Title VIII program would be providing a service warranting the vociferous gratitude and loyalty of those offered this opportunity. But the Kennan Institute does much more than this; it establishes an environment wherein young scholars mix with more experienced scholars and where policy professionals and those formerly in government service impart perspectives rarely encountered in the 'ivory tower.'

*Alexander Diener
June 2004*

Oleksandr Merezhko, Associate Professor, Department of International Law, Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv. "International Political and Legal Order in the Twenty First Century." September 2004–March 2005.

Bella Pak, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Korea and Mongolia, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Policy of Powers Towards Korea: 1885–1894." September 2003–May 2004.

Ekaterina Pravilova, Research Fellow, Department of Russian History, St. Petersburg Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences. "Finances of an Empire: Economic Aspects of Russian Regional Politics, 1700–1917." September 2003–February 2004.

Serhiy Rymarenko, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv. "Sources of Ethnic Tensions and Ethnic Conflicts in Post-Communist Countries." September 2004–March 2005.

Yaroslav Senyk, Research Fellow, Manuscript Division, L'viv Stefanyk Scientific Library. "Ukrainian Emigre Press in the United States, 1886–1939: Historical and Bibliographical Research." September 2004–March 2005.

Victor Stepanenko, Senior Research Fellow, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, Ukraine National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv. "Civil Society in the United States and Post-Soviet Democracies: Concepts and Policies." February–August 2004.

Alexei Stukanov, Associate Professor, Chair of the Department of World Politics, Tomsk State University. "Global Problems, Local Solutions: Local Authorities as Interest Groups in Washington, D.C." September 2004–March 2005.

Sergei Zhuravlev, Senior Research Fellow, Center for Study of Modern Russian History and Political Science, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Lost Generation: American Victims of the Stalin Purge, 1935–1941." March–September 2004.

Short-Term Scholars

David Abramson, Research Associate, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University. "Sacred Sites, Profane Ideologies: Religious Pilgrimage and the Uzbek State." May–June 2004.

Sheldon Anderson, Associate Professor, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, OH. "Historical Analogy and Foreign Policymaking: 19th Century Statecraft, Versailles, Munich,

Yalta, Containment, and the Fall of Communism." January–February 2004.

Lina Bernstein, Associate Professor of Russian Language and Literature, Franklin & Marshall College. "Epistolary Genres in Russian Literature of the 18th Century." February 2004.

Michael Cain, Associate Professor, St. Mary's College of Maryland. "Reforming Natural

Monopolies in Transitional Environments: Problems of Energy Reform in Kazakhstan." January–February 2004.

Joan Chevalier, Lecturer, Department of German, Russian, and East Asian Studies, Brandeis University. "Legislating Language in Post-Communist Russia." May–June 2004.

Sharyl Cross, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science,

San Jose State University.
"Russian-American Cooperation
and Conflict in the War on
Terrorism." April and November
2004.

Sandjar Djalalov, Principal
Researcher, Center for Economic
Efficient Policy, Ministry of
Macroeconomics and Statistics,
Tashkent. "Rural Development in
Uzbekistan: Linkages between
Public Investment, Agricultural
Productivity, and Poverty
Alleviation." October–November
2003.

Tatiana Ershova, Director, Center
of Democratic Initiatives and
Economic Technologies, Rostov.
"Open Systems of Private Property
and Economic Democracy."
November–December 2003.

Andrew Gentes, Lecturer, School
of History, Philosophy, Classics and
Religion, University of Queensland,
Brisbane, Australia. "The Sakhalin
Penal Colony: Exile and Imperialism
in Tsarist Russia." June–July 2004.

Eleonory Gilburd, Ph.D. candi-
date, Department of History,
University of California, Berkeley.

"'To See Paris and Die': Foreign
Culture in the Soviet Union,
1956–1968." April 2004.

Anastasia Gnezditskaia, Ph.D.
candidate, Central European
University, Budapest. "Moscow
Proposes—But the Governor
Disposes: Gubernatorial Patronage
in Russian Banking." January 2004.

Marina Goloviznina, Ph.D. candi-
date, Department of Political
Science and Sociology, European
University, St. Petersburg.
"Detention Center as a Crime
Control Institution: Genesis of

Galina Starovoitova Fellowship on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

The Galina Starovoitova Fellowship on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution was established following U.S. Secretary of State Madeline Albright's 25 January 1999 speech in Moscow in which she announced a memorial fellowship at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in honor of Galina Starovoitova. The Fellowship is funded and administered in cooperation with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State and the Public Affairs office of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Galina Starovoitova was a leading human rights advocate and a deputy in the Russian lower house of parliament (Duma). She won her Duma seat from St. Petersburg in Russia's December 1995 legislative elections. Starovoitova served in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies during 1989-91 and was a presidential advisor on ethnic relations until 1992. She was a co-founder of the Democratic Russia movement. In 1989, Galina Starovoitova was a visiting scholar at the Kennan Institute. She was also a fellow in the Jennings Randolph Program at the United States Institute for Peace during 1993-1994, where she completed research on self-determination movements in the former Soviet Union, and a visiting professor at Brown University. In keeping with both the legacies of Woodrow Wilson and Galina Starovoitova, the Starovoitova Fellowship is available to prominent scholars or policy makers from the Russian Federation who have successfully bridged the worlds of ideas and public affairs to advance human rights and conflict resolution.

RECIPIENTS:

Sergei Baburkin, March–August 2000

Emil Payin, September 2000–June 2001

Aleksandr Nikitin, September 2001–
January 2002

William Smirnov, October 2001–July 2002

Zaindi Choltaev, September 2002–June 2003

Ivan Pavlov, September–December 2003

Anatoly Krasikov, December 2003–
April 2004

Aleksandr Osipov, April–July 2004.

George Frost Kennan at 100; Kennan Institute at 30

George Frost Kennan was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on February 16, 1904. He was named for a cousin of his grandfather, a famed 19th century American expert on the Russian Empire. **Kennan “the Elder”** went to Russia on a mission in 1865 to survey a telegraph line across Siberia to reach Europe. While in Siberia, the expedition received word that a trans-Atlantic cable had been successfully connected, putting them out of business. Kennan turned this failure into a personal success by writing of his experiences in a book, launching a career in journalism, and eventually becoming America’s foremost expert on imperial Russia. George Frost Kennan, who shares his birthdate with the elder Kennan, developed his interest in Russia and the Russian people in a very different way. He was given the opportunity early in his career with the State Department to study Russian and Russian history in Berlin, before the United States had established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. He seized that opportunity and, like his ancestor, went on to become one of his nation’s foremost experts on Russia. In the late 1940s, Kennan “the Younger” penned two seminal documents, the “Long Telegram” and the “X Article,” that set out a strategy of containing the Soviet Union until the contradictions within the Soviet system would force a change or collapse of the regime. This concept shaped American foreign policy for the next four decades until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

While Kennan was a staunch opponent to the Soviet system, he was and remains a devoted scholar of Russia. In 1974, he helped establish the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center because he was concerned that American study of Soviet Russia concentrated too much on the political and security aspects of our relationship, and neglected the scholarship on history and culture that would help us better understand Russia. That the Kennan Institute is named for Kennan’s ancestor is a symbol of his commitment to a comprehensive and long-term approach to Russian studies.

In 2004 the Kennan Institute commemorated George F. Kennan’s centennial year with two important events. In February, the Institute hosted a roundtable in Moscow of prominent scholars exploring Kennan’s legacy from the Russian perspective. Panelists **Nikolai Bolkhovitinov, Vladimir Pechatnov, Viktor Malkov, Aleksei Arbatov, and Anatolii Utkin** explained that while Kennan was a committed adversary of the Soviet government, he was a staunch advocate of improving understanding between the people of the Soviet Union and the United States.

In March, the Kennan Institute annual benefit dinner commemorated Ambassador Kennan’s 100th birthday, the 70th anniversary of the reestablishment of diplomatic ties with Moscow (a mission on which George F. Kennan served as translator), and the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Kennan Institute. **Secretary of State Colin Powell**, in addressing the gathering, commended Ambassador Kennan’s patience and vision in his scholarship and policymaking on Russia. In the closing address at the dinner, **Russian Ambassador to the United States Yuri Ushakov** reflected on his encounters with Ambassador Kennan, declaring “It’s no wonder that Ambassador Kennan is now regarded in my country not only as the architect of the policy of containment, but also as a visionary who foretold major modern international trends. And he did it at a time when others were unable to see the signs of coming change.”



Kolomna. Church of Saint Nicholas Posadskii. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Practices of Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents During the Twentieth Century in Russia." August–September 2004.

Martin Halliwell, Senior Lecturer, Center for American Studies, University of Leicester, U.K. "Niebuhr, Kennan, and the Discourses of Soviet Communism." March–April 2004.

Stefan Hedlund, Professor, Department of East European Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden. "A People With a Troubled History: Reflections on Russian Path Dependency." October 2003.

Bert Hoppe, Ph.D. candidate, Humbolt University, Berlin. "Moscow and the German Communist Party: On the Political Culture of Stalinism in Germany and the Soviet Union." April–May 2004.

Patricia Herlihy, Research Professor, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. "A Biography of Eugene Schuyler." September–October 2003.

Mohammad Abdul Karim, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, De Montfort University, Leicester, U.K. "The Decline and Fall of Scientific Atheism in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, 1964–1991." September 2004.

Zoe Knox, Ph.D. candidate, Center for European Studies, Monash University, Melbourne, Victoria. "Religion, Politics, and Civil Society in Post-Soviet Russia: Implications for Western Policymakers." September–October 2003.

Olena Malynovska, Researcher, Ukrainian Academy of State Management, Kyiv. "Managing Migrations: Lessons for Ukraine

from the International Experience." February 2004.

Ruth Mandel, Lecturer in Social Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University College London. "Conceiving Transitions: International Development Assistance in Kazakhstan." November 2003.

Luke March, Lecturer, Department of Politics, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. "The Organizational and Programmatic Development of the Moldovan Communist Party." November 2003.

Anatoly Naiman, independent scholar, New York. "Kablukov." January–February 2004.

Lise Namikas, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Louisiana State University. "Battleground Africa: The Cold War and the Congo Crisis, 1960–1965." May–June 2004.

Jennifer Patico, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Haverford College. "'Russian Brides' and the Cultural Implications of Russian Capitalism." January 2004.

Kateryna Pishchikova, Ph.D. candidate, School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam. "Foreign Aid and Institutionalization of Civil Society in Ukraine: A Case Study of Women's NGOs." July–August 2004."

Natalia Reshetova, Ph.D. candidate, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Rostov-na-donu. "The Great Famine in Soviet Russia and American Aid in the 1920s." March–April 2004.

Matthew Romaniello, Assistant Professor, Department of History,

Hamilton College. "The Incorporation of a Russian Frontier, 1552–1672." August and December 2004.

Lyudmila Rychkova, Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs, Grodno State University, Belarus. "The Role of Professional Associations in Preparing Leaders for Higher Education." March–April 2004.

Vakhtang Shevardnadze, Assistant Professor of Law, Tbilisi State University. "Asylum Seekers and Refugees as Sources of Inter-State Tensions in the Caucasian Region." July–August 2004.

Jenny Leigh Smith, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Science, Technology and Society, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Ground Control: Soviet Agriculture at the Center and Periphery, 1950–1972." July–August 2004.

Tricia Starks, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Arkansas. "Cigarettes and Soviets: A History of Tobacco Use in 20th Century Russia." August 2004.

Willard Sunderland, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Cincinnati. "The Tsar's Last Imperialist: The Outrageous Life of Baron von Ungern-Sternberg." July–August 2004.

Kamran Taremi, Researcher and Lecturer, Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. "U.S. Policy Towards the Caspian Energy Basin." October 2003.

Larissa Titarenko, Professor, Department of Sociology, Belarus State University, Minsk. "The HIV/AIDS Challenge to the Future of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine." April–May 2004.

Serhiy Varlamov, Attorney, Kharkiv City Public Organization "EcoPravo-Kharkiv," Ukraine. "Greening Democracy: Public Environmental Rights in Ukraine and the U.S." March–April 2004.

Patrick Vaughan, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, West Virginia University. "The Political and Academic Career of Zbigniew Brzezinski." September–October 2004.

Kenneth Weisbrode, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, Harvard University. "Eastern Europe Division of State Department's Bureau of European Affairs: The Role of (EUR) in Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century." July–August 2004.

Vladimir Yakubovsky, Senior Fellow, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Growing Multiculturalism in Asia: The

Russian Dimension." November–December 2003.

Igor Yegorov, Senior Researcher, Dobrov Center for Science and Technology Potential and Science History Studies, Ukraine National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv. "Transformation of the R&D System in the U.S. and the Possibility of Application of American Experience in Ukraine." May–June 2004.

Fellows in Other Woodrow Wilson Center Programs

Philip Hopmann, Professor of Political Science and Director, Program on Global Security, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. "The OSCE and U.S. Foreign Policy: Promoting Regional Security in Eurasia." September 2004–June 2005. Fellow, East European Studies.

Igor Lukes, University Professor and Professor of History and International Relations, Boston University. "The American Diplomats in Prague, 1945–53: U.S.-Soviet Competition at the Beginning of the Cold War." September 2004–June 2005. Fellow, East European Studies.

Central Eurasian Short-Term Grants

Oleg Ken, Secretary for Academic Affairs, European University, St. Petersburg. "Soviet Policy in Central and Eastern Europe, 1934–39." June 2004.

Evgenii Krassinets, Chair, Social Demography Laboratory, Institute for Social and Economic Studies of Population, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Illegal Migration in Frontier Areas of Modern Russia." June 2004.

Aleksandr Polunov, Associate Professor, School of Public Administration, Moscow State University. "Russian Orthodoxy in North America: The Search for New Archival Material." June 2004.

Ekaterina Pravilova, Research Fellow, St. Petersburg Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences. "Sharing Debts and Gold: Russia and Its Former Borderlands after the Fall of the Empire." June 2004.



Toms House, Red Army Street 67a. (Photo: William Brumfield)

CENTERS FOR ADVANCED STUDY AND EDUCATION

In 1998, Carnegie Corporation of New York, with the support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, invited the Kennan Institute's Blair A. Ruble and Nancy Popson, together with Susan Bronson, formerly of the Social Science Research Council, to prepare a study about how best to protect the welfare of the intelligentsia of the former Soviet Union, especially in its regional universities. Their report in 1999, entitled *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 both 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: Security Dilemmas, Conflicts, and Cooperation in the Twenty-First Century;"

Irkutsk State University, "Siberia in the Russian and Global Contexts: Traditions Modernization Patterns, and Challenges of Globalization;"

Kaliningrad State University (Baltic CASE), "Russia and Expanding Europe: Cultural, Political, Economic, and Social Forms of Collaboration;"

Novgorod State University, "State, Society, and Individuals in Russia: Cultural and Educational Interactions;"

Rostov State University, "Russia's Modernization: Economic, Political, Social, and Cultural Dimensions of the Transition;"

Saratov State University, "Phenomenology of Power in Russia: State, Society, and the Individual;"

Tomsk State University, "Cultural, Social, Economic and Legal Implications of Russia's Integration into the Global Community;"

Urals State University (Ekaterinburg), “Tolerance as a Philosophical, Psychological, and Political Issue in Contemporary Russia;”

Voronezh State University, “Cross-Cultural Communication: Its Philological, Anthropological, Historical and Regional Dimensions.”

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

The CASE program seeks to promote advanced research in the social sciences and humanities in Russia through a system of individual research fellowships, library and publications support, and professional community-building efforts. Over 450 scholars from across Russia have received research support through this system. Each CASE has built up a substantial library of Russian and foreign literature related to its intellectual theme. In addition, the CASEs have supported numerous conferences and publications.

In the upcoming year, the Kennan Institute plans to conduct thematic workshops involving CASE-affiliated scholars and other scholars from around the world who are engaged in similar research in order to deepen CASE interaction with the broader international academic community. These workshops will foster intensive interaction around specific research agendas.

International Advisory Board for Centers for Advanced Study and Education in Russia

Andrei Kortunov, Co-Chair
ISE Center (Information.
Scholarship. Education.), Moscow

Blair A. Ruble, Co-Chair
Kennan Institute

Deana Arsenian
Carnegie Corporation of New
York

Aleksandr Chubarian, Board
Member, *Ex Officio*
Institute of World History, Russian
Academy of Sciences

Mark Johnson
Colorado College

Mikhail Strikhanov
Ministry of Education and Science
of the Russian Federation

Liudmilla Verbitskaya
St. Petersburg State University

Tatiana Zhdanova
John D. and Catherine T.
MacArthur Foundation, Moscow
Office

William Zimmerman
University of Michigan

Grant Recipients

Abashin, S. N. (Moscow).
“Russian Imperial Orientalism in
the Second Half of the Nineteenth
through the Beginning of the
Twentieth Centuries.” Affiliated
with Saratov CASE.

Alekseev, I. L. (Moscow). “Islamic
Institutions in the System of
Governing the Muslim
Populations of the Russian Empire
from the Nineteenth to the Early

Twentieth Century. Volga,
Northwest Caucasus, and Central
Asia: Regional Dynamics.”
Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Alekseev, S. A. (Kazan’).
“Regional Features of Youth
Extremism in National Republics.”
Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Alekseeva, A. I. (Novosibirsk).
“Faith in the Socio-Cultural Space

of Post-Soviet Russia.” Affiliated
with Novgorod CASE.

Alekseeva, S. I. (Ioshkar-Ola).
“Social, Ethnic, and Personal
Aspects of Suicidal Activity in the
Republic of Marii-El.” Affiliated
with Saratov CASE.

Anoshko, O. M. (Tiumen’). “The
Design of the Living Environment
of the Barkhat Population in the

Forest-Steppe Region of the Trans-Urals in the Late Bronze Age." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Aparina, N. F. (Kemerovo). "An Institutional Model of Interaction Between Business and Local Organs of Power (The Example of Kemerovskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Arakelian, F. A. (St. Petersburg). "New Russian Nationalism as a Socio-Cultural Project and the Spontaneously Appearing Models of Interethnic Relations." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Arkipova, E. V. (Volgograd). "The Formation of Caucasian Borders: The Correlation of Objective and Subjective Factors." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Artem'eva, T. V. (St. Petersburg). "The Reception of British Social-Philosophical Thought in Russia (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries)." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Bachurina, O. N. (St. Petersburg). "The Legacy of S. N. Prokopovich and its Place and Role in Russian Culture Overseas." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Baranova, V. V. (St. Petersburg). "Indigenous Peoples of the Far East in the Post-Soviet Era." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Basargina, E. I. (St. Petersburg). "The *De Jure* and *De Facto* Integration of Russia into Western European Academics." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Bazhanov, V. A. (Ul'ianovsk). "The Reception of British Social-Philosophical Thought in Russia (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries)." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Belokurova, E. V. (St. Petersburg). "Regional Identity in the Neighborhood of the European Union (The Examples of the Republic of Karelia and Kaliningradskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Berezovich, E. L. (Ekaterinburg). "Onomastics and the Dialectal Lexicon of the Russian North as a Source for Reconstructing the Traditional Map of World Languages." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Blam, I. I. (Novosibirsk). "Reform of the Health Care System in Russia: Social Consequences of Commercialization." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

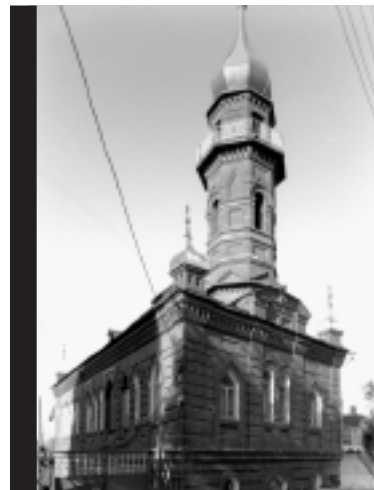
Bobrovnikov, V. O. (Moscow). "Russian Imperial Orientalism in the Second Half of the Nineteenth through the beginning of the Twentieth Century." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Bulanin, N. D. (St. Petersburg). "The Role of Large Corporations in Regional Modernization." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Chelysheva, I. V. (Taganrog). "The Media Literacy of Future Teachers as One of the Most Important Goals of the Modernization of the Russian Educational Process." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Chulkov, O. A. (St. Petersburg). "Comparative Analysis of Imaginative Perceptions of Cultural Traditions." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Danilko, E. S. (Moscow). "Social Mechanisms for Maintaining Traditional Values (Based on the Example of the Old Believer Community in Miass, Cheliabinskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.



Chita. Mosque. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Degtiareva, M. I. (Moscow). "Joseph de Mestre and His Russian 'Interlocutors' (The Experience of Philosophical Biography and Intellectual Connections in Russia)." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Dement'eva, S. V. (Tomsk). "Adaptation of Foreign Migrants in Russian Cities." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

D'iakova, T. A. (Voronezh). "Phenomenon of Russian Landscape Appreciation in the Context of European Culture." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Diatlova, E. V. (Moscow). "Chinese Enterprise in Russia: Socio-Economic and Socio-Psychological Analysis." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Dobrynina, A. M. (Ivanovo). "A New Type of Russian Woman Through the Prism of Changing Values: Historical Aspect." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Dubovik, V. V. (Tiumen'). "Impersonation as Political-Cultural Dialogue: The Impostor Timofei Akindinov (The False Shuiskii II)." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Dubrovskii, D. V. (St. Petersburg). "Beyond the Borders of Tolerance: Ethnic Problems in Higher Education." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Dushin, O. E. (St. Petersburg). "Confession and Conscience: The Formation of Procedures for Moral Self-Control in Western European Culture in the Thirteenth through Sixteenth Centuries." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Edokov, A. V. (Gorno-Altai). "Decorative-Applied Art in the Traditional Cultures of Siberia." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Ermakova, E. E. (Tiumen'). "The Territory of Childhood: Customs, Conspiracies, and the Protection of People in Multiethnic Regions (The Example of Tiumenskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Fedorov, A. V. (Taganrog). "The Media Literacy of Future Teachers as One of the Most Important Goals of the Modernization of the Russian Educational Process." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Fedorov, K. G. (St. Petersburg). "Role of Large Corporations in Regional Modernization." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Fetisova, E. N. (Khabarovsk). "'Hostess' as a Shadow-Economy Practice in the Sphere of the Labor Migration of Women in the Asia-Pacific Region (The Example of Khabarovskii Krai)." Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Filiushkin, A. I. (St. Petersburg). "The Livonian War through the Eyes of Contemporaries and Descendants." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Gering, A. G. (Omsk). "Historical Science, Historians, and Power in Russia's Regional Space: Siberia in

the Twentieth Century." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Gershkovich, T. B. (Ekaterinburg). "Tolerance Towards Aging: History and Modernity." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Gimon, T. V. (Moscow). "Ancient Chronicles and Early English Annals: Comparative Historical Research." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Gladkova, E. V. (St. Petersburg). "Lexicographic Conceptology, Theology, and Mythic Poetics of the Semantic Ties between 'Tolerance' and 'Peace' ('Calm')." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Gol'bert, V. V. (St. Petersburg). "The Expansion of Non-Corrupt Channels for Interaction Between Business and Government Administration in Russia." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Gorokhova, R. I. (Ioshkar-Ola). "Social, Ethnic, and Personal Aspects of Suicidal Activity in the Republic of Marii-El." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Grigor'eva, I. G. (Zelenograd, Moskovskaia oblast'). "Normative-Legal Regulation of International Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Contribution of Multilateral Organizations." Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Gulevich, O. A. (Moscow). "Communication Within the Jury." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Gurevich, E. L. (Mytishchi). "Intercultural Adaptation in the Russia Megapolis: Socio-Spatial Aspect." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Iakovleva, I. I. (Ivanovo). "A New Type of Russian Woman Through the Prism of Changing Values:

Historical Aspect." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Iangulova, L. V. (Kazan'). "Psychiatry and Power: The Formation of Psychiatric Institutions Based on the Example of the Kazan' Regional Home for the Mentally Ill." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Iargomskaia, N. B. (St. Petersburg). "Regional Identity in the Neighborhood of the European Union (The Examples of the Republic of Kareliia and Kaliningradskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Iarovenko, E. V. (Vladivostok). "The Politics of Russia's Relations with North Korea: From Friendship to Pragmatism (From the 1990s to the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century)." Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Iurchenkov, V. A. (Saransk). "Mordvinian Ethnos in the Russian Imperial Socium: Eighteenth through Early Twentieth Centuries." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Ivanenko, G. S. (Cheliabinsk). "Designing a Linguistic Approach to the Process of Defending Honor and Integrity." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Ivlev, V. P. (St. Petersburg). "Sphere, Boundaries, and Function of the Concepts of 'Yid' and 'Khachik' in the Present Sociocultural Situation (Comparative Characteristics)." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Kalashnikova M. V. (St. Petersburg). "Beyond the Borders of Tolerance: Ethnic Problems in Higher Education." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Kaliuzhnov, N. V. (Irkutsk). "Organizational Culture of Irkutsk

Firms in Light of Modern Tendencies of Organizational Development." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Karabulatova, I. S. (Tiumen'). "The Territory of Childhood: Customs, Conspiracies, and Protection of People in Multiethnic Regions (The Example of Tiumenskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Irutsk CASE.

Karuna, I. A. (Taganrog). "The Media Literacy of Future Teachers as One of the Most Important Goals of the Modernization of the Russian Educational Process." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Kazakov, A. A. (Tomsk). "Classical Literature in the Formation of Contemporary Cultural and Historical Consciousness (Based on the Classical Russian Prose of the Nineteenth Century: N. V. Gogol', F. M. Dostoevskii, L. N. Tolstoi)." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Kazakov, R. B. (Moscow). "New Local History." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Ket'ko, S. M. (Cheliabinsk). "Socio-Cultural Changes in the Consciousness of Children: The Determinant and Motivational Functions of Advertisements." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Khalturina, D. A. (Moscow). "Intercultural Adaptation in the Russian Megapolis: Socio-Spatial Aspect." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Khodzhaeva, E. A. (Kazan'). "Particularities of the Idea of Tolerance in Contemporary Religious Discourse." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Khristoforov, I. A. (Lukhovitsy, Moskovskaia oblast'). "Government Politics and Society:

Conservative Programs for the Economic Modernization of Russia (Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century Through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century)." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Khromova, A. V. (Gatchina, Leningradskaia oblast'). "The Development of New Year's Ritual Traditions in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras (From the Children's Morning Performances of the 1930s-50s to the 1990s Project 'Velikii Ustiug is the Homeland of Grandfather Frost')." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Kirsanov, N. O. (Seversk). "Classical Literature in the Formation of Contemporary Cultural and Historical Consciousness (Based on the Classical Russian Prose of the Nineteenth Century: N. V. Gogol', F. M. Dostoevskii, L. N. Tolstoi)." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Kliaus, V. L. (Moscow). "Poetic Folklore of the Elderly Population of Trans-Baikal and Russian Ust' as Historical-Cultural Legacy in Interethnic Dialogue." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Kolomak, E. A. (Novosibirsk). "Management of the Competitive Environment at a Sub-Federal Level in Russia: Tendencies, Results, Effects." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Konovalov, A. B. (Kemerovo). "The Formation and Functioning of the Nomenklatura Cadres Party Apparatus VKP(b)-KPSS in the Regions of Siberia (1945-1991)." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Kormina, Z. V. (St. Petersburg). "The Culture of Travel in Modern Russia: Between Excursion and Pilgrimage." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Korzun, V. P. (Omsk). "Historical Science, Historians, and Power in Russia's Regional Space: Siberia in the Twentieth Century." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Kostiukovskii, Y. V. (St. Petersburg). "The Expansion of Non-Corrupt Channels for Interaction Between Business and Government Administration in Russia." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Kotlova, T. B. (Ivanovo). "A New Type of Russian Woman Through the Prism of Changing Values: Historical Aspect." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Koval', O. A. (St. Petersburg). "German Phenomenology and its Reception in Russia." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Kovalev, S. I. (Novosibirsk). "Reform of the Health Care System in Russia: Social Consequences of Commercialization." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Kovalev, V. A. (Syktyvkar, Republic of Komi). "Ethno-Political Aspects of Regional Transformation in Finno-Ugric Regions of the Russian Federation: A Crisis of Sovereignty and Ethnicity." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Kozlova, G. I. (Khabarovsk). "'Hostess' as a Shadow-Economy Practice in the Sphere of the Labor Migration of Women in the Asia-Pacific Region (The Example of Khabarovskii Krai)." Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Kudriavtseva, M. O. (St. Petersburg). "Between Russia, Mongolia, and China: Mongolian 'Shuttles' at the Russian Border." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Kurbatova, M. V. (Kemerovo). "An Institutional Model of Interaction

Introducing Russian Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs) to an American Audience

The Kennan Institute, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, and ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.) hosted a conference on September 30–October 1, 2003 that brought together members of the U.S. academic and policy communities and Russian scholars representing regional state universities throughout the country. The conference highlighted the early results of the Russian Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASE) program. The CASE program supports high-quality research in the social sciences and humanities and promotes the establishment of active academic communities throughout Russia. According to **Vartan Gregorian**, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York, “The nine regional CASE Centers have truly become what we had all hoped—the foundation for the renewal of a vibrant intellectual life in Russia; not just in Moscow and St. Petersburg, but throughout Russia.” The conference featured presentations by representatives of the nine CASEs on topics pertinent to the CASE themes, including Russian regional politics, intercultural and interethnic relations, and Russian relations with the West. Speakers addressed both the theoretical foundations of these areas of study and the practical issues facing Russia at home and in the international arena. In addition, representatives of several CASEs explained how their Centers are addressing these important issues through research and scholarship.

Representatives of the U.S. academic community, the Russian Ministry of Education, and several funding organizations discussed the future of education and scholarship in Russia and possibilities for integration into global education space. They identified a number of problems in Russia’s system of higher education that must be addressed, including: demographic decline in Russia, the lack of a system of accreditation, outdated teaching methods, and incompatibility with the educational systems of other countries. Several speakers argued that these problems might be resolved by more creatively and effectively using the limited resources that are currently available in the Russian education system. A luncheon on October 1 featured keynote remarks from Gregorian, as well as **Lee H. Hamilton**, President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson Center, and **Mikhail Strikhanov**, Deputy Minister of Education of the Russian Federation. All three speakers agreed that a vibrant system of higher education is crucial to Russia’s future social, political, and economic development, and that promoting educational development is one of the most important forms of aid that the United States can offer to Russia. They praised the CASE program for fostering international academic cooperation and creating dynamic academic communities within Russia. “With the CASE program and similar efforts to develop Russia’s higher education, we act to ensure that the world enjoys the benefit of Russian wisdom and creativity and talent in the generations to come. And we bring our peoples closer together,” said Hamilton.

This two-day conference successfully introduced the CASE program to an interested American audience. During the upcoming year, in an effort to foster more intensive interaction around specific research agendas and deepen CASE interaction with the broader international social scientific community, the Kennan Institute plans to conduct a series of thematic workshops involving CASE-affiliated scholars and other scholars from around the world who are engaged in similar research. These workshop groups (focusing on the themes of: Russia and the world, diverse cultures in contemporary societies, and state and society relations in transitional societies) will each convene several times and each will result in the publication of a multi-national, inter-generational, and cross-disciplinary volume.

Between Business and Local Organs of Power (The Example of Kemerovskaia oblast’).” Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Kuteinikov, A. E. (St. Petersburg). “Normative-Legal Regulation of International Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Contribution of Multilateral Organizations.” Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Kuznetsova, A. E. (Voronezh). “Lexicographic Conceptology, Theology, and Mythic Poetics of the Semantic Ties between ‘Tolerance’ and ‘Peace’ (‘Calm’).” Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Kuznetsova, O. B. (Yaroslavl’). “Yaroslavl’ Icon-Painting in the Cultural-Historical Situation in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century.” Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Latysheva, S. A. (Podol’sk). “Russian Folk Culture in the Twentieth Century: Mechanisms of Adaptation.” Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Lazareva, N. E. (Cheliabinsk). “Socio-Cultural Changes in the Consciousness of Children: The Determinant and Motivational Functions of Advertisements.” Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Leont’eva, E. O. (Khabarovsk). “Network Marketing: Sectoral Conditions in the Market Economics of Contemporary Russia.” Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Levin, S. N. (Kemerovo). “An Institutional Model of Interaction Between Business and Local Organs of Power (The Example of Kemerovskaia oblast’).” Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Levontina, I. B. (Moscow). “Understanding Key Ideas of the Linguistic Map of the World as a

Factor of the Development of Tolerance.” Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Lidzar’, T. A. (Khabarovsk). “‘Hostess’ as a Shadow-Economy Practice in the Sphere of the Labor Migration of Women in the Asia-Pacific Region (The Example of Khabarovskii krai).” Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Liubzhin, A. I. (Moscow). “‘Rossiada’ and the European Epic Traditions.” Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Lukoianov, I. V. (St. Petersburg). “Russian Imperial Orientalism in the Second Half of the Nineteenth through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.” Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Lur’e, S. V. (St. Petersburg). “New Russian Nationalism as a Socio-Cultural Project and the Spontaneously Appearing Models of Interethnic Relations.” Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Malinova, O. I. (Zelenograd, Moskovskaia oblast’). “Rival Interpretations of the Idea of the Nation in the Discussion about National Identity and the Perspectives of Modernization in Russia (1840-1850).” Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Malovichko, S. I. (Stavropol’). “New Local History.” Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Mal’kevich, T. I. (Irkutsk). “Between Russia, Mongolia, and China: Mongolian ‘Shuttles’ at the Russian Border.” Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Mamontova, M. A. (Omsk). “Historical Science, Historians, and Power in Russia’s Regional Space: Siberia in the Twentieth Century.” Affiliated with Saratov CASE.



Kolomna. “A House Divided.” (Photo: William Brumfield)

Maslinskii, K. A. (St. Petersburg). “Indigenous Peoples of the Far East in the Post-Soviet Era.” Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Matveeva, N. V. (Omsk). “Historical Science, Historians, and Power in Russia’s Regional Space: Siberia in the Twentieth Century.” Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Matvienko, I. G. (Khabarovsk). “Network Marketing: Sectoral Conditions in the Market Economics of Contemporary Russia.” Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Mekhonoshin, K. A. (Irkutsk). “Organizational Culture of Irkutsk Firms in Light of Modern Tendencies of Organizational Development.” Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Mikeshin, M. I. (St. Petersburg). “The Reception of British Social-Philosophical Thought in Russia (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries).” Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Mikhailova T. V. (St. Petersburg). “Beyond the Borders of Tolerance: Ethnic Problems in

Higher Education." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Mikhel', D. V. (Saratov). "Blood Transfusions in the Context of Meaning, Power, and Morals: A Social History of Biomedical Technology in Russia, 1900-1940." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Miliaeva, L. G. (Biisk, Altaiskii krai). "Marketing Research in the Educational Services of Provincial Towns (Establishment of Higher Education as an Example)." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Minakov, A. I. (Voronezh). "Government Politics and Society: Conservative Programs for the Economic Modernization of Russia (Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century Through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century)." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Mishankina, N. A. (Tomsk). "The Mechanisms of Linguistic Modeling in Virtual Reality (Based on Chat-Communication Materials)." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Musaev, V. I. (St. Petersburg). "The Russian Diaspora in Finland: Problems of Maintaining Identity and Cultural Traditions." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Nefliasheva, N. A. (Maikop, Adygei Republic). "Islamic Institutions in the System of Governing the Muslim Populations of the Russian Empire from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century. Volga, Northwest Caucasus, and Central Asia: Regional Dynamics." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Nikitin, M. D. (Saratov). "Russian Imperial Orientalism in the Second Half of the Nineteenth through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Nikitina, I. A. (Moscow). "Russian Folk Culture in the Twentieth Century: Mechanisms of Adaptation." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Nikonenko, S. V. (St. Petersburg). "Comparative Analysis of Imaginative Perceptions of Cultural Traditions." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Novikova, A. A. (Taganrog). "The Media Literacy of Future Teachers as One of the Most Important Goals of the Modernization of the Russian Educational Process." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Nozhenko, M. V. (St. Petersburg). "Regional Identity in the Neighborhood of the European Union (The Examples of the Republic of Kareliia and Kaliningradskaia Oblast')." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Okasheva, N. E. (Sel'tso, Leningradskaia oblast'). "The Culture of Travel in Modern Russia: Between Excursion and Pilgrimage." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Okol'nishnikova, I. I. (Cheliabinsk). "Socio-Cultural Changes in the Consciousness of Children: The Determinant and Motivational Functions of Advertisements." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Oleinik, A. N. (Moscow). "The Expansion of Non-Corrupt Channels for Interaction Between Business and Government Administration in Russia." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Orlova, G. A. (Rostov-na-donu). "Gaining Territory: Physical Geography as an Ideological Resource of Soviet Power." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Ovchinnikov, M. V. (Cheliabinsk). "Socio-Cultural Changes in the Consciousness of Children: The Determinant and Motivational Functions of Advertisements." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Pantina, L. A. (Kazan'). "Regional Features of Youth Extremism in National Republics." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Pashina, O. A. (Moscow). "Russian Folk Culture in the Twentieth Century: Mechanisms of Adaptation." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Pen'kovskaia, U. A. (Pervoural'sk, Sverdlovskaiia oblast'). "Poetic Folklore of the Elderly Population of Trans-Baikal and Russian Ust' as Historio-Cultural Legacy in a Dialogue with Interethnic Cultures." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Perekhval'skaia, E. V. (St. Petersburg). "Indigenous Peoples of the Far East in the Post-Soviet Era." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Petrov, A. V. (Tomsk). "Classical Literature in the Formation of Contemporary Cultural and Historical Consciousness (Based on the Classical Russian Prose of the Nineteenth Century: N. V. Gogol', F. M. Dostoevskii, L. N. Tolstoi)." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Petrov, E. V. (St. Petersburg). "Adaptation of Foreign Migrants in Russian Cities." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Poletaev, D. V. (Moscow). "Adaptation of Foreign Migrants in Russian Cities." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Prokop'ev, V. N. (Chita). "The Expansion of Non-Corrupt Channels for Interaction Between Business and Government

Administration in Russia.”
Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Rakachev, V. N. (Krasnodar).
“Phenomenon of National-
Cultural Associations in Krasnodar
Krai: Sociological Analysis.”
Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Razeev, D. N. (St. Petersburg).
“German Phenomenology and its
Reception in Russia.” Affiliated
with Baltic CASE.

Remnev, A. V. (Omsk). “Russian
Imperial Orientalism in the
Second Half of the Nineteenth
through the Beginning of the
Twentieth Century.” Affiliated with
Saratov CASE.

Rezanova, Z. I. (Tomsk). “The
Mechanisms of Linguistic
Modeling in Virtual Reality (Based
on Chat-Communication
Materials).” Affiliated with Tomsk
CASE.

Riazantsev, S. V. (Moscow).
“Russia in the System of Global
Migratory Trends and the
Modernization of Russian
Migration Policy (Federal and
Regional Aspects).” 2004.

Roginskaia, O. O. (Saltykovka,
Moscovskaia oblast’). “‘Personal
Experience’ and ‘Personal
Opinion’ as the Founding Cultural
Values: Strategies of
Autobiography in Modern Russian
Theater.” Affiliated with
Novgorod CASE.

Rolin, A. N. (Moscow). “The
Politics of Russia’s Relations with
North Korea: From Friendship to
Pragmatism (From the 1990s to
the Beginning of the Twenty-First
Century).” Affiliated with Far
Eastern CASE.

Romanenko, I. M. (St.
Petersburg). “Comparative
Analysis of Imaginative
Perceptions of Cultural

Traditions.” Affiliated with
Voronezh CASE.

Rumiantseva, M. F. (Moscow).
“New Local History.” Affiliated
with Voronezh CASE.

Ryazantsev, S. V. (Moscow).
“Russia in the System of Global
Migratory Trends and the
Modernization of Russian
Migration Policy (Federal and
Regional Aspects).” Affiliated with
Rostov CASE.

Ryzhova, N. P. (Blagoveshchensk,
Amurskaia oblast’). “Chinese
Enterprise in Russia: Socio-
Economic and Socio-
Psychological Analysis.” Affiliated
with Irkutsk CASE.

Sadovskaia, O. N. (St.
Petersburg). “New Russian
Nationalism as a Socio-Cultural
Project and the Spontaneously
Appearing Models of Interethnic
Relations.” Affiliated with
Voronezh CASE.

Sainakov, N. A. (Tomsk). “The
Problems of Power and Morality in
the Formation of Russian Political
Culture in the Sixteenth Century.”
Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Saprokhhina, G. I. (Moscow).
“Intercultural Adaptation in the
Russian Megapolis: Socio-Spatial
Aspect.” Affiliated with Voronezh
CASE.

Semenova, T. O. (St. Petersburg).
“Lexicographic Conceptology,
Theology, and Mythic Poetics of
the Semantic Ties between
‘Tolerance’ and ‘Peace’ (‘Calm’).”
Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Shabaev, I. P. (Syktyvkar, Republic
of Komi). “Ethno-Political Aspects
of Regional Transformation in
Finno-Ugric Regions of the
Russian Federation: A Crisis of
Sovereignty and Ethnicity.”
Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Shakh, M. I. (Moscow).
“Normative-Legal Regulation of
International Relations in the
Asian-Pacific Region: The
Contribution of Multilateral
Organizations.” Affiliated with Far
Eastern CASE.

Shalina, I. A. (St. Petersburg).
“Painting of Ancient Tikhvin:
Problems of History,
Development, and Traditions of
an Arts Center.” Affiliated with
Novgorod CASE.

Shcherbak, A. N. (St. Petersburg).
“Role of Large Corporations in
Regional Modernization.”
Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Shipovalova, L. V. (St.
Petersburg). “German
Phenomenology and its Reception
in Russia.” Affiliated with Baltic
CASE.

Shmelev, A. D. (Moscow).
“Understanding Key Ideas of the
Linguistic Map of the World as a
Factor in the Development of
Tolerance.” Affiliated with Urals
CASE.

Shtyrkov, S. A. (St. Petersburg).
“The Culture of Travel in Modern
Russia: Between Excursion and
Pilgrimage.” Affiliated with Urals
CASE.

Shumilova, E. A. (Kazan’).
“Particularities of the Idea of
Tolerance in Contemporary
Religious Discourse.” Affiliated
with Urals CASE.

Solodiankina, O. I. (Cherepovets).
“Cross Cultural Dialogue in the
Activities of Foreign Governesses
in Russia.” Affiliated with
Voronezh CASE.

Sotnikov, A. O. (St. Petersburg).
“Comparative Analysis of
Imaginative Perceptions of
Cultural Traditions.” Affiliated with
Voronezh CASE.

Stepanov, V. L. (Moscow). "Government Politics and Society: Conservative Programs for the Economic Modernization of Russia (Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century Through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century)." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Supriaga, S. V. (Kursk). "Poetic Folklore of the Elderly Population of Trans-Baikal and Russian Ust' as Historical-Cultural Legacy in Interethnic Dialogue." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Taran, R. A. (St. Petersburg). "Comparative Analysis of Imaginative Perceptions of Cultural Traditions." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Tiapkina, O. A. (Barnaul). "Mentality of Populations in Small Cities in the Context of Modernization Processes (Example of the West Siberian Region in the Second Half of the Nineteenth through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century)." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Titova, T. A. (Kazan'). "The Dialogue of Cultures and Sociocultural Adaptations of Ethnic Minorities in Contemporary Multiethnic Society." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Tumanik, E. N. (Novosibirsk). "Transformation of the Religious, Moral Philosophy of E. Svedenborg in Russian Social Consciousness in the Nineteenth

Century: Decembrist A. N. Murav'ev and the Family of Duke Shakhovskii." Affiliated with Tomsk CASE.

Tuzikov, A. R. (Kazan'). "Regional Features of Youth Extremism in National Republics." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Usacheva, V. V. (Tambov). "Intercultural Adaptation in the Russian Megapolis: Socio-Spatial Aspect." Affiliated with Voronezh CASE.

Varshavskaia, E. I. (Kemerovo). "Overtime Work as a Phenomenon of the Russian Labor Market in the 1990s." Affiliated with Rostov CASE.

Scholars Explore the Impact of Americans on Russia

Relations between the United States and Russia have always been both highly complex and extremely important for both countries. During the past year, the Kennan Institute has hosted several scholars who studied on the impact that Americans, American culture, and U.S. policies have had on Russia and the Soviet Union. Topics have ranged from U.S. aid to the Soviet Union during the famine of the 1920s to American cultural expositions in the Soviet Union.

Natalia Reshetova, a historian from the Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, came to the Institute to study the 1921 famine in Soviet Russia and American aid. She concluded that American help to Russia can be considered as an important international factor that "softened" the negative consequences of the civil war. Similarly, **Bertrand Patenaude**, a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, while presenting his book *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to the Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921*, discussed a historical account of the Soviet famine of 1921. He stated that the Soviet government could not cope with the calamity and the American Relief Administration was invited in to "stave off disaster." Challenges facing the relief effort came from individual relief workers, the obstructionism of the Soviet government, and the population itself.

On the political-diplomatic side of U.S.-Russian relations, **Martin Halliwell**, from the University of Leicester, U.K., researched the intellectual relationship of George Kennan and Reinhold Niebuhr during their work in the State Department in 1947, their perceptions of Russian communism, and its impact on U.S. foreign policy. Halliwell's research has shown that Niebuhr did not directly influence Cold War policy, but did help to establish the rhetoric by which the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union was framed. Another scholar, **Patricia Herlihy**, a research professor from the Watson Institute for International Relations at Brown University, worked on a biography of Eugene Schuyler, an American diplo-

Vasil'ev, D. V. (Korolev). "Islamic Institutions in the System of Governing the Muslim Populations of the Russian Empire from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century. Volga, Northwest Caucasus, and Central Asia: Regional Dynamics." Affiliated with Saratov CASE.

Veselova, A. I. (St. Petersburg). "Russian 'Gardeners' and Gardening in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: Esthetics and Poetics." Affiliated with Novgorod CASE.

Viktorova, K. V. (St. Petersburg). "Indigenous Peoples of the Far East in the Post-Soviet Era." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Zabrovskaja, L. V. (Vladivostok). "The Politics of Russia's Relations with North Korea: From Friendship to Pragmatism (From the 1990s to the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century)." Affiliated with Far Eastern CASE.

Zaitsev, D. V. (Saratov). "Tolerance and Integrated Education for Children with Disabilities: A Sociological Analysis." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Zaitsev, I. N. (St. Petersburg). "The Place of Ontological Argument in the Conceptions of S. L. Frank and E. Levinas." Affiliated with Baltic CASE.

Zalizniak, A. A. (Moscow). "Understanding Key Ideas of the

Linguistic Map of the World as a Factor of the Development of Tolerance." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Zinatullina, G. I. (Tiumen'). "The Territory of Childhood: Customs, Conspiracies, and Protection of People in Multiethnic Regions (The Example of Tiumenskaia oblast')." Affiliated with Irkutsk CASE.

Zinurov, A. M. (Kazan'). "Regional Features of Youth Extremism in National Republics." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

Zinurova, R. I. (Kazan'). "Regional Features of Youth Extremism in National Republics." Affiliated with Urals CASE.

mat who served as a Consul, Consul General and Chargé d'Affaires at the U.S. missions in Moscow and St. Petersburg, among other posts. She found out that his knowledge of Russian and his social skills enabled him to gain access to confidential material, which he relayed to Washington.

The Kennan Institute hosted a seminar with **David Engerman**, Assistant Professor at the Department of History at Brandeis University, where he discussed his new book *Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development*. In his book, Engerman devoted considerable attention to the Soviet Union's Five Year Plan and the resulting famine and the writings of George Kennan "the Elder" and his great nephew George F. Kennan. Engerman explained that America's Russia watchers from across the political spectrum were entranced by the transformation of the "Empire of Peasants" into a modern industrial power. He stressed that many justified the financial and human costs as a small price to pay for building an industrial society.

Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar **Sergei Zhuravlev's** project focused on those Americans who migrated to the Soviet Union during the 1930s. American émigrés to the Soviet Union included many committed Communists, but the majority were simply in search of work. Zhuravlev identified dozens of American expatriates who were arrested or killed in Stalin's xenophobic purges. Through extensive archival research on American purge victims, he determined that they were a highly diverse group of people who were motivated to immigrate to the Soviet Union for a variety of political, economic, and ideological reasons.

Eleonory Gilburd, a doctoral candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, studied foreign culture in the Soviet Union. She found that not only was America represented at fairs and exhibitions in the Soviet Union by Russian émigrés, but their opinions and observations contributed to the formation of the U.S. perceptions of Soviet citizenry.

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 surrounding states.

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.

TUESDAY-WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 1, 2003

CONFERENCE

*Cosponsored by ISE-Center,
Moscow and the National
Council for Eurasian and East
European Research*

The Integration of Russia into the International Academic Community: Perspectives from Russian Education and Scholarship

Welcoming Remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow.

Introduction: "What are the CASEs?"

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

Speakers: Deana Arsenian, Senior Program Officer, International Peace and Security Project, Carnegie Corporation of New York; **Robert Huber**, President, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; **John Slocum**, Co-Director, Initiative in the Russian Federation and Post-Soviet States, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

"Siberia and the Russian Far East"

Chair: Stephen Kotkin, Professor, Department of History, and Director, Program in Russian Studies, Princeton University.

Speakers: Vladimir Baranovskii, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **Tat'iana Skrynnikova**, Professor of History and Chair, Department of Culture and Art Studies, Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist, and Tibetan Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Irkutsk, and Chair, Irkutsk CASE Academic Council; **Discussant: Nancy Ries**, Associate Professor, Department

of Anthropology, and Director, Peace Studies Program, Colgate University.

“Cultural Communications and Tolerance”

Chair: **Maria Carlson**, Professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, and Courtesy Professor, Department of History, University of Kansas.

Speakers: **Elena Ishchenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Voronezh State University, and Voronezh CASE Coordinator; **Maxim Khomiakov**, Director, Institute of Tolerance and Comparative Studies in World Civilization, Urals State University, and Director, Urals CASE; **Sergei Kropotov**, Professor of Cultural Studies, Urals State University, and Scientific Director, Urals CASE; **Discussant:** **Nancy Condee**, Director, Graduate Program for Cultural Studies, University of Pittsburgh.

“The Nature of Russian Political Power in Regional Perspectives”

Chair: **Jeffrey Hahn**, Professor, Department of Political Science, and Director, Russian Area Studies Concentration, Villanova University.

Speakers: **Artem Rykun**, Associate Professor and Deputy Chair, Department of Sociology, Tomsk State Pedagogical University; **Galina Lashkova**, Associate Professor, Department of Philology, Saratov State University, and Chair, Department of Foreign Languages, Saratov Institute of Business and Information Technology; **Discussant:** **Robert Orttung**, Associate Research Professor, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University.

“Russia and the West”

Chair: **Angela Stent**, Professor, Department of Government, and Director, Center for Eurasian,

Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University.

Speakers: **Sergei Deviatkin**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Philosophical Anthropology, Novgorod State University, and Director, Novgorod CASE; **Gennady Fedorov**, Chair, Department of Social Economics, Geography and Geopolitics, Kaliningrad State University, and Director, Baltic CASE; **Discussant:** **Dan Davidson**, Co-Founder and President, American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS, and Professor, Departments of Russian and Second Language Acquisition, Bryn Mawr College.

“The Future of Russian Education and Scholarship”

Chair: **Robert Huber**, President, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research.

Speakers: **Harley Balzer**, Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Affairs, and Associate Faculty Member, Department of History, Georgetown University; **Mark Johnson**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Colorado College; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; **Mikhail Strikhanov**, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation; **William Zimmerman**, Professor, Department of Political Science, and Research Scientist, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

Lunch with Keynote Remarks

Speakers: **Lee H. Hamilton**, President and Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; **Vartan Gregorian**, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York; **Mikhail Strikhanov**, Deputy Minister, Ministry of

Education of the Russian Federation.

“How Russian Education and Scholarship Can be Integrated into Global Education Space”

Chair: **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow.

Speakers: **Robert Huber**, President, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Gerson Sher**, President and Executive Director, Civilian Research and Development Foundation; **Tat’iana Zhdanova**, Co-Director, Initiative in the Russian Federation and Post-Soviet States, and Director, Moscow Office, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 2003 NOON DISCUSSION

“Putin’s Russia: Unaccountable Government, Irresponsible Citizens,” **Masha Lipman**, Editor, *Pro et Contra*, Carnegie Moscow Center.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 2003 CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Comparative Urban Studies Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

Spatial Dimensions of Poverty in Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States

Welcome

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute.

“Perspectives on Urban Poverty”

Julia Szalai, Head, Department of Social Policy and Social History, Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; **Stephen Crowley**, Associate Professor,

Politics Department, Oberlin College.

"Strategies for Poverty Alleviation"

Elizabeth McKeon, Labor Market and Social Transition Specialist, Europe and Eurasia Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development; **Ellen Hamilton**, Urban Specialist, World Bank; **Anastassia Alexandrova**, Project Manager, Urban Economics Institute, Moscow.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 2003 SEMINAR

"Culture/Kultura: Russian Influences on American Performing Arts: Theater," **Andrei Malaev-Babel**, Producing Artistic Director, Stanislavsky Theater Studio; **Sarah Kane**, Artistic Associate, Stanislavsky Theater Studio, and Vice-President, MICHA (Michael Chekhov Association), New York; **Leslie Jacobson**, Chair and Professor of Theater, Department of Theater and Dance, George Washington University.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

"Black Earth: A Journey through Russia after the Fall," **Andrew Meier**, Contributor, *Time Europe*, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 2003

LECTURE

Cosponsored by the Middle East Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Ballistic Missiles in Iran's Military Thinking," **Kamran Taremi**, Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran, and Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

"Russian-Eurasian Renaissance?"

U.S. Trade and Investment in Russia and Eurasia," **Jan Kalicki**, Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Eugene Lawson**, President, U.S.-Russia Business Council.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16-17, 2003 TITLE VIII RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Conflict in the Former Soviet Union

Workshop organizer: Mark Katz, Professor of Government and Politics, Department of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Participants: "Ukraine's Energy Policy and U.S. Strategic Interests in Eurasia," **Margarita Balmaceda**, Assistant Professor, School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University, and Associate, Davis Center for Russian Studies and Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University; "Whose House is Moldova? Hospitality as a Model for Ethnic Relations," **Jennifer Cash**, Ph.D. recipient, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University; "Kyrgyzstan: A Potential Ally in America's War on Terror," **Michele Commercio**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania; "Political Passivity and Russia's Health Crisis," **Debra Javeline**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Rice University; "Stakeholder Inclusion in Caspian Basin Natural Resource Management," **Mary Matthews**, Assistant Professor, Department of Environmental Science and Policy, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg; "Myths and Mysticism: An Historical Perspective on Islam and Conflict in the North Caucasus," **Michael Reynolds**, Fellow, Olin Institute for Strategic

Studies, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Discussants: Murray Feshbach, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Eugene Fishel**, Senior Analyst, Office of Russian and Eurasian Analysis, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; **Candy Green**, Program Officer, Office of International Energy and Commodities Policy, Economic Bureau, U.S. Department of State; **William Hill**, Head of Mission, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Moldova, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Kelly Kivler**, Analyst, Office of Russian and Eurasian Analysis, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; **John Machado**, Analyst, Office of Russian and Eurasian Analysis, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; **Harold Rhode**, Analyst, U.S. Department of Defense; **Kate Watters**, Co-founder, Crude Accountability, Alexandria, VA.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16-17 CONFERENCE

Co-sponsored with the University of Paris-X, Naterre Paris

Integrating Russia into Europe

Introductory remarks

Alexander Motyl, Associate Professor of Political Science and Deputy Director, Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University.

"French, German, and American perspectives on Russia-Europe-US relations"

Chair: Wanda Dressler, Professor, University of Paris-X, Naterre.
Speakers: Sophia Clement, Institut des Sciences Politiques,

Paris; **Alexander Rahr**, Program Director, Koerber Unit, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin; **Rajan Menon**, Monroe J. Rathbone Professor, Department of International Relations, Lehigh University.

Discussants: **Dov Lynch**, Research Fellow, Institute for Security Studies, Paris; **Jutta Scherrer**, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris; **Armand Clesse**, Director, Luxembourg Institute for European and International Studies; **Jacques Sapir**, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

Presentations of the working group

Chair: **Wanda Dressler**, Professor, University of Paris-X, Nanterre.

Speakers: **Elizabeth Teague**, Researcher, Ministry of Defence, United Kingdom; **Ania Krok-Paszkowska**, Research Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence; **Jan Zielonka**, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence; **Stephan Kux**, Senior Lecturer on Political Science, University of Zurich; **Rajan Menon**, Monroe J. Rathbone Professor, Department of International Relations, Lehigh University; **Alexander Rahr**, Program Director, Koerber Unit, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin; **Alexander Motyl**, Associate Professor of Political Science and Deputy Director, Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2003

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"The Tsar's Last Imperialist: the Outrageous Life of Baron Ungern von Shternberg," **Willard Sunderland**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Cincinnati, and former Title VIII-

Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

OCTOBER 22-23, 2003 **ALUMNI SEMINAR**

Simferopol/Yalta

"Ethnic situation in Crimea: modern status and development prospects"

"Regional Dimensions of Global Changes: Crimea"

Oleh Gabrielian, Chair, Department of Political Sciences, Tavrian National University; **Mykhailo Hrodzynskyi**, Professor, Chair, Department of Geography, Kyiv National University; **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2003

SEMINAR

Moscow

"Self-Identification and the Demands on Artists in the 20th Century," **Evgeny Tsymbal**, filmmaker, Moscow.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

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

"Driving the Soviets up the Wall: Soviet-East German Relations, 1953-1961," **Hope Harrison**, Assistant Professor of History and International Affairs, George Washington University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

"St. Petersburg's 300 Years: New Perspectives on Old Myths," **Arthur George**, Partner, Baker & McKenzie, Chicago, and author, *St. Petersburg: Russia's Window to the Future—The First Three Centuries*.



Komsomolsk-na-Amure. Apartment house, Lenin Prospect 21. (Photo: William Brumfield)

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 2003

NOON DISCUSSION

"Capital of the Tsars and Soul of Mankind: How the Two St. Petersburgs Defined Russian Culture," **John Brown**, Research Associate, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 2003

POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
"Russia's Regional Executive Elections," **Andrew Konitzer-Smirnov**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Baylor University.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

"GULAG: A History," **Anne Applebaum**, columnist, *Washington Post*.

WEDNESDAY-THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5-6, 2003

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Middle East Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
Islam in Russia: History, Politics, and Culture

Welcoming Remarks

Michael H. Van Dusen, Deputy Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

"Historical Development of Islam in Russia"

Talib Saidbaev, Advisor to the Head Mufti, Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Russia; **Robert Crews**, Assistant Professor of History, Stanford University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

"Political Islam and the War in Chechnya"

John Dunlop, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution; **Aleksei Malashenko**, Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center.

"Emergence of Islamic Identity Among Russian Muslims"

Shireen Hunter, Director, Islam Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Rustem Shukurov**, Associate Professor of History, Moscow State University.

"Introduction of Islam into Political and Public Life"

Kate Graney, Assistant Professor of Government, Skidmore College; **Radik Amirov**, Head of Press Service, Russian Council of Religious Affairs.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2003

SEMINAR

"Russian Attitudes toward Democracy and Human Rights: Survey Results from 2001-03"
Sarah Mendelson, Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Theodore Gerber**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2003

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Is Going to Court a Waste of Time for Russian Firms?" **Kathryn Hendley**, Professor, Department of Political Science and School of Law, University of Wisconsin, Madison; former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2003

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Embassy of Ukraine to the United States; the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; and the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation

The Ukrainian Man-Made Famine of 1932-1933

"Famine - Known and Unknown"

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

Speakers: Yuri Shapoval, Center for Historical and Political Studies, Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; **James Mace**, Professor of Political Science, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv; **Abbott Gleason**, Senior Fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies; Professor, Department of History, Brown University; and former Secretary, Kennan Institute.

"International Reception of the Ukrainian Famine"

Chair: Nadia Diuk, Director, Central Europe and Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy.
Speakers: Eugene Fishel, Senior Analyst, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Office of Russian and Eurasian Analysis, U.S. Department of State; **Leonard Leshuk**, independent researcher, Washington, D.C.

"Famine as a Weapon and Lessons for Prevention of Genocide, Atrocities, and Ethnic Cleansing"

Chair: Kathleen Kuehnast, Research Associate, Institute for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University; former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council.

Speakers: Frank Chalk, Professor, Department of History, and Co-Director, Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, Concordia University, Montreal; **David Marcus**, independent researcher, San Francisco; **Gregory Stanton**, President, Genocide Watch.

Conclusion

Paula Dobriansky, Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

Film Screening at the Embassy of Ukraine to the United States

"Famine 33," directed by **Oles Yanchuk**.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14-15, 2003

TITLE VIII RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Multi-Cultural Legacies in Russia and Ukraine

Workshop Organizers

Dominique Arel, Associate Professor, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

Participants

"Migration, Hostility, and Ethnopolitical Mobilization: Russia's Anti-Chinese Legacies in Formation," **Mikhail Alexseev**, Associate Professor, Political Science Department, San Diego State University; "Nation-Building after Socialism: Contested



Komsomolsk-na-Amure. Entrance gates, Shipbuilders (Central) Park. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Meanings of 'Sovereignty' in Tatarstan," **Helen Faller**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; "Theorizing Nationalist Separatism in Russia," **Elise Giuliano**, Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, University of Miami, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Soviet Nationalities Policy and Assimilation," **Dmitry Gorenburg**, Director of Russian and East European Programs, Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, VA, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; "Schooling and Language in Ukraine," **Alexandra Hrycak**, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Reed College, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar; "Beauplan's Prism: Represented Contact Zones and Mapping Practices in Ukraine, 1795-1914," **Steven Seegel**, Ph.D. candidate, Russian and European History Department, Brown University; "Domestic and International Sources of Post-Soviet Refugee Politics," **Oxana Shevel**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of

Government, Harvard University; "New Rich, New Poor: Religion and Moral Order in Ukraine," **Catherine Wanner**, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Religious Studies Program, Pennsylvania State University; "Arbiters of the Free Conscience: State, Religion and the Problem of Confessional Transfer after 1905," **Paul Werth**, Assistant Professor, History Department, University of Nevada, Las Vegas and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

"Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha, 1700-2000," **Stephen Lovell**, Lecturer, Department of History, King's College London.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy toward Russia after the Cold War,"

James Goldgeier, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and Director, Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University; **Michael McFaul**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Associate Professor of Political Science and Peter and Helen Bing Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 24, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain," **Yale Richmond**, author, Washington, D.C., and former Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2003

NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the Environmental Change and Security Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

The Ukrainian Man-Made Famine of 1932–33

In November, the Kennan Institute hosted a conference on the Ukrainian Famine of 1932–33. Cosponsored by the Embassy of Ukraine to the United States, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, the event examined new historical data about the Ukrainian famine, the international reaction to the famine, and how the famine fits in the context of our understanding of genocide.

In her remarks to the conference, **Paula Dobriansky**, Undersecretary for Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State, noted that “each year, we learn more and more about the famine in Ukraine. Even so, it is still difficult to grasp the enormity of the tragedy: millions of people, in what was the breadbasket of the then-Soviet Union, were quite literally starved to death.” Historians have long known that the Soviet Union exported grain harvested in Ukraine and other agricultural centers during Joseph Stalin’s forced collectivization of agriculture in the early 1930s in order to finance the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Union. New evidence from Russian and Ukrainian archives now suggests that it was Stalin’s intent to use starvation as a weapon against perceived potential enemies in Ukraine.

According to **Yuri Shapoval** of the Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies in Kyiv, Stalin feared that the Ukrainian Communist Party was penetrated by Polish agents and believed that “nationalist tendencies” in the Ukrainian peasantry guaranteed their disloyalty to the Soviet state. Soviet officials used this perception of disloyalty to justify “special measures” used in Ukraine, such as confiscation of all food or cutting off all supplies from a farm or village. **James Mace** of University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy argued that the state-organized mass killing of the rural population combined with the attempted destruction of Ukrainian culture amounts to genocide against the Ukrainian nation. He noted that blockades were imposed to keep food from going in to Ukraine, and to keep starving Ukrainians inside. At the same time, leading elements of Ukrainian society were imprisoned or killed.

“Human Rights and Environmental Activism in Russia: Lessons from the Past and Challenges for the Future,” **Ivan Pavlov**, Director, Bellona Environmental Human Rights Center, St. Petersburg, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2003

SEMINAR

“Brick and Stucco Dreams for the Man of Steel: Stalin’s Impact on Moscow Architecture,” **Olga Zinovieva**, State University of New York Program Director, Joint Center for the Study of U.S. and Russia, Moscow State University.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2003

SEMINAR

“Culture/Kultura: Russian Influences on American Performing Arts: Film,” **Naum Kleiman**, Director, Moscow Cinema Museum; **Annette Michelson**, Professor of Cinema Studies, New York University.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 2003

BRIEFING

“The Russian Economy and Corporate Governance,” **Igor V. Kostikov**, Chairman, Federal Commission for the Securities Market of the Russian Federation.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 2003

NOON DISCUSSION

“‘Diaspora’ Amidst Nationalization: The Mongolian-Kazakhs’ Negotiation of Territorial Belonging and Identity”

Alexander Diener, Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies and Languages, Pepperdine University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

DECEMBER 11, 2003

BOOK LAUNCH

Kyiv

“Political and Economic Transformations in Russia and Ukraine,” **Aleksei Alekseev**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Economy and Organization of Industrial Production, Siberian Branch, Russian Academy of

Abbott Gleason of Brown University agreed that new evidence demonstrated that Ukraine was singled out as a target of Stalin's ire. He cautioned that the strictest interpretation of genocide—the intention to exterminate the entire population—does not seem to fit with Stalin's desire to mold Ukraine into a "model Soviet Republic." Mace and Shapoval responded by pointing out that a famine in the Russian Volga region was met with government assistance, whereas the North Caucasus—an area with a substantial Ukrainian population—was targeted with many of the same special measures used in Ukraine. Stalin's plan for Ukraine as a "model Soviet Republic" envisioned the destruction of Ukrainian culture and the deaths of all who would cling to that culture.

The conference speakers wrestled with the issue of international reaction to the famine. Panelists **Eugene Fishel** of the U.S. Department of State and independent scholar **Leonard Leshuk** agreed that there were accurate news accounts of the famine. However, these were largely drowned out by positive media coverage of the Soviet Union by journalists seeking to curry favor with the Soviet government—such as Walter Duranty of the *New York Times*. Fishel noted that the U.S. government, like other governments, viewed the famine as a strictly internal matter. Moreover, the U.S. government was in negotiations to open diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and did not wish to lose a potentially important market for U.S. industrial goods.

The final panel attempted to put the Ukrainian famine in the broader context of man-made famines throughout history. **Frank Chalk** of Concordia University, Montreal, **Gregory Stanton** of Genocide Watch, and **David Marcus** of Lieff, Cabraser, Heimann and Bernstein, LLP discussed the use of famine as a weapon and Ukraine's famine in comparison to other famines that have been classified as genocide. They noted the similarity of the Ukrainian famine to famines in China and Cambodia, all of which were used as a means of revolutionary social engineering. The panel concluded that international legislation is needed to criminalize inflicting or creating conditions for famine.

Sciences; **Oleksandr Maiboroda**, Chair, Department of Ethnopolitology, Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; **Serhiy Makeev**, Chair, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2003

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Are All Politics Local? The Decisive Role of the District Races in the 2003 Duma Ballot," **Robert Orttung**, Associate Research Professor, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University; Visiting Scholar,

Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology; and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 2003

SEMINAR

"Ukraine's Political Landscape and the 2004 Presidential Elections," **Rostyslav Pavlenko**, Director of Programs, School for Policy Analysis, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; **Taras Kuzio**, Resident Fellow, Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES), and Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto; **Paul D'Anieri**, Associate Professor, Department of Political

Science, and Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Kansas.

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"Formation of National Identity among Ethnic Minorities in Ukraine," **Karyna Korostelina**, Visiting Research Professor and Fulbright New Century Scholar Fellow, George Mason University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"Myths and Mysticism: An Historical Perspective on Islam and Conflict in the North Caucasus," **Michael Reynolds**,

Research Fellow, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 2004
BOOK LAUNCH
Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Converging Worlds: Community and Religion in Peasant Russia," **Chris Chulos**, Adjunct Professor of History and Assistant Director of Institutional Advancement, Roosevelt University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"From Juli to Yul: The Brynner Family Saga from Vladivostok to Hollywood," **Rock Brynner**, Adjunct Professor, Department of History, Marist College.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27, 2004
SEMINAR

"Oligarchic Capitalism in Putin's Russia: The Khodorkovsky Case," **David Hoffman**, Foreign Editor, *Washington Post*.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 2004
SEMINAR

"Transformation and Integration: Russia, Europe, and America after 9/11 and Iraq," **Alexander Motyl**, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Deputy Director, Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Lilia Shevtsova**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center; **Pilar Bonet**, correspondent, *El Pais*, Moscow; **Philip Hanson**, Professor of the Political Economy of Russia and Eastern Europe, University of Birmingham; **Oleksandr Pavliuk**, Senior External Co-operation Officer,



Blagoveshchensk. Prayer House of the Spiritual Christians (Molokane). (Photo: William Brumfield)

Office of the Secretary General, OSCE, Vienna, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, JANUARY 29-30, 2004
WORKSHOP
Integrating Russia into Europe

Pilar Bonet, correspondent, *El Pais*, Moscow; **Bojana Blagojevic**, Research Assistant, Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University; **Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Philip Hanson**, Professor of the Political Economy of Russia and Eastern Europe, University of Birmingham; **Ania Krok-Paszowska**, Research Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence; **Stephan Kux**, Senior Lecturer or Political Science, University of Zurich; **Jerzy Mackow**, Chair of Comparative Politics, University of Regensburg; **Alexander Motyl**, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Deputy Director, Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University; **Oleksandr Pavliuk**, Senior External Co-operation Officer, Office of the

Secretary General, OSCE, Vienna, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Lilia Shevtsova**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center; **Angela Stent**, Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; **Elizabeth Teague**, Researcher, Ministry of Defense, United Kingdom.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION
"Democracy in Russia: A Virtual Reality?" **Pilar Bonet**, Correspondent, *El Pais*, Moscow Bureau, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2004
SEMINAR
"The Need for Urgency in Russia's Fight Against AIDS," **Judyth Twigg**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Virginia Commonwealth University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Murray Feshbach**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Cheliabinsk Oblast': Russia's Eurasian Anchor—From the Southern Urals to Kazakhstan," **William Brumfield**, Professor, Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies, Tulane University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2004

SEMINAR

"Year of Decision: The Fate of Ukraine's Quadruple Transition," **Antonina Kolodii**, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary Ethnology, Ukraine National Academy of Science, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 2004

SEMINAR

Moscow

Cosponsored by the Kennan Moscow Project, the Kennan Institute/Woodrow Wilson Center Alumni Association, and the American Center, Moscow

"George Frost Kennan at 100"

Chair: Iurii Baturyn, Cosmonaut, former National Security Advisory to the President of the Russian Federation, and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. Introductory Remarks: **Vladimir Lukin**, President, East-West Bridges Foundation, and former Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States.

"George F. Kennan's 'Long Telegram,'" **Anatolii Utkin**, Director, Center for International Research, Institute of USA and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; "George F. Kennan

and the Problems of Atomic Weapons," **Victor Malkov**, Professor of History, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences; "George F. Kennan as a Political Thinker," **Nikolai Bolkhovitinov**, Academician and Director, Center for North American Research, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Guest Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; "George F. Kennan and the Fate of the Soviet System," **Vladimir Pechatnov**, Chair, European and American History and Politics, Moscow State Institute for International Relations, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2004

SEMINAR

"Russian Anti-Semitism and the Scape-goating of Jews: The Dog that Didn't Bark?" **James Gibson**, Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis; **Marc Morjé Howard**, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2004

BOOK LAUNCH

"Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development," **David Engerman**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Brandeis University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"New Rich, New Poor: Wealth and Morality in Ukraine," **Catherine Wanner**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Pennsylvania State University.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2004

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored with the Comparative Urban Studies Project and Environmental Change and Security Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
Health Crisis: HIV/AIDS in Developing World Cities

Introductory Remarks

Joseph Tulchin, Co-director, Comparative Urban Studies Project, and Director, Latin America Program, Woodrow Wilson Center.

"Global Resources: HIV/AIDS in Urban Areas"

Chair: Marcos Cueto, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Speakers: Alexandria Panehal, Director, Office of Urban Programs, USAID; **Arachu Castro**, Director, Institute for Health and Social Justice, Partners in Health; **Ronald MacInnis**, Technical Advisor, USAID; **Nina Schuler**, Urban Poverty Specialist, Urban Development Unit, World Bank.

"National Level and Community-based Approaches to HIV Prevention"

Chair: Ellen Brennan-Galvin, Lecturer and Senior Research Scholar, Environment School, Yale University.

Speakers: Paulo Lyra, HIV/AIDS Communications Advisor, World Health Organization; **Sue Simon**, Associate Director, International Harm Reduction Development Program, Open Society Institute; **Lane Porter**, Advisor, International Health Law and Human Rights, The Futures Group International/POLICY Project.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2004

BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Asia

Program, and Middle East Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001," **Steve Coll**, Managing Editor, *Washington Post*; **Milt Beardon**, former Agent, Central Intelligence Agency; **George Cave**, former Agent, Central Intelligence Agency.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2004 CONFERENCE

Moscow

Cosponsored by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow
Reformism in Russian Islam: Past and Present

Introductory Remarks

Anatolii Egorin, Deputy Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

"Reformism in Russian Islam: Historical Aspects"

"Islamic Reformism: Old and New Interpretations (from Mukhammad Abdo to Rafael Khakimov)," **Farid Assadulin**, Head, Department of Science and Relations with Public Services, Moscow Mufti Office; "Ali Kayaev—Muslim Educator and Reformer of Dagestan," **Mikhail Roshchin**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "The Muslim Movement at the Beginning of the 20th Century (Based on Materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire)," **Dmitrii Arapov**, Dean, Department of History, Moscow State University.

"Reformism in Russian Islam: Prospects"

"Muslim Enlightenment at Russian Internet Sites," **Lyubov' Goriaeva**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian

Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Plastic Image of Idzhtikhad,"

Sharif Shukurov, Head, Department of Comparative Cultural Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Prospects of Contemporary Islamic Thought in Russia," **Leonid Siukiainen**, Professor and Leading Researcher, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Specifics of Islam in the Volga Region," **Rafael Khakimov**, State Advisor to the President of the Republic of Tatarstan, and Director, Institute of History of Tatarstan, Kazan'; "Islam in Russia," **Sergei Gardirovskii**, Chief Advisor to the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation, Volga Federal District, Nizhny Novgorod.

Closing Remarks

Vladimir Alpatov, Deputy Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

MONDAY, MARCH 1, 2004 NOON DISCUSSION

"Ethnic Conflict and Minority Refugee Flight from Post-Soviet Ukraine," **Jeffrey Burds**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Northeastern University, Boston.

MONDAY MARCH 8, 2004 NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia and Caucasus: The Role for Historical and Cultural Discussion in Easing Conflict," **Yakov Gordin**, Chief Editor, *Zvezda* (St. Petersburg), and Regional Fellow, Davis Center, Harvard University.

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 2004 NOON DISCUSSION

"Priorities in U.S. Policy Following the Russian Presidential Elections," **Celeste Wallander**, Director, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and

International Studies, Washington, D.C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 2004 SEMINAR

Cosponsored with the Conflict Prevention Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

"The Conflict-Development Nexus: Exploring the Role of Foreign Assistance in Promoting Peace in the Caucasus," **Rob O'Donovan**, Regional Director, South Caucasus Cooperation Program, Eurasia Foundation; **Charles Fairbanks**, Director, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; **Nancy Lubin**, President, JNA Associates; **Zeyno Baran**, Director, International Security and Energy Program, Nixon Center.

MONDAY, MARCH 22, 2004 NOON DISCUSSION

"Power and Urban Design: Moscow Governance in the 1990s," **Yuri Bocharov**, Fulbright Scholar, School of Urban and Public Affairs, University of Texas, Arlington, and Professor of Urban Studies, Institute of Urban Construction, Moscow.

TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 2004 FILM SCREENING

Cosponsored by the Environmental Film Festival and the Environmental Change and Security Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Power Trip" An award-winning documentary about an American company's struggle to manage post-Soviet Georgia's privatized electricity utility, **Paul Devlin**, Director and Producer, "Power Trip."

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 2004 SEMINAR

"Reflections on Orthodoxy and

the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy in Russia," **James Billington**, Librarian of Congress, and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 2004

KENNAN INSTITUTE ANNUAL DINNER

National Press Club

Welcome

The Honorable Thomas R. Pickering, Senior Vice President for International Relations, Boeing Company.

Introduction of Lee H. Hamilton

James C. Langdon, Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP.

Introduction of Colin L. Powell

Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Keynote Address: Three Principles of Diplomacy

The Honorable Colin L. Powell, Secretary of State.

George F. Kennan Tribute and Video

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Christopher Kennan**, Director, LuxeFragrances, LLP; **Grace Kennan Warnecke**, consultant, New York.

Introduction of Yuri V. Ushakov

Len Blavatnik, Chairman, Access Industries, Inc.

Closing

His Excellency Yuri V. Ushakov, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States.

Final Remarks

The Honorable Thomas R. Pickering, Senior Vice President for International Relations, Boeing Company

Honorary Co-Chairs: The Honorable Madeleine Albright; The Honorable James A. Baker III; The Honorable Warren Christopher; The Honorable Jim Collins; The Honorable Lawrence S. Eagleburger; The Honorable Alexander M. Haig, Jr.; The Honorable Arthur Hartman; The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger; The Honorable Jack F. Matlock, Jr.; The Honorable Robert S. Strauss; The Honorable George P. Shultz; The Honorable Malcolm Toon; The Honorable Yuri V. Ushakov.

Dinner Chairman: The Honorable Thomas R. Pickering

Dinner Co-Charis: Len Blavatnik; James C. Langdon, Jr.

Benefactors: Access Industries, Inc.; Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld; The Boeing Company; BP; Lukoil; The Sputnik Group; VimpelCom

Patrons: Alfa-Bank; Chevron Texaco; The Kennan Family; The Scowcroft Group

Sponsors: A La Vieille Russie; Baker & Botts LLP; ExxonMobil; Moncrief Oil International

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, MARCH 25-26, 2004 WORKSHOP

Cosponsored by the Institute on Religion and World Affairs, Boston University and the College of Arts and Science, Baylor University

Orthodoxy and the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy in Russia

Beth Admiraal, Professor of Political Science, Lynchburg College; **Peter L. Berger**, University Professor Emeritus; Director, Institute on Religion and World Affairs, Professor of Sociology and Theology, Boston University; **James Billington**, Librarian of Congress and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center;

Archpriest Vsevolod Chaplin, Vice-chairman, Department of External Church Relations, Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, Russia; **Wallace Daniel**, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Baylor University; **Brigit Farley**, Associate Professor of History, Washington State University, Tri-Cities; **Perry Glazner**, Assistant Professor, School of Education, Baylor University; **Nikolas Gvosdev**, Executive Editor, *The National Interest*; Senior Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, The Nixon Center; and Senior Fellow, Institute for Religion and Public Policy; **Kimmo Kääriäinen**, Research Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland; **Vyacheslav Karpov**, Professor of Sociology, Western Michigan University; **Ann Kleimola**, Professor of History, University of Nebraska, Lincoln; **Gregory Kliucharev**, Academic Secretary, Institute of Complex Sociological Research, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow; **Zoe Knox**, Research Associate, School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University, Australia; **Christopher Marsh**, Director of Asian Studies and Professor of Political Science, Baylor University; **Inna Naletova**, Ph.D. candidate, Boston University; **Irina Papkov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government, Georgetown University; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Elizabeth Prodromou**, Associate Director, Institute on Religion and World Affairs, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Boston University; **Lawrence Uzzell**, President, International Religious Freedom Watch; **Philip Walters**, Head of Research, Keston Institute, Oxford, England; **James Warhola**, Professor of Political Science, University of Maine; **Andrej Zubov**, Professor of

Philosophy, Moscow State
Institute of International Relations.

THURSDAY-SUNDAY, MARCH 25-28, 2004 SYMPOSIUM

Sheperdstown, WV

*Cosponsored by the International
Research and Exchanges Board,
Washington, D.C.*

2004 Caucasus Regional Policy Symposium

March 25

Opening Dinner

Speaker: B. Lynn Pascoe, Deputy
Assistant Secretary for European
and Eurasia Affairs, U.S.
Department of State.

March 26

Session I

**Discussion Leader: Jamsheed
Choksy**, Professor, Department of
Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana
University, Bloomington.
"Making History: How Shaping
the Past will Determine the Future
in the Caucasus and Beyond,"
Daniel Moses, Lecturer,
Department of Social Studies,
Harvard University.

Session II

**Discussion Leader: Gerard
Libaridian**, Visiting Professor,
Department of History, University
of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
"Turkey and the Geopolitics of
Baku-Ceyhan: Perspectives and
Challenges Encountered in
Anatolia, the Caucasus, and
Beyond," **Kyle Evered**, Assistant
Professor, Department of
Geography and Geology, Illinois
State University.

Session III

"Iran: Influence and Impact in the
Caucasus," **Gerard Libaridian**,
Visiting Professor, Department of
History, University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor.

Session IV

**Discussion Leader: Douglas
Blum**, Professor, Department of
Political Science, Providence
College.
"Ethnic Conflict, Secession, and
Political Violence in Tartarstan and
Chechnya: The Role of the
Russian State," **Elizabeth
Frombgen**, Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science,
Hastings College.

Session V

**Discussion Leader: Jamsheed
Choksy**, Professor, Department
of Central Eurasian Studies,
Indiana University, Bloomington.
"Small States in the Post-Soviet
Caucasus: The Making of Foreign
Policy in Armenia and Georgia,"
Asbed Kotchikian, postdoctoral
candidate, Department of
Political Science, Boston
University.

Session VI

**Discussion Leader: Nayereh
Tohidi**, Research Associate,
Center for Near Eastern Studies,
University of California, Los
Angeles; Associate Professor,
Department of Women's Studies,
California State University,
Northridge; and former Title VIII-
Supported Research Scholar,
Kennan Institute.
"Long-Term Stability in the
Northwest Caucasus: Prospects
and Implications for Regional
Development," **Walter Comins-
Richmond**, Adjunct Assistant
Professor, Department of German
and Russian, Occidental College.

Session VII

**Discussion Leader: Gerard
Libaridian**, Visiting Professor,
Department of History, University
of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
"Levels of Ethnic Separatism in
Georgia," **Julie George**, M.A.
candidate, Department of
Government, University of Texas,
Austin.

March 27

Session I

Discussion Leader: Paula Garb,
Associate Director of International
Studies and Associate Adjunct
Professor, Department of
Anthropology, University of
California, Irvine.
"The Criminalization of Conflict in
Abkhazia and South Ossetia," **Erik
Scott**, Program Manager,
Transnational Crime and
Corruption Center, American
University.

Session II

Discussion Leader: Paula Garb,
Associate Director of International
Studies and Associate Adjunct
Professor, Department of
Anthropology, University of
California, Irvine.
"Systemic Corruption as an
Intervening Variable in Post-Soviet
Political and Economic Transition:
Armenia and Georgia in
Comparison," **Christoph Stefes**,
Assistant Professor, Department of
Political Science, University of
Colorado, Denver.

Session III

**Discussion Leader: Nayereh
Tohidi**, Research Associate, Center
for Near Eastern Studies, University
of California, Los Angeles;
Associate Professor, Department of
Women's Studies, California State
University, Northridge; and former
Title VIII-Supported Research
Scholar, Kennan Institute.
"Civil Society in the Caucasus: The
Role of NGOs in the Caucasus,"
Armine Ishkanian, Lecturer, Centre
for Civil Society, London School of
Economics.

Session IV

"Adaptation Problems of Islam in
the Contemporary Political
Realities of the Caucasus Region,"
Nariman Gasimoglu, Fulbright
Visiting Scholar from the Republic
of Azerbaijan, Georgetown
University.

Session V

Discussion Leader: Douglas Blum, Professor, Department of Political Science, Providence College.
"Azerbaijani Youth at the End of an Era: Life Without a Net?" **Eric Lepisto**, Ph.D. candidate, Teacher's College, Columbia University.

Session VI

Discussion Leader: Gerard Libardian, Visiting Professor, Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
"The Caucasus and the Myth of the Market Economy," **Matthew Schmidt**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government, Georgetown University.

SUNDAY-MONDAY, MARCH 28-29, 2004

TITLE VIII RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Immigration, Forced Migrants, and Refugees in Central Eurasia

Workshop Organizers

Cynthia Buckley, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

Participants

Rafis Abazov, Adjunct Lecturer, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; **Bruce Adams**, Professor of History, University of Louisville; **Alexander Diener**, Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies and Languages, Pepperdine University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Timothy Heleniak**, Project Officer, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Seema Iyer**, Faculty Lecturer, Department of City and Regional

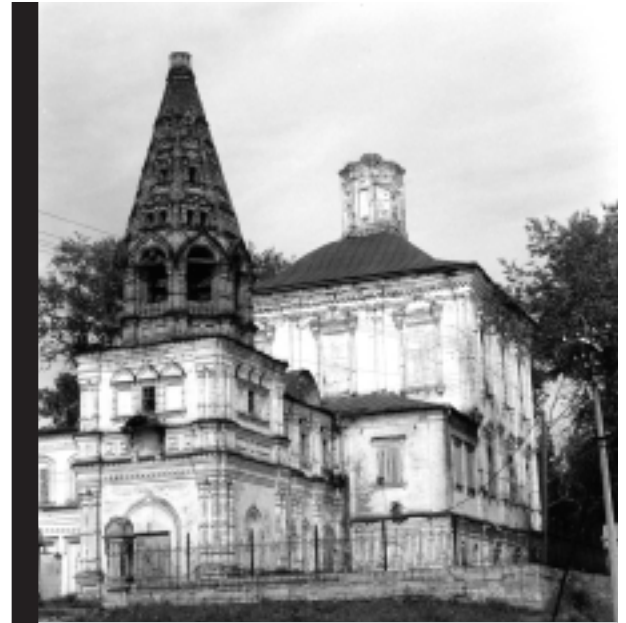
Planning, University of Pennsylvania; **Idil Izmirlı**, Ph.D. candidate, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University; **Anthony Kolb**, Ph.D. candidate in Environmental Sciences and Engineering, University of North Carolina, and Operational Research Coordinator, Medecins Sans Frontieres, Tashkent, Uzbekistan; **Andrei Korobkov**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Middle Tennessee State University; **Eric Lohr**, Assistant Professor of History, American University; **Ruth Mandel**, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University College London, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **J. Otto Pohl**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; **Andrew Robarts**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, Georgetown University; **Peter Sinnott**, Adjunct Assistant Professor of International Affairs, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; **Erin Trouth**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, MARCH 29, 2004 BOOK LAUNCH Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921," **Bertrand Patenaude**, Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, MARCH 29, 2004 POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
"Caucasus Regional Policy," **Douglas Blum**, Professor of Political Science, Providence College; **Jamsheed Choksy**,



Solvychegodsk. Cathedral of the Presentation of the Virgin. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Professor of History and Central Asian Studies, Indiana University; **Paula Garb**, Associate Director of International Studies, Associate Adjunct Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Irvine; **Gerard G. Libardian**, Professor of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; **Nayereh Tohidi**, Research Associate, Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles; Associate Professor, Department of Women's Studies, California State University, Northridge; and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 2004 BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the Ukrainian Studies Center, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; and the Washington Group.

"Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600-1945," **Frank E. Sysyn**, Visiting Professor in Ukrainian Studies, Harriman Institute,



Chita. Timokhovich house, Nagornaia St. #38. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Columbia University; Director, Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research, University of Alberta; and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Mark von Hagen**, Professor, Department of History, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION
Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Containment, Reagan, and the Collapse of Communism," **Sheldon Anderson**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, OH, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 2004
SEMINAR

"Religious Freedom as a Condition for Revival of Russia in the 21st Century," **Anatoly Krasikov**, Director, Center of Social and Religious Studies,

Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 12, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"Ambivalence to Ambiguity: Why Ukrainians Remain 'Undecided,'" **Mykola Riabchuk**, Research Associate, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; John Kolaska Fellow, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Edmonton; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 19, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the Environmental Change and Security Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

"The Aarhus Convention Test—Environmentalists and Freedom of Information in Post-Soviet States," **Tatiana R. Zaharchenko**, Visiting Scholar, Environmental Law Institute, Washington, D.C., and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 2004
BRIEFING

"Advancing Corporate Governance in Russia," **Iurii Gusev**, Project Manager, Russian Institute of Directors; **Dmitrii Cherkaev**, Head of Research, Independent Directors Association.

MONDAY, APRIL 26, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"From Intelligentsia to Middle Class? Re-Inventing Virtue and Citizenship in Boris Akunin's Fandorin Mysteries," **Leon Aron**, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C.

TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 2004
PERFORMANCE AND SEMINAR

"The Influence of American Jazz on Soviet-era Musicians," **Valeri Ponomarev**, Trumpet; **Nick Levinovski**, Piano; **Oleg Butman**, Drums; **Victor Dvoskin**, Bass; **Victor Prudovski**, Piano; **Sergei Gurbeloshvili**, Sax.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 2004

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

"Confronting Vietnam: Soviet Policy toward the Indochina Conflict, 1954-1963"

Ilya Gaiduk, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, MAY 3, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored with East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Reflections upon the Political Crisis in Lithuania: Its International Implications," **Richard Krickus**, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science

and International Affairs, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg.

MONDAY, MAY 10, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"Poverty and Wealth in Transition Economies," **Alexei Izyumov**, Associate Professor of Economics and Director, Center for Emerging Market Economies, The University of Louisville.

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 2004
ALUMNI SEMINAR

Kyiv

"The Problems of Integration of Crimean Repatriates into Ukrainian Society," **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; **Nataliya Belitser**, Research Fellow, Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, Kyiv.

MONDAY, MAY 17, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"Attitudes and Expectations: Public Opinion in Ukraine 2003," **Eric Rudenshiold**, Director, Europe & Eurasia, IFES, Washington, D.C.; **Nathan Van Dusen**, Program Associate, Europe & Eurasia, IFES, Washington, D.C.

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 2004
SEMINAR

"Everyone Loves Vladimir Putin," **Masha Gessen**, journalist, Moscow, and Nieman Fellow, Harvard University.

MONDAY, MAY 24, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION
Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Power, Wealth, and Identity in Contemporary Russia," **Peter Stavrakis**, Professor of Political Science, National Defense University; Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Vermont; and former

Deputy Director and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, MAY 25, 2004
BOOK LAUNCH

"Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition," **Kathleen Kuehnast**, Research Associate, Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University; former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **Carol Nechemias**, Associate Professor of Public Policy, Pennsylvania State University.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION
Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"A Civilized Capitalism? Everyday Perspectives on Culture and Consumption in Post-Soviet St. Petersburg," **Jennifer Patico**, Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow and Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Haverford College, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY-FRIDAY, JUNE 2-4, 2004
ALUMNI CONFERENCE
Golitsyno, Russia
Russian-American Relations in the Context of Globalization

Opening Remarks

Aleksandr Kubyshkin, Professor, Volgograd State University; former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; and Member, Russian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Anna Poplavko**, U.S. Embassy Official.

Plenary Session

"The War on Terrorism: Factors Uniting and Dividing Russia and

the U.S.," **Anatolii Adamishin**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; "Identity after Confrontation: The Search for an Other in a Unipolar World," **Denis Dragunskii**, Director, National Project Institute, Moscow, and Editor in Chief, *Kosmopolis*; "Was Anti-Americanism of the Stalin Epoch a Success, and What Are the Prospects of this Phenomenon Under Putin," **Nikolai Bolkhovitinov**, Academician, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Guest Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Film Screening

"Russian America," directed by **Evgenii Borzov**.

Section I: "Cultural-Moral Foundations of Russian-American Relations"

Chairs: William Smirnov, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Ol'ga Volkogonova**, Professor, Department of Management, Moscow State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar and Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Liudmila Popkova**, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign History, Samara State University.

Speakers: "Ethnocultural Aspects of Russian-American Relations," **Ol'ga Volkogonova**, Professor, Department of Management, Moscow State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar and Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Development of Understandings of 'Democracy' and Everyday Consciousness of Russians Today: Consequences for

Russian-American Relations," **Artur Demchuk**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Moscow State University; "Changing Understandings of Democracy in Russian Consciousness as a Factor in Russian American Relations," **Larisa Nikovskaia**, Head Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "The Image of Contemporary Russia in the Minds of Americans: Archetypes, Stereotypes, and Tendencies," **Aleksandr Romashov**, Assistant Professor, Cheliabinsk State Pedagogical University; "Egalitarianism and Diversity: The Political Discourse of Cultural Interaction in Russia and the U.S.," **Liudmila Popkova**, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign History, Samara State University; "Russian and American Political Journalism: The Problem of the Relationship between the Author, the State, and the Audience: A Play on Different Rules," **Aleksandr Altunian**, Vice-Dean, Department of Journalism, International University, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Global Political Science on Glen Page's 'Rejection of Murder' or How Issues of Nonviolence Can Become the Foundation for Russian-American Scientific Cooperation," **Tat'iana Iakushkina**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History of Foreign Literature, St. Petersburg State University; "Lev Tolstoy in the Dialogue of Two Cultures," **Galina Alekseeva**, Head of Academic Research Department, State Memorial Museum of Lev Tolstoy, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Interconnections of Philosophical and Religious Values in Russia and the U.S. in Historical-Cultural Context," **Ol'ga Chistiakova**, Chair, Department of the Humanities, Kuban State University, Novorossiisk; "Russian

Orthodoxy at Home and in America: A Dialogue of Civilizations," **Anatoly Krasikov**, Director, Center for Social and Religious Studies, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "Russian-Speaking Diasporas in the Near Abroad and in the U.S.: Psychological Aspects of the Transformation of Identity," **Iulii Stavropol'skii**, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, Saratov State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Globalization and Synchronized Tendencies of the Development of Higher Education in the U.S. and Russia," **Nikita Pokrovskii**, Professor, Higher School of Economics, Moscow; "The Battle for the Soviet School: Comparative Experiences of Values Education in Russia and the U.S.," **Grigorii Kliucharev**, Professor and Chair, Department of Issues of Uninterrupted Education and Information Technology, Institute of Complex Social Research, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "A Comparative Analysis of Moral-Cultural Goals in Russian and American Models of Humanities and Creative Education," **Marina Karaseva**, Professor, P. I. Tchaikovsky State Conservatory, Moscow; "Russian and American Personal Values: Similarities and Differences (Example of Students)," **Viktor Karandashev**, Professor, Department of General and Pedagogical Psychology, Volgograd State Pedagogical University; "Developing Ongoing Dialogue and Cooperation Between Americans and Russians Through Web-Based Instruction: Problems and Potential," **Sherri McCarthy**, Professor, Volgograd State Pedagogical University, St. Petersburg State University, and

University of North Arizona; "The Moral Role of Science in the Development of Russian-American Relations," **David O'Brien**, Professor, University of Missouri, Columbia, and **Valerii Patsiorkovskii**, Professor, Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of Population, Russian Academy of Sciences; "On the Formation of a Moral-Cultural Basis for Contemporary Russian Society and the Use of American Mediation Experience," **Anna Polukhina**, Senior Instructor, Department of Social Sciences and Technologies, Marii State Technical University, Ioshkar-Ola; "The Study and Distribution of Information on the U.S. System for Helping People with Disabilities among Academic Circles in Novosibirsk," **Ruben Agavelian**, Chair, Department of Special Education and Psychology, Novosibirsk State Institute for Continuing Education and Retraining of Education Workers.

Section II: "Russian-American Relations through the Lens of History"

Chairs: **Denis Dragunskii**, Director, National Project Institute, Moscow, and Editor in Chief, *Kosmopolis*; **Ivan Kurilla**, Associate Professor and Ph.D. candidate, Department of Area Studies and International Relations, Volgograd State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "The Steamer 'Kamchatka': The First Experience of U.S.-Russian Cooperation," **Ivan Kurilla**, Associate Professor and Ph.D. candidate, Department of Area Studies and International Relations, Volgograd State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "An Ethno-philosophical Portrait of an American in the Context of Reception in Russian

Philosophy of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," **Vasilii Vanchugov**, Professor, Department of History of Philosophy, and Vice-Dean of School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Russian State People's Friendship University; "Understandings of Russia in the U.S. at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Mechanisms for Forming an Image of the 'Other' in the Conditions of Globalizing International Relations," **Viktoriiia Zhuravleva**, Associate Professor, Department of General History, Russian State Humanities University; "American Authors' Perceptions of Russia in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," **Svetlana Tret'iakova**, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology and Pedagogy, St. Petersburg State University of Maritime Technology; "Russian America and the Development of Russian-American Relations: General Research Directions," **Aleksandr Petrov**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "State Realism and the Cultural-Moral Approach in the Views and Actions of American Diplomats in Moscow, 1934-1938," **Oleg Ken**, Instructor and Academic Secretary, European University, St. Petersburg, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Construction of America's Enemy: Self and Other in the Gender Discourse of Soviet Propaganda During the Cold War (1945-1963)," **Oleg Riabov**, Professor, Ivanovo State University; "A Bridge over the Atlantic: The American Journal *Kritika* and Soviet Historical Science During the Cold War," **Olga Bol'shakova**, Research Fellow, Institute for Scientific Information in the Social Sciences, Russian

Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Universities, the Intellectual Community, and the Cold War: Soviet American Parallels in the 1940s and 50s," **Aleksandr Kubyshkin**, Chair, Department of Area Studies and International Relations, Volgograd State University; "Soviet-American Chess: The History of International Intellectual Competition," **Boris Lanine**, Professor of Philosophy, All-Russian State Tax Academy and Russian Academy of Education, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Starving Russia (The Activities of the Cleveland Committee to Aid the Hungry in Russia in 1892)," **Aleksandr Okun'**, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign History, Samara State University; "From the Early History of Soviet-American Relations: American Foreign Aid and the Struggle Against Famine, 1921-1922 (on the Example of the Urals Region)," **Iuliia Khmelevskaia**, Associate Professor, Department of World History, Cheliabinsk State University; "American Capital in the Russian Oil Industry During the Period of the New Economic Policy: Lessons from History for the Present Day," **Vladimir Kostornichenko**, Lecturer, Institute for Retraining and Continuing Education of Teachers in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Moscow State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Assistance in Building Socialism Came from across the Ocean," **Boris Shpotov**, Head Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "The First Soviet Famine and the Positive Experience of Russian-American Cooperation before the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (Problems, Approaches,

and Directions for Study)," **Natal'ia Reshetova**, Ph.D. candidate, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Rostov-na-donu, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Session III: "Geopolitical and Economic Aspects of Contemporary Russian-American Relations"

Chairs: **Viktor Supian**, Professor and Deputy Director, Institute of the USA and Canada, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Ol'ga Butorina**, Head of Sector, Center for European Integration, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Speakers: "War in the Conditions of Globalization," **Valerii Konyshev**, Senior Lecturer, St. Petersburg State University; "Inaguration Speeches of U.S. Presidents as a Means of Analysis of the International Positioning of the American Nation," **Ol'ga Butorina**, Head of Sector, Center for European Integration, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Russian-American Relations: Conditions and Opportunities," **Viktor Supian**, Professor and Deputy Director, Institute of the USA and Canada, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "American Investment in Russia: Hopes and Reality," **Igor' Alikperov**, Associate Professor, Department of Economic Theory, Urals State Pedagogical University; "Opportunities for the Development of Inter-Firm Cooperation in the Conditions of Globalization," **Rozaliia Ibragimova**, Associate Professor, Ivanovo State University; "Interrelations between the Contemporary Economic and Legal Systems of Russia and the

U.S. as Relations of Joint Modeling,” **Vladimir Lobovikov**, Professor and Head Research Fellow, Division of Law, Institute of Philosophy and Law, Ural Division, Russian Academy of Sciences, Ekaterinburg; “Renewable Energy in the Conditions of Globalization: Russian and American Investment in the Development of Energy Sources,” **Igor’ Tiukhov**, Deputy Chair, Department of Renewable Energy Resources and the Electrification of Agriculture, All-Russian Institute for the Electrification of Agriculture,

Moscow; “A Rating of the Compatibility of Indicators of Change Used to Create Indexes of the Development of Human Potential in Russia, the U.S., and Other States,” **Anatolii Maslak**, Vice-Rector for Scientific Research, Slaviansk-na-Kubani State Pedagogical Institute; “The Arrival of Global Pop-Capitalism or Lessons in Creative Economics? Russian-American Relations in the Context of Cultural Politics,” **Dmitrii Galkin**, Associate Professor, Department of Theory and History of Culture, Tomsk State University.

Session IV: “Cooperation and Conflict in the Post-Soviet Space”

Chairs: **Vladimir Iakimets**, Head Research Fellow, Institute of Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute, and Member, Russian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; **Revekka Voulfovich**, Professor, Department of State and Municipal Management, Northwestern Academy of State Service, St. Petersburg; former Regional Exchange Scholar,

Activities of the Kennan Moscow Project

The 2003-04 program year was marked by several important anniversaries: the 100th birthday of **George F. Kennan**, the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the USSR, and the 30th anniversary of the Kennan Institute. The Kennan Moscow Project marked these occasions with two scholarly gatherings.

The first of these was a roundtable discussion dedicated to the life and career of George F. Kennan. On February 16—Kennan’s birthday—the Kennan Moscow Project brought together historians **Nikolai Bolkhovitinov** (a former Guest Scholar at the Wilson Center), **Vladimir Pechatnov** (a former Wilson Center Fellow), **Viktor Mal’kov**, and **Anatolii Utkin**. Also on the panel was well-known international security expert and corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences **Aleksei Arbatov** (also a former Guest Scholar at the Wilson Center), who noted that Kennan, more than any other observer, “sensed the unbreakable connection between the external and internal life of Russia,” and therefore his ideas remain relevant to this day. Arbatov called on the West to understand that for Russia, foreign policy has been and remains largely determined by the path of its internal development. “Which states Russia will cooperate with depends on how the country will develop in the economic and political realm,” he noted. Therefore, according to Arbatov, the West should open its economic, political, and military institutions and allow Russia to become fully integrated, but only if Russia meets very strict requirements in its domestic political and economic development.

The second event was the ninth annual conference for alumni of Kennan Institute programs. The conference, which was held in June 2004 in a Moscow suburb, was dedicated to “Russian-American Relations in the Conditions of Globalization.” Participants included alumni of Kennan Institute programs, as well as of other academic exchange programs funded by the U.S. Department of State. More than 70 historians, political scientists, economists, legal scholars, and even scholars of literature from all over Russia came together to discuss this important topic. As **Margaret Paxson** (Kennan Institute) noted during the opening session, “In international programs like ours, we are more than the sum of our parts...I see daily how the deep and

Kennan Institute, and Member, Russian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "American Management and Russian Management: Problems and Achievements," **Revekka**

Vouloffovich, Professor, Department of State and Municipal Management, Northwestern Academy of State Service, St. Petersburg; former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute, and Member, Russian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; "City Administration in the Conditions of Globalization

(the Experience of the U.S. and Russia)," **Natal'ia Vlasova**, Professor, Urals State Economic University; "Russian-American Cooperation in the Context of Social-Information Technology and International Education,"

Ol'ga Shlykova, Professor, Department of Virtual Communications, Moscow State University of Culture and Art; "Two Propagandas—An Analysis of Coverage of the Iraq Conflict of 2003 in the Russian and American Press," **Svetlana Tikhonova**, Consultant on Public Affairs, Piatigorsk State Linguistics

University; "Russia and the U.S. in Central Asia: The Regional Context of Interstate Relations at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century," **Vladimir Boiko**, Director, Laboratory of Russia and the East, and Associate Professor, Barnaul State Pedagogical University; "Specifics of National and Civic Identification of Russians in Russia and Kazakhstan," **Ol'ga Iakovleva**, Senior Instructor, Department of Social Psychology, Omsk State University; "On the Development of Civil Society in Cooperation with the U.S.: Directions, Programs,

real connections we have made with each other give life to the biggest questions we ask: 'who are we?' and 'where are we going?' It is an inspiration to see." Conference participants discussed the historical and cultural foundations of Russian-American relations, as well as their geopolitical, economic, and security aspects. Special prominence was given to Russian and American approaches to the war on terrorism.

In addition to these two events, the Kennan Moscow Project also held several additional events on a variety of topics. One notable event was a one-day conference on "Reformism in Russian Islam: Past and Present" held in February 2004 and cosponsored with the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This conference was intended as a continuation of a similar conference on Islam in Russia held in November 2003 at the Kennan Institute in Washington. According to **Rustem Shukurov**, an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Moscow State University and a participant in both the Moscow and Washington conferences, the goals of the conference included "identifying not only new tendencies in the reformation of Islam, but also their historical roots and traditions of modernization that are uniquely Russian in character." Other conference participants included leading Russian scholars on Islam, representatives of leading Islamic organizations, as well as the architects of a concept for modernization in Russian Islam.

In October 2003, the Kennan Moscow Project organized a meeting of alumni with director **Evgeny Tsymbal**, whose most recent film *Dziga and His Brothers* won Russia's 16th national Nika Award for Best Documentary. The dramatic fate of the Kaufman brothers—the three great cinematographers who are the subject of the film—formed the basis of Tsymbal's remarks on the topic of "Self-Identification and the Demands on Artists in the 20th Century." The life stories of Dziga Vertov and Boris and Mikhail Kaufman, who struggled with self-identification in a difficult transitional period while trying to create innovative art, span the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods in Russia, Europe, and the United States. Although they were ethnically Jewish—forced to survive in different countries, political systems, and social roles, and familiar with both success and injustice—Tsymbal argued that the Kaufman brothers considered themselves first and foremost to be cinematographers and artists not limited by their nationality or by the borders of the countries they worked in.

Approaches, and Means," **Vladimir Iakimets**, Head Research Fellow, Institute of Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute, and Member, Russian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; "Grants as a Form of Russian-American Cooperation in the Post-Soviet Space," **Tat'iana Klepikova**, Associate Professor, Irkutsk State Technical University.

Session V: "The War on Terrorism: Russian and American Approaches"

Chairs: **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for the Study of Xenophobia and Extremism, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Sergei Baburkin**, Professor, Department of World History, Yaroslavl' State Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "Global Terrorism: A New Phenomenon, or the Next Step in the Transformation of Old Problems?" **Emil Pain**, Director, Center for the Study of Xenophobia and Extremism, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "Evaluating Modern Terrorism: Russian and American Approaches," **Sergei Baburkin**, Professor, Department of World History, Yaroslavl' State Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The United Nations and the International Diplomacy of Russia and the U.S.: Principles, Priorities, and the War on Terrorism," **Aleksandr Khodnev**, Professor and Chair,

Department of World History, Yaroslavl' State Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Russian and American Legislation Regulating the War on Terrorism and Changes Since September 11, 2001," **Liudmila Petrova**, lawyer, St. Petersburg City Collegium of Lawyers; "The War on Terrorism and Human Rights: Russia and the U.S. Confront New Threats," **William Smirnov**, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "Terrorism and Human Rights: Russian and American Approaches," **Andrei Suslov**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of History and Archeology, Ural Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Perm; "Two Views of Transnational Criminal Organizations: Human Trafficking and Terrorism (the Experience of Russian-American Cooperation in the Struggle for National Security)," **Liudmila Erokhina**, Lead Researcher, Vladimir Center for the Study of Crime; "Psychological Factors of Terrorism: American Experience," **Natal'ia Ivanova**, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, Yaroslavl' State Pedagogical University; "Orphaned Radioactive Sources: An Analysis of the Problem in Light of the New Threat of Radioactive Terrorism," **Petr Vaganov**, Professor, Department of Ecological Geography, St. Petersburg State University.

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 2004 NOON DISCUSSION

"Civil Society in Ukraine: The Missing Argument of Ukraine's Societal Transformation?" **Viktor Stepanenko**, Senior Research

Fellow, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, Ukrainian National Academy of Science, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 2004 NOON DISCUSSION

"The Dream of Public Television and the Reality of Russian Media," **Mikhail Fedotov**, Vice President, INDEM Foundation, Moscow, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 2004 SEMINAR

"Bureaucrats and Russian Transition: the Politics of Accommodation," **Yevgenia Albats**, columnist, *The Moscow Times*, and host, *Echo Moskvyi*.

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 2004 POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State "Eurasian Migration Trends: Implications of State-Building and Transnationalism in Kazakhstan and Mongolia," **Alexander Diener**, Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies and Languages, Pepperdine University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 2004 BRIEFING

"Russia on Trial: Preliminary Impressions of the Khodorkovsky/Lebedev Case," **Robert Amsterdam**, Founding Partner, Amsterdam & Peroff, and legal defense counsel for Mikhail Khodorkovsky; and **Sanford Saunders**, Shareholder, Greenberg Traurig, LLP.

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 2004 LUNCHEON

"The Russian Anti-Racist Agenda: How Relevant is U.S.

Experience?" **Alexander Osipov**, Program Coordinator, Human Rights Center "Memorial," and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 2004 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Kyiv

"Prospects for the Structuring of Political Society in the Context of Presidential Elections," **Oleksiy Haran**, Director, School for Policy Analysis, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; **Il'ko Kucheriv**, Director, Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, JULY 22-23, 2004 CONFERENCE

Cosponsored with the Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center
Russia in Asia—Asia in Russia: Energy, Economics, and Regional Relations

Day 1: *The Russian Far East in Asia*

Introductory Remarks

Eugene Lawson, President, U.S.-Russia Business Council.

Panel 1: "Conditions and Prospects in the Russian Far East"

Chair: Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center.
"Economic Trends in the Russian Far East and Russia's Economic Policy towards the Pacific Region," **Alexander Fedorovsky**, Head of Section, Pacific Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Moscow; "Regional Politics and the Competition for Influence," **Robert Orttung**, Associate Research Professor, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University; Visiting Scholar, Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of

Technology; and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Environmental Issues in the Russian Far East," **Josh Newell**, author, *The Russian Far East: A Reference Guide for Conservation and Development*

Panel 2: "RFE-Asia Energy Trade as an Engine of Integration: Not a Done Deal"

Chair: Paul Rodzianko, Senior Vice President, Access Industries, Inc.
"East Siberia—Regional Resource Potential," **Shawn McCormick**, Vice President, International Affairs, TNK-BP; "Sakhalin's Oil and Gas Projects: Current Status and Future Prospects," **Michael Bradshaw**, Professor and Head, Department of Geography, University of Leicester; "Russian Oil and Gas: The Battle Within and Without for Control and Access," **Marshall Goldman**, Kathryn W. Davis Professor of Soviet Economics, Wellesley College, and Associate Director, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University; "Demographics in the Russian Far East," **Nicholas Eberstadt**, Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute.

Concluding Remarks

Jeffrey L. Miller, Senior Vice President and Head of Export Finance, Export-Import Bank of the United States.

Day 2: *Asia and its Russian Neighbor*

Introductory Remarks

Robert Sutter, Visiting Professor, Department of Government, Georgetown University, and former National Intelligence Officer for East Asia and the Pacific, U.S. National Intelligence Council.

Panel 3: "Customers, Competitors, and Partners—

Energy Relations in Northeast Asia and Russia"

Chair: Robert Manning, Senior Counselor, Energy, Technology and Science Policy, Office of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State.

"Emerging Russia-China Energy Relations: Will Needs Be Met by Supplies?" **James Dorian**, international energy economist, Washington, D.C.; "The Politics of Japanese-Russian Energy Relations," **Joseph Ferguson**, Director of Northeast Asia Studies, National Bureau of Asian Research; "Korea's Access to Russian Energy," **John Fetter**, President, FSI Energy.

Panel 4: "Integration vs. Isolation—Northeast Asia's Approach to Russia"

Chair: Robert Hathaway, Director, Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center.
"Maneuvering over the Russian Far East's Place in Northeast Asia," **Gilbert Rozman**, Musgrave Professor of Sociology, Princeton University; "The Russian Far East and Transnational Security Challenges in Northeast Asia," **Elizabeth Wishnick**, Research Associate, Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University; "Nuclear Security Issues in Northeast Asia," **Daniel B. Poneman**, Principal, Scowcroft Group.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Economic Reform and Ethnic Cooperation in Post-Soviet Latvia and Ukraine," **Stephen Bloom**, Postdoctoral Faculty Fellow, Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, and Research Scholar, East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.



Kiakhta. Merchants Court and Customs House.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2004

ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"Yulis: The Brynner Odyssey in Russia and Beyond," **Rock Brynner**, Adjunct Professor, Department of History, Marist College.

THURSDAY-SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16-19, 2004 CONFERENCE

Chernihiv

Ukraine's National Security

Opening Session

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Dolores Highlander**, Deputy Cultural Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy to Ukraine; **Marta Bohachevsky-Chomiak**, Director, Fulbright Exchange Program in Ukraine; **Viktor Tkanko**, Deputy Chair, Chernihiv Regional State Administration; **Volodymyr Boiko**, Director, Center for Advanced Training of Public Officials, Chernihiv; **Serhiy Lepiavko**, Professor, Chernihiv State Pedagogical University, and Chair, Siver Institute of Regional Studies; **Volodymyr Kovalenko**, Chair, Department of History, Chernihiv State Pedagogical University; **Oleksandr Fisun**, Associate professor, Kharkiv National University; former Regional Exchange

Scholar, Kennan Institute; and Chair, Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute.

Panel I: "Social Factors of Ukraine's National Security"

Chair: Serhiy Feduniak, Associate Professor, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Chernivtsi National University

Speakers: "National Unity and Patriotism as Factors in National Security," **Antonina Kolodii**, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary Ethnology, Institute of Ethnology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, L'viv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The 'Ethnic Factor' as a Component of National Security in Ukraine," **Nataliya Belitser**, Research Fellow, Pylp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, Kyiv; "Discourse of Extremes: Regional Reactions to Political Initiatives of Authorities," **Liudmyla Pavliuk**, Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism, Lviv National University, "Opportunities for the Development of Civil Society Lost Due to Underdevelopment of Small and Medium Business in Ukraine," **Yuriy Kalyukh**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Applied and System Analysis, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Civil Society in Ukraine: From the Practice of 'Influence Agencies' to the Policy of Civic Participation," **Viktor Stepanenko**, Department Chair, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Some Aspects of Information Security," **Ivanna Ibrahimova**, Doctoral Fellow, National Academy of State Government, Office of the President of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Panel II: "State and Political Factors of Ukraine's National Security"

Chair: Ivanna Ibrahimova, Doctoral Fellow, National Academy of State Government, Office of the President of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Speakers: "Inversion Paths of Post-Soviet Political Regimes and Models of Neo-patrimonial Consolidation," **Oleksandr Fisun**, Associate professor, Kharkiv National University; former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; and Chair, Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; "Perversions of National Security in the Context of Ukraine's Political Transformation," **Maryna Shapovalenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Political Science, National University of Internal Affairs, Kharkiv; "National Responsibility as an Operational Dilemma of the International Community," **Olena Lazorenko**, independent researcher, Kyiv, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Right to Personal Security according to National and International Law," **Myroslava Antonovych**, Doctoral Fellow, Associate Professor, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; "Comparative Analysis of Election Myths in the U.S. and Ukraine," **Olena Yatsunska**, Associate Professor, Department of Social and Political Sciences, Mykolayiv Training and Research Center, Odesa National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "A Systematic Approach to the Analysis of Problems and Decision-making in the Context of Ukraine's National Security," **Yuriy Shepetukha**, Senior Research Fellow, International Research and Training Center of Information Technologies and Systems of the National Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Education of

Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Panel III: "External Factors in Ukraine's National Security"

Chair: Viktor Stepanenko, Department Chair, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "Ukraine's National Security in the Context of Contemporary Processes in Europe and the Post-Soviet Space," **Serhiy Feduniak**, Associate Professor, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Chernivtsi National University; "The Great Border of Europe and the Problem of Ukraine's Self-Identification," **Serhiy Lepiavko**, Professor, Chernihiv State Pedagogical University, and Director, Siver Institute of Regional Studies; "Ukraine and European Union Expansion in the Context of National Security: Problems and Opportunities," **Serhiy Kurbatov**, Associate Professor, Sumy State University; "Trade Regime in the EEP: Legal Prospects," **Oleksandr Vyshniakov**, Associate Professor, Odesa National Law Academy, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Ukrainian Labor Migration to the United Kingdom: Characteristics of Current Developments," **Viktor Pasisnychenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Social and Political Science, Kharkiv State Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Influence of Migration on Economic Security;" **Volodymyr**

Novik, Director, Department for Nationalities and Migration, Kyiv City Administration, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Panel IV: "Economic Factors of Ukraine's National Security"

Chair: Myroslava Antonovych, Doctoral Fellow, Associate Professor, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

Speakers: "Ukraine's National Security in the Social and Economic Sphere: Regional Demographic Development," **Iryna Novak**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Demography and Social Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; "State Transfer Policy and Overcoming Regional Economic Disparities," **Serhiy Slukhai**, Associate Professor, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University; "Creation of an Open Investment Climate for the Integration of Ukraine into the Market System: Case Studies," **Liubov Bohun**, Associate Professor, Odesa Institute of Business and Law; "Food Security and the System of Criteria and Parameters of its Assessment in Ukraine," **Andriy Kovalenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Council of Studies of Ukraine's Productive Forces, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; "Preservation of Biological Resources as a Factor of National Security in Ukraine," **Tetiana Hardashuk**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; "Energy Security in Ukraine," **Oleksandr Zahniy**, Doctoral Fellow, Council of Studies of Ukraine's Productive

Forces, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Roundtable Discussion: "The Concept of National Security of Ukraine"

Chair: Antonina Kolodii, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary Ethnology, Institute of Ethnology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, L'viv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2004

ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"Immigration Amnesty," **Vladimir Lukin**, Ombudsman for Human Rights of the Russian Federation; **Lidiia Grafova**, Chair, Executive Committee, Forum of Organizations of Migrants, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2004

BOOK LAUNCH

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

"Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended," **Jack F. Matlock, Jr.**, former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR; **Thomas S. Blanton**, Director, National Security Archive, George Washington University.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"Eurasia on the Move: The Regional Implications of Mass Labor Migration from Central Asia to Russia," **Fiona Hill**, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution.

PUBLICATIONS

The Kennan Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center are philosophically and operationally committed to broad dissemination of the research they sponsor by means of books, Special Reports, Conference Reports, Occasional Papers, Kennan Briefs, 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. Conference Reports are summaries of major conferences, often including a collection of the papers presented at conference sessions. 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. An average of two to five Occasional Papers are published each program year. Kennan Briefs are short, policy-relevant reports by workshop participants or resident scholars. 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.

Although the composition of annual Kennan Institute publications has varied over the past thirty years, three main components have always comprised the foundation of the Institute's publishing profile: commercially published books (generally the final product of conferences and workshops organized by the Institute, or based on the research of resident scholars and staff members); Occasional Papers, representing contemporary research on topics of historical and current interest by leading scholars in the field; and Meeting Reports, which document presentations of scholars and specialists at the Institute.

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, and other states in the region. Most publications are also available on the Kennan Institute website at www.wilsoncenter.org/kennan.

Meeting Reports are the heart of the Institute's publication program; together with the Institute's monthly calendar, these reports were received by a readership that exceeded 6,300 in 2004. This readership included 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 United States, Europe, Latin America, Asia, Russia, and the successor states to the Soviet Union in touch with current research in the field.

Books

Russia in Search of Itself

Written by **James H. Billington**
Copublished by Johns Hopkins
University Press (2004).

*Second Metropolis: Pragmatic
Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago,
Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji
Osaka* (paperback edition)

Written by **Blair A. Ruble**
Copublished by Johns Hopkins
University Press (2004).

*Reforming the Tsar's Army:
Military Innovation in Imperial
Russia from Peter the Great to the
Revolution*

Edited by **David
Schimmelpenninck van der Oye**
and **Bruce W. Menning**
Copublished by Cambridge
University Press (2004).

*Post-Soviet Women Encountering
Transition: Nation-Building,
Economic Survival, and Civic
Activism*

Edited by **Kathleen Kuehnast** and
Carol Nechemias
Copublished by Johns Hopkins
University Press (2004).

*Russia's Lost Reformation:
Peasants, Millennialism, and
Radical Sects in Southern Russia
and Ukraine, 1830-1917*

Written by **Sergei I. Zhuk**
Copublished by Johns Hopkins
University Press (2004).



Komsomolsk-na-Amure. Apartment house,
Peace Prospect 12. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Occasional Papers

#286. *Conflict in Kyrgyzstan?*
Michele E. Commercio (2004).

#287. *Political Passivity and
Russia's Health Crisis*, **Debra
Javeline** (2004).

#288. *Stakeholder Inclusion in
Caspian Basin Natural Resource*

Management, **Mary M. Matthews**
(2004).

#289. *Myths and Mysticism: Islam
and Conflict in the North
Caucasus: A Longitudinal
Perspective*, **Michael A. Reynolds**
(2004).

#290. *Whose House is Moldova?
Hospitality as a Model for Ethnic
Relations*, **Jennifer R. Cash**
(2004).

#291. *Ukraine's Energy Policy and
U.S. Strategic Interests in Eurasia*,
Margarita M. Balmaceda (2004).

Meeting Reports

Vol. XXI No. 1 2003

Suzanne Carbonneau, Professor of
Performance and Interdisciplinary
Studies in the Arts, George Mason
University; **Camille Hardy**, Principal
Researcher, Popular Balanchine
Project, New York, and Senior
Critic, *Dance Magazine*; **Suzanne
Farrell**, Suzanne Farrell Ballet
Company, The John F. Kennedy
Center for the Performing Arts.
"Culture/Kultura: Russian Influences

on American Performing Arts:
Dance." (5 May 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 2 2003

Mark Johnson, Professor of
History, Colorado College.
"Systemic Crises and Prospects for
Reform in Central Asia." (2 June
2003).

Vol. XXI No. 3 2003

Marshall Goldman, Davis Professor

of Russian Economics (Emeritus),
Wellesley College, and Associate
Director, Davis Center for Russian
and Eurasian Studies, Harvard
University.

"The Piratization of Russia: Russian
Reform Goes Awry." (1 May 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 4 2003

Peter Sinnott, Adjunct Assistant
Professor of International Affairs,
Harriman Institute, Columbia

Dialogue Programs on Russia and the Surrounding States

Dialogue is an award-winning weekly radio program produced at the Woodrow Wilson Center that explores the world of ideas through weekly, half-hour conversations with renowned public figures, scholars, journalists, and authors. For the last 15 years, **Dialogue** has offered its listeners informed discussion on important ideas and issues in national and international affairs, history, and culture—providing commentary that goes beyond the superficial analysis presented in many of today’s talk shows.

As of spring 2002, in collaboration with Northern Virginia Public Television and MHz NETWORKS, **Dialogue** is now a television series. The series aims to provide foreign perspectives on world affairs—with presidents, ambassadors, cabinet ministers and scholars as guests. For program information, please send e-mail to: dialogue@wwic.si.edu, or call (202) 691-4070.

The following programs concerning Russia, the former USSR, and related topics were broadcast by **Dialogue** during the 2003-04 program year:

Radio:

#696 “Russia in Search of Itself”

Guest: **James H. Billington**, Librarian of Congress, and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center.

#709 “Politics, Diplomacy and the Russian Environment”

Guest: **Tatiana R. Zaharchenko**, Visiting Scholar, Environmental Law Institute, Washington, D.C., and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Television:

#311 “The Cold War: A New View”

Guests: **Christian Ostermann**, Director, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Svetlana Savranskaya**, Research Fellow, National Security Archive; **Hope Harrison**, Assistant Professor of History, George Washington University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

#403 Khrushchev: The Man and His Era, Part I

Guest: **William Taubman**, author of *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era*, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

#404 Khrushchev: The Man and His Era, Part II

Guest: **William Taubman**, author of *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era*, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

#504 “Russia in Search of Itself”

Guest: **James H. Billington**, Librarian of Congress, and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center.

University; **Mehrdad Haghayeghi**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Southwest Missouri State University; **Nikolai Zlobin**, Director of Russian and Asian Programs, Center for Defense Information. "Security Dilemmas in Central Asia: Competition for Influence." (23 September 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 5-6 2003
"The Integration of Russia into the International Academic Community: Perspectives From Russian Education and Scholarship." (30 September – 1 October 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 7 2004
"The Ukrainian Man-Made Famine of 1932-1933." (13 November 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 8 2004
"Islam in Russia: History, Politics and Culture." (5 November 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 9 2004
Leslie Jacobson, Professor and Chair, Department of Theater, The George Washington University; **Andrei Malaev-Babel**, Producing Artistic Director, Stanislavsky Theater Studio; **Sarah Kane**, Artistic Associate, Stanislavsky Theater Studio. "Culture/Kultura: Russian Influences on American Performing Arts: Theater." (10 October 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 10 2004
Annette Michelson, Professor of Cinema Studies, New York

University; **Naum Kleiman**, Director, Moscow Cinema Museum. "Culture/Kultura: Russian Influences on American Performing Arts: Film." (5 December 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 11 2004
Taras Kuzio, Resident Fellow, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto; **Rostyslav Pavlenko**, Director of Programs, School for Policy Analysis, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; **Paul D'Anieri**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Kansas. "Ukraine's Political Landscape and the 2004 Presidential Elections." (18 December 2003).

Vol. XXI No. 12 2004
David Hoffman, Foreign Editor, *Washington Post*. "Oligarchic Capitalism in Putin's Russia: The Khodorkovsky Case." (27 January 2004).

Vol. XXI No. 13 2004
Pilar Bonet, Correspondent, *El Pais*, Moscow Bureau, and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Democracy in Russia: A Virtual Reality?" (2 February 2004).

Vol. XXI No. 14 2004
David Engerman, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Brandeis University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term

Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development." (19 February 2004).

Vol. XXI No. 15 2004
James Billington, Librarian of Congress, and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center. "Reflections on Orthodoxy and the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy in Russia." (25 March 2004).

Vol. XXI No. 16 2004
Colin Powell, United States Secretary of State. "Three Principles of Diplomacy." (25 March 2004).

Vol. XXI No. 17 2004
Anatoly Krasikov, Director, Center of Social and Religious Studies, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute. "Religious Freedom as a Condition for Russia's Revival in the 21st Century." (6 April 2004).

Vol. XXI No. 18 2004
Tatiana R. Zaharchenko, Visiting Scholar, Environmental Law Institute, Washington, D.C., and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "The Aarhus Convention Test: Environmentalists and Freedom of Information in Post-Soviet States." (19 April 2004).

Special Reports

Olena Braichevska; Halyna Volosiuk, Olena Malynovska, Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Nancy Popson, Blair A. Ruble. *Nontraditional Immigrants in Kyiv.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004.

Culture/Kultura: Russian Influences on American Performing Arts and Sports. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004.

Kennan Moscow Project Publications

Rossia i Evropeyskiy Soiuz [Russia and the European Union]. Moscow, 2004.

Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 4, Fall 2003.

Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii [Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 5, Spring 2004.

Kennan Kyiv Project Publications

Ukraina—Problema identychnosti: liudyna, ekonomika, suspil'stvo [Ukraine—The Problem of Identity: Population, Economics, and Society]. Kyiv: Kennan Kyiv Project and Stylos, 2003 .

"Netradytsiini" immihranty u Kyivi ["Nontraditional" Immigrants in Kyiv]. Kyiv: Kennan Kyiv Project and Stylos, 2003.

Problemy integratsiyi kryms'kykh repartiantiv v ukrayins'ke suspil'stvo [The Problems of Integration of Crimean Repatriates into Ukrainian Society]. Kyiv: 2004.

Perspektyvy politychnoyi strukturyzatsiyi suspil'stva v umovakh pidgotovky i provedennya vyboriv Presydenta Ukrayiny [Prospects for the Political Structuring of Society in the Context of Presidential Elections]. Kyiv: 2004.

Natsional'na bezpeka Ukrayiny [National Security of Ukraine]. Kennan Kyiv Project, 2004.

FUNDING

The Kennan Institute receives funding from both public and private sources. During the 2003-04 program year, a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York provided 50 percent of the Kennan Institute's total operating budget; the Woodrow Wilson Center's annual federal appropriation provided 27 percent; the Program for Research and Training on Eastern Europe and the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (Title VIII) of the U.S. Department of State, 8 percent; the George F. Kennan Fund, 9 percent; other U.S. Government sources, including the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State and the U.S. Embassies in Moscow and Kyiv, 3 percent. The remainder of the Institute's income was derived from private donations, including 2 percent through the Kennan Council.

Principal Donors of Program Funds, 2003-04

Carnegie Corporation of New York	U.S. Department of State through the Program for Research and Training on Eastern Europe and the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (Title VIII)	George F. Kennan Fund	U.S. Embassy to the Russian Federation
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Federal Appropriation		Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State	U.S. Embassy to Ukraine

Co-Sponsors of Programs and Events, 2003-04

American Center, Moscow	East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center	Institute on Religion and World Affairs, Boston University	National Council for Eurasian and East European Research
Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center	Embassy of Ukraine to the United States	International Research and Exchanges Board	Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center	Environmental Change and Security Project, Woodrow Wilson Center	ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow	Ukrainian Studies Center, Harriman Institute, Columbia University
College of Arts and Science, Baylor University	Environmental Film Festival	Kennan Institute/Woodrow Wilson Center Alumni Association, Moscow	University of Paris-X, Nanterre
Comparative Urban Studies Project, Woodrow Wilson Center	Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow	Middle East Project, Woodrow Wilson Center	U.S.-Ukraine Foundation
Conflict Prevention Project, Woodrow Wilson Center			The Washington Group

Contributors to the Kennan Institute Endowment from 1984 Through September 2004

A La Vieille Russie	David Baker	The Boeing Company	Jonathan Chanis
Daniel Abele	Kathleen and Martin Baker	BoKom, Ltd., Interconsulting	Schuyler Chapin
Access Industries	Elizabeth Ballantine	Christina Bolton	Chevron
Eleanor Adams	Odun Balogun	Simon and Mariada Bourgin	ChevronTexaco
Joseph Ajlouny	Harley Balzer and Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer	Nani Boyce	Marianna Tax Choldin
Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP	Glenn Barlow	Alexander Boyle	Barbara Ann Chotiner
Madeleine Albright	William Barlow	BP	Peter Christoff
Alfa Bank	Samuel and Virginia Baron	Jeanine Braithwaite	Susan Clark
Helen Allen	Jay and Donna Bartlett	Randy Bregman	Elizabeth Clayton
Lyndon K. Allin	David Barton	Barbara Brooks	Pat Cloherty
Thad Alton	Mark Bassin	Deming Brown and Glenora Brown	Edith Clowes
American International Group, Inc.	Stephen and Sandra Batalden	Ellen Hotchkiss Brown	The Coca-Cola Company
Georgina F. Anderson (in honor of Constance Kennan Bradt)	Leonid Bazilevich	Julie V. Brown	Stephen F. Cohen and Katrina vanden Heuvel
Anthony Anemone and Vivian K. Pyle	Nancy Bedford	E. Wayles Browne	Julia Colton
Dwayne O. Andreas	F. Dieter Beintrexler	William Brumfield	Communication Workers of America
Carol Lee Anschuetz	Robert L. Belknap	Robert and Chantal Buchanan	Byron Coney
Archer Daniels Midland Company	John Bell	Helen Watson Buckner	Rachel Connell
John Armitage	Ruth Bell	Sarah Burke	Conoco, Inc.
Anthony Arnold	Nina Belyaeva	Robert F. Byrnes	ConocoPhilips
Mary Arnold	Marjorie Benton	Robert Campbell	Esther Coopersmith
William Arnold	Nina Berberova	Jeffrey and Sandra Canfield	Jonathan Coopersmith
Harvey and Sandra Asher	Stephen Bergen	Sarah Carey	Kevin Covert
Anders Åslund	Joseph S. Berliner	Alice Catherine Carls	Cow Hollow Foundation
Brooke Astor	Harold and Ruth Berman	Michael Cassella-Blackburn	Robert Croskey
Laurence J. Aurbach	Eric Biddle, Jr.	Jacqueline Cavalier	Piers Cumberlege
Carol Avins	Kelly Biggs	CEC ArtsLink	Mark D'Anastasio
Martha Awdziewicz	Thomas E. Bird	Chadbourn & Parke LLP	Robert V. Daniels
Donna Bahry	Sally Blair	Mary Chaffin	Joseph J. Darby
Baker and Botts LLP	Andrew Blane	Dorothy E. Chamberlain (in honor of Constance Kennan Bradt)	Mira Davidovski
Adele Baker	Cole Blasier		Dan Davidson
	William Bodie		R.T. and Jean Davies
			Moshe Decter
			Bernard K. Dehmelt

Kevin Delany	George Uri Fischer	Edward Goldberg	Wayne and Mary Heiser
Gladys Kriebel Delmas	Walter Fischer	Goldman Sachs	Clarence E. Heller
Michael DiGiacomo	Ralph T. Fisher, Jr.	Val Golovskoy	Susan Henderson (in honor of Constance Kennan Bradt)
Wesley M. Dixon, Jr.	David Fishman	Daniel Good	Catherine Henry
Paula Dobriansky	Ralph Fletcher, Jr.	Seymour Goodman	Hans and Barbara Heymann
Norton T. Dodge	Michael S. Flier	The Gordon Fund	Robert Himmer and Sally Himmer
Walter M. Drzewieniecki	Ford Motor Company	Gerald and Lillian Govorchin	Edyth M. Holbrook
Robert and Louise Dudley	Evan and Leman Fotos	Katharine Graham	Larry Holmes
Margaret T. Dunham (in honor of Constance Kennan Bradt)	Clifford and Juanita Foust	Loren Graham	Franklyn Holzman
James A. Duran, Jr.	Maurice Friedberg	Philip L. Graham Foundation	Brian and Eszter Horowitz
Alexander Dzhaparidze	Natalie and Werner Friedlander	William Green	Harold K. Hothschild Foundation
Cyrus Eaton Foundation	Daryl P. Friedman	Gertrude Greenslade	Jeanette Kennan Hotchkiss
Helaine Efron	Fund Raising Financial Management, Inc.	Charles and Lyubomira Gribble	Huang Hsing Foundation
Elle Eljand	J.B. Fuqua	Patricia Grimstead	Robert and Lois Huber
Herbert J. Ellison	FYI Resources	Jay Haft	Kendall Hubert
Barbara Engel	Gregory and Ann Gagarin	Jeffrey Hahn	Blair Hunter
Laura Engelstein	Ziva Galili	Halliburton	ICN Pharmaceuticals
Terrence English	Jeffrey Gallagher	Roger and Sally Hamburg	Icon Solutions, Inc.
The Eurasia Foundation	Patrice Gancie	Walter and Catherine Hanchett	Pavel Ilyin
Matthew Evangelista	Gardiner, Kamy & Associates, P.C	Joseph and Ann Harahan	International Research and Exchanges Board
Donna Evans	John and Carol Garrard	Evelyn J. Harden	International Strategic Studies Association
John Evans	Mark and Elizabeth Garrison	Ruth Harkin	International Technology
Exxon Corporation	Douglas and Paulette Garthoff	Mary W. Harriman Foundation	John N. Irwin III
ExxonMobil	Raymond L. Garthoff	Chauncy and Edith Harris	Heyward Isham
F.J. Elsner North America Ltd.	Bruce Gelb	A.A. and Donna Hartman	Betty Jacob
Andrew Faber	General Motors	Benjamin and Frauke Harvey	Dan Jacobs
David and Judith Falk	Philip and Nancy Gillette	Peter Hauslohner	Richard D. Jacobs
Vreneli Farber	Larisa Glad	Louise and Franklin Havlicek	Roman Jakubow
Roger Felberbaum	Vyacheslav Glazychev	John Hazard	Robert James
Murray Feshbach	Abbott and Sarah Gleason	Irwin Heine	JKW Foundation
Daniel Field	Gregory Gleason		
Julie Finley	William Gleason		
First Medical Group, Inc.			
Lloyd Fischel			



Komsomolsk-na-Amure
Cathedral of Kazan Icon of
the Mother of God.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

The Role of Religion in Post-Soviet Societies

The fall of the Soviet Union revealed a diverse, multi-cultural body emerging from the ruins of the old order. The diversity within this vast territory is reflected in a tapestry of languages, ethnic groups, enduring traditional social and economic organizations, and, perhaps most surprisingly after decades of state atheism, a wide range of religions and religious practices. For generations, the extent to which religious beliefs endured or shifted in the climate of an anti-religious state was impossible to know. It is now clear that the official atheism of the Soviet state did not cause people to summarily drop their beliefs in God, their sacred calendars, or their venerative practices and rituals. Although physical churches, synagogues, and mosques were destroyed in the seventy years of Soviet rule, the profound belief systems that are at the heart of religious practice continue to live on.

Religious affiliations and identities are experiencing a rapid resurgence in the former Soviet Union. In a post-1991 climate of new state formation, local authoritarianism, concerns over the meanings of democracy and the ethics of the new economy, and—in far too many instances—of poverty and war, religion has emerged as an affiliation of growing prominence. An increasing number of people are looking through the framework of religion in order to understand the world around them. Religion touches upon all spheres of social, political, and cultural life, and its resurgence profoundly affects the definition and shaping of broader social movements as well as individual behaviors. In a region in flux, questions of religion also relate to issues of national and international security.

At the Kennan Institute, the subject of religion in the post-Soviet context has emerged as a central theme in conferences, presentations, and State Department Policy Forums. On November 5, 2003, the Institute hosted a conference that brought together Russian and U.S. experts to discuss the role of Islamic identity and ideology in Russian society historically and today. Speakers discussed a number of issues, including the potential for integration of Muslims into Russian society, the existence of a distinctly Russian variety of Islam, and the danger of radical political Islam in Russia. In January 2004, an Institute book launch featured former Title VIII-Supported Scholar Chris Chulos' *Converging Worlds: Religion and Community in Peasant Russia 1861-1917* (2003); **Sergei Zhuk**, also a former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, published his monograph, *Russia's Lost Reformation: Peasants, Millennialism, and Radical Sects in Southern Russia and Ukraine, 1830-1917* (2004). In addition, Galina Staravoitova Fellow **Anatoly Krasikov** worked on the theme, "Religious Freedom as a Condition for Revival of Russia in the 21st Century" while in residence at the Institute, and presented his work in an April 2004 Noon Discussion.

In March 2004 the Kennan Institute hosted a workshop on "Orthodoxy and the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy in Russia," which was organized by **Christopher Marsh** of Baylor University and **Elizabeth Prodromou** of Boston University. The workshop brought together scholars and political and ecclesiastical leaders from Russia and the West to foster an informed debate and promote rigorous examination of the role of religion and civil society in contemporary Russia. It featured a keynote address by Librarian of Congress **James Billington**.

Anne H. Johnson	Amy and Malcolm Knight	Rose London	Richard and Sharon Miles
Brad Johnson	Stanley Kober	S.A. Louis-Dreyfus Corporation	James and Gera Millar
Robert Wood Johnson 1962 Charitable Trust	Roger and Diane Koenker	David Lowe	Jeffrey Miller
Rosemary Johnson	George Kolt	Edward Lozansky	Robin Miller
Jordan Industries	Korben International Industrial and Fincancial Corporation	Linda Lubrano	William Green Miller
Pamela Jordan	Igor and Vera Kosin	Lukoil	Richard Mills
Peter Juviler	Krassimir Kostov	Paul and Mary Lydolph	Tatiana Milovidova
Daniel Kaiser	Mikhail Kouriatchev	Robert and Ann MacMaster	Milstein Family Foundation, Inc.
Jan Kalicki	Igor Koval	Michael Makwenko	Kenneth Mitchell
Roger and Joan Kanet	A.W. and Judith Kremer	Maria Mackay	Beth Mitchneck
Kansans for Kassebaum	Ruth and Jerry Kreuzer	Silvana Malle	Sidney Monan
Allen H. Kassof	Robert Kriebel	Plato Malozemoff	Moncreif Oil International
Mark Katz	Ladis and Jane Kristof	James I. Mandell	Kenneth F. Montgomery
Firuz Kazemzadeh	Anya Kroth	David Manel	Kathryn Moore
William Keasbey	Olena Iwanna Kucyk	James and Becky Marcum	Thomas Morelli
Donald M. Kendall	Michael and Martha Lahana	Murrey and Frances Marder	Victor Mote
Annelise Kennan	Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert	Anne C. Martindell	The Mumford Family Trust
Christopher Kennan	Ronald Landa	Jack F. Matlock, Jr.	Jay and Joyce Mumford
George F. Kennan	Markel and Diana Larkins	Daniel C. Matuszewski	Murphy Oil Company
Joan Kennan	Edward and Holly Larsen	Sergey Matveev	Matthew Murray
The Kennan Family	Eugene Lawson	James E. McCobb	National Committee on American Foreign Policy
Kent Kennan	Gary Lazor	John McVickar	Carol Nechemias
Nancy Kennan	William Lee	Edgar and Emily Mead	Leroy P. Nesbit
Karen Kennedy	Ilya Levin	Edward Melanson	Leilani Newton
Thomas and Susan Kenneley	Michel Levine	Abraham Melezin	New York Community Trust
Vance and Betty Kepley	Moshe Lewin	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	Barbara Norton
Stephen Kerr	Ronald Liebowitz	Rajan Menon	Occidental Petroleum
Veselin and Lydia Kesich	Franklin Lindsay	The Mercator Corporation	Robert P. Odell, Jr.
Anatoly and Irina Khazanov	Susan Linz	Michael and Michelle Merrese	William E. Odom
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kleckner, Jr.	Maury Lisann	Martha Merritt	Charles Ofner
George and Virginia Kline	George Lister	Thomas Metts	Mr. and Mrs. George D. O'Neill
Jill and Edward Kline	Lockheed Martin	Henry Michael	Abby and George O'Neill Trust
Eliza K. Klose	J. Murray Logan	MIC Industries, Inc.	
Kheryn Klubnikin			



Kazan. Zakabannaia (Jubilee) Mosque.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

Marlene Onulak
 Samuel and Alyne
 Oppenheim
 Ludmilla Orelup
 Alexander Papamarkou
 Boris Paretzkin
 Parker Drilling Company
 Kathleen Parthé
 Chat Paterson
 Katherine Paxton
 Paul and Ellen Peachey
 Susan Pearce
 PepsiCo. Foundation,
 Inc.
 Etta Perkins
 Margaret Pertzoff
 PetroAlliance Services
 Company

Peter Pettibone
 The Philanthropic
 Collaborative
 Elizabeth Pickering
 Pilot Foundation
 Raymond Platig
 Eugene Pohren
 William Pomeranz
 Philip Pomper and Alice
 E. Pomper
 Cathy Popkin
 Robert Post
 Angelika and Justin
 Powell
 Walter Pozen
 John R. and Svetlana
 Price
 Marin Pundeff and Janet
 Ziegler
 Quigley and Associates
 Samuel Rachlin
 Hugh Ragsdale
 Karen and Donald
 Raliegh
 Robert Rand
 C.W. Randell
 Clyde E. Rankin
 Gilbert Rappaport
 Rudolph Rasin
 Anne Rassweiler
 Philip and Marian Raup
 Peter Reddaway
 Carl and Collette Reddel
 Joyce Reed
 Steven W. Reiquam
 Thomas and Nancy
 Remington
 Nicholas Riasanovsky
 Lois Rice
 Nathaniel Richmond

Yale Richmond
 Alfred Rieber
 T.H. Rigby
 Jerome Rinkus
 Steven Robinson
 David Rockefeller
 Rockefeller Brothers
 Fund
 Richard and Jean Rodes
 Robert and Lucy Rodes
 Susan and Saul
 Roenstreich
 Hans and Claire Rogger
 Susan and Elihu Rose
 Foundation
 Samuel Rosenthal
 William M. Roth
 William Rogle
 Gilbert and Marsha
 Rozman
 Christine Ruane
 Blair A. Ruble
 Dietrich and Marilyn
 Rueschemeyer
 Russia House Associates
 Andrea Rutherford
 Maureen Ryan
 Takeshi Sakon
 Richard Salomon
 Marideth Sandler
 James Scanlan
 Michael Schammel
 Albert and Kathryn
 Schmidt
 Ann I. Schneider
 Janet Schwartz
 Morton and Runa
 Schwartz
 Josph and Barbara
 Sciacchitano

The Scowcroft Group
 Erik Severeid
 R.K. and Barbara Severin
 Robert Sharlet
 Evgeny Shchemelev
 John and Judith
 Sheehan
 Sinclair Sheers
 Louise Shelley
 Leslie and Michael
 Sherman
 Nobuo and Reiko
 Shimotamai
 Vladimir Shlapentokh
 Marshall D. and Collette
 Shulman
 Raja Sidawi
 Frank R. Silbajoris
 John Simmons
 Darrell and Diane Slider
 Gordon Smith
 Polina Smith
 Theodore Smith
 Elena Sokol
 Solomon Smith Barney
 Adam Sondey
 John and Sheila Sontag
 Sovlink
 Valery N. Soyfer
 Joshua and Ellen Spero
 The Sputnik Group
 Frederick and Elizabeth
 Stafford
 Herman and Carol
 Starobin
 S. Frederick Starr
 Charles G. Stefan
 Vladimir Steffel
 John J. Stephan

Richard Stites	John Tedstrom	Judyth Twigg	Mary and Leon Wheeler
Donald B. Strauss	Mark Teeter	Richard Ullman	Eston and Edith White
Stephen P. Strickland	Mike Telson	Michael H. Van Dusen	Julie A. Whitney Foundation
Adam and Valerye Strochak	Helen Teplitskaia	William J. Vanden Heuvel	Thomas P. Whitney
Robert D. Stuart Jr. Foundation	Victor and Rita Terras	Vanco Energy Company	Cynthia Whittaker
Rosemary Stuart	Teton Petroleum Company	Margaret van Schaack	Allan Wildman
Gary Sullivan	Dean and Jane Thompson	Milos Velimirovic	Eric and Alberta Willenz
SUN Group of Companies	Judith Thornton	Thomas Venclova	Robert C. Williams
Gerald Surh	William Mills Todd III	VimpelCom	Stanley B. Winters
Eleanor B. Sutter	Kazuhiko and Tomoko Togo	Enzo Viscusi	William Woehrlin
Michael Swafford	Albert and Donna Tosches	Mr. and Mrs. Ladislaus von Hoffmann	Sharon Wolchik
Anne Swartz	Vladimir Toumanoff	Theodore and Angela Von Laue	World Affairs Council of Washington, D.C.
Frank E. Taplin	Donald W. Treadgold	Karl-Eugen Wädekin	Christine Worobec
Antony Taquey	J.C. Troncale	Louis Wagner	C. Ben Wright
Charles Taquey	James and Margaret Trott	Franklin Walker	Dean S. Worth
Theodore and Gislea Taranovski	Trust for Mutual Understanding	Peggy Walker	Edward Zebrowski
Gael and Robert Tarleton	Robert Tucker	Wallach Foundation	Betty and Serge Zenkovsky
William and Jane Taubman	Valerie Tumins	Thomas J. Watson	William Zimmerman
Elizabeth Teague	James Turner	Ted Weeks	Harold Zoslow
		Edmund Weiant	Anonymous (10)
		Irwin Weil	

Contributors to the Robert H. Baraz Fund*

Kenneth and Claire Angevine	Robert and Louise Dudley	Curtis Kamman	Morton and Runa Schwartz
George and Dorothy Avery	Natalie T. Friedlander	Mark Katz	William and Sandra Shaw
William and Jane Black	Mr. and Mrs. Werner Friedlander	Isabel G. Kulski	John and Sheila Sontag
Terrance and Sarah Byrne	Robert and Jean German	Karl and Martha Mautner	Charles G. Stefan
David and Elizabeth Cayer	Jon and Selene Gibney	Douglas P. Mulholland	Leon Taran
Dorothy E. Cheever	Jon and Jennifer Glaudemans	Henry S. Myers	Kathleen M. Walker
Richard and Ruth Curl	Peter A. Hauslohner	Leroy P. Nesbit	Benjamin and Geraldine Zook
Eileen R. Dohn	Edward Hurwitz	Karen L. Puschel	
		Sheldon Rapoport	

Kyiv's Immigrant Communities

In August 2004, Serhiy Brytchenko, the head of the Presidential Administration's Migration Directorate, called attention to increasing immigration into Ukraine in an article appearing in *Uryadovyy Kuryer*, the newspaper of the Ukrainian Cabinet Ministers. Brytchenko reported that the number of people granted Ukrainian citizenship rose by 40 percent during the first six months of 2004 in comparison to the same period in 2003, and by 180 percent in comparison to the first half of 2002. The Ministry of Internal Affairs similarly observed an increase in applications for permanent residence, the initial step towards Ukrainian citizenship. He continued on to note that the number of people adopting Ukrainian citizenship substantially surpassed the number relinquishing Ukrainian citizenship. Ukraine was, in short, becoming a country that was increasingly attractive to foreigners and persons without citizenship.

Ukraine's relatively liberal immigration and citizenship laws account for part of this attraction to be sure. There is more to this interesting story, however. With some notable exceptions, Ukraine provides arriving immigrants from abroad with opportunities for peaceful and productive lives. This finding—perhaps surprising to many—becomes evident from an examination of how individual immigrants live in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv, as evidenced by the results of a 2001-02 survey conducted by the Kennan Kyiv project.

The Kennan Kyiv Project survey—funded by the Kennan Institute's George F. Kennan Fund and conducted with the assistance of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Ukraine—focused on immigrants from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. This group has become a small but significant portion of the population of Kyiv. The survey consisted of three interrelated parts: a questionnaire for immigrants, a survey of Kyiv city residents, and an experts' survey of officials from various government levels and specialists who have regular contact or work directly with nontraditional immigrants. Survey questions focused on the main characteristics of immigrants in Kyiv, their living conditions, interethnic relations, and the attitude of Kyiv city residents and the municipal government toward them.

How Kyiv and Ukraine come to terms with their new residents will reveal a great deal about what sort of city and country Kyiv and Ukraine will be in the decades ahead. New arrivals though they may be, the immigrants at the center of this study are essential to Ukraine's future. The study's results show both a tolerant and liberal Ukraine, and a poor and miserly country unable to capitalize on its own resources. Understanding how Kyiv assimilates its immigrant community—or does not do so—carries important information about what sort of state and society Ukraine will become.

The results of this study, containing extensive sociological data on Kyiv's nontraditional immigrant communities, were published in Ukrainian by the Kennan Kyiv Project and Stylos in 2003. The Kennan Institute and the Comparative Urban Studies Project of the Woodrow Wilson Center published an abridged version of the study results in English in May 2004. Copies of *Nontraditional Immigrants in Kyiv* may be requested from the Kennan Institute, and the publication is available for download at www.wilsoncenter.org/kennan.

Robert H. Baraz Interns

Gina Ottoboni
1991–92

Shana Hansell
1995–96

Paul du Quenoy
1998–99

Olena Nikolayenko
2001-02

Thomas Mahalek
1992–93

Mark Webber
1996–97

Cynthia Neil
1999–2000

Jane Buchanan
2002–03

Susanna Bolle
1993–94

Kimberly Righter
1997–98

Jon Kakasenko
2000–01

Adam Fuss
2003–04

David Russell
1994–95

* In 1991 the Kennan Institute established a research internship program in honor of the late Robert H. Baraz, former Director of the Office of Research and Analysis for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at the U.S. Department of State.

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

Lee H. Hamilton, Director

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Joseph B. Gildenhorn, Chair; David A. Metzner, Vice Chair. Public Members: James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress; John W. Carlin, Archivist of the United States; Bruce Cole, Chair, National Endowment for the Humanities; Margaret Spellings, Secretary, U.S. Department of Education; Condoleezza Rice, Secretary, U.S. Department of State; Lawrence M. Small, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution; Michael O. Leavitt, Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Designated Appointee of the President from within the Federal Government: Peter S. Watson. Private Citizen Members: Joseph A. Cari, Jr., Carol Cartwright, Robert B. Cook, Donald E. Garcia, Bruce S. Gelb, Charles L. Glazer, Tamala L. Longaberger

WILSON COUNCIL

Bruce S. Gelb, President. Elias F. Aburdene, Jennifer Acker, Charles S. Ackerman, B.B. Andersen, Russell Anmuth, Cyrus A. Ansary, Lawrence E. Bathgate II, Theresa Behrendt, John Beinecke, Joseph C. Bell, Steven Alan Bennett, Stuart Bernstein, Rudy Boschwitz, A. Oakley Brooks, Donald A. Brown, Melva Bucksbaum, Richard I. Burnham, Nicola L. Caiola, Mark Chandler, Peter B. Clark, Melvin Cohen, William T. Coleman, Jr., David M. Crawford, Jr., Michael D. DiGiacomo, Beth Dozoretz, Elizabeth Dubin, F. Samuel Eberts III, I. Steven Edelson, Mark Epstein, Melvyn J. Estrin, Sim Farar, Susan R. Farber, A. Huda Farouki, Roger Felberbaum, Julie Finley, Joseph H. Flom, John H. Foster, Charles Fox, Barbara Hackman Franklin, Norman Freidkin, John H. French, II, Morton FUNGER, Gregory M. Gallo, Chris G. Gardiner, Bernard S. Gewirz, Gordon D. Giffin, Steven J. Gilbert, Alma Gildenhorn, David F. Girard-diCarlo, Michael B. Goldberg, Richard N. Goldman, Roy M. Goodman, Gretchen Meister Gorog, William E. Grayson, Ronald Greenberg, Raymond A. Guenter, Cheryl F. Halpern, Edward L. Hardin, Jr., John L. Howard, Darrell E. Issa, Benjamin Jacobs, Jerry Jasinowski, Brenda LaGrange Johnson, Shelly Kamins, James M. Kaufman, Edward W. Kelley, Jr., Anastasia D. Kelly, Christopher J. Kennan, Willem Kooyker, Steven Kotler, Markos Kounalakis, William H. Kremer, Raymond Learsy, Dennis A. LeVett, Francine Gordon Levinson, Harold O. Levy, Frederic V. Malek, David S. Mandel, Jeffrey A. Marcus, J.W. Marriott, John Mason, Jay Mazur, Robert McCarthy, Linda McCausland, Stephen G. McConahey, Donald F. McLellan, Charles McVean, J. Kenneth Menges, Jr., Kathryn Mosbacher, Jeremiah L. Murphy, Martha T. Muse, John E. Osborn, Paul Hae Park, Gerald L. Parsky, Jeanne L. Phillips, Michael J. Polenske, Donald Robert Quartel, Jr., Bruce Ratner, John L. Richardson, Margaret Milner Richardson, Larry D. Richman, Carlyn Ring, Edwin Robbins, Robert G. Rogers, Juan A. Sabater, Roger Sant, Alan M. Schwartz, Timothy R. Scully, J. Michael Shepherd, George P. Shultz, Raja W. Sidawi, Kenneth Siegel, Ron Silver, William A. Slaughter, James H. Small, Shawn Smeallie, Gordon V. Smith, Thomas F. Stephenson, John Sitolides, Norman Kline Tiefel, Mark C. Treanor, Anthony G. Viscogliosi, Christine M. Warnke, Ruth Westheimer, Pete Wilson, Deborah Wince-Smith, Herbert S. Winokur, Jr., Paul Martin Wolff, Joseph Zappala, Richard S. Ziman, Nancy M. Zirkin

ABOUT THE CENTER

The Center is the living memorial of the United States of America to the nation's twenty-eighth president, Woodrow Wilson. Congress established the Woodrow Wilson Center in 1968 as an international institute for advanced study, "symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relationship between the world of learning and the world of public affairs." The Center opened in 1970 under its own board of trustees.

In all its activities the Woodrow Wilson Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, supported financially by annual appropriations from Congress, and by the contributions of foundations, corporations, and individuals. Conclusions or opinions expressed in Center publications and programs are those of the authors and speakers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Center staff, fellows, trustees, advisory groups, or any individuals or organizations that provide financial support to the Center.