



Center for Strategic & International Studies  
Washington, DC

PONARS POLICY CONFERENCE

Friday, December 9, 2005

CSIS B-1 CONFERENCE CENTER

Agenda

- 8:30-9:00am                    **Registration, B1 Conference Center**
- 9:00-9:15 am  
Room B1A/B                    **Opening Remarks:**  
Celeste A. Wallander, Director, Russia and Eurasia Program and Senior Fellow, CSIS,  
and Executive Director, PONARS
- 9:15-10:45 am                    **Joint Roundtable Session: *Nationalism and Retrenchment in Russian Foreign Policy***  
Room B1A/B                    **Chair:** Mikhail A. Alexseev  
**Panelists:** Stephen E. Hanson, Alexander Pikayev, Vadim Volkov
- 10:45-11:00 am                    **Coffee Break**
- 11:00 -12:30 pm  
Room B1A/B                    **Break-Out Session I**  
**Panel A: *Will the Color Revolutions Fade to Grey?***  
**Chair:** Volodymyr Dubovyk  
**Panelists:** Henry E. Hale, Olexiy Haran, Vitali Silitski
- Room 4CR                    **Panel B: *Sources of Stability and Instability in Russia's Muslim Communities***  
**Chair:** Dmitry Gorenburg  
**Panelists:** Georgi Derluguian, Mark Kramer, Eduard Ponarin
- 12:30-1:45 pm  
Room B1A/B                    **Lunch Joint Roundtable**  
**Joint Session: *Russia and the G8***  
**Chair:** Sarah E. Mendelson  
**Panelists:** Pavel K. Baev, Vladimir A. Orlov
- 1:45-3:15 pm  
Room 4CR                    **Break-Out Session II**  
**Panel A: *Economic and Social Trends in Russia***  
**Chair:** Mikhail I. Rykhtik  
**Panelists:** Sergey Golunov, Vladimir Popov, Judyth Twigg
- Room B1A/B                    **Panel B: *The Meaning and Effectiveness of Russia's Borders***  
**Chair:** Arkady Moshes  
**Panelists:** Andrey S. Makarychev, Robert Orttung, Ekaterina Stepanova
- 3:15-3:30 pm                    **Coffee Break**
- 3:30-5:00 pm  
Room B1A/B                    **Break-Out Session III**  
**Panel A: *The Fate of Russian Democracy***  
**Chair:** Valerie Sperling  
**Panelists:** Oleg Kharkhordin, Ivan I. Kurilla, Nikolai Petrov
- Room 4CR                    **Panel B: *A New Great Game in Central Asia?***  
**Chair:** Kimberly Marten  
**Panelists:** Alexander Cooley, Eric McGlinchey, Nikolai Sokov

## CONFERENCE BRIEFING BOOK POLICY MEMOS

### **Nationalism and Retrenchment in Russian Foreign Policy**

Mikhail A. Alexseev – *Xenophobia in Russia: Are the Young Driving It?*

Stephen E. Hanson – *On Double Standards: Toward Strategic Liberalism in U.S. Russia Policy*

Alexander Pikayev – *A Velvet Divorce*

Vadim Volkov – *Will the Kremlin Revive the Russian Idea?*

Celeste A. Wallander – *Geopolitics and Neo-containment, as well as Common Security: Russian Views on Proliferation*

### **Will the Color Revolutions Fade to Grey?**

Volodymyr Dubovyk – *The Foreign Policy of Ukraine: One Year After the Orange Revolution*

Henry E. Hale – *Interpreting the Color Revolutions and Prospects for Post-Soviet Democratization: Breaking the Cycles*

Olexiy Haran and Petro Burkovsky – *Is Democracy Irreversible in Ukraine? Political Reconfiguration on the Eve of the March 2006 Parliamentary Elections*

Irina Kobrinskaya – *Russia-NIS Relations Beyond the Color Revolutions: Are the Shifts Durable?*

Vitali Silitski – *A Year After the Color Revolutions: Preemptive Authoritarianism and Challenges for Democratization in the Former Soviet Union*

Oleksander Sushko – *Ukraine's Search for a Regional Foreign Policy: One Year After the Orange Revolution*

### **Sources of Stability and Instability in Russia's Muslim Communities**

Georgi Derluguian – *The Coming Revolutions in the North Caucasus*

Dmitry Gorenburg – *The Failure of Tatar Language Revival*

Mark Kramer – *Instability in the North Caucasus and the Political Implications for the Russian-Chechen War*

Eduard Ponarin – *Russian State Nationalism vs. Local Nationalisms: The Case of Tatarstan*

### **Russia and the G8**

Pavel K. Baev – *Chairing the G8: Russian Energy and Great Power Aspirations*

Vladimir A. Orlov – *The St. Petersburg G8 Summit and Russian Interests*

### **Economic and Social Trends in Russia**

Douglas Blum – *Current Trends in Russian Youth Policy*

Sergey Golunov – *The Issue of Narcomania in Russia: National Security vs. Civil Society?*

Vladimir Popov – *The Exchange Rate in a Resource-Based Economy: The Case of Russia*

Mikhail I. Rykhtik – *New Tasks for Traditional and New Actors in Contemporary Russia*

Judyth Twigg – *Differential Demographics: Russia's Muslim and Slavic Populations*

Celeste A. Wallander – *The Politics of Russian AIDS Policy*

### **The Meaning and Effectiveness of Russia's Borders**

Andrey S. Makarychev – *The Baltic-Black Sea Connection: A Region in the Making or a Political Project?*

Arkady Moshes – *Managing the Retreat: Can Russia Adapt to the Emergence of Intermediate Europe?*

Robert Ortung and Louise Shelley – *Linkages Between Terrorist and Organized Crime Groups in Nuclear Smuggling: A Case Study of Chelyabinsk Oblast*

Ekaterina Stepanova – *Illicit Drug Trafficking and Islamic Terrorism as Threats to Russian Security: The Limits of the Linkage*

### **The Fate of Russian Democracy**

Oleg Kharkhordin – *Res Publica in Russia: Things and Publics in Current Municipal Reform*

Ivan I. Kurilla – *Russia's Left Turn*

Nikolai Petrov – *From Managed Democracy to Sovereign Democracy: Putin's Regime Evolution in 2005*

Regina Smyth – *Maintaining Control: Putin's Strategy for Holding Power Past 2008*

Valerie Sperling – *The Fair Sex in an Unfair System: The Gendered Effects of Putin's Political Reforms*

### **A New Great Game in Central Asia?**

Pavel K. Baev – *Russia's Counterrevolutionary Offensive in Central Asia*

Alexander Cooley – *Difficult Engagements: Political Lessons from the K2 Experience*

Kimberly Marten – *Understanding the Impact of the K2 Closure*

Eric McGlinchey – *Avoiding the Great Game and Domestic Unrest in Eurasia*

Nikolai Sokov – *The Not-So-Great Game in Central Asia*