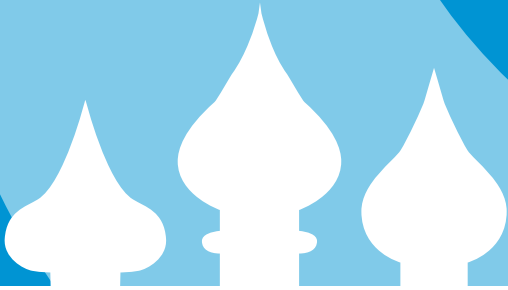




Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars

2005
2006



KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report



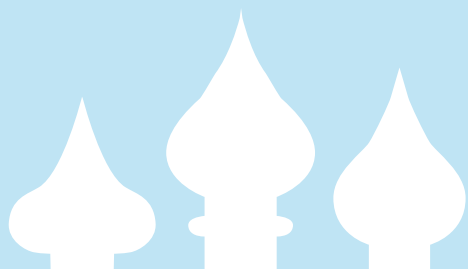
Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
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KENNAN INSTITUTE

Annual Report

2005–2006



KENNAN INSTITUTE

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Woodrow Wilson International Center
for Scholars
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program year:

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Kristina Wyatt, Oliya Zamaray

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



OVERVIEW

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

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

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

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

The Kennan Institute and the ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow, administer the Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASE) program. The CASE program has established nine thematic research centers at regional Russian universities. The CASEs support advanced research in the social sciences and humanities in Russia's regions, build networks of scholars within Russia, and provide opportunities for the integration of Russian scholars into the international academic community. The CASE program is currently

OVER: LOG CHURCH OF THE
ASCENSION, NORTHWEST VIEW,
TORZHOK, TVER OBLAST. (WILLIAM C.
BRUMFIELD)

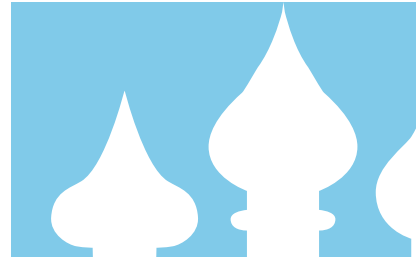


DORMITION MONASTERY, CATHEDRAL
OF DORMITION & BELL TOWER, SOUTH
VIEW, STARITSA, TVER OBLAST. (WILLIAM
C. BRUMFIELD)

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.



Reclaiming the Sacred

Just a few months after the Soviet Union collapsed, a leading “Sovietologist” was invited by a group of even more distinguished Soviet-hands to imagine the “table of power” in the Kremlin a decade-and-a-half hence. Who would be at that table? The leaders of various democratic political parties? Women? Business leaders who competed with equal deftness with their western counterparts on the great global markets that would surely rule the world?

The speaker began by observing that how people gathered around the table would be as important as who they were. Would members of this elite be elected? Alternatively, would they find their way to power via personal networks? Would they all be ethnic Russians or would there be a place at the table for representatives of other nationalities? Would women be in the room? Continuing on, he suggested that while the process was unclear, undoubtedly some of those present would be wearing expensive business suits, others would be wearing the uniforms of various security and military forces, and others still would don clerical garb.

The audience audibly gasped, and spent the evening trying to explain to the discussion leader that there would be no clerical garb at the Russian table of power. The Soviet Union had been an atheistic society and state, one that had been thoroughly secularized. In addition, the forces of a burgeoning global economy would propel others to the fore. Despite the role that religion might come to play in the private lives of individual Russian citizens, several in the room argued, there would be no public institutionalized religiosity in the former Soviet Union.

Whatever aspects of Russian reality were illuminated that evening nearly fifteen years ago, even more light was shed on mainstream Washington, D.C. think-tanks. One simply did not speak of religion in polite company, especially when engaging in political analysis.

How different the world—and Washington—seems today.

Since the fall of communism in Russia, Ukraine, and other countries once part of the Soviet Union, religious affiliations and identities have experienced a rapid resurgence. Religion emerged as an affiliation of growing prominence against the post-1991 background of new state formation, local authoritarianism, concerns over the meanings of democracy as well as the ethics of the new economy, and—in far too many instances—of poverty and war. An increasing number of people today look through the framework of religion in order to understand the world around them. In a region in flux, questions of religion are related to—though are by no means limited by—issues of national and international security. In fact, it is fair to say that religion touches upon all spheres of social, political, and cultural life, and its resurgence has profoundly affected the definition and shaping of broader social movements as well as individual behaviors.

The religions practiced in this region differ from one another in important ways: their rituals are diverse, their customs and laws vary, their senses of sacredness are defined and elaborated through different social settings and different civilizational narratives. There are times in history when these differences between and among religions appear to set the stage for (and, indeed, impel) the great conflicts of the day. And yet, it is also fair to say that the world's religions share a great deal. In their essence, each and every one of them offers moral templates for followers. In times of danger and trouble, they offer sense, meaning, and solace. They provide for life-paths that contain dignity. In looking at their sacred books, it is clear that they encourage order and lawfulness and offer ways for believers to learn the habits of altruism.

Within such countries as Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, there are vast and varied examples of how religion in its many facets is becoming central to social, cultural, and political life. In some cases, religious practices prove to be part of what could be called a new cultural dynamism, one that responds to shifting social reality. For example, over the past couple of years, mullahs in Tatarstan have begun to read their sermons in Russian rather than in Tatar. They have done so in response to the arrival of increasingly large numbers of migrants from the Caucasus region who are seeking religious sustenance in the language they share with local clergy: Russian. Some observers of this phenomenon detect an increasing radicalization of the content of local sermons, so that Russian may in fact become the language of Islamic Fundamentalism in the Central Volga. At the same time, because the sermons are in Russian, they offer a new, wider access to the sacred texts of Islam—a process which can serve to demystify Islam for Russians, an important step on the way to growing tolerance.

In another example, the new Mayor of Kyiv—Leonid Chernovetsky—was an unexpected candidate and an even more surprising electoral victor given his religious affiliation. Chernovetsky is a follower of Pastor Sunday Adelaja, a Nigerian Pentecostal minister who has built up a congregation in Kyiv's left-bank neighborhoods that is said to now total 25,000.

Within the thorny question of church/state relations in the region, several interesting configurations have developed. For example, the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church is lobbying for the introduction of religious training in Russian public schools. At the same time, the Patriarchate praises the separation of church and state in neighboring Ukraine. In Belarus, a new law on religious freedom (first thought of as a counterpoint to the post-Soviet state atheism still in effect in the country), has forced many followers of minority religions outside of the frame of the law, simply because they meet in private homes. In the Northern Caucasus, one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse regions in the world, Islam is playing a role that leads both to stability and to radicalization. It is practiced not only by a small but devastating group of rebel warriors and “black widows,” but mostly by men and women hoping to quietly re-familiarize themselves with a religion long closed to them.

It is clear that religion, through a variety of institutions and confessions, has become a vital and vibrant force in the region. The dynamism of religion—manifested in the growth of some movements, the variety of new means for engaging the “public good,” and innovative ways of grappling with post-Soviet chaos—stands in startling contrast to an ever more visible return of a peculiar kind of *political* “stability” that comforts so many throughout the former Soviet Union. As counter-intuitive as it may seem, religion is a creative force in the post-Soviet space. Indeed, unlike local political systems and elites, religious institutions and leaders often respond far more quickly to the profound changes taking place in how people live their lives. Money matters; security is scarce; people feel that their future is uncertain. Political leaders



NEW MOSQUE, VAKHITOV STREET, CHISTOPOL, TATARSTAN. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

who somehow echo the past might be reassuring. Nonetheless, many are turning to religious belief for answers.

During the Cold War, Westerners barely thought to study religion in the Soviet Union. It was, after all, an atheistic state and, in any case, the questions that interested students of the region clearly clustered around themes of high politics and international relations. When the Soviet state collapsed, scholars had unprecedented chances to sort through the many sides of life that had been left out of the scholarship examining the Soviet Union. Still, we in the West who try to understand and explain the region often seem much more comfortable talking about the “vertical of power,” oligarchs, and parliamentary negotiations than considering the content of Islamic and Pentecostal sermons. Consequently, like many voters in the region, observers often fall back on well-worn notions of what places like Russia and Ukraine seem to be about. While Putin and an emerging “Putin System,” as well as Yushchenko and his “grand compromise” with Yanukovych, are undoubtedly worthy of attention—indeed, the Kennan Institute has devoted considerable programming this past year to both—they do not tell the entire story of either Russia or Ukraine. In fact, the political may be the least dynamic aspect of post-Soviet life.

The Kennan Institute has been developing programming to initiate a serious analytic conversation in Washington, the United States, and the West more generally about the complex place of religion, religious belief, and religious institutions in the contemporary life of Russia, Ukraine and the entire region. During the 2005-2006 program year, for example, the Kennan Institute hosted a workshop designed to serve as a forum in which scholars from a variety of disciplines could examine in depth the question of the role of religion in the region today. Drawing from their wealth of field experience, several anthropologists, historians, and a political scientist together examined the role of morality, community, and religion after Communism. Papers presented at the workshop, led by anthropologist Catherine Wanner (Pennsylvania State University) and historian Mark Steinberg (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), will be published in a book titled *Reclaiming the Sacred: Morality, Community, and Religion after Communism*.

The Kennan Institute also hosted a conference on “Religion in Russian Society: State Policy, Regional Challenges, and Individual Rights.” Sponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, and featuring scholarship and policy work on Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and

Central Asia, the discussion was aimed at bringing high level questions of state policy together with the fact of religious diversity on the ground.

The Kennan Kyiv Project held a seminar on “Inter-confessional Relations in Eastern Ukraine,” featuring both scholars of religion and religious clergy. The Kennan Institute in Washington, D.C. featured several scholars of religion in its speaker series of noon discussions, seminars, and lectures. Anatoly Krasikov, writing in the *Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii*—the Kennan Moscow Project’s periodical—outlined the development of freedom of religion in the Russian Federation.

Programs such as these represent the continuation of an institutional priority several years in the making, namely that these issues matter in the region. From conferences and talks on the relationship between Orthodoxy and civil society, to programs on the role of Islam in Central Asia, the Kennan Institute has been striving to give religion the serious, deep consideration it deserves.

Aside from individual lectures, seminars, and conferences, there has been a trend that we have perceived: more and more enlightening scholarship coming out of the region examines religion as it engages broader historical, cultural, sociological, and demographic questions. I am particularly glad that several scholars in the 2006-2007 incoming class at the Kennan Institute work on various aspects of the problem of religion in the region, including anthropologist Douglas Rogers, historians Scott Kenworthy and Kate Brown, and political scientists Irina Papkov, Sebastien Peyrouse, and Scott Radnitz. We look forward to many fruitful discussions in the year ahead.

When the Kennan Institute was founded 32 years ago, it may have been hard for some of the finest scholars of the Soviet Union to imagine a time such as this, when the region was actively reinventing itself in important ways, especially along cultural and religious lines. Even if conflicts in the region appear to cluster around religious indexes and identities, it is crucial to remember in these dynamic and sometimes very troubled times that religion and the fact of religious diversity can play a positive role in individual minds, hearts, and communities. It seems crucial to pay respect to that positive function as we strive to understand this vast, rich, and complex region.



In closing, I would like to make special note of the Kennan Institute staff in Washington, Moscow, and Kyiv, without whom none of the accomplishments of the past year would have been possible. I have had the incommensurable good fortune of working with a group of individuals over the past year who have consistently set a high standard to which I can only aspire. Ekaterina Alekseeva, Summer Brown, Markian Dobczansky, Joseph Dresen, Jennifer Giglio, Pavel Korolev, Renata Kosch-Harmatiy, Edita Krunkaityte, Galina Levina, Murad Pateev, Margaret Paxson, Irina Petrova, Yaroslav Pylynskyi, Nataliya Samozvanova, Anna Tokar, S. Todd Weinberg, and Megan Yasenchak have been true colleagues. Erin Hofmann, who left the Institute this past year, is 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, 2006



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 Advisory Council performs similar duties in Ukraine. Alumni Council members normally serve for two years and represent various regions of Russia and Ukraine. The members during the 2005-06 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 Leokadia Drobizheva, Kathleen Kuehnast, and Beth Mitchneck. We greatly appreciate all their hard work.*

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**The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Council Chair Oleksandr Fisun. We greatly appreciate all of his hard work.*

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.

BELORUSSKAIA METRO STATION,
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BRUMFIELD)

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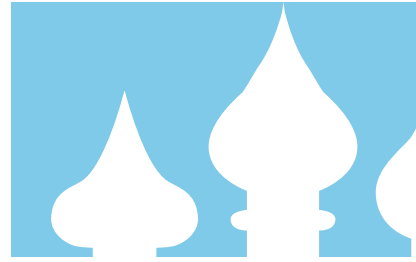
Peter L. Schaffer

A La Vieille Russie





SCHOLARS



The Kennan Institute's residential fellowship program supports outstanding research on Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities. During the 2005-06 program year, the Institute supported nine types of grants: Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowships, Galina Starovoitova Fellowships on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Senior Scholarships, Senior Policy Scholarships, Public Policy Scholarships, Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholarships, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholarships, Central Eurasian Short-Term (CEST) grants, and Short-Term grants. The competitive application process is open to qualified academic scholars as well as practitioners from government, media, and the private sector. All programs are limited to candidates with doctoral degrees or equivalent professional achievement, except Short-Term grants, for which an advanced Ph.D. candidate may apply.

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

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

During the 2005-06 program year, the Kennan Institute supported 71 scholars whose work included topics in politics, sociology, history, literature, economics, and the arts throughout the former Soviet Union. The scholars at the Kennan Institute during the past year came from around the world and formed a community of scholars. This community of scholars contributed to the life of the Institute and helped to further American understanding of the social, political, and economic dynamics of the successor states to the Soviet Union.

OVER: CATHEDRAL OF SAINTS PETER
AND PAUL, KAZAN, TATARSTAN.
(WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

GALINA STAROVOITOVA FELLOWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

VICTOR SHNIRELMAN, Senior Researcher, Department for the Study of Ethnic Conflict, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow. "Biological or Cultural Racism? Reflections on Contemporary Racism in Russia and its Origins." October 2005-March 2006.

OLGA TSEPILOVA, Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. "Closed Nuclear Cities in Russia: Open Disaster." April-June 2006.

SENIOR POLICY SCHOLAR

WILLIAM GREEN MILLER, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine. "Creation of a Relationship between Ukraine and the U.S." January 2000-December 2008.

SENIOR SCHOLARS

MURRAY FESHBACH, Research Professor Emeritus, Georgetown University. "Policy Implications of Population, Health, and Environment Trends in Russia." October 2002-September 2006.

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

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

WOODROW WILSON CENTER FELLOWS

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-May 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-May 2006.

JOSEPH HARAHAHAN, 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-May 2006.

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

MARLENE LARUELLE, Postdoctoral Fellow, French Institute for Central Asia Studies, Tashkent. "The Teaching of Nationalism among Russia's Higher Education System: Cultural Determinism as a Response to Globalization?" September 2005-May 2006.

SEBASTIEN PEYROUSE, Consulting Expert on Central Asia, Zones Grises. "Islam and Politics in Post-Soviet Central Asia: A Response to Globalization." September 2006-May 2007.

PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS

NOZIMA KAMALOVA, Chairperson, Legal Aid Society of Uzbekistan, Tashkent. "The Impact of Security Measures in the 'War Against Terror' on Democratic Freedoms and Civil Rights." April-August 2006.

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

TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH SCHOLARS

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

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

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

ERIC LOHR, Assistant Professor, Department of History, American University. "Citizenship in Imperial and Revolutionary Russia." January-October 2005.

AMY NINETTO, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Rice University. "Local Science in Global Networks: Changing Knowledge in a Siberian Science City." May-August 2006.

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

ALEXANDRA VACROUX, independent scholar. "Institutional Obstacles to Health Care Reform in Russia." October 2005-August 2006.

FULBRIGHT-KENNAN INSTITUTE RESEARCH SCHOLARS

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

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

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

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

LARISSA KUZMITCHEVA, Research Fellow, Department of Social-Political Sciences, Yaroslavl State University. "The EU's European Security and Defense Policy." March-August 2006.

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.

ELENA NEZNAMOVA, Assistant Professor, Public Administration and Legal Support of the Public Service, Russian Academy of Public Service Under the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow. "Developing Popular Participation in Municipal Governance in Large Cities as a Fundamental Practice." September 2006-February 2007.

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.

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.

MIKHAIL TROITSKIY, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy of Russia, Moscow State Institute of International

I had a wonderful experience as a Kennan short-term scholar and made significant progress on my research project.

Francine Hirsch, May 2006.

I appreciate the opportunity to participate in the Fulbright-Kennan Scholar program. It was the best time in my life.

Volodymyr Tytov, August 2006

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.

VOLODYMYR TYTOV, Chair of the Department of Logic, Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy of Ukraine, Kharkiv. "Main Trends of the American Philosophy of Law." March-August 2006.

NAIL USMANOV, Dean, Faculty of History, Birk State Pedagogical Institute, Bashkortostan. "The Activity of the American Relief Administration in the Southern Urals in 1921-1923." March-August 2006.

VIRA VOVK, Senior Research Associate, Department of Transatlantic Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv. "The Problem of Transatlantic Solidarity and Foreign Policy Strategy of Ukraine." October 2005-April 2006.

SUFIAN ZHEMUKHOV, Associate Professor, Department of Social and Humanities Education, Kabardino-Balkarian State University, Nalchik. "The

Caucasus Region in American Historiography." September 2005-March 2006.

SHORT-TERM SCHOLARS

RUSTEM ABLYATIFOV, Chair, Division of International Relations, State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration, Kyiv. "Native Peoples and the US: Ways for Mutual Understanding. Conclusions for Ukraine." December 2005-January 2006.

VOLODYMYR BOYKO, Director, Center for Advance Training of Public Officers, Government Officials and Business Executives, Chernihiv Regional State Administration, Ukraine. "Local Self-Government as an Element of the Civil Society in the U.S.: Conclusions for Ukraine." January-February 2006.

GEORGE CHERON, Professor, Department of European Studies, San Diego State University. "An Investigation of the 'Vozdushnye Puti' Archive." June 2006.

JONATHAN DEKEL-CHEN, Lecturer, Institute of Contemporary Jewry and Department of Russian and Slavic Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "A World of Good: Jewish

Philanthropy and Politics in Russia and the USSR, 1890s-1990s." September-October 2006.

MICHAEL DOBBS, Staff Reporter, *The Washington Post*. "Cuban Missile Crisis: The Soviet Experience." April-May 2006.

JESSE FERRIS, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University. "Egypt, the Soviet Union, and the Civil War in Yemen, 1962-1967." June-July and August 2006.

JULIE HEMMENT, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. "Not For Profit? Youth Voluntarism and the Restructuring of Social Assistance in Russia." July-August 2006.

FRANCINE HIRSCH, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison. "The Soviets at Nuremberg: International Law, Propaganda, and the Making of the Postwar Order." April-May 2006.

AUSTIN JERSILD, Associate Professor, Department of History, Old Dominion University. "American Domesticity and the Socialist Bloc: Exhibits and the

Discovery of Strategic Consumerism." August 2006.

VICTORIA KHITERER, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Central Arkansas. "Arnold Davidovich Margolin: Politician, Lawyer and Diplomat." June-July 2006.

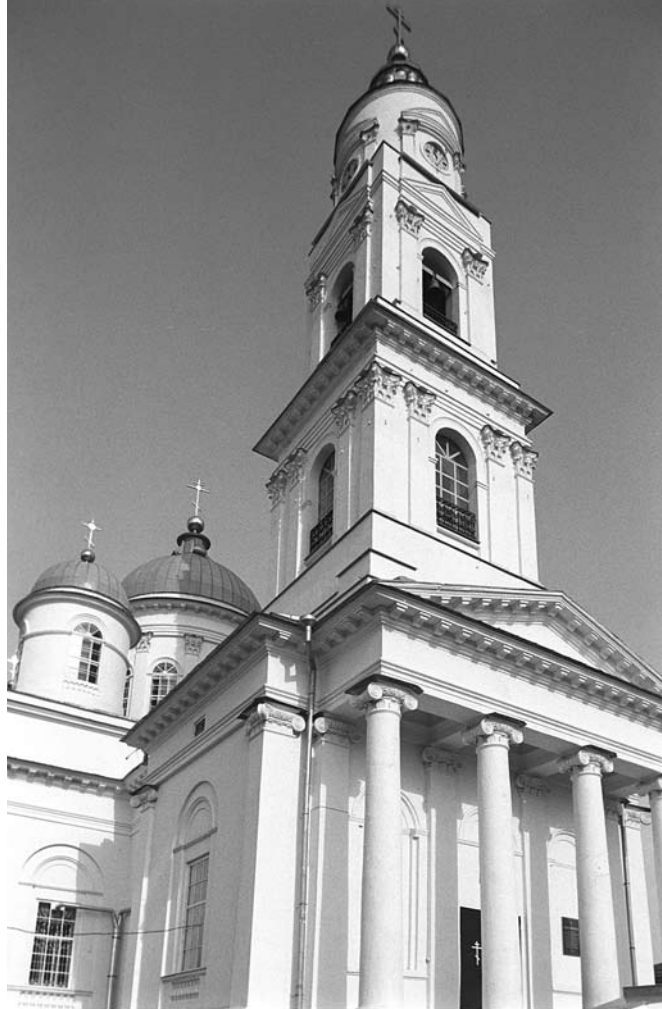
DAVID KOESTER, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. "Living the Soviet Dream: Life History of Tatiana Petrovna Lukashkina." April-May 2006.

NIKITA LOMAGIN, Associate Professor, School of Economics, St. Petersburg State University. "International Relations, Soviet Politics and Soviet Popular Opinion, 1939-1945." November-December 2005.

RICHARD LOTSPEICH, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Indiana State University. "An Economic Analysis of the Chechen Conflict." October-November 2005.

TIGRAN MARTIROSYAN, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, George Washington University. "Effects of Nationalism on Political Democratization and State Building in Armenia." June-July 2006.

EUGENE MAZO, Ph.D. candidate, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, UK. "Semi-Presidentialism in Post-Communist Europe: Explaining the Origins and the Consequences of Dual-Headed Executive Structures in the Constitutions of Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova, 1991-2004." March-April 2006.



CATHEDRAL OF SAINT NICHOLAS,
MARX STREET 2, CHISTOPOL,
TATARSTAN. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

LOUISE MCREYNOLDS, Professor, Institute for Advanced Study, University of Hawaii. "Murder Most Russian: the Crime, Its Punishment, and Modernity in Late Imperial Russia." May 2006.

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

GREGORY MITROVICH, Consultant, Harvard Project on Cold War Studies, Harvard University and Consultant, Radio Free Europe Project, Hoover Institution, Stanford University. "Anti-Americanism as One of the Most Serious Foreign Policy Dilemmas Facing the U.S." October-November 2005.

ETHAN POLLOCK, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Syracuse University. "Bathing in Russian Culture: A History of the *Bania* and its Role in Russian Politics and Identity." October 2005.

VERA PROSKURINA, Assistant Professor, School of Modern Languages, Georgia Institute of Technology. "Discourse of War in the 18th Century: Russian Imperial Idea and American Revolutionary War." May-June 2006.

SANDRA PUJALS, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Puerto Rico. "The History of the Comintern in the Caribbean Between the Late 1920s and the Early 1940s." June-July 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 visiting professor at Brown University, and a fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program at the United States Institute for Peace during 1993–1994, where she completed research on self-determination movements in the former Soviet Union. In keeping with the legacies of both Woodrow Wilson and Galina Starovoitova, the Starovoitova Fellowship is available to prominent scholars or policy makers from the Russian Federation, who have successfully bridged the worlds of ideas and public affairs to advance human rights and conflict resolution.

RECIPIENTS:

Sergei Baburkin, March–August 2000
Emil Payin, September 2000–June 2001
Aleksandr Nikitin, September 2001–January 2002
William Smirnov, October 2001–July 2002
Zaindi Choltaev, September 2002–June 2003
Ivan Pavlov, September–December 2003
Anatoly Krasikov, December 2003–April 2004
Aleksandr Osipov, April–July 2004
Davlat Khudonazarov, October 2004–April 2005
Grigorii Pasko, October 2004–April 2005
Valentin Gefter, March–June 2005
Victor Shnirelman, October 2005–March 2006
Olga Tsepilova, April–June 2006

OLEG REUT, Senior Lecturer,
Department of International Relations,
Petrozavodsk State University.
"Networks, Post-National Actors and
Human Rights." January-February 2006.

THOMAS ROTNEM, Associate
Professor, Department of Social
and International Studies, Southern
Polytechnic State University. "Corporate
Governance and Corruption in the Post-
Communist Region: The Case of the
Russian Federation." May and July 2006.

EVGENY SERGEEV, Senior Research
Fellow, Institute of General History,
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.
"Russian Military Intelligence at the Turn
of the 20th Century." January-February
2006.

ALEXANDER SHAPIRO, Senior
Research Fellow, Institute of Pre-school
and Family Education, Russian Academy
of Education, Moscow. "Economic and
Political Influences on Psychological
Problems in U.S. and Russian Families."
October-November 2005.

BIN SHI, Associate Professor, School of
International Studies, Nanjing University,
China. "Paul H. Nitze and U.S. National
Security Strategy." January-February
2006.

SUSAN SMITH, Ph.D. candidate,
Department of History, University
of Washington. "Museum Practices
and Notions of the Local in a Russian
Provincial City *Vladimir*, 1898-1935."
October-November 2005.

MATTHEW SPENCE, Co-Executive
Director, Truman National Security
Project. "The Impact of Western

The Kennan Institute's outreach to local
universities, and the high regard with
which they hold the work done here (and
the KI leadership), have made it easy to
open doors to colleagues in political science
and Russian studies.

Alexandra Vacroux, August 2006

Democracy Promotion in Russia,
Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan." September-
October 2006.

IGOR TORBAKOV, Analyst,
EURASIANET, Open Society Institute,
New York. "Reconceptualizing
Nation and National History: George
Vernadsky, Eurasianism, and History of
Ukraine." April-May 2006.

PETR VAGANOV, Professor,
Department of Ecological Geology,
University of St. Petersburg. "Cyber
Security and the U.S. Legislation
to Strengthen it (Analysis of the
Experience Accumulated to be Used in
Russia)." October-November 2005.

PATRICK VAUGHAN, Professor,
Institute for American Studies,
Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland.
"Zbigniew Brzezinski's Role in Urging
a Greater U.S. Focus on the Former
Soviet Nationalities." September-
October 2006.

FERUZA ZAGIRTDINOVA, Lecturer,
Department of Social Sciences,
Tashkent Medical Academy. "U.S.

President's Commission for the
Study of Ethical Problems in Medical,
Biomedical, and Behavioral Research in
Uzbekistan." April-May 2006.

VALENTIN ZELENYUK, Senior
Economist, Kyiv Economics Institute.
"Phenomenon of Economic Growth in
Countries of the Former USSR Before
and During Their Transition Period."
July 2006.

CENTRAL EURASIAN SHORT- TERM TRAVEL GRANTS

ALEXANDER PETROV, Assistant
Professor, Department of History,
Russian State University for the
Humanities, and Research Fellow,
Center for North American Studies,
Institute of World History, Russian
Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "The
Making and Development of Russian
Colonial Empire."

SERHIY RYMARENKO, Senior
Researcher, Institute of Political and
Ethnic Studies, National Academy of
Sciences, Kyiv. "Ethnic Relations and
Democratization in Eastern Europe."

KATHRYN WASSERMAN DAVIS AND FAMILY AWARDS DINNER

On September 19, Woodrow Wilson Center President and Director Lee H. Hamilton announced the establishment of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Awards Dinner in support of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Kennan Institute.

The Wilson Center will honor two individuals with the Woodrow Wilson Award—one for corporate citizenship, one for public service—at each of these dinners. The Davis family will contribute \$500,000 annually to underwrite these dinners and provide critical support for the Kennan Institute's programming on Russia and the surrounding states.

The announcement was made following the Woodrow Wilson Awards Dinner in Washington, D.C. to benefit the Kennan Institute, at which Kathryn W. Davis received the Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service. John H. Tyson of Tyson Foods, Inc. was also honored at the dinner with the Woodrow Wilson Award for Corporate Citizenship.

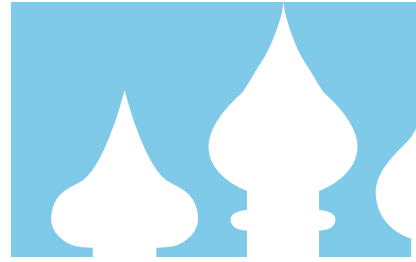
"The Davis family has shown a commitment to international education and understanding that is simply extraordinary," said Hamilton in his announcement. "Indeed, it is impossible to calculate the impact they have had on institutions and individuals here in the U.S. and around the world. Because of this support, the Kennan Institute will be able to continue to enhance its vital work on behalf of increased American understanding of Russia, Ukraine, and the other countries of the region...and because of this support, the causes of international education and understanding that are so dear to the Davis family will be advanced."

Blair A. Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute, said, "Kathryn Davis and her family have done far more than any other institution, group, or individual in this country to ensure that the United States will continue to have the capacity to study Russia in the years ahead. All of us who have custodianship for the Kennan Institute are in their debt; indeed, everyone in this country who cares about Russian studies should stand in awe of all that they have done for our field in its entirety."

"My hope for Russia is to see it an independent, strong nation with good ideas of democracy and kindness toward its people," said Kathryn Davis. "Toward that end, we need institutions like the Kennan Institute that help build and maintain dialogue between our two countries and our two peoples in times of good relations and bad."

The first Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Awards Dinner will be held in September 2007.

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.

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 Context of Russian Culture: the Dimension of Values;”

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

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

CASE INITIATIVES

The current phase of the CASE program calls for the development of advanced research projects, particularly those which involve collaboration among multiple CASEs, institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and academic partners overseas.

As a result, a number of interesting and timely collaborative projects have been established over the past year. The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in conjunction with the Baltic, Novgorod, Rostov, Ural, and Far Eastern CASEs, are currently working on a project entitled “The Creation of Systems to Monitor the Connection of Growing Labor Markets in the Regions with Appropriate Personnel Training.” This project exemplifies the great potential of the CASEs for developing innovative and effective projects, which deal with methodological and practical questions of particular importance to their regions. Working groups have been organized at the five participating CASEs to consider how best to carry out the project in all of the regions, which methodological approaches to use, and the optimal methods to be utilized for data collection. This project is ongoing and will result in an analysis and comparison of current conditions, and the development of policy recommendations for the future.

“The Future of Russia: Perspectives from the Center and the Regions” is the title of another major project that has been coordinated during the past year by ISE Center, the Kennan Institute’s partner in Moscow responsible for administering the CASE program. This project showcases the capacity of the CASE network as a whole, and its ability to effectively cooperate with institutions from various provinces in Russia—in this case, the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the Institute of Sociology, and Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)—on projects which have both scholarly and functional value. The project’s goal is the development of a prognosis for the Russian economy, political situation, foreign policy, and social development through 2015 using data compiled in different areas of the country. Results will include the formulation of different scenarios and policy recommendations based on this information for government officials at the regional and federal levels.

International activities from the past year included the establishment of three Kennan Institute-CASE working groups comprised of CASE-affiliated scholars (including representatives of programs similar to the Russian 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. For many of the Western scholars, this project served as their first interaction with CASEs and, more broadly, with colleagues from the former Soviet Union. The three working groups focused on broad themes: “Globalization, Security, and Identity in Russia,” “Diverse Cultures in Contemporary Society,” and “State and Society Relations in Transitional Societies.” Each of the three working groups was made up of approximately twelve members and was led by one Russian specialist and one non-Russian specialist. Each group met twice and since the second meetings, each has worked to produce an English-language edited volume for publication. The workshops were designed to engage scholars from around the globe who are involved in similar research and to deepen CASE interaction with the international academic community.



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

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

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

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

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

Once the structures were in place, the second phase of the program was initiated. Vibrant academic communities formed around each CASE as a result of the innovative, advanced research in the social sciences and humanities taking place at these Centers. The CASEs earned strong reputations as research centers at the forefront of Russian scholarship by attracting high-caliber scholars to be individual fellows and participants in CASE activities, hosting a variety of conferences and seminars, producing numerous publications, and establishing extensive open-access research libraries. An increase in academic mobility was achieved in Russia during this period and over 3,500 scholars from across the country have benefited from the CASE program, either through direct fellowships or through engagement in CASE activities.

Currently, the third stage of the project focuses on the development of advanced research projects, particularly those resulting from collaborative efforts involving multiple CASEs, academic institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and international partners. This phase



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

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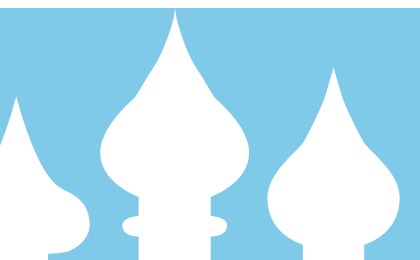
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**The Kennan Institute would like to extend special thanks to outgoing Advisory Board member William Zimmerman. We greatly appreciate all of his hard work.*

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calls for: the integration of the CASEs into a fully standardized network which allows for more effective collaboration on network-wide research endeavors; extending their reach into the international academic community; offering intensive training on contemporary research methodologies; emphasizing the development of high-quality applied research at CASEs with specific attention to issues affecting the regions in which they are located so as to attract the interest of local civil society institutions, the private sector, and the public sector; and enhancing the cooperation of CASEs with the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, which has been encouraged to utilize the network of CASE universities in its program of higher education reforms. In addition to these goals, the CASEs are now also tasked with establishing the conditions within their host universities that will allow them to sustain their operations once Western funding for the program comes to an end.

Please visit www.iriss.ru, the official CASE program website administered by ISE Center, for more information.



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 3, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"The Tensions between Authoritarian Rulers and International Organizations in Central Asia," **Andrea Berg**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg, Germany.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 2005 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"Economic Aspects of Modernization," **Vladislav Inozemtsev**, founder, Center for the Study of Post-Industrial Societies.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 2005 BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the History and Public Policy Project and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, and the Cold War Group, George Washington University

"Hungary in the Soviet Empire, 1945–1956: New Evidence, New Interpretations," **Laszlo Borhi**, Holder of the Hungarian Chair, Indiana University, and Senior Research Fellow, Hungarian Academy of Sciences;

Hope Harrison, Director, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, and Associate Professor

of History and International Affairs, George Washington University.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Across the Street from the Soviet Collapse: August–December 1991 Inside the U.S. Embassy in Moscow,"

Wayne Merry, Senior Associate, American Foreign Policy Council, and former Chief Domestic Political Analyst, U.S. Embassy, Moscow (1991–1994)

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 2005 SEMINAR

Moscow

Cosponsored by U.S. Embassy, Moscow
"Surveying the Geopolitical Landscape: Year 2020," **Mitchell Reiss**, Vice Provost for International Affairs, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; former Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 2005 SEMINAR

"Differential Approaches for Addressing HIV/AIDS and Related Problems: Russian and American Collaboration in the Real World," **Andrei Kozlov**, Director, Biomedical Center, St. Petersburg.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Encountering the Global Economy after Communism: Russia and China Compared," **Harley Balzer**, Associate Professor, Department of Government and School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Immigration, Emigration, and Empire: Population Politics in Imperial and Revolutionary Russia," **Eric Lohr**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, American University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY–SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28–29, 2005

TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Religion in Post-Soviet Societies

WORKSHOP LEADERS: **Mark Steinberg**, Professor, Department of History, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; **Catherine Wanner**, Associate Professor, Department of History and Religious Studies, Pennsylvania State University.

PARTICIPANTS: **Melissa Caldwell**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California-Santa Cruz; **Sascha Goluboff**, Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Washington and Lee University; **Erin Hofmann**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute; **Scott Kenworthy**, Assistant Professor, Department of Comparative Religion, Miami University; **Zoe Knox**, Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Cultures, Rice University; **Katherine Metzo**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of North Carolina-Charlotte; **Irina Papkov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government, Georgetown University; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Douglas Rogers**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Miami University; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Russell Zanca**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Northeastern Illinois University; **Jarrett Zigon**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, CUNY Graduate Center.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Russian Orthodoxy and Russian Nationalism in Post-Soviet Russia: The Moscow Patriarchate's Greatest Challenge?" **Zoe Knox**, Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Cultures, Rice University.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2005 SEMINAR

"Post-Soviet Integration Processes in the Caucasus and their Security Implications," **Leila Alieva**, President, Centre for National and International Studies, Baku, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Putin's Russia Today: Sources of Stability and Emerging Challenges," **Andrei Kortunov**, President, New Eurasia Foundation, and President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2005 SEMINAR

Cosponsored by Michigan State University
"Social Analysis of the Role of Magic in Contemporary Russia," **Vladimir Svechnikov**, Professor, Department of Ergonomics, Saratov Technical University.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2005 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Kharkiv, Ukraine
"Inter-confessional Relations in Eastern Ukraine," **Oleksandr Fisun**, Deputy Director, Kharkiv Branch, National Institute of Strategic Studies, Associate Professor, Department



WOODEN HOUSE, VETOSHKIN STREET 3, VOLOGDA, VOLOGDA OBLAST. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

of Political Science and Philosophy, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Olga Filippova**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Kharkiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Andriy Safronov**, Associate Professor, Department of Theory and History of Culture, Kharkiv State Academy of Culture; **Viktor Levchuk**, Head, Department of Religions, Kharkiv Regional State Administration; **Ihor Isichenko**, Archbishop, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; **Reverend Tarasiy Voitenko**, Secretary, Kharkiv Eparchy, Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate); **Rashid Bragin**, Mufti, and Head, Kharkiv City Muslim Religious Community; **Pavlo Sharudin**, Head, "Slovo Zhyttia" (Voice of Life) Church.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Ukraine a Year after its Revolution: What Has Changed and What Has Not?" **Paul D'Anieri**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas.

MONDAY–TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14–15, 2005/ KENNAN INSTITUTE-CASE WORKSHOP

Globalization, Security, and Identity in Russia

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 of Human Geography, University of Leicester, U.K.; **Rick Fawn**, Senior Lecturer, School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews, U.K.; **Alexei Fenenko**, Research Fellow, Institute for International Security Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; **Alla Kassianova**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Tomsk State University; **Gennady Konstantinov**, Professor and Director, Corporate Governance Center, General and Strategic Management Department, Moscow Higher School of Economics; **Erik Noreen**, Associate Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden; **James Richter**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Bates College, Maine; **Eduard Solovyev**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy

of Sciences; **Mikhail Troitskiy**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Evgeny Vodichev**, Vice Director for Science, Institute of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2005 SEMINAR

"Inward Investment and Sustainable Development in Russia: The Case of the Sakhalin Oil and Gas Projects," **Michael Bradshaw**, Professor of Human Geography, University of Leicester, U.K.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 2005 ART OPENING

"Remembering the Orange Revolution: Images from Kyiv and Lviv," **Helen Bodian**, photographer, New York; **Adrian Erlinger**, photographer, Washington, D.C.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 2005 STAROVOITOVA READINGS St. Petersburg

Minorities in Big Cities

Introductory Remarks

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

Panel I:

"My Meetings with Galina Starovoitova," **Sergei Arutiunov**, Professor and Chair, Department of the Caucasus, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Efficiency of Integration Patterns

in Russia," **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Professor, Head, Center for Ethnic Relations, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; "Activity of Ethnic, Confessional, National, and Radical Minorities: Sources of Development and/or Destructive Crises in Contemporary Conditions," **Valentin Gefter**, Director, Human Rights Institute, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

Panel II:

"Russia without Racism Project," **Aleksandr Vinnikov**, high school teacher, St. Petersburg; "Can National and Cultural Autonomy be Regarded as an Institution for the Protection of Minorities?" **Aleksandr Osipov**, Program Coordinator, Memorial Human Rights Center, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "The Institution of Scientific Expertise as a Means of Discrimination against Religious Minorities: Case Study of the Situation with the Hubbard Center (Church of Scientology, St. Petersburg)," **Dmitry Dubrovsky**, Executive Director, Ethnic Studies Program, European University, St. Petersburg.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Image Myths in the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Campaign," **Olena Yatsunska**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Mykolayiv National Shipbuilding University; Kluge Fellow, Library of Congress; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Adventures in Policy Advising in the FSU: Why Understanding Governance Matters," **Don Van Atta**, Principal Development Specialist, Development Alternatives, Incorporated, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2005 SEMINAR

"Promoting New Awareness of the Gulag: Combining the Printed Page with the Web Page," **Steven Barnes**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, George Mason University, and Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Stephanie Hurter**, Project Manager, Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives; and Creative Lead, Center for History and New Media, George Mason University.

FRIDAY–SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2–3, 2005 CONFERENCE

Moscow
Cosponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences

Social Justice and Inter-sectoral Cooperation in Russia

PLENARY SESSION

Introductory Remarks

Mary S. Zurbuchen, Director, Asian and Russian Grants Program, Ford Foundation; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

Presentations

"Mechanisms of Inter-sectoral Cooperation," **Vladimir Iakimets**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; "The State of Human and Social Capital in Russia," **Sergei Gardirovsky**, Director, Center for Strategic Research, Volga Federal District; "Social Development of Russia's Regions and Social Policy," **Natalia Zubarevich**, Professor and Director of Regional Program, Independent Institute of Social Policy.

FIRST WORKING SESSION

Section I

Moderator: **Tatiana Sidorova**, Ph.D. candidate, Moscow State University. "Social Justice and Social Identity in the Consciousness of Russians," **Natalia Ivanova**, Professor of Psychology, Yaroslavl State University; "Social Justice as a Principle of Social Policy: Declarations and Realizations," **Uliana Seresova**, Senior Instructor, Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, Moscow Region Academy of Social Management; "Social Inequality and the Problem of Public Policy," **Larisa Nikoskaia**, Professor and Leading Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Section II

Moderators: **Gulnaz Kalimullina**, Assistant Director, Development Department, Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences; **Sergei Boiko**, Ph.D. candidate, Moscow State Institute of International Relations. "The Role of International Standards

in the Formation of Mechanisms for Social Responsibility and Inter-sectoral Cooperation in Russia," **Dmitrii Savchenko**, Assistant to the General Director of Quality Control, PoligrafSpektr, St. Petersburg; "The Systemic Cooperation of Business and the State: Opportunities for Social Justice," **Sergei Kozhevnikov**, Investments Coordinator, NeftStroiServis, Yekaterinburg; "Social Irresponsibility in Business, Government, and Culture," **Elena Rogaleva**, Public Relations Manager, Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences.

Section III

Moderator: **Oksana Lipka**, Ph.D. candidate, Moscow State University. "The Institution of the Regional Human Rights Ombudsman as a Means for the Establishment and Development of Civil Society," **Tatiana Margolina**, Human Rights Ombudsman, Perm; "Institutions of Civil Society or Non-Commercial Organizations: Two Models of Inter-sectoral Cooperation," **Konstantin Starostin**, Head of Social Programs, International Department, Mari-El State University, Ioshkar-Ola; "Professional Bureaucrats as a Demand of the Times (New Examples of Possibilities for State, Civil, and Municipal Services in Vladimir Region)," **Matvei Davydov**, Senior Lecturer, Social Sciences and Humanities Department, Russian Academy of State Service, Vladimir Branch.

SECOND WORKING SESSION

Section I

Moderator: **Elena Khaianen**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Psychology,

Moscow State University. "Social Justice and Military Pensions in the Russian Federation," **Natalia Romashkina**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for International Economics and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "The Monetization of Social Consciousness as a Precursor to an Adequate Understanding of Social Justice in the Conditions of Equivalent Exchange," **Valery Patsiorkovsky**, Professor and Laboratory Director, Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Population, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Social Studies in Russian Schools: The Problems of Realizing the Goals of Teaching," **Elena Priamikova**, Senior Instructor, Department of Sociology, Urals State Pedagogical University, Yekaterinburg.

Section II

Moderator: **Ilia Viktorov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economic History, University of Stockholm. "The Development of Competitive Mechanisms for Financing Social Projects and Programs in Krasnoyarsk: From Social Projects to Social Partnership," **Liudmila Vladiko**, Leading Specialist and Executive Secretary, Council on Regional Social Grants, Krasnoyarsk State Committee on Nationalities, Religions, and Public Associations; "The Problem of Democratizing Civic Activity in Contemporary Russia," **Andrei Ivanov**, Section Editor, *Arkhitekturnyi Vestnik*; "The Realization of Social Responsibility of the Leadership of City-building Enterprises through Participation in Regional Management (Example of the City of Old Oskol in Belgorod

Region)," **Irina Shiriaeva**, Investments Consultant, Troika Dialogue Management Company, Moscow; "Social Responsibility of Businesses and Corporate Citizenship (Example of Perm Region)," **Sergei Peregudov**, Professor and Senior Research Fellow, Institute of International Economics and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Section III

Moderator: **Olga Zaitseva**, Research Fellow, Museum of the Cities of the North, Tomsk. "The Participation of Youth in Public Life: The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Raising the Civic Activity of Youth," **Svetlana Pantiukhina**, Assistant Director, Center for the Development of Local Communities and Voluntary Initiatives, Open Russia, Barnaul; "Opportunities for Cooperation between the State and Non-Governmental Organizations in the Sphere of Civic Education," **Andrei Suslov**, Chair, Department of Recent History of Russia, Perm State Pedagogical University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "On the Connections Between Civic and Educational Campaigns," **Grigory Kliucharev**, Section Director, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

THIRD WORKING SESSION

Section I

Moderator: **Elena Perekopskaia**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Philosophy, Humboldt University, Berlin. "The Civil Rights of Sexual Minorities as an Aspect of Improving Social Justice in Russia: Current Situation

and Opportunities," **Andrei Gladkov**, Instructor, Kaliningrad State University; "The Practice of Informational Agreement as an Aspect of Social Justice in Medicine," **Tatiana Sidorova**, Ph.D. candidate, Moscow State University; "Social Justice in the Theory of the 'Welfare State': The Development of Constitutional Principles of the 'Welfare State' on the Example of Guaranteed Freedom of the Press in the Russian Federation," **Tatiana Sergei**, Associate Professor, Department of Civil Law, School of Law, Dagestan State University.

Section II

Moderator: **Svetlana Bagina**, Program Manager, Memorial International. "Social Components of Political Capital in Russian Corporations," **Sergei Boiko**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; "Mass Production, Economic Growth, and Social Justice: Lessons for Russia in Historical Perspective," **Ilia Viktorov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economic History, University of Stockholm; "Specifics and Forms of Inter-sectoral Cooperation at the Level of Municipal Education," **Natalia Vlasova**, Professor, Department of Regional and Municipal Economics, Urals State University, Yekaterinburg.

Section III

Moderator: **Oksana Lipka**, Ph.D. candidate, Moscow State University. "Support Networks and the Organizational-Psychological Climate," **Evgenii Morgunov**, Associate Professor and Dean, Department of Practical Psychology, Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic

Sciences; "The Network Culture of the Association of Managers of Culture: Stages of Development," **Vladimir Sorokin**, Project Director, NP Professional Society of Cultural Managers; "Popular Journalism and Public Communications," **Oksana Silanteva**, Chair, Public Organization 'Development Project' of Altai Krai, Barnaul.

FOURTH WORKING SESSION

Section I

Moderator: **Elena Perekopskaia**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Philosophy, Humboldt University, Berlin.

"Is It Possible to Change the Social Situation of Teenagers in Villages?"

Evgenii Khaianen, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Psychology, Moscow State University; "Social Reforms in Russia," **Elena Tarasenko**, consultant, Ministry of Health and Social Development of the Russian Federation; "The Development of Competitive Mechanisms for the Financing of Social Projects and Programs in Krasnoyarsk: From Social Projects to Social Partnership,"

Liudmila Vladyko, Leading Specialist and Executive Secretary, Council on Regional Social Grants, Krasnoyarsk State Committee on Nationalities, Religions, and Public Associations.

Section II

Moderator: **Ilia Viktorov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economic History, University of Stockholm. "The Experience of Developing Corporate Charitable Programs," **Elvira Aleinichenko**, Program Manager, RUSAL-2005 Children's Programs, and Volunteer Coordinator, "NGO School"

Foundation for the Development of Non-commercial Organizations; "Corporate Charity in Single-Industry Cities," **Tatiana Babanova**, Leading Public Relations Specialist, Viktoriia Children's Foundation, Moscow; "Interconnections of Social Justice and Social Responsibility in Conditions of Reform: The Realization of Socio-cultural Projects as a Possible New Type of Social Responsibility of the Three Sectors of Society," **Natalia Nikitina**, Faculty Advisor, Department of Social and Cultural Programs, Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences.

Section III

Moderator: **Olga Tananian**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University.

"The Role of Civil Society in the Stimulation of Corporate Social Responsibility of Enterprises in the Local Communities of Northwestern Russia," **Maria Tysiachniouk**, Research Fellow and Head, Department of Ecological Sociology, Center for Independent Sociological Research, St. Petersburg, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Church, State, and the Business Community: Attempts at Partnership," **Aleksandr Polunov**, Associate Professor, Department of State Management, Moscow State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Historical and Cultural Rights in Contemporary Russia," **Olga Zaitseva**, Research Fellow, Museum of the Cities of the North, Tomsk.

FORUM ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Over the last several years, the threat and reality of terrorism has grown exponentially, and countries throughout the world are struggling to combat this problem. The importance of developing an effective collective response to this challenge has been recognized by the G8, a group of leading democratic and economically developed nations. The G8 countries included the issue of combating terrorism on the agenda of their annual summit in July 2006 in St. Petersburg.

Of particular concern to many people around the world is the perceived trend toward using fears about security to justify the erosion of civil liberties and to deprive citizens of their fundamental rights. Effectively addressing security while respecting human rights constitutes a key challenge of our day, and it is essential to have an open dialogue among individuals who are responsible for security and those who are involved in the protection and promotion of civil liberties. Such a real and meaningful dialogue is vital to the preservation of democratic societies.

To encourage such a discussion, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Kennan Institute, the Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights, and the New Eurasia Foundation hosted a roundtable discussion on national security and human rights in Moscow on June 29, 2006. The conference was opened by Ella Pamfilova, the chair of the Presidential Council on Civil Society Development and Human Rights. The forum brought together more than twenty leading experts from G8 countries, including participants from academia, public policy research centers, law, nongovernmental organizations, human rights advocacy, and journalism.

The main points of the discussion focused on the importance of protecting human rights while ensuring comprehensive security, and indeed, acknowledging the fact that the two are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. There was broad consensus among the participants that only a society built on respect for human rights and the rule of law can effectively combat terrorism and that good governance, an independent judiciary, a strong civil society, constraints on corruption, and an independent media are key elements. Moreover, it was widely noted that suppressing democratic freedoms as an expedient to achieving national security will only weaken it further by radicalizing and isolating certain populations, contributing to their perceived grievances and increasing the impetus to violence.

The Kennan Institute intends to continue this important discussion at other international gatherings with the goal of enhancing an appreciation for the essential interdependence of national security and human rights.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"How Powerful is Putin? Changes and Continuities in Russia's Political Landscape," **John Williams**, Russia Domestic Affairs Division Chief, U.S. Department of State, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
Cosponsored by the Division of International Security Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"The Links Between Organized Crime and Terrorism in Eurasian Nuclear Smuggling," **Louise Shelley**, Director, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Robert Orttung**, Associate Research Professor, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2005 SEMINAR

"Ukraine's Quest for Europe: History, Geography, Identity," **Serhii Plokhii**, Professor of History, University of Alberta; Visiting Professor, Department of History, Harvard University; and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2005 NOON DISCUSSION

"Ukraine's Foreign Policy since the Orange Revolution," **Volodymyr Dubovyk**, Director, Center for International Studies and Associate Professor, Department of International

Relations, Odesa National University; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 2005 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"'Cell Globalization' in Rural Communities," **Nikita Pokrovsky**, Professor and Head, Department of General Sociology, State University-Higher School of Economics, Moscow.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 2005 MEETING

Kyiv

"Modern Immigration Challenges for Ukraine," **Olena Malynovska**, Researcher, Ukrainian Academy of State Management, Kyiv, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Oleksandr Piskun**, Editor, *Migration Issues*, Kyiv; **Oleksandr Poznyak**, Head, Migration Research Department, Institute of Demography and Social Studies, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv; **Oleksandr Bogomolov**, Vice President, Association of Middle East Studies, Kyiv; **Volodymyr Yevtukh**, former Minister of Nationalities of Ukraine; **Oleh Povoroznyk**, Researcher, International Organization for Migration, Kyiv; **Oleksandr Zadorozhny**, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; **Vadim Kulko**, consultant, Kyiv; **Yaroslav Pylynskyi**, Director, Kennan Kyiv Project.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 2006 BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Crafting Peace: Strategies to Deal with Warlords in Collapsing States (Case

Studies: Tajikistan and Sierra Leone)," **Sasha Lezhnev**, author and International Program Officer, Northern Uganda Peace Initiative; **William Zartman**, Director of Conflict Resolution at School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

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

MONDAY-TUESDAY, JANUARY 9-10, 2006 KENNAN INSTITUTE-CASE WORKSHOP

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 Humanitarium Center for Culture and Diversity, Lexington, KY; **Jennifer Giglio**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Katherine Graney**, Associate Professor, Department of Government, Skidmore College; **Oksana Karpenko**, Sociologist and Vice-Director, Independent Center for Social Research, St. Petersburg; **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.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 2006 SEMINAR

"Private Finance and Capital Formation in the Russian Federation," **Leonid Grigoriev**, President, Institute for Energy and Finance.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 2006 BOOK LAUNCH

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Solovyovo: The Story of Memory in a Russian Village," **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Michele Rivkin-Fish**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"After Andijan: Authoritarianism, Islam, and Social Mobilization in Central Asia," **Eric McGlinchey**, Assistant Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University.

FRIDAY–SATURDAY, JANUARY 19–20, 2006 KENNAN-INSTITUTE CASE WORKSHOP

Durham, U.K.

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: **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, U.K.; **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, U.K.; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Gevorg Poghosyan**, Director, Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, Armenian National Academy of Sciences; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Elizabeth Wood**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **Konstantin Zavershinski**, Professor, Culturology and Ethics Department, Novgorod State University.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 2006 BOOK LAUNCH

Cosponsored by the Comparative Urban Studies Project, Division of U.S. Studies, and Canada Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center
"Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv," **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Dominique Arel**, Associate Professor of Political Science and Chair, Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa; **Audrey Singer**, Immigration Fellow, Metropolitan Policy Program, Brookings Institution.

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia's Party Problem: United Russia, Putin, and the Fate of Democracy in Russia," **Henry Hale**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University.

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 2006 SEMINAR

Moscow

Cosponsored by U.S. Embassy, Moscow

"America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked," **Bruce Stokes**, International Economic Columnist, *National Journal*, and Consultant, Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 2006 SEMINAR

"Preview of the 2006 Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections," **Taras Kuzio**, Visiting Professor, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University; **Lucan Way**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Temple University; **Adrian Karatnycky**, Counselor and Senior Scholar, Freedom House, New York, NY, and President, Orange Circle; **Mykola Riabchuk**, Research Associate, Center for European Studies, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; Co-Editor, *Krytyka*; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2006 SEMINAR

"New Russia, Old Chicago: The Tenacity of Machine Politics," **Georgi Derluguian**, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"The Myth of Democratic Power: Politics in Russia From Perestroika to Putin," **Marc Garcelon**, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Middlebury College, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Alternative Systems and Structures in Russian Higher Education: Institutional Responses for the 21st Century," **Andrei Rezaev**, Professor, Faculty of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University, and Director, InterComCenter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2006 SEMINAR

"Media in Ukraine: A Domain of the State, the Oligarchs, or the Public?" **Marta Dyczok**, Associate Professor, Departments of History and Political Science, University of Western Ontario, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Elzbieta Olechowska**, Editor in Chief, *International Training*, Canadian Institute for Training in Public Broadcasting, CBC/Radio-Canada; **Nataliya Petrova**, Attorney at Law and media law expert, Kyiv, and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"With Courage and Persistence: Eliminating Nuclear Weapon Systems in Ukraine, 1994–2004," **Joseph P. Harahan**, Senior Historian, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, U.S. Department of Defense, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2006 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow
"A Few Thoughts about Russian Modernization," **Georgii Satarov**, President, INDEM Foundation, Moscow.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Women's Health as a Prism of Russia's

Social Change: An Anthropological Approach," **Michele Rivkin-Fish**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 2006 SEMINAR

Cosponsored by East European Studies and the Cold War International History Project

"Nikita Khrushchev and the End of the Soviet Bloc: The Impact of the Secret Speech on East Central Europe," **Charles Gati**, European Studies Professor and Foreign Policy Institute Fellow, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; **Vladimir Tismaneanu**, Professor of Political Science, University of Maryland.

MONDAY, MARCH 6, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"A Cold War in Miniature: The Polish-Soviet Secret War for Ukraine, 1926–1939," **Timothy Snyder**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Yale University

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 2006 MEETING

Embassy of the Russian Federation, Washington, D.C.

Cosponsored with the Nixon Center, Washington, D.C.

"Breakfast Meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov," **Sergei Lavrov**, Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation; **James R. Schlesinger**, Senior Advisor, Lehman Brothers; **Graham Allison**, Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University; **James Billington**, Librarian of Congress, and former Director, Woodrow Wilson Center; **David**

Ensor, National Security Correspondent, CNN; **Nikolas Gvosdev**, Editor, *The National Interest*; **Jim Hoagland**, Associate Editor and Chief Foreign Correspondent, *Washington Post*; Andrew **Kuchins**, Director, Russian and Eurasian Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; **James Langdon**, Director, Energy Department, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P., and member, Kennan Council; **Anatol Lieven**, Senior Research Fellow, The New America Foundation; **Dimitri K. Simes**, President, The Nixon Center; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10, 2006 POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
"Corruption in Practice: Exploiting Russian Pharmaceutical Regulation for Private Gain," **Alexandra Vacroux**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
"The Lost Battle: The Soviet Union and the United Nations under Stalin, 1945–1953," **Ilya Gaiduk**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, MARCH 20, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Central Asia Fifteen Years after Independence: The Drift toward Authoritarianism," **Marlene Laruelle**, Associate Scholar, French Center for Russian, Caucasian and East-European Studies, Paris, and Fellow, Woodrow

Wilson Center; **Sebastien Peyrouse**, Researcher, Center for Post-Soviet Societies Studies, National Institute for Oriental Languages and Cultures, Paris.

TUESDAY, MARCH 21, 2006 SEMINAR

"Ballots on the Frontiers of Freedom: Elections in Ukraine and Belarus," **David Kramer**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 2006 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Kyiv
"Ukraine's Transition," **Oleksandr Fisun**, Deputy Director, Kharkiv Branch, National Institute of Strategic Studies, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Philosophy, Kharkiv National University, former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute, and Chair, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Victor Stepanenko**, Acting Department Chair, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar, and member, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Andriy Rukkas**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University, former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute, and member, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Nataliya Petrova**, Lawyer, Associate Professor, Faculty of Law, University

of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Hryhoriy Homenko**, Vice Rector, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine; **Rustem Ablyatifov**, Department Chair, State Committee on Nationalities and Migration, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Volodymyr Boyko**, Director, Chernihiv Regional Center for Advanced Training of Civil Servants, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 2006 SEMINAR

"Teaching Patriotism in Contemporary Russia: Finding the Line between 'Russian Civilization' and Ethnocentrism," **Victor Shnirelman**, Senior Researcher, Department for the Study of Ethnic Conflicts, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Marlene Laruelle**, Associate Scholar, French Center for Russian, Caucasian and East-European Studies, Paris, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, MARCH 27, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Virtual Politics and the Corruption of Post-Soviet Democracy," **Andrew Wilson**, Senior Lecturer in Ukrainian Studies, SSEES, University College London; and Honorary Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 2006 SEMINAR

"A Debate on Russia's Direction and American Policy," **Alex Goldfarb**, Executive Director, International Foundation for Civil Liberties; **Edward**

Lozansky, President, American University in Moscow and President, Kontinent USA Media Group.

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 2006 ALUMNI SEMINAR

Moscow

"Running in Circles: About the Nature of Returning Processes in Russian Modernization," **Emil Payin**, Section Director, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 2006 SEMINAR

Moscow

Cosponsored by the American Center and the U.S. Embassy, Moscow
"Competitiveness: Innovation, Education, Technology, and Global Engagement," **Kent Hughes**, Director, Science, Technology, America, and the Global Economy Project, Woodrow Wilson Center.

THURSDAY–SUNDAY, MARCH 30–APRIL 2, 2006 REGIONAL POLICY SYMPOSIUM

Chesapeake Beach, MD

Cosponsored by IREX and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

EU and NATO Member States and Their Eastern Borderlands

March 30

Opening Dinner

Mark Pomar, President, IREX; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Harald Guenther**, Deputy Chief of

Mission, Embassy of Austria to the United States.

March 31

Introduction

Joyce Warner, Director, Education Program Division, IREX.

Session I: General Discussion on NATO, Security, and Foreign Policy

DISCUSSION LEADER: Avis Bohlen, Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, and former U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria.

Session II: Externalization of Political Change: Executives and Foreign Economic Policy in Post-Soviet States

PRESENTER: Samuel Charap, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford.

DISCUSSION LEADER: Sir Rodric Braithwaite, Honorary Fellow, Christ's College Cambridge; Honorary Doctor and Professor, Birmingham University; Chairman, Moscow School of Political Studies; Chairman, Russia Programme, Centre for European Reform; and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Session III: On Europe's Edge: New and Old Borders in Central and Eastern Europe

PRESENTER: Margit Williams, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Relations, University of South Florida.

DISCUSSION LEADER: Janusz Bugajski, Director, New European Democracies Project, and Senior Fellow, Europe Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

Session IV: Russian Language-Speaking Minorities in Latvia and Estonia and their Impact on EU's Relationship with Russia

PRESENTER: Ieva Gruzina, Stagiaire Press and Communications, European Commission Representation, Riga.

DISCUSSION LEADER: Sir Rodric Braithwaite, Honorary Fellow, Christ's College Cambridge; Honorary Doctor and Professor, Birmingham University; Chairman, Moscow School of Political Studies; Chairman, Russia Programme, Centre for European Reform; and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Session V: A Decade Later: Strengthening Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

PRESENTER: Sladjana Bijelic, Ph.D. candidate, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, University of Albany.
DISCUSSION LEADER: Janusz Bugajski, Director, New European Democracies Project, and Senior Fellow, Europe Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

Session VI: Understanding the Decline of Nationalism in Russia

PRESENTER: Elise Giuliano, Postdoctoral Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

DISCUSSION LEADER: Bob Donnorummo, Associate Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh.

April 1

Session I: Trade and Migration in an Enlarged European Union: A Spatial Analysis



PRESENTER: Justin May, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economics, University of Michigan.
Discussion Leader: **Bob Donnorummo**, Associate Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh.

Session II: The Helsinki Convention and Water Resources Planning in the Northeastern Baltic Sea: From 'Compliance without Implementation' to Systems of Implementation Review (SIR)

PRESENTER: Nathaniel Trumbull, Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Washington.

DISCUSSION LEADER: David Armitage, Principal Analyst for European Union Affairs, Office of Analysis for Europe, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

Session III: EU Accession Demands and Mental Health Reform in Romania

PRESENTER: Jack Friedman, NIMH-funded Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Comparative Human Development, University of Chicago.

DISCUSSION LEADER: Sir Rodric Braithwaite, Honorary Fellow, Christ's College Cambridge; Honorary Doctor and Professor, Birmingham University; Chairman, Moscow School of Political Studies; Chairman, Russia Programme, Centre for European Reform; and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Session IV: Transnational Networks for Minority Rights in Europe: The Case of

the Roma

PRESENTER: Melanie Ram, Research Associate, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University.

DISCUSSION LEADER: David Kideckel, Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Central Connecticut State University.

Session V: Equal Opportunities and East-West Differences: Gender Policies and Politics in the European Union's Eastward Expansion

PRESENTER: Elaine Weiner, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, McGill University.

DISCUSSION LEADER: David Kideckel, Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Central Connecticut State University.

Session VI: Fostering Democratic Citizenship through Curriculum Development: Teaching the Holocaust in Latvian Schools

PRESENTER: Thomas Misco, Ph.D. candidate, College of Education, University of Iowa.

DISCUSSION LEADER: David Armitage, Principal Analyst for European Union Affairs, Office of Analysis for Europe, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

MONDAY, APRIL 3, 2006 POLICY FORUM

U.S. Department of State
"EU and NATO Member States and Their Eastern Borderlands,"
David Armitage, Principal Analyst

for European Union Affairs, Office of Analysis for Europe, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University; **Janusz Bugajski**, Director, New European Democracies Project, and Senior Fellow, Europe Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.; **Bob Donnorummo**, Associate Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh; **David Kideckel**, Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Central Connecticut State University; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 3, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Making Markets, Making Old Believers: Religion and Cultural Politics in Post-Soviet Russia," **Douglas Rogers**, Postdoctoral Fellow in Anthropology, Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, Miami University (Ohio).

MONDAY, APRIL 10, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"The Shifting Balance of Power and Influence in the Russian-American Relationship,"
Igor Zevelev, Washington Bureau Chief, RIA Novosti, and former Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

MONDAY, APRIL 10, 2006 BOOK DISCUSSION

Cosponsored by the Division of U.S. Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center
"The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics," **Fred Lazin**, Lynn and Lloyd Hurst Family Professor of Local Government and Chair &

Professor, Department of Politics and Government, Ben Gurion University of the Negev; **Benjamin Ginsberg**, David Bernstein Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University; **Alec Brook-Krasny**, Executive Director, Council of Jewish Émigré Community Organizations, New York.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12, 2006 SEMINAR

"Post-Orange Ukraine: What's Next after the Parliamentary Elections,"

Olexiy Haran, Regional Vice President for Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, The Eurasia Foundation, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"The Growth of Russia's IT Outsourcing Industry: The Beginning of Russian Economic Diversification?"

Daniel Satinsky, Principal, B.E.A. Associates, Inc.; President, U.S.-Russia Chamber of Commerce of New England; and Editor, *Buyer's Guide to the Russian IT Outsourcing Industry*.

TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 2006 BOOK DISCUSSION

"Empire & Odyssey: The Brynners in Far East Russia and Beyond," **Rock Brynner**, author and Adjunct Professor of History, Marist College; **Birgitta Ingemanson**, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Washington State University.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, 2006 SEMINAR

"Elections 2006 in Ukraine and Public Opinion," **Ilko Kucheriv**, Director, Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv, and former Short-Term Scholar,

Kennan Institute; **Nadia Diuk**, Senior Director, Europe and Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy, and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council.

MONDAY, APRIL 24, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Tales of Old Odessa: Crime and Civility in a City of Thieves," **Roshanna P. Sylvester**, Associate Professor of History, DePaul University.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 2006 SEMINAR

Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ukraine

"Tolerance in a Multicultural Society: History and the Contemporary

Situation," **Andriy Rukkas**, Associate Professor, Department of History, Taras

Shevchenko Kyiv National University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Viktor Savchuk**, Vice Rector for International Relations, Kamianets-Podilskyi State University;

Oleh Demchuk, Vice Chair, Kamianets-Podilskyi City Administration; **Volodymyr Khalupko**, Chair, Department of Foreign Languages, Kamianets-Podilskyi State University; **Ivan Rybak**, Chair, Department of History, Kamianets-Podilskyi State University.

TUESDAY-WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25-26, 2006 CONFERENCE

New York, NY and Washington, D.C. Cosponsored by the University of Alberta, the Harriman Institute at Columbia University, and the Global Health Initiative and Environmental Change and Security Program, Woodrow Wilson Center

Commemoration of the Chernobyl Disaster: The Human Experience Twenty Years Later

April 25, New York, NY

Panel I: Diplomatic Perspective

Mark von Hagen, Boris Bakhmeteff Professor of Russian and East European Studies, and Director, Ukrainian Studies Program, Columbia University; **Valeriy Kuchinsky**, Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations.

Panel II: Scientific Perspective

CHAIR: Frank Sysyn, Professor of History, Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, and Petro Jacyk Visiting Scholar at Columbia University.

Norman Kleiman, Associate Research Scientist, Department of Environmental Health Sciences, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University; **William Novick**, pediatric cardiac surgeon, and Founder and Medical Director, International Children's Heart Foundation; **Daniel Igor Branovan**, Director, Thyroid Center, New York Eye and Ear Infirmary.

Panel III: Humanitarian Perspective

CHAIR: Larissa Onyshkevych, President, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.

Lisa Milanytch, Co-Director of Procurement, Children of Chornobyl Relief and Development Fund; **Sherrie Douglas**, Director, Chernobyl Children's Project International; **Irene Zabytko**, author, *The Sky Unwashed*.

Panel IV: Film Perspective

Screening and discussion of Oscar-winning Documentary *Chernobyl Heart*

THE REANIMATION OF A REGION

In 2004—thirteen years after the collapse of the Soviet Union—a farmer named Gromov, who had lived for over 60 years in a tiny village with no running water, reachable only via the abysmal roads of the Russian north, bought himself a cell phone. In December of that same year, a tent city in Kyiv was brought to life by people willing to brave cold, hunger, and potential violence in the hope of bringing about a better future. Also in that year, a recent Fulbright-Kennan scholar from Tomsk left his university to work for the regional administration on investment policy reform, using all of the theoretical and pragmatic tools he had gained over the years to more fully connect his region with the global economy. Over the past several years, hundreds of thousands of people have left Tajikistan in search of work or education, primarily relocating to Russia. Across the former Soviet Union, there are new kinds of lives, new kinds of connections, and new flows of people, information, and ideas.

The past 15 years have witnessed a startling degree of change in this region. As boundaries soften, new interactions are developing among peoples of different regional, cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. This process—known in its shorthand form as globalization—has been both transformative (by invigorating the region with new ideas and by making old identities more inclusive) and anxiety-inducing (by testing the security of borders, by “threatening” existing identities, and by creating fear of social instability). In some important ways, the region has embraced this new dynamism—particularly evident in the polyphony of languages and ideas on Kyiv’s Maidan during the Orange Revolution. This process of reaching out to the world is also manifested on a much smaller, more modest scale—Gromov’s cell phone is an example of what has occurred even in the far reaches of the former Soviet Union.

It is clear, however, that some of these changes are not being embraced. Much of what happens today in the region can be characterized as an anxious engagement with these new realities. In recent years, policies of political recentralization, evidence of a re-emerging fear of outsiders, and laws designed to limit and control dissent have all been signs of serious discomfort with the new flow of people and the global exchange of ideas. Understanding the region’s complex responses to new realities requires deep engagement with its history, culture, and context, but also with questions of global dynamics. It requires facilitating meaningful conversations across disciplines, beyond international traditions, and between academics and policymakers.

The Kennan Institute aims to create a lively space where the new realities of this complex region can be evaluated, and new ideas can be presented and discussed. For these reasons, the Kennan Institute has increasingly developed programming and supported scholarship that examine the region’s changing realities, particularly in the areas of interregional/international migration, cultural diversity, changing religious practice and identities, security (terrorism, border control, human trafficking), shifting demographics, and the problems of civil society and civic dissent. Of course, developments in high politics, macro-economic realities, and traditional security issues remain a vital part of the Kennan Institute’s programming. But special emphasis continues to be placed on the under-studied problems of how people view themselves in a changing, re-emerging, reanimating world.



MEAT INDUSTRY PAVILION, VDNKH,
MOSCOW. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

For example, in the 2005–2006 program year, the Kennan Institute hosted events about historical and contemporary migration in the region. Blair A. Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute, presented his book *Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv*, in which he argues that immigrants can improve the ability of cities to create tolerant institutions and absorb large numbers of migrants. Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar Eric Lohr argued in a Noon Discussion that there is a precedent in Russian history for this type of immigration, emigration, and interaction. A large-scale conference was held in Moscow on “Russia’s East on the Threshold of Immigration,” and another in Kyiv on “Modern Immigration Challenges for Ukraine.” The theme of globalization was addressed in seminars with Nikita Pokrovsky, who discussed “Globalization in the Russian Heartland,” and Harley Balzer, whose talk was titled “Encountering the Global Economy after Communism: Russia and China Compared.” The problem of minorities was addressed in a conference in St. Petersburg titled “Minorities in Big Cities,” which was part of the Kennan Moscow Project’s Galina Starovoitova Readings series, and in a talk in Washington by Leila Alieva on “Post-Soviet Integration Processes in the Caucasus and their Security Implications.”

In an attempt to analyze some of the implications of globalization for important security questions, the Kennan Institute, together with the New Eurasia Foundation and the Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights, Moscow, organized a high-profile conference on “National Security and Human Rights” in Moscow in June 2006. Included as part of the official Russian program for the St. Petersburg G-8 civil society meetings, the conference allowed participants to debate and discuss the flow of ideas and peoples in a world in conflict and transition.

CHAIR: Catherine Nepomnyashchy, Ann Whitney Olin Professor of Russian, Director, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

Panel V: Academic Perspective

Closing Remarks

Mykola Riabchuk, Research Associate, Center for European Studies, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; Co-Editor, *Krytyka*; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

April 26, Washington, D.C.

Introductory remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Oleh Shamshur**, Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States;

Vladimir Rybachenkov, Counselor, Embassy of the Russian Federation to the United States; **Dmitry Ponomarev**, Counselor, Embassy of Belarus to the United States.

Panel I: An Historian's Perspective

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

David Marples, Professor of History, University of Alberta.

Panel II: The Health Perspective

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

Didier Louvat, Head, Waste Safety Section, International Atomic Energy Agency; **Murray Feshbach**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Leonard Mazur**, Chief Operating Officer, Triax Pharmaceuticals, and member, Board of Directors, Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund.

Luncheon Speaker: Revisiting Congressional Hearings on Chernobyl
Representative Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), U.S. House of Representatives

Panel III: Environmental Perspective

CHAIR: Geoffery Dabelko, Director, Environmental Change and Security Program, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Alla Yaroshinskaya, President, Center for Ecological Study and Education, Moscow; **Mary Mycio**, author, *The Wormwood Forest: A Natural History of Chernobyl*; **DJ Peterson**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND.

Panel IV: The Human Experience

CHAIR: Margaret Paxson, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

Kate Brown, Assistant Professor, University of Maryland, Baltimore County; **Irene Zabytko**, author, *The Sky Unwashed*.

Film Screening: The Camera's Perspective

Screening and discussion of Oscar-winning Documentary *Chernobyl Heart*

CHAIR: Margaret Paxson, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

William Novick, pediatric cardiac surgeon, and Founder and Director, International Children's Heart Foundation.

WEDNESDAY–FRIDAY, APRIL 26–28, 2006
CONFERENCE

Yekaterinburg, Russia

Cosponsored by the Center for Migration Studies; the Institute for Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences; and the Sverdlovsk Regional Human Rights Organization

Russia's East on the Threshold of Immigration

Plenary Session

Chairs: **Tatiana Merzliakova**, Human Rights Ombudsman for the Sverdlovsk Region; **Galina Levina**, Program Manager, Kennan Moscow Project.

"Why Immigrants for Russia?" **Zhanna Zaionchkovskaya**, Director, Center for Migration Studies and Head, Migration Laboratory, Institute for Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Foreign among One's Own: Unresolved Problems of Migrants," **Tatiana Merzliakova**, Human Rights Ombudsman for the Sverdlovsk Region; "The Development of a Labor Migration Infrastructure as a Direction for Migration Policy," **Elena Tiuriukanova**, Leading Research Fellow, Institute for Socio-economic Problems of the Population, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Migration Policy: Cooperation between the Federal Center and the Regions," **Vladimir Mukomel**, Director, Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Research, Moscow.

Session I: "Migration Processes in Russia's Eastern Regions"

CHAIR: Zhanna Zaionchkovskaya, Director, Center for Migration Studies and Head, Migration Laboratory, Institute for Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "The Eastern Regions on the Migration Map of Russia," **Nikita Mkrtchian**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Economic Forecasting, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; "Migration as a Factor in the Development of the Far East;"

Ekaterina Motrich, Head, Department of Population and Labor Resources, Institute for Research in the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences, Khabarovsk; "The Activities of the New Eurasia Foundation in the Far East," **Mariia Asedulova**, Program Coordinator, Far Eastern Affiliate, New Eurasia Foundation; "Contemporary Migration Processes in Central Siberia," **Vladimir Datsyshen**, Professor of History, Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University; "The Labor Market and Migration in Kuzbass," **Valentina Ponomarenko**, Instructor, Kemerovo Affiliate, Contemporary Humanities University.

Session II: "The Center and the Regions in Migration Policy"

CHAIR: Galina Vitkovskaia, Scientific Coordinator, Moscow Research Program, International Organization for Migration.

"The Development of Migration Legislation in Russia," **Olga Vorobyova**, Head, Department of Social Statistics and Demography, Russian State University of Sociology, Moscow; "Federal and Regional Migration Policies: How Independent Should the Regions Be?" **Dmitri Pogorelsky**, Chairman, Society of Refugees and Forced Migrants of Bashkortostan, Ufa; "Consequences of the Hardening of Russian Immigration Policy: People outside the Legal Scope," **Elina Rudenkina**, Assistant to the Human Rights Ombudsman of Sverdlovsk Region; "Fundamental Directions of Migration Policy (the Example of Udmurtia)," **Svetlana Kalinina**, Employee, Migration Division, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Udmurtia, Izhevsk; "Priorities of

Regional Migration Policy," **Marat Khabibulin**, Deputy Director, Federal Migration Service, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chelyabinsk; "Availability of Legal Information for Migrants," **Aleksandr Lukanin**, Director, Urals Migration Agency, Yekaterinburg.

Session III: "Adaptation of Migrants and Tolerance of the Receiving Society"

CHAIR: Vladimir Mukomel, Director, Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Research, Moscow.

"Adaptation of Migrants to Modern Russian Society: The Strategy of Diaspora Formation," **Viktor Diatlov**, Professor of History, Irkutsk State University; "Tolerance toward Labor Migrants (the Case of Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk Regions)," **Galina Vitkovskaia**, Scientific Coordinator, Moscow Research Program, International Organization for Migration; "Tolerance in the Receiving Society toward Migrants of a Different Ethnicity (the Case of Orenburg)," **Venalii Amelin**, Editor in Chief, *Ethnopanorama*, Orenburg; "Regulating Migration as a Factor in Optimizing National Relations," **Farukh Mirzoev**, Chairman, Somon Society For Tajik Culture, Yekaterinburg; "Regulation of Migration in the Context of Social Policy: Problems of Integration," **Marina Pliasunova**, Consultant, Department of External Politics, Office of the Governor of Sverdlovsk Region.

Round Table: "Migrants in the Labor Market in Russia's Eastern Regions"

Leaders: **Liubov Shish**, Head, Department of Labor Migration, Sverdlovsk Region Employment Service; **Elena Tiuriukanova**, Leading Research Fellow, Institute for Socio-economic

Problems of the Population, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "Migrants in the Labor Market of Sverdlovsk Region," **Liubov Shish**, Head, Department of Labor Migration, Sverdlovsk Region Employment Service; "The Foreign Labor Force in the Urals: Problems of Utilization and Adaptation," **Adel Orudzhieva**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of History and Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Yekaterinburg; "Regulating Labor Migration in Perm Region," **Svetlana Oshchepkova**, Leading Specialist, Division of Sectoral Economics, Perm Region Department of Economic Development; "Potential Labor Migration from Uzbekistan to Russia," **Liudmila Maksakova**, Head, Division of Demography and the Labor Market, Institute for Macroeconomic and Social Research, State Committee for Statistical Forecasting, Republic of Uzbekistan; "Integration of Immigrants in the Labor Market of the Republic of Tatarstan," **Maruf Khodzhev**, Director, Center for Social and Legal Assistance to Migrants, Kazan; "The Experience of Work with Migrants in Sverdlovsk Region," **Mikhail Bochkarev**, Director, Sverdlovsk Regional Migration Center.

FRIDAY–SATURDAY, APRIL 28–29, 2006 TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Religion in Post-Soviet Societies

WORKSHOP LEADERS: Mark Steinberg, Professor, Department of History, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; **Catherine Wanner**, Associate Professor, Department of History and Religious Studies, Pennsylvania State University.

PARTICIPANTS: **David Abramson**, Analyst, Regional Analysis and Eastern Republics, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; **Susie Baker**, Title VIII Program Officer, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; **Melissa Caldwell**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California-Santa Cruz; Susan Fertig-Dykes, Team Leader, Democracy and Governance, Bureau of Europe and Eurasia, USAID; **Sascha Goluboff**, Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Washington and Lee University; **Erin Hofmann**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute; **Scott Kenworthy**, Assistant Professor, Department of Comparative Religion, Miami University, Ohio; **Zoe Knox**, Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Cultures, Rice University; **Katherine Metzo**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of North Carolina-Charlotte; **Irina Papkov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government, Georgetown University; **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Douglas Rogers**, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Miami University, Ohio; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Megan A. Yasenchak**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute; **Russell Zanca**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Northeastern Illinois University; **Jarrett Zigon**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Max Planck Center for Cultural Anthropology, Halle, Germany.

MONDAY, MAY 1, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Living Cosmopolitanism? 'Tolerance,' Ethno-religious Differences, and Local Identity in Odessa," **Tanya Richardson**,

Postdoctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 2006 SEMINAR

"Globalization in the Russian Heartland." **Nikita Pokrovsky**, Professor and Head, Department of General Sociology, State University-Higher School of Economics, Moscow.

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 2006 SEMINAR

Cosponsored by George Washington University

"Some New Light on the Gorbachev-Yeltsin Conflict," **Timothy Colton**, Director, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, and Morris and Anna Feldberg Professor of Government, Harvard University.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY, MAY 5-6, 2006 TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Cosponsored by the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation and the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa

Civil Society and Democracy in Ukraine

WORKSHOP LEADERS: Paul D'Anieri, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas; Dominique Arel, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa.

PARTICIPANTS: Jessica Allina-Pisano, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Colgate University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; Marc Berenson, Ph.D. candidate,

Department of Politics, Princeton University; Anna Fournier, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University (not supported by Title VIII funding); Adriana Helbig, Adjunct Professor, Harriman Institute, Columbia University; Serhiy Kudelia, Ph.D. candidate, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (not supported by Title VIII funding); Tammy Lynch, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, Boston University; Vlad Naumescu, Ph.D. candidate, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany (not supported by Title VIII funding); Ioulia Shukan, Ph.D. candidate, Institute for Political Studies, Paris (not supported by Title VIII funding); Joshua Tucker, Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Lucan Way, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Temple University.

MONDAY, MAY 8, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia in 2006: Building Public Dialogue with the Authorities," **Vyacheslav Glazychiev**, Professor, Moscow Architectural University, and member, Russian Federal Public Chamber.

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 2006 SEMINAR

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

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 2006 CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Center for Russian Environmental Policy and the Natural Resources Defense Council

Energy Security and Sustainable Development in Connection with the G-8 Summit in St. Petersburg

Ruth Greenspan Bell, Resident Scholar, Resources for the Future; **Horton Beebe-Center**, Executive Vice President, Eurasia Foundation; **Michael Brody**, Senior Environmental Scientist, Environmental Protection Agency; **David Doniger**, Policy Director, Climate Center, National Resources Defense Council; **F. Joseph Dresen**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Judith Fenwick**, Research Associate, Woods Hole; **William Freeman**, Program Manager, Environmental Protection Agency; **Hilary French**, Special Advisor, United Nations Environment Program; **Alexander Golub**, Senior Economist, Environmental Defense; **Mark Izeman**, Senior Attorney, National Resources Defense Council; **Ari Kahn**, Staff Assistant, National Resources Defense Council; **Eliza Klose**, Director, Winston Foundation for World Peace; **Steve Kretzmann**, Director, Oil Change International; **Annie Petsonk**, International Counsel, Environmental Defense; **Sofia Plagakis**, Program Associate, Center for International Environmental Law; **Jacob Scherr**, International Program Director, National Resources Defense Council; **Jon Sohn**, Senior Associate, World Resources Institute; **John Stanton**, Vice President, National Environmental Trust; **Olga Tsepilova**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of

Sciences, St. Petersburg, and Galina Starovoitova Fellow for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Tom Stone**, Senior Research Associate, Woods Hole; **Alexey Yablokov**, President, Center for Russian Environmental Policy; **Tatiana Zaharchenko**, Scholar in Residence, Environmental Law Institute; **Vladimir Zakharov**, Vice President and Director, Center for Russian Environmental Policy.

MONDAY, MAY 15, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

Kennan Institute U.S. Alumni Series
"Voting for Russia's Governors: Regional Elections and Accountability under Yeltsin and Putin," **Andrew Konitzer**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Austin College, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 2006 RECEPTION

Cosponsored by the Stanislavsky Theater Studio and the Russian Cultural Center
"A Celebration of the Opening of the Stanislavsky Theater Studio's Production and 140th Anniversary of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*," **Andrei Malaev-Babel**, Producing Artistic Director, Stanislavsky Theater Studio; **Vera Danchenko-Stern**, pianist and Professor of Music, Peabody Institute, Baltimore; **Lorriana Markovic**, soprano; and **Leonid Sushansky**, violinist.

MONDAY, MAY 22, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia's Foreign Policy Assertiveness and What's Behind It," **Andrei Tsygankov**, Associate Professor,

International Relations/Political Science, San Francisco State University.

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 2006 BOOK DISCUSSION

"Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment," **Alfred B. Evans, Jr.**, Professor, Department of Political Science, California State University, Fresno; **Laura Henry**, Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Legal Studies, Bowdoin College; **Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 2006 SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Carter Center
"Human Rights Defenders on the Front Lines of Freedom," **Gustavo Gallón**, Director, Colombian Commission of Jurists, Bogotá, Colombia; **Saad Eddin Ibrahim**, Chairman of the Board, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Cairo, Egypt; **Hina Jilani**, United Nations Special Representative to the Secretary General on Human Rights Defenders; **Dzmitry Markusheuski**, Press Secretary, Belarusian Helsinki Committee; **Sima Samar**, United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Sudan and Chair of Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission.

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 2006 BOOK LAUNCH

Moscow
"Banking Houses in Russia, 1860–1914: Excerpts from the History of Private Enterprise," **Boris Anan'ich**, author, and Senior Fellow, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Guest Scholar, Woodrow

Wilson Center; **Oleg Budnitsky**, Academic Director, International Research Center for Russian and East European Jewry; **Aleksandr Kamenskiy**, Professor and Chair, Department of Russian History, Russian State Humanities University; **Terence Emmons**, Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Stanford University; **Galina Ulianova**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

TUESDAY, MAY 30, 2006

NOON DISCUSSION

"Decentralization—Bad; Recentralization—Worse? What Failed Health Care Reforms Tell Us about the Russian State," **Alexandra Vacroux**, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

MONDAY, JUNE 5, 2006

NOON DISCUSSION

"Georgia: Problems and Prospects," **Richard Miles**, Executive Director, Open World Leadership Center, Washington, D.C.; Chair, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; and former U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, to Bulgaria, and to Azerbaijan.

TUESDAY–FRIDAY, JUNE 6–9, 2006

TITLE VIII-SUPPORTED TRAINING SEMINAR

New York, NY and Washington, D.C.
Cosponsored with the Social Science Research Council, New York

Public Health, Social Welfare Systems, and HIV/AIDS in Eurasia

WORKSHOP ORGANIZERS: Seteny Shami, Program Director, Eurasia,

Middle East and North Africa and International Collaboration Programs, Social Science Research Council, New York; Anthony Koliha, Assistant Director, Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council, New York.

PARTICIPANTS: Jennifer Barrett, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin; Annie Dude, Ph.D. candidate, Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago; Kevin Irwin, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, and Research Associate, Center for Interdisciplinary Research on AIDS, School of Public Health, Yale University; Elizabeth King, Ph.D. candidate, Health Behavior and Health Education, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Erin Koch, Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Middlebury College; Eugene Raikhel, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, Princeton University; Tricia Starks, Assistant Professor of History, University of Arkansas, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; Alexandra Vacroux, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute.

RESOURCE FACULTY: Daniel Alexandrov, Professor of Sociology, European University, St. Petersburg; Kate Schecter, Program Officer, American International Health Alliance; Judyth Twigg, Associate Professor and Associate Director, L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs, Virginia Commonwealth University, and former Title VIII-Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

OTHER SPEAKERS: Ramiz Alakbarov, United Nations Population Fund;

Cynthia Buckley, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; Pam de Lary, United Nations Population Fund; Alex de Waal, Program Director, HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation and Emergencies and Humanitarian Action Programs, Social Science Research Council, New York; Robert Heimer, Associate Professor, School of Public Health, Yale University; Jennifer Klot, Senior Advisor, HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation Program, Social Science Research Council, New York; Susan Nelson, Office of External Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State; Shombi Sharp, United Nations Development Programme.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 2006

SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Social Science Research Council, New York
"HIV/AIDS in Eurasia: Context, Policy, Research," **Senator Bob Bennett** (R-UT); **Craig Calhoun**, President, Social Science Research Council, New York, NY; **Jennifer Cooke**, Co-director, Africa Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.; **Robert Heimer**, Associate Professor, School of Public Health, Yale University.

THURSDAY–FRIDAY, JUNE 8–9, 2006

CONFERENCE

Cosponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation

Religion in Russian Society: State Policy, Regional Challenges, and Individual Rights

Welcoming remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Neelima Shah**, Program Officer, Henry M. Jackson Foundation.

Panel I: "Russian State Policies and Practices on Religion"

CHAIR: David Abramson, Analyst for Russia and Eurasia, U.S. Department of State.

Aleksei Malashenko, Program Co-Chair, Religion, Society, and Security, Carnegie Moscow Center; **Robert Crews**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Stanford University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Nancy Hewett**, Senior Advisor on Eurasian Affairs, Office of International Religious Freedom, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State; **Elizabeth Sewell**, Associate Director, International Center for Law and Religion Studies, Brigham Young University.

Panel II: "The Regional Challenge: Managing Religious Diversity"

CHAIR: Margaret Paxson, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

Sascha Goluboff, Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Washington and Lee University; **Alexander Bogomolov**, Vice President, Association of Middle East Studies, Ukraine; **Kate Brown**, Associate Professor of History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County; **Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer**, Research Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Georgetown University.

Panel III: "Individual Freedom of Faith in Russia"

CHAIR: H. Knox Thames, Counsel, Commission on Security and

Cooperation in Europe.

Nikolas Gvosdev, Editor, *The National Interest*; Senior Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, The Nixon Center; and Senior Fellow, Institute for Religion and Public Policy; **Catherine Cosman**, Senior Policy Analyst, United States Commission on International Religious Freedom; **Firuz Kazemzadeh**, Professor Emeritus of History, Yale University; former Vice-Chairman, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom; and Senior Advisor, Office of External Affairs, Baha'i Faith.

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 2006 SEMINAR

"Religion in Russian Society: State Policy, Regional Challenges, and Individual Rights," **Alexander**

Bogomolov, Vice President, Association of Middle East Studies, Ukraine; **Aleksei Malashenko**, Program Co-Chair, Religion, Society, and Security, Carnegie Moscow Center.

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 2006 NOON DISCUSSION

"Russia's Public Health Catastrophe in Chechnya," **Khassan Baiev**, author, *Grief of my Heart: Memoirs of a Chechen Surgeon*; **Nicholas Daniloff**, Professor, School of Journalism, Northeastern University.

TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 2006 SEMINAR

"The Lukashenko 'Victory' in Belarus and Sources of Instability in Europe's Last Dictatorship," **Ethan Burger**, Scholar-in-Residence, School of International Service and Research Scholar, Transnational Crime & Corruption Center, American University.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 2006 SEMINAR

"Transformation of the Ukrainian Civil Service System under the Conditions of Political Reform," **Tymofiy Motrenko**, Head of the Civil Service of Ukraine.

SUNDAY-MONDAY, JUNE 25-26, 2006 CONFERENCE

Novgorod, Russia
Cosponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York; the MacArthur Foundation; the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation; ISE-Center, Moscow; and Novgorod State University

CASE: Challenges and Prospects

SPEAKERS: Deanna Arsenian, Senior Program Officer, Carnegie Corporation of New York; **Eduard Cherniak**, Tomsk CASE; **Sergei Deviatkin**, Director, Novgorod CASE; **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Professor, Head, Center for Ethnic Relations, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Curator, Urals CASE, and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **Gennadi Fedorov**, Director, Baltic CASE; **Anatoly Gavrikov**, Rector, Novgorod State University; **Sergei Gubin**, Deputy Director, "Interfizika" State Federal Scientific Institute; **Tatiana Iudina**, Researcher, Computer Research Center, Moscow State University; **Andrei Kortunov**, President, New Eurasia Foundation, and President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; **Larisa Kosova**, Program Director, Ph.D. Social Data Archive, Independent Institute of Social Research, Moscow; **Dmitri Kozlov**, Director, Irkutsk CASE; **Maksim**



Khomiakov, Director, Urals CASE; **Aleksandr Kravets**, Director, Voronezh CASE; **Anatoli Narezhny**, Director, Rostov CASE; **Elena Shestopal**, Curator, Novgorod CASE; **William Zimmerman**, Research Professor, Center for Political Studies, and Research Scientist, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan; **Galina Zvereva**, Curator, Voronezh CASE.

THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 2006 FORUM

Moscow

Cosponsored by the New Eurasia Foundation and the Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights, Moscow

National Security and Human Rights

FORUM ORGANIZERS: **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute; **Megan Yasenchak**, Program Assistant, Kennan Institute.

CONFERENCE CHAIRS: **Andrei Kortunov**, President, New Eurasia Foundation, and President, ISE Center (Information. Scholarship. Education.), Moscow; **Andrei Melville**, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, and Vice-Rector, Moscow State University for International Relations; **Ella Pamfilova**, Chair of the Presidential Council on Civil Society Development and Human Rights, Russian Federation; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute.

PARTICIPANTS: **Sir Rodric Braithwaite**, former British Ambassador to the USSR and former Public Policy Scholar,

Woodrow Wilson Center; **Sarah Carey**, Squires, Sanders & Dempsey, LLP and Eurasia Foundation; **Aleksander Cherkasov**, Fellow, Memorial Human Rights Center; **David Cole**, Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law School; **Laura Donohue**, Visiting Fellow, Law School, Stanford University; **Yuri Dzhibladze**, Director, Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights, Moscow; **Tom Farer**, Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver; **Valentin Gafter**, General Director, Institute for Human Rights, Moscow, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; **Morton H. Halperin**, Senior Vice President and Director of Fellows, Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C.; **Alice Hill**, Senior Program Development Officer, Eurasia Foundation; **Alexander Konovalov**, President, Institute for Strategic Assessments, Moscow; **Sergey Kortunov**, Deputy Chairman, Committee on Foreign Policy Planning, Moscow; **Tatiana Lokshina**, Chair, Demos Center, Moscow; **Vladimir Lukov**, Director, National Center for Terrorism Prevention, Moscow; **Sarah Mendelson**, Senior Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.; **Marie Mendras**, Russia specialist, Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales, Paris; **Peter Neumann**, Director, Centre for Defense Studies, King's College London; **Alexander Rahr**, Director, Körber Center, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin; **Jean-Louis Roy**, President, Rights and Democracy; **Jacques Rupnik**, Director of Research, Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales, Paris;

Michael Thumann, Foreign Editor, *Die Zeit*, and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; **Ben Ward**, Associate Director, Europe and Central Asia Division, Human Rights Watch, New York, NY.

MONDAY–WEDNESDAY, JULY 3–5, 2006

ALUMNI CONFERENCE

Kazan, Russia

Cosponsored by the Kazan State Energy University

National and Regional Patterns of Development Under Modernization

Introductory Remarks

Zilya Valeeva, Deputy Prime Minister, Republic of Tatarstan; **Rimma Ratnikova**, Deputy Chair, State Council of the Republic of Tatarstan; **Yuri Petrushenko**, Rector, Kazan State Energy University; **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute; **Natalya Mitoussova**, Cultural Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy, Moscow.

Plenary Session: "National and Regional Patterns of Development"
"Regional Modernization Pattern: Tatarstan's Experience," **Rafael Khakimov**, State Advisor to the President of the Republic of Tatarstan, Director, Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan; "Modernization in Russia and the Modern Concepts of National Integration," **Emil Payin**, Section Director, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; "Prevention of Ethnic Tension Under Changing Political and Socio-

cultural Conditions at the Beginning of the 21st Century," **Leokadia Drobizheva**, Professor, Head, Center for Ethnic Relations, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and member, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; "Modification of Agreement-Based Relations Between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Federal Center at a Time of Centralization," **Marat Galeev**, Chairman, Committee on Economics, Investments, and Entrepreneurship, State Council of the Republic of Tatarstan; "State National Policy in Multinational Russia: Challenges of the 21st Century," **Mikhail Stolyarov**, Professor, Russian Academy of Public Administration, and member, Expert Council, Federation Council of the Russian Federation; "Sovereignty and the Concept of the 'Political' in the Late Modern Era," **Andrei Makarychev**, Professor, Nizhni Novgorod Linguistic University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Tatarstan and the Tatar Diaspora: Institutes and Mechanisms of Interaction Under Modernization," **Damir Iskhakov**, Head, Center for Ethnological Monitoring, Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, Deputy Chair, World Congress of Tatars; "The Modernization of the State Apparatus in Russia and International Experience in the Field," **Aleksei Barabashev**, Professor, Chair, Department of State and Municipal Administration, State University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, and former Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Modernization in the Context of an Identity Crisis," **Natalya Ivanova**, Professor, State University Higher School of Economics; "Russian Modernization: Attempts at Institutional

Imitation," **Dmitry Goncharov**, Professor and Chair, Department of Humanitarian and Socio-Economic Disciplines, Moscow State Law Academy; "Education and the National Idea," **Victor Shnirelman**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences; former Galina Starovoitova Fellow on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Kennan Institute; and former Guest Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; "National Patterns of Development in Russian Utopian and Anti-Utopian Movements in the Late 20th and early 21st Centuries," **Boris Lanine**, Head, Department of All-Russian State Tax Academy, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Multiculturalism and Women's Rights: Challenges for Gender Democracy in Russia," **Liudmila Popkova**, Assistant Professor, Samara State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

Panel I: "The Specifics of Russian Modernization and World Experience"
 "Political Modernization in Russia From the Point of View of the Concept of Ethnic Relations," **Nayil Moukharimov**, Professor, Chair, Department of Political Science and Law, and Director, Institute of Economics and Social Technologies, Kazan State Energy University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "National Histories as Ideological and Values Resources of Modernization," **Vladimir Bukharaev**, Assistant Professor, Assistant to the Rector, Kazan State University; "Modernization Waves in Russia and the Role of the Press," **Aleksandr Altounian**, Deputy Dean, Department

of Journalism, International University in Moscow, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Functioning of Certain Civil Society Institutes in Contemporary Russia," **Yuri Yegorov**, Senior Advisor, Tatar Ombudsman's Office; "Historical Traces of 'Community Revolution' Reflected in Current Russian Modernization," **Dmitry Lyukshin**, Assistant Professor, Chair of Political History, History Department, Kazan State University; "The New Economy—New Education?" **Aleksei Alekseev**, Senior Researcher, Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Mechanism of Russian Business Social Investments: Description, Types, and Examples," **Vladimir Iakimets**, Senior Researcher, Institute for Systems Analysis, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; "Regional Specifics of Education Development Within the Context of Russian Transformations: the Example of the Volga District and Tatarstan," **Grigory Kliucharev**, Department Head, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences; "Regional Discourse in Educational Strategies: the Experience of Tatarstan," **Emilia Taisina**, Professor, Department of Theoretical Basis of Communication, Kazan State Energy University.

Panel II: "The Application of Multiculturalism and Federalism to Russian Reality"
 "Multiculturalism, Poly-culturalism, Nation Building: Russian Specifics," **Viktor Avksentiev**, Head, Department of Socio-Political Problems in the

Caucasus, Southern Scientific Center, Russian Academy of Sciences, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Russian Pattern of Multiculturalism: Sources, Potential, Answers to Ethnopolitical Challenges," **Lilia Nizamova**, Assistant Professor, Chair, Department of Sociology, Kazan State University; "The Functional Basis of Multiculturalism in Russia," **Viktoria Antonova**, Professor, Chair of Social Anthropology and Social Work, Saratov State Technological University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Controversial Federalization in Post-Soviet Russia," **Midkhat Farukshin**, Head, Department of Political Science, Kazan State University; "Methodological Problems Arising While Studying Identity in a Multicultural Society," **Yulii Stavropolskii**, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, Saratov State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "Muslim Education in Contemporary Russia: Problems and Prospects," **Rafik Mukhametshin**, Head, Department of Social Thought and Islam Studies, Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan; "Federalism in the Age of Globalization: Canada's Federation Experience," **Vladimir Kholodnov**, Head, Department of State Law, Academy of Social Education, Kazan; "Tatars in Contemporary Russia: Eastern or Western Development Vector?" **Lilia Sagitova**, Senior Researcher, Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan; "The Tatar National School Within the Conceptual Context of Multiculturalism," **Laisan Mukhariamova**, Head, Department of History and Sociology, Prorector, Kazan

State Medical University; "Ethnic and Cultural Policy as a Factor in Inter-ethnic Relations (Based on Materials of Ethnopsociological Research)," **Rosalinda Musina**, Head, Department of Ethnology, Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Panel III: "International Integration and the Problem of Sovereignty"

"The Experience of International Cooperation of the Republic of Tatarstan," **Ildar Nasyrov**, Head, Information and Analysis Office, Department of International Relations, Office of the President of the Republic of Tatarstan, **Igor Savelev**, Head, State Protocol Office, Office of the President of the Republic of Tatarstan; "Russian Regions and International Systems: Problems of Integration," **Ivan Kurilla**, Assistant Professor, Volgograd State University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; "The Year of Russia's G8 Chairmanship: Any Reasons for Optimism?" **Aleksandr Khodnev**, Professor, Chair, Department of World History, Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; "From Rejection of the Logics of Political Regime to the Practice of De-sovereignization," **Oleg Reut**, Instructor, Petrozavodsk State University, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; "National Patterns of Economics: an Islamic Point of View," **Gulnar Baltanova**, Professor, Chair of Engineering Management, Kazan State Energy University; "Education in Russian as an Integrating Factor in NIS Member States," **Olga Yanush**, Assistant, Department of Political Science and Law, Kazan State Energy University.

THURSDAY–SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7–10, 2006

ALUMNI CONFERENCE

Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ukraine

Cosponsored by the U.S. Embassy, Kyiv

**Ukraine's Diversity:
Conceptualization and
Accommodation**

Introductory Remarks

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute; **Oleksandr Zavalniuk**, Dean, Kamianets-Podilskyi State University; **Oleh Demchuk**, Deputy Mayor, Kamianets-Podilskyi

Session I:

Victor Stepanenko, Acting Department Head, Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Eduard Martynyuk**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Comparative Literature, Odesa National University; **Kostyantyn Glomozda**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of History, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Vitaliy Motsiuk**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Yuri Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University; **Rustem Ablyatfov**, Chief Consultant, Legal Service, Representative Office of the President of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Olena Malynovska**, Department Head, National Security Studies Institute, Kyiv, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Serhiy Fedunyak**, Professor, Department of

Political Science and Government, Yuri Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University; **Andriy Rukkas**, Associate Professor, Depart of Slavic History, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University; former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; and member, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Valeriy Peresyekin**, Director, Institute of Continuing Education, Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University; **Volodymyr Anderson**, Associate Professor, Head, Laboratory of Regional Studies and Geographic Information Systems, Odesa National University; former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; and member, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Olha Nosova**, Professor of Economics and Chair, Department of Economic Theory, Kharkiv National Internal Affairs University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Volodymyr Fisanov**, Professor, Department of International Information Science, Yuri Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University; **Olena Yatsunska**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science, Mykolayiv National Shipbuilding University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Nataliya Musiyenko**, Research Associate, Institute of Contemporary Art, Kyiv; **Svitlana Nichkalo**, Research Associate, Aesthetics Research Lab, Education Science Institute, Kyiv; **Bohdan Siuta**, Senior Research Associate, Maksym Rylsky Institute of Art, Folklore, and Ethnology, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv.

Session II:

Maryna Shapovalenko, Associate Professor and Chair, Department

of Philosophy and Political Science, Kharkiv National Internal Affairs University; **Serhiy Rymarenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Liudmyla Pavlyuk**, Chair, Department of Language and Mass Media, Ivan Franko Lviv National University, and former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; **Volodymyr Boyko**, Director, Center for Advance Training of Civil Servants, Chernihiv, and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Oleksandr Fisun**, Deputy Director, Kharkiv Branch, National Institute of Strategic Studies; Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and Philosophy, Kharkiv National University; former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; and Chair, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Antonina Kolodii**, Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science and Philosophy, Lviv Regional Institute of Public Administration, National Academy of Public Administration, Office of the President of Ukraine; former Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar; and member, Kennan Institute Ukrainian Alumni Advisory Council; **Nataliya Belitser**, Research Associate, Pylp Orlyk Institute for Democracy; **Natalia Vysotska**, Professor, Kyiv National Linguistic University, and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2006 ANNUAL DINNER

Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Honorary Chairmen:

Dale Bumpers, former United States Senator

David Pryor, former United States Senator

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

Co-Chairmen

Thomas F. McLarty III, President, Kissinger McLarty Associates

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

Vice Chairmen

Bruce S. Gelb, former U.S. Ambassador to Belgium and former Director, United States Information Agency

Paul Rodzianko, Senior Advisor, Access Industries

Welcome and Introduction

Thomas F. McLarty III, President, Kissinger McLarty Associates

Introduction to the Woodrow Wilson Center

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

Introduction to the Woodrow Wilson Awards

Joseph B. Gildenhorn, Chairman, Board of Trustees, Woodrow Wilson Center

Introduction to the Woodrow Wilson Award for Corporate Citizenship

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

*The Woodrow Wilson Award for
Corporate Citizenship*

John H. Tyson, Chairman, Tyson Foods,
Inc.

*Introduction to the Woodrow Wilson
Award for Public Service*

Paul Rodzianko, Senior Advisor, Access
Industries

*Woodrow Wilson Award for Public
Service*

Kathryn Wasserman Davis and Family

Closing

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan
Institute

MONDAY–FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25–29, 2006 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

Nadia McConnell, President, U.S.-
Ukraine Foundation; **Oleh Shamshur**,
Ambassador of Ukraine to the United
States.

Politics and Governance Task Force

Vyacheslav Koval, Deputy, Verkhovna
Rada of Ukraine, Our Ukraine; **William**

Green Miller, Senior Policy Scholar,
Woodrow Wilson Center, and former
U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; **Yuriy
Yakymenko**, Director of Political and
Legal Programs, Razumkov Center
for Ukrainian Economic and Political
Studies; **Yevhen Bystrytsky**, Director,
International Renaissance Foundation;
Oleksandr Honcharuk, Deputy Head
of the Department of Policy Analysis,
Secretariat of the President of Ukraine;
Ihor Shkirya, Deputy, Verkhovna
Rada of Ukraine, Party of Regions;
Volodymyr Tkach, Deputy Head, Main
Department of Civil Service of Ukraine;
Robert McConnell, Vice President,
Hawthorne & York; former Assistant
Attorney General for Legislative Affairs;
and Vice President, CBS Washington;
Cliff Downen, consultant on legislative
affairs, former Congressional staffer;
George Nesterchuk, former Assistant
Director, U.S. Office of Personnel
Management, and former Staff
Director, Civil Service Government
Reform Committee; **Nadia McConnell**,
President, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

*Foreign Policy and National Security
Task Force*

Yuri Scherbak, Advisor to the Speaker,
Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and
former Ambassador of Ukraine to the
United States; **Steven Pifer**, former
U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; **Valeriy
Chalyi**, Director of International
Programs, Razumkov Center for
Ukrainian Economic and Political
Studies; **Kostiantyn Kononenko**,
Head, Foreign Affairs Directorate,
National Security and Defense Council
of Ukraine; **Leonid Kozhara**, Deputy,
Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Party of
Regions; **Oleksandr Lytvynenko**, Head,
State Security Directorate, National

Security and Defense Council of
Ukraine; **Oleksandr Sushko**, Director,
Center for Peace, Conversion and
Foreign Policy of Ukraine; **F. Stephen
Larrabee**, Corporate Chair in European
Security, RAND; **James Greene**, Head,
NATO Liaison Office, Ukraine; **Jan
Neutze**, Assistant Director, Program
on Transatlantic Relations, 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; **Markian Bilynskyj**,
Vice President and Director of Field
Operations, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

Economics and Business Task Force

Ihor Shevliakov, Policy Researcher
Coordinator, International Center for
Policy Studies; **Ariel Cohen**, Senior
Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation;
Ihor Burakovsky, Director, Institute
for Economic Research and Policy
Consulting; **Lyudmyla Denysyuk**,
Deputy Head, Kyiv City Administration;
Natalia Izosimova, Director of
Corporate Restructuring, System
Capital Management; **Andriy Pinchuk**,
Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine,
Party of Regions, and Advisor to First
Deputy Prime Minister Mykola Azarov;
Ihor Shumylo, Executive Director
for Economic Policy, National Bank
of Ukraine; **Olha Shumylo**, Head of
European Integration and Foreign
Affairs Program, International Center
for Policy Studies; **Keith Crane**,
Senior Economist, RAND Corporation;
Morgan Williams, Director,
Government Affairs, Washington Office,
SigmaBleyzer Private Equity Investment
Group; **Andriy Bihun**, President,
Global Trade Development; **George**



LOG CHURCH OF ELIJAH THE PROPHET, NORTHEAST VIEW,
SAMINSKII POGOST, VOLOGDA OBLAST. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

Chopivsky, President, Ukrainian Development Company, L.L.C.; **Robert Boehme**, Director, Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs, U.S. Department of State; **Irina Paliashvili**, President, Russian-Ukrainian Legal Group; **Michael Considine**, Director, Eurasia and Intellectual Property Affairs International, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; **John A. Kun**, Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

Information and Media Task Force

Halyna Usatenko, Director of Civil Society Programs, Europe XXI Foundation, Kyiv; **Nicholas Daniloff**, Professor of Journalism, Northeastern University; **Olena Bondarenko**, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Party of Regions; **Tetyana Danylenko**, Reporter-Presenter, Channel 5 Television; **Valeriy Ivanov**, President, Academy for Ukrainian Press; **Kateryna Myasnykova**, Executive Director, Independent Association of Broadcasters; **Taras Petriv**, Head of Information Service, Secretariat of the President of Ukraine; **Andriy Shevchenko**, Deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc; **Dmytro Simansky**, Development Director, Internews Ukraine; **Renata Kosc-Harmatiy**, Program Associate, Kennan Institute; **Elzbieta Olechowska**, Editor-in-Chief, International Training, Canadian Institute for Training in Public Broadcasting CBC/Radio-Canada; **Adrian Karmazyn**, Chief, Ukrainian Service, Voice of America; **Vera Andrushkiw**, Vice President for External Relations, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; **Marta Kolomayets**, Kyiv Project Director, Community Partnerships Project, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

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

Representative Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), U.S. House of Representatives, and Co-Chair, Congressional Ukrainian Caucus.

Break-out Meeting, Dutko Global Advisors

Greg Crist, Vice President of Communications, Dutko Global Advisors; **Sally A. Painer**, Principal and Managing Director, Dutko Global Advisors.

Break-out Meeting, National Press Club

Myron Belkind, Chair, International Correspondents Committee, National Press Club, **John C. Bloom**, Club Manager, National Press Club; **Keith M. Hill**, Editor, Payroll Administration Guide, Payroll Library, PAG Newsletter, Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.

Break-out Meeting, Woodrow Wilson Center

Sam Donaldson, News Anchor and Correspondent, ABC News, and President, Wilson Council, Woodrow Wilson Center

Break-out Meeting, Woodrow Wilson Center

Eileen O'Connor, Counsel, Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP, and former White House Correspondent, CNN; **James Lake, Sr.**, August Consulting, Inc., and former Press Secretary, Ronald Reagan presidential campaigns, (1980, 1984); **Jennifer Palmieri**, Vice President of Communications, Center for American Progress, and former Deputy Press Secretary, White House, (1998–2001).

Break-out Meeting, Woodrow Wilson Center

Eileen O'Connor, Counsel, Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP, and former White House Correspondent, CNN; **John Diamond**, Washington Correspondent, *USA Today*, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Marguerite Sullivan**, Director, Center for International Media Assistance.

Break-out Meeting, Washington Post

Peter Baker, White House Correspondent, and former Moscow Bureau Chief, *Washington Post*; **Susan Glasser**, Editor, Outlook Section, and former Moscow Bureau Chief, *Washington Post*.

Break-out Meeting, Center for Democracy and Technology

Leslie Harris, Executive Director, Center for Democracy and Technology; **Ari Schwartz**, Deputy Director, Center for Democracy and Technology; **John Morris**, First Amendment Counsel, Center for Democracy and Technology; **Tim Lordan**, Executive Director, Congressional Internet Caucus Advisory Committee.

Break-out Meeting, Voice of America

Adrian Karmazyn, Chief, Ukrainian Service, Voice of America; **Noreen Kinnavy**, Office of External Affairs, Voice of America; **Nataliya Leonova Robert**, Ukrainian Service, Voice of America; **George Sajewych**, Ukrainian Service, Voice of America; **Yuriy Melnyk**, Ukrainian Service, Voice of America.

Closing Plenary Session

Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University

Welcoming Remarks

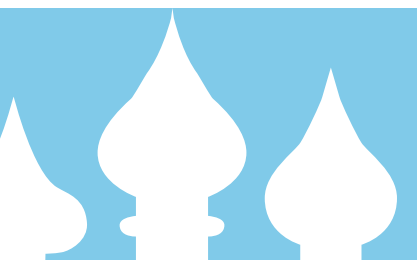
Nadia McConnell, President, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; **Oleh Shamshur**, Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 2006 SEMINAR

Cosponsored by the Moldova Foundation, and East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center

"Separatism in Moldova: Political and Legal Aspects of a 'Frozen Conflict',"

David Kramer, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State; **Elizabeth F. Defeis**, Professor of Law, Seton Hall University School of Law; **Christopher J. Borgen**, Associate Professor of Law, St. John's University School of Law; **Mark A. Meyer**, Chair, Special Committee on European Affairs, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, and member, Herzfeld & Rubin, P.C.; **Discussant: William Hill**, Associate, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University; former Head, OSCE Mission to Moldova (2003–2006); and former Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center.



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.

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BOOKS

William Brumfield. *Irkutsk: Arkhitekturnoe nasledie v fotografiakh* [Irkutsk: Architectural Heritage in Photographs]. Moscow: "Tri Kvadrata" Publishers, 2006.

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Charles Gati, *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

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Margaret Paxson. *Solovyovo: The Story of Memory in a Russian Village.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Blair A. Ruble. *Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Balazs Szalontai. *Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era: Soviet-DPRK Relations and the Role of North Korean Despotism, 1953–1964.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

#293. *Institutionalizing U.S.-Russian Cooperation in Central Eurasia.* **Mikhail Troitskiy** (2006).

#294. *Aleksandr Dugin: A Russian Version of the European Radical Right?* **Marlene Laruelle** (2006).

MEETING REPORTS

Vol. XXIII No. 1 2005

Anne de Tinguy, Senior Research Fellow, Center for International Studies and Research, Paris, and Professor, Institute for Political Studies, Paris.

"The Emergence of a Russian-Speaking World and its Impact on Russia's International Relations." (23 May 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 2 2005

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

"Two Cheers for Stagnation: Institutional Development and Democracy in Ukraine and Russia." (26 September 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 3 2005

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.
"Encountering the Global Economy after Communism: Russia and China Compared." (17 October 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 4 2005

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

"Immigration, Emigration, and Empire: Population Politics in Imperial and Revolutionary Russia" (24 October 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 5 2006

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



CHURCH OF NATIVITY OF VIRGIN, SOUTH FACADE, GORODNIA, TVER OBLAST. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

COMMEMORATING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHERNOBYL AT THE KENNAN INSTITUTE

The explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant on April 26, 1986 was a disaster of world-wide significance. As the most serious nuclear accident in history, it captured the attention of the world, and continues to influence the debate on the safety of nuclear power. Understanding the consequences of what happened at Chernobyl is crucial to this debate.

In order to promote an understanding of Chernobyl, the Kennan Institute in cooperation with the Harriman Institute of Columbia University, the University of Alberta, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Environmental Change and Security Project, and its Global Health Initiative organized a conference to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the disaster. The conference, titled "Commemoration of the Chernobyl Disaster: the Human Experience Twenty Years Later," was held over two days at Columbia University and the Wilson Center. Panelists included representatives from the United Nations, humanitarian organizations, academia, the literary world, the media, as well as diplomatic representatives of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia.

Oleh Shamshur, ambassador of Ukraine to the United States, Vladimir Rybachenkov, counselor at the Embassy of the Russian Federation, and Dmitry Ponomarev, counselor at the Embassy of Belarus, opened the conference at the Wilson Center on April 26, 2006 by discussing the political, social, and environmental effects of Chernobyl on their respective countries. David Marples, professor of history at the University of Alberta, outlined the development of the power plant and the accident, and also described the legacy of the explosion from a scholarly perspective.

Although there is wide-spread agreement on the need to study the effects of Chernobyl on human health, the exact details of its impact are a matter of contention. Didier Louvat, head of the Waste Safety Section at the International Atomic Energy Agency, presented the findings of the Chernobyl Forum, which give an overview of the health consequences of the disaster. Murray Feshbach, a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, criticized the findings of the Forum, arguing that its conclusions were based on problematic data. Leonard Mazur, a member of the board of the Children of Chornobyl Relief and Development Fund, suggested that there were other sources of data that the Chernobyl Forum had not consulted that indicated that the explosion had had more serious consequences.

In a luncheon keynote address, Representative Marcy Kaptur (D-OH) reported that the U.S. House of Representatives had unanimously passed HR 703, which recognizes the 20th anniversary of the Chernobyl accident and supports continued efforts to mitigate its consequences. She also described her own concerns about nuclear power.

In addition to being a health catastrophe, Chernobyl affected the ecosystem of the area around the nuclear reactor. Alla Yaroshinskaya, a journalist at the time of the disaster, told the



SARCOPHAGUS OVER REACTOR NO. 4, CHORNOBYL, KYIV OBLAST, UKRAINE. (SERHIJ MARCHENKO)

story of how Chernobyl became a symbol for activists in their efforts to push for change in the Soviet Union in the era of glasnost. Mary Mycio, author of *The Wormwood Forest: A Natural History of Chernobyl*, argued that the Chernobyl accident, in spite of the adverse effects of radiation, had paradoxically created a wildlife preserve around the reactor as a result of the absence of human inhabitants. DJ Peterson analyzed the local, national, and international impacts of Chernobyl, and discussed the merits of recent proposals to revitalize the environmentally contaminated region.

Another panel examined the “Human Experience” of Chernobyl. Kennan Institute Senior Associate Margaret Paxson discussed the need for policymakers to recognize just how profoundly Chernobyl affected individuals, in order to both understand the event itself, and to make sound recommendations for the future. Kate Brown reviewed the multicultural and multiethnic history of the Chernobyl region. She called Chernobyl a “requiem for the twentieth century,” a century which saw the region exposed to traumatic events, such as the Holocaust, the Great Famine of 1932–33, and Soviet oppression. Irene Zabytko read a moving passage from her book *The Sky Unwashed*, which was a fictionalized account of the experience of one family displaced by the Chernobyl disaster.

At the end of the conference, participants watched the Academy Award-winning documentary *Chernobyl Heart*, which portrays the lives of people living in Chernobyl-contaminated regions of Belarus. William Novick, a heart surgeon and director of the International Children’s Heart Foundation, was featured prominently in the film. He discussed the public health challenges and scientific issues surrounding the disaster, and shared his personal experience.



MAIN PAVILION, VDNKH, MOSCOW. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

"Putin's Russia Today: Sources of Stability and Emerging Challenges." (7 November 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 6 2006

Paul D'Anieri, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas.

"Ukraine a Year after its Revolution: What Has Changed and What Has Not?" (14 November 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 7 2006

Louise Shelley, Director, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University, and former Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Robert Orttung**, Associate Research Professor, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University, and former Title VIII-

Supported Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

"The Links Between Organized Crime and Terrorism in Eurasian Nuclear Smuggling." (12 December 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 8 2006

Serhii Plokhii, Professor of History, University of Alberta; Visiting Professor, Department of History, Harvard University; and former Short-Term Scholar, Kennan Institute.

"Ukraine's Quest for Europe: History, Geography, Identity." (15 December 2005).

Vol. XXIII No. 9 2006

Sasha Lezhnev, Senior Program Officer, Northern Uganda Peace Initiative; **William Zartman**, Director of Conflict Management, School of Advanced

International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

"Crafting Peace: Strategies to Deal with Warlords in Collapsing States (Case Studies: Tajikistan and Sierra Leone)." (5 January 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 10 2006

Taras Kuzio, Visiting Professor, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University;

Adrian Karatnycky, Counselor and Senior Scholar, Freedom House, New York, and Founder, Orange Circle;

Mykola Riabchuk, Research Associate, Center for European Studies, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; Co-Editor, *Krytyka*; and former Regional Exchange Scholar, Kennan Institute; **Lucan Way**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Temple University.

"Preview of the 2006 Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections." (31 January 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 11 2006

Henry Hale, Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University. "Russia's Party Problem: United Russia, Putin, and the Fate of Democracy in Russia." (30 January 2006)

Vol. XXIII No. 12 2006

Marta Dyczok, Associate Professor of History and Political Science, University of Western Ontario, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center; **Elzbieta Olechowska**, Editor in Chief, *International Training*, CBC/Radio-Canada; **Nataliya Petrova**, attorney-at-law and media law expert (Kyiv), and Fulbright-Kennan Institute Research Scholar. "Media in Ukraine: A Domain of the State, the Oligarchs, or the Public?" (14 February 2006)

Vol. XXIII No. 13 2006

Michele Rivkin-Fish, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky. "Women's Health as a Prism of Social Change: An Anthropological Approach." (27 February 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 14 2006

Andrew Wilson, Senior Lecturer in Ukrainian Studies, SSEES, University College London, and Honorary Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. "Virtual Politics and the Corruption of Post-Soviet Democracy." (27 March 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 15 2006

Daniel Satinsky, Principal, B.E.A. Associates, Inc.; President, U.S.-Russia Chamber of Commerce of New England; and editor, *Buyer's Guide to the Russian IT Outsourcing Industry*. "The Growth of Russia's IT Outsourcing Industry: The Beginning of Russian Economic Diversification." (17 April 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 16 2006

Roshanna P. Sylvester, Associate Professor of History, DePaul University. "Tales of Old Odessa: Crime and Civility in a City of Thieves." (24 April 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 17 2006

Alexandra Vacroux, Title VIII-Supported Research Scholar, Kennan Institute. "Decentralization—Bad; Recentralization—Worse? What Failed Health Care Reforms Tell Us about the Russian State." (30 May 2006).

Vol. XXIII No. 18 2006

Richard Miles, Executive Director, Open World Leadership Center, Washington, D.C.; Chair, Kennan Institute Advisory Council; and former U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, to Bulgaria, and to Azerbaijan. "Georgia: Problems and Prospects." (5 June 2006).



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KENNAN MOSCOW PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Vestnik Instituta Kennana v Rossii
[Herald of the Kennan Institute in Russia], Volume 8, Fall 2005.

Rossii v Postsotsialisticheskom Mire
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KENNAN KYIV PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Ahora [Agora], Volume 2, Spring 2006.

Ahora [Agora], Volume 3, Summer 2006.



VARSHAVSKII SHOPPING CENTER, MOSCOW. (WILLIAM C. BRUMFIELD)

RUSSIA'S DIRECTION AND AMERICAN POLICY

During the past year, American political leaders and experts on Russia continued to grapple with how to understand and formulate policy towards Russia. Many developments in Russia have been positive. Buoyed by high oil prices, Russian economic growth continues, and the government has repaid its IMF debt early and has scheduled early repayment on its Paris Club debt. Russia continues to share many American concerns, if not priorities, regarding international terrorism and nonproliferation. At the same time, however, many U.S. experts and policymakers have a growing concern over, in the words of a prominent report from the Council on Foreign Relations, "Russia's wrong direction." This debate was reflected in programming at the Kennan Institute.

Russia, which this year overtook Saudi Arabia in oil production, has unquestionably sought to translate its energy riches into greater state control at home and expanded political influence in the world. According to Andrei Tsygankov who spoke at a Noon Discussion, Russia's new assertiveness represents the pursuit of its legitimate economic and security interests. While President Vladimir Putin is drawing applause

from the Russian public, there is intense debate in the West over whether he is rolling back democracy in Russia and whether Russia can be a reliable partner.

A central question in the debate is whether Russia is a democracy, or an emerging authoritarian state. Marc Garcelon argued that in the period from Gorbachev to Putin, Russian leaders were most concerned with defeating rivals and securing their own authority, and democracy was never truly consolidated. Hugh Ragsdale contended that while Russia may have no tradition of liberalism, it is a democratic state and its leader enjoys wide public support, and therefore accusing Russia of authoritarianism is needlessly confrontational and counterproductive. Georgi Derluguian compared the functioning of the contemporary Russian state to the "machine politics" of Prohibition-era Chicago, in which the trappings of state institutions exist, but real power is held by informal elites who maintain control through patronage networks.

Two speakers focused on how Putin's drive to centralize power is undermining the Russian state's capacity to meet the challenges of globalization. Andrei Kortunov suggested

DIALOGUE PROGRAMS ON RUSSIA AND THE SURROUNDING STATES

Dialogue Radio #768: Remembering Sakharov

Guest: **Joshua Rubenstein**, co-editor with Alexander Gribanov, "KGB file of Andrei Sakharov."

Dialogue Radio #770: The Media and Ukraine

Guest: **Marta Dyczok**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Western Ontario, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Dialogue Radio #777: Creating Diversity Capital

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

Dialogue Television #1104: Remembering Sakharov

Guest: **Joshua Rubenstein**, co-editor with Alexander Gribanov, "KGB file of Andrei Sakharov."

Dialogue Television #1106: The Media and Ukraine

Guest: **Marta Dyczok**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Western Ontario, and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center.

Dialogue Television: #1007 Solovyovo

Guest: **Margaret Paxson**, Senior Associate, Kennan Institute.

Dialogue Television: #1112 Creating Diversity Capital

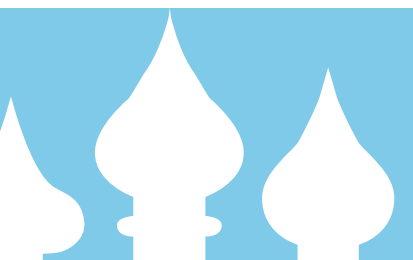
Guest: **Blair A. Ruble**, Director, Kennan Institute

that Putin is creating a regime similar to those that emerged in newly industrializing countries in Latin America and East Asia in the mid-20th century. Such a regime is unlikely to have long-term success in the post-industrial age, he argued. John Williams focused on the factions within the Russian state, from the central bureaucracy to regional leaders, who are in competition for control over resources. This leaves Russia unstable and open to crisis, he argued, as the state is forced to rely on a central leader to balance the competing factions.

How the U.S. policy-making community understands and defines the Russian political system has a tremendous impact on U.S. policy towards Russia. Many speakers over the past year cautioned that Russia today is especially hostile towards the idea of American criticism—let alone interference in Russia's internal affairs. Allen Lynch and Paul Stephan argued that U.S.-Russian relations suffer when America interferes in Russian affairs, and the U.S. policy of supporting political and economic reform in the 1990s has contributed both to anti-American sentiment in Russia

today and to the public's suspicion of "democracy" as a ploy to keep Russia weak. In a debate on American policy toward Russia held at the Kennan Institute, Edward Lozansky contended that rather than antagonizing Russia by imposing American values and ideology, the U.S. should seek to build a partnership with Russia based on pragmatic interests, while Alex Goldfarb stressed that U.S. policy should be to pressure the Putin administration to respect human rights and democratic norms, while providing assistance to pro-democracy groups within Russia.

Igor Zevelev suggested that although the U.S. does have sufficient hard power to constrain Russia's actions in the international arena, it is unlikely that Russia's leaders will be persuaded to accept the American rules of the game any time in the near future. Given this constraint, he argued, the wisest course for the United States would be to integrate Russia into the international system as a stakeholder. Working with Russia will allow the two countries to find areas of common ground, while excluding Russia would only lead to greater strains on the U.S.-Russian relationship.



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ASSESSING THE STATE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICS AFTER THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Following the international euphoria sparked by the Orange Revolution in winter 2004, it was hard to imagine how Ukraine's politics could measure up to the excitement of that memorable presidential election. Yet in the year following the inauguration of President Viktor Yushchenko, Ukraine's political scene once again produced international headlines, scandals, political sensations, and another round of elections. Throughout the program year, specialists came to the Kennan Institute to forecast the future of the Ukrainian state. Experts presented a variety of scenarios, but most agreed that Ukrainian politics are unpredictable. In fact, the unexpected did indeed occur: the two archrivals of the Orange Revolution came together to create an unprecedented political coalition, stunning their supporters as well as observers. The Kennan Institute lecture series provided a forum for discussion of developments in Ukrainian society and politics, and outlined possible U.S. policy approaches to the country.

Experts commemorated the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution by reviewing how Ukraine confronted the difficulties of everyday politics, and the movement's long-term impact on Ukrainian politics. Paul D'Anieri addressed these issues in November 2005, foreshadowing the questions that would echo in many future presentations. He expressed uncertainty over how confident the international community could be that Ukraine would remain on a steady path towards democracy and integration with the West. William Green Miller, former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine and a senior policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, voiced his initial disappointment with the breakdown of the Orange coalition, but concluded optimistically, asserting that Ukraine had fundamentally changed its political system by breaking down the "party of power" structure of government. Miller predicted that everyday politics would look different in the future and that the Parliament would become a force to be reckoned with, rather than an appendage of the president.

The Kennan Institute also organized a series of events during the 2005-2006 program year to predict the outcome and analyze the results of the March 2006 Parliamentary elections. At a round table discussion previewing the elections, Taras Kuzio accurately predicted that the Party of Regions would be the largest faction in the Parliament, due to widespread disillusionment with Orange politicians. Adrian Karatnycky asserted that the success of the Party of Regions was not as dire a threat to democracy and market reform as had previously been thought, since it was a group made up of empowered and self-interested business elites. Mykola Riabchuk argued that in spite of divisions within Ukrainian society, there was little difference between any of the country's major political parties, because they are all led by politicians from the same Soviet generation.

Immediately after the parliamentary elections, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs David Kramer stated that they had been conducted much better than the flawed presidential elections of 2004, and according to observers, were mostly free and

fair. Kramer stated that the U.S. government would be willing to work with whatever parliamentary majority was created, because the elections had met international standards. In April, a month after the elections, Ilko Kucheriv provided exit poll data and pre-election surveys that illustrated how Ukrainian politics started to follow a certain trend, but have not in any way provided more certainty or predictability. Nadia Diuk noted that these elections were not simple, and that assistance from the West was solicited by opposition parties as well as by the “Orange” parties. She contended that the final results of the Parliamentary elections surprised everyone and no one at the same time.

The Ukrainian media, which played a large role in the elections, were also discussed at Kennan Institute seminars during the program year. Marta Dyzcok described the media, which proved crucial during the March elections, as still predominantly under the control of oligarchs. Olexiy Haran asserted that the media was more free in 2006 than in 2004, which enabled the opposition (formerly the party of power) to campaign effectively.

Andrew Wilson, while asserting that post-Soviet politics could often be characterized as a “virtual” political game (in which political technologists created and stage-managed a “virtual democracy”), he mentioned that Ukrainian politics was starting to move beyond this. According to Wilson, the Ukrainian electorate had certainly gotten “wiser,” and had not been manipulated into electing artificially-created decoy parties into Parliament.

The Kennan Institute will continue to support the study of Ukraine in the upcoming program year, both through its programming and through continuing work on its “Civil Society in Ukraine” research workshop.



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