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SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY, INC.

# EXPERTS ON UKRAINE • FAQs ON UKRAINE CRISIS

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The American Association for Ukrainian Studies (AAUS), the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI), and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, with assistance from the Association of Ukrainians Abroad “Razom”, jointly offer the below information to news organizations and journalists in order to facilitate a better understanding of some basic background information about Ukraine and

the so-called “Ukraine Crisis.” This packet includes a series of FAQs and responses thereto that may be expanded in the future along with a list of experts, i.e., a list of historians, cultural and literary scholars, political scientists, lawyers and others with knowledge about and/or experience in Ukraine who may be contacted to provide additional information or to serve as experts for purposes of interviews.

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## FAQs

### **Where can I get a good overview of the historical background, to understand what is at stake?**

The best explanatory value can be gotten from the writings of **Timothy Snyder**, one of the foremost experts on Eastern European history and a public intellectual, who has been very outspoken in recent months. He is included in this list of experts. His [most recent contribution](#), published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (republished in *Eurozine*), gives the best explanation and overview of the Ukrainian-Russian relations. His other contributions through the Euromaidan protests can be found [online](#) on the site of *The New York Review of Books*.

In addition, some of the best coverage has also been provided by [Julia Ioffe](#) of *The New Republic*. Particularly illuminating was her March 6, 2014 [piece](#) about Eastern Ukraine's struggles with overcoming its Stalinist legacies and the neo-Stalinist politics of Vladimir Putin.

### **What is Euromaidan or Maidan as a movement (rather than just a physical space)?**

From a historical perspective, Euromaidan or Maidan as a movement is part of the long, difficult and discontinuous effort to de-Sovietize Ukraine and in that sense is a continuation of the 2004 Orange Revolution. From a forward-looking perspective, particularly from the perspective of eyewitnesses and participants, Maidan is a revolution of and for dignity, reflecting the struggle for human rights and civil freedoms. This means foremost a campaign to dramatically improve the level of rule of law, to dramatically decrease official corruption, and to adopt the rules, practices and methods of a democratic culture, i.e., those that underlie accountability and transparency in governance. And because none of these fundamental reforms will be possible if Ukraine loses its sovereignty, Maidan has also come to represent a defense of Ukrainian independence and, secondarily, those who in the past stood as representatives of the struggle for independence.

The extraordinary reaction to Maidan by Russia – including invasion and occupation, military intimidation, and an unprecedented information war against Maidan and Ukraine consisting of a concerted propaganda campaign, misinformation and disinformation – represents the pursuit of multiple agendas, including old-style Russian imperialism and, more importantly, president Putin's furious defense of everything that is the polar opposite of Maidan and Western values as exemplified by his autocratic, now veering into totalitarian, rule and his proposed neo-Soviet project, the Eurasian Union.

### **How many ethnic Russians and Russian speakers are there in Ukraine, particularly in Eastern Ukraine?**

According to the last census data of 2001, ethnic Russians constitute 17% of Ukraine's population. The percentage of ethnic Russians in Ukraine's eastern oblasts (regions, provinces) is: Luhansk – 39% (Ukrainians – 58%); Donetsk – 38.2% (Ukrainians – 56.9%); Kharkiv – 25.6%; and Zaporizhia – 24.7% (prior to Russia's invasion and occupation, Crimea was 58.3% ethnically Russian and was the only region with an ethnic Russian majority). Due in large part

to the denigration and oppression of Ukrainian culture and language during the Soviet era, when Ukrainian speakers were, for example, admonished to speak a "human language" (i.e., Russian) and told that only backward peasants spoke Ukrainian, and when higher education was conducted in Russian, many Ukrainians in the eastern regions became Russian speakers. However, given the widespread use of Russian on the Maidan and the numerous Russian-language public expressions in support of Maidan from Russian-speaking Ukrainians and ethnically Russian Ukrainian citizens in their respective hometowns, captured on social media and elsewhere, it should be obvious that there can be no automatic correlation between language or ethnicity and political leanings. The most recent [Razumkov Center public opinion poll](#), conducted in December 2013 and published in March 2014, confirms this insofar as, for example, only 12% of the inhabitants of Eastern Ukraine (includes Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhia, Luhansk, and Kharkiv regions) supported the idea of separating the South-Eastern regions of Ukraine and making them unite with Russia, while 74% opposed it. ( )

## **Have the relations between Russia and Ukraine been “fraternal”, as president Putin and others in Russia often claim?**

Only if the Biblical story of Cain and Abel is used as a paradigm for “fraternal relations”.

In the 20th century, Russian armies, both Communist and monarchist, invaded Ukrainian territories on numerous occasions. In 1930s, Stalin, as head of the U.S.S.R., the Russian Federation’s predecessor state, engaged in the mass murder of millions of Ukrainians through the means of a man-made famine, repressions and terror, extrajudicial executions, etc. Additional millions were deported to concentration camps of the GULAG system. In 1929-30, Ukrainian teachers were arrested and either executed or sent to the GULAG camps simply for being teachers of Ukrainian. In the early 1930s, multiple executions of Ukraine’s intellectuals, in the style of Soviet-perpetrated Katyn Forest massacre of Polish officers, were conducted throughout Ukraine. In 1932-33, millions of Ukrainian peasant men, women and children were deliberately starved to death in the Holodomor, the mass killing by famine, on orders from the Moscow’s Kremlin. In 1933, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was destroyed.

In the 1940s, after annexing Western Ukraine following the agreement between the U.S., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R. at the Yalta Conference in Crimea, further repressions ensued. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was destroyed, while hundreds of thousands of people were deported, in collaboration with Poland, from the ethnically Ukrainian lands beyond the Curzon line to far reaches of Eastern Ukraine. Ukrainians were not allowed to read or possess copies of the writings by their greatest historian, Mykhaylo Hrushevskyi, and were frequently punished for possessing his works by expulsion from universities. In addition to all of the above, the Ukrainian alphabet and grammar were forcibly modified by the Soviet power to make them more similar to their Russian counterparts.

Following some relaxation of repression in the 1960s, under Khrushchev’s moderate “Thaw” policies of de-Stalinization, a further wave of repressions followed under Brezhnev’s “Stagnation” period in the 1970s. Many Ukrainian civic leaders and intellectuals from the 1960s were arrested and jailed in the early 1970s and either exiled to the GULAG camps or involuntarily committed to psychiatric facilities as “deviants”. In 1979, the prominent and prolific Ukrainian singer and songwriter Volodymyr Ivasiuk who had authored “Chernova Ruta,” which had become a kind of unofficial anthem for patriotic Ukrainians, was found hanging from a tree in the woods. His death was then officially labeled a “suicide.” And as late as 1985, one of the 1960s activists and one of the greatest Ukrainian poets of the 20th century, Vasyl Stus, died in a Soviet concentration camp following

decades of imprisonment, persecution and humiliating treatment simply for writing patriotic Ukrainian poetry and defending human rights as a member of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee.

By contrast, Ukrainians have never invaded Russia, have never executed Russian intellectuals, have never starved Russian peasants to death, have never banned Russian histories, have never destroyed the Russian Orthodox or any other Russian religious organization, have never tried to force the Russians to change their alphabet, and have never imprisoned Russian poets in concentration camps. This, in short, is the history of the "fraternal" relations between the Russians and the Ukrainians.

## **Are contemporary Ukrainian nationalists “fascists”?**

Before one can even consider answering this question, one must first ask what the terms “nationalism” and “fascism” mean to whoever is asking, and answering, this type of question. Contemporary pro-Putin Russian propagandists use these terms in exactly the same manner that Soviet propagandists did: as shorthand for “enemies” of the Soviet Union, Russia, or communism. Soviet propagandists - and their apologists in the West - have adopted this language whole hog. Hence, any opponent of Putin and his regime is automatically branded a “nationalist” and “fascist” in the purported pay of the CIA.

In the West, both terms, while having more precise meanings, remain contentious. Some people treat “nationalism” as a synonym for chauvinism and ethnocentrism. Others believe that “nationalism” simply refers to the pursuit of independence for one’s nation. Everyone agrees that “fascism” is oppressive, but most people would be hard pressed to explain just why that is the case. Contemporary self-described Ukrainian nationalists, in response to a question what they mean by “nationalism” and whether or not they are fascists, would reply that their first aspiration is freedom and independence for Ukraine. Furthermore, their goals are identical to those pursued by any national liberation struggle in the world. They sometimes compare themselves to the American revolutionaries of 1776 or the Zionists who established and then defended Israel. In other words, Ukrainian nationalists think of their nationalism as a positive, empowering aspiration. They would also tell one that they reject fascism and support democracy. Are they right?

At this point, scholarship may help. Fascism is generally considered to be a variant of authoritarianism (which, together with democracy and totalitarianism, are types of political systems). Run-of-the-mill authoritarian systems can be ruled by faceless dictators or juntas with minimal political agendas and ideologies. Fascist systems, in contrast, are ruled by charismatic strong men with neo-imperial agendas and chauvinist (not nationalist) ideologies. Now let’s look at Ukraine in this light. Contemporary Ukrainian nationalists, whether on the left, center, or right, have no intention of constructing this kind of “fascist” Ukraine. Now let’s look at Putin’s Russia. Note that it meets the definition of fascism to a tee. And note also the irony: it is precisely Putin and his minions who castigate Ukraine for purportedly being fascist when, in fact, it is the Russia that he has created that has earned and deserves that label.

## Experts by NAME

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## A

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## B

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In addition to her academic research, Dr. Balmaceda is active as a consultant and review committee panelist for a number of grant-making institutions, including, in the past, the National Science Foundation, the Fulbright Program, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the Canadian Social Science and Humanities Council, the Swiss Research Foundation, and the American Councils for International Education (ACTR/ACCEELS).

*Other scholarship: Corruption, Intermediary Companies, and Energy Security: Lithuania's Lessons for Central and Eastern Europe*, 55(4), 16-28, July 2008; *Understanding Repression in Belarus (book chapter)*, in Robert Rotberg (ed.), "The Worst of the Worst: Rogue and Repressive States in the World Order", pp.193-222, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Press, 2007; *Some Thoughts on Rents of Energy Dependency, 'Rent-seeking Swamps,' and Political Development: the Ukrainian case in Comparative Perspective,* "circulated for discussion at the Workshop on Post-Communist Politics and Economics, Harvard University, 29, 2006.

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## C

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## D

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D'Anieri's research focuses on politics and foreign policy in the post-Soviet states. He spent 1993-1994 in Ukraine on a Fulbright Grant, and has written on the link between economics and security in Ukrainian-Russian relations. His books include *Economic Interdependence in Ukrainian Russian-Relations* (SUNY, 1999) and *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (M.E. Sharpe, 2007), which analyzes the relative roles of institutional design and power politics in post-communist democratization. He has also written a textbook, *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs* (Wadsworth Cengage, 2009).

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Prior to her appointment at the NED, Dr. Diuk taught Soviet Politics and Russian History; was a research associate at the Society for Central Asian Studies, United Kingdom; and editor-in-chief of the London-based publication *Soviet Nationality Survey*.

Her publications include two co-authored books *The Hidden Nations: The People Challenge the Soviet Union* (New York: William Morrow, 1990) and *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence* (John Wiley & Sons, 1993) and the recently published *The Next Generation in Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan: Youth, Politics, Identity and Change* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012).

Dr. Diuk is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. She gained a Bachelor of Arts (with honors) in History at the University of Sussex (United Kingdom). Her Master of Philosophy in Russian and East European Studies and Doctorate (D. Phil.) in Modern History were gained at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.

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**MICHAEL S. FLIER**, Ph.D. (philology) – Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology, Harvard. Professor Flier works on issues of Ukrainian/Russian linguistics.

Author of: *The Fourth Palatalization of Velars in Ukrainian: The Southwestern Dialects*. In: Verba Docenti. Studies in Historical and Indo-European Linguistics Presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by Students, Colleagues, and Friends. Ann Arbor/New York; 2007. pp. 73-82. Author of: *Surzhyk: The Rules of Engagement*. In: Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk. Cambridge; 2000. pp. 113-136.

**CHRYSTIA FREELAND** - Prolific and extremely successful Canadian journalist, author and politician. She received her B.A. in Russian history and literature from Harvard and a Master of Slavonic Studies from Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 1993.

Freeland has served in various editorial positions with the *Financial Times*, *The Globe and Mail* and *Thomson Reuters*, where she was the managing director and editor for consumer news. She was elected to Canadian parliament on November 25, 2013 and serves as Liberal Party of Canada's trade critic.

Author of *Plutocrats: The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else* (Penguin, 2013) and *Sale of the Century: The Inside Story of the Second Russian Revolution* (Abacus, 2005).

## G

**PAUL GOBLE** - specialist on ethnic and religious questions in Eurasia. Most recently, he was Director of Research and Publications at the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy. Earlier, he served as Vice Dean for the Social Sciences and Humanities at Audentes University in Tallinn and a Senior Research Associate at the EuroCollege of the University of Tartu in Estonia. While there, he launched the "Window on Eurasia" series. Prior to joining the faculty there in 2004, he served in various capacities in the U.S. State Department, the CIA and the Int'l Broadcasting Bureau, as well as at the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

He writes frequently on ethnic and religious issues and has edited five volumes on ethnicity and religion in the former Soviet space. Trained at Miami University in Ohio and the University of Chicago, he has been decorated by

the governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for his work in promoting Baltic independence and the withdrawal of Russian forces from those formerly occupied lands.

**GEORGE GRABOWICZ**, Ph.D. (literature) – Czyzevsky Professor of Ukrainian Literature at Harvard University. Editor-in-chief of *Krytyka*, a monthly journal of Ukrainian intellectual thought, published in Kyiv. It is akin to *The New York Review of Books* and focuses on cultural, social and political issues that Ukrainians face.

Author of: *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Sevcenko* (Harvard UP, 1982); *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature* (Harvard UP, 1981); numerous publications in Ukrainian on culture and society, the role of national canon in literature and culture, education, scholarship, and others.

## H

**LUBOMYR HAJDA**, Ph.D. (history) – Associate Director of the *Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*, historian, whose work focused on nationality issues in Ukraine.

**OLEH HAVRYLYSHYN**, Ph.D. (economics) – Visiting Scholar at the Munk Centre for Global Affairs, University of Toronto, with former positions as Deputy Director of European Department at the IMF in Washington; faculty member at George Washington University; and Acting Deputy Minister of Finance Government of Ukraine. His research interests include development economics and the political economy of transition. His most recent books include *Divergent Paths in Post-Communist Transformation* (2006) (Ukrainian translation 2007); *Return to Growth in CIS Countries* (2006). He has published widely in professional journals including *Comparative Economic Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Economic Policy*, *IMF Staff Papers*, *Journal of Development Economics*.

**ALEXANDRA HRYCAK**, Ph.D. (sociology) – Professor of Sociology at Reed College. Received Shklar Fellowship (2012-13) for research on “Engendering Post-Communist Publics: Scholarship and Activism among Women in Contemporary Ukraine”, focusing on women's activism in contemporary Ukraine. Her research went beyond the familiar debates concerning the weakness of post-communist civil societies by offering an alternative model of civic engagement based not on NGOs but on small scale discussion groups that act as springboards for fostering civic engagement (“micro-publics”). She examined how women activists struggle to develop standpoints from which to define women's needs and interests as citizens. In doing so, Hrycak will analyze the factors that aid women's ongoing struggles to establish and sustain women's groups, gender studies centers, and various women's niches embedded within churches, right-leaning political parties, and other gender integrated institutions.

Publications: *Feminism, Intellectuals and the Formation of Micro-Publics in Postcommunist Ukraine* (with Maria G. Rewakowicz), *Studies in East European Thought* Vol. 61, No. 4 (2009): 309-33; *From Global to Local Feminisms: Transnationalism, Foreign Aid and the Women's Movement in Ukraine*, *Advances in Gender Research*, Vol. 11 (2007): 75-93.

**HALYNA HRYN**, Ph.D. (literature) – Dr. Hryn is the editor of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* and a specialist on modern Ukrainian Literature.

## J

**JOHN (IVAN) JAWORSKY**, Ph.D. (political science) – Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo in Canada. Areas of expertise: current affairs in Ukraine, politics in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, politics of nationalism and ethnicity, long-standing interest in Crimea, Soviet military matters, the dissident movement, comparative public administration.



## K

**ADRIAN KARATNYCKY** – Senior fellow, Atlantic Council’s Program on Transatlantic Relations; managing partner, Myrmidon Group LLC. He is a founder and co-director of the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter. From 1993 to 2004, Mr. Karatnycky was president and executive director of Freedom House, during which time he developed programs of assistance to democratic and human rights movements in Belarus, Serbia, Russia, and Ukraine. Mr. Karatnycky is coauthor of *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence*.

**ELLIE KNOTT**, Ph.D. candidate (Political Science) – London School of Economics in London, UK; working on Russian identity in Crimea (pre-2014) and use of Russian policies in Crimea, based on fieldwork interviews conducted there in 2012 and 2013; both those associated with Russian organizations and everyday/ordinary people based in Simferopol and Yalta were interviewed in the course of research. Several papers are being prepared to publish the results of research done in Crimea, and several blog articles were already written: [personal.lse.ac.uk/knotte](http://personal.lse.ac.uk/knotte)

**YULIYA KOMSKA**, Ph.D. (German studies) – Assistant Professor of German, studied in her native Lviv, Ukraine, at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, and at Colby College before receiving her Ph.D. from Cornell University in 2008. Her research focuses on interdisciplinary approaches to Cold War cultures across the blocs. First book - *The Icon Curtain: The Cold War's Quiet Border* (forthcoming, U of Chicago Press, 2014) – is a cultural genealogy of an Iron Curtain landscape, drawing on a broad spectrum of fictions and archival documents to contest the widespread view that the barrier was unprecedented and uniform. The next project, *Cold War Radio in the Golden Age of Television, 1950-1967*, is the first transatlantic visual history of Radio Free Europe, a key broadcaster across the continental divide. The station, goes the argument, focalized one of the pivotal medial turnovers of the twenty-first century and served as an important interface between radio and television content and technologies.

**NATALIE KONONENKO**, Ph.D. (Slavic and Turkic Folklore) - Professor and Kule Chair, University of Alberta. 1967 - B.A. (Radcliffe) and 1969 - M.A. (Harvard) in Slavic Languages and Literatures. 1976 - Ph.D. (Harvard) in Slavic and Turkic Folklore. Representative Publications: *Ukrainian Minstrels: And the Blind Shall Sing* (M.E. Sharpe, 1998); *Slavic Folklore: A Handbook* (Greenwood, 2007); *Invitation to a Wedding* (Ukrainian Museum in New York exhibit catalogue, 2010).

**OLEH KOTSYUBA**, M.A. (Comparative Literature) - Ph.D. Candidate in Ukrainian and Russian Literature at Harvard. His work focuses on Ukrainian-Russian and Ukrainian-Polish literary relations, Ukrainian 20th century and contemporary literature, Soviet literature and culture, and post-colonial studies. Online Editor of *Krytyka*, a monthly journal of Ukrainian intellectual inquiry, published in Kyiv.

**TARAS KOZNARSKY**, Ph.D. (Literature) - Associate Professor at the University of Toronto; teaches Ukrainian, Russian and comparative Slavic literature, and courses on culture. His research interests include Ukrainian-Russian literary relationships in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the shaping of modern Ukrainian cultural and national identity, modernism and avant-garde, and the text of Kyiv: constructions of the city in Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish, and Polish literary and cultural imaginations, 1800s-1930s.

**NADIYA KRAVETS**, Ph.D. (Political Science, International Relations) – Earned her doctoral degree at Oxford. Her work focuses on security and foreign policy issues in Ukraine. Co-editor-in-chief of the peer reviewed English language *Journal of Ukrainian Politics and Society*. Expert on the Black Sea region, Moscow’s relations with post-



Soviet states, Ukraine's process of denuclearization, negotiations with Russia during the division of the Black Sea fleet. Also specializes on energy policies and Russia's use of gas and oil for leverage in international relations.

Author of: "Integration without Accession: The EU's Special Relationship with the Countries in Its Neighborhood," contributor, Report to the European Parliament (October 2007); "European Union and United States Relations: Cooperation, Competition, or Both?" *International Relations Journal* (San Francisco State University, Spring 2004): 65–76

**SERHIY KUDELIA**, Ph.D. (political science) – Assistant Professor of Political Science at Baylor University. His research interests include political regimes, revolutions, political institutions, insurgency and counterinsurgency campaigns with a geographical focus on the post-communist world. Prior to coming to Baylor Dr. Kudelia held teaching and research positions at George Washington University, University of Toronto, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, University of Greifswald (Germany) and Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine). He is also a member of the Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS) – a global network of social scientists who conduct a policy relevant research on the former Soviet Union.

Co-author of *The Strategy of Campaigning: Lessons from Ronald Reagan and Boris Yeltsin* (U of Michigan Press, 2008).

Other publications: "Ukraine's Credibility Gap as a Perennial Foreign Policy Problem" in *Strategie und Sicherheit 2012: Der Gestaltungsspielraum der österreichischen Sicherheitspolitik*, Johann Pucher and Johann Frank, eds. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012); "Politics and Democracy in Ukraine" in *Open Ukraine: Changing Course towards a European Future*, Taras Kuzio and Daniel Hamilton eds. (Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2011); "Betting on Society: Power Perceptions and Elite Games in Ukraine," in Paul D'Anieri (ed.), *Orange Revolution and Aftermath: Mobilization, Apathy and the State in Ukraine* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

**TARAS KUZIO**, Ph.D. (political science) – Toronto-based Research Associate at the Center for Political and Regional Studies, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta; Non-Resident Fellow, Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC. Dr. Kuzio wrote *Ukraine-Crimea-Russia: Triangle of Conflict* (2007) together with Andreas Umland. He also authored *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence* (2000) and *Ukraine Under Kuchma: Political Reform, Economic Transformation, and Security Policy in Independent Ukraine* (1997).

## M

**STANISLAV MARKUS**, Ph.D. (political science) - Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. His current book project investigates the security of property rights in weak states. He has published on firm-level strategies and the rule of law, including issues related to property rights, corporate governance, and lobbying. Stanislav has done extensive research in Russia and Ukraine, including a large-N survey of firms in both countries. Stanislav has been an [Academy Scholar](#) at Harvard as well as a visiting scholar at the Guanghua School of Management, Beijing University. His work has been [profiled by the Council on Foreign Relations](#).

Selected publications: "[Corporate Governance as Political Insurance: Firm-level Institutional Creation in Emerging Markets and Beyond](#)," *Socio-Economic Review*, 2008; 1: 69-98; "[Capitalists of All Russia, Unite! Business Mobilization under Debilitated Dirigisme](#)," *Polity*, 2007; 39(3): 277-304; "[Secure Property as a Bottom-Up Process: Firms, Stakeholders, and Predators in Weak States](#)," *World Politics*, 2012; 64(2): 242-277.

**DAVID MARPLES**, Ph.D. (history) - Distinguished University Professor, Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta; Director, [Stasiuk Program for the Study of Contemporary Ukraine](#), Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies; President, [North American Association for Belarusian Studies](#).

Author of [Our Glorious Past': Lukashenka's Belarus and the Great Patriotic War](#) (Ibidem-Verlag, Hannover, Germany, 2014); *Holodomor: Causes of the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine* (Heritage Press, 2011); *Russia in the Twentieth Century: the Quest for Stability* (Harlow, UK: Pearson-Longman, 2011); [Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine](#) (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2007).

**ALEXANDER J. MOTYL**, Ph.D. (political science) - professor of political science at Rutgers University-Newark, as well as a writer and painter. He is a specialist on Ukraine, Russia, and the USSR, and on nationalism, revolutions, empires, and theory. Dr. Motyl is the author of [Dilemmas of Independence: Ukraine after Totalitarianism](#) (1993); [Sovietology, Rationality, Nationality: Coming to Grips with Nationalism in the USSR](#) (1990); and [The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919–1929](#) (1980). He is the editor of more than ten volumes, including *The Encyclopedia of Nationalism*. (Biography condensed from Dr. Motyl's blog: [Ukraine's Orange Blues](#))

## O

**OLGA ONUCH**, Ph.D. (Political Science) – Oxford University; Visiting Scholar at Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in spring semester 2014. Her research focuses on social mobilization and democratization in Ukraine. Author of *Mapping Mass Mobilizations: Understanding Revolutionary Moments in Argentina and Ukraine* (forthcoming in 2014, Palgrave MacMillan).

**VICTOR OSTAPCHUK**, Ph.D. (Near and Middle Eastern Studies) - Associate Professor of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto. Research specializations: Ottoman military; Ottoman financial and timar systems; Ottoman Black Sea region and relations with the northern countries; historico-archaeological study of Ottoman fortresses; Ottoman chronicles; comparison and analysis of Ottoman realities as viewed through narrative and documentary sources; frontier history; history of the steppe; the Turks in Islamdom.

Author of *War and diplomacy across steppe and sea: the Ottoman Black Sea frontier in the early seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, in press); "Long-Range Campaigns of the Crimean Khanate in the Mid-Sixteenth Century." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 29 (2004): 75–99.

## P

**ALEXANDER PIVOVARSKY**, Ph.D. (Public Policy) - Senior Economic Advisor, President's Office, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD); Ph.D. in public policy from Harvard (student of the renowned economist Jeffrey Sachs). 1996-2001, Development Associate, Harvard University; 2001-08, Macroeconomist for various countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and Central Asia, International Monetary Fund; 2008-09, worked on region-wide joint IFI initiative to help stabilize European banking groups operating in emerging European countries. Currently, Lead Economist, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD); heads economic assessment and strategy for countries in Eastern Europe and Caucasus region. Represents EBRD in economic pillar of EU's Eastern Partnership policy initiative. Recent research has focused on financial development, de-dollarization policies and impact of the Vienna initiative during the financial crisis.

**BOHDAN PECHENYAK**, B.A. (Sociology), MSW/MPH (Social Work/Public Health) – Independent scholar; Member of the Communications Committee of the American Association of Ukrainian Studies (AAUS); PR Director of

Association of Ukrainians Abroad “[Razom](#)”. RAZOM (“together” in Ukrainian) is a nonprofit organization formed by the Euromaidan activists from New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C. and beyond to help use the momentum and the enthusiasm spurred by the protests to move Ukraine forward on the path toward consolidated democracy and open society with respect for human rights and dignity, rule of law, and governmental transparency and accountability.

In 2013, in the wake of the radical nationalist “Svoboda” party gaining a faction of seats in the Parliament, a working paper entitled “[Dontsov resurgent? A comparative critique of the nationalist political platforms and activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the All-Ukrainian Union ‘Svoboda’](#)” was presented at the annual Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) Convention at Columbia University.

**YOHANAN PETROVSKY-SHTERN**, Ph.D. (History) - Crown Family Professor of Jewish Studies and Professor of Jewish History. He teaches a variety of undergraduate-level courses that include Jewish History II, 1492-1789; Jewish History III, 1789-1948; East European Jewish History I, 1250-1917; East European Jewish History II, 1917-1991; as well as advanced undergraduate and graduate courses such as Jewish Mysticism and Kabbalah; Origins of Zionism; Ukraine: History and Culture; and Slavic-Jewish Literature. He holds a Ph.D. in Modern Jewish History from Brandeis University (2001) and a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from Moscow University (1988).

He has received several grants and awards, including Rothschild (*Yad Hanadiv*) Fellowship, Fulbright, Ephraim Urbach Doctoral Award of the Memorial Foundation of Jewish Culture, the National Endowment for the Humanities Grant, and a Northwestern University Distinguished Teaching Award. He has been a Sensibar Visiting Professor at Spertus College in Chicago; a Visiting Scholar at École des Hautes Études Sociales in Paris; and a Visiting Professor at the University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, Ukraine; and a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He has been appointed a Fulbright Specialist on Eastern Europe; a Fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and a Visiting Professor at the Free Ukrainian University in Munich.

He has published several books, including [Jews in the Russian Army, 1827-1917: Drafted into Modernity](#) (2008), [The Anti-Imperial Choice: the Making of the Ukrainian Jew](#) (2009, winner of the *American Association of Ukrainian Studies* book award), and [Lenin’s Jewish Question](#) (2010). He has finished a new book [The Golden-Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe](#) and together with his colleague Dean Bell is working on a documentary history of the Jews in early Modern World, 1450-1750.

**SERHII PLOKHII**, Ph.D. (history) – Director of the [Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute](#), Hrushevs’ky Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard University. His research interests include the intellectual, cultural and international history of Eastern Europe, with an emphasis on Ukraine. Dr. Plokhii teaches courses and seminars on early modern and modern East European history that engage major problems in the history of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Poland, and Lithuania. Author of [Yalta, The Price of Peace](#) (Viking, 2010); [The Cossack Myth: History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires](#) (Cambridge Press, 2012); [Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past](#) (University of Toronto Press, 2008); [The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus](#) (Cambridge Press, 2006). His newest book is [The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union](#), coming out in May 2014.

**MARIA POPOVA**, Ph.D. (political science) – Assistant Professor, McGill University. Current project: "Judicial Prosecution of High-level Corruption in Eastern Europe", funded by SSHRC and FQRSC, 2011-2014. The post-Communist transformation has provided fertile ground for political and bureaucratic corruption and both the EU and Eastern European publics are demanding that governments tackle the problem. The courts are at the center

of any anti-corruption effort, because they are responsible for enforcing the anti-corruption laws. An effective judiciary puts corrupt politicians and bureaucrats behind bars, but resists attempts by powerful incumbents to destroy political opponents with trumped up prosecutions under the guise of fighting corruption. Only a judiciary that is independent, powerful, and accountable at the same time can achieve this balance.

Research interests: comparative judicial politics (judicial independence, global expansion of judicial power, post-communist judicial reforms, prosecution of political corruption), post-communist politics (freedom of speech and elections in the FSU, anti-establishment parties, EU accession, corruption and vote buying). Author of *Politicized Justice in Emerging Democracies: Courts in Russia and Ukraine*. (New York: Cambridge U Press, 2014).

**MAX PYZIUR** - produces and delivers client-directed, time-sensitive research and presentations. He has had articles published on energy and economic issues in investment-related periodicals such as *Commodities Now* and *Equities Magazine*, and has given interviews to major media organizations.

## R

**WILLIAM RISCH**, Ph.D. (history) – Associate Professor of History at Georgia College. He authored *The Ukrainian West: Culture and Fate of the Empire in Soviet Lviv* (Harvard Press, 2011). Dr. Risch administers the Facebook group *Euromaidan News in English* which endeavors to “convey news about the Euromaidan protest movement in Ukraine to the citizens of the United States and other parts of the English-speaking world.”

**LADA L. ROSLYCKY**, LL.M. (international law), Ph.D. (history) – Canadian and U.S. national with over 15 years of experience living and working abroad. She gained her Masters of International Law from the University of Amsterdam and her PhD in History from the Department of International Relations at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands. She was a fellow of the Harvard Black Sea Security Program where she specialized in Regional Security-Complex Theory. She is the author of numerous articles on soft power security, the Black Sea Region and post-Soviet political-criminal relations.

Her major research focus is Russia’s separatist geopolitical strategy and how the combination of post-Soviet political-criminal relations and the Russian Black Sea Fleet have been instrumental in spurring separatism in Ukraine. Dr. Roslycky is a Foreign Adviser to the Public Commission for the Investigation and Prevention of Human Rights Violations in Ukraine and is affiliated with the Institute of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation in Kyiv, Ukraine.

Her special interests include international law, strategic planning, intelligence analysis, security studies, electoral systems and human rights.

## S

**OXANA SHEVEL**, Ph.D. (political science) – Assistant Professor of Political Science at Tufts University and an Associate of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard. She is also a member of the *EUDO Citizenship* expert group as a country expert on Ukraine, and a member of the *Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia* (PONARS Eurasia) scholarly network. Her research focuses on comparative politics of the post-Communist region, especially in issues of nation- and state-building, the politics of citizenship and migration, and the influence of international institutions on domestic politics. She is the author of *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe*.

**TIMOTHY SNYDER**, Ph.D. (history) – Professor, modern East European political history at Yale University. Dr. Snyder received his doctorate from the University of Oxford in 1997, where he was a British Marshall

Scholar. Before joining the faculty at Yale in 2001, he held fellowships in Paris and Vienna, and an Academy Scholarship at Harvard. He is the author of five award-winning books, including: *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz* (Harvard Press, 1998); *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (Yale Press, 2003); *Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine* (Yale Press, 2005); *The Red Prince: The Secret Lives of A Habsburg Archduke* (Basic Books, 2008). In 2010 he published *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, a history of Nazi and Soviet mass killing on the lands between Berlin and Moscow.

**FRANK SYSYN**, Ph.D. (history) - Director of the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Editor-in-Chief of the Hrushevsky Translation Project. He is a co-editor of *Culture, Nation and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)* (2003), the author of *Between Poland and Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653* (1985), and *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: Historian and National Awakener* (2001).

**ROMAN SZPORLUK**, Ph.D. (history) – Hrushevsky Professor Emeritus of Ukrainian History, Harvard. His research focuses on modern Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish history, and on Marxism and nationalism in Eastern Europe.

## T

**MAXIM TARNAWSKY**, Ph.D. (literature) – Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at University of Toronto. [List of foremost scholarly achievements.](#)

## V

**STEPHEN VELYCHENKO**, Ph.D. (history) - Chair of Ukrainian Studies at University of Toronto. Author of *State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine: A Comparative Study of Governments and Bureaucrats, 1917-1922* (UToronto Press, 2011), which examines six attempts to create governments on Ukrainian territories between 1917 and 1922. Focusing on how political leaders formed and staffed administrations, this study shows that in Ukraine during this time, there was an available pool of able administrators sufficiently competent in Ukrainian to work as bureaucrats in the independent national governments. Ukrainian efforts to create an independent national government are compared with the analogous successful efforts made in Russia, Poland, Ireland and Czechoslovakia. He questions the notion that Ukrainian attempts at national independence failed because its society was 'incomplete' and its leaders unable to organize an effective administration. Pointing out that Bolshevik administrations at the time were no more effective in implementing policies than their rivals, Velychenko argues that more effective governance was not one of the reasons for the Russian Bolshevik victory in Ukraine.

**BOHDAN VITVITSKY**, J.D. & Ph.D. (political philosophy) from Columbia U.; resides northern New Jersey; Resident Legal Advisor U.S. Embassy in Ukraine 2007-2009, in that capacity met and worked with multiple Ukrainian officials including members of parliament and the executive branch; recent publication on Ukraine/rule of law/corruption; recent conference papers on Ukraine at Kyiv Mohyla, Oxford U. and George Washington; reads/speaks fluent Ukrainian; very well versed on current situation in Ukraine based on reading and watching Ukrainian and Western media as well as ongoing communication with family and friends in Ukraine; multiple visits to Ukraine from 1989; three visits to Crimea 2007-2009 totaling four weeks; following 23-year career as Assistant U.S. Attorney, retired from U.S. Dept. of Justice in Feb. 2014; contact at [bohdanvitvitsky@gmail.com](mailto:bohdanvitvitsky@gmail.com) or 908-665-8925.



**MARK VON HAGEN**, Ph.D. (history) - Professor of History in the Arizona State University School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies. In 2008 von Hagen was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (recently renamed to Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies). He is the author of *Soldiers in the Proletarian Dictatorship: The Red Army and the Soviet Socialist State, 1917-1930* (Cornell, 1990); co-edited (with Catherine Evtuhov, Boris Gasparov, and Alexander Ospovat) *Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire* (Moscow, 1997); co-edited (with Karen Barkey) *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empire* (Westview, 1997); co-edited (with Andreas Kappeler, Zenon Kohut and Frank Sysyn) *Culture, Nation, Identity: the Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600-1945)* (Toronto, 2003); co-edited (with Jane Burbank) *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930* (Indiana, 2007); *War in a European Borderlands: Occupations and Occupation Plans in Galicia and Ukraine, 1914-1918* (University of Washington Press, 2007). He has also written articles and essays on topics in historiography, civil-military relations, nationality politics and minority history, and cultural history.

At Columbia he served as Associate Director and then Director of the Harriman Institute (1989-2001), the nation's oldest university-based research and teaching center on the states and societies of post-Soviet Eurasia. In the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia, he chaired the task force on review of the school's curriculum, headed its Inter-regional Council, and served as director of the master's program in international affairs. Dr. von Hagen is on the editorial board of *Slavic Review*, *Ab Imperio* and *Kritika*. He serves (and has served) on several professional association boards (the National Council for Eurasian and East European Studies, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the Association for the Study of Nationalities, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the International Association of Ukrainian Studies). He is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Human Rights Watch Eurasia Steering Committee. He has served as a consultant for the Russian Archives Project of Primary Source Microfilms (Gale Group). In August 2002 von Hagen was elected President of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies (three-year term) at the Fifth Congress in Chernivtsi, Ukraine.

## W

**CATHERINE WANNER**, Ph.D. (history) – Professor, Dept. of History and Dept. of Anthropology at the Pennsylvania State University. She received her Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from Columbia (1996). Her first book, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (Penn State Press, 1998), was a multi-sited ethnographic study of how the nationalist paradigm influenced historiography and cultural politics in Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union. She is also the author of *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and Global Evangelism* (Cornell University Press, 2007), an analysis of how Soviet-era evangelical religious practices and communities in Ukraine have changed since the collapse of socialism and the broad resurgence of religion that ensued. She is co-editor of *Religion, Morality and Community in Post-Soviet Societies* (Indiana University Press, 2008) and editor of *State Secularism and Lived Religion in Soviet Russia and Ukraine* (Oxford University Press, 2012). She is currently completing a book on the transformation of religious life in Ukraine and is involved in a research project on regionalism in Ukraine sponsored by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Her other research has been supported by awards from the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Science Research Council and the National Council for Eastern European and Eurasian Research.

## Y

**HELENA YAKOVLEV-GOLANI**, Ph.D. - Post-Doctoral Fellow, Halbert Exchange Program at Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto. <https://utoronto.academia.edu/HelenaYakovlevGolani>

**SERHY YEKELCHYK**, Ph.D. (Russian and Eastern European history, Univ. of Alberta) – Professor, Dept. of Germanic and Slavic Studies and Dept. of History at the University of Victoria. Dr. Yekelchyk’s Ph.D. dissertation analyzed representations of the past in Stalinist culture, with special emphasis on Soviet Ukraine. After receiving Ph.D., he taught for a year at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, before coming to Victoria in 2001. He teaches a variety of courses: Russian History, Soviet Culture, Modern Ukraine, and Stalinism. He is also developing new undergraduate courses on Stalinist cinema, Nikolai Gogol, and modern Russian national identity as reflected in film and literature. Author of *Stalin’s Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination* (University of Toronto Press, 2004); *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2007); and *Europe’s Last Frontier? Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine between the EU and Russia* (co-editor with Oliver Shmidtke; Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). He is currently at work completing a book manuscript on Stalinist political rituals. Future research projects at different stages of work include a book on Stalinist culture and a collection of articles on Ukrainian mass culture today.

# EXPERTS BY AREA OF EXPERTISE

(Many individuals have expertise in more than one area.)

## ANTHROPOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Bilaniuk, Laada  
Carroll, Jennifer  
Kononenko, Natalie  
Wanner, Catherine

## ARTS AND CULTURE

Grabowicz, George  
Hryn, Halyna  
Komska, Yuliya  
Kononenko, Natalie  
Kotsyuba, Oleh  
Koznarsky, Taras  
Wanner, Catherine

## CIVIL SOCIETY, ADVOCACY

Balmaceda, Margarita  
Bilych, Ivanna  
Diuk, Nadia  
Freeland, Chrystia  
Roslycky, Lada

## DIPLOMACY & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Balmaceda, Margarita  
Diuk, Nadia  
Motyl, Alexander  
Roslycky, Lada  
Vitvitsky, Bohdan  
Yakovlev-Golani, Helena

## ECONOMICS

Havrylyshyn, Oleh  
Pivovarsky, Alexander  
Pyziur, Max

## ENERGY POLICY

Balmaceda, Margarita  
Pyziur, Max

## HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Carroll, Jennifer J  
Pechenyak, Bohdan

## HISTORY

Hajda, Lubomyr  
Kohut, Zenon  
Marples, David  
Ostapchuk, Victor  
Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan  
Plokhii, Serhii  
Risch, William  
Roslycky, Lada  
Snyder, Timothy  
Stech, Marko  
Sysyn, Frank  
Szporluk, Roman  
Velychenko, Stephen  
von Hagen, Mark  
Yekelchyk, Serhy

## HOLODOMOR (FAMINE-GENOCIDE)

Baziuk, Marta  
Makuch, Andrij

## LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Dibrova, Volodymyr  
Flier, Michael S.

## LAW

Bilych, Ivanna  
Popova, Maria  
Roslycky, Lada  
Vivitsky, Bohdan

## LITERATURE

Chernetsky, Vitaly  
Dibrova, Volodymyr  
Grabowicz, George  
Hryn, Halyna  
Kotsyuba, Oleh  
Koznarsky, Taras  
Senkus, Roman  
Stech, Marko  
Tarnawsky, Maksym

## POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Arel, Dominique  
Balmaceda, Margarita  
Bilaniuk, Laada  
Colton, Timothy  
Dyczok, Marta  
Jaworsky, John (Ivan)  
Karatnycky, Adrian  
Kravets, Nadiya  
Kudelia, Serhiy  
Kuzio, Taras  
Marples, David  
Motyl, Alexander  
Onuch, Olga  
Pechenyak, Bohdan  
Popova, Maria  
Shevel, Oxana  
Vitvitsky, Bohdan  
Yakovlev-Golani, Helena

## RELIGION, ETHNICITY, NATIONALISM

Bilaniuk, Laada  
Goble, Paul  
Jaworsky, John (Ivan)  
Motyl, Alexander  
Pechenyak, Bohdan  
Wanner, Catherine

## SOCIOLOGY

Hrycak, Alexandra  
Pechenyak, Bohdan

## WOMEN, FEMINISM, GENDER STUDIES

Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Martha  
Hrycak, Alexandra