



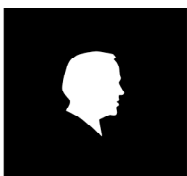
INDISPENSABLE KNOWLEDGE: REBUILDING RUSSIAN STUDIES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

STEPHEN E. HANSON

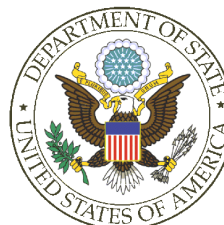
BLAIR A. RUBLE

**FINDINGS FROM
THE RUSSIAN STUDIES SYMPOSIUM:
OPENING DOORS IN THE DECADE AHEAD**

**UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
NOVEMBER 18, 19, & 20, 2004**



**HENRY M. JACKSON
FOUNDATION**



TITLE VIII PROGRAM

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Executive Summary

A slow erosion of US expertise on Russia and its neighbors threatens to undermine our country's understanding of this vital region at a crucial turning point in world history. A combination of misguided attacks on "area studies" within academia, the retirements of a number of leading Russia specialists trained during the Cold War, and the contemporary prioritization of the Middle East and China in foreign policy circles has left Russian studies with very few vocal advocates. To generate public attention to this problem, the Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation convened leaders in the field representing academia, government, the business community, and non-governmental organizations for a three-day Russian Studies Symposium in November, 2004. We reached the following main conclusions:

- The study of Russia remains as critical today as ever, given its pivotal geopolitical position and central role in the global war on terrorism; its huge arsenal of weapons of mass destruction; its growing importance as an energy exporter; the dangers posed by the spread of infectious diseases and the trafficking of drugs and people through the country; the opportunities stemming from Russia's economic rebound and continuing role as a leader in world science and culture; and Russia's importance for understanding wider trends in global change.

- The Title VI and Title VIII programs of the US federal government have been absolutely vital in sustaining the excellence of Russian studies to date in a challenging financial environment.
- The leadership necessary to rebuild Russian studies for the 21st century will likely not come from academic institutions facing growing budgetary problems, from U.S. and Russian businesses frightened by the implications of the YUKOS affair, or from the still-divided and disorganized community of Russian émigrés.
- The case is thus clear for a new strategic initiative from the U.S. federal government in partnership with leading foundations, modeled after the efforts made to reinvigorate Soviet Studies in the early Reagan administration, to ensure continuing, targeted funding to build greater community interest in Russian politics, history, and culture; to maintain and expand person-to-person contacts between U.S. and Russian citizens and policymakers; and to nurture a new generation of leaders in the field of Russian studies to ensure its renewal in the 21st century.

Introduction

Nearly fifteen years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the field of Russian studies in the United States is quietly, but inexorably, sliding into serious crisis. The last generation of academic specialists trained and hired in the Soviet period is rapidly reaching retirement age, and new Russia specialists are not being hired by universities at a rate that will replace them. Of course, some readjustment of priorities in academic and government funding after the end of the Cold War was inevitable, and even healthy. But the downsizing of the “post-Soviet” field has continued for so long, so steadily, that there is a real threat of it becoming marginalized at most U.S. institutions of higher learning. In some disciplines, such as economics and geography, only a handful of specialists trained to understand Russian regional development remain in their positions. In others, such as political science, history, and Slavic languages and literatures, the struggle to replace retiring faculty has become increasingly difficult. Fortunately, continuing funding for area studies through the Title VI and Title VIII programs of the U.S. federal government has provided sufficient incentives thus far for many leading academic institutions to renew their commitments to Russian Studies. But were such funding to be significantly reduced or eliminated, the result, in the near future, could be a serious gap in our understanding of the biggest country in the world—and the only country in the world with the military capacity to destroy American society.

Three separate developments since 1991 have combined to generate a “perfect storm” battering the Russian studies field: dwindling attention by policymakers to Russia after the collapse of the USSR and given new threats arising elsewhere in the Islamic world;

attacks on the intellectual respectability of “area studies”—and “post-Sovietology” in particular—at leading academic institutions and foundations; and widespread popular stereotypes about Russia as backward, criminal, and irrelevant to world affairs.

Political attention in the United States toward Russia has sharply diminished since the Soviet Union’s collapse. Russia’s rapid loss of superpower status obviously eliminated the major historical justification for prioritizing the study of the region. Then, during the 1990s, optimism about the prospects for Russian “transition” to democratic capitalism, along with a widespread feeling that Russian policymakers had no choice but to go along with U.S. foreign policy priorities, combined to put Russian affairs on the back burner in many government agencies. The decision in 2000 to merge Russia with the rest of “Europe” at the U.S. State Department, however sensible from a cultural point of view, has also inevitably downgraded Russia’s importance in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. Finally, the tragic events of September 11, 2001 understandably focused both public and policymaking attention on new kinds of security threats, often far removed from the traditional agenda of bilateral diplomacy with Moscow. Of course, now that the Cold War is over, there is no reason to devote the greater sum of America’s foreign policy budget to the study of Russia and the Newly-Independent States; and for the time being, a number of first-rate specialists, fluent in Russian, remain active at high levels of the U.S. government (including, for instance, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice). Without continuing, proactive efforts by the U.S. Federal Government to ensure the rebuilding of Russian Studies in the years to come, however, replacing this cadre of specialists could prove to be a serious challenge.

Simultaneously, within academia, concerted intellectual attacks by leading social scientists on the traditional concept of interdisciplinary regional studies did inestimable damage to Russian studies. In the social sciences, the ascendancy of abstract theories that deny the importance of social and cultural contexts as causal factors for explaining political and economic outcomes has turned the designation “area specialist” into a term of abuse. New positions for junior faculty are now usually listed as being simply for scholars of “comparative politics” regardless of area specialization. Moreover, departments often prefer to “build on strength” by hiring additional experts to complement the regional specialties of their current faculty, rather than try to “cover” the entire world. Given that the overwhelming majority of political scientists specialize on the developed countries of the OECD, persuading senior faculty to hire a young Russia specialist can thus be very difficult. Meanwhile, leading figures in the humanities have called into question the intellectual status of “the canon” of great literature, music, and art; as a result, it can be harder to find young faculty members interested in sharing their passion for Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Tchaikovsky, or Repin in large lecture courses for undergraduates. While these intellectual trends have negatively affected all regional studies programs, Russian studies has particularly hard hit. “Sovietology,” which allegedly failed to predict the collapse of the USSR, is held up as the most damaging evidence for the foolishness of area studies, and specialists on contemporary Russia are often tarred with the same brush. Nor, given its erstwhile superpower status, is Russia generally of interest to scholars in the humanities interested in the growing field of “postcolonial” studies. At a time when universities around the country are struggling with increased budgetary problems, such intellectual trends often render department

chairs, deans, and provosts unsympathetic when urged to devote scarce resources to sustaining Russian studies programs.

The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that the current, depressing image of Russia in the eyes of most of the U.S. public hardly inspires people to pursue a career in the Russian Studies field. Despite the collapse of communism, Russians in popular television shows, films, and novels are still frequently portrayed as villains with nefarious motives; the rise to power of a former KGB spy, Vladimir Putin, has tended to reinforce such stereotypes. On top of this residue of the Cold War, the initial chaos of Russia's postcommunist transition has generated a new cultural image of Russians as bumbling, incompetent, and criminal. The insidious spread of such views makes it harder to build undergraduate enrollments in Russian studies courses and to galvanize community support for Russian studies programs under threat.

Why Should We Care About Russia?

Of course, declining support for Russian studies among academics, policymakers, and citizens is no crisis if Russia itself truly has become marginal to global politics. We lack strong national networks of specialists on Portugal or Madagascar, for example, but it would be hard to make the case for concerted public attention to this "problem." To make the case for rebuilding Russian studies in the 21st century, we must first ask: does Russia itself really matter?

The answer to this question, we think, is a resounding “yes,” for at least a half dozen reasons: Russia’s unique geopolitical position and central role in the global war on terrorism; its stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction; its crucial role in energy markets; the global threat posed by Russia’s problems with drugs, human trafficking, and infectious diseases; the global opportunity to benefit from the contributions of Russia’s educated population; and the potential Russian contribution to understanding of the human condition.

Russia’s geographic position astride Europe and Asia gives it an important role in nearly every important geopolitical crisis now facing the West. In the Far East, Russia’s borders with China and North Korea place it in a strategically critical location in the context of debates about the rise of Chinese military and economic power and the future of Kim Jong-Il’s regime. In Central Asia, Russia remains the most influential great power. Russian cooperation with the United States in the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan was crucial to its successful prosecution, and the two countries share an interest in combating the influence of Islamist extremists in the region. Conversely, renewed Russian-American rivalry, combined with Chinese efforts to expand its influence in the region, could spark serious political and even military conflicts. In the Caucasus, Russia’s brutal war against Chechen separatists rages on into its second decade, with no resolution in sight. Meanwhile, neighboring Georgia’s ongoing conflicts with separatists in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, the unresolved dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the status of Nagorno-Karabakh, and events such as the terrorist attack on schoolchildren in Beslan threaten to spark a wider Caucasian war. Given the fact that

Iran, Iraq, and Turkey all lie directly to the south of this unstable region, Russia's role here bears a close watch. In Europe, the problem of Russia's integration into—or alienation from—multilateral alliances such as NATO and the European Union continues to be the key geopolitical factor affecting countries such as Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, and the Baltic States. President Putin's heavy-handed (and ineffective) intrusion in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections demonstrates clearly just how difficult it will be to secure cooperative relationships between Russia and its European neighbors. Nor should we should forget that Russia, in a sense, borders the U.S. and Canada as well, and as the polar ice cap melts, new shipping routes, possibilities for energy exploration, and accompanying environmental threats are becoming major issues on the global agenda. Finally, as continuing deadly terrorist attacks in Moscow and other major Russian cities sadly demonstrate, even the country's heartland remains on the front lines of the current global war on terrorism.

Russia also possesses the world's largest stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction—and they are still far from secure. Both candidates in the U.S. presidential election of 2004 emphasized that the threat of nuclear terrorism is the number one problem for U.S. security in the 21st century, and the Russian Federation is the most dangerous potential source of weapons that could be utilized in this fashion. Indeed, Osama bin Laden himself has publicly declared his intention to obtain Russian nuclear materials. To be sure, the threat of “loose nukes” in Russia is not necessarily an imminent one. There is no public evidence to date that any Russian nuclear weapons have been stolen or misplaced. But the safety and security of Russia's stockpiles of highly-enriched uranium

and plutonium, as well as of its chemical and biological weapons laboratories, could quickly be undermined in the event of renewed political instability within the Russian Federation. Recent studies have concluded that a significant number of Russian nuclear scientists might potentially work for “rogue states” if the pay were sufficiently attractive. Access for U.S. inspectors to sensitive sites within Russia has become more difficult in recent years. And now the Russian government has committed itself to a major program of nuclear modernization that can only exacerbate these negative trends.

Russia’s importance for energy security in Europe and Asia will only increase in the years to come. Russia is now the second biggest oil exporter in the world, next to Saudi Arabia, and its natural gas reserves are the largest of any country. In Asia, rapid economic development makes securing energy resources a major geopolitical problem; Japan and China are already engaged in a prolonged struggle to gain access to Siberian oil and gas reserves. The rich oil and gas fields of the Caspian basin render the multiple unresolved geopolitical conflicts in this region even more worrisome: in fact, new pipelines being built in Central Asia and the Caucasus run right through some of the most politically unstable parts of the former Soviet Union. At the same time, Russian energy policy has become a crucial tool for Moscow to exert political influence over its European neighbors; much of the European continent remains highly dependent on Russian oil and gas exports.

Not only the Russian state, but also Russian society deserves careful attention by the United States. Russia’s post-Soviet upheaval has generated several long term social

problems that have the potential to damage human security in other parts of the world. Russia has the fastest rate in the world of new cases of HIV infection, and full-blown AIDS could take an inestimable toll on the Russian population in the decades to come. Russia remains the key transit route for the trafficking of heroin from Afghanistan to Europe, and high rates of drug addiction within Russia itself remain a serious social issue. Russia remains a major source and transit country for trafficked women as well, and despite some courageous efforts to address this situation in the Russian Duma, there has been very limited progress on the ground in dealing with this problem. And the intensification in recent years of xenophobia and extremist nationalism among many sectors of Russian society has the potential to generate long-term social conflicts.

Yet Russia's dramatic post-Soviet transformation also presents incredible opportunities for forging a more peaceful and productive future in Eurasia. Indeed, since the Russian financial crisis of 1998, Russia has been one of the fastest growing emerging markets in the world. Energy development has certainly played a key role in the Russian economic rebound, but changes in the post-Soviet economy go much deeper than this. Throughout the Russian Federation, urban cores are slowly being renovated, new service industries are arising, and new communication technologies are linking ordinary people to global information networks. This transformation may suffer setbacks due to misguided policies and political repression, but in the end, Russia's reintegration into the global economy is sure to open exciting new opportunities for investment and trade. Nor should one lose sight of the fact that Russia's highly educated population continues to generate important scientific and cultural breakthroughs.

Sixth, Russian influence over how we all think about the world has always been extensive and profound. Russian literature and performing arts have reached deep into the American cultural landscape. As Ambassador George F. Kennan observed in 1999, “When it comes to the relationship between great peoples, that relationship is not finished, not complete when it only consists of the military relationship, the economic, and the political. There has to be, and particularly in the case of Russia, there has to be another supplementary dimension to these relations – and that is the dimension of the meeting of people in the work of the intellect, in the respect for scholarship and history, in the understanding of art and music and in all the intuitive feelings that go to unite us even in the most difficult times to many people in Russia.” There has been much more to the US-Russian relationship than geopolitics and technical assistance. Russian thought, writing, theater, and music have enriched our own understanding and appreciation of the world. Nor did Russian creativity come to an end in 1991. The subsequent ambiguities of Russian life continue to produce some of the world’s most challenging cultural legacies, a thoughtful consideration of which rewardingly informs a broad understanding of the human condition. In fact, Russia faces exactly the problems of state legitimacy, border security, economic globalization, and multiethnicity that will be the key problems of the 21st century throughout the world. Thus, understanding Russia can make a genuine contribution to a social scientific understanding of the contemporary human condition.

Indeed, given all the reasons for Russia’s geopolitical, military, economic, social, and cultural importance outlined above—in addition to its inherently fascinating history and

political situation—it is strange that the case for studying Russia is not immediately self-evident. Yet obviously, it is not. Why?

Why Don't We Care about Russia?

One of the primary reasons why Americans have stopped caring about Russia is one of the most simple in human terms: fatigue. After nearly a half-century of being preoccupied with everything that happened in Russia, most Americans were more than ready to try to forget about the place by the mid-1990s. Academics wondered why they needed to have scholars whose research and teaching focused on Russia in their departments; Members of Congress readily thought of other now-more-needy regions and domestic programs on which they could spend money once budgeted in one way or another to meet the Soviet threat; news media were now free to redeploy to other regions the army of journalists that roams the world looking for stories to tell. Motivations varied from group to group, and from political perspective to political perspective. Almost all Americans nonetheless found common ground in the desire to take the “Russia problem,” wrap it in a nicely wrapped box with a big bow marked “post-Cold War,” “democracy,” “free market economy,” or whatever, put it on a shelf and walk away. Unfortunately for everyone, Russia’s continuing traumas simply oozed through the colorful wrapping of victory declarations with every passing year.

The desire to retire Russia from view was propelled in large measure by the perception that Russia’s importance to the United States had declined immeasurably since the collapse of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union was “Foreign Policy Problem Number

One” for generations of American politicians and policy-makers, new contenders for that title loomed on the horizon. Diplomats were better placed to make major leaps forward in their careers from Beijing rather than Moscow. In the classic formulation of the early 1990s, Russia had become nothing more than “Chad with nuclear weapons.” Once those weapons were targeted elsewhere, Russia faded quickly from view. Unfortunately, however, less than a half-hour is required to re-target those weapons that remain on major U.S. population centers.

The general sense that Russia, unlike the Soviet Union, is not a threat to the United States is a consequence of more than just the collapse of Russia’s position within the American hierarchy of international challenges. Post-Soviet Russian foreign policy has been a mix of issues, small and large, that at times overlaps with American interests and policies, and at times exists in its own space. Americans have had a difficult time deciding if Russia is an ally, a strategic partner, a friend or foe. Russia is both the member of a broad coalition that opposed the American invasion of Iraq on the United Nations Security Council, and the first country to call to express sympathy on September 11, 2001. Russia similarly is both a partner in Balkans peacekeeping and the irritable and sullen rogue whose troops raced NATO troops to reach the airport in Pristina. Russia has both appeared to be a close supporter of American positions, and played its “China card” in efforts to oppose American global “hegemony.” Consequently, scholars, commentators, politicians, and policy-makers alike don’t quite know what to make of Russia. This ambiguity, in turn, breeds frustration.

Frustration in discerning a clear image of Russia as friend or foe subtly undermines the intellectual certitude of the field of Russian studies. Scholars studying the Soviet Union had a clear sense of their object of study (if not always a precise appreciation of its complexity). For better or worse, there were journals and degrees in “Soviet Studies.” Now, even the name of our subject matter is contested. Should we call our field “post-Soviet studies,” “postcommunist studies,” “Eurasian studies,” or “transitology”? And even if we choose to focus our attention on political, social, and economic phenomena that occur within the boundaries of the Russian Federation, how should social scientists define the object of their concern? Is Russia simply another “case study,” or something more?

Russia appears somehow different from the world at large in many important ways. Policies that brought functioning markets and democratic polities to millions of people elsewhere seem to have produced unexpectedly pernicious results across the post-Soviet world. All the countries of the region share a dark shadow cast by earlier Soviet institutions that distort what elsewhere would be considered to be the “normal” functioning of state and society. Yet, reputable social scientists argue with reason that Russia is just one more “middle income transitional economy.” Inequality, for example, has emerged as one of Russia’s central concerns. But what, precisely, does expanding inequality mean in a post-Soviet context? In part, it is symptomatic of the monetarization of economic life. Soviet society was grossly inequitable but the criteria that made Soviet life unequal were not as easily quantifiable as today’s income differentials. Being a member of the Communist Party, working for the police agencies, serving in the army,

being employed in heavy “Group A” industries all elevated Soviet citizens in one way or another above the norm. This was so even though such privileges could never be reduced to the elegance of a Gini coefficient of wage inequality. It appears that what it means to be poor in Russia is significantly different from what it means to be poor in Germany or the United States, but how so? When studying Russia, is one engaged in an examination of that country alone, or in comparative social science analysis? Researchers must draw on social science tools developed in the west for the study of poverty even though what it means to be poor and how the poor cope has been shaped by Soviet and post-Soviet experience. Thus, specific answers to questions about poverty undoubtedly will be different from those to similar questions in the West. The methodologies used to discern those answers are, in fact, the same statistical and survey methods long used around the globe. Does this mean that there is no legitimate intellectual enterprise associated with the moniker “Russian Studies?”

All of these ambiguities about the nature of Russia and of Russian Studies highlight another aspect of the country and the field of study that discourage engagement. Like jazz and baseball, studying Russia is difficult. Beyond all of the years of disciplinary training required to achieve professional standing in American academic life, scholars of Russia must spend a lifetime coming to terms with the Russian culture, life, customs, and behavior patterns. The additional effort, which might have made sense during the Cold War when neither governments nor academic departments could ignore the existence of the Soviet Union, somehow loses its fascination when the intellectual, professional, and financial payoffs appear to be so modest.

All of these factors have combined to erode the attractiveness of dedicating one's life to thinking about Russia. Yet, if Russia is still important intellectually and politically, economically and culturally, how does the field respond to such questions?

What is to be Done?

If Russian Studies represent an indispensable asset for the United States, and, simultaneously, is endangered by a complex set of psychological factors, what needs to be done to change attitudes and reinvigorate the field? To answer this question, the Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation convened leaders in the field representing academia, government, the business community, and non-governmental organizations to set out what should be done next. The three-day meeting included an inventory of the field's accomplishments as well as assessment of broad trends and needs.

Some of the main conclusions of our deliberations were negative: there are some seemingly attractive strategies that will *not* work well to revive Russian studies in the years ahead. To begin with, we clearly cannot expect, nor should we really desire, a return to the days when Sovietology was a primary focus at many leading academic institutions. The world of the 21st century is very different from that of the Cold War. Scholars, businesspeople, government officials and ordinary people in both the U.S. and Russia can now interact directly in ways never before imaginable. Undergraduates and

graduate students can now easily travel to Russia and immerse themselves in the country's language and culture; meanwhile, more and more ethnic Russians are enrolling at U.S. institutions of higher learning. Despite recent setbacks, information flows far more freely between the two countries than at any point during the Soviet era. In sum, the forces of globalization will continue to link the U.S. and Russia closer together, strategically, economically, and culturally, in the decades ahead. We need to rethink Russian Studies to embrace these global trends: to make our undergraduate and graduate training more relevant to the needs of international businesses, government agencies, and NGOs; to encourage and deepen international exchanges; and to strengthen links between ordinary Russian and American citizens. To study Russia only as a real or potential "enemy" would impoverish our field, intellectually and practically.

At the same time, however, we need to be realistic in our strategy for revitalizing Russian studies in the United States given current academic, economic, and cultural trends. In addition to the intellectual and institutional downgrading of area studies, severe budget cuts at major research universities nationwide severely limit the opportunities for new initiatives to rebuild our field. While a few outstanding new Ph.D. recipients focusing on Russia continue to find jobs at key institutions, given current hiring trends, Russian studies will eventually be marginalized on all but a handful of campuses. Nor can we expect the corporate sector to provide major new funding. U.S. trade with Russia, fifteen years after the collapse of communism, remains remarkably weak, and foreign direct investment in Russia, outside the energy sector, is comparatively miniscule. U.S. corporations operating in Russia increasingly prefer to hire Russian citizens, not

American expatriates—further reducing corporate demand for U.S. Russia analysts. Meanwhile, Russian corporations that might have helped to fill this void have been scared off by the fallout of the arrest of Mikhail Khodorkovsky and the dismantling of YUKOS, despite—or even because of—Khodorkovsky’s well-publicized philanthropy. Finally, the Russian émigré community in the United States, while growing in size and potential political clout, thus far remains too fragmented to lobby successfully for programs devoted to the study of Russia.

The reality, then, is that for Russian studies to survive in the 21st century, financial support for the field must continue to be a priority of the U.S. federal government and major public foundations. The monetary incentives and leverage provided by the Title VI programs of the Department of Education and Title VIII programs of the Department of State, along with major grant programs by a few leading foundations, are among the single most important factors now preserving the nation’s capacity to understand Russia’s changing politics and society. Were this money to be substantially reduced or cut altogether, the brewing crisis in Russian studies would become immediate, all-encompassing, and quite possibly irreversible. To keep these vital programs alive—particularly in a time of renewed budget cutting and heightened demands in other areas of U.S. foreign policy—will require a concerted and sustained effort by every academic, businessperson, and ordinary citizen who cares about the future of U.S.-Russian relations.

To convince skeptics that Russian studies is worth supporting, however, we must admit the need for greater efficiency, clearer measures of impact, and the development of a coherent grand strategy for the field as a whole. Our discussions in Seattle generated many exciting suggestions in this regard, revolving around three critical priorities for Russian studies today: inspiring young people to explore Russia's great history and culture, expanding new networks that bind Russian and American citizens as well as academic and non-academic specialists together in sustainable partnerships, and nurturing the next generation of Russia specialists who can lead the field in the decades to come.

First, everyone concerned with Russian studies needs to recognize the considerable difficulties that confront young specialists at the start of their careers with an eye toward converting such challenges into assets for the field. Educators and funders should conceive of the preparation of Russian specialists as a career-long process in which it is imperative to secure fluency in the Russian language at as early a stage as possible. Investment in language training in elementary, middle, and high school as well as at the university level would enable those pursuing careers in the field to devote their graduate training to obtaining the disciplinary expertise so necessary for successful careers in university social science departments.

As important as language training, special effort should be made to promote broad interest in Russian culture and literature as a way of attracting students to the study of the country. Unlike Soviet studies, Russian studies will not survive as a viable intellectual—or even policy-relevant—enterprise if it is only thought of as pursuing the

latest direct security challenge to the United States. American specialists on Russia must be sufficiently attracted to Russia as a society, as a culture, and as a place so as to sustain the difficult and long training periods required to develop both area and disciplinary expertise. Investment in language training and the humanities must not be viewed as a distraction from, but rather integral to, the study of more immediate policy and disciplinary concerns. Strategies for resuscitation of the field should thus entail a deep commitment to the promotion of Russian language and culture at every stage within the American education system. The outreach programs of the university centers funded under the Department of Education's Title VI program are essential to all of these activities. Special effort should be made to sustain robust funding for Title VI in particular if this goal is to be attained.

Second, the field should conceive of itself as more than a university-based American intellectual enterprise and reach out to broad networks of American and Russian academics, businesspeople, and citizens who are increasingly engaged in a rapidly globalizing world. Russian studies must evolve into a more "normal" regional studies field in which many of the field's leaders will be from the country of study rather than from the United States. Americans studying Russia should embrace a field in which the primary centers of gravity will be generally outside of the academy and within Russia itself.

At a grass-roots level, those responsible for the development of the field should encourage as wide a range of citizen and student exchanges, professional contacts and

business cooperation, in-country study, and transnational NGO relationships as possible. At the university and post-graduate level, the field needs to promote Masters Degree level training as a way of preparing students for non-academic careers relating to Russia. Finally, highly trained recipients of doctoral degrees in the social sciences who are based at universities should learn to reach out to their non-academic colleagues as vital members of a shared field of interest. Once again, the outreach activities supported by the Title VI centers are essential to these elements of field development, as is the broad range of State Department support through the Title VIII program for training and fellowship activities.

Third, new approaches to graduate and professional training are necessary to foster a newly configured field that embraces primary and secondary education as well as university and graduate training; that incorporates American, Russian, and other specialists into a single community; and that reaches out to the business, non-governmental, and policy communities in addition to university specialists. In redesigning the Russian studies curriculum at the undergraduate and graduate level, special efforts must be made to integrate students into business and policy communities as well as to launch specialized academic careers.

Every effort should be made to provide meaningful, on-the-ground educational and professional experiences in Russia. In this regard, private funding agencies should be encouraged to consider the establishment of an “International House” in Moscow along

the lines of such facilities in Japan and elsewhere which provide critical in-country support and venues for cross-cultural conversation.

High-level academic training should be encouraged, though only in a context which recognizes the pre-eminence of disciplinary concerns within the university. In other words, entering the Russian studies field must be redefined as involving a continuing engagement with Russia on a variety of levels, including the community, non-governmental organizations, businesses, policy-oriented public and private institutions as well as university faculties. Both the Title VI and the Title VIII programs should be thoughtfully reconfigured in close consultation with members of the Russian studies community to provide the training and outreach opportunities necessary to bring about this desired redefinition of the field.

A Call to Action

In the early 1980s, the administration of President Ronald Reagan, with the support of leaders in the U.S. congress and major foundations, launched a major drive to stem a serious decline in enrollments in programs specializing in Russian language, history, and politics. As a result of that visionary initiative, a small but well-trained group of younger Russia specialists who entered the field in those years now occupy positions of leadership in academia, government, and the NGO sector. This cohort has managed to build upon the intellectual heritage of Soviet studies, using new theoretical tools, previously-unavailable archival materials, and personal connections with Russian colleagues to adapt Russian studies for the 21st century. The field of Russian studies, despite all the difficult

challenges of the post-Soviet era, has thus maintained its tradition of excellence to the present day.

But unless current trends are reversed soon, the future of Russian studies does not look bright. In the near future, faculty retirements and academic budget cuts will result in a serious further downsizing of the field. And as we learned on the tragic day of September 11, 2001, the loss of the nation's capacity to understand the politics, society, and language of a major world culture can have critical consequences for U.S. security. Given that neither academia, nor the corporate sector, nor citizen lobbies are likely to provide the resources to reverse these trends, the case for federal funding is clear. As in the days of the Reagan administration, we need visionary leadership and careful strategizing to rebuild Russian studies to meet the challenges of the new century.

Appendix A:

Symposium Program

Wednesday, November 17, 2004

7:00-8:30 pm—Ambassador Jack Matlock, “Russia’s Foreign Policy,” Lecture commemorating 15th Anniversary of the Foundation for Russian-American Economic Cooperation (FRAEC). Open to the public.

Thursday, November 18, 2004—Private Session

8:30-9:00 am – Registration

9:00-9:30 am—Welcome and Introductions

Anand Yang, Director, Jackson School of International Studies
Lara Iglitzin, Executive Director, Henry M. Jackson Foundation
Blair Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Stephen E. Hanson, Director, Russian, Eastern European, and Central Asian Studies (REECAS) Program, University of Washington
Herbert J. Ellison, Professor Emeritus, University of Washington

9:30-10:45 am—State of the Field: Expert Perspectives on Russian Studies in the 21st Century

Stephen E. Hanson, Moderator
Robert Huber, NCEEER
Andrei Kortunov, Eurasia Foundation
James Millar, George Washington University
Carol Saivetz, AAASS
Angela Stent, NIO Russia and Eurasia

10:45-11:00 am—Break

11:00-12:00 pm—Discussion

12:00-1:00 pm—Lunch

1:15-3:00 pm—Breakout Session #1: Discussion Moderated by Panel Co-Chairs

Academic Participants, *Blair Ruble*, Chair
 Business Participants, *Genna Lozovsky*, Chair
 Government Participants, HUB, *Angela Stent*, Chair
 NGO Participants, HUB, *Gerson Sher*, Chair

3:00-3:15 pm—Break

3:15-5:00 pm—Breakout Session #2: Key Problems for Russian Studies*

* *Participants may select which break-out session they wish to attend*

“How Should Russia Specialists Influence Policy?” *Angela Stent, Chair*

“Career Training in the New Russian Studies,” *Genna Lozovsky, Chair*

“The Challenge of Fundraising and Funding Priorities,” *Blair Ruble and Andrei Kortunov, Co-Chairs*

“Engaging the Community: Why Should Ordinary People Care?”

Gerson Sher, Chair

5:30-7:30 pm—Herbert J. Ellison Center Reception, Henry Art Gallery Auditorium

Friday, November 19, 2004—Public Session

9:00-9:15 am—Public Welcome

Stephen E. Hanson, Director, REECAS Program, University of Washington

9:15-10:45 am—Russian Studies Then and Now: Personal Stories and Case Studies

Ambassador James Collins, former Ambassador to Russia

George Kolt, CIA, retired

George Russell, The Threshold Group and Russell Investment Group

10:45-11:00 am—Break

11:00-12:00 pm—Reports from Panel Co-Chairs

Angela Stent—“How Should Russia Specialists Influence Policy?”

Discussion

12:00-1:00 pm—Lunch

1:15-3:15 pm—Reports from Panel Co-Chairs: Continued

Gerson Sher—“Engaging the Community: Why Should Ordinary People Care?”
Discussion

Genna Lozovsky—“Career Training in the New Russian Studies”

Discussion

3:15-3:30 pm—Break

3:30-5:00 pm—Reports from Panel Co-Chairs: Continued

Blair Ruble and Andrei Kortunov—“The Challenge of Fundraising and Funding Priorities in the U.S. and Russia”

Discussion

5:30-8:30 pm – Private Dinner for Symposium Participants, Walker Ames Rm, Kane Hall

Saturday, November 20, —Public Session

8:30-10:00 am—Open Discussion: Where Do We Go From Here?

Herbert Ellison, Andrei Kortunov, Robert Huber, and Pamela Spratlen engage the audience:

“Which engagement strategies are working and need to continue?”

“Do Russians and Americans see issues that will be permanent obstacles to engagement?”

“If we could share three or four messages about U.S.– Russia engagement with leaders in industry, government, academia, and our communities about relations with Russia, what would those messages be?”

10:00-11:00 am—Symposium Reflections.

Panel Co-Chairs

11:00-11:30 am—Concluding Comments: A Call to Action.

Blair Ruble and Stephen E. Hanson

Adjourn

Appendix B: Symposium Participants

<p><i>Academic Experts</i></p> <p>Dr. Anders Åslund, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Professor Mark Beissinger, University of Wisconsin Professor Timothy Colton, Harvard University Professor John Dunlop, Hoover Institution Professor Herbert J. Ellison, University of Washington Professor M. Steven Fish, University of California, Berkeley Dr. Vladimir Gel'man, European University at St. Petersburg Professor Jim Goldgeier, George Washington University Professor Marshall Goldman, Harvard University Professor Stephen Hanson, UW Jackson School of Int'l Studies Dr. Ivan Kurilla, Volgograd State University Dr. Gail Lapidus, Stanford University Professor Kimberly Marten, Barnard College/Harriman Institute Professor James Millar, George Washington University Dr. Ekaterina Pravilova, European University at St. Petersburg Professor Philip Roeder, University of California at San Diego Dr. Blair Ruble, Kennan Institute Professor Judith Thornton, University of Washington Professor Daniel Treisman, UCLA Dr. Anand Yang, Director, UW Jackson School of Int'l Studies</p>	<p><i>Government Experts</i></p> <p>Ms. Susie Baker, Title VIII Program Officer, U.S. Department of State Ambassador James Collins, former Ambassador to Russia Mr. Alexander Doronin, Vice Consul General, Russian Consulate Seattle Mr. George Kolt, former NIO Russia and Eurasia Ambassador Jack Matlock, former Ambassador to USSR Ms. Susan Nelson, Office of External Research, U.S. Department of State Dr. Matthew Ouimet, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State Ms. Pamela Spratlen, East West Center Dr. Angela Stent, NIO Russia and Eurasia Mr. Vladimir Vol'nov, Consul General, Russian Consulate Seattle Dr. Igor Zevelev, George Marshall European Center for Security Studies</p>
<p><i>Industry Experts</i></p> <p>Dr. Matthew Bencke, Microsoft Corporation Dr. Pavel Buzytsky, Progressor USA, LLC Dr. Robert Clough, Microsoft Corporation Dr. James Fuller, Consultant, NBR and FRAEC Board Member Mr. Genna Lozovsky – Delta Capital Management Mr. George Russell, The Threshold Group and Chairman Emeritus, Russell Investment Group Ms. Gael Tarleton, Director of Corporate & Foundation Relations, University of Washington</p>	<p><i>Non-Profit Experts</i></p> <p>Dr. Robert Huber, NCEEER Ms. Lara Iglitzin, The Henry M. Jackson Foundation Ms. Carol Kessler, Battelle/PNNL Dr. Andrei Kortunov, Eurasia Foundation Dr. Andrew Kuchins, Director, Moscow Carnegie Center Mr. John Modzelewski, CRDF Dr. Mark Pomar, IREX Dr. Carol Saivetz, AAASS Dr. Gerson Sher, Independent Consultant Dr. Lilia Shevtsova, Carnegie Moscow Center Mr. Andrei Shkvorov, Director, Tver InterContact Group Mr. John Slocum, MacArthur Foundation Ms. Carol Vipperman, FRAEC</p>

Acknowledgements

This report is based on the discussions at a symposium for leaders in universities, government, industry, and communities to explore the future of Russian Studies convened by the Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies of the Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle on November 18-20, 2004. The symposium was jointly sponsored by the Ellison Center, the Woodrow Wilson Center's Kennan Institute, and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, with additional generous funding from the Title VIII Program of the United States Department of State and the George F. Kennan Fund. More than 50 participants traveled from across the United States and Russia to join in the discussion. The symposium program and list of participants are included in Appendices A and B.

The authors would like to express their gratitude to the sponsors and participants for insuring the success of the Seattle conference. This report is not an account of those meetings and discussions. Rather, the authors have chosen to present their own views and responses to the deliberations in an effort to provide a more provocative call to action. Hopefully, the symposium participants will recognize their contributions in the preceding pages. The views expressed here are solely those of the authors.

Enterprises such as the November 2004 symposium and this report depend on the efforts of many people. In particular, the authors would like to acknowledge the tremendous contributions of Gael Tarleton of the University of Washington, F. Joseph Dresen of the

Kennan Institute, Lara Iglitzin of the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, and Susan Baker of the United States Department of State in insuring the success of the meetings and deliberations. Marta Mikkelsen, Robert Rodriguez-Lawson, and Carrie O'Donoghue of the Ellison Center played invaluable organizational roles as well. Beyond these indispensable colleagues, every symposium participant lent good will, energy, and wisdom to the process that has produced this report.

The symposium marked the inauguration of the Ellison Center, and honored the career of Herbert S. Ellison. Dr. Ellison, a professor emeritus of Russian history and international studies at the Henry M Jackson School, and founding director of Eurasia Policy Studies at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), has deeply and profoundly enriched the Russian studies field through his scholarship as well as through his institutional stewardship of a number of vital national programs and institutions. In particular, his accomplishments as director of the Henry M. Jackson School and of the Kennan Institute greatly advanced the study of Russia within the United States. The authors modestly present this report as a small acknowledgement of Dr. Ellison's deep contributions to their institutions, to their personal careers, and to the field of Russian Studies generally.

About the Authors

Stephen E. Hanson is the Boeing International Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington, and director of the University's Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies at the Jackson School of International Studies. He also serves as academic director of the Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS). He received his PhD degree in Political Science from the University of California-Berkeley, and his BA from Harvard University. Previous positions include those of visiting associate professor of government and visiting scholar at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, both at Harvard University; and research scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center's Kennan Institute. He presently serves in the editorial boards of *Comparative Political Studies* and the Cambridge University Press's Series in Comparative Politics. Dr. Hanson specializes in the study of Russian, post-communist, and comparative politics, and has published numerous articles in major refereed journals. He is author of the award-winning *Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions* (1997), co-author of *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy* (2001), and author of a forthcoming book entitled *Uncertain Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia*.

Blair A. Ruble is currently Director of the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., where he also serves as Co-Coordinator for Comparative Urban Studies. He received his MA and PhD degrees in Political Science from the University of Toronto (1973, 1977), and an AB degree with Highest Honors in Political Science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1971). He has edited a dozen volumes, and is the author of five monographic studies. His book-length works include a trilogy examining the fate of Russian provincial cities during the twentieth century: *Leningrad. Shaping a Soviet City* (1990); *Money Sings! The Changing Politics of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Yaroslavl* (1995); and *Second Metropolis: Pragmatic Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka* (2001). Dr. Ruble's forthcoming monographic study – *Creating Diversity Capital* – will examine the changes in such cities as Montreal, Washington, D.C., and Kyiv brought about by the recent arrival of large transnational communities. A native of New York, Dr. Ruble worked previously at the Social Science Research Council in New York City (1985-1989) and the National Council for Soviet and East European Research (1982-1985).