

PONARS Eurasia

● ● ● NEW APPROACHES TO RESEARCH AND SECURITY IN EURASIA

Elliott School of  
International Affairs

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

PONARS Eurasia  
Policy Conference 2016

**AGENDA AND ABSTRACTS**

Washington, DC  
September 2016



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PONARS Eurasia is an international network of scholars advancing new policy approaches to research and security in Russia and Eurasia. PONARS Eurasia is based at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES) at the George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. PONARS Eurasia is supported in part by a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York.

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# Agenda

Day 1 - Friday, September 23, 2016

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8:30-9:00 am Registration 1957 E St. NW

**9:00-11:00 am** **Welcome & Panel 1: Russia's 2016 Parliamentary Elections** LINDNER COMMONS  
*Panelists:* **Vladimir Gel'man, European University at St. Petersburg & University of Helsinki** 6TH FLOOR  
*Correction of Errors: How the Kremlin Re-equilibrated Authoritarian Elections in 2016*  
**Tomila Lankina, London School of Economics**  
*The Kremlin-controlled Media's Coverage of Protest in Russia and Ukraine*  
**Nikolay Petrov, Higher School of Economics, Moscow**  
*The End of the Chapter: 2016 State Duma Elections and Political Development*  
**Regina Smyth, Indiana University**  
*Russia's 2016-2018 Election Cycle: Popular Engagement and Protest Potential*  
*Chair:* **Henry Hale, George Washington University**

11:00-11:15 am Coffee Break

**11:15-1:00 pm** **Panel 2A: Russia's Strategic Outlook** [Breakout Session] LINDNER COMMONS  
*Panelists:* **Samuel Charap, International Institute for Strategic Studies**  
*Russia's Use of Military Force as a Foreign Policy Tool*  
**Dmitry Gorenburg, CNA & Harvard University**  
*Russia's Strategic Calculus*  
**Mikhail Rykhtik, Lobachevsky State University of Nizhny Novgorod**  
*Values in Contemporary Foreign Policy: Russian Perspectives*  
**Mikhail Troitskiy, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)**  
*Massaging Egos: Can Status Politics Facilitate U.S.-Russia Cooperation?*  
*Chair:* **Polina Sinovets, Mechnikov National University, Odessa**

**11:15-1:00 pm** **Panel 2B: Economy and Society in Eurasia** [Breakout Session] STATE ROOM  
*Panelists:* **Andrew Barnes, Kent State University** 7TH FLOOR  
*Beyond the IMF and "Political Will": The Emerging Political Economy of Ukraine*  
**Natalie Koch, Syracuse University and Anar Valiyev, ADA University, Baku**  
*Restructuring Extractive Economies in the Caspian Basin: Too Little, Too Late?*  
**Eric McGlinchey, George Mason University**  
*Succession in Uzbekistan*  
**Georgi Derluguian, New York University Abu Dhabi (NYUAD)**  
*Ending the Post-Soviet Restoration in Armenia*  
*Chair:* **Theodore Gerber, University of Wisconsin-Madison**

1:00-2:00 pm Lunch 7TH FLOOR LOBBY

- 2:00-3:30 pm**     **Panel 3A: Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism** [Breakout Session]     LINDNER  
 Panelists:     **George Gavrilis, independent consultant**     COMMONS  
                   *Counter-Radicalization Policies in Central Asia: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*  
                   **Mariya Omelicheva, University of Kansas**  
                   *CSTO and SCO: Stuck on the Old Ways of Dealing with Security Threats*  
                   **Ekaterina Stepanova, Institute of World Economy & International**  
                   **Relations (IMEMO), Moscow**  
                   *Directions for US-Russia Cooperation on Countering Violent Extremism*  
 Chair:     **Andrew Kuchins, Georgetown University**
- 2:00-3:30 pm**     **Panel 3B: Assessing European and Eurasian Partnerships** [Breakout Session]     STATE ROOM  
 Panelists:     **Kornely Kakachia, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University &**  
                   **Georgian Institute of Politics**  
                   *Reluctant Partner: Georgian-German Relations Revisited*  
                   **Arkady Moshes, Finnish Institute of International Affairs**  
                   *Lukashenko's "Drift to the West": Why Moscow Does Not Need to Be Worried*  
                   **Scott Radnitz, University of Washington**  
                   *Strategic Solidarity: How Central Asia Responds to the Kremlin's Exhortations*  
 Chair:     **Yulia Nikitina, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)**
- 3:30-3:45 pm**     **Coffee Break**
- 3:45-5:30 pm**     **Panel 4: Taking Stock of Ukraine Today**     LINDNER COMMONS  
 Panelists:     **Mikhail Alexseev, San Diego State University**  
                   *A Poisoned Chalice: How the Minsk Accords Destabilize Ukraine*  
                   **Volodymyr Dubovyk, Mechnikov National University, Odessa**  
                   *Is Ukraine Becoming a Client State of the United States?*  
                   **Oleksandr Fisun, Kharkiv National University**  
                   *The Changing Nature of Ukrainian Politics*  
                   **Volodymyr Kulyk, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv**  
                   *Memory and Language: Explaining the Post-Maidan Ukrainian Government's*  
                   *Different Policies on Two Controversial Issues*  
                   **Oleksandr Sushko, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, Kyiv**  
                   *Two Years after the First Minsk Agreements: Is There a Way Out of the Deadlock?*  
 Chair:     **Yoshiko Herrera, University of Wisconsin-Madison**

## Day 2 - Saturday, September 24, 2016

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8:30-9:00 am Registration 1957 E St. NW, 6th Floor

**9:00-10:45 am Panel 1: Russia's Foreign Relations**

LINDNER COMMONS

Panelists:

**Pavel Baev, Peace Research Institute Oslo**

*Mistrust Sets Low Ceiling for Russia-China Partnership*

**Sergei Golunov, Kyushu University**

*Russia's Cross-border Cooperation with Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and North Korea:*

*China as a Third Force*

**Elizabeth Wishnick, Montclair State University**

*The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming... U.S.-Russia Relations in the Arctic*

**Ayşe Zarakol, University of Cambridge**

*Turkey and Russia, Erdoğan and Putin*

Chair:

**Mikhail Alexseev, San Diego State University**

10:45-11:00 am Coffee Break

**11:00-12:30 pm Panel 2: Trends in Russian Strategic Approaches**

LINDNER COMMONS

Panelists:

**Sergey Minasyan, Caucasus Institute, Yerevan**

*Russian Conventional Deterrence: From Warfighting to Political Strategy (There and Back Again?)*

**Polina Sinovets, Mechnikov National University, Odessa**

*European Missile Defense and Russia: Any Chance for a Dialogue?*

**Nikolai Sokov, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies**

*Emerging Russian Modern Conventional Strike Capability: Implications for Eurasia*

Chair:

**Mikhail Troitskiy, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)**

12:30-1:00 pm Lunch

6TH FLOOR LOUNGE

**1:00-2:45 pm Panel 3: Political Culture and Identity in Russia**

LINDNER COMMONS

Panelists:

**Theodore Gerber, University of Wisconsin-Madison**

*Political and Social Attitudes of Russia's Muslims: Caliphate, Kadyrovism, or Kasha?*

**J. Paul Goode, University of Bath**

*Patriotism without Patriots? The Limits of Patriotic Mobilization in Russia*

**Mark Kramer, Harvard University**

*Public Sentiment in Russia about the Status of Chechnya*

**Marlene Laruelle, George Washington University**

*The Kremlin's New Headache: How to Celebrate the 1917 Commemorations?*

Chair:

**Tomila Lankina, London School of Economics**



*Notes*

Day 1 – Friday, September 23, 2016

## **Panel 1: Russia's 2016 Parliamentary Elections**

### **Correction of Errors: How the Kremlin Re-equilibrated Authoritarian Elections in 2016**

~*Vladimir Gel'man*

Leading up to the 2011-12 elections, the Russian opposition organized effective anti-incumbent campaigns. Since then, Russia's leaders have employed a "politics of fear" (as well as technical tactics) to avoid similar risks before subsequent national elections. The first test comes with this September's parliamentary election. The Kremlin's steps are expected to restore "authoritarian equilibrium," which the Kremlin will use to further consolidate political and institutional arrangements in advance of the 2018 presidential election.



Vladimir Gel'man is Professor of Political Science and Sociology at the European University of St. Petersburg (Russia), and Finland Distinguished Professor at the Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki (Finland). Gel'man is the author or editor of more than twenty books in Russian and English, including *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes* (Pittsburgh, 2015) and *Reexamining Economic and Political Reforms in Russia, 1985-2000* (Lexington, 2014). He has also published numerous articles in *Europe-Asia Studies*, *International Political Science Review*, *Democratization*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, and others. Areas of expertise: *Russia, Comparative Politics, Authoritarianism, Governance, Political Institutions.* [vgelman@eu.spb.ru](mailto:vgelman@eu.spb.ru)

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### **The Kremlin-controlled Media's Coverage of Protest in Russia and Ukraine**

~*Tomila Lankina*

Kremlin-controlled media have become adept at altering coverage of public discontent at home and abroad in ways that are meant to undermine dissent or cater to public sentiment, thereby increasing citizen support for the government. These are not part of a grand strategy, however, but rather tactical shifts that are implemented, abandoned, and altered—rapidly—as events unfold. For policymakers seeking to unpack the black box of Kremlin decisionmaking, analyzing the Russian media's framing of protests is an important way to reveal Moscow's shifting intentions. It may also help to ascertain not just sources of regime strength but also its vulnerabilities.



Tomila Lankina is Associate Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics (UK). Her current research focuses on comparative sub-national democracy and authoritarianism, mass protests, and historical patterns of human capital and democratic reproduction in Russia and other states. Lankina's publications include articles in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *World Politics*, *Demokratizatsiya*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, and *Problems of Post-Communism*. She is also the author of *Governing the Locals: Local Self-Government and Ethnic Mobilization in Russia* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006) and *Local Governance in Central and Eastern Europe*, co-authored with Anneke Hudalla and Hellmut Wollmann (Palgrave and Oxford, 2008). Areas of expertise: *Regionalism, Federalism, Governance, Russia, Central Europe and Eurasia, India, Legacies of Colonialism and Empire, Democratization.* [t.lankina@lse.ac.uk](mailto:t.lankina@lse.ac.uk)

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## The End of the Chapter: 2016 State Duma Elections and Political Development

~Nikolay Petrov

Russia's September parliamentary elections are the first national elections since the mass political protests of 2011-2012. How has the Kremlin been preparing? First, election dates were moved to hamper critically-minded voters and gerrymandering took place to strengthen the weight of provincial voters. However, in an effort to maintain a semblance of legitimacy, the Kremlin has let back in a modicum of political competition—a kind of "reactive modernization." Meanwhile, Putin has re-shuffled the security services, just in case they are needed. After the elections, better economic news will be important, particularly in the lead-up to the 2018 presidential election. The Kremlin could even try to improve relations with the West in order to end sanctions.



Nikolay Petrov is Professor of Political Science at the Higher School of Economics (Russia). Petrov was previously Chair of the Carnegie Moscow Center's Society and Regions Program. From 1982-2006, he worked at the Institute of Geography at the Russian Academy of Sciences. His recent publications include *Putin's Downfall: The Coming Crisis of the Russian Regime* (ECFR, 2016) and *The State of Russia: What Comes Next* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) (co-edited with Maria Lipman). Areas of expertise: *Russia, Politics, Elites, Elections, Regions, Geography*. [nikkpetrov@gmail.com](mailto:nikkpetrov@gmail.com)

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## Russia's 2016-2018 Election Cycle: Popular Engagement and Protest Potential

~Regina Smyth

Between 2012 and 2016, the Kremlin developed a complex strategy to limit opposition influence in elections and street protests. This strategy expanded on existing institutional, discursive, and repressive tactics developed to diminish formal opposition organizations. Public opinion data suggest that Kremlin strategies to disengage opposition voters and shape positive perceptions of electoral processes have had some success. However, these efforts have not been decisive. Despite its best efforts, significant electoral uncertainty persists. Small changes in context can provoke significant shifts in electoral participation and voting behavior.



Regina Smyth is Associate Professor of Political Science and Faculty Affiliate of the Russian and East European Center and the Ostrom Workshop at Indiana University (US). Smyth's research focuses on the causes and consequences of authoritarian protest in Russia, Hong Kong, and Ukraine. Her work, based on original data collection, contributes to debates on the role of leadership, economic crisis, and social media in protest mobilization, the link between protest participation and subsequent political engagement, and processes of autocratic consolidation. Smyth's research also explores the meaning of non-participation in authoritarian protest and its effect on regime stability. She has published in journals including *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, and *Politics and Policy*. Areas of expertise: *Russia, Eurasia, Elections, Political Parties and Party Systems, Power Centers*. [rsymth@indiana.edu](mailto:rsymth@indiana.edu)



**Chair: Henry E. Hale** is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at the George Washington University (US) and Director of PONARS Eurasia.

## **Panel 2A: Russia's Strategic Outlook**

### **Russia's Use of Military Force as a Foreign Policy Tool**

~*Samuel Charap*

Russia has used its military beyond its borders with unprecedented frequency since its invasion of Crimea in February 2014. Depending on how one counts, there are up to five cases of Russia's use of force following the Crimea episode: involvement in the Donbas insurgency; the August 2014 direct military intervention in the Ilovaisk region; the 2015 Debaltseve intervention; Syria; and brinksmanship with NATO. This behavior has understandably raised concerns about a new Russian militarism. A close examination, however, reveals that there is a pattern and a logic to Russia's behavior: all were acts of compellence designed to achieve policy goals.



Samuel Charap is Senior Fellow for Russia and Eurasia at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (UK). His work has been published in *The Washington Quarterly*, *Survival*, and *Problems of Post-Communism*, among others. His commentary has appeared in numerous news outlets, including *BBC*, *the New York Times*, and *NPR*. Areas of expertise: *Political economy and foreign policies of Russia and Post-Soviet Eurasia, European and Eurasian regional security, US and EU policy toward Europe and Eurasia. Areas of expertise: the Caucasus, Russia, Ukraine, Institutions, U.S. Foreign Policy, Conflict.* [charap@iiss.org](mailto:charap@iiss.org)

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### **Russia's Strategic Calculus**

~*Dmitry Gorenburg*

Russian foreign policy is driven by the search for a new basis for national self-esteem, after the collapse of the Soviet Union disrupted old Soviet identities. The collapse did not discredit the Soviet Union's status as a great power, however. It has remained a core aspiration for Russian political elites, who have also sought to maintain Russia's role as a guiding force among the post-Soviet states. This combination of Russia as a global great power and regional hegemon is seen as providing the ruling elite with a source of legitimacy with their domestic constituency. However, Russian leaders do not have a well-developed strategy on how to achieve their goals. Instead, they have a toolkit of political and military tactics and are open to opportunities to use it.



Dmitry Gorenburg is Senior Research Scientist with CNA Corporation's Center for Strategic Studies and Associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University (US). Gorenburg is also editor of *Russian Politics and Law* and *Problems of Post-Communism*. His research areas include Russia's military reform, foreign policy, and regional security. He also focuses on ethnic politics and identity in the post-Soviet region. He is the author of *Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation* (Cambridge, 2003). Areas of expertise: *Russian Military and Foreign Policy, Eurasian Security Issues, Russian Politics, Ethnic Identity and Conflict, Baltic States.* [gorenburg@gmail.com](mailto:gorenburg@gmail.com)

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## Values in Contemporary Foreign Policy: Russian Perspectives

~*Mikhail Rykhtik*

Russia has been trying to promote an “alternative” set of values in reaction to the perceived negative consequences of globalization. This value system is embodied in the concept of the “Russian World” and based on a Russian Orthodox frame of reference. However, the Kremlin and the Russian Orthodox Church diverge, at times, in their understanding of these values and their usage. The government tends to use them as an ideological tool to expand Russian political and cultural influence. The Church, on the other hand, tries to keep a more spiritual perspective associated with the restoration of Holy Russia.



Mikhail Rykhtik is Professor and Director of the Institute of International Relations and World History and Chair of the Department of Theory of Politics and Communications at N. I. Lobachevsky State University of Nizhny Novgorod (Russia). He has supervised and conducted numerous international research projects on U.S.-Russia relations, EU-Russia relations, security studies, and cross-cultural communications. He is the author or co-author of 10 major books as well as a variety of articles and papers. Areas of expertise: *Security Studies; Ethnic and Religious Extremism; International Political Communication; Bio-politics.* [rykhtik@imomi.unn.ru](mailto:rykhtik@imomi.unn.ru)

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## Massaging Egos: Can Status Politics Facilitate U.S.-Russia Cooperation?

~*Mikhail Troitskiy*

Status aspiration has been key for Russia over the past quarter-century. Recently, Moscow has been demanding from its counterparts symbolic signs of recognition of its status as a great power and, more importantly, acceptance as legitimate Russia’s statements of interest on a broad range of international issues. For its part, the United States derives a substantial amount of its status satisfaction from its self-perception as a unique (if replicable) case of achieving prosperity through democracy and the rule of law. Are there ways for the West and Russia to reassure each other of their status at a bearable cost? Mutual status accommodation has proven difficult even in areas where it would not damage their material interests. The two countries have generally preferred to block each other’s status aspirations, resulting in risky behavior and real-world conflict.



Mikhail Troitskiy is Associate Professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Senior Associate at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and IMARES Program Professor at the European University at St. Petersburg (Russia). In 2009-2015, he was Deputy Director at the Moscow office of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Troitskiy’s research interests include international relations and negotiation theory, Eurasian security, and Russia’s relations with the United States, NATO, and the European Union. He is a frequent contributor to the Russian and international media. Areas of expertise: *Russia, EU, U.S.-Russian Relations, NATO, Politics, Security.* [mikhailtroitskiy@gmail.com](mailto:mikhailtroitskiy@gmail.com)

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**Chair: Polina Sinovets** is Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University (Ukraine).

## **Panel 2B: Economy and Society in Eurasia**

### **Beyond the IMF and “Political Will”: The Emerging Political Economy of Ukraine**

~Andrew Barnes

International coverage of Ukrainian economic reform usually focuses on high-level corruption or the particulars of IMF stipulations. Beneath these discussions, citizens are creating new patterns of economic activity. Understanding these ground-level developments provides insight into Ukraine’s real, emergent economy. To create a more complete picture of these dynamics, the survival strategies of everyday citizens, nuances of political economy, reform efforts, oligarchic and warlord influences, and methods of the banking sector are analyzed, including in Crimea and eastern Ukraine. In addition to helping us understand Ukraine’s challenges and how to remedy them, such analysis can help us understand other political economies in flux. Though corruption at all levels is damaging, it can facilitate economic activity and be predictable on balance sheets, lending functionality to an economy – as seen in China in recent decades.



Andrew Barnes is Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science at Kent State University (US). Barnes’s research and teaching interests focus on post-communist political economies, the politics of international finance and oil, and the links between markets and democracy. His publications include *Owning Russia: The Struggle over Factories, Farms, and Power* (Cornell University, 2006) and “Three in One: Unpacking the ‘Collapse’ of the Soviet Union” (*Problems Of Post-Communism*, 2014). His articles have appeared in *Review of International Political Economy*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, and *Comparative Politics*, among others. Areas of expertise: *Comparative Politics, Political Economy, Oil and Gas*. [abarnes3@kent.edu](mailto:abarnes3@kent.edu)

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### **Restructuring Extractive Economies in the Caspian Basin: Too Little, Too Late?**

~Natalie Koch and Anar Valiyev

The oil- and gas-rich states of the Caspian Sea basin – Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan – registered phenomenal economic growth throughout most of the 2000s. However, the days of resource-fueled development appear to be over. Local governments are struggling to overcome budget deficits, devalued currencies, and economic stagnation. What led to the current economic crises gripping these states? What programs are planners in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan implementing to address economic challenges? Although many of the dramatic reforms recently announced by these governments appear novel, they ultimately represent little deviation from longtime development strategies that prioritize economic modernization without political transformation.



Natalie Koch is Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography at Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs (US). She specializes in political geography, with a focus on authoritarian state-making, nationalism, and geopolitics in Central Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. Koch has published a number of articles in journals including *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *Political Geography*, *Urban Geography*, and *Central Asian Affairs*. [nkoch@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:nkoch@maxwell.syr.edu)



Anar Valiyev is Assistant Professor at ADA University, Baku (Azerbaijan). Currently Dr. Valiyev is Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. Valiyev is the author of numerous peer-reviewed articles and encyclopedia entries. Areas of expertise: *Public Policy of Post-Soviet States, Democracy and Governance, Urban Development and Planning*. [avaliyev@ada.edu.az](mailto:avaliyev@ada.edu.az)

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## Succession in Uzbekistan

~Eric McGlinchey

Though most analysts of Uzbekistan's recent presidential succession underscore continuity and stability, Shavkat Mirziyoyev's new leadership holds the potential to effect change both within Uzbekistan and throughout Eurasia. Most notably, Uzbekistan's relations with Russia may improve while, at the same time, the Mirziyoyev government may prove more forceful in defending against perceived injustices to ethnic Uzbeks living outside of Uzbekistan. Within Uzbekistan we are likely to see the slow dismantling of President Karimov's legacy as the new leadership attempts to explain the country's present ills on the Karimov family's past graft and corruption. Uzbekistan, in short, must traverse a bumpy road if it is to return to business as usual.



Eric McGlinchey is Associate Professor of Politics and Government at George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government (US). McGlinchey is the author of *Chaos, Violence, Dynasty: Politics and Islam in Central Asia* (University of Pittsburgh, 2011). Grants from NSF, NCEEER, IREX, SSRC, and the U.S. Department of State have funded his research. McGlinchey has contributed to multiple U.S. government studies, including his 2007 USAID *Study of Political Party Assistance in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* as well as three 2013 USAID risk assessments on *Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia*. McGlinchey is co-PI on the Department of State funded project, *University Public Policy Research in Georgia*. Areas of Expertise: *Central Asia, Civil Society, Islam, Comparative Politics, Central Asian regime Change, Political Islam*. [emcglinc@gmu.edu](mailto:emcglinc@gmu.edu)

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## Ending the Post-Soviet Restoration in Armenia

~Georgi Derluguian

This past July, the "Daredevils of Sassoun" attacked a Yerevan police station to free their jailed leader, highlight state corruption, and re-affirm the idea of "no concessions on Karabagh." The aftermath of the confrontation left Armenian society divided, but also united—yet another time of national "soul searching." Discussion of domestic politics went in circles, and in the end, Armenia soldiered on under its strong imagery of the nation as extended family. President Sargsyan's political maneuvering helped calm the uprising, but trust in him remains uneven. The "silent" role of the Armenian army was noteworthy; for now, this sizable and professional entity keeps itself separate from politics.



Georgi Derluguian is Professor of Social Research and Public Policy at NYU Abu Dhabi (UAE). His work focuses on various guerrilla movements, revolutions, and civil wars in Africa, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. He has also studied the social origins of nationalist intellectuals and the politics of market reforms. In 2006, the Times Literary Supplement listed among the Books of the Year his *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus: A Biography in World-Systems Perspective* (University of Chicago, 2005). Derluguian's analysis "What Historical Communism Was" (in a book co-authored with Immanuel Wallerstein, Craig Calhoun, Michael Mann, and Randall Collins) is currently translated in seventeen languages. Areas of Expertise: *Central Asia, Caucasus, Guerrilla Movements*. [derluguian@gmail.com](mailto:derluguian@gmail.com)



**Chair: Theodore P. Gerber** is Director of the Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia and Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (US).

## **Panel 3A: Counterterrorism and Violent Extremism**

### **Counter-Radicalization Policies in Central Asia: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly**

~George Gavrilis

In 2011, four Central Asian states signed the Ashgabat Declaration pledging to work together to counter radicalization and terrorism. Since then, the region's states have fared well in suppressing terrorism but appear to be doing poorly in countering growing radicalization. Central Asian officials insist that sustainable counterterrorism policies include partnerships with local communities and civic associations, but this is rarely followed up with practical measures. What prevents Central Asian states from implementing more holistic counterterrorism policies? The answer appears to be rooted in ignorance of the extent of radicalization within their own territories and root causes. To help local governments overcome these problems, Western policy initiatives should be retooled to promote engagement with Russia, the CIS, China, and the SCO; studies should be carried out on the causes and extent of radicalization; and funding provided for specialized, country-specific task forces.



George Gavrilis is an independent consultant specializing in international relations, foreign policy, higher education, and oral history. He previously served as the Executive Director of the Hollings Center for International Dialogue and taught international relations and comparative politics in the Department of Government at the University of Texas-Austin. He is the author of *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) and has published articles in *Foreign Affairs*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and *The New York Times* on Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Israel and the West Bank. Areas of expertise: *Middle East, Central Asia*. [gavrilis.work@gmail.com](mailto:gavrilis.work@gmail.com)

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### **CSTO and SCO: Stuck in Old Ways of Dealing with Security Threats**

~Mariya Omelicheva

Central Asia is a region where terrorism and transnational organized crime intersect. Drug trafficking groups have turned to anti-government violence to advance their economic interests. Terrorist groups have resorted to drug trafficking and illicit trade to finance their activities and pursue political aims. Much of the reported Islamist insurgency and terrorist violence in Central Asia is tied to local issues and drug trafficking problems and has few, if any, strong connections to international networks of radical Islamists. While the SCO and CSTO address drug trafficking, human trafficking, and organized crime and terrorism, they ignore the all-important intersection of these activities. Ignoring their complex relationship is bound to severely undermine national and international counterterrorist and counter-narcotics efforts. If claims of the regional dimension of violent Islamism are highly exaggerated, then resources spent on counterterrorism are misplaced.



Mariya Omelicheva is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Kansas (US). Her research and teaching interests include counterterrorism and human rights, democracy promotion in the post-Soviet territory, Russian foreign policy, and the terrorism-crime nexus in Eurasia. She is the author of *Counterterrorism Policies in Central Asia* (Routledge, 2011) and *Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternate Strategies* (Kentucky, 2015), and editor of *Nationalism and Identity Construction in Central Asia: Dimensions, Dynamics, and Directions* (Lexington, 2015). Areas of expertise: *Russia, Central Asia, Georgia, Foreign Policy, Critical Geopolitics, Counterterrorism, Human Rights*. [omeliche@ku.edu](mailto:omeliche@ku.edu)

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## Directions for US-Russia Cooperation on Countering Violent Extremism

~*Ekaterina Stepanova*

Since 2014, most of the institutionalized bilateral mechanisms for US-Russia cooperation on countering terrorism and violent extremism have been canceled or indefinitely suspended by the United States in response to Russia's unilateral actions in the Ukraine conflict. In this situation, the two countries should concentrate on cooperating more actively on solving concrete functional and regional problems of high mutual interest. These range in scale, type, and complexity from Syria and Afghanistan to specific security concerns that overlap, require support from one to the other, or necessitate mutual assistance. In case the bilateral relationship improves, Russia and the United States could then build upon these concrete cooperative efforts to solve larger issues, ultimately moving again toward institutionalized cooperative mechanisms.



Ekaterina Stepanova heads the Peace and Conflict Studies Unit at the National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow (Russia). She has authored several books, including *Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict: Ideological and Structural Aspects* (Oxford, 2008) and is the author of 180 publications in ten languages. Stepanova serves on editorial boards of academic journals *Global Governance*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, and the *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. She is a Russian Academy of Sciences Professor and teaches, in English, at the European University at Saint Petersburg (EUSP) and the School of Public Policy, Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA). Areas of expertise: *Armed Conflicts and Insurgencies, Terrorism and other Violent Extremism, Peacebuilding, Extremist Ideologies, Political Economy of Conflicts*. [www.estepanova.net](http://www.estepanova.net)



**Chair: Andrew C. Kuchins** is Senior Fellow and Research Professor at the Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies (CERES) in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University (US).

## **Panel 3B: Assessing European and Eurasian Partnerships**

### **Reluctant Partner: Georgian-German Relations Revisited**

~*Kornely Kakachia*

Despite Georgia's Association Agreement with the EU, Georgia-skepticism persists among EU member states. During recent years, Georgia has paid too much attention to relations with the United States and has not focused on building ties with European partners. While close links with Washington are essential, Tbilisi needs to be more proactive with the EU. Working with Germany, which is influential in European affairs, could be an important way to sway undecided countries on Georgian issues. Georgia's policy community should pay attention to the Tbilisi-Berlin nexus and propose remedies to make Georgia a higher EU foreign policy priority.



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### **Lukashenko's "Drift to the West": Why Moscow Does Not Need To Be Worried**

~*Arkady Moshes*

Relations between Belarus and the West have significantly improved over the last year. The EU lifted sanctions against Minsk and intensified bilateral contacts. Because no political liberalization occurred in Belarus, Brussels' rationale was primarily to reward Belarus for its refusal to fully bandwagon with Moscow in the Ukraine conflict. However, Moscow does not appear to be critically concerned with the latest rapport between Belarus and the EU. Belarus remains closely tied to most Russian institutional structures, particularly related to military and defense, while Moscow has undertaken measures to reduce Russia's dependence on Belarus in certain key areas. It is doubtful that Belarus' re-engagement with the EU will allow Minsk to balance against Russia's influence.



Arkady Moshes is Program Director for the EU Eastern Neighborhood and Russia research program at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (Finland). Before moving to Finland in 2002, he worked in the Institute of Europe in Moscow from 1988. From 2008 to 2015, he was an associate member of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House. He has authored a large number of academic and analytical publications and is a frequent media commentator. He co-edited *Russia as a Network State: What Works in Russia When State Institutions Do Not* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), co-authored *Not Another Transnistria: How sustainable is separatism in Eastern Ukraine?* (FIIA, 2014), and contributed articles to, among others, *International Affairs* and *Post-Soviet Affairs*. Areas of expertise: *Russian-European relations, domestic and foreign policies of Ukraine and Belarus.* [arkady.moshes@fiia.fi](mailto:arkady.moshes@fiia.fi)

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## Strategic Solidarity: How Central Asia Responds to the Kremlin's Exhortations

~*Scott Radnitz*

Since the start of Moscow's anti-Western campaign, Central Asia has been subject to great pressure to support Russian policies, both materially and symbolically. From 2011 to early 2015, the behavior of Central Asian states suggested a concerted effort to accommodate Russian foreign policy. Yet after the Ukraine conflict stabilized, Central Asian regimes felt sufficiently confident to return to the status quo ante, parting with Russia on symbolic matters, and even making overtures to the United States. By 2016, the major concern in Central Asia was not an overweening Russia but a weakened one.



Scott Radnitz is Associate Professor in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and Director of the Ellison Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington (US). His current research focuses on the political uses of conspiracy theories in the post-Soviet region. Radnitz is author of *Weapons of the Wealthy: Predatory Regimes and Elite-Led Protests in Central Asia* (Cornell University Press, 2010). He has contributed to journals including *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, and *Post-Soviet Affairs*. Area of expertise: *Protests, Authoritarianism, Informal networks, Identity*. [srad@uw.edu](mailto:srad@uw.edu)



**Chair: Yulia Nikitina** is Associate Professor of World Politics and Research Fellow at the Center for Post-Soviet Studies at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) (Russia).

## Panel 4: Taking Stock of Ukraine Today

### **A Poisoned Chalice: How the Minsk Accords Destabilize Ukraine**

~*Mikhail Alexseev*

The Minsk accords have run their course as a mechanism to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict. They helped constrain Russia's military intervention but never offered sustainable pathways to reduce political divisiveness or create lasting peace. Recent data highlights these and other perils linked to the accords. Reforming or replacing the Minsk agreements is now urgently needed. One option might be to separate the military and political aspects of the protocols. Ultimately, the West, and specifically the United States, needs to be more active and apply pressure on Russia, which could entail increasing sanctions and flexing superior U.S. military capabilities.



Mikhail Alexseev is Professor of Political Science at San Diego State University (US). Alexseev specializes in comparative analysis of migration and ethnic conflict, and his most recent research focuses on nationalism in Russia and the sociopolitical effects of the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war. He is the author of *Immigration Phobia and the Security Dilemma: Russia, Europe, and the United States* (Cambridge, 2006) and has published articles in numerous journals including *Political Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*, and *Pacific Focus*. Areas of expertise: *Russia, Ukraine, Caucasus, Politics, Migration, Ethnicity*. [alexseev@mail.sdsu.edu](mailto:alexseev@mail.sdsu.edu)

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### **Is Ukraine Becoming a Client State of the United States?**

~*Volodymyr Dubovyk*

Whether in dealing with Russia, carrying out reforms, or fighting corruption, Kyiv heavily depends on the West, in particular the United States. The degree of U.S. diplomatic, financial, and military assistance to Ukraine has grown markedly over the course of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. U.S. Vice President Joe Biden routinely appeals to Kyiv for progress, and U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt is involved in Ukrainian affairs on a daily basis. Has Ukraine become a client state of the United States or lost its "agency" in the international arena? Considering that the United States is trying to push Ukraine in the right direction, is Western dependency detrimental? Perhaps not in the short term, but ultimately Ukraine must be able to independently manage its own affairs, an outcome that the United States encourages.



Volodymyr Dubovyk is Associate Professor of International Relations and Director of the Center for International Studies, Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University (Ukraine). Dubovyk has been a research scholar at the Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1997, 2006-2007), the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland (2002), and St. Edwards University and the University of Texas (Austin) in 2016-17. He is a contributor to *Ukraine and European Security* (Macmillan, 1999) and has published numerous articles on US-Ukraine relations, regional and international security, and Ukraine's foreign policy. Areas of expertise: *Ukraine, Transatlantic Relations*. [volodymyrdubovyk@gmail.com](mailto:volodymyrdubovyk@gmail.com)

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## The Changing Nature of Ukrainian Politics

~Oleksandr Fisun

The 2014 Euromaidan revolution resulted in a highly clientelistic and corrupted Ukrainian political landscape, as seen by recent party system changes, development of a new party of power, formation of a pro-presidential parliamentary coalition, rise of regional political machines, and patterns of regional elite accommodation. Extra analysis is given on the informal, intra-elite struggle around President Poroshenko and how the dual-executive constitutional ruling system a) shapes the incentives of national and regional players and b) forms a coalitional presidential system of “semi-managed democracy.”



Oleksandr Fisun is Professor and Chair of Political Science at Kharkiv National University (Ukraine). His primary research interests are comparative politics and democratic theory. He has held visiting fellowships at the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Kennan Institute (2001, 2007), the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy (2004), and the Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington (2015). He has published *Democracy, Neopatrimonialism, and Global Transformations* (Kharkiv, 2006), as well as numerous book chapters and articles on comparative democratization, neopatrimonialism, regime change in post-Soviet Eurasia, and Ukrainian politics. Areas of expertise: *Ukraine, Informal Politics, Hybrid Regimes, Democratization*. [fisun@karazin.ua](mailto:fisun@karazin.ua)

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## Memory and Language: Explaining the Post-Maidan Ukrainian Government’s Different Policies on Two Controversial Issues

~Volodymyr Kulyk

Memory and language are two domains that have a particularly large potential for dividing society and thus weakening Ukraine in its confrontation with Russia. Although both are highly contentious, the government chose very different courses for each. As far as memory is concerned, it pursued a rather radical nationalist agenda, even though this was opposed by a large part of the population. With regard to language, however, the authorities largely refrained from any resolute promotion of Ukrainian out of fear of alienating those who wished to continue relying on Russian. The difference can be explained by political actors’ misperception of popular preferences and the structural asymmetry of policymaking in the two domains.



Volodymyr Kulyk is Head Research Fellow at the Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv, and currently a Visiting Professor at Yale University (US). He serves as Ukraine’s representative in the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. His latest book is *The Ukrainian Media Discourse: Identities, Ideologies, and Power Relations* (Krytyka, 2010). Areas of expertise: *Language Politics, Identity, Memory, Nationalism, Media, Discourse*. [v\\_kulyk@hotmail.com](mailto:v_kulyk@hotmail.com)

## Two Years After the First Minsk Agreements: Is There a Way Out of the Deadlock?

~*Oleksandr Sushko*

The non-compatible elements of the Minsk agreements have brought the Donbas peace process to stagnation. The current state of affairs is “neither peace nor war,” which suits Moscow’s long-play logic. The Russian-separatist forces are dug in and wait for Ukraine to integrate them into its political body as a Russian protectorate. Certainly, the West and Ukraine should not cave to Russia’s logic, but options are few. Polling data indicate that Ukrainian citizens want a fast resolution to the conflict but they are uncertain and divided about the “price of peace.” Perhaps one route, which is somewhat supported by surveys, is to hold an all-Ukrainian national referendum. This would uphold the democratic principles by which Kyiv needs to live and could at least provide some answers and additional options.



Oleksandr Sushko is Research Director of the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation in Kyiv (Ukraine). Previously he was Director of the Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine. Since January 2011, he has served as Chairman of the Board of the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF), Ukraine (Open Society Network). He is currently chair of the Secretariat of the Strategic Advisory Groups, an IRF-run project aimed at expert and advocacy support for reforms in Ukraine. He was also a first Co-Chair of the EU-Ukraine Civil Society Platform (2015-2016). Areas of expertise: *Ukraine, EU, NATO, Security*. [sushko6@ukr.net](mailto:sushko6@ukr.net)



**Chair: Yoshiko Herrera** is Professor at the Center for Russia, East Europe and Central Asia and co-Director of the International Institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (US).

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## **Panel 1: Russia's Foreign Relations**

### **Mistrust Sets Low Ceiling for the Russia-China Partnership**

~*Pavel Baev*

No amount of propaganda can hide the fact that the Russia-China partnership is not progressing well. The main element of their strategic partnership was to be a massive increase in Russian energy exports, but this has essentially failed. The only element of the partnership that works is the personal tie between the countries' two leaders. But incompatibilities persist. Vladimir Putin puts his trust in security service operatives, has exterminated all political alternatives, and positioned himself as the sole source of legitimacy. Xi Jinping struggles with opposing factions while dealing with the problem of succession, and his closest associates rely on provincial party political cadres that have little interest in relations with Russia. Xi knows the value of "patriotic" mobilization but cannot comprehend Putin's choice to sacrifice economic growth and modernization for geopolitical ambition.



Pavel K. Baev is Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) (Norway). Baev is also a Senior Non-Resident Fellow at the Brookings Institution. His current research projects focus on Russian military reform, Russia's conflict management in the Caucasus, energy interests in Russia's foreign and security policy, Russia's Arctic policy, and Russia's relations with Europe and NATO. He is the author of *Russian Energy Policy and Military Power: Putin's Quest for Greatness* (Routledge, 2008). He also has a weekly column in the *Eurasia Daily Monitor*. Areas of expertise: *Russia, Military Reform, Caucasus, Arctic, Energy, NATO*. [pavel@prio.org](mailto:pavel@prio.org)

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### **Russia's Cross-Border Cooperation with Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and North Korea: China as a Third Force**

~*Sergei Golunov*

One way to analyze the complex China-Russia relationship is through their respective projects and influence on neighboring states. In the three cases examined, Russia continues to preserve its political and cultural influence, but shifts toward greater Chinese dominance are visible. China has been able to influence transportation corridors, the economic specialization of borderland regions, the supply of goods to free economic zones, and cross-border cooperation projects between economically weak regions. Furthermore, China is a strong competitor to Russia in fields like raw materials, manufactured goods, and the management of transportation projects.



Sergei Golunov is Professor at the Center for Asia-Pacific Future Studies, Kyushu University (Japan). Golunov's current research interests include Russian border issues, Russian relations with neighboring Asia-Pacific states, and conspiracy theorizing in Russia. He has authored about 150 research works including *The Elephant in the Room: Corruption and Cheating in Russian Universities* (Ibidem, 2014) and *EU-Russian Border Security: Challenges, (Mis)perceptions, and Responses* (Routledge, 2012). [sergei.golunov@gmail.com](mailto:sergei.golunov@gmail.com)

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## The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming... US-Russia Relations in the Arctic

~Elizabeth Wishnick

Russia's tensions with NATO threaten to undermine twenty years of largely peaceful cooperation among Arctic states. Fear of Russian aggression in the Arctic has overtaken earlier concerns about a race for Arctic resources. However, as some U.S. officials recognize, conflating the security problems on NATO's periphery with Arctic security will do little to resolve the region's real issues, which consist mainly of threats to environmental and human security, particularly to indigenous communities. What is needed in the Arctic are confidence-building mechanisms to ensure that out-of-area issues do not result in security dilemmas and erode two decades of cooperative interaction.



Elizabeth Wishnick is Professor in the Department of Political Science and Law at Montclair State University and Senior Research Scholar at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University (US). Her research focuses on Chinese foreign policy, Russian foreign policy, and non-traditional security. Her current book project, *China's Risk: Oil, Water, Food and Regional Security* (Columbia, forthcoming) addresses the security and foreign policy consequences for the Asia-Pacific region of oil, water and food risks in China. Her study on China's interests and goals in the Arctic will be published soon by the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, where she also published three studies on great power relations in Central Asia. She is also the author of *Mending Fences: The Evolution of Moscow's China Policy from Brezhnev to Yeltsin* (University of Washington, 2014 and 2001). [wishnicke@mail.montclair.edu](mailto:wishnicke@mail.montclair.edu)

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## Turkey and Russia, Erdoğan and Putin

~Ayşe Zarakol

Many Western policy analysts and journalists believe President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is following in the footsteps of President Vladimir Putin in his approach to governance and the consolidation of personal power. To what extent has Erdoğan borrowed from the Putin playbook? What are the implications of their leadership styles on Turkish-Russian relations? What factors (including U.S. foreign policy) affect their reconciliation? Observers who discount the possibility of a Russo-Turkish alliance underestimate the flexibility of Putin and Erdoğan over Syria. Syria is not more important to Erdoğan than staying in power, while under the right circumstances driving a deeper wedge between Turkey and NATO may be more valuable to Putin than some concessions in Syria. This is not to say such a historical realignment is in the cards, but given the events of recent months it cannot be discounted completely.



Ayşe Zarakol is University Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Cambridge, and a fellow of Emmanuel College (UK). She is the author of *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge, 2011) and the editor of *Hierarchies in World Politics* (Cambridge, forthcoming). Her articles have recently appeared in journals such as *International Organization*, *Cooperation & Conflict*, *International Theory*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Journal of International Relations*, and *Review of International Studies*. Areas of expertise: *Turkey, Rising and Declining Powers, East-West Relations, Regional Politics, Sovereignty*. [az319@cam.ac.uk](mailto:az319@cam.ac.uk)



**Chair: Mikhail Alexseev** is Professor of Political Science at San Diego State University (US).

## Panel 2: Trends in Russian Strategic Approaches

### **Russian Conventional Deterrence: from Warfighting to Political Strategy (There and Back Again?)**

~Sergey Minasyan

Conventional (non-nuclear) deterrence has seriously evolved in Russian military and strategic thinking. From a secondary and tactical warfighting tool, it has become an important military-political component of Russia's "new" strategic posture. This is evident as it focuses on its interests in the post-Soviet region (Ukraine), Eastern Europe, and the Middle East (Syria). Though NATO and the United States remain Russia's "strategic" foe and main object of its strategic-level conventional deterrence, localized conflicts also reveal Russia's prioritization of conventional deterrence as a warfighting tool, in line with the world's "Second Conventional Age." The material basis for the conceptual development of Russian conventional deterrence includes long-range precision-guided striking platforms, weapons based on new physical principles and non-kinetic weaponry, and the increased use of advanced intelligence and surveillance systems.



Sergey Minasyan is Deputy Director at the Caucasus Institute (Armenia). He is the author of several monographs, including *From Political Rallies to Conventions: Political and Legal Aspects of Protecting the Rights of the Armenian Ethnic Minority in Georgia as Exemplified by the Samtskhe-Javakheti Region* (2007), *Nagorno-Karabakh After Two Decades of Conflict: Is Prolongation of the Status Quo Inevitable?* (2010) and *Deterrence in the Karabakh Conflict* (2016). He has also written numerous articles, including for *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, *Iran and the Caucasus*, *Russia in Global Affairs*, *Demokratizatsiya*, and *Insight Turkey*. Areas of expertise: *Caucasus, Armenia, Politics and International Relations, Regional Security and Ethno-Political Conflicts, Military Policy, Conventional Arms Control, Conventional Deterrence.* [sergey@c-i.am](mailto:sergey@c-i.am)

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### **European Missile Defense and Russia: any chance for a dialogue?**

~Polina Sinovets

The inauguration of a European missile defense site in Romania and construction of a similar site in Poland have led to a new round of Russian accusations and threats with regard to the West's capabilities and intentions. Moscow has long had both political and military-strategic objections to European missile defense. What is of increasing importance, however, is the non-nuclear dynamic of missile defense, in particular whether either NATO or Russia would be able to intercept precision-guided conventional weapons launched against the other. This memo unpacks the Russian position to explore the credibility of Russian threats, possible actions, and ways to address them. It also asks if US-Russia dialogue on missile defense is at all possible.



Polina Sinovets is Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations, Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University (Ukraine). Previously, she served as senior research associate at Ukraine's National Institute for Strategic Studies, and she has been a fellow at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (2006) and the NATO Defense College in Rome (2015). She is an expert in nuclear weapons policy and has published articles in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *Russia in Global Politics*, and *NATO Defense College Research Papers*, among others. Since 2015, she also heads the Odessa Center for Nonproliferation (OdcNP), based at Odessa National University (ONU). Areas of expertise: *Ukraine, Russia, Iran, Politics, Nuclear Weapons, Military Policy.* [polashkas@gmail.com](mailto:polashkas@gmail.com)

## Emerging Russian Modern Conventional Strike Capability: Implications for Eurasia

~Nikolai Sokov

The West should have paid closer attention to a series of Putin's high-level meetings at the end of 2013 when he talked about conventional deterrence. Such policies are only made public in this way when success is assured. Russia demonstrated in Syria that it acquired long-range precision-guided conventional strike capability, but this has implications far beyond military utility. The greatest challenge to the West is not the capability itself. Rather, it is the state of Western denial. Washington's global and regional strategies now need adjustment. There are new choices to be made: between direct military confrontation and the search for accommodation, between an arms race and arms control. In many ways, the Kremlin is restoring the 1970s, when the United States and the Soviet Union competed in the Third World. The new "game" will most likely be played in the greater Middle East and South Asia, where Russia has a significantly better chance of pursuing proactive policies with potentially tangible results.



Nikolai Sokov is Senior Fellow at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (US). He is the author of several monographs, including *Russian Strategic Modernization: Past and Future*, and he co-wrote and co-edited the first Russian-language college-level textbook on nuclear nonproliferation, *Yadernoe Nerasprostranenie*. Areas of Expertise: *Russian and U.S. Missile systems, Nuclear Arms Control, Strategic Arms Control, Emerging Reorientation of Russia's Foreign Policy.* [nsokov@miis.edu](mailto:nsokov@miis.edu)

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**Chair: Mikhail Troitskiy** is Associate Professor at Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Senior Associate at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and IMARES Program Professor at the European University at St. Petersburg (Russia).

## **Panel 3: Political Culture and Identity in Russia**

### **Political and Social Attitudes of Russia's Muslims: Caliphate, Kadyrovism, or Kasha?**

~*Theodore P. Gerber*

Russia's Muslim population, estimated at 16.4 million in 2010, is a potential source of instability. Perennial concerns exist about the threat of extremist movements, particularly in the North Caucasus, and the efforts of ISIS and other organizations to inspire radical Islam in Russia. However, Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov's combination of fierce loyalty to Vladimir Putin, protection of local autonomy, social conservatism, and endorsement of violence may also hold broad appeal for Russia's Muslims. Regional variations are important to understand in order to receive a full picture of the political and social attitudes of Russia's Muslims. The analysis is based on a portrait of public opinion of Russia's Muslims based on data from a survey the authors conducted in 2015.



**Theodore P. Gerber** is Director of the Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia and Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (US). Gerber's research examines social inequality, economic change, public opinion, migration, and family processes in contemporary Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and other post-Soviet states. He has authored or co-authored 45 articles on these topics that have appeared in journals including *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, and others. [tgerber@ssc.wisc.edu](mailto:tgerber@ssc.wisc.edu)

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### **Patriotism without Patriots? The Limits of Patriotic Mobilization in Russia**

~*J. Paul Goode*

Since Vladimir Putin's re-election in 2012, the Kremlin has invested heavily in patriotic education and promoted patriotism as a unifying idea for Russia. When examined from the perspective of ordinary Russian citizens, however, popular understandings of patriotism bear only a superficial resemblance to state doctrine. Russians understand "being a patriot" in terms of loyalty to the government, but they understand "patriotism" as intensely personal and even opposed to politics. The regime's attempts to cultivate popular legitimacy through patriotic appeals has the potential to exacerbate this gap between public and private sentiments, particularly since the Kremlin's brand of patriotism virtually eliminates ideological space for individualist movements and parties. In the long run, the intensification of patriotic appeals may become a source of friction between regime and citizenry.



**J. Paul Goode** is Senior Lecturer in Russian Politics at the University of Bath (UK). He has research interests in nationalism and ethnic politics, hybrid regimes, regionalism, and the post-Soviet region. His current research, funded by Fulbright, focuses on patriotism and legitimacy in Russia. He is the author of *Boundary Issues: The Decline of Regionalism in Putin's Russia* (Routledge, 2011), as well as articles in *Perspectives on Politics*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, and *Social Science Quarterly*. [J.P.Goode@bath.ac.uk](mailto:J.P.Goode@bath.ac.uk)

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## Public Sentiment in Russia about the Status of Chechnya

~Mark Kramer

Surveys of public opinion in Russia about the future status of the North Caucasus, especially Chechnya, indicate that a growing majority of Russians view the situation there as tense and unstable and do not believe it will improve anytime soon. Partly for this reason, a sizable percentage of Russians say they are willing to have Chechnya become independent—something the Russian government has done its best to prevent. Although the situation in Chechnya has been relatively calm over the past few years, several factors could produce greater volatility in the coming year and generate a degree of instability in Chechnya that would cause wider problems for Putin as he seeks to cope with numerous other domestic and foreign challenges.



Mark Kramer is Director of Cold War Studies at Harvard University and a Senior Fellow of Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies (US). Originally trained in mathematics, he went on to study International Relations as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University and was also an Academy Scholar in Harvard's Academy of International and Area Studies. He is the author of many books and articles and is the editor of three forthcoming volumes titled *The Fate of Communist Regimes, 1989-1991*. He is also currently writing a book on the Russian-Chechen wars from 1994 to 2009. Areas of expertise: *Cold War history; International relations; Comparative politics; Soviet and East European history; political and economic change in post-Communist Eastern Europe.* [mkramer@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:mkramer@fas.harvard.edu)

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## The Kremlin's New Headache: How to Celebrate the 1917 Commemorations?

~Marlene Laruelle

In a few months, Russia will enter into a rich and complex series of commemorations of the 1917 Russian Revolution. In doing so, the Kremlin will confront deep ideological contradictions. At a time when the Russian regime is in great need of social consensus and popular support, "memory issues" involving 1917 are potentially divisive. Since the early 2000s, the Kremlin has been promoting Soviet nostalgia as the lowest common denominator for Russian society. However, it has faced increasing competition from a parallel, Church-supported movement to rehabilitate the Tsarist regime. The state-sponsored exhibition "Russia, my history" gives us insights into the way the Kremlin plans to deal with the contradictory memories at stake for the 1917 commemorations.



Marlene Laruelle is Research Professor and Associate Director of the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), and Director of the Central Asia Program at the George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs (US). Laruelle is the author of *Russia's Arctic Strategies and the Future of the Far North* (M.E. Sharpe, 2014) and *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire* (Woodrow Wilson/Johns Hopkins University, 2008, 2012) She also recently edited *Eurasianism and the European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia Relationship* (Lexington, 2015). Areas of expertise: *Russia, Central Asia, National Identity and Nationalism, Migration, Arctic Issues.* [laruelle@gwu.edu](mailto:laruelle@gwu.edu)

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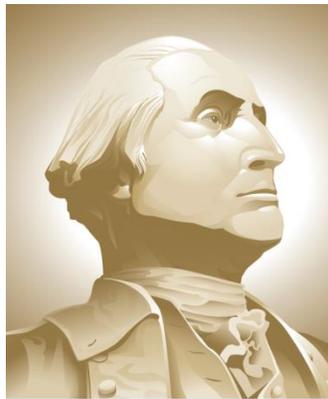
**Chair: Tomila Lankina** is Associate Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics (UK).

*Notes*





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