

NEWS FROM THE
HARRIMAN INSTITUTE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
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TIMOTHY FRYE, DIRECTOR

JANUARY 2011

NOTES FROM THE DIRECTOR



One of the wonderful things about serving as Director is knowing that you can always rely on your predecessors for advice and perspective. I am only 18 months into my tenure, but the collective wisdom and institutional memory of the former direc-

tors has already been a tremendous benefit on issues great and small. With his retirement from the University Seminars, now is a great time to recognize Bob Belknap, a former director of the Institute who has been a fixture at Columbia since arriving as a graduate student in 1952. Educated at Princeton, the University of Paris, Columbia and Leningrad State University, Bob is known not only as a renowned scholar of Dostoyevsky and 19th-century Russian prose, but also as a legendary teacher whose charm, wit, and intellect have nourished students at Columbia since 1968. His extraordinary generosity is evident in his extensive service to the Columbia community. In addition to

serving as Director of the Russian Institute, he has chaired the Humanities Course and the Slavic Department, headed the University Seminars, and also served as Dean of Students and Acting Dean of the College. Since 2000 he has been a guiding force within the Society of Senior Scholars, a program that allows retired faculty to teach courses at Columbia and to organize seminars on a range of topics chosen by the senior scholars. It has been our great pleasure to enjoy his grace, eloquence, and wonderful sense of humor for so long. We hope that his retirement from University Seminars will only free him up to spend more time at the Harriman.

We are glad to welcome Tarik Amar, a historian of the Soviet Union who specializes in urban history, nationalities policy, and European history more generally. Tarik received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 2006 and since then has been a research Fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Most recently, he was the Academic Director of the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in Lviv, Ukraine. He is no stranger to Columbia, having taught here previously as a Petro Jacyk Visiting Scholar. His study of Sovietization in Lviv around the time of the Second

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AMBASSADOR THOMAS W. SIMONS, JR. (VISITING SCHOLAR, DAVIS CENTER) MODERATED THE PANEL ON "THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF KYRGYZSTAN" AT THE CONFERENCE "HOW CENTRAL IS CENTRAL ASIA?"



PAULINE JONES-LUONG (ASSOC. PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, BROWN UNIVERSITY) AT THE CONFERENCE "HOW CENTRAL IS CENTRAL ASIA?"

World War is based on research in archives in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and German, and promises to be a major contribution to our understanding of Soviet history and politics. He will be a welcome addition not only to the History Department but also to the Harriman Institute and our Ukrainian Studies Program.

We are also glad to welcome our newest staff member to the Harriman Institute. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Iowa, Lily Glenn comes to the 12th floor by way of the University of Southern California where she served as Program Specialist at the East Asian Studies Center for over two years. As a Program Coordinator for both the Harriman and the European Institute, Lily will organize events for each institute and serve as a bridge between them for projects of mutual interest. We are very fortunate to have someone with her skill, experience, and good nature in this position.

As usual, the fall semester has been full of wonderful events, highlighted by the visits of the presidents of Croatia and Lithuania as well as the current prime minister of Kosovo and former prime ministers of the Czech Republic and Hungary. We hosted our third annual Russia/Eurasia Forum, "How Central is Central Asia?" (co-sponsored by Harvard's Davis Center) which drew a large audience to hear panels on energy and security issues in the region.

This year's core project, "Human Rights in the Post-Communist World: Strategies and Outcomes" has been a great success. Bringing together leading academics, policymakers, and human rights activists, the project examines how to measure and promote human rights in the region and across the globe. The panel discussions and seminars held this fall have been terrific and the schedule of events this spring looks equally good. The seminar kicks off its spring series of events on February 10th with "New Research on Transitional Justice." We hope you can attend the spring lectures of this thought-provoking series. Jack Snyder and Alex Cooley have done a great job leading this project.

Last year's core project, "New Modes of Commu-

nication in the Post-Soviet World," led by Cathy Nepomnyashchy and Alan Timberlake, continues to pay dividends this year. As part of the "Media Dialogues Across Boundaries" this fall, Cathy has organized a number of thought-provoking discussions on the state of the media in Russia with prominent Russian journalists, including Yassen Zassoursky (Dean and Professor of the Faculty of Journalism, Moscow State University), Vsevolod Bogdanov (Chairman, Russian Union of Journalists), Nadezhda Azhgikhina (Executive Secretary, Russian Union of Journalists), and Elena Vartanova (Dean of the Faculty of Journalism, Moscow State University).

Thanks to the efforts of Tanya Chebotarev (Bakhmeteff Archive) and Irina Reyfman (Slavic Department), the Institute commemorated the 100th anniversary of Leo Tolstoy's death with a symposium on his English translations. Speakers included well-known translators Larissa Volokhonsky and Richard Pevear, as well as our own Liza Knapp, Robert Belknap, Catharine Nepomnyashchy, Michael Scammell and Ronald Meyer.

We welcomed back one of the best friends of the Institute, Stephen Cohen, who read from his wonderful new book *The Victims Return: Survivors of the Gulag After Stalin* at a special Harriman event in Low Library in November. Steve's moving profiles of the survivors of the Gulag in post-Stalinist Russia is not only a must read for those interested in the history of the late Soviet period, but also a valuable guide to the debates on the Stalin question in contemporary Russia.

We have a full slate of events scheduled for the spring semester and hope that you can join us. Please check our webpage for our calendar of events. www.harrimaninstitute.org.

As the semester draws to a close and our thoughts turn to the holidays, I send my best wishes for a joyous holiday season and happy new year to you and your families.

Tim Frye

December 7, 2010



TRANSLATORS LARISSA VOLOKHONSKY AND RICHARD PEVEAR.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD: STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES

Principal investigators: Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder

The post-communist region offers a wealth of experience for assessing effectiveness of different strategies for advancing human rights. Rights are flourishing as never before in some parts of the post-communist world. In other post-communist regions, however, assassinations of investigative journalists, political imprisonments, torture, stolen elections, and the dismantling of NGO networks demanding accountability have become routine elements of post-communist rule. Our project will ask how these variations are measured, what causes the variations, and what strategies have proven effective—and ineffective—in advancing human rights.

In one part of the core project, academic experts and human rights practitioners will debate the track record of various “theories of change” and their applicability to rights promotion among the post-communist states and throughout the world. Another part of the project will examine how indices of human rights outcomes and ratings of human rights performance are constructed—who does this, how they acquire the status of authorities, what the consequences are of the rating enterprise, and how ratings and databases can be improved.

SPRING 2011 EVENTS

NEW RESEARCH ON TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE.

10 February, 5:15 p.m., 1501 International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118th Street.

Aryeh Neier, founder of Human Rights Watch and currently President of the Open Society Institute, and **Tina Rosenberg**, winner of the 1995 National Book Award for *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts after Communism*, serve as discussants for new scholarly research on transitional justice, with an emphasis on the post-communist states. Discussing their new or forthcoming books are:

Monika Nalepa, professor at Notre Dame University, author of *Skeletons in the Closet: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), answers the puzzle of why so many transitional justice laws were passed by neo-Communist parties and explains how lustration strategies dealt with the unreliability of information in the archives.

Lara Nettelfield, professor at Simon Fraser University and a postdoctoral fellow at the Harriman Institute, is the author of *Courting Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Hague Tribunal's Impact in a Postwar State* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), which former Hague prosecutor Richard Goldstone has called “essential reading, well balanced and realistic.”

Ruti Teitel, Ernst C. Stiefel Professor of Comparative Law, and Associate Director, Center for International Law, at New York Law School, and Visiting Professor, London School of Economics, coined the term transitional justice in her book, *Transitional Justice* (Oxford 2000). She will preview her forthcoming book, *Humanity's Law*.

Leslie Vinjamuri, professor at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, author of “Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in International Justice,”

International Security (Winter 2003-04), and a forthcoming book on transitional justice.

Beverages and hors d'oeuvres at 5:15; panel begins at 5:45.

THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL MEDIA RANKINGS

16 February, 5:00pm–7:00pm, 1501 International Affairs Building

Participants: **Lee Becker** (Professor and Director, James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research, University of Georgia), **Karin Karelckar** (Senior Researcher and Managing Editor Freedom of the Press Index), **Anne Nelson** (Adjunct Associate Professor, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs and former Executive Director, Committee to Protect Journalists).

ILLICIT INDICATORS AND THE CONTESTED POLITICS OF NUMBERS

23 February 2011, 5:00pm-7:00pm, 1501 International Affairs Bldg.

Participants: **Peter Andreas** (Professor, Department of Political Science, Brown University. Co-Editor of *Sex, Drugs and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict* [Cornell University Press 2010]), **Sally Merry** (Professor of Anthropology and Law and Society, New York University and President-elect of the American Ethnological Society), **Lara Nettelfield** (Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, and contributor to *Sex, Drugs and Body Counts*).

All events are free and open to the public. No tickets, no reservations required. Seating is on a first come, first served basis. For more information on upcoming events visit the Harriman website:

http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/events/lecture_series.html?id=human_rights

POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS 2010-2011



Eugene Gorny returned to the Harriman Institute for the fall semester as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow to work on the project of digitalization of Soviet TV tapes from the Harriman Institute's archive and coordinate a working group on New Modes of Communication in the Post-Soviet World, last year's Harriman core project. He received his Ph.D. in media and communications from Goldsmith College, University of London, in 2006. He is the author of several books, including *A Creative History of the Russian Internet: Studies in Internet Creativity* (2009), and *Popular Symbolology* (2009, in Russian) which includes his works in semiotics, literary studies, the history of art, and cultural criticism. He has developed a number of cultural online projects, including Zhurnal.ru (1996-1998), Setevaya Slovesnost' (since 1997) and the Russian Virtual

Library (since 1999). He also works as semiotics and brand consultant for Greg Rowland Semiotics and Space Doctors.

Linda Kirschke (Ph.D., Politics, Princeton University, 2010) works on the rise of ethnic cleansing during periods of regime change. Her dissertation, *Playing the Ethnic Card: Party Networks and Violence in the Balkans*, draws on a large-N study of 68 multiparty transitions and fieldwork in Serbia and Romania. Her articles have appeared in *Comparative Political Studies* and *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. She has held visiting fellowships at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University, the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.



Thomas Kitson received his Ph.D. in Russian Literature from Columbia University. In his dissertation, Kitson investigates how Konstantin Nikolaevich Leont'ev adapted methods from German writings on physiognomy to argue that ideas in works of fiction, like the deep character supposedly visible in a face or body, can only be sensed through specific compositional arrangements of textual matter. In the Russian literary polemics of the early 1860s, Leont'ev insisted that an artistic work of fiction is not a mere vehicle for philosophical or moral concepts, but rather a complex, potentially meaningful aesthetic structure that exceeds its author's intentions and inspires readers and critics to articulate and discuss meaningful accounts of their reading experiences.

At the Harriman Institute, Tom will revise and expand his dissertation to show that Leont'ev treated material culture, historical experience, and national spirit in his later historiosophical essays with similarly "physiognomic" methods, thereby putting into question any transcendent collective meaning for the Russian people. Finally, Tom will investigate how Leont'ev's remarks on the theology of incarnation in the light of physiognomic aesthetics unsettled those Russian Religious Renaissance thinkers of the early twentieth century who explored and defined the "Russian Idea" for which Leont'ev's name has nevertheless become a password in recent decades.

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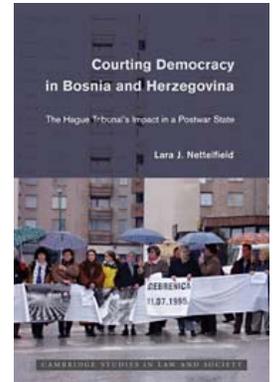


Lara J. Nettelfield is one of the coordinators of the 2010-2011 Harriman core project *Human Rights in the Post-Communist World: Strategies and Outcomes*. This academic year she will be working on a co-authored manuscript (with Sarah E. Wagner) titled *Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). She is on leave from Simon Fraser University in British Columbia. Her research interests include transitional justice, human rights, forced migration, social movements, democratic transitions, and international intervention.

Nettelfield is the author of *Courting Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Hague Tribunal's Impact in a Postwar State* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), which former Hague prosecutor

Richard Goldstone has called "essential reading, well balanced and realistic." This volume argues that the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has in fact made a substantial contribution to Bosnia and Herzegovina's transition to democracy. Based on more than three years of field research and several hundred interviews, this study brings together multiple research methods, including surveys, ethnography, and archival materials, to show the court's impact on five segments of Bosnian society, emphasizing the role of the social setting in translating international law in domestic contexts.

A political scientist by training, Nettelfield received Ph.D., M.Phil. and M.A. degrees from Columbia University and an A.B. degree from the University of California, Berkeley. She also completed a Harriman Institute certificate. She has worked for international organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and has served as an advisor for non-governmental organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Ora John Reuter received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Emory University in 2010. His research focuses on comparative politics, democratization, authoritarian regimes, political parties, and Russian and post-Soviet politics. In his dissertation, which examined the origins of dominant parties in non-democracies, with a special emphasis on the emergence of United Russia as a dominant party in contemporary Russia, he argues that dominant party emergence is contingent not just on the incentives of state leaders to build strong ruling parties, but also on the incentives of elites to join them. This project has

spawned several published articles on United Russia and regional elites relations with the party. At the Harriman, he will begin revising his dissertation into a book manuscript, as well as working on several projects that examine regional elections in Russia and the institutional development of United Russia. Before coming to the Harriman, he was conducting interviews and collecting data in Moscow and Yaroslavl, Russia, on a Department of Education Fulbright Hays grant. He has also conducted interviews with United Russia officials in 11 other regions on grants from IREX and ACTR.

TARIK CYRIL AMAR JOINS THE COLUMBIA HISTORY DEPARTMENT



Tarik Cyril Amar has joined the History Department as Assistant Professor in Russian and Soviet History in the Twentieth Century (with special attention to Ukraine). He received his B.A. from Balliol College, Oxford University, his Master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science and his Ph.D. from Princeton University. Before coming to Columbia, he worked for three years as the Director of the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in Lviv, Ukraine.

Amar's dissertation "The Making of Soviet Lviv," based on extensive research in local and national archives, is a close-up local study of the often violent twentieth-century transformation of Lviv (Lwów, Lvov, Lemberg) from a multiethnic East-Central European borderland city, shaped to a large extent by Polish and Jewish populations and their

cultures as well as the legacies of the Habsburg empire, into a predominantly Ukrainian as well as Soviet city. A frequently appallingly brutal story of the antagonistic but also mutually reinforcing interaction of integral nationalism, Stalinism, and Nazism, Lviv's fate after 1939 encapsulates some of the worst as well as most powerful forces which shaped Europe's twentieth century.

In his former position at the Center for Urban History in Lviv, Amar led the development of research and international cooperation projects, conferences, and exhibitions. Apart from their academic goals, their common purpose was to facilitate exchange, communication, and cooperation across national borders and also across nationalized paradigms of the past. Situated in – and interacting with – a city that stands for the possibilities as well as limits and risks of multi-national co-existence, the Center has turned into a hub for encounter and the promotion of new approaches to the past as well as the present. In a similar spirit, Amar also serves on the editorial board of the journal *Nova Ukraina*.

While preparing his manuscript on the history of Lviv for publication, Amar's current and future research interests include the history of modern autodidactic practices, discourses and practices of modern mass captivity in war, and the history of postwar Soviet film, in particular about secrecy, conspiracy, spying, and double lives. In 2011, he will give a survey lecture course on Soviet history in the twentieth century and teach a graduate seminar on "Ambiguous Modernities: Practices of Transformation and Persistence in Russia and the Soviet Union, c. 1900-2000."

EDWARD KASINEC RECOGNIZED AS DISTINGUISHED LIBRARIAN



The Committee on Library and Information Resources of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES CLIR) conferred the first Distinguished Librarian Award to Miranda Remnek and Harriman Research Scholar Edward Kasinec to show formal appreciation for their sustained impact in promoting and strengthening the profession. The awards were conferred at the President's Reception at the ASEEEES National Convention in Los Angeles (Nov. 2010).

The following citation was read at the awards ceremony: "Edward Kasinec (MA, MPhil, MLS) has been nothing less than a force of nature in the field of Slavic and East European librarianship. His whirlwind career began at Harvard, where, as Reference Librarian/Archivist for the Harvard University Library and the Ukrainian Research Institute Library, he laid the foundations for that institution's remarkable Ukrainian holdings. As Librarian for Slavic Collections at the University of California-Berkeley, he spearheaded efforts to document the collections on campus and in the Bay Area and West Coast more broadly. He then moved on to The New York Public Library where, for a quarter century, as Curator of the Slavic and Baltic Division, he enhanced the collection and documented its rare and unique holdings. He has published more than two hundred refereed articles and books, on a wide range of topics, and has lectured on issues of bibliography and librarianship throughout the world. He has also organized numerous symposia, conferences, and exhibits, and currently serves on a number of editorial and advisory committees in area studies disciplines. Even in "retirement," his passion for Slavic and East European collections is unflagging. During the course of his long and distinguished career, Edward has kindled interest in many topics, and in many hearts, and he continues to inspire colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic."

TREASURES INTO TRACTORS

A Symposium on the Selling of Russia's Cultural Heritage, 1918-1938

Saturday, November 6, 2010

Unlike the widely publicized controversy surrounding Soviet and Nazi looting of art during World War II and its restitution, Soviet sales of masterpieces and other valuables during the interwar period have remained largely ignored outside a small community of scholars. Yet the Soviet government's voluntary sales of Russian cultural heritage had far-reaching consequences for the international art market and perceptions of Russian art abroad. This symposium sought to shed new light on the artistic, legal, and economic impact of the interwar Soviet art sales, particularly as they affected the formation of museum and library collections in the United States. Panels were devoted to furniture by David Roentgen and other decorative arts that ended up in museums and private collections in the West; the unprecedented demand for Russian art during the last decade; the collecting activities of the three Hammer brothers; the sale and marketing of books during the 1920s and 30s; and the responsibilities and opportunities for institutions in the West regarding the sale of items from Russian collections. The symposium concluded with a response by Mikhail B. Piotrovsky, Director of the Hermitage Museum.

Photos: (1) from left to right: Edward Kasinec (Harriman Institute), Robert Davis (Librarian for Russian, Eurasian and East European Collections, Columbia), Peter Schaeffer (La Vieille Russie & President, Hermitage Museum Foundation), Anne Odom (Curator Emerita, Hillwood Museum), Yelena Harbick (Director, Russian Fine and Decorative Arts, Bonhams, New York); (2) Wendy Salmond (Chapman University); (3) Mikhail Piotrovsky (Director, State Hermitage Museum).



HARRIMAN INSTITUTE TO HOST NEH SUMMER INSTITUTE

AMERICA ENGAGES EURASIA: STUDIES, TEACHING, AND RESOURCES

Columbia University, New York, June 13 – July 1, 2011.

A Summer Institute Sponsored by The National Endowment for the Humanities.

Building upon a successful NEH Institute of 2009 which dealt with Russian-American cultural contacts, the 2011 institute examines the evolution of America's "academic" engagement with Eurasia (defined here as including Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Russia/the Soviet Union, Central Asia, and the Caucasus) from the 19th century down to the present. The historic personalities, institutions, organizations, and research resources that collectively constituted the foundation of Eurasian studies in America will be considered within the broad framework of the geopolitical relations of America and Eurasia over more than 150 years.

The Institute's Principal Investigator Timothy Frye and Co-Directors Edward Kasinec and Robert Davis hope also to suggest a more broadly applicable paradigm of area studies development in the United States (for Middle Eastern, East Asian, African, Latin American studies, etc.), suggesting avenues of comparative research.

Twenty-five undergraduate faculty, research librarians, curators, and museum educators will participate in sessions led by distinguished educators and professionals. This year up to three graduate students may be selected to participate as well. Participants will have a hands-on opportunity to work with the unparalleled material and academic resources of Columbia University and the city of New York.

For a summary description and online application information, visit: <http://NEHsummerinst.Columbia.edu> or contact Robert Davis (rhd2106@columbia.edu) 212 854-4710 or Edward Kasinec (ejk83@columbia.edu) 516 712-8305. Application postmark deadline is Tuesday, March 1, 2011.

Thomas P. Bernstein (Political Science, Emeritus) is co-editor, with Hua-yu Li, of *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949—Present*, published by Lexington Books in 2010 for the Harvard Cold War Studies series.

Vangelis Calotychos (Classics) is completing two books, a monograph on the cultural effects of greater exchange between Greece and the Balkans post-1989 and an edited volume of essays in commemoration of Greek poet Manolis Anagnostakis (1925-2005). He published “‘It Was The Best Of Times, It Was The Worst Of Times’”: Greek & Turkish Dangerous Liaisons in Dido Soteriou’s *Farewell Anatolia* and Stratis Doukas’s *A Prisoner of War’s Story*,” in M. Belge & J. Parla, *Balkan Literatures in the Era of Nationalism* (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2009); and “Kazantzakis the Greek?: Travel and Leisure, Hunger and Pathos in Nikos Kazantzakis’s *Journeying*,” in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 28:1, Supplement, 189-217. He spoke on Greek and Balkan film at invited lectures at the Universities of Michigan and Illinois as well as at the MGSA Symposium, and he served on the Program Committee for the New York Greek Film Festival. He was promoted to Associate Professor in the Program in Hellenic Studies in the Classics Department. Calotychos serves on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* and *Deus Loci: The International Lawrence Durrell Journal*.

Alexander Cooley (Political Science) published “Manas Hysteria: Why the United States Can’t Keep Buying Off Kyrgyz Leaders to Keep Its Vital Air Base” in *Foreign Policy* and offered media commentary on the unfolding political situation in Kyrgyzstan for the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *NPR* and *CNN International*. Cooley was also invited to testify before a special Congressional Hearing, organized by the Subcommittee on Na-

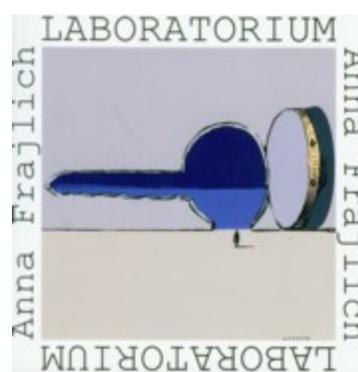
tional Security and Foreign Policy of the Committee on Oversight, on the Politics of the Manas Base in Kyrgyzstan on April 22, 2010. His prepared testimony can be found here: http://oversight.house.gov/images/stories/subcommittees/NS_Subcommittee/4.22.2010_Crisis_in_Kyrgyzstan/Cooley_Testimony.pdf. In May, Cooley travelled to Tajikistan as part of his work on the rise of SCO/China in Central Asia. On May 12, 2010, he delivered a public lecture to the OSCE in Dushanbe on “Great Games. Local Rules: Great Power Competition in Central Asia.” He also lectured on great power competition in Central Asia at the Munk School of Global Affairs, Toronto, on Sept. 16 and was an invited guest on the Canadian television program, *The Agenda*, where he discussed China’s rise in Central Asia. Cooley’s article “Kyrgyzstan on the Brink” appeared in the October 2010 issue of *Current History*. Along with Lincoln Mitchell, Cooley continued his work on US policy towards Georgia, publishing the Hariman report “After the August War: A New Strategy for US-Georgia Engagement” in May 2010. The two co-authors presented the report at special events at the European Policy Centre, Brussels, Carnegie Corporation, Washington DC, and the Open Society Institute in New York.

Istvan Deak (History, Emeritus) has three new publications: “Some Thoughts on the Question of Why Monarchies Fall,” in László Borhi, ed., *Európa, nemzet, külpolitika* (Budapest: Aurora Kiadó, 2010); “A Deal With the Devil” [Bargaining for the Hungarian Jews in 1944], *The New Republic*, June 24, 2010; and “The Charnel Continent” [On Timothy Snyder’s *Bloodlands*], *The New Republic*, December 2, 2010. He has recently lectured at the invitation of the EPIC association at Columbia; the annual convention of the German Studies Association at Oakland; the University of California, Berkeley

(two lectures); the Holocaust Museum in Budapest; and the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, also in Budapest.

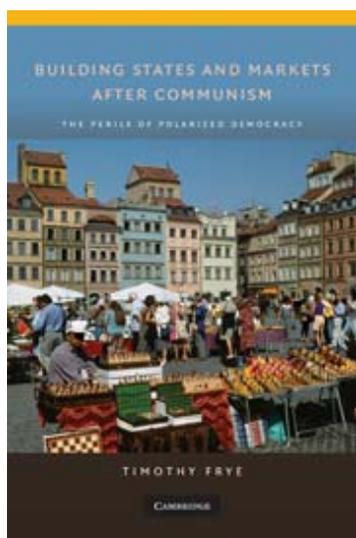
Padma Desai (Economics) spent three weeks in Germany in late May-early June as Distinguished Visitor of the American Academy in Berlin, where she participated in a roundtable on the Global Financial Crisis, organized by Citi Group at the American Academy in Berlin, on May 31, 2010; and gave a public lecture on at the American Academy in Berlin, on June 3. Other lectures include “The Future of American Capitalism” at the Amerikahaus e. V. NRW in Cologne, June 8; and “From Stalin’s Soviet Union to Putin’s Russia” at Deutsch Amerikanisches Institut (DAI) in Heidelberg, June 10, 2010. Desai participated in a panel discussion on Foreign Direct Investment Prospects in Russia, organized by the New York State Securities Association (NYSSA), in New York, September 16; and took part in a conference on “Privatization in Russia: Decisions and Outcomes” at St. Antony’s College, Oxford, November 12-13, 2010. Desai’s *From Financial Crisis to Global Recovery* will be published by Columbia University Press in early 2011.

Anna Frajlich (Slavic) is Acting President of the American branch of PEN Centre for Writers-in-Exile. Her poems and reminiscences appeared in the PEN Centre’s *Anthology* earlier his year. Frajlich’s most



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recent book, *Laboratorium*, a collection of her prose, was published by the Polish publishing house Forma in October. An interview with Frajlich about Polish poet and scholar Tymoteusz Karpowicz appeared in the book by Joanna Roszak, *W cztery strony naraz. Portrety Karpowicza*.

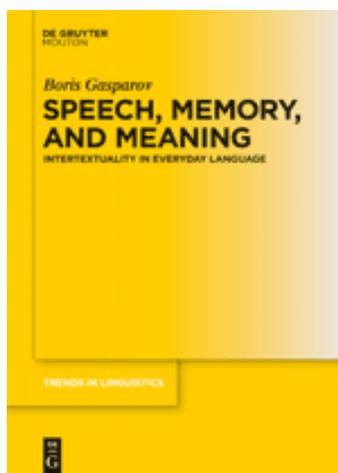


Timothy Frye's (HI Director; Political Science) new book, *Building States and Markets after Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*, was published by Cambridge University Press in August. Frye is co-editor, with Robert Legvold and Timothy Colton, of *The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing US Policy Toward Russia*, published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in June. Frye was named Associate Editor of *Post-Soviet Affairs* this fall.

Lynn Garafola (Dance) delivered the paper "Crafted by Many Hands: Re-Reading Bronislava Nijinska's *Early Memoirs*," at the conference of the Society of Dance History Scholars, University of Surrey, July 2010; in October 2010 she read the paper "In Quest of a Modernist Voice: Bronislava Nijinska in Postrevolutionary Kiev" at the Barnard Center for Research on Women.

Boris Gasparov (Slavic) was co-organizer of two conferences: "From Building the Future to an Evolving

Present: The Emergence of a New Cultural Paradigm on the Turn of the 1930" (Berlin, 25-26 May), co-sponsored by the Harriman Institute, Free University, and Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin; and "Soviet Heritage in Modern Nostalgic Discourses" (Tomsk, 4-7 October), co-sponsored by the Harriman Institute, ISE-Center, Moscow, and Tomsk University. Gasparov's new book, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning. Intertextuality in Everyday Language*, was published by DeGruyter Mouton in 2010.

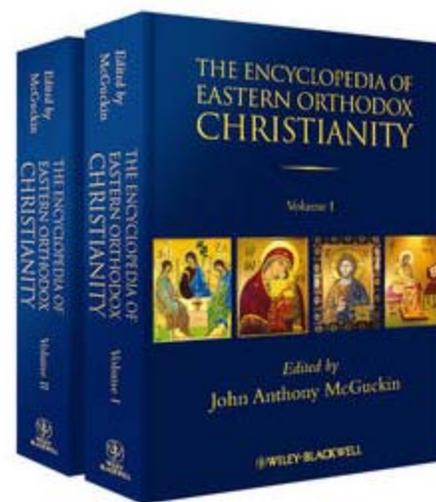


Rebecca Kobrin (History) delivered a lecture on "Immigrant Bankers: East European Jewish Migration and American Capitalism, 1870-1914), based on research for her book in progress, at Barnard College's Forum on Migration. Kobrin's *Jewish Bialystok and Its Diaspora* was published last year by Indiana University Press.

Kimberly Marten (Political Science) presented a paper, "Chechnya and the Sovereignty of Russia," in Odessa in May 2010 at a conference of PONARS-Eurasia (the Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia). The paper is a draft chapter from her book-in-progress, tentatively titled *Outsourcing Sovereignty: Warlords and International Security*, which was the subject of the first PONARS-Eurasia "book incubator" workshop, held at George Washington Univer-

sity in Nov. 2010. Marten authored "Russia, Chechnya, and the Sovereign Kadyrov," Policy Memo no. 116 for the PONARS-Eurasia Program, and presented the memo at the PONARS-Eurasia Policy Conference at GWU on Oct. 22, 2010. Last June Marten was interviewed about the Russian "sleeper-spy" story on NPR's "All Things Considered" and on WCBS-TV (New York) and WABC-TV (New York).

John McGuckin's (Religion) new book publications include *The Blackwell-Wiley Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodoxy*, 2 vols. (2010) and *The Harp of Glory: An African Akathis* (SVS Press, 2010). Recent articles include "Embodying the New Society: The Byzantine Christian Instinct of Philanthropy," in M Pereira, ed., *Philanthropy and Social Compassion in Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (Papers of the Sophia Institute Academic Conference, 2009), published by Theotokos Press, "Fr. Pavel Florensky (1882-1937) on Iconic Dreaming," in *Alter Icons: The Russian Icon and Modernity*, edited by J. A. Gattrall, et al. (Penn State University Press, 2010); and "Orthodox Christianity," in *Introduction to World Religions*, edited by J. Neusner (Abingdon Press, 2010).



FACULTY NEWS

Ronald Meyer (Slavic) contributed an essay on Inna Lisnianskaia, the contemporary Moscow poet, to the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. He delivered a paper on new translations of *The Chekhov Orchard* at the conference “Chekhov on Stage and Page” (Ohio State University, Dec. 2010).

Lincoln Mitchell’s (HI Research Scholar) new publications include “Engagement without Recognition: A New Strategy for Abkhazia and Eurasia’s Unrecognized States,” *Washington Quarterly* (October 2010); and “Abkhazia on Three Wheels,” *World Policy Journal* (Summer 2010). Both articles were co-authored with Alexander Cooley. Lincoln and Cooley’s “After the August War: A New Strategy for U.S. Engagement with Georgia” was published as a special double issue of the *Harriman Review*, which is also available online: http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/research/harriman_review.html.

Catharine Nepomnyashchy (Slavic) was honored for her Contributions to the Profession at the annual conference of AATSEEL in January 2011.

Cathy Popkin (Slavic) gave a

paper on “The Spaces Between the Places: Chekhov’s ‘Without a Title’ and the Art of Being Out There” at the conference “Chekhov on Stage and Page,” held at Ohio State University (Dec. 2010).

Carol Rounds (Hungarian) was honored with the “Pro Cultura Hungarica” award by the Ministry of Culture of Hungary on June 3, 2010, for her work in promoting Hungarian culture abroad. In addition, the third edition of Rounds’s book, *Colloquial Hungarian*, co-authored with Erika Solyom, will be coming out in March 2011, published by Routledge.

Jack Snyder (Political Science) published “Realism, Refugees, and Strategies of Humanitarianism,” in Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher, eds., *Refugees in International Relations* (Oxford, 2010). Together with Alexander Cooley, Snyder is the project director of the Harriman Institute’s 2010-2011 core project on Human Rights in the Post-Communist World: Strategies and Outcomes.

David Stark (Sociology) this past summer held Visiting Professor appointments at Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, and the Ecole Normale

Supérieure—Cachan. He delivered the keynote address at the annual meeting of the European Group on Organizational Studies (EGOS), section on Social Networks and Organizations (Lisbon, July 2, 2010; his new book *The Sense of Dissonance* was the subject of a featured panel at the annual meeting on Socio-Economics (Philadelphia, June 26, 2010). Invited lectures in June-September 2010 took Stark to Princeton University, Department of Sociology; New York University, Wagner School of Public Service; Technical University Berlin, Department of Sociology; Free University Berlin, School of Business and Economics; Instituto de Estudios Superiores de la Empresa (IESE Business School) Barcelona; and Centre de Sociologie de l’innovation, Ecole des Mines, Paris.

Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier (Art History) spent two weeks in Poland in June, interviewing and researching for the final version of her reminiscences of Czeslaw Milosz, which will appear in *An Invisible Rope: Portraits of Czeslaw Milosz*, edited by Cynthia Haven (forthcoming: 2011).



THE THIRD ANNUAL RUSSIA/EURASIA FORUM HOW CENTRAL IS CENTRAL ASIA?

October 29, 2010

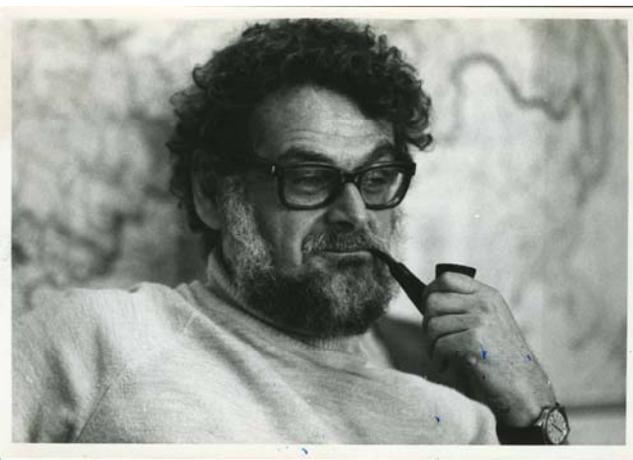
The Harriman Institute and Harvard’s Davis Center joined forces once again for the Third Annual Russia/Eurasia Forum, held this year at Columbia. This year the forum focused on energy and security issues in Central Asia, addressing questions such as: What are the stakes at play in Central Asia for Russia, the U.S., and China? What are the prospects for renewed violence in Kyrgyzstan? How will Central Asia shape global energy markets in the near future? Because understanding the dynamics of politics and security issues in Central Asia will be high on the agenda of scholars, policymakers, and businesspeople in the coming years, the Davis Center/Harriman Institute Forum brought together key academic and

policymaking experts to discuss these and other related questions.

Links to video of the conference and conference program can be found here: <http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/events/conferences.html>.

PHOTO: ALEXANDER COOLEY (POLITICAL SCIENCE, BARNARD/COLUMBIA), FLANKED ON HIS LEFT BY THOMAS GRAHAM (SENIOR DIRECTOR, KISSINGER ASSOCIATES) AND ON HIS RIGHT BY JASON LYALL (POLITICAL SCIENCE, YALE UNIVERSITY).

IN MEMORIAM: LEOPOLD HAIMSON (1927-2010)



It is with profound sadness that the Harriman Institute announces the passing on December 18, 2010, of Leopold Haimson, Professor Emeritus of Russian History, longtime faculty member of the Harriman Institute, and beloved teacher, colleague and friend.

Professor Haimson was honored for his Distinguished Contributions to Slavic Studies at the AAASS Convention in 2009; the following is the citation prepared for that award:

“Leopold Haimson was born in Brussels to parents who were refugees from the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1940, when Haimson was thirteen, his family fled the invading German army, escaping first to unoccupied France and then to the United States. He re-

ceived his BA (1945) and his PhD (1952) from Harvard University. After graduation he worked for several years on a project on Soviet culture directed by Margaret Mead. He taught at the University of Chicago from 1956 until 1965, before moving to Columbia University, where he remained until his retirement. During these years, in his famously demanding seminars, he mentored several generations of graduate students, many of whom went on to distinguished careers.

“Haimson’s influential first book, *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism* (1955), was notable for its artful weaving of intellectual history and psychologically acute biographies of leading revolutionaries. In 1964 he initiated a catalytic debate with the publication in *Slavic Review* of a two-part article on the viability of late imperial Russia on the eve of the First World War and the inevitability of revolution. In the 1970s and 1980s he took a more comparative approach to the study of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary Russia, working with the sociologist Charles Tilly and the economic historian Giulio Sapelli on strike waves and revolutions in an international perspective. He has continued to publish widely on the social and political history of Russia before and during 1917. During the Soviet era Haimson worked hard to set up collaborations with Soviet colleagues, and he developed close ties with the *Maison des Sciences de l’Homme* in Paris. Throughout his career he has shown a deep interest in questions of individual and collective identities, drawing on cultural anthropology to explore Russian political culture and on psychology to analyze the actions of key individuals in the period he has studied in such a rich and productive way. This award honors a scholar and teacher of great intellectual breadth and a powerful advocate of collaborative and interdisciplinary approaches to history.”

Professor Haimson is survived by his wife Natalia, his children Joshua, Leonie, and Maud, and his three grandchildren, Chloe, Jeremy, and Nathaniel. The date of the memorial service will be announced later.

COLUMBIA SCHOLARS ATTEND 14TH INTERNATIONAL DOSTOEVSKY SYMPOSIUM IN NAPLES

Four Harriman faculty members travelled to Naples, Italy, to take part in the 14th International Dostoevsky Symposium (June 14-18). Deborah Martinsen, the Dostoevsky Society’s President, entitled her plenary paper “Ingratitude from Underground.” Senior Columbia Dostoevsky scholar Robert L. Belknap delivered a paper on “Porfiry Petrovich: Ethical Implication of Point of View”; Liza Knapp investigated “Dostoevsky’s Descent into Hell: Marian Protest in *The Dead House*”; Ronald Meyer’s contribution was entitled, “Roderick Raskolnikov: Framing Adaptations of Crime and Punishment.”



DISCOVERING RUSSIA*

BY PADMA DESAI

My continuing research relating to various aspects of Russia's transformation from its Communist past required frequent visits to Moscow and close contacts with policymakers at the highest level. In 2000, I started a project of interviews with leading Russian and American policymakers and with prominent analysts who commented on that process as it transpired with unprecedented consequences under Yeltsin's leadership. The project, partially funded by the Harriman Institute, turned out to be a challenging enterprise requiring a firm grasp on my part of the unfolding scene in Russia and of its complicated past. Fortunately, my scholarly engagement of over three decades with the Soviet experience and subsequently with the tumultuous events in Russia under Gorbachev and Yeltsin provided me with the necessary background. My book-length studies, articles in professional journals, and frequent commentaries in the press and the media came in handy for the task at hand. Overall my conversations went beyond economic issues to discuss Russian foreign policy, history, society, and demography. The interviewees livened up their responses with interesting anecdotes, historical and literary references, and revealing stories. The resulting book *Conversations on Russia: Reform from Yeltsin to Putin* (Oxford University Press, 2006) was selected by the *Financial Times* as a "pick of 2006."

Conversations on Reform from Yeltsin to Putin

The evolution of Russian reform started with Yeltsin's colorful and remarkable appearance on the Russian scene as president in 1992 and ended with Putin's orderly but disquieting consolidation of federal authority starting in 2000. In his interview, published in *Conversations*, Yeltsin referred to his young reformist collaborators as his "kamikaze crew." It is incontestable that the group planted the liberal idea in the land of Lenin and Stalin. They dismantled the Communist planned economy and the authoritarian political arrangements that had prevailed over seven decades. Besides, their destructive agenda had a full nod of approval from the U.S. leadership. In a revelatory gem, Strobe Talbott, former Deputy Secretary of State under Bill Clinton, said that the two presidents, Bill and Boris, had bonded.

Both wanted the Communist planned economy and the authoritarian regime to go. Clinton's policy imperative was: "Yeltsin drunk is to be preferred to any alternative sober."

However, while the reformers' "demolition project" was successful, their success did not extend to what might be called a balancing "creative project": the establishment of institutions necessary to support a market-oriented economy. In my view, the reformers paid insufficient attention to the consequences of the reform process they unveiled. Their absolutist stance underemphasized both the need to work at getting public acceptance of their program and the need to countervail the adverse distributional implications of some of the key reforms. In particular, while one can understand the rationale for hastening privatization, their agenda of selling Russia's state-owned assets in the natural resources sector to the oligarchs was widely seen as inequitable and even as "outright robbery."

As the reform team stepped into an uncharted territory, they not only encountered Communist opposition but also massive difficulties in implementing their program. The process, involving price decontrol and cut-back of budgetary subsidies for a variety of entitlement programs, imposed severe hardships on ordinary Russians. At the same time, Russian oligarchs captured significant assets in leading Russian sectors, among them oil, aluminum, steel and nickel. When Yeltsin abruptly resigned on December 25, 1999, his public approval rating had slumped to less than five percent. The political situation across the land was marked by widespread



The text printed here is excerpted from the conclusion of Professor Desai's essay, "Discovering Russia." The full text will appear in The Harriman Review.

dissatisfaction, increased corruption and weakened federal authority.

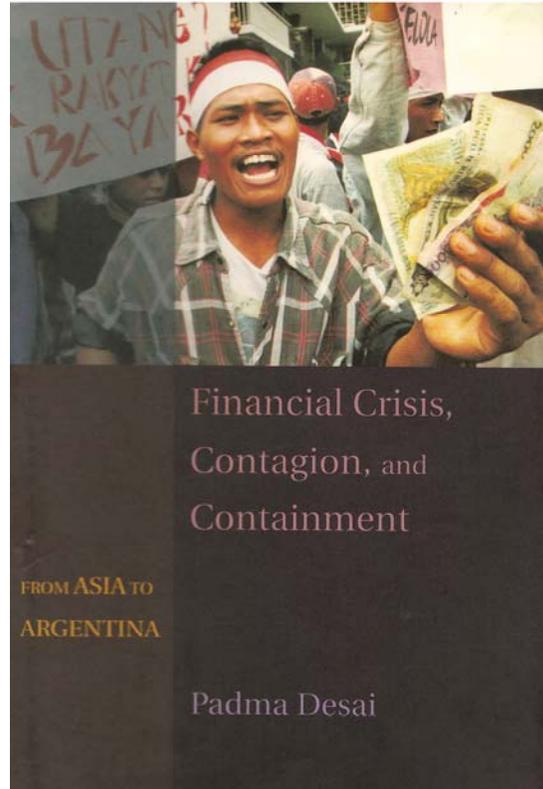
Perhaps anticipating his resignation, Yeltsin had already appointed Putin as prime minister. In hindsight, he affirmed his choice of Putin as his successor, because, as he declares in his interview, Putin was not a “maximalist,” and could act as a stabilizer by reining in the post-Yeltsin political disorder and public discontent. Four years later in the December 2003 parliamentary elections, the Russian electorate voted decisively against the Yeltsin-era reforms and the liberal reformist groups. After eight years of authoritarian governance under Putin, who was elected president in the spring of 2000, Russians continued stating their approbation of Putin in repeated polls by substantial majorities. They were ready to settle for a mild dose of authoritarianism that promised a return to stability, control of terrorism, and economic gains that they felt had eluded them for so long. The implicit contract with an authoritarian leader did not imply that the underlying situation was similar to the arrangements which Russians had willy-nilly undertaken with their leaders throughout history. At the start of the new millennium, Russians in large numbers had ended their involuntary employment with their Communist masters and instead found jobs of their choosing. In their interviews, former prime minister Mikhail Kasyanov (who was fired from his job by President Putin in 2004) and former central bank chairman Sergei Dubinin argued that Russia and Russians had changed in several respects. Yegor Gaidar, who launched the reforms in 1992, remained wary of Putin’s democratic credentials but did not “believe in the emergence of non-democratic regimes in countries with educated, urban populations” such as Russia’s.

But the widespread betterment of living standards stretching over eight years was threatened when the global financial turmoil hit Russia toward the end of 2008. That raised new questions about the global impact of the crisis in 2009 and the recovery prospects for 2010 which would differ from country to country. I analyze these issues at length in my forthcoming book *From Financial Crisis to Global Recovery* to be published by Columbia University Press in early 2011 with partial funding from the Harriman Institute.

The Financial Crisis and Russia's Recovery Prospects

In my analysis, a crisis-afflicted country's downturn in 2009 and its recovery outlook in 2010 would depend on its continuing export dependence; its pre-crisis budget situation; its inflation rate at crisis onset which would limit its policymakers’ ability to mount a government financed stimulus; and finally, the presence of toxic assets in its banking sector.

As I argue in my book, Russia was among the worst



hit economies. Its export earnings slumped as demand for oil and commodities, its major exports, declined drastically in global markets. The positive growth rate of the pre-crisis years suddenly became negative in 2009. Government budget surplus turned negative in 2009 when revenue inflows from taxes on the energy sector faltered. The double-digit inflation running into 10 percent a year in 2009 constrained the government’s ability to mount a significant stimulus. Finally, Russian banks found it difficult to pay back the loans they had acquired from hard currency creditors during the pre-crisis years. Failing Russian businesses added to the load of nonperforming assets in some banks.

Indeed, this was not the first time Russian banks had damaged their balance sheets by reckless borrowing from outside. Back in 1998, the Russian economy was equally vulnerable to macroeconomic and financial imbalances as in 2008-09 but for a different reason. On August 17, 1998, Yeltsin’s government declared a unilateral default on the government’s ruble debt, prohibited commercial banks from clearing their foreign liabilities, and devalued the ruble from 6 rubles to a dollar to 26 rubles. The 1997-98 financial crisis, which had spread from Bangkok to Brazil via Moscow, had arisen from massive short-term capital inflows into emerging market economies which were pushed by determined Washington policymakers, among them the IMF, and supported by Wall Street financiers. These inflows were

short-term, speculative, and destabilizing. In my *Financial Crisis, Contagion and Containment: From Asia to Argentina* (Princeton University Press, 2003), I had argued that the premature financial opening up by the risk-prone, return-savvy investors from developed market economies with global electronic reach had collided with the weak financial institutions, traditional corporate practices, and vulnerable political arrangements of emerging market economies, among them Russia. The book was noted by Paul Krugman as “the best book yet” on financial crisis.

How effectively has the Russian government managed the recent financial crisis that unfolded toward the end of 2008? Which policies were implemented by decision makers in the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of Russia for minimizing its impact? In my article titled “Russia’s Financial Crisis: Economic Setbacks and Policy Responses,” published in the *Journal of International Relations* (February 2010), I argued that Prime Minister Putin’s government managed the options with a noteworthy technocratic policy orientation. The ruble was allowed to decline gradually in early 2009 as foreign holders switched to other currencies. The inflation rate was brought down from a low, double-digit to a single-digit 6 percent by early 2010. While Russian banks continued to battle nonperforming loans in their balance sheets, the overall situation sent improving signals. The unemployment rate by mid-2010 had settled at 7 percent of the workforce. The accumulated foreign exchange reserves of \$600 billion as well as the budget surpluses of the pre-crisis years provided the bailout resources. Even the oligarchs, who faced margin calls from their foreign, hard-currency creditors, were rescued with funds from a state bank which, however, acquired their stock in exchange. By a strange irony of circumstances, the Russian state (via the state-owned Vneshekonombank) regained stocks which it had given away to the oligarchs who had provided cash support to the Russian budget in 1996 and 1997.

The initial Russian bailout however was a top down, speedy process involving a few decision makers without it being subjected to independent scrutiny or legislative oversight or systematic winnowing of the turmoil victims. One looked in vain for the likes of Representative Barney Frank who insisted on a vigilante role for the U.S. lawmakers.

Beyond 2010, the Russian leadership faces the formidable challenge of modernizing and diversifying the Russian economy from excessive reliance on volatile exports of energy and commodities.

How Can the Russian Economy Be Modernized and Diversified?

Apart from excessive energy export dependence, the Russian economy’s diversification dilemmas arise also from the interlocking of the massive industrial companies in the commodities sector with large service, technology and trading enterprises. For example, Gazprom, the world’s largest natural gas monopoly, not only supplies gas to customers inside and outside the country but also effectively controls the entire natural gas transport network. Both, in turn, with majority ownership of the Russian state, are effectively controlled in their production and pricing decisions by state-appointed executives. The interlocked structure not only prevents the emergence of robust corporate governance and market-based competitive decision making but also fosters an attitude of “legal nihilism.” In a striking display of forthrightness, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev remarked on September 10, 2009: “Can a primitive economy, based on raw materials and economic corruption, lead us into the future?”

Clearly, the adoption of market-based budgetary, monetary and exchange rate policies by technocrats in the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of Russia helped them steer the economy through the initial impact of the financial crisis. But the tail of these policy instruments cannot wag the sprawling dog of the entrenched, state-controlled big business in Russia. The flow of foreign investment, even in a minority role, can help initiate the process, but venturing in Russian big business is an unmitigated risk. Russia’s forthcoming entry in the World Trade Organization can also promote rule-based procedures in pricing and trading activities. But foreign investors and WTO rules can only play a marginal role. Ultimately, the Russian economy’s overhaul from top down will depend on “destructive creation” initiatives from the leadership in Moscow.

Can the reset button announced by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on March 6, 2009, provide an external stimulus via a cooperative management of bilateral American-Russian relations on issues ranging from NATO’s eastward expansion and arms control to nuclear nonproliferation and terrorism control? Will the handshake between presidents Obama and Medvedev on April 8, 2010, over their signing of the renewed START Treaty, which pledged to reduce U.S.-Russian stockpiles of deployed nuclear weapons, ease bilateral tensions further? Can a continued easing of bilateral tensions on foreign policy and security issues provide a modicum of confidence to Prime Minister Putin to begin liberalizing the economy if not the authoritarian political arrangements? From a limited perspective, can the process initiate investment flows from American business which Russia needs?

The Implications of the Reset Button

A careful review of the two-year tenure of the joint Putin-Medvedev governance suggests guidelines in this regard. Following the severe impact of the financial crisis on the energy-dependent Russian economy, both leaders have discovered a common mission for modernizing and diversifying the Russian economy. Indeed, they both want a significant role for foreign direct investment for the purpose.

There is, however, a difference in their philosophy and approach. President Medvedev is a staunch believer in free enterprise, and talks unabashedly about what is wrong with Russia. On June 18, 2009, at the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum, he articulated his vision of a future Russia with total clarity: "A modern economy cannot be built through decrees from the top." He frankly states the handicaps which Russian policymakers face: In his view, they battle poor governance, ineffective law enforcement, corruption, white collar crimes, administrative barriers and monopolies. Prime Minister Putin, who is equally committed to modernizing Russia in measured steps, would not express either of these views although he is fully aware of the massive hurdles facing foreign investors.

The Russian economy in the view of both leaders desperately needs foreign direct investment. The flow of \$70 billion in 2008 had dropped to \$15.9 billion in 2009. Even the lawmakers have recognized the need for safeguarding the property rights of investors. On June 16, 2010, the lower house of the Russian parliament, the Duma, passed a law prescribing punishments for individuals who falsify official charters of legal businesses or results of shareholder meetings. The penalties are severe for those who use violence for the purpose. Bureaucrats who facilitate these activities will face a fine or lose their jobs or go to prison.

The reset button initiated by the Obama-Clinton team provides a solid underpinning for U.S. investors to step actively into Russia. They will not only provide the necessary technology and corporate management expertise but also the legal underpinning which Russian big business needs. The interactive relationship can gather speed if Prime Minister Putin reduces the number of strategic sectors in which foreign investment participation is restricted.

I am not suggesting that U.S.-led investment participation will initiate a process of political liberalization in Russia. It is difficult to predict the timing and manner of the demise of authoritarian regimes. The current signals from Moscow lack positive indications in that regard. Russia will hold parliamentary elections in 2011 followed by the presidential election in 2012. The reformist groups in Russia have decided to combine their ranks and fight the parliamentary election as a single bloc. Will United Russia, the party which is led by Prime Minister Putin and which controls the Russian Duma, break into two groups? In a recent statement, Gorbachev described United Russia as "a bad copy of the Soviet Communist Party." Will Putin contest the presidency in



2012 and remain in charge of Russia's destiny for 12 years as the constitution allows him? That can mark a repeat of the economic stagnation which the Soviet Union experienced under Brezhnev from 1965 to 1982. There is, however, a difference. Brezhnev had to deal with the military and economic burden of the Cold War. The reset button will afford Putin the choice of initiating mini-steps of political liberalization starting with the election of regional governors.

The decade long authoritarianism under Putin portends an uncertain political future. Given Russia's long history of authoritarian rule, "the poisoned chalice of history," the evolution of a liberal political order will be haphazard, perhaps even hazardous at times.

However, the Clinton announcement of the reset button and the Obama-Medvedev handshake at the signing of the Start Treaty were moments of immense professional fulfillment for me. From early on, I had been arguing against the Bush-Cheney confrontational decision-making on several issues ranging from NATO's eastward expansion to include Ukraine and Georgia in NATO and the placing of nuclear units in Poland and the Czech Republic to ward off a missile attack from an enemy. The Russian leadership regarded the former as placing of Western military outposts in Russia's backyard and the latter as revival of cold war confrontation. These initiatives have now gone into moratorium.

Starting in 1968, I began analyzing the policy twists and turns in the former Soviet Union by sifting the evidence and applying the analytical tools of the economics discipline rather than letting myself be swayed by ideological preconceptions or emotional predisposition. This approach clearly violates the stricture laid down by the nineteenth-century Russian poet Fyodor Tyutchev in his four-line lyric which has become a celebrated invocation about how one might understand Russia.

Умом Россию не понять...

В Россию можно только *верить*.

"Russia cannot be grasped with the mind...One can only believe in Russia." On my part, I have sought to understand Russia on the basis of a challenging and rewarding intellectual engagement.

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FROM THE ANNALS OF OUR PAST: THE ARTIST AND HIS TIME

AN EXHIBIT OF PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAX PENSON, CURATED BY REGINA KHIDEKEL



This exhibition of Max Penson, an important participant in the Russian Constructivist movement, whose work has only recently been rediscovered after being buried under Stalin's disapproval, continues the Russian American Cultural Center's collaboration with the Harriman Institute. Past exhibits include the work of Horst Tappe, Peggy Kaplan, Leonid Lubianitsky and Yury Shalamov. Max Penson's work exemplifies the best traditions of Russian twentieth-century avant-garde photography both in terms of technique and documentation of historic events.

Penson participated in the 1937 World Exhibition in Paris, winning the Grand Prix Award for "Uzbek Madonna," a portrait of a young Uzbek woman nursing her child in public. Sergei Eisenstein, who met Penson in 1940, had this to say about him: "There cannot be many masters left who choose a specific terrain for their work, dedicate themselves completely to it, and make it an integrated part of their personal destiny. His unparalleled photo archives contain material that enables us to trace a period in the republic's history, year by year and page by page."