



Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars



KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report
2004–2005

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
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*Back row (left to right): Blair A. Ruble, Edita Krunkaityte, F. Joseph Dresen, Renata Kosc-Harmatiy
Front row (left to right): Summer Brown, Megan Yasenchak, Margaret Paxson, Erin Truth Hofmann,
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Erin Truth Hofmann, Program Assistant
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Photographs for this report were provided by William Craft Brumfield, photographer and Professor of Slavic Languages at Tulane University and Helen Bodian, a New York photographer. The originals of Dr. Brumfield's photographs are in the permanent collection of the Photographic Archives of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

OVERVIEW

The Kennan Institute was founded as a division of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in December 1974 through the joint initiative of Ambassador George F. Kennan, then Wilson Center Director James Billington, and historian S. Frederick Starr. Named in honor of Ambassador Kennan's relative, George Kennan "the Elder" (1845–1924), a nineteenth-century explorer of Russia and Siberia, the Kennan Institute is committed to improving American

expertise and knowledge about Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region. It is one of several area studies programs of the Wilson Center. The Center is an international, interdisciplinary scholarly institution that fosters scholarship in the humanities and social sciences and encourages dialogue between the disciplines and the professions. The director of the Kennan Institute reports to the director of the Woodrow Wilson Center and receives guidance from the Kennan Institute Advisory Council and the Kennan Council.

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



Belozersk. Transfiguration Cathedral, Belozersk kremlin.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

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

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



Belozersk. Church of the Epiphany. (Photo: William Brumfield)

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

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

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

DIRECTOR'S REVIEW

Painting the Town Orange

In December 2004, more than 30 of Latin America's leading architects, urban planners, civic activists, and politicians gathered in Quito, Ecuador to discuss how historic cities and heritage preservation have become powerful tools for civic mobilization throughout the region. The Ecuadoran capital seemed to be the perfect venue for such a meeting, given the city government's highly successful efforts to involve citizens in preserving and re-invigorating the historic town center. Speakers from Brazil, Argentina, and Colombia arrived with computers full of compelling Power Point presentations proclaiming their own accomplishments to any who would listen. In the end, though, the imaginations of all the participants were captured by tales from another city—a city almost as far from the Andes mountains as a city could be. That city was Kyiv, at the time the scene of massive demonstrations demanding the repudiation of what appeared to be a fraudulent presidential run-off election just a few weeks before.

The events unfolding in Kyiv—now known as the Orange Revolution—proved to be of international and historic significance. As the urbanists in Quito grasped immediately, genuinely historic events are often quite local in origin. For them, the city of Kyiv and the role that it played in bringing about dramatic social and political change mattered far more than the fates of a pair of politicians named Viktor whose last names seemed too exotic to contemplate.

When millions of people around the globe were paying attention to Ukraine, those of us who study the former Soviet Union were reminded that events in “our” region have broad implications for the world at large. Latin American urbanists discussed the Orange Revolution because it provided an example of how the physical structure of a city can promote civic mobilization. The Orange Revolution spoke to social scientists, policymakers, and journalists, many of whom knew little about Ukraine before December 2004. It fell to regional studies institutions, such as the Kennan Institute, to answer their questions and help Americans and others understand what was happening in Ukraine.

Readers of this report will already be familiar with the drama of Ukraine at the end of 2004. The first round of Ukraine's presidential elections had ended inconclusively in already troubled balloting on October 31. According to the final official vote tally, Viktor Yushchenko—a former prime minister and symbol of a western-oriented band of reformers—received 39.9 percent of the vote, while then-Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych received 39.26 percent, necessitating a run-off election, which was held on Sunday, November 21. As the polls were closing that evening, international observers released exit polls projecting a Yushchenko victory. Widespread rumors of fraud were surfacing even before the last votes had been cast. Consequently, Yushchenko supporters were primed to believe that their candidate had won even before the official results were released. From their perspective, any outcome other than an “orange” victory could only be the result of massive fraud.

The Central Election Commission announced quite different results, placing Yanukovych in the lead at 49.46 percent to Yushchenko's 46.61 percent. Widespread statistical anomalies, as well as a cavalcade of reports of intimidation and shenanigans of various kinds, immediately called the



Kyiv. Khreshchatyk street and the tent city. (Photo: Helen Bodian)

result into doubt. Before the evening was out, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe released a statement concluding: “As in the first round, state executive authorities and the Central Election Commission displayed a lack of will to conduct a genuine democratic election process.”

Not surprisingly, in a city in which over 70 percent of the voters had sided with Yushchenko, crowds of protesters immediately ran from their apartments into Kyiv’s sub-freezing streets. By Monday morning, thousands of disgusted citizens under the leadership of the student movement “Pora” (“It’s Time”) had taken up residence in a tent city that spread throughout Maydan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) along Kyiv’s main street, the Khreshchatyk, just as tense political battles were beginning nearby in the Verkhovna Rada (Ukraine’s Parliament). A number of city councils across the country—including that of Kyiv—declared the election results invalid; Kyiv mayor Oleksandr Omelchenko announced that city authorities would not try to clear the city’s streets of protesters. Meanwhile, Russian President Putin was already congratulating Yanukovych, and pro-Yanukovich city and regional administrations in southern and eastern Ukraine were threatening secession should their candidate be prevented from assuming power.

The stage was set by the early hours of November 22 for weeks of intense behind-the-scenes negotiation involving senior European Union, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, and Ukrainian officials; protracted legal battles; stormy parliamentary debates; and opposing claims of victory. This high drama was played out before throngs of hundreds of thousands of people (perhaps reaching well over a million at times) coursing through Kyiv’s streets.

These events are both too well known and far too intricate to record fully here. The turning point in the story proved to be the Ukrainian Supreme Court’s dramatic decision to hear complaints concerning election fraud brought by the Yushchenko campaign. That session, which commenced on November 29, was carried out in full public view and broadcast throughout Ukraine on television. In a decision released early on the evening of December 3, the Court ruled that members of the Central Election Commission “did not investigate the reports of the

territorial elections commissions concerning the voting process within the boundaries of their electoral territories, and did not check their authenticity, their truthfulness, or their completeness.” The Justices continued that, “at the time the CEC delivered its final results on the runoff vote for the presidency, the courts had not yet completed their examination of the complaints submitted concerning the inactions, actions, and decisions of the territorial electoral commissions.” The actions were therefore “not in accord with law. Consequently, the decision adopted by the CEC is void.”

Having annulled the results of the November 21 ballot, the Court ruled that a new nation-wide runoff was necessary. Political negotiation among Ukraine’s power elite became increasingly intense as the joyous demonstrators on the Maydan celebrated their breakthrough moment. Despite some additional false-starts and breakdowns in comity, the advantage clearly swung to

favor the Yushchenko forces. A final compromise deal passed Parliament on December 8, including a package of laws which set the new run-off date for December 26, changed the election law (the Constitutional Court would subsequently overturn some of these provisions), and approved a package of constitutional provisions which had long been favored by President Kuchma to transform Ukraine from a Presidential to a Parliament-dominated form of government in 2006. Ukraine, much to the jubilation on the Maydan, was set on a new course.

The lead-up to the December 26 vote proved to be almost anti-climatic. Much (but hardly all) of the crowd on the Maydan and Khreshchatyk dispersed, confident of



Kyiv. Night scene at the tent city. (Photo: Helen Bodian)

a Yushchenko victory. More than 29 million Ukrainians went to their polling places for a third time in two months to elect Viktor Yushchenko their new president by a vote of 51.99 percent to 44.2 percent. Yushchenko was inaugurated on January 23, 2005 after a few more weeks of unsuccessful legal maneuvering by Yanukovich.

While there appears to have been an air of inevitability about the success of the Orange Revolution in hindsight, any number of alternative scenarios were possible, especially had violence broken out. The fact that the crowds of demonstrators were extremely well disciplined helped to bring about a peaceful outcome. Moreover, many in the security forces visibly backed away from the use of force very early on in the demonstrations. Most important for the outcome of the Orange Revolution, people on all sides of the barricades understood the horrid conflagration that surely would have followed in the wake of any violence. In the end, the politics of compromise prevailed.

The Orange Revolution was without question a defining moment in recent Ukrainian history, and an event of international importance. What happened on the city’s streets during November and December 2004 both reconfigured the future of the Ukrainian capital as an urban community and, in very real ways, was a product of the city itself.

Kyiv literally shaped events firstly by its physical form. The city's main street—the Khreshchatyk—was rebuilt as one of the Soviet Union's premier examples of Stalinist urban planning following its total destruction during World War II. The avenue arose refreshed by huge, florid examples of totalitarian architecture matched in scale and extent only in parts of Moscow and East Berlin. Approximately one-third of the way along its route from what was once Komsomol (Young Communist League) Square in the east to Bessarabskaya Square in the west, the Khreshchatyk explodes outwards into a large square to be used for appropriately grand official Communist Party demonstrations.

This square was renamed Maydan Nezalezhnosti, or Independence Square, after 1991. Under the direction of Mayor Omelchenko and his administration, the Maydan became the site of an underground shopping complex and a “temporary” stage for rock concerts that was outfitted with stadium-size television screens and sound systems. The mayor sponsored closing the Khreshchatyk and the Maydan to vehicular traffic on Sundays, creating an enormous outdoor space for promenading. Kyvians adopted the entire area as their own, with upwards of half-a-million people strolling about, shopping and listening to music on any given Sunday.

As the participants in the Quito meeting appreciated, the Maydan was a perfect location for such a central public space. Nestled in a small valley among various fragments of the overall city (Pechersk, “Old Kyiv,” Bessarabka, etc.), the Maydan exerts a central gravitational force giving form and definition to Kyiv's urban life. Nearly all of the city's major institutions are located nearby. Apartment houses first built for prominent members of the Soviet regime similarly are close by, many occupied by residents ready to cook a warm meal to feed demonstrators camped on their doorsteps. Connected to the rest of the city by several subway and major bus lines, the Maydan had become the focal point for civic life well before demonstrators turned it orange. Protesters naturally headed straight for the Maydan on the night of November 21–22 when it appeared that someone was trying to steal the country's presidential election.

For Latin American urban specialists, Kyiv had been miraculously built as a perfect stage for revolution. As many participants in the Quito meeting understood, the political city joined with the physical city in support of efforts to bring Viktor Yushchenko to power. As already noted, the Kyiv City Council was among the first to reject the results of the November 21 presidential run-off being released by the Central Election Commission. Mayor Omelchenko went further, paying back Kuchma for the President's various attempts to drive him from office, by literally keeping the lights on in the Maydan. City officials kept the subways and busses running, the sound stage volume turned up high, the enormous stadium-sized television screens switched on. City officials spurred on revolution merely by operating as if all were normal.

The subject of how the Orange Revolution came about, whether it was really a “revolution,” and its ultimate meaning and legacy will be subjects of investigation and dispute for years—perhaps decades or even centuries—to come. These investigations and disputes will, of course, be of great interest to Ukrainians and to those who study and care about Ukraine. But they will also be important to anyone anywhere who is interested in how democratic institutions emerge and take root, in urban political drama, in successful and failed systemic reform. A subject properly considered to be “ours” by the core constituencies of the Kennan Institute, in fact, belongs to everyone.

For this reason, among many, the Orange Revolution reveals the ways in which the Kennan Institute has evolved and must continue to evolve into a stage for developing ideas which transcend the societies and geographic areas nominally of our central concern. Scholars at the Institute and speakers in our programs must tell the world why Russia, Ukraine, and other successor states to the Soviet Union matter. This is a challenge for all of us who worry about our field of study, as well as about our institute.



Baklanka (Vologda oblast'). Log house. (Photo: William Brumfield)

The attention of Quito, Ecuador was riveted on Kyiv, Ukraine for several days in late 2004. The Kennan Institute—and the Slavic studies field more generally—must have something worthy to say when the world’s attention turns our way, as it did last December. I am proud that we responded with vigor, imagination, and wisdom; I hope and trust we will do so when our time comes once again.

The pages that follow summarize what we have done this year. This has been a year in which everyone who has come to the Kennan Institute has been compelled to address wider audiences, to make our part of the world—and our intellectual concerns—meaningful to others. This task is perhaps even more demanding when hundreds of thousands of people are not in the streets of the capitals of “our” region, when daily life seems “normal.”

The 2004–05 program year was a very full year for the Institute. We hosted 101 events, including: conferences on the future of Russian studies, Russian and Soviet science, Russia’s integration with the West, European integration and urban history, economic growth and environmental security in Russia, commercial law reform in Russia and Eurasia, the Russo-Japanese War, and the European Union’s new eastern border; a Title VIII-Supported Research Workshop on migration in Central Eurasia; three international working groups supported by the CASE program; 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 61 residential scholars.

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 and Science of the Russian Federation; the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; the American Bar Association/Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative; the American Center, Moscow; Brock University; the Carter Center; the Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University; the Center for Russian Environmental Policy, Moscow; Dartmouth College; the Department of Politics, University of Glasgow; Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; the Finnish National Defense College Library; Georgia Southern University; the Goethe Institute, Boston; the Guest House, Helsinki University; the Harvard Project on Cold War Studies; the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; the Henry M. Jackson Foundation; Human Rights First; the Institute for Russian-American Economic Cooperation; the International House of Japan; International Research and Exchanges Board, Washington, D.C.; the London School of Economics; Los Alamos National Laboratory; the Military History Research Institute, Potsdam, Germany; the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University; the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER), Washington, D.C.; the Portsmouth Peace Treaty Anniversary Committee; the Renvall Institute, Helsinki University; *Rodina*; the Royal Canadian Military Institute; the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London; the Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Program, University of Washington; the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; the Slavonic Library of the Helsinki University Library; the Southern Conference of Slavic Studies; The Japan Foundation; The Washington Group; the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom; the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; United States Army Command and General Staff College; the University of Georgia; the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; the University of Wisconsin, Madison; the World Bank; the Yomiuri Shimbun Research Institute; and the Asia Program, Cold War International History Project, Comparative Urban Studies Project, Division of International Security Studies, East European Studies, Environmental Change and Security Project, Latin America Program, Middle East Program, and Science, Technology, America, and the Global Economy of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.



In closing, I would like to make special note of the Kennan Institute staff in Washington, Moscow, and Kyiv, without whom none of the accomplishments of the past year would have been possible. I have had the incommensurable good fortune of working with a group of individuals over the past year who have consistently set a high standard to which I can only aspire. Ekaterina Alekseeva, Summer Brown, Joseph Dresen, Jennifer Giglio, Renata Harmatyi, Erin Hofmann, Pavel Korolev, Edita Krunkaityte, Galina Levina, Murad Pateev, Margaret Paxson, Irina Petrova, Yaroslav Pylinsky, Anna Toker, S. Todd Weinberg, and Megan Yasenchak have been true colleagues. Thecla Frazier, Nancy Popson, and Atiq Sarwari, who have left the Institute this past year, are already missed. I value deeply their collective and individual intelligence, imagination, integrity, and good cheer. All who care about the Kennan Institute are in their debt.

Blair A. Ruble
October 1, 2005

In Memoriam George F. Kennan, 1904–2005

Kennan Institute co-founder George F. Kennan passed away on March 17, 2005, at the age of 101. Professor Kennan was a leading public servant who exerted a remarkable influence over U.S. foreign policy at a critical moment in our history, and was a great figure in twentieth century American letters who contributed profoundly to international scholarship through the remarkable depth of his understanding of Russia. Together with then-

Wilson Center Director James Billington and historian S. Frederick Starr, he established the Kennan Institute in December 1974. Professor Kennan envisioned the Institute as a place where scholars, policymakers, and the public could discuss all aspects of Russian studies—from politics and economics to history and literature. The Kennan Institute strives to honor the legacy of this great American scholar and diplomat.

The following are excerpts from the remarks of Blair A. Ruble at the memorial service for George F. Kennan, held at the National Cathedral in Washington D.C., on 6 April 2005: I think all of us who have worked at the Kennan Institute over the years have understood that being at the Institute is something more than a job. Indeed, all of us at the Kennan Institute and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of which it is a part

have been asked by one of the most influential gentleman of the twentieth century to carry his vision of the world forward into the twenty-first century. We have all been honored by the opportunity that Professor Kennan has given us by making this request.

What I did not fully understand until recently, is that we are also a symbol of—and I would hope a careful steward of—Professor Kennan’s special relationship with Russia. That relationship stood at the core of all of his writings about the country, especially following World War II when so much was uncertain.

Few policy documents have exerted the impact on American foreign policy that George F. Kennan’s “long telegram” did in February 1946. Professor Kennan wrote his famous communication long hand over the course of a weekend. His ability to prepare such a forceful policy statement nonetheless rested on years of study of Russian history and culture as a postgraduate student at the University of Berlin during the early 1920s, and subsequently as an analyst posted in the American Embassy in Riga during the early 1930s. He went on to help open the U.S. Embassy in Moscow later in the decade, and published some delightful recollections of what it was like to be in Spaso House—the official residence of the American Ambassador in Moscow—at a time when half-crazed Soviet agents were still living in the attic overhead.



Belozersk. Church of the Dormition. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Professor Kennan had been asked to set out the possible parameters of future American policy during a postwar period of deteriorating U.S.-Soviet relations. One can only imagine the effort it took on Monday morning to have that very long telegram entered into code before being sent back to Washington. The document was so unwieldy, in fact, that Professor Kennan found it necessary to begin with a courtly apology for “burdening the telegraphic channel.”

Reading the long telegram today, it becomes clear that Professor Kennan was able to respond so compellingly to a policy assignment from his superiors because he had already devoted a lifetime to the study of the historical and cultural factors shaping Soviet behavior. More than nearly every other American of his era, he had climbed inside the Russian being.

Russians, of course, appreciate his profound understanding of their country and culture better than anyone else. Mikhail Gorbachev perhaps best captured this special relationship between Kennan and Russia when he told Professor Kennan, “We in our country believe that a man may be the friend of another country and remain, at the same time, a loyal and devoted citizen of his own; and that is the way we view you.”

One of the many privileges of being director of the Kennan Institute has been the experience of watching how Russians greeted Professor Kennan’s 100th birthday just a year ago. At a gathering organized by the Russian alumni of the Kennan Institute, then Duma Deputy Aleksei Arbatov noted that “Kennan...as no one else, felt the enduring, deep connection between internal and external Russian life,” while Academician Nikolai Bolkhovitinov observed that Professor Kennan’s “deep knowledge of contemporary Russian life, Russian history, and Russia, together with his affection for Chekhov and Leo Tolstoi, went hand in hand with his hatred toward the Soviet system imposed by Joseph Stalin.”

I am only now coming to understand that Professor Kennan not only helped Americans of the past to define a way of thinking about Russia that could foresee an end of the Soviet Union; he is helping many Russians of today think about their own history in a way which can combine both pride in Russian achievement and moral censure for all that the Soviet regime represented.



Ustiuzhna. Church of the Kazan Icon of the Mother of God.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

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 three or four years and represent various regions of Russia and Ukraine. The members during the 2004–05 program year were:

Kennan Institute Advisory Council

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*The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Advisory Council members Thomas W. Simons, Jr., Oleksiy Haran, John Tedstrom, and Heinrich Vogel. We greatly appreciate all their hard work.

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*The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Council members Iurii Baturin, Vladimir Iakimets, and Revekka Voulfovich. We greatly appreciate all their hard work.

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KENNAN COUNCIL

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

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

Kennan Council

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SCHOLARS

The Kennan Institute's residential fellowship program supports outstanding research on Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities. During the 2004–05 program year, the Institute hosted nine types of grants: Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowships, Galina Starovoitova Fellowships on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Senior Scholarships, Senior Policy Scholarships, Public Policy Scholarships, Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholarships, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholarships, Central Eurasian Short-Term (CEST) grants, and Short-Term grants. The competitive application process is open to qualified academic scholars as well as practitioners from government, media, and the private sector. All programs 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 and public lecture programs of the Institute.

During the 2004–05 program year, the Kennan Institute hosted 61 resident scholars whose work included topics in politics, sociology, history, literature, economics, and the arts throughout the former Soviet Union. The scholars at the Kennan Institute during the past year came from around the world and formed a community of scholars who 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 particularly benefited from being able to access Kennan Institute's library holdings. I will mention in particular multi-year collections of periodicals on Soviet/post-Soviet topics...All in all, I found Kennan to be a very productive and stimulating research environment and greatly appreciate the opportunity to have been a short-term resident.”

Sada Aksartova, March 2005

Galina Starovoitova Fellows on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

Valentin Gafter, General Director, Human Rights Institute, Moscow. "Post-Soviet Political Persecutions in CIS Countries: New Context for Rule of Law." March–June 2005.

Davlat Khudonazarov, President, "FOCUS" Humanitarian Foundation, Moscow. "The Problems of Human Rights: A Case Study of Tajik Immigrants in Russia." October 2004–April 2005.

Grigorii Pasko, Editor-in-Chief, *Environment and Human Rights*, Moscow. "Role of Defending Lawyer in Criminal Cases Related to State Secrets." October 2004–April 2005.

Public Policy Scholars

Rodric Braithwaite, former British Ambassador to the Soviet Union/Russian Federation. "Moscow 1941: A City and Its People at War." April–June 2005.

Igor Grazin, Vice Rector for Development and International Relations, University Nord, Estonia. "The Formation of New Parliamentary and Political Structures in the Late USSR." December 2004–February 2005.

Kelly Kivler, Foreign Service Officer, and participant, Exceptional Analyst/Intelligence Officer Program, U.S. Department of State. "The Political and Social Impact of the Development of Islam in Central Asia." April–August 2005.

Rolf Tamnes, Director, Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies. "Russia in U.S. Petroleum Policy: The Barents Regional Dimension." September 2005–February 2006.

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 funding for a memorial fellowship at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in honor of Galina Starovoitova. The Fellowship is funded and administered in cooperation with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State and the Public Affairs office of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Galina Starovoitova was a leading human rights advocate and a deputy in the Russian lower house of parliament (Duma). She won her Duma seat from St. Petersburg in Russia's December 1995 legislative elections. Starovoitova served in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies during 1989–1991 and was a presidential advisor on ethnic relations until 1992. She was a co-founder of the Democratic Russia movement. In 1989, Galina Starovoitova was a visiting scholar at the Kennan Institute. She was also a fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program at the United States Institute for Peace during 1993–1994, where she completed research on self-determination movements in the former Soviet Union, 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

Davlat Khudonazarov, October 2004–April 2005

Grigorii Pasko, October 2004–April 2005

Senior Policy Scholar Senior Scholar

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

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

"Generally, my stay at the Kennan Institute has been quite productive and very pleasant, for which I'm deeply grateful to all the people both of the Kennan Institute and the Wilson Center."

Olga Demidova, February 2005

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellows

Marta Dyczok, Associate Professor, Departments of History and Political Science, University of Western Ontario, and Fellow, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto. "What Role Does Mass Media Play in Post-Communist Ukraine?" September 2005–June 2006.

Ilya Gaiduk, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "The Soviet Union and the United States at the United Nations During the Cold War." September 2005–June 2006.

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

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

Joseph Harahan, Senior Historian, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, U.S. Department of Defense. "With Courage and Persistence...the United States, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine and the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program 1992–2004." September 2005–June 2006.

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

Marlene Laruelle, Postdoctoral Fellow, French Institute for Central Asian Studies, Tashkent. "The Teaching of Nationalism Among Russia's Higher Education System: Cultural Determinism as a Response to Globalization?" September 2005–June 2004.

Research Scholars

Steven Barnes, Assistant Professor, Department of History, George Mason University. "Behind Barbed Wire: Daily Life in the Soviet Gulag." August–December 2005.

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

Eric Lohr, Assistant Professor, Department of History, American University. "Citizenship in Imperial and Revolutionary Russia." January–September 2005.

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

Jessica Allina-Pisano, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Colgate University. "Politics and Property Rights Under Neoliberalism: Land Reform in Post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine." January–June 2005.



Korolevskaya village (Vologda oblast'). Bolotova house. (Photo: William Brumfield)

“I found the Kennan Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center to be an excellent place to work. I particularly appreciated the opportunity to become acquainted with the community of scholars affiliated with Kennan and the other programs at the Center. I have developed collegial relationships here which I expect to maintain throughout my career, and I was especially glad to have met colleagues from throughout Russia and Ukraine. Some of my senior colleagues at the Center were exceptionally generous with their time and guidance, and the fact that Kennan is housed within the Wilson Center makes the intellectual life Kennan offers particularly attractive.”

Jessica Allina-Pisano, June 2005

Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholars

Olga Demidova, Professor, Department of Literature, St. Petersburg State Pedagogical University. “Compiling the History of the Russian Writers’ Unions in Exile.” September 2004–March 2005.

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

Igor Kiselev, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Social and Political Science, Yaroslavl’ State University. “Stage Image and the Framing of Foreign Policy in Crisis Situations.” March–September 2005.

Pavlo Kyrpenko, Consultant, Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv. “Afghanistan and U.S. Foreign Policy 1991–2003.” September 2004–March 2005.

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.

Tetyana Mykhed, Chair of Theory of Foreign Languages, Department of Philology, Borys Hrynchenko Kyiv Municipal Pedagogical University. “Puritan Discourse of American Romantic Literature.” September 2005–March 2006.

Lyudmyla Pavlyuk, Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism, Ivan Franko National University, L’viv. “Discourses of Extremes: Public Sphere and Formation of Ukrainian Identity.” March–September 2005.

Nataliya Petrova, Senior Media Law Expert, Top Media Project, Odesa. “Familiarization with American Civil Liberties Union’s Work Experience in Individual Liberties/Civil Rights Defense.” September 2005–March 2006.

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

Tatiana Samsonova, Professor, Department of Sociology, Moscow State University. "Political Socialization and Civic Education for the 21st Century: Russia and the U.S." September 2005–March 2006.

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

Viacheslav Shironin, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Socio-Economic Analysis and Private Sector Development, Moscow. "Small Business in Russia: Researching the Blank Spots and Correcting the Misconceptions." March–September 2005.

Boris Shpotov, Senior Research Fellow, Center for North American Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Archival and Library Research on American Technical Assistance to USSR in 1920–30s." March–September 2005.

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–April 2005.

Mikhail Troitskiy, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy of Russia, Moscow State Institute of International Relations. "Exploring Possibilities for a Sustained U.S.-Russian Partnership: Cooperation

and Conflict in the U.S. and Russian Institution Building Projects in Eastern Europe and Central Eurasia." August 2005–February 2006.

Sufian Zhemukhov, Associate Professor, Department of Social and Humanities Education, Kabardino-Balkarian State University, Nalchik. "Caucasus in American Historiography." September 2005–March 2006.

"I am very grateful to the Kennan Institute for granting me this opportunity to work for an uninterrupted period of 30 days while using the great resources in Washington, D.C."

Dariusz Tolczyk, January 2005

Short-Term Scholars

Fatimakhon Ahmedova, Lecturer, Faculty of Law, Khujand State University, Tajikistan. "Reforming Juvenile Justice in Tajikistan." November–December 2004.

Sada Aksartova, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, Princeton University. "Civil Society from Abroad: Western Donors in the Former Soviet Union." February–March 2005.

Sharyl Cross, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, San Jose State University and Professor, Department of Political Science, U.S. Air Force Academy. "Russian-American Cooperation and Conflict in the War on Terrorism." April, November–December 2004.

David Engerman, Assistant Professor of History, Brandeis University and Research Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University. "Know Your Enemy: American Sovietology and the Making of the Cold War." July 2005.

Gordon Hahn, independent scholar, CA. "Putin's Federative Reforms: Provoking Communalism and Radical Islam." January–February 2005.

Bohdan Harasymiw, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Calgary, Canada. "Soviet Bureaucratic Survivors in Post-Soviet Ukraine, 1992–2002." June 2005.

Jane Harris, Professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Pittsburgh. "The Reality

Behind the Fiction: The Status of Social Services in Russia Today." August–September 2005.

Barbara Janusz, Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Law, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland. "The Current International Legal Status of the Caspian Sea." May–June 2005.

Samvel Jeshmaridian, Professor, Department of Pedagogy and Psychology, Yerevan Acharian University, Armenia. "Feminism and Globalization." September 2005.

Richard Krickus, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Mary Washington College, VA. "The Nationalities Question, Social Science Theory and U.S. Policy Toward the USSR." December 2004.

“The staff and the scholars at the Wilson Center were most helpful in organizing the best conditions for researching. The atmosphere of creativity, mutual sharing of ideas and openness was extremely beneficial for productive research.”

Yaroslav Senyk, March 2005

Olga Kutuzova, Director, International Investment Center, Yaroslavl', Russia. "Running in Russia-Running in the U.S.: Comparative Study of Political Campaigns of Women." November 2004.

James Libbey, Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University. "Russian Naval Aviator Alexander P. De Seversky Comes to America." May 2005.

Oleg Lystopad, Journalist and Researcher, Ukrainian NGO "MAMA-86," Kyiv. "Phenomenon of Holy Wells: Deeper Analysis." October–November 2004.

Olga Malinova, Leading Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, Institute of Scientific Information in Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and Vice-President, Russian Political Science Association. "The Images of 'the West' in the Discussions About Perspectives of Modernization in Russia: Westernism vs. Anti-Westernism and Competing Models of National Identity." March 2005.

Oleksandr Mosiyuk, Director of Research, Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, Kyiv. "Political

Parties' Activities: Application of Western Countries Experience for Ukraine." August 2005.

Andrew Newman, Research Fellow, Global Terrorism Research Unit, Monash University, Clayton, Australia. "U.S. Attitudes to Russian Security Assistance: The Limits of Cooperation." November–December 2004.

Natalia Pervukhina, Associate Professor, Department of Modern Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Tennessee. "The Life and Thought of Vladimir Pecherin: A Niche in Russian Intellectual History." November–December 2004.

Vera Peshkova, Researcher, Center for Sociological Education, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Multiculturalism: Policy Response to Diversity or Social Practices? The Russian Case." February 2005.

William Risch, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Geography, Georgia College and State University. "A Soviet Window to the West: Empire, Nationhood, and Cultural Resistance in the Western Borderlands, 1953–1985." July 2005.

Matthew Romaniello, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Hamilton College. "The Incorporation of a Russian Frontier, 1552–1672." August and December, 2004.

Thomas Sanders, Associate Professor, Department of History, U.S. Naval Academy. "Petr Stolypin and Late Tsarist Reform in Comparative Perspective." March–April 2005.

Alexander Sungurov, Professor, Department of Political Science, St. Petersburg State University and Director, Center for Civil Education and Human Rights at St. Petersburg State University. "Ombudsman Institute in Post-Authoritarian Countries." March 2005.

Dariusz Tolczyk, Associate Professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Virginia. "Live and Testify: Literary Witnesses to the Soviet Camp Experience." December 2004–January 2005.

Patrick Vaughan, Assistant Professor, Akademia Pedagogiczna, Krakow, Poland. "The Public Career of Zbigniew Brzezinski." June 2005.

“The Wilson Center is one of those places which deliver on promises. Rarely have I been exposed to such a wide variety of opinions and ideas, spiced with good will, intellectual tolerance and friendly atmosphere.”

Alexei Stukanov, March 2005

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 institutions and individual scholars. The goal of the CASE program is to develop an "invisible university" that would foster these networks in the social sciences and humanities. The program is administered jointly by the Kennan Institute and the ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.) in Moscow, and directed by an international advisory board.

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

Nine thematic Centers have been established at regional Russian universities:

Far Eastern National University (Vladivostok), "Russia and the Asia-Pacific Region: Comprehensive Security, Conflicts, and Cooperation in the 21st Century;"

Irkutsk State University, "Siberia in Russia and in the World: Challenges to Development Strategies;"

Kaliningrad State University (Baltic CASE), "Russia and Europe: Past, Present, Future;"

Novgorod State University, "State, Society, and Individual in the Russian Cultural Context: Values Dimension;"

Rostov State University, "Russia's Modernization Problems;"

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

Tomsk State University, "Eurasian Frontier: Inter-Cultural Community and Communication System;"

Urals State University (Ekaterinburg), "Tolerance in Contemporary Civilization;"

Voronezh State University, "Dialogue and Continuity among Cultures in Contemporary Society."

CASE Workshops

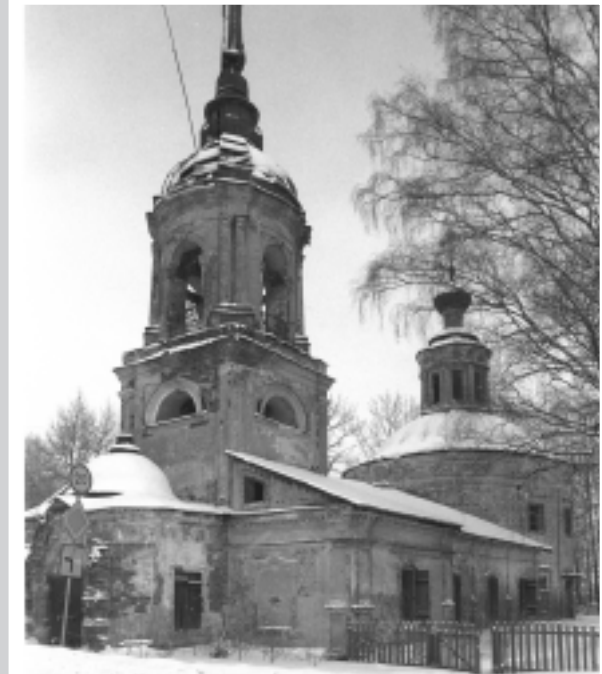
In an effort to restore the status of regional universities as leaders of intellectual development in Russia and to integrate regional communities into contemporary Russian and global intellectual circles, the CASEs, ISE Center, the Kennan Institute, and other partner organizations are now taking a more focused approach to facilitating international cooperation for CASE research projects. For example, the Kennan Institute has established three working groups made up of CASE-affiliated scholars (including representatives of programs similar to the CASE program from Belarus and the Caucasus states), highly esteemed Russian scholars from Moscow and St. Petersburg, and preeminent specialists in the social sciences and humanities from the West (beyond Russian studies specialists). For many of the Western scholars, this project is serving as their first interaction with CASEs and, more broadly, with colleagues from the former Soviet Union. Each of the three working groups is made up of approximately twelve members and is led by one Russian specialist and one non-Russian specialist. The workshops are designed to engage scholars from around the globe who are involved in similar research and to deepen CASE interaction with the international academic community.

Three working groups have been formed around broad themes relevant to the CASE themes. The "Globalization, Security, and Identity in Russia" workshop focused on the many aspects of globalization, including the contradictions and ambiguities that accompany the process. By looking closely at regional questions, at questions of society in flux, and at foreign policy, participants were able to grapple with broader theoretical questions about globalization and to examine the common assumptions that underlie much current thinking on globalization.

The "Diverse Cultures in Contemporary Society" workshop explored the implications of increasing cultural diversity in Russia and the broader post-Soviet region. These countries have been home to diverse linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and religious groups for centuries, and extensive post-Soviet migration has only increased the number of number of different groups living in close proximity to one another, particularly in cities. Workshop participants explored the complexities, risks, and benefits of cultural diversity, both in the post-Soviet region and in other diverse societies.

The "State and Society in Transition" workshop focused the meaning and implications of political, economic, and societal transition, an issue of particular importance for the post-Soviet region. The group discussed the nature of state and society during periods of transition. They also examined different forms of governance and issues of culture and nationalism. Some participants presented specific case studies from different countries in the region, which allowed the group to explore the similarities and differences between transitional societies.

Each of the three working groups will meet twice—the preliminary meetings took place in Russia during Spring 2005 and follow-up meetings are planned for Fall 2005 and Winter 2006. The format for the workshop meetings is based on a model which the Institute has successfully implemented many times over the past decade. The first meeting in each workshop series served as a forum for the participants to present their recent research. Themes presented at the first workshop will serve as the basis for new or revised research to be completed by the time of the second workshop meeting. Shortly after the second meeting, the group will work to produce an English-language edited volume for publication. The Institute's past experience with working groups has shown that the combination of tightly focused shared research interests and the publication of a volume with a major university press as a common objective has helped to nurture a number of vital communities of scholars. Similar efforts involving the CASEs will create new networks of researchers with shared interests which will reach into the individual CASE universities.



Vologda. Church at Sloboda. (Photo: William Brumfield)

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

The CASE program seeks to promote advanced research in the social sciences and humanities in Russia through a system of grants for visiting professors, library and publications support, and professional community-building efforts. To date, over 3,500 scholars from across Russia have benefited from the CASE program, either through direct fellowships or through engagement in CASE programs. Each CASE has built up a substantial library of Russian and foreign literature related to its intellectual theme.

During the next phase of the CASE program, the CASEs will focus more on specific social, cultural, economic, and other issues in the regions in which they are located. They will also place a strong emphasis upon the development of the network of contacts among CASEs (and CASE-affiliated scholars) to promote the network's status as a leading association of research institutes with uniform standards. The CASE network will be positioned, both at home and abroad, as a unique network of contemporary research institutes which could potentially serve as a model to be replicated by higher education establishments in other countries. CASE program leaders will develop a system of distributing best practices. Another priority for the next phase of the program will be more active distribution of the results of CASE research projects in Russia and abroad, through presentation of CASE research at various conferences, participation in cooperative projects with international partners, and publication in international academic journals. There will be an effort to increase the number of applied research projects the CASEs take on, with the goal of paying particular attention to local social structures, businesses, and municipal, regional, and federal government structures, in order to ensure connections are being made between academic research and the practical needs of the regions. Finally, CASEs will work more closely with the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. The Ministry will be encouraged to take full advantage of the CASE network, towards the goal of modernizing the Russian educational system. Many of Russia's major regions are represented in the CASE program, making the network ideal as a system of sites for international cooperation and educational reforms.

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

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MEETINGS

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

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

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

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"With Strategic Partners Like This, Who Needs Enemies? Russia Considers the 'Threat' from China,"

Matthew Ouimet, Foreign Affairs Research Analyst, Office of Analysis for Russia and Eurasia, U.S. Department of State, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 2004

SEMINAR

"Health and Demographics in Russia and the Consequences for Russian Society and Policy"

Commemorating the 75th birthday of Murray Feshbach, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center

Peter Hartsock, Director Research Scientist Officer, National Institute on Drug Abuse, National Institute of

Health; **Judyth Twigg**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Virginia Commonwealth University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute;

Harley Balzer, Associate Professor, Department of Government and School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **John Hardt**, Senior Specialist of Post-Soviet Economics, Congressional Research Service; and Adjunct Professor, Department of Economics, George Washington University.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"Ukraine on the Eve of Presidential Elections," **Gene Fishel**, Senior Analyst, U.S. Department of State.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 2004

BOOK LAUNCH

"Politics, Paradigms and Intelligence Failures: Why So Few Predicted the Collapse of the Soviet Union,"

Ofira Seliktar, Adjunct Professor of Jewish Studies, Temple University, and Adjunct Professor, Gratz College.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"Orthodox Bulldozer: Art and Church in Putin's Russia," **Konstantin Akinsha**, Contributing Editor, *ARTnews*, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

FRIDAY-SUNDAY,

OCTOBER 29-31, 2004

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the University of Georgia

Intelligentsia: Russian and Soviet Science on the World Stage, 1860–1960

Welcome

Betty Jean Craige, Director, Center for Humanities and Arts, University of Georgia; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; “The Russian Academy of Sciences in Historical and Comparative Perspective,” **Loren R. Graham**, Professor of the History of Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Panel I

“Transits and Transitions—Russian Astronomy and Politics in 1874,” **Simon Werrett**, Assistant Professor of History, University of Washington; “The First Steps of Astrophysics in the USSR: The Moscow Astrophysical Institute,” **Konstantin Ivanov**, Associate Professor of Physics, Tula State Pedagogical University; “Science in the City: The Founding of the Moscow Polytechnic Museum,” **Joseph Bradley**, Professor of History, University of Tulsa.

Panel II

“The Contested Legacies of Il’ia Il’ich Mechnikov/Elie Metchnikoff/Elias Metschnikov,” **Elizabeth Hachten**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater; “Taming the Primitive: Elie Metchnikov and His Discovery of Immune Cells,” **Kirill Rossiianov**, Researcher, Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; “A ‘Classic’ in Émigré Status: The Curious Intellectual Authority of Sergei Vinogradskii in the 1930s,” **Lloyd Ackert**, Library Intern, Yale University.

Panel III

“Struggle between ‘National’ and ‘International’ Parties in the Russian Scientific Community in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” **Olga Valkova**, Researcher, Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow;

“Nationalism and the Foundation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences,” **Elizabeth Haigh**, Professor of History, St. Mary’s University.

Panel IV

“Laboratory Life before and after 1917: The Case of Ivan Pavlov,” **Daniel Todes**, Professor, History of Medicine Department, Johns Hopkins University; “Chemistry in the Soviet Union under Stalin,” **Nathan Brooks**, Professor, Department of History, New Mexico State University; “The Nazis, Lysenko, and Seeds: Devastation of Soviet Plant Breeding Institutions during WWII,” **Olga Elina**, Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Lunch Lecture

“The Dog That Did Not Bark during the Night: The ‘Normalcy’ of Russian, Soviet, and post-Soviet Science and Technology,” **Jonathan Coopersmith**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Texas A&M University.

Panel V

“Organic Bolshevism: Beyond Marx and the Enlightenment, 1880–1920,” **Anna Krylova**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Duke University; “Marxism and Quantum Controversy: Responding to Max Jammer’s Question,” **Olival Freire, Jr.**, Professor, Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, Brazil, and Visiting Scholar, Dibner Institute, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Panel VI

“Envisioning and Mythologizing the Cosmos: K.E. Tsiolkovskii, Russian Popular Culture, and the Roots of Soviet Cosmonautics, 1880–1935,” **James T. Andrews**, Associate Professor of History, Iowa State University; “Science outside the Academy: Konstantin Tsiolkovskii and his Alternative Discursive Network,” **Asif A. Siddiqi**, Ph.D. candidate,

Department of History, Carnegie Mellon University; “The New Soviet Man in a Man-Machine System: The Technical Intelligentsia, Automatic Control, and the Space Race,” **Slava Gerovitch**, Research Affiliate, Dibner Institute, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Panel VII

“Statistics as Social Criticism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Russia,” **Susan Smith-Peter**, Professor, Department of History, College of Staten Island/CUNY; “A.S. Esenin-Vol’pin and the Origins of the Soviet Human Rights Movement,” **Benjamin Nathans**, Associate Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania.

Panel VIII

“Russian and German Universities during World War I,” **Trude Maurer**, Professor, Department of Philosophy, Universitat Gottingen, Germany; “Technology Transfer from the Soviet Union to P.R. China in the 1950s,” **Baichun Zhang**, Researcher, Institute for History of Natural Sciences, China; “From the USSR to the Nile Valley: Landscapes from Above,” **Elizabeth Bishop**, Lecturer, Department of History, University of Texas at Austin.

Panel IX

“Vladimir Shukhov and the Invention of Hyperboloid Structures,” **Elizabeth English**, Associate Professor, College of Engineering, Louisiana State University; “Ebbs and Flows: International Communications in the Russian and Soviet Control Engineering Communities, 1890–1960,” **Chris Bissell**, Professor of Telematics and Head, Department of Information and Communications Technologies, Open University, U.K.; “Setting the Stage for Nuclear Power: How International Arguments Shaped the Identity of Soviet Technical Intelligentsia,” **Sonja Schmid**, Ph.D. candidate, Science and Technology Studies, Cornell University.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series

"Revisiting **A History of Russian Architecture**: the Challenge of Defining an Overlooked Discipline," **William Craft Brumfield**, Professor of Slavic Studies, Tulane University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 2004

SEMINAR

"Stalin and His Inner Circle,"

Vladimir Shamberg, independent scholar, Alexandria, VA.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2004

SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs; the Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University; and the Department of Politics, University of Glasgow.
Chatham House, London

Russia's Reengagement with the West: Transformation and Integration in a New Era

Roy Allison, Head, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs, U.K.; **Deana Arsenian**, Senior Program Officer, International Peace and Security Project, Carnegie Corporation of New York; **Bojana Blagojevic**, Research Assistant, Center for Global Change and Governance, Rutgers University; **Pilar Bonet**, correspondent, *El Pais*, Moscow, and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Sophia Clement**, Institute of Political Science, Paris; **Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Philip Hanson**, Professor of the Political Economy of Russia & Eastern Europe, University of Birmingham; **Stephan Kux**, Senior Lecturer on Political Science, University of Zurich; **Margot Light**, Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics; **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; **Elena Nemirovskaya**, Director, Moscow School of Political Studies; **Oleksandr Pavliuk**, Senior External Co-operation Officer, Office of the Secretary General, OSCE, Vienna, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Alex Pravda**, Director, Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford University; **Alexander Rahr**, Program Director, Korber Unit, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Yuri Senokosov**, Director, Publishing Program, Moscow School of Political Studies; **Lilia Shevtsova**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center; **Angela Stent**, National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia, National Intelligence Council, and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; **Elizabeth Teague**, Researcher, Ministry of Defense, United Kingdom; **Jan Zielonka**, Professor of Political Science, European University Institute, Florence.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"Caught in the Maelstrom: Perceptions of the Populace in Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Iraq," **Anne Nivat**, author and journalist, Moscow.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 2004

ALUMNI SEMINAR

Kharkiv

International Migration and Cross-Ethnic Relations in Slobozhanshchina

"Ukraine on Global Migration Crossroads: Slobozhanshchina Case," **Oleksandr Fisun**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Kharkiv National University; Research Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies; Chair, Kennan

Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Euroregion 'Slobozhanshchina' as the New Model of Cooperation in Russian-Ukrainian Relations," **Alexei Kiriukhin**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Russian Studies, National Institute for Strategic Studies, Kharkiv; "External Labor Migrations of Population in the Russian-Ukrainian Frontier Region," **Oleksandr Khomra**, Professor, National Institute for Problems of International Security, Kyiv; "Migration Situation in Kharkiv Region in 2003 and its Short-term Perspectives," **Nataliya Zaiats**, Director, Department of Nationality Affairs and Migrations, Kharkiv Regional State Administration; "New Tendencies in Frontier Cooperation of CIS Countries," **Sergey Yermolaev**, Head, Information Centre "Kharkiv," Administration of State Border Guard Service; and **Leonid Vardomskii**, Professor and Head, Center of Post-Soviet Economic Development and Political Studies, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow; "Cross-Ethnic Relations in Slobozhanshchina: History Retrospection," **Sergei Kudelko**, Professor, Department of Historiography and Archeology, Kharkiv National University; "Eurointegration as a Way to Legitimate Post-Soviet Regional Elites," **Oleksandr Litvinenko**, Professor and Deputy Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies; "Labor Migration to the East as One of the Most Important Issues for Eastern Ukrainian Territories," **Viktor Stepanenko**, Associate Professor, University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; Deputy of Head of Department of History, Theory and Methodology of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences; and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Cross-Ethnic Relations in the Context of Consolidation of Ukrainian Democracy: Slobozhansky Dimension," **Marina Shapovalenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Political Studies, Kharkiv University of Internal Affairs;



Moscow. Lobkova-Golitsyn house. State bedroom. (Photo: William Brumfield)

"Ukrainian Workers in Western European Countries," **Viktor Pasisnichenko**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Political Studies, Kharkiv University of Internal Affairs, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Non-traditional Migrants in Kyiv," **Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, Director, Kennan Kyiv Project.

Monday, November 15, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"The Information Revolution in Russia: How IT is Changing Industry, Government, and Society," **D.J. Peterson**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation.

WEDNESDAY-SATURDAY,
NOVEMBER 17-20, 2004
CONFERENCE
Seattle, WA

Cosponsored by the Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Program, University of Washington; the Henry M. Jackson Foundation; the Institute for Russian-American Economic Cooperation; and the Title VIII Program of the U.S. Department of State.

**The Russian Studies Symposium:
Opening Doors in the Decade
Ahead**

Opening Lecture

Jack F. Matlock, Jr., former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR.

Welcome and Introductions

Anand Yang, Director, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; **Lara Iglitzin**, Executive Director, Henry M. Jackson Foundation; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Herbert J. Ellison**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington; Director, Eurasia Policy Studies, National Bureau of Asian Research; and former Director, Kennan Institute.

**State of the Field: Expert
Perspectives on Russian Studies
in the 21st Century**

Moderator: **Stephen E. Hanson**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, and Director, Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Program, Jackson

School of International Studies, University of Washington, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Robert Huber, President, National Council on Eurasian and East European Research; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE-Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; **James Millar**, Professor of Economics and International Affairs, and Director, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Carol Saivetz**, Research Associate, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, and Executive Director, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; **Angela Stent**, National Intelligence Officer for Russian and Eurasia, National Intelligence Council, and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University.

*Breakout Session #1: Discussion
Moderated by Panel Co-Chairs
Blair A. Ruble*, Director, Kennan

Institute; **Genna Lozovsky**, Managing Director, Delta Capital Management; **Angela Stent**, National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia, National Intelligence Council, and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; **Gerson Sher**, Founding President and Advisory Council Member, Civilian Research and Development Foundation.

Breakout Session #2: Key Problems for Russian Studies

"How Should Russia Specialists Influence Policy?" **Angela Stent**, National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia, National Intelligence Council, and Director,

Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; "Career Training in the New Russian Studies," **Genna Lozovsky**, Managing Director, Delta Capital Management; "The Challenge of Fundraising and Funding Priorities," **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; and **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE-Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; "Engaging the Community: Why Should Ordinary People Care?" **Gerson Sher**, Founding President and Advisory Council Member, Civilian Research and Development Foundation.

Public Welcome

Stephen E. Hanson, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, and Director, Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

"Russian Studies Then and Now: Personal Stories and Case Studies"

James Collins, Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia; **George Kolt**, former Analyst, CIA; **George Russell**, The Threshold Group and Russell Investment Group.

Russian Governance

Following Russian President Vladimir Putin's landslide reelection to his second term in March 2004, there were few obstacles to his political power left within Russia. United Russia, Putin's party, held over two-thirds of the seats in the Russian Duma. Russia's major television channels had been brought under state control. Following the arrest of Russia's wealthiest businessman, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, on fraud and tax evasion charges the previous fall, other Russian business leaders grew cautious of opposing the Kremlin. In the months following Putin's reelection, concern grew among many Russia watchers that Putin's efforts to recentralize power back into Kremlin hands had transformed into a drive for authoritarian control.

Over the past program year, the Kennan Institute has hosted a number of events looking into the question of Russian governance and the implications for Russia. In January, former Moscow Bureau Chiefs **Peter Baker** and **Susan Glasser** spoke on their four years of experience in Moscow, arguing that Putin had always been hostile to liberal democracy and instead believed that greater state control would be better for Russia and its people. The debate over Russia's course was rejoined in a seminar in February with **Nicolai Petro** (University of Rhode Island) and **Michael McFaul** (Stanford University). Petro argued that the Kremlin is attempting to harness the development of business and social institutions in a way that would serve the Russian state. In this effort, the Kremlin's view is that the FSB, the successor agency to the KGB, would provide "an alternative managerial elite, one that while professionally less competent than private managers, has the benefit of being committed to the welfare of the state, and can be relied on to administer national assets for the good of the country as a whole." McFaul countered that Putin's efforts had eroded pluralism in Russian society in an effort to gain greater control, representing "a fundamental misconception about states in the 21st century." Developmental authoritarianism might be a successful strategy for turning rural societies into industrial societies, he contended, but Russia's goal is not industrialization—it is the development of a post-modern, information-based economy.

Those who are concerned that Russia is becoming more authoritarian often point to the Putin administration ending direct elections of governors in Russia's regions as an issue of concern. Under this initiative, implemented in the wake of the terrorist attack on the school in Beslan in 2004, governors are now chosen on the basis of presidential appointment subject to ratification by the regional legislature. In April, former Kennan Institute Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar **Andrew Konitzer** (Baylor University) explained the reform and gave a cautious appraisal of its likely impact. He noted that the previous electoral system was not ideal, as incumbent politicians and business elites were able to dominate local politics, and that so far dire predictions that Putin would replace all regional executives with loyal cadres have not been realized. In his view, it is an open question whether the new system will prove more successful in terms of promoting accountability, and in any case it represents a setback for democracy in Russia.

Reports from Panel Co-Chairs
"How Should Russia Specialists Influence Policy?" **Angela Stent**, National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia, National Intelligence Council, and Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University; "Engaging the Community: Why Should Ordinary People Care?" **Gerson Sher**, Founding President and Advisory Council Member, Civilian Research and Development Foundation; "Career Training in the New Russian Studies," **Genna Lozovsky**, Managing Director, Delta Capital Management; "The Challenge of Fundraising and Funding Priorities in the U.S. and Russia," **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE-Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow.

Open Discussion: "Where Do We Go From Here?"

Herbert J. Ellison, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington, and former Secretary, Kennan Institute; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, ISE-Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; **Robert Huber**, National Council on Eurasian and East European Studies; **Pamela Spratlen**, Diplomat in Residence, East West Center.

Concluding Comments: "A Call to Action"

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Stephen E. Hanson**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, and Director, Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2004
STAROVOITOVA READINGS
American Center, Moscow

Problems of Democratic Heritage Preservation

Chair: **William Smirnov**, Head of Sector, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Executive Secretary, Council on Promoting the Development of Civil Society Institutes and Human Rights of the President of the Russian Federation; and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

Introductory Remarks

Marisa Fushille, Director, American Center, Moscow; **Natalya Mitoussova**, U.S. Embassy, Moscow; **Olga Starovoitova**, President, Galina Starovoitova Foundation, St. Petersburg.

Session I: "Political Democracy and Human Rights Protection in Post-Soviet Russia"

"Fate of Post-Soviet Democratic Project," **Valentin Gefter**, General Director, Human Rights Institute, Moscow; "Back to the Past Century: Russian Version of Political Restoration," **Viktor Sheinis**, Leading Researcher, Institute of International Relations and World Economy, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Galina Starovoitova—One of the Leaders of the Peaceful Democratic Movement in the USSR and Russia," **Lev Ponomarev**, Executive Director, Social Movement "For Human Rights;" Co-Chair, Democratic Russia Movement; and Co-Chair, Union of Protectors of Free Russia; "Political Rights and Democracy after Beslan," **William Smirnov**, Head of Sector, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Executive Secretary, Council on Promoting the Development of Civil Society Institutes and Human Rights of the

President of the Russian Federation; and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

Session II: "Ethnopolitical Processes and Conflict Resolution"

"Ethnopolitical Problems in Russia at the End of the 1990s and Today," **Emil Pain**, Head, Center for Xenophobia and Extremism Studies, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "Multiculturalism and its Potential in Modern Russia," **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Director, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; "Ethnic Problems and Conflict in the North Caucasus: Why Does the Concept of 'Tolerance' Not Work There?" **Viktor Avksentiev**, Chair, Department of Philosophy, North Caucasian State Technological University, and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Fights around the Law on Freedom of Conscience in Russia," **Anatoly Krasikov**, Head, 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.

Session III: "Environmental Protection and Human Rights"

"Ecology and Human Rights: State Policy in the Sphere of Ecology," **Aleksandr Nikitin**, Chair, Bellona Ecological and Human Rights Center, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2004
NOON DISCUSSION

"Who Won the Ukrainian Presidential Elections and Why,"

Paul D'Anieri, Associate Dean for the Humanities and Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Kansas.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24

SEMINAR

"The Situation in Ukraine: What Should Be the U.S. Response?"

Oleksandr Potiekhin, Advisor, Embassy of Ukraine to the United States, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Oleksandr Merezhko**, Associate Professor, Department of International Law, Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Taras Kuzio**, Visiting Assistant Professor of International Affairs, George Washington University; **Anders Åslund**, Director, Russian and Eurasian Program and Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"The Impact of the 'West' on Russia's Northwest," **Tomila Lankina**, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 2004

BOOK LAUNCH

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Russia's Lost Reformation: Peasants, Millennialism, and Radical Sects in Southern Russia and Ukraine, 1830–1917," **Sergei Zhuk**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Ball State University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 2004

SEMINAR

"The Different Evolutionary Paths of Democracy in East and West Ukraine: How Did We Get to 2004?" **Christian Haerpfer**, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Vienna, Austria; Director, Center for Strategic

Development, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria; and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 6, 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"New Cogs, Old Wheel: The Role of Individuals in Advancing and Abetting Authoritarian Power in Russia," **Masha Gessen**, journalist, Moscow.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 2004

FILM SCREENING

Film Screening: "Under Fire: Soviet Women Combat Veterans, WWII," **Noel Julnes-Dehner**, producer.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2004

ALUMNI SEMINAR

Simferopol

"Interethnic and Political Situation in Ukraine: Crimea in the Twenty-First Century"

Nataliya Belitser, Research Fellow, Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, Kyiv; **Oleh Smyrnov**, Program Director, Renaissance Foundation, Simferopol; **Dmytro Omelchuk**, Simferopol Ecological University; **Andriy Malygin**, Vice Chair, Armenian Society, and Director, Crimea Folklore Museum; **Mykola Semena**, Correspondent, *Zerkalo Nedeli*; **Emine Avemilieva**, Professor of Law, Crimea University; **Andriy Nikiforov**, Vice President, TV company "Chernomorskaia;" **Lenur Yunusov**, Vice-Editor in Chief, "Poloostrov;" **Yuriy Laptev**, Director, Crimea Ethnographic Museum; **Margarita Aradzkhioni**, Head, Ethno-Confessional Department, Institute of East Studies, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; **Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, Director, Kennan Kyiv Project; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13 2004

NOON DISCUSSION

"Multiethnic Ukraine: Myth and Reality," **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Ukrainian National Academy of



Vologda. Wooden house, Prechistenka Quay #18. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Sciences, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2004

SEMINAR

"The Kennan Institute at 30: Reflections on the Past and Visions for the Future," **Grace Kennan Warnecke**, consultant, New York, and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **James Billington**, Librarian of Congress and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center; **S. Frederick Starr**, Chairman, Central Asia–Caucasus Institute (CACI), Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and Founding Director, Kennan Institute; **Thomas Simons**, Director, Program on Eurasia in Transition, Davis Center, Harvard University, and Chairman, Kennan Institute Advisory Council.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 2004
SEMINAR

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
Cosponsored by Los Alamos
National Laboratory and the
Division of International Studies,
Woodrow Wilson Center

"Will Russian Scientists Go Rogue?
A Survey on the Threat and the
Impact of Western Assistance,"
Deborah Yarsike Ball, National
Security Analyst, Proliferation and
Terrorism Prevention Program,
Lawrence Livermore National
Laboratory, and former Title VIII-
Supported Short-Term Scholar,
Kennan Institute.

Methodology, Moscow State
University, and former Short-Term
Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 2005
WILSON CENTER
DIRECTOR'S FORUM

"The Maydan Parliament of
Ukraine," **William Green Miller**,
Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow
Wilson Center, and former U.S.
Ambassador to Ukraine.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 2005
SEMINAR

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Local Memory and National Myth:

Sociology, University of Texas,
Austin, and former Title VIII-
Supported Short-Term Scholar,
Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY,
JANUARY 7-8, 2005
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, and former Title VIII-
Supported Short-Term Scholar,
Kennan Institute; **Blair A. Ruble**,
Director, Kennan Institute.

Participants: **Bruce Adams**,
Professor of History, University of
Louisville; **Alexander Diener**,
Assistant Professor, Center for
International Studies and Languages,
Pepperdine University, and former
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**
Izmirli, Ph.D. candidate, Institute for
Conflict Analysis and Resolution,
George Mason University; **Anthony**
Kolb, Senior Regional Urban
Advisor, United States-Asia
Environmental Partnership, Bangkok,
Thailand; **Andrei Korobkov**,
Assistant Professor, Department of
Political Science, Middle Tennessee
State University; **Eric Lohr**, Assistant
Professor of History, American
University, and Title VIII-Supported
Research Scholar, Kennan Institute;
Ruth Mandel, Lecturer, Department
of Anthropology, University College
London, and Title VIII-Supported
Research Scholar, Kennan Institute;
Margaret Paxson, Senior Associate,
Kennan Institute; **J. Otto Pohl**, Ph.D.
recipient, Department of History,
School of Oriental and African



Semenkovo (Vologda oblast). Log double barn. (Photo: William Brumfield)

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 2004
ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"Specifics of Russian
Modernization," **Emil Pain**, Head,
Center for Xenophobia and
Extremism Studies, Institute of
Sociology, Russian Academy of
Sciences, and former Galina
Starovoitova Fellow on Human
Rights and Conflict Resolution; **Olga**
Volkogonova, Department
of Philosophy and Science

Commemorating the Siege of
Leningrad," **Lisa A. Kirschenbaum**,
Associate Professor, Department of
History, West Chester University,
and former Title VIII-Supported Short-
Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 2005
POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
"HIV/AIDS and Migration in the
Caucasus," **Cynthia Buckley**,
Associate Professor, Department of

Studies, University of London;
Andrew Robarts, Ph.D. candidate,
Department of History, Georgetown
University; **Erin Truth**, Program
Assistant, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

"Kremlin Rising: Putin's Russia and
the Counter-Revolution," **Peter
Baker** and **Susan B. Glasser**, for-
mer Moscow Bureau Chiefs,
Washington Post.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 2005
SEMINAR

"Good Intentions: Memorable
Moments in Russian-American
Communication," **Mary Giles**,
Outreach Assistant, National
Resource Center for Russian, East
European, and Central Asian
Studies, Davis Center for Russian &
Eurasian Studies, Harvard University.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

*Cosponsored by the Asia Program,
Woodrow Wilson Center*
"Japan and Russia: Strategic
Positioning in East Asia," **Kazuhiko
Togo**, Research Staff Member,
Princeton Institute for International
and Regional Studies and Lecturer,
Department of East Asian Studies,
Princeton University; and former
Ambassador of Japan to the
Netherlands.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 2005
POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
"The End of Russian Regional
Executive Elections: What Has
Russia Lost?" **Andrew Konitzer**,
Assistant Professor, Department of
Political Science, Baylor University,
and former Title VIII-Supported
Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

"The Russian Season of the Studio
Theater: Imagining Traditional and
Contemporary Russian Theater for an
American Audience," **Joy Zinoman**,

Founding Artistic Director, The Studio
Theater, Washington, D.C.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 2005
SEMINAR

"Ukraine after the Crisis: Domestic
and Foreign Policy Issues,"
Volodymyr Dubovyk, Director,
Center for International Studies,
Odesa State University, and former
Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan
Institute.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2005
SEMINAR

"Vladimir Putin and Russia's Course:
An Exchange of Views," **Nicolai N.
Petro**, Professor, Department of
Political Science, University of Rhode
Island, and former Short-Term
Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Michael
McFaul**, Peter and Helen Bing
Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution;
Associate Professor of Political
Science, Stanford University; and
Senior Associate, Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Economic Relations between China
and Russia: Development and
Potential," **Richard Lotspeich**,
Associate Professor, Department
of Economics, Indiana State
University, and former Title VIII-
Supported Research Scholar,
Kennan Institute

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2005
SEMINAR

*Cosponsored by the U.S.
Commission on International
Religious Freedom*
U.S. Capitol Building
"Russia: Religious Communities,
Extremist Movements, and the State,"
Paul Goble, Senior Research
Associate, EuroCollege, University of
Tartu, Estonia; **Nickolai Butkevich**,
Research and Advocacy Director,
Union of Councils for Jews in the
Former Soviet Union; **Lawrence
Uzzell**, President, International
Religious Freedom Watch.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 2005
SEMINAR

"The Path to a Free and Democratic
Ukraine," **William Green Miller**,
Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow
Wilson Center, and former U.S.
Ambassador to Ukraine; **Steve
Pifer**, former U.S. Ambassador to
Ukraine; **John F. Tefft**, Deputy
Assistant Secretary of State for
European and Eurasian Affairs.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

"Recent Implementation of Laws
on Governmental Secrets in
Russia and the United States,"
Grigorii Pasko, Editor in Chief,
Environment and Human Rights
Journal, and Galina Starovoitova
Fellow in Human Rights and Conflict
Resolution, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2005
ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow
"Modernization and the
Formation/Development of Models
of National Identity in Russia,"
Olga Malinova, Leading Research
Fellow, Department of Political
Science, Institute of Scientific
Information in Social Sciences,
Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow, and Vice-President,
Russian Political Science
Association.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

*Cosponsored by the Comparative
Urban Studies Project, Woodrow
Wilson Center*
"American Localities and the
Challenges of Globalism: What
Can Russia Borrow?" **Alexei
Stukanov**, Associate Professor and
Chair, Department of World Politics,
Tomsk State University, and Fulbright-
Kennan Institute Research Scholar,
Kennan Institute.

Programming on Central Asia and the Caucasus

The vast stretches of territory and diverse cultural spaces that make up the post-Soviet region are linked by a variety of political, economic, and personal networks. As part of our mission to promote scholarship and dialogue on the pressing current problems and key historical issues throughout the former Soviet Union, the Kennan Institute strives to consider the region as a whole, the similarities and differences between the countries of the region, and their linkages with each other and with the rest of the world.

The countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus are an important part of the post-Soviet region. Linking together Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus are influenced by a diverse variety of historical legacies, including the legacy of the Soviet Union. Today, they are all facing a host of social and economic problems, as well as varying degrees of political instability and even violent conflict. Issues such as terrorism, drug trafficking, and ethnic conflict in these states are causes for concern in the United States, Russia, and other states in Eurasia, because problems in Central Asia and the Caucasus can spill over to other states in surrounding regions.

One important way in which the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus are linked to Russia and other states in the post-Soviet region is through migration. When World Bank economist **Ali Mansoor** came to the Institute to present a forthcoming report on migration, he emphasized that migration within the former Soviet Union, which is comprised primarily of migration from Central Asia and the Caucasus to Russia, is one of the largest migration flows in the world. Mansoor and other meeting participants discussed the benefits of this migration—such as alleviation of labor shortages in Russia and social unrest in Central Asia and the Caucasus—and the costs—including the threats of terrorism, drug trafficking, and interethnic conflict.

Similarly, scholars participating in the Kennan Institute's Title VIII-Supported Research Workshop on Immigration, Forced Migrants, and Refugees in Central Eurasia examined the complex migration processes that link different states of the former Soviet Union with each other, and with states outside of the region. **Timothy Heleniak** examined the economic, cultural, and demographic factors that have fueled out-migration from the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus to Russia. This migration has become a vital part of Russia's economy, argued **Andrei Korobkov**, and Russia must develop a coherent policy to facilitate immigration while cracking down on trafficking and abus-

es against migrants. **Alexander Diener** studied the smaller migration flow of ethnic Kazakhs from Mongolia to newly-independent Kazakhstan. Although comparatively small in number, these migrants played an important role in the government-sponsored nation-building project in Kazakhstan.

Central Asia and the Caucasus are linked to the world through trade and economic assistance as well as through migration. Research Scholar **Ruth Mandel** studied the implications of international development assistance in Kazakhstan, presenting her research at a public lecture on March 7. She argued that the "transition model" that dominates Western thinking about the former Soviet Union is flawed, and recommended increased multilateral donor coordination in the design and implementation of development aid and more realistic and flexible models of monitoring and evaluation to reflect potentially changing circumstances during the implementation of aid projects. Short-Term Scholar **Sada Aksartova** conducted similar research on Western assistance in Russia and Kyrgyzstan, arguing that assistance has had significant cultural and organizational effects on the development of civil society in these countries.

Because understanding Central Asia and the Caucasus is so important to understanding the post-Soviet region, these states play a prominent role in the Kennan Institute's public lecture program. During the 2004–05 program year, speakers presented a very diverse range of topics to the academic, policy, and business communities of Washington, DC. Journalist **Anne Nivat** discussed similarities between the wars in Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Iraq; Tbilisi mayor **Zurab Tchiaberashvili** described the challenges of urban governance in post-Rose Revolution Georgia; **Michele Commercio** compared the statuses of Russian minorities in Kyrgyzstan and Latvia; and 2005 Goldman Environmental Prize winner **Kaisha Atakhanova** discussed grassroots environmental advocacy in Kazakhstan.



Andreevskaya village (Vologda oblast). Kotkin house.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 2005

WILSON CENTER DIRECTOR'S FORUM

Cosponsored by The Washington Group

"A Changing Ukraine," **The Honorable Richard Lugar**, U.S. Senator from the State of Indiana.

MONDAY, MARCH 7, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Developing Kazakhstan: International Aid, National Agendas," **Ruth Mandel**, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University College London, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 2005

SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Comparative Urban Studies Project, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Urban Governance and Institution Building in Post-Rose Revolution Tbilisi," **Zurab Tchiaberashvili**, Mayor, Tbilisi, Georgia.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY, MARCH 11-12, 2005

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University; the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; and the Goethe Institute, Boston Cambridge, MA

Cities After the Fall: European Integration and Urban History

Welcoming Remarks

Peter A. Hall, Director, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

Introductory Remarks

John Czaplicka, Research Affiliate, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

Session One: "European Capital Cities, Old and New"

Chair: **Charles Maier**, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History,

Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

Panelists: "East Berlin," **Wolfgang Kil**, journalist and architectural critic, Berlin; "Vilnius," **Irena Vaisvilaite**, University of Vilnius; "Tallinn," **Jörg Hackman**, Griefswald University.

Session Two: "Architecture and History at Ports of Entry"

Chair: **Jörg Hackman**, Griefswald University.

Panelists: "Gdansk," **Jacek Dominiczak**, Academy of Fine Arts, Gdansk; "Riga," **Janis Dripe**, architect, Chief of Protocol, Republic of Latvia; "Odesa," **Patricia Herlihy**, Research Professor, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University.

Session Three: "Comparing Cities East/West: Poland and Ukraine"

Chair: **John Czaplicka**, Research Affiliate, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

Panelists: "Kharkiv," **Volodymyr Kravchenko**, Kharkiv National University; "Lviv," **Liliana Hentosch**, Lviv National University; and **Bohdan Tserckes**, Lviv Polytechnical University; "Wroclaw," **Gregor Thum**, DAAD Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh; "Lodz," **Joanna Michlic**, Visiting Scholar, Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University.

Session Four: "Cities of Russian and European Character"

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

Panelists: "Novgorod," **Nicolai Petro**, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Rhode Island; "Sevastopol and Simferopol," **Karl Qualls**, Assistant Professor of History, Dickinson College; "Kaliningrad," **Olga Sezneva**, New York University.

MONDAY, MARCH 14, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Book Launch: A Biography of No

Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland," **Kate Brown**, Assistant Professor of History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 2005

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C., and the Center for Russian Environmental Policy, Moscow

Economic Growth and Environmental Security in Russia

Opening Remarks

Annie Petsonk, International Counsel, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Aleksei Yablokov**, President, Center for Russian Environmental Policy.

First Session: "Overview of Impact of Pollution on Environment and Human Health"

Aleksei Yablokov, President, Center for Russian Environmental Policy; **Semen Avaliani**, Professor, Russian Postgraduate Medical Academy; **Murray Feshbach**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Alexander Golub**, Senior Economist, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.

Second Session: "Economic Instruments to Protect the Environment"

Dan Dudek, Chief Economist, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Sergei Bobylev**, Professor, Department of Economics, Moscow State University.

Third Session: "Economic Growth and the Environment"

Moderator: **Vladimir Zakharov**, Director, Center for Russian Environmental Policy.
Speakers: **Anil Markandya**, Economist, World Bank; **Alissa Chestone**, Access Industries; **Oleg Lugovoy**, Head, Economic Development Division, Institute for the Economy in Transition

Roundtable Discussion

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

Additional participants:

Alina Averchenkova, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; **John Balbus**, Director, Health Program, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Michael Brody**, Senior Environmental Scientist, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency; **Natalia Davydova**, Director, Environmental Projects Consulting Institute; **William Freeman**, NIS Director, Office of International Affairs, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency; **Peter Goldmark**, Director, Climate and Air Program, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Fred Krupp**, President, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Grzegorz Peszko**, World Bank; **D.J. Peterson**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation; **Georgii Safonov**, Director, Center for Environmental Economics; **Fedor Shkil**, Director, Center for Health of Environment; **Ravi Srivastava**, Project Manager, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency; **Piper Stege**, Project Officer, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency; **Elena Strukova**, Environmental Defense, Washington, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 2005
SEMINAR

Cosponsored by Environmental Defense, Washington, DC, and the Center for Russian Environmental Policy, Moscow

"Economic Growth and Environmental Security in Russia," **Alexei Yablokov**, President, Center for Russian Environmental Policy, Moscow, and **D.J. Peterson**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation

MONDAY, MARCH 21, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Opening Doors in the Decade Ahead: A Report on the Russian Studies Symposium," **Stephen**

Hanson, Director, Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, University of Washington, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, MARCH 22, 2005
DEPARTMENT OF STATE TITLE VIII
WORKSHOP

U.S. Department of State
"The Dismantling of Russian Studies? Critical Issues, Capital Losses," **Stephen E. Hanson**, Director, Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, University of Washington, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Lara Iglitzin**, Executive Director, Henry M. Jackson Foundation; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 2005
ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow
"Specifics of Russian Modernization," **Denis Dragunskii**, Academic Director, National Project Institute, and Editor in Chief, **Kosmopolis**.

MONDAY, MARCH 28, 2005
NOON DISCUSSION

"Exit and Voice in the Near Abroad: Russian Minority Populations in Kyrgyzstan and Latvia," **Michele E. Commercio**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University.

TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 2005
SEMINAR

"The Problems of Human Rights: A Case Study of Tajik Immigrants in Russia," **Davlat Khudonazarov**, President, "FOCUS" Humanitarian Foundation, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 4, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Russian Agrarian Policy under Putin," **Stephen Wegren**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Southern Methodist University.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6, 2005
SEMINAR

"Current Views on the Role of Russian Private and Family Foundations in Civil Society and Building Democracy," **Irina Yasina**, Program Director, Open Russia NGO; and **Inga Pagava**, Director, Development Department, Charities Aid Foundation, Russia.

THURSDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 7-9, 2005

SYMPOSIUM

Chesapeake Beach, MD
Cosponsored by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), Washington, D.C., and the Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

2005 Asia Regional Policy Symposium

April 7

Opening Dinner

Mark Pomar, President, IREX; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

April 8

Introduction

Joyce Warner, Director, Education Program Division, IREX.

Session I: "Development and Ideological Struggle in the Kyrgyz Republic"

Discussion Leader: **Herbert Ellison**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington; Director, Eurasia Policy Studies, National Bureau of Asian Research; and former Director, Kennan Institute. Presenter: **Noor O'Neill**, Ph.D.

candidate, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.

Session II: "Exploring Determinants of Transitional Justice: Human Rights Accountability in Post-Communist States"

Discussion Leader: **Herbert J. Ellison**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington; Director, Eurasia Policy Studies, National Bureau of Asian Research; and former Director, Kennan Institute.

Presenter: **Brian Grodsky**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan.

Session III: "General Discussion on Asian Regionalism"

Discussion Leader: **Herbert J. Ellison**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington; Director, Eurasia Policy Studies, National Bureau of Asian Research; and former Director, Kennan Institute.

Session IV: "Regional Migration Policies, Freedom of Movement, and Citizenship in the Russian Federation"

Discussion Leader: **Gil Rozman**, Professor, Department of Sociology, Princeton University, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. Presenter: **Matthew Light**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, Yale University.

Session V: "The Information Revolution Effect: Re-aligning Hierarchies of Knowledge and Understanding"

Discussion Leader: **Gil Rozman**, Professor, Department of Sociology, Princeton University, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. Presenter: **Irene Wu**, Director of Research, International Bureau, Federal Communications Commission.

Session VI: "Xinjiang as Part of the Central Asian Region"

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

Presenter: **Gardner Bovington**, Assistant Professor, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington.

April 9

Session I: "Between Security and Conflict: Governments, Muslim Minorities, and the Use of State-Sponsored Coercion in Asia"

Discussion Leader: **Gary Bertsch**, Director, Center for International Trade and Security, and Professor of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia.

Presenter: **Sandra Leavitt**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government, Georgetown University.

Session II: "Making Modern Muslims: Markets and the Meaning of 'A Good Education' in Pakistan"

Discussion Leader: **W. Kendall Myers**, Special Advisor for Analyst Training and Senior Analyst for Europe, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Adjunct Professor, European Studies, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Presenter: **Matthew Nelson**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Bates College.

Session III: "Gender Policy in Central Asia at a Crossroads: Integrating International Obligations with Renascent Islamic Orientations"

Discussion Leader: **Gary Bertsch**, Director, Center for International Trade and Security, and Professor of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia.

Presenter: **Irina Liczek**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, New School University.

Session IV: "Global Memories, Local Accounts: Regional Trade Networks in Ladakh (North India), 1920-47"

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

Presenter: **Jacqueline Fewkes**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Wilkes Honors College, Florida Atlantic University.

Session V: "Common Property Management and Economic Development in Asia"

Discussion Leader: **W. Kendall Myers**, Special Advisor for Analyst Training and Senior Analyst for Europe, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Adjunct Professor, European Studies, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Presenter: **Charles Krusekopf**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Austin College.

Session VI: "Geopolitics: Security and Energy in Asia"

Discussion Leader: **Gary Bertsch**, Director, Center for International Trade and Security, and Professor of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 2005

SEMINAR

"Can Businesses Survive in Russia if They Obey the Law?" **Peter**

Maggs, Professor of Law, Clifford M. and Bette A. Carney Chair in Law, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; **Peter Solomon**, Director, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto; **Oksana Kozyr**, Head of the Civil Code Department, Private Law Research Center under the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow; **Kathryn Hendley**, Professor of Law and Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 8-9, 2005
CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and the American Bar Association/Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative

Commercial Law Reform in Russia and Eurasia

Welcoming Remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Donna Buchanan**, Director, Russian, East European, and Eurasian Center, and Associate Professor, School of Music, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; **Kathryn Hendley**, Professor of Law and Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Session I: "Putin's Reforms to the Russian Legal System"

Chair: **Harold Berman**, Robert W. Woodruff Professor of Law, Emory University, and James Barr Ames Professor of Law Emeritus, Harvard University.

"Threats of Judicial Counter-Reform in Putin's Russia," **Peter Solomon**, Professor of Political Science and Law; Director, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto, Canada;

"Corruption and Organized Crime: Impact on the Business Community," **Louise Shelley**, Professor, School of International Service, and Director, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Commentator: **William Burnham**, Professor of Law, Wayne State University.

Session II: "The Basic Legal Framework for Commercial Law in the FSU"

Chair: **Ferdinand Feldbrugge**,

Professor of East European Law, University of Leiden, Netherlands.

"The Changed Role of Civil Law in the Soviet Economy and the New Russian Market Economy: The Case of the Contract of Surety,"

Alexander Makovskii, First Deputy Chairman of the Board, Private Law Research Center under the President of the Russian Federation, and Chairman of the Board, The Scientific and Consultative Center for Private Law in the CIS, Moscow; "Ten Lessons for International Assistance Programs in the former Soviet Union," **Keith Rosten**, Senior Associate, Checchi and Company Consulting, Inc.

Session III: "Investing in the Former Soviet Union"

Chair: **William Simons**, Professor of East European Law, Institute of East European Law and Russian Studies, University of Leiden, Netherlands.

"The Fate and Future of the 1972 Moscow Convention," **William Butler**, Professor of Comparative Law and Director, Vinogradoff Institute, University of London; "Are Arbitrazh Courts a Viable Alternative for Business Disputes in Russia?"

Kathryn Hendley, Professor of Law and Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Kazakhstan Law on Foreign Investments," **Anatoly Didenko**, Professor of Civil Law, Kazakh Humanitarian Law University, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Session IV: "Reforming Russian Legal Institutions"

Chair: **Peter Juviler**, Professor Emeritus and Special Lecturer of Political Science, Barnard College, and Co-Director, Center for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University.

"Competition Law and Policy in Russia: Building Regulatory Institutions in the Midst of Change,"

Sarah Reynolds, Consultant, SJReynolds Associates; "Lowering the

Barriers for Entry for Russian Small Business: Has the 2001 Law on the Registration of Juridical Persons Made a Difference?" **Eugene Huskey**, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Political Science and Russian Studies, Stetson University; "Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards in Russia—the Problem of Arbitrability," **Hiroshi Oda**, Sir Ernest Satow Professor of Japanese Law, University of London.

Session V: "Implications of the Russian Civil Code"

Chair: **Donald Barry**, Distinguished Professor of Political Science Emeritus, Lehigh University.

"Protection of Business Reputation in the Civil Code: Damages, the Constitution, and International Norms," **Peter Krug**, Professor and Herman G. Kaiser Foundation Chair in International Law, University of Oklahoma; "The Modernization of Legislation Concerning the Law Applicable to International Civil Law Relations," **Aleksei Zhiltsov**, Head,

Comparative and Private International Law Department, Private Law Research Center under the President of the Russian Federation, and Associate Partner, Law Firm "Intra," Moscow; "Transactions Involving Immovable Property under Russian Law,"

Oksana Kozyr, Head, Civil Code Department, Private Law Research Center under the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow.

Commentator: **Paul Stephan**, Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Professor of Law and Hunton & Williams Research Professor, University of Virginia.

MONDAY, APRIL 11, 2005

POLICY FORUM

*U.S. Department of State
Cosponsored by the International Research and Exchanges Board,
Washington, D.C.*

"Asia Regional Policy," **Gary Bertsch**, Director, Center for International Trade and Security, and Professor of Public and International

Affairs, University of Georgia; **W. Kendall Myers**, Special Advisor for Analyst Training and Senior Analyst for Europe, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Adjunct Professor, European Studies, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; **Roger Kangas**, Professor, Central Asian Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Strategic Studies; **Gil Rozman**, Professor, Department of Sociology, Princeton University, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Herbert J. Ellison**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, University of Washington; Director, Eurasia Policy Studies, National Bureau of Asian Research; and former Director, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 11, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Judicial and Legal Reform in the Aftermath of the Ukrainian Presidential Elections," **Bohdan Futey**, Judge, United States Court of Federal Claims.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 2005

SEMINAR

"What Happened to 'Unity, Consent and Revival?' The Donetsk Clan before and after the Ukrainian Presidential Elections," **Kerstin Zimmer**, Research Associate, Institute of Sociology, University of Marburg, Germany.

MONDAY, APRIL 18, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"How Far Can the EU and NATO Go in Taking in Ukraine and Russia?" **Ira Strauss**, U.S. Coordinator, Committee on Eastern Europe and Russia in NATO.

TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 2005

INFORMAL SEMINAR

"Russia's Economic Policy in the Post-Soviet Period," **Yegor Gaidar**, Director, Institute for the Economy in Transition, and former Prime Minister of the Russian Federation.

WEDNESDAY-THURSDAY, APRIL 20-21, 2005

KENNAN INSTITUTE-CASE WORKSHOP

Moscow, Russia

State and Society in Transition

Workshop leaders: **Mikhail Ilyin**, Professor, School of Political Science, Moscow Institute of International Relations, **Beth Mitchneck**, Associate Professor, Department of Geography, University of Arizona.

Participants: **Anar Ahmadov**, Director, Center for International and Strategic Studies, Khazar University, Azerbaijan; **Jennifer Giglio**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Stephen E. Hanson**, Director, Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, University of Washington, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Robert Jessop**, Professor, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, UK; **Boris Kashnikov**, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Riazan'; **Nikolai Kradin**, Professor, Department of Social Anthropology, Far Eastern State Technical University, Vladivostok; **Olga Malinova**, Leading Research Fellow, Political Science Department, Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Tatiana Mitrokhina**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Saratov State University; **Joseph Painter**, Professor, Department of Geography, University of Durham, UK; **Gevorg Poghosyan**, Director, Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, Armenian National Academy of Sciences; **Igor Uznarodov**, Professor, Department of History, Rostov State University; **Elizabeth Wood**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Massachusetts Institute of

Technology; **Konstantin Zavershinskii**, Professor, Culturology and Ethics Department, Novgorod State University.

MONDAY, APRIL 25, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"From Lords to Vassals: The End of Regional Executive Elections in Russia," **Andrew Konitzer**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Baylor University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 2005

SEMINAR

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

"Environmental Advocacy and the Movement for Nuclear Safety in Kazakhstan," **Kaisha Atakhanova**, Director, Karaganda Ecological Center, Kazakhstan, and 2005 Goldman Environmental Prize Winner (Asia).

MONDAY, MAY 2, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Kazakhstan: The Investor's Perspective," **William Veale**, Executive Director, U.S.-Kazakhstan Business Council.

TUESDAY, MAY 3, 2005

SEMINAR

"How Russians Differ in Viewing Their World," **Richard Rose**, Director, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK.

MONDAY, MAY 9, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Bringing up Vanya Smith: The Children of Russian-American Marriages," **Lynn Visson**, member, Editorial Board, *Mostly*, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 2005

SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER)
"Fraud or Fairytales: Russia and Ukraine's Electoral Experiences," **Peter Ordeshook**, Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology; **Mikhail Myagkov**, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Oregon.

MONDAY, MAY 16, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Education for Democracy in Ukraine," **Alden Craddock**, Director, International Democratic Education Institute, Bowling Green State University.

TUESDAY, MAY 17, 2005

SEMINAR

"The Silent Embargo: Russian Immigration to the United States and its Effects on Foreign Policy," **Zvi Gitelman**, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; **Will Englund**, Associate Editor, *Baltimore Sun*; **Alec Brook-Krasny**, Executive Director, Council of Jewish Emigre Community Organizations, New York; **Edward Goldberg**, President, Annisa Group, New York.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, MAY 19-20, 2005

KENNAN INSTITUTE-CASE WORKSHOP

Moscow, Russia

Russia and the World

Workshop leaders: **Douglas Blum**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Providence College; **Alexei Bogaturov**, Deputy Director, Institute for International Security Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Participants: **Michael Bradshaw**, Professor, Department of Geography, University of Leicester, UK; **Rick Fawn**, Senior Lecturer,

School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews, UK; **Alexei Fenenko**, Research Fellow, Institute for International Security Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **Ulf Hedetoft**, Professor, Institute for History and International Studies, Aalborg University, Denmark; **Alla Kassinova**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Tomsk State University; **Gennadii Konstantinov**, Professor and Director of the Corporate Governance Center, General and Strategic Management Department, Moscow Higher School of Economics; **Andrei Korotaev**, Full Professor and Head, Program in Sociocultural Anthropology of the East, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow; **Vladimir Lamin**, Director, Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division; **Janice Bially Mattern**, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Lehigh University; **Erik Noreen**, Associate Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Eduard Soloviev**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; **Mikhail Troitskii**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Evgenii Vodichev**, Vice Director for Science, Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Fyodor Voitlovskii**, Research Fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences.

FRIDAY, MAY 20, 2005

ALUMNI SEMINAR

Chernivtsi, Ukraine
"Tolerance in an Interethnic City," **Serhiy Fedunyak**, Associate

Professor, and Chair, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Chernivtsi National University; **Anatoliy Kruglashov**, Professor and Chair, Department of Philosophy, Chernivtsi National University.

MONDAY, MAY 23, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"The Emergence of a Russian-Speaking World and its Impact on Russia's International Relations," **Anne de Tinguy**, Senior Research Fellow, Center for International Studies and Research, Paris, and Professor, Institute for Political Studies, Paris.

MONDAY-FRIDAY, MAY 23-27, 2005
CONFERENCE

Tokyo, Japan

Cosponsored by AAASS; Brock University; Georgia Southern University; The Guest House of Helsinki University; The Finnish National Defense College Library; The Japan Foundation; London School of Economics; Renvall Institute of Helsinki University; Rodina; The Royal Canadian Military Institute; Slavic Research Center of Hokkaido University; Slavonic Library of the Helsinki University Library; Southern Conference of Slavic Studies; The United States Army Command and General Staff College; Yomiuri Shimbun Research Institute

World War 0: Reappraising the War of 1904-05

Welcoming Remarks

Yuichiro Anzai, President, Keio University, Japan; **Ryosei Kokubun**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan; **Shinji Yokote**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan; **Tatiana Filippova**, Senior Editor, *Rodina*, Moscow; **Dominic Lieven**, Professor of Russian Government, London School of Economics, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Bruce**

Menning, Professor of Strategy, Department of Joint and Multinational Operations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Keynote Speech: "The War in the Context of 20th Century World History"

Akira Iriye, Professor, Department of History, Harvard University.

Panel I: "Images"

Chair: **Yoshihide Soeya**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan.

Speakers: "Russians Imagine the Japanese Enemy," **Tatiana Filippova**, Senior Editor, *Rodina*, Moscow; "Japanese Images of Russia," **Naoko Shimazu**, Lecturer, School of History, Classics, and Archaeology, Birkbeck, University of London; "Short-term Origins of the War: Russia," **David**

Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Associate Professor of Russian and East Asian History, Brock University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Genealogy of Japanese Views on the War," **Isao Chiba**, Showa Women's University, Japan.

Panel II: "Origins"

Chair: **Dominic Lieven**, Professor of Russian Government, London School of Economics, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "Long-term Origins of the War: Russia," **David Goldfrank**, Professor, Department of History, Georgetown University; "Long-term Origins of the War: Japan," **Michael Auslin**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Yale University; "Study Your Enemy: Russian Military and Naval Attaches in Japan," **Haruki Wada**, Professor Emeritus, Institute of Social Sciences, Tokyo University; "Short-term Origins of the War: Japan," **Ian Nish**, Professor of International History, London School of Economics.

Panel III: "Financing the War"

Chair: **Steven Marks**, Professor and

Graduate Coordinator, Department of History and Geography, Clemson University.

Speakers: "Japan's Financial Mobilization for War," **Keishi Ono**, National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan; "Financing the War: Japan," **Ed Miller**, independent scholar; "Financing the War: Russia," **Boris Ananich**, Academician, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

Panel IV: "The Home Front"

Chair: **John Steinberg**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "The Bezobrazovtsy," **Igor Lukoianov**, Senior Research Associate, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; "The 'Open Door' as a Japanese Justification for War," **Yoko Kato**, Associate Professor, Division of Japanese Studies, Tokyo University; "The Japanese Railway System at War," **Steven Ericson**, Associate Professor of History, Dartmouth College.

Panel V: "The War: Naval and Intelligence (I)"

Chair: **Bruce Menning**, Professor of Strategy, Department of Joint and Multinational Operations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Speakers: "Japanese Intelligence in Europe," **Antti Kujala**, Senior Lecturer in Finnish and Russian History, University of Helsinki; "Russian Intelligence and the War," **Evgenii Sergeev**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "The Military Observers: Eurocentrism and World War Zero," **David Jones**, independent scholar; "The Russian Navy," **Dominic Lieven**, Professor of Russian Government, London School of Economics, and former Short-Term

Scholar, Kennan Institute; and **Nicholas Papastratigakis**, Ph.D. candidate in History, London School of Economics; "Togo's Contested Naval Strategy and the Russian 'Fleets,'" **Kiyoshi Aizawa**, National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan.

Panel VI: "The War: Strategies, Tactics and Technologies (III)"

Chair: **David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye**, Associate Professor of Russian and East Asian History, Brock University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Speakers: "Why Did Japan Fail to Become 'Britain' in Asia?"

Masayuki Tadokoro, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan; "Post-War Japanese Naval Expansion,"

Charles Schencking, Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of Melbourne; "The War: A Survey," **John Steinberg**,

Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute;

"Russian Strategy," **Bruce Menning**, Professor of Strategy, Department of Joint and Multinational Operations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College; "Russian Military Leadership," **Oleg Airaperov**,

Senior Lecturer, Department of History, Moscow State University, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Panel VII: "Northeast Asia Participates"

Chair: **Tatsuo Yamada**, Keio University, Japan.

Speakers: "The 'Eastern Miscellany' Informs the Chinese Public," **Anshan Li**, Professor, Beijing University; "The 'Great Game' Revisited," **Tatsuo**

Nakami, Professor of Language and Culture Communications, Research Institute for Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; "Chinese Spies for Russia and Japan," **David**

Wolff, Director Emeritus, Cold War



Vologda. Archbishop's Court: Refectory Church of Nativity of Christ. View from Cathedral Bell tower.
(Photo: William Brumfield)

International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center; "A Damocles Sword? Korea and the Russo-Japanese War," **Dae-yeol Ku**, Professor, Ewha Women's University, South Korea.

Panel VIII: "The Peace"

Chair: **Robert M. Hathaway**, Director, Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Speakers: "The Kittery Peace," **Norman Saul**, Professor of History and Russian and East European Studies, University of Kansas; "The Portsmouth Conference and U.S.-Japanese Relations," **Toshihiro Minohara**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Legal Sociology, Kobe University, Japan; "The Russo-Japanese War and Korea-U.S. Relations," **Ki-jung Kim**, Professor, Yonsei University, South Korea; "White Hope or Yellow Peril?" **Yorimitsu Hashimoto**, Professor, Yokohama National University, Japan.

Panel IX: "The Aftermath in Japan and Russia"

Chair: **John Steinberg**, Associate

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

Speakers: "War and Memory in Russia," **Dmitrii Oleinikov**, Editor, *Rodina*, Moscow; "War and Memory in Japan," **Fredrick Dickinson**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania; "War and Tsarist Politics," **David McDonald**, Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Madison; "Between Two Japano-Russian Wars," **Shinji Yokote**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan; "Preparing for the New War," **Don Wright**, independent scholar, New Orleans, LA.

Panel X: "Regional and Global Legacies"

Chair: **Ryosei Kokubun**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan.

Speakers: "The Russo-Japanese War and Military Psychology," Associate Professor of History, **Alexander Shevryev**, Moscow State University; "Northeast Asia through the Lens of

Multinational Vladivostok," **Teruyuki Hara**, Professor of Russian and Soviet History, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University; "South Asia," **Steven Marks**, Professor and Graduate Coordinator, Department of History and Geography, Clemson University; "Southeast Asia," **Paul Rodell**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University; "Did Bloch Predict the Russo-Japanese War?" **Haruo Tohmatsu**, Professor, Tamagawa University, Japan.

Final Comments, Open Discussion, Preliminary Conclusions

Moderators: **Makoto Ikobe**, Professor, Department of Political Science and Legal Sociology, Kobe University; **David Wolff**, Director Emeritus, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Presentation of Conference Volume

John Steinberg, Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Bruce**

Menning, Professor of Strategy, Department of Joint and Multinational Operations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College; **David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye**, Associate Professor of Russian and East Asian History, Brock University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **David Wolff**, Director Emeritus, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Shinji Yokote**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University

Public Panel

Chair: **Shinji Yokote**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan.
Keynote speaker: **Ian Nish**, Professor of International History, London School of Economics.
Discussants: **Oleg Airapetov**, Senior Lecturer, Department of History, Moscow State University, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Akira Iriye**, Professor, Department of History, Harvard University; **Yoko Kato**, Associate Professor, Division of Japanese Studies, Tokyo University; **Dominic Lieven**, Professor of Russian Government, London School of Economics, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Bruce Menning**, Professor of Strategy, Department of Joint and Multinational Operations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 2005

ANNUAL DINNER

Park Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Welcome and Introduction

James J. Mulva, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, ConocoPhillips.

George F. Kennan Tribute and Video
Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute.

Introduction to the Woodrow Wilson Center

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

Introduction of the Woodrow Wilson Award for Corporate Citizenship

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

The Woodrow Wilson Award for Corporate Citizenship

Vagit Y. Alekperov, President, LUKOIL.

Introduction of the Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service

Paul Rodzianko, Senior Vice President, Access Industries, Inc.

The Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service

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

Closing

James J. Mulva, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, ConocoPhillips.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, MAY 26-27, 2005 CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center; Military History Research Institute, Potsdam, Germany; and the Harvard Project on Cold War Studies

The Warsaw Pact: From Its Founding to Its Collapse, 1955-1991

Panel I: "Formation and Demise of the Warsaw Pact"

Chair: **Christian Ostermann**, Director, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Speakers: "The Warsaw Pact and East European Crises under Khrushchev and Brezhnev," **Mark Kramer**, Director, Harvard Project on Cold War Studies, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University; "NATO's Reaction to the Formation of the Warsaw Pact,"

Christian Nünlist, Researcher, Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich; "Gorbachev and the Demise of the Warsaw Pact," **Svetlana Savranskaya**, Research Fellow, National Security Archive, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: **James Hershberg**, Associate Professor of History and International Studies, George Washington University.

Panel II: "Planning and Crisis Management in the Warsaw Pact"

Chair: **Charles Gati**, Senior Adjunct Professor, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Speakers: "Military Planning in NATO and the Warsaw Pact," **William E. Odom** (U.S. Army, Ret.), Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.; "The Polish Military in the Warsaw Pact: From the Dream of the 'Polish Front' to the Reality of Martial Law," **Andrzej Paczkowski**, Professor, Department of History, Warsaw University, and member, Council of the Institute of National Remembrance, Warsaw;

"The PCI and the Polish Crisis, 1980-81," **Silvio Pons**, Researcher, Contemporary History, Università di Bari, and Deputy Director, Gramsci Foundation, Rome; "Warsaw Pact Coordination during the CSCE Process," **Csaba Békés**, Director, Cold War History Center, Budapest, Hungary.

Discussant: **Raymond Garthoff**, Guest Scholar, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution.

Panel III: "The Impact on Warsaw Pact Members: Military, State, and Society"

Chair: **Jeffrey Simon**, Senior Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

Speakers: "The GDR at the Interface of the Two Blocs: The Impact of the Warsaw Pact," **Torsten Diedrich**, Historian, Military History Research Institute, Potsdam, Germany; "The Impact of the WTO on

Czechoslovakia," **Oldrich Tuma**, Researcher, Institute of Contemporary History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague; "Romania and the Military Reform of the Warsaw Pact: 1960–1970,"

Carmen Rijnoveanu, Researcher, Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, Bucharest, Romania; "The Myth of the Military: Polish Society, the Army, and Military Traditions in Light of Unpublished Opinion Polls, 1958–2004," **Klaus Bachmann**, Publicist and Political Scientist, Willy Brandt Center of German and European Studies, Wroclaw University.

Discussant: **Christoph Bluth**, Professor of International Studies, University of Leeds.

Panel IV: "Military Relationships within the Warsaw Pact"

Chair: **Winfried Heinemann**, Historian, Military History Research Institute, Potsdam, Germany.

Speakers: "Socialist Brothers-in-Arms? The NVA's Relations with Other Warsaw Pact Armies,"

Rüdiger Wenzke, Historian, Military History Research Institute, Potsdam, Germany; "Bulgarian-Soviet Military Cooperation,"

Jordan Baev, Cold War Research Group, Sofia, Bulgaria; "Hungarian Military Participation in the Warsaw Pact," **Csaba Békés**, Director, Cold War History Center, Budapest, Hungary; and **Imre Okvath**, Research Associate, Cold War History Center, Budapest, Hungary; "Albania and the Warsaw Pact,"

Ana Lalaj, Director, Cold War Studies Center, Tirana, Albania.

Discussant: **Christian Ostermann**, Director, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"A View of the Problem of Corruption in the Russian Arbitrazh Court System," **Ethan Burger**, Scholar-in-Residence, School of

International Service, and Adjunct Associate Professor, Washington College of Law, American University.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, JUNE 2-3, 2005

KENNAN INSTITUTE-CASE

WORKSHOP

Moscow, Russia

Diverse Cultures in Contemporary Society

Workshop leaders: **Michele Rivkin-Fish**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky; **Elena Trubina**, Professor, Department of Social Philosophy, Urals State University.

Participants: **Omer Bartov**, John P. Birkelund Distinguished Professor of European History, Professor of History, and Professor of German Studies, Brown University; **Rachel Belin**, Education Director, The Humanitarian Center for Culture and Diversity, Lexington, KY; **Katherine**

Graney, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Skidmore College; **Maxim Khomiakov**, Associate Professor and Deputy Dean, Department of Philosophy, Urals State University; **Stuart Kaufman**, Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware; **Vladimir Malakhov**, Leading Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Stepan Safaryan**, Analyst of Legal and Political Affairs, Armenian Center for National and International Studies; **Tatiana Skrynnikova**, Head, Department of Cultural Anthropology and Art, Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist, and Tibetan Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division; **Pavel Tereshkovich**, Head of Ethnology, Department of History, Belarusian State University; **Tatyana Venedictiva**, Professor, Department of the History of Foreign Literature, Moscow State University.

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Post-Soviet Political Persecutions in CIS Countries: New Context for Rule of Law," **Valentin Gefter**, General Director, Human Rights Institute, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY-THURSDAY, JUNE 5-9, 2005

WORKSHOP

Cosponsored by the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation and the U.S. Department of State

U.S.-Ukraine Policy Dialogue Exchange Program: A Discourse Among Partners

Media and Information Task Force hosted by the Kennan Institute and the Europe XXI Foundation, Kyiv

Opening Plenary Session Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University

Welcoming Remarks

Tom Adams, Coordinator for U.S. Assistance to Europe and Eurasia, U.S. Department of State; **Nadia McConnell**, President, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; **Sergiy Korsunsky**, Minister Counselor, Embassy of Ukraine to the United States.

Politics and Governance Task Force

Vyacheslav Koval, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and Deputy Chairman, Committee on Agenda, Parliamentary Ethics and Proceedings, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; **Vitalii Bondzyk**, Chief, Office of the Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine for Administrative Reform; **Zoryana Mischuk**, Counsel Secretary, Public Political Consultative Council of the Chairman of the Parliament of Ukraine; **Rostyslav Pavlenko**, Chief, Main Analytical Service, Office of the President of Ukraine; **Yuriy Yakymenko**, Director of Political and Legal programs, Razumkov Center for Ukrainian Economic and Political Studies;

William Green Miller, Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; **Janucz Bugajski**, Director, Eastern European Project, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.; **Taras Kuzio**, Visiting Professor, George Washington University; **Robert McConnell**, former U.S. Assistant Attorney General; **Radek Sikorski**, Resident Fellow and Executive Director, New Atlantic Initiative, American Enterprise Institute; **Joseph Tydings**, former U.S. Senator and U.S. Attorney to Maryland.

Foreign Policy and National Security Task Force

Yuriy Scherbak, Advisor to the Speaker, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and former Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States; **Valeriy Chalyy**, Director of International Programs, Razumkov Center for Ukrainian Economic and Political Studies; **Konstantin Kononenko**, Deputy Head, Foreign Affairs Directorate, National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine; **Victor Nykytryk**, Head, Euro-Atlantic Integration Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine; **Oleksandr Sushko**, Director, Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine; **Steven Pifer**, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; **Frances G. Burwell**, Director, Transatlantic Relations Program, Atlantic Council of the United States; **Jessica Kehl**, Country Director for Ukraine and Moldova, Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense; **Nicholas Karawciw**, Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense; **F. Stephen Larrabee**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation; **Jan Neutze**, Assistant Director, Program on Transatlantic Relations, Atlantic Council of the United States; **Albert Zaccor**, Senior Research Fellow, Atlantic Council of the United States;

Walter Parchomenko, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council of the United States; **Jeffrey Simon**, Senior Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

Economics and Business Task Force

Volodymyr Ignashchenko, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Economy of Ukraine; **Sergiy Kruglyk**, Director, Economic Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine; **Valeriy Pyatnytskyy**, First Deputy Minister of Economy, Office of the Vice Prime Minister for European Integration; **Ihor Shevliakov**, Projects Coordinator, International Center for Policy Studies; **Ariel Cohen**, Senior Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation; **Keith Crane**, Senior Economist, RAND Corporation; **Gary Litman**, Vice President of European Affairs, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; **Marcus Micheli**, Deputy Director and Senior Ukraine Desk Officer, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State; **Morgan Williams**, Director, Government Affairs, Washington Office, SigmaBleyzer Private Equity Investment Group.

Information and Media Task Force

Andriy Masalskyy, Head, Public Relations Department, Office of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine; **Pavlo Matsepa**, Chief Consultant, Primary Information Service, Office of the President of Ukraine; **Sergiy Peteshov**, Center for Donbas Social Perspectives, and correspondent, Radio Liberty; **Halyna Usatenko**, Director of Civil Society Programs, Europe XXI Foundation, Kyiv; **Nicholas Daniloff**, Professor of Journalism, Northeastern University; **Marvin Kalb**, Lecturer in Public Policy and Senior Fellow, Shorenstein Center, Harvard University; **Kevin Klose**, President and CEO, National Public Radio; **Eileen O'Connor**, President, International Center for Journalists;

Margaret Paxson, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Nancy Popson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

Break-out Meeting at PBS

Jan McNamara, Director, Corporate Communications, PBS.

Task Force Break-out Meeting

Andriy Masalskyy, Head, Public Relations Department, Office of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine; **Pavlo Matsepa**, Chief Consultant, Primary Information Service, Office of the President of Ukraine; **Sergiy Peteshov**, Center for Donbas Social Perspectives, and correspondent, Radio Liberty; **Halyna Usatenko**, Director of Civil Society Programs, Europe XXI Foundation, Kyiv; **Nicholas Daniloff**, Professor of Journalism, Northeastern University; **Marvin Kalb**, Lecturer in Public Policy and Senior Fellow, Shorenstein Center, Harvard University; **Eileen O'Connor**, President, International Center for Journalists; **Nancy Popson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute.

Break-out Meeting at the Federal Communications Commission

Mark Berlin, Attorney Advisor, Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission; **Robert Baker**, Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission.

Break-out Meeting, U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Louise Slaughter, U.S. Congresswoman from New York; **Alan Snyder**, staff member, House of Representatives Ukraine Caucus and Caucus on the Future of American Media.

Human Rights in the Post-Soviet States

In a world in which concerns about war, terrorism, energy, and national security often preempt other issues, activists from across the globe emphasize that human rights are a vital concern that should not be forgotten. The Kennan Institute recognizes that discussion of human rights issues can further our understanding of political and civic life in Russia, Ukraine, and the surrounding states. Kennan Institute lectures and conferences have provided a forum for scholars and activists to discuss the importance of human rights in the region, potential threats to human rights, and ways in which the state and civil society can protect human rights.

Since 2000, the Kennan Institute has hosted Galina Starovoitova Fellows on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution—prominent scholars and policymakers from the Russian Federation who have successfully bridged the worlds of ideas and public affairs to advance human rights and conflict resolution. The Fellowship honors Galina Starovoitova, a leading human rights advocate and deputy in the Russian lower house of parliament (Duma). Last year, Starovoitova Fellows **Grigorii Pasko**, **Davlat Khudonazarov**, and **Valentin Gefter** gave public lectures at the Kennan Institute. Gefter spoke about the different levels and varieties of political persecution that occur throughout the former Soviet Union; Pasko described Russia's use of laws on governmental secrets to charge human rights and environmental activists with espionage; and Khudonazarov discussed the treatment of Tajik migrants in Russia.

In commemoration of the anniversary of Galina Starovoitova's death, in November 2004 the Kennan Moscow Project hosted a conference on Problems of Preserving Democratic Heritage. The conference consisted of three sections—political democracy and the protection of human rights, ethnic conflict and conflict resolution, and environmental protection and human rights. It featured presentations from several former Starovoitova Fellows, who discussed the state of democracy and human rights and the potential for ethnic tolerance and environmental protection in Russia today. The conference was attended by representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, and by **Olga Starovoitova**, president of the Galina Starovoitova Foundation in St. Petersburg. The Kennan

Moscow Project hopes to honor Starovoitova's legacy and keep human rights on the academic and policy agendas of Russia by hosting similar conferences on a regular basis.

The Kennan Institute hosted several additional lectures in Washington, D.C. on the subject of human rights. **Konstantin Akinsha** argued that the Russian government is suppressing freedom of expression in the name of respecting Orthodox Christian values. **Irina Yasina** and **Inga Pagava** discussed funding sources for human rights and pro-democracy organizations in Russia, arguing that Russian businesses and foundations rarely fund human rights groups because of deep-seeded distrust between the human rights and business communities. **Yuri Dzhibladze** of the Center for Development of Democracy and Human Rights in Moscow and **Nozima Kamalova** of the Legal Aid Society in Tashkent joined other human rights activists at a Woodrow Wilson Center event to discuss the most pressing issues on the human rights agenda today.

The Orange Revolution, with its promises of increased democracy and civil liberties, has made the question of human rights particularly important for Ukraine. The Kennan Kyiv Project hosted a May 2005 seminar in Chernivtsi on ethnic tolerance. Speakers **Serhiy Fedunyak** and **Anatoliy Kruglashov** discussed how multi-ethnic cities such as Chernivtsi can promote tolerance and positive interethnic relations. In addition, the Kyiv Project is planning a conference in 2006 that will examine Ukraine's progress in human rights and other areas one year after the Orange Revolution.



Popovka-Kalikinsaiia (Vologda oblast'). Wooden Church of the Nativity of the Virgin. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Closing Task Force Discussion

Andriy Masalskyy, Head, Public Relations Department, Office of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine; **Pavlo Matsepa**, Chief Consultant, Primary Information Service, Office of the President of Ukraine; **Sergiy Peteshov**, Center for Donbas Social Perspectives, and correspondent, Radio Liberty; **Halyna Usatenko**, Director of Civil Society Programs, Europe XXI Foundation, Kyiv; **Nicholas Daniloff**, Professor of Journalism, Northeastern University; **Marvin Kalb**, Lecturer in Public Policy and Senior Fellow, Shorenstein Center, Harvard University; **Eileen O'Connor**, President, International Center for Journalists; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Vera Andrushkiw**, U.S. Project Director, Community Partnership Projects, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; **F. Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Erin Truth**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute.

Closing Plenary Session

Atlantic Council of the United States

Welcoming Remarks

Nadia McConnell, President, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

Politics and Governance Task Force

Vyacheslav Koval, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and Deputy Chairman, Committee on Agenda, Parliamentary Ethics and Proceedings, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; **Vitalii Bondzyk**, Chief, Office of the Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine for Administrative Reform; **Zoryana Mischuk**, Counsel Secretary, Public Political Consultative Council of the Chairman of the Parliament of Ukraine; **Rostyslav Pavlenko**, Chief, Main Analytical Service, Office of the President of Ukraine; **Yuriy Yakymenko**, Director of Political and legal programs, Razumkov Center for Ukrainian

Economic and Political Studies; **William Green Miller**, Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; **Janucz Bugajski**, Director, Eastern European Project, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.; **Taras Kuzio**, Visiting Professor, George Washington University; **Robert McConnell**, former U.S. Assistant Attorney General; **Radek Sikorski**, Resident Fellow and Executive Director, New Atlantic Initiative, American Enterprise Institute; **Josephe Tydings**, former U.S. Senator and U.S. Attorney to Maryland.

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Walter Parchomenko, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council of the United States; **Jeffrey Simon**, Senior Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

Economics and Business Task Force

Volodymyr Ignashchenko, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Economy of Ukraine; **Sergiy Kruglyk**, Director, Economic Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine; **Valeriy Pyatnytskyy**, First Deputy Minister of Economy, Office of the Vice Prime Minister for European Integration; **Ihor Shevliakov**, Projects Coordinator, International Center for Policy Studies; **Ariel Cohen**, Senior Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation; **Keith Crane**, Senior Economist, RAND Corporation; **Gary Litman**, Vice President of European Affairs, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; **Marcus Micheli**, Deputy Director and Senior Ukraine Desk Officer, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State; **Morgan Williams**, Director, Government Affairs, Washington Office, SigmaBleyzer Private Equity Investment Group.

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Andriy Masalskyy, Head, Public Relations Department, Office of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine; **Pavlo Matsepa**, Chief Consultant, Primary Information Service, Office of the President of Ukraine; **Sergiy Peteshov**, Center for Donbas Social Perspectives, and correspondent, Radio Liberty; **Nicholas Daniloff**, Professor of Journalism, Northeastern University; **Marvin Kalb**, Lecturer in Public Policy and Senior Fellow, Shorenstein Center, Harvard University; **Eileen O'Connor**, President, International Center for Journalists; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Nancy Popson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

Briefing I

The Honorable Roscoe Bartlett, U.S. Congressman from Maryland; **The Honorable Marcy Kaptur**, U.S. Congresswoman from Ohio; **The Honorable Sander Levin**, U.S. Congressman from Michigan; **The Honorable Robert Wexler**, U.S. Congressman from Florida; **The Honorable Sherrod Brown**, U.S. Congressman from Ohio.

Briefing II

George Frowick, Office of the Assistance Coordinator, U.S. Department of State.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 2005

SEMINAR

Cosponsored with the Carter Center; Human Rights First; and the Middle East and Latin America Programs, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Human Rights Defenders on the Front Lines of Freedom," **Yuri Dzhibladze**, President, Center for Development of Democracy and Human Rights, Moscow; **Gustavo Gallon**, Director, Columbian Commission of Jurists, Bogota; **Nozima Kamalova**, Director, Legal Aid Society, Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 2005

SEMINAR

Cosponsored with the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
Book Launch: "A Cardboard Castle?: An Inside History Of The Warsaw Pact, 1955–1991," **Vojtech Mastny**, Senior Scholar, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Malcomb Byrne**, Deputy Director and Director of Research, National Security Archive
Discussants: **Lawrence Kaplan**, Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University, and Professor Emeritus of History, Kent State University; **Rodric Braithwaite**, former British Ambassador to the Soviet Union/Russian Federation, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Moscow 1941: A City and Its People at War," **Rodric Braithwaite**, former British Ambassador to the Soviet Union/Russian Federation, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, JUNE 14, 2005

SEMINAR

"The Village Question: Trends in Contemporary Research on Rural Russia and Ukraine," **Jessica Allina-Pisano**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Colgate University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Kate Brown**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County; **Liesl Gambold Miller**, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dalhousie University, Halifax; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 2005

ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"The Law on the Press: 15 Years Without Censorship," **Iurii Baturin**, Cosmonaut, Russian Cosmonaut Center, Zvezdnyi gorodok; former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; and Chair, Russian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; **Mikhail Fedotov**, Vice President, INDEM Foundation, Moscow, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 2005

BRIEFING

"The Verdict is in, but the Jury is Out: A Post-Verdict Briefing on Mikhail Khodorkovsky, YUKOS, and Russia's Direction," **Sanford Saunders**, Senior Partner, Greenberg Traurig, LLP, and legal defense counsel for Mikhail Khodorkovsky; **Sarah Carey**, Partner, Squire Sanders &

Dempsey LLP, and former Member of the Board, YUKOS; **Clifford Gaddy**, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29, 2005

SEMINAR

Cosponsored with East European Studies and the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
"The Use of Influence: American Diplomacy in Russia's Neighborhood," **James Goodby**, Senior Fellow, Center for Northeast Asia Policy Studies, Brookings Institution; former U.S. Ambassador to Finland, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Craig Dunkerley**, Adjunct Professor, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University; **Nancy Lubin**, President, JNA Associates, Inc.; Senior Fellow for Eurasia, American Foreign Policy Council; and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 2005

INFORMAL SEMINAR

Leonid Nevzlin, controlling shareholder, Group Menatep.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JULY 23-24, 2005

ALUMNI CONFERENCE

Golitsyno, Russia

Russia in the Post-Socialist World

Opening Remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Maria L'vova**, Press and Culture Section, U.S. Embassy, Moscow.

Plenary Session

Chair: **Aleksandr Kubyshev**, Chair, Department of Area Studies and International Relations, Volgograd State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute. "The Rise and Fall of Post-Soviet, Neo-patrimonial Regimes," **Denis**

Draguskii, Director, National Project Institute, Moscow, and Editor in Chief, *Kosmopolis*; "Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Post-Soviet States of Central Asia in the early 21st Century (Examples of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan)," **Vladimir Boiko**, Associate Professor and Director, Laboratory on Russia and the East, Barnaul State Pedagogical University; "The Partnership of Government, Business, and Society in the Social Sphere," **Vladimir Iakimets**, Senior Researcher, Institute for Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Session I: "Changes in World Politics in Connection with Reforms in the USSR/Russia and the Development Trajectory of Post-Soviet States"

Chairs: **Denis Dragunskii**, Director, National Project Institute, Moscow, and Editor in Chief, *Kosmopolis*; **Sergei Arutiunov**, Director, Caucasus Division, Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "New Europeans in a New Europe," **Ol'ga Butorina**, Head of Sector, Center for European Integration, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Boundaries of Identity and Opportunities for Development of Relations among Post-Soviet States," **Natal'ia Ivanova**, Professor of Psychology, State Higher School of Economics and Yaroslav' State University; "The Privatization of State Functions in Connection with the Use of Military Forces as a Factor in World Politics," **Dmitrii Baluev**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Nizhnii Novgorod State University; "The Role of the EU in Establishing and Developing Russia's Northwestern Borders," **Ol'ga Romanova**, Senior Instructor, Department of International Relations and Political Science, Nizhnii

Novgorod State Linguistics University; "Russia and Northeast Asia: Internal Politics and Opportunities for Multilateral Regional Cooperation," **Galina Belokurova**, Instructor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, Korea; "Investment of Foreign Organizations and Foundations in the Transformation of Russian Science," **Irina Dezhina**, Leading Research Fellow, Institute of Economics of the Transitional Period, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "New Challenges for Russian Education in the Formation of a Single Educational Space in Europe," **Tat'iana Tregubova**, Professor and Director, Laboratory for the Study of International Experience in Professional Education, Institute for Pedagogy and Psychology of Professional Education, Russian Academy of Education, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The States of the South Caucasus, 2003–2005," **Sergei Arutiunov**, Director, Caucasus Division, Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Strategic Partnership in Ukrainian-Polish Relations, 1991–2004," **Andriy Rukkas**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Agrarian Reforms in the Post-Soviet Space: Specifics and Results," **Valerii Patsiorkovskii**, Professor and Laboratory Chief, Institute for Socio-Economic Studies of the Population, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Russian Modernization through the Prism of American Experience: A Historical Retrospect," **Viktoriia Zhuravleva**, Associate Professor, Department of World Politics and Peoples, Russian State Humanities University; "'Brought in by the Wind: Democracy and U.S. Policy in the Post-Soviet Space," **Aleksandr Kubyshkin**, Chair, Department of

Area Studies and International Relations, Volgograd State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Human Rights in the Post-Soviet Space," **Andrei Suslov**, Chair, Department of Recent Russian History, Perm State Pedagogical University.

Session II: "State, Civil Society, and the Business Community: Allies and/or Antagonists"

Chairs: **Ol'ga Malinova**, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Political Sciences, Institute for Scientific Information in Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **William Smirnov**, Head of Sector, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Executive Secretary, Council on Promoting the Development of Civil Society Institutes and Human Rights of the President of the Russian Federation; and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute. "The Local Business Club as a Foundation for Local Self-Governance," **Viacheslav Glazychev**, Professor, Moscow Architecture Institute, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "State and Civil Society: How Can a Hierarchical Structure Interact with a Network?" **Aleksandr Sungurov**, President, Strategia Center, St. Petersburg, and former Regional Exchange Scholar and Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Russia's Business Elite as Reflected in Public Opinion," **Grigori Kliucharev**, Professor and Chair, Department of Issues of Continuing Education and Information Technology, Institute of Complex Social Research, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "The Influence of Economic Policy on the Establishment and Development of Free Markets in Russia," **Sergei Kozhevnikov**, Economist and

Investment Coordinator, NefStroiServis; "Privatization of the Social Functions of Government: Increased Efficiency or Lower Quality?" **Konstantin Anglichanov**, consultant, Center for Fiscal Policy, Moscow; "Legal Foundations for the Social Responsibility of Business and Human Rights," **William Smirnov**, Head of Sector, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Executive Secretary, Council on Promoting the Development of Civil Society Institutes and Human Rights of the President of the Russian Federation; and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "Unique Aspects of Russian Public Policy," **Larisa Nikovskaia**, Leading Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and **Vladimir Iakimets**, Senior Researcher, Institute for Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Production of Political Ideas and Vectors of the Transformation of the Public Sphere in Post-Soviet Russia," **Ol'ga Malinova**, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Political Sciences, Institute for Scientific Information in Social Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Anti-racism in Russia: Opportunities and Problems," **Aleksandr Osipov**, Program Coordinator, Memorial Human Rights Center, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "The Influence of the Unique Mental Characteristics of the Russian Population on the Establishment of Civil Society and Their Role in the Propaganda of Democratic Values," **Dmitrii Savchenko**, Assistant to the General Director for Quality, PoligrafSpektr; "Culture after Socialism: Pro et Contra," **Revekka Vul'fovich**, Professor, Department of State and Municipal Management,

Northwestern Academy for Public Administration, St. Petersburg, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Freedom of Literary Production in Russia at the Beginning of the 21st Century," **Boris Lanin**, Chair, Department of Literature, All-Russian State Tax Academy, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Strategy of Women's Organizations: A Search for State Paternalism, or Protection of Human Rights?" **Liudmila Popkova**, Center for Gender Research, Samara State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Interaction of Diverse Actors in the Formation and Development of City Policy," **Natal'ia Vlasova**, Professor, Department of Regional and Municipal Economics, Urals State Economics University, Ekaterinburg.

MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 2005
ALUMNI SEMINAR

Kyiv

"Regional Development of Ukraine in the Context of Upcoming Administrative Reform," **Oleksandr Fisun**, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Political Science, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Andriy Rukkas**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Olena Yatsunskia**, Associate Professor, Department of Social and Political Sciences, Mykolayiv Educational and Research Center, Odesa National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Serhiy Feduniak**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Chernivtsi National University; **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 2005

WILSON CENTER
DIRECTOR'S FORUM

"Armenia and the Future of Democracy," **Artur Baghdasaryan**, Chairman, National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia.

THURSDAY-SATURDAY,
SEPTEMBER 8-10 2005
CONFERENCE

Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH
Cospponsored by Dartmouth College, the International House of Japan, and the Portsmouth Peace Treaty Anniversary Committee

Portsmouth and Its Legacies:
An International Treaty
Commemorating the Centennial
of the Russo-Japanese Peace
Treaty of 1905

Keynote Address: "Representations of a New Japan: Images of the Russo-Japanese War"

John Dower, Ford International Professor of History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Roundtable Discussion I: "The Russo-Japanese War"

"Diplomacy Before and After the Russo-Japanese War," **David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye**, Associate Professor of Russian and East Asian History, Brock University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; and **Yasutoshi Teramoto**, Professor, Faculty of Law, Hiroshima University, Japan; "Lessons Lessened: The Russian Military Legacy of 1904-05," **John Steinberg**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgia Southern University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Bruce Menning**, Professor of Strategy, Department of Joint and Multinational Operations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

*Roundtable Discussion II:
"The Making of the Portsmouth
Peace Treaty"*

"The Portsmouth Peace," **Igor Lukoianov**, Senior Research Associate, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; "Roosevelt and the U.S. Role: Perception Makes Policy," **Eugene Trani**, President, Virginia Commonwealth University.

*Roundtable Discussion III: "Cultural
and Political Legacies of the
Portsmouth Settlement"*

"The Russo-Japanese War as a Retrogression of Civilization and Progress," **Sho Konishi**, Assistant Professor of History and East Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; "Political Legacies of Portsmouth," **Shinji Yokote**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University, Japan.

*Roundtable Discussion IV:
"The Portsmouth Treaty and Asia-
Pacific Relations Today"*

"Riding Rough: Portsmouth, Power Projection and Northeast Asian Anti-Americanism," **David Wolff**, Director Emeritus, Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center; "Economic Engagement: Coping with the Realities of the Globalized World," **Vladimir Ivanov**, Director, Research Division, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia, Tokyo, Japan.

*"Medical Cooperation in Northeast
Asia and the Russian Far East"*

Edward J. Burger, President, Institute for Health Policy Analysis; **Motokazu Hori**, Director, Russia-Japan Medical Exchange Foundation; **Boris Kogut**, Professor, Far Eastern National Medical University, Vladivostok, Russia.

*"The Implications of the
Portsmouth Treaty for International
Relations Today"*

Chair: **Kenneth Yalowitz**, Director, Dickey Center for International Understanding, Dartmouth College. **James Collins**, former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation; **Kazuhiko Togo**, former Japanese Ambassador to the Netherlands; **Evgeny Bazhanov**, The Diplomatic Academy, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2005
CONFERENCE**

*Cosponsored by East European
Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center*

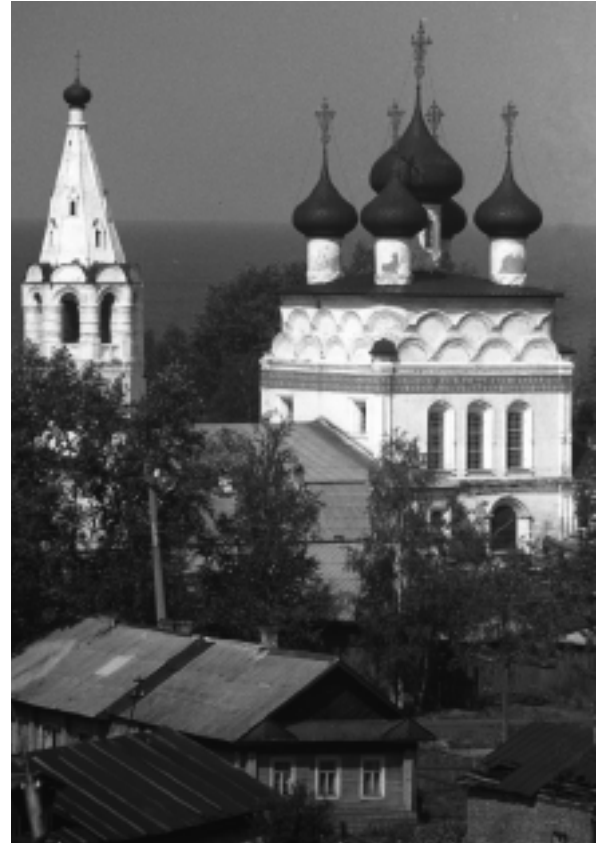
**The European Union's New
Eastern Border**

Panel I: "An End to Porous Borders"?

Chair: **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.
John Czaplicka, Research Affiliate, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University; **Oleh Havrylyshyn**, Deputy Director, European II Department, International Monetary Fund; **Janusz Bugajski**, Director, East European Project, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Anatoly Mikhailov**, Rector, European Humanities University in exile, Vilnius.

Panel II: "Migration and Refugees"

Chair: **Nida Gelazis**, Program Associate, East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.
Michele Commercio, independent scholar, Philadelphia, PA; **Kataryna Wolczuk**, Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, U.K.; **Ryszard Cholewinski**, Labor Migration Specialist, International Organization for Migration; **Zhanna Zayonchkovskaya**, Head, Analysis and Forecasting of Migration Working Group, Center for Demography and Human Ecology, Institute of Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.



Belozersk. Church of the Savior. (Photo: William Brumfield)

*Panel III: "Prospects for Further
Enlargement and the EU's Common
Foreign and Security Policy"*

Chair: **Martin Sletzinger**, Director, East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Ugnius Trumpa, President, Lithuanian Free Market Institute, Vilnius; **Martha Merritt**, Associate Director, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame; **Rodric Braithwaite**, former British Ambassador to the Soviet Union/Russian Federation, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2005
BOOK LAUNCH**

*Cosponsored by the Asia Program;
Science, Technology, American, and
the Global Economy (STAGE); and
the Middle East Program, Woodrow
Wilson Center*

Energy and Security: Toward a New Foreign Policy Strategy

Introductory Remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Daniel Yergin**, Chairman, Cambridge Energy Research Associates.

Panel I: "Driving Forces in Energy Security"

Moderator: **David L. Goldwyn**, President, Goldwyn International Strategies, LLC, Senior Fellow, Energy Program, CSIS, and former Assistant Secretary of Energy. "China and the OPEC Conundrum," **Amy Myers Jaffe**, Wallace Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy Studies, Rice University; "Can Technology Buy Us Energy Security?" **Ernist Moniz**, Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and former Under Secretary of Energy.

Panel II: "Flashpoints and Responses"

Moderator: **Jan H. Kalicki**, Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, Counsel for International Strategy, Chevron Corporation, and former Counselor to the Department of Commerce. "Saudi Arabia and the Middle East," **J. Robinson West**, Founder and Chairman, PFC Energy, and former Assistant Secretary of the Interior; "Defeating the Oil Curse," **Charles McPherson**, Senior Advisor, Oil, Gas, Mining and Chemicals Department, The World Bank.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2005
MEETING

Cosponsored by the World Bank

"Enhancing Gains from Migration in Europe and Central Asia"

Participants: **Caroline Brettell**, Professor, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University; **Summer Brown**,

Program Specialist, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Ryszard Cholewinski**, Labor Migration Specialist, International Organization for Migration; **Alexander Diener**, Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies and Languages, Pepperdine University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Nora Dudwick**, Staff Anthropologist, World Bank; **Nida Gelazis**, Program Associate, East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Timothy Heleniak**, consultant, World Bank, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Kathleen Kuehnast**, Research Associate, Institute for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University; former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar; and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **Marlene Laruelle**, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Ali Mansoor**, Lead Economist, Europe and Central Asia Region, World Bank; **Mejgan Massoumi**, Program Assistant, Comparative Urban Studies Project, World Bank; **Irena Omelaniuk**, Director for Technical Cooperation, International Organization for Migration; **Sebastien Peyrouse**, Resident Scientist, French Institute for Central Asian Studies, Tashkent; **Bryce Qullin**, Consultant, Europe and Central Asia Region, World Bank; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Louise Shelley**, Director, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, and Professor, School of International Service and Department of Justice, Law, and Society, American University; **Oxana Shevel**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Purdue University; **Erin Trouth**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY-SUNDAY,
SEPTEMBER 16-18, 2005
ALUMNI CONFERENCE
Poltava

Fifteen Years of Post-Soviet Transformations: Conclusions, Lessons, and Opportunities

Opening Remarks

Renata Kosci-Harmatij, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Vira Maksimova**, Assistant Press and Culture Attaché, U.S. Embassy to Ukraine; **Oleksandr Fisun**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Kharkiv National University; Chair, Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council, Kennan Institute; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Yaroslav Pylynskiy**, Director, Kennan Kyiv Project.

Panel I

Chair: **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Strange' Revolutions, Classical Traditions, and the Institutional Theories about Democratization: An Attempt at Theoretical Reflections on the Orange Revolution," **Viktor Pasisnichenko**, Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Humanities Education in Ukraine: Today's Problems and Tomorrow's Perspectives," **Nataliya Vysotska**, Professor, Department of English and American Literature, Kyiv National Linguistic University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Lustration as One Option for Battling Corruption," **Myroslava Antonovych**, Professor, Department of Law, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; "The Transformation of the Particularities of National Community Activism in Ukraine," **Viktor Stepanenko**, Director, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, Ukraine National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, and for-

mer Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Reverse Cultural Shock: The Ukrainian Context," **Liudmyla Bordiuk**, Associate Professor, Department of Applied Linguistics, Lviv National Polytechnic University.

Panel II

Chair: **Viktor Stepanenko**, Director, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, Ukraine National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Political Metamorphosis in Ukraine—2005: Current Practices and Troubled Routes toward a Desired Result," **Olena Lazorenko**, independent scholar, Kyiv, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Problematic Aspects of the Ukrainian Party System: Formal Analysis," **Oleksandr Fisun**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Problem of Economic Reforms in Post-Soviet Countries," **Olha Nosova**, Professor, Department of Economics, Kharkiv National University; "Labor Relations in Ukraine: Current Trends," **Iryna**

Novak, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Demography and Social Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; "A Challenge to State Administrations in Ukraine: Political Changes Against Administrative Conservatism," **Oleksandr Demianchuk**, Professor, Department of International Cooperation, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Transformation of Intergovernmental Relations in Ukraine: Which Way Are We Headed?" **Serhiy Slukhai**, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University.

Panel III

Chair: **Myroslava Antonovych**, Professor, Department of Law, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. "Modes of Colorization in Ukrainian Society During the Period of the Orange Revolution, and Its Future Evolution," **Nataliya Slukhai**, Professor, Department of Philology, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University; "The Status of the Market Economy for Ukraine: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," **Oleksandr Biriukov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economics, Taras

Shevchenko Kyiv National University; "European Neighborhood Policy as an Algorithm for Legal Integration of Ukraine," **Oleksandr Vyshnikov**, Professor, Department of Law, Odesa State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Color Revolutions and Security in Ukraine," **Serhiy Feduniak**, Associate Professor, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Chernivtsi National University; "The Influence of the Orange Revolution on Contemporary Politics in the U.S.: Political Economy and Ideology," **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2005

NOON DISCUSSION

"Two Cheers for Stagnation: Institutional Development and Democracy in Ukraine and Russia" **Alexander Motyl**, Deputy Director, Center for Global Change and Governance, and Professor, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University-Newark.

PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

Meeting Reports are the heart of the Institute's publication program; together with the Institute's monthly calendar, these reports were received by a readership that exceeded 6,500 in 2005. 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 world in touch with current research in the field.

Books

Motyl, Alexander J.; Blair A. Ruble; and **Lilia Shevtsova**, eds. **Russia's Engagement with the West: Transformation and Integration in the Twenty-First Century.** Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.

Kalicki, Jan H. and David L. Goldwyn, eds. **Energy and Security: Toward a New Foreign Policy Strategy.** Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Occasional Papers

#292. **Russia in Asia—Asia in Russia: Energy, Economics, and Regional Relations** (Conference Proceedings). **F. Joseph Dresen**, ed. (2005).

Meeting Reports

Vol. XXI No. 19–20 2004

"Russia in Asia—Asia in Russia: Energy, Economics and Regional Relations." Conference Report. (22–23 July 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 1 2004

Yevgenia Albats, columnist, *Moscow Times*; host, **Echo Moskvyi**; and Professor of Political Science, Moscow Higher School of Economics. "Bureaucrats and Russian Transition: The Politics of Accommodation." (15 June 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 2 2004

Fiona Hill, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution. "Eurasia on the Move: The Regional Implications of Mass Labor Migration from Central Asia to Russia." (27 September 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 3 2004

Matthew Ouimet, Foreign Affairs Research Analyst, Office of Analysis for Russia and Eurasia, U.S. Department of State, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "With Strategic Partners Like This, Who Needs Enemies? Russia Considers the 'Threat' from China." (4 October 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 4 2004

Konstantin Akinsha, Contributing Editor, *ARTnews*, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. "Orthodox Bulldozer: Art and Church in Putin's Russia." (25 October 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 5 2005

Anne Nivat, author and journalist, Moscow. "Caught in the Maelstrom: Perceptions of the Populace in Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Iraq." (8 November 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 6 2005

Tomila Lankina, Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. "The Impact of the 'West' on Russia's Northwest." (29 November 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 7 2005

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Grace Kennan Warnecke**, consultant, New York, and Member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **James Billington**, Librarian of Congress and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center; **S. Frederick Starr**, Chairman, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and Founding Director, Kennan Institute; and **Thomas Simons**, Director, Program on Eurasia in Transition, Davis Center, Harvard University, and Chairman, Kennan Institute Advisory Council. "The Kennan Institute at 30: Reflections on the Past and Visions for the Future." (14 December 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 8 2005

Deborah Yarsike Ball, National Security Analyst, Proliferation and Terrorism Prevention Program, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Will Russian Scientists Go Rogue? A Survey on the Threat and the Impact of Western Assistance." (16 December 2004).

Vol. XXII No. 9 2005

Peter Baker and **Susan Glasser**, former Moscow Bureau Chiefs, *Washington Post*. "Kremlin Rising: Putin's Russia and the Counter-Revolution." (10 January 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 10 2005

Kazuhiko Togo, Lecturer, Department of East Asian Studies,

Princeton University, and former Ambassador of Japan to the Netherlands.

"Japan and Russia: Strategic Positioning in East Asia." (18 January 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 11 2005

Nicolai Petro, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Rhode Island, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Michael McFaul**, Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University; and Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Vladimir Putin and Russia's Course: An Exchange of Views." (4 February 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 12 2005

John Tefft, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; **Steven Pifer**, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; **William Miller**, Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine. "The Path to a Free and Democratic Ukraine." (10 February 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 13 2005

Kate Brown, Assistant Professor of History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County. "Book Launch—**A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland**" (14 March 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 14 2005

Zurab Tchiaberashvili, mayor of Tbilisi, Georgia. "Urban Governance and Institution Building in Post-Rose Revolution Tbilisi." (8 March 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 15 2005
Aleksei Yablokov, President,
Center for Russian Environmental
Policy, Moscow; **D.J. Peterson**,
Senior Political Scientist, Rand
Corporation.
"Economic Growth and
Environmental Security in Russia."
(16 March 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 16 2005
Andrew Konitzer, Assistant
Professor, Department of Political

Science, Baylor University, and for-
mer Title VIII-Supported Research
Scholar, Kennan Institute.
"From Lords to Vassals: The Endo
of Regional Executive Elections in
Russia." (25 April 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 17 2005
Peter Ordeshook, Professor of
Political Science, California
Institute of Technology; **Mikhail
Myagkov**, Associate Professor of
Political Science, University

of Oregon.
"Fraud or Fairytales: Russia and
Ukraine's Electoral Experiences."
(12 May 2005).

Vol. XXII No. 18 2005
Rodric Braithwaite, former British
Ambassador to the Soviet
Union/Russian Federation, and
Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow
Wilson Center.
"Moscow 1941: A City and Its
People at War." (13 June 2005).

Special Reports

Hanson, Stephen E. and **Blair A.
Ruble.** **Indispensable
Knowledge: Rebuilding Russian
Studies for the 21st Century.**
Seattle, WA: University of
Washington; and Washington,
D.C.: Woodrow Wilson
International Center for Scholars,
2005.

Kennan Moscow Project Publications

**Vestnik Instituta Kennana v
Rossii** [Herald of the Kennan
Institute in Russia], Volume 6, Fall
2004.

**Rossiisko-amerikanskii
otnosheniia v usloviakh global-
izatsii** [Russian-American Relations
in the Context of Globalization].
Moscow, 2005.

**Vestnik Instituta Kennana v
Rossii** [Herald of the Kennan
Institute in Russia], Volume 7,
Spring 2005.

Kennan Kyiv Project Publications

Ahora [Agora], Volume 1, Spring
2005

Dialogue Programs on Russia and the Surrounding States

Dialogue Radio #716: The
History of Russian Architecture
Guest: **William Brumfield**, author
of *The History of Russian
Architecture*.

Dialogue Radio #749: A
Conversation with Marvin Kalb
Guest: **Marvin Kalb**, broadcast
journalist, author and founding
director of Harvard's Joan
Shorenstein Center.

Dialogue Television #813: The
History of Russian Architecture
Guest: **William Brumfield**,
author of *The History of Russian
Architecture*.

FUNDING

During the 2004–05 program year, a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York provided 47 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, 9 percent; the George F. Kennan Fund, 6 percent; the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State (through the Fulbright and Starovoitova programs), 2 percent; funds raised through the Kennan Council constitute 6 percent. The remainder is derived from other public and private sources, including grants from the U.S. Embassies in Moscow and Kyiv.

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Popovka-Kalikinsaia (Vologda oblast). Wooden Church of the Nativity of the Virgin. (Photo: William Brumfield)

Understanding the Orange Revolution

Ukraine's 2004 presidential election—marked by contentious runoff elections, voter fraud, and the near-fatal poisoning of liberal candidate Viktor Yushchenko—was one of the most notable events to take place in Europe over the past decade. During and after the "Orange Revolution," the Kennan Institute hosted a number of lectures and seminars to keep audiences in Washington, D.C. informed about the complex and rapidly changing situation in Ukraine and consider the broader implications for the future of Ukraine and for U.S. policy toward the region.

The day after the second round of elections were held in November, **Paul D'Anieri** of the University of Kansas described the situation in Ukraine as highly volatile. At the time, thousands of protesters had taken to the streets in Kyiv and other cities to protest the apparent victory of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. He argued that early signs indicated that the protesters had significant support, particularly from the Kyiv city government, but he warned that it was unclear whether the police and the military would support the central government or the protesters.

Two days later, a panel including **Oleksandr Potiekhin** of the Embassy of Ukraine to the United States, **Oleksandr Merezko** of Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv and a Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, **Taras Kuzio** of George Washington University, and **Anders Aslund** of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace discussed options for U.S. policy responses to the developing revolution. They argued that the evidence of electoral fraud in the November elections was very strong and emphasized that the U.S. should put pressure on Ukraine to declare the elections invalid. Merezko suggested specific actions that the U.S. government could take if the elections are not overturned, including not recognizing a Yanukovich administration, freezing the foreign bank accounts of political figures, and supporting opposition parties.

Yushchenko's base of supporters—both within the government and on the streets of Kyiv—grew by the day, and eventually the government scheduled a new run-off election for late December, which Yushchenko won. Wilson Center Senior Policy Scholar **William Green Miller**, who spent six weeks in Ukraine during the Orange Revolution, described the protest movement in Kyiv as an "urban, mass political action of a peaceful, effective kind never before seen in Ukraine or anywhere else. It was democracy in the most direct form."

In the aftermath of the Orange Revolution, the Kennan Institute hosted several events addressing the question of Ukraine's future. In February, **Volodymyr Dubovyk** of Odesa State University warned that Yushchenko's new government should avoid conducting a campaign of revenge against all supporters of the old government. To manage the country's regional diversity, Dubovyk argued that the government should consider amending the constitution to make Ukraine a federal state. Also in February, former U.S. Ambassadors to Ukraine **William Green Miller** and **Steven Pifer** joined Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs **John Tefft** to speak on how the U.S. can promote freedom and democracy in Ukraine. The speakers agreed that the U.S. has a strong interest in seeing Yushchenko's government fulfill the promises of reform that were made during the Orange Revolution. According to Tefft, U.S. priorities include helping Ukraine reduce its aging conventional weapons inventory, including portable surface-to-air missiles (MANPADS), contributing towards the construction of a new containment structure at the Chornobyl site, increased U.S. aid to assist Ukraine in implementing its reform agenda, and support for Ukraine's integration into international institutions.



Kyiv. Outdoor kitchen. (Photo: Helen Bodian)

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