

## **ESI MANUAL**

# **THE RUSSIAN DEBATE ON THE SOUTH CAUCASUS: WHO IS WHO?**

Part 2: Think-Tanks and Academia

Berlin – Istanbul, March 2010



This manual provides a description of important think tanks dealing with Russian foreign policy and Caucasus-related issues. According to the 2008 “Global Go to Think Tanks” survey published by the University of Pennsylvania, there are 107 think tanks in Russia.<sup>1</sup> Although several prominent and well-established Russian think tanks date back to the Cold War, in the past two decades a new group of think tanks has emerged, as well as a new generation of scholars. “A highly educated cadre of researchers and increasingly stable economic conditions created a favorable environment for think tanks to operate,”<sup>2</sup> writes James McGann in the survey. At the same time Russian authorities continue to use legal and extralegal means to limit the role and influence of think tanks.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> THE THINK TANKS AND CIVIL SOCIETIES PROGRAM 2008, The global Go to Think Tanks, The Leading Public Policy Research Organizations In The World, University of Pennsylvania, <http://gtmarket.ru/files/research/Think-Tank-Index-2008.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*



CARNEGIE MOSCOW CENTRE – CARNEGIE  
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**Carnegie Moscow Centre**, currently the most renowned and independent institute in Russia, was established in 1993 as a subdivision of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC). By its own account, the Carnegie Centre embodies and promotes the concepts of disinterested social science research and the dissemination of its results in post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia. According to the University of Pennsylvania survey, the Carnegie Moscow Centre topped the list of Russia's and Eastern Europe's best 25 think tanks.<sup>4</sup> The Centre organises roundtables, presentations, seminars and conferences on key issues in domestic and foreign policy, international relations, international security and economy. It publishes articles, monographs, reference works, periodicals and brochures – up to 30 titles annually in all. Most of these publications are accessible free of charge. Carnegie also publishes the quarterly “Pro et Contra”, a series of working papers and regular briefings. The Centre's publications appear in Russian and/or English and are widely distributed in Russia and abroad.

The work and prestige of the Centre is enhanced by a distinguished Advisory Council comprised of leaders in key public policy disciplines, including Petr Aven, President of Alfa-Bank; Carl Bildt, Swedish Minister for foreign affairs; Boris Nemtsov, Member of the Political Council, political party Union of Right Forces (SPS) (2004-2008); Vladimir Ryzhkov, Duma deputy (1993-2007); Yevgeny Yasin, President of the Liberal Mission Foundation; Grigory Yavlinsky, Member of the Yabloko Party Political Committee, and others.

Policy briefs on the Caucasus can be found on the Carnegie website:  
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**Dmitri Trenin** became the Centre's first Russian Director on 22 December 2008. Trenin, who also chairs the Centre's Expert Council, has been with Carnegie since its inception. He is a distinguished expert on Russian foreign policy and Russian policy in the Caucasus. From 1993 to 1997, Trenin worked as a senior research fellow at the NATO Defence College in Rome and at the Institute of Europe in Moscow. He is also a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Russian International Studies Association, the Advisory Council of the *Pro et Contra* journal, as well as the Expert Board of the Moscow School of Political Studies. Trenin has authored 12 books and edited six more. E-mail: [dmitri@carnegie.ru](mailto:dmitri@carnegie.ru)

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*



**Lilia Shevtsova** has been a senior associate at Carnegie since 1995 and chairs the Russian domestic politics and political institutions program. She studied history and journalism at Moscow State Institute for International Relations where she later taught. Shevtsova has written several critical appraisals of the Russian political system and its leaders. She was invited as a researcher and professor to several US institutions such as the Woodrow Wilson Centre for International Scholars and Georgetown University. She

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**Andrei Ryabov** is a Scholar-in-Residence at Centre. Since 1993 he is also Deputy Director of the Centre for Political Science Programs at the Gorbachev Foundation. Ryabov works as an editor and political observer for several publications and newspapers including *Issues of CPSU History* and *Vestnik*. He has also done research for the Centre for International Programs, the Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems and the Modern Russian Political Processes department at

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**Masha Lipman** is the editor of the *Pro et Contra* journal published by the Carnegie Moscow Center. Lipman is also an expert at the Center's Civil Society Program. She served as deputy editor of the Russian weekly news magazines *Ezhenedel'ny zhurnal* (from 2001 to 2003) and *Itogi* (from 1995 to 2001). She remains one of the most outspoken liberal voices in Russia. See also ESI picture story "[Masha Lipman and the Carnegie Moscow Centre](#)".

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### Experts on the Caucasus



**Alexey Malashenko** is an expert on the Caucasus and Scholar-in-Residence. He is also a professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). From 1986 to 2001, he worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Science. He obtained his Ph.D. in history in 1978. His main topics are religion, society and security. Alexey Malashenko is one of the leading scholars on the North Caucasus and the Islamic world and has published several books and articles on

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INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS (IMEMO)

Институт мировой экономики и международных отношений (ИМЭМО)

The **Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)** was established in 1956 as a successor to the Institute of World Economy and Politics, which existed from 1925 to 1948. According to the University of Pennsylvania survey, the institute placed second among the top 25 think tanks in Eastern Europe.<sup>5</sup> IMEMO conducts research on current global problems, theory of international relations and international politics. The institute has a Department of International Politics which focuses, among other things, on the impact of globalization on international politics, the United Nations and other international organizations, integration processes in world politics, and relations with CIS countries.

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IMEMO's publications include the following periodicals:

***World Economy and International Relations*** («Мировая экономика и международные отношения»). **Andrei Ryabov** is Editor-in-Chief.

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***Russia and the New States of Eurasia*** («Россия и новые государства Евразии»), published quarterly. **B.V. Krasin** is Editor-in-Chief.

***Economics and Politics of Russia and the Countries of the Near Abroad*** («Экономика и политика России и государств ближнего зарубежья»), was published monthly from 1993 to 2008. Publication has since been discontinued.

Within the framework of its Political Theory Section, IMEMO is currently running two Caucasus-focused projects: "Geopolitics of the Caucasus" and "The Caucasus in Russia's Geopolitical Strategy."

The Political Theory Section's key area of research is Russia's domestic and foreign policy: geopolitical aspects (the place and role of Russia in the modern world, Russia's multilevel foreign-policy strategy, its national interests, issues of national security), comparative analysis of modern forms of democracy, evolution of modern political systems, political philosophy, and theory of politics.

**Kamaludin Gadjev** is a professor of history. His key research areas are geopolitics, political philosophy and political systems and processes. Gadjev also leads both of IMEMO's Caucasus projects: "Geopolitics of the Caucasus" and "The Caucasus in Russia's Geopolitical Strategy".  
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<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*



**Alexander Dynkin**, born in July 1948 in Moscow, has been head of the Institute since December 2006. He has been a full member of the Russian Academy of Science since 2006 and a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science since 2000. Dynkin has also taught a course on “Russian Economic Reform” at Georgetown University. In 1998 and 1999 he served as an economic adviser to the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation. His main fields of research are theory of innovation, economic growth as well as investment and industrial policy.

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**Alexei Arbatov** is Head of the Centre for International Security at the Russian Academy of Sciences and a resident scholar at the Carnegie Moscow Centre. A leading specialist on non-proliferation, Arbatov worked as a professor at the Academy of Defence, Security and Police. Since 2001 he has been Vice Chairman of the liberal Yabloko party. In 1976 he joined the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, where he worked first as a research fellow and later as head of a department. In 1997 he worked as a consultant to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a member of national and international organisations such as the Research Council of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Governing Board of SIPRI, the International advisory board of the Geneva DCAF Institute and the James Centre for Non-proliferation Studies (CNS) at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. Arbatov graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1972; he holds a doctorate in history. He is the author of several books, numerous articles and papers on global security issues, strategic stability, disarmament, Russian military reform and various current domestic and foreign political issues. E-mail: [arbatov@carnegie.ru](mailto:arbatov@carnegie.ru); [arbatov@imemo.ru](mailto:arbatov@imemo.ru)



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INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY ANALYSIS (IPMA)  
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The **Institute for Political and Military Analysis (IPMA)**, founded in 1996, is a non-governmental research organisation. IPMA staff has experience in working with military and other state institutions. The first IPMA projects involved research and information support for Boris Yeltsin's presidential election campaign, as well as collecting and analyzing information about the political situation in Russian regions. IPMA's main fields of activity include scientific and practical research in the field of geopolitics, history, political science, sociology and psychology, as well as monitoring and forecasting of social, economic and political situation in the Russian regions and worldwide. IPMA has 6 centres, e.g. for consulting, military and political forecasts or ideological research. Five specialized departments are working on issues such as practical policy, military and historical research, and international relations.

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**Alexander Alexandrovich Sharavin**, born in 1952, has been Chairman of the Institute for Political and Military Analysis since 1996. A military expert, he is a doctor of Engineering Sciences and a member of the Academy of Military Sciences. Between 1990 and 1993 Sharavin was head of the research group on national security problems and the development of the military doctrine at the General Staff's Centre of Strategic Military Research. In 1995 and 1996 he was the head of the research and information department of the moderate

"Nash Dom – Rossiya" party. He was also a member of the "Pravoe Delo" Party (later renamed "Soyuz Pravyh Sil, SPS, or the Union of Right Forces). Sharavin graduated from the Military Academy in 1982.



**Sergei Markedonov**, born in 1972 in the Southern Russian city Rostov-on-Don, is head of the Ethnic Relations Department at the Institute for Political and Military Analysis. After graduating from Rostov State University, Markedonov worked as a press officer for the Governor of the Rostov Region. Since moving to Moscow he has written articles on the social and political history of the Caucasus for leading newspapers including "Nezavisimaya Gazeta", "Moskovskiye Novosti", and "Russky Journal". His main areas of interest include Russia's policy in the Caucasus, interethnic and inter-confessional relations, political extremism, terrorism and national ideology.

In 2008, he wrote in *Russia in Global Affairs* in an article entitled: Regional Conflicts Reloaded:

"As Russian political scientist Andrei Ryabov rightly said about the different political potentials of the West in the Balkans and the Caucasus: unlike the Balkan policies, 'the Western community has

ideas regarding the South Caucasus, and these ideas are increasing in number, but their resources – diplomatic, political and economic – are apparently insufficient to influence the opinion of the parties to the conflict and to make them agree with the West's view of the problem.' ... In any case, we got an entirely new South Caucasus with a totally new agenda in August 2008. The work to realize this agenda is just beginning.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/25/1247.html>



COUNCIL ON FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY (CFDP)  
Совет по внешней и оборонной политике (СВОП)  
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The **Council on Foreign and Defence Policy** was founded in February 1992. It is one of the most influential political institutes in Russia, its members being part of the country's political, academic and economic elite. The Council has implemented projects and programs such as "The Strategy for Russia," "Russia and the World," "Russia and NATO," "Russia and the EU," and "The US-Russian Dialogue." The Council works closely with Russian parliamentary and governmental institutions, including the Committee for International Relations of the State Duma, the Presidential Administration, the Foreign Ministry, and the Defence Ministry. It also cooperates with the Europe Institute of the Russian Academy of Science and other academic institutions and maintains close contacts with a number of foreign NGOs and governmental institutions. In addition, CFDP is one of the organizers of the famous government-sponsored Valdai International Discussion Club, an international expert forum on Russia and its role in the world. The club, which convenes annually, has been described as "one of the Kremlin's most successful public relations projects."<sup>7</sup> See also ESI picture story ["Establishment Debates – CFDP and Russia in Global Affairs"](#)

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**Sergey Karaganov**, born on 12 September 1952, is **Chairman of the Presidium**. He is regarded as one of the world's top foreign policy experts: in 2005, *Foreign Policy* and *The Prospect* (UK) ranked him among the world's top 100 public intellectuals.<sup>8</sup> Since 1988 Karaganov has been working at the Europe Institute of the Academy of Sciences and has been its Deputy Director since 1989. Karaganov primarily works on Soviet/Russian foreign and defence policies, security, and economic aspects of Russian-European relations. He studied at Moscow State University and graduated from the Department of Economics in 1974. In 1989 he defended his doctoral dissertation under the title of "The Role and Place of Western Europe in U.S. Strategy towards the USSR (1945-1988)".

Sergey Karaganov is a member of several national and international institutions such as the Russian Presidential Council on Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights and the Board of Trustees of the Alfred Herrhausen Society for International Dialogue. Karaganov chairs the Editorial Board of the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal. (See also ESI picture story ["Russia, Georgia, the world in 2009"](#)) He has written or edited 20 books and has published around 400 articles on foreign policy, arms control, national safety strategy and the foreign and defence policies of the Russian Federation.

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<sup>7</sup>Nikolai Petrov, "Valdai Voodoo," *Moscow Times*, 16 September 2008. <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=22124&prog=zru>

<sup>8</sup>"The Prospect/FP Top 100 Public Intellectuals," *Foreign Policy*, September 2005. [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story\\_id=3249](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3249)

For his comments on Russia and the Caucasus see ESI picture story [“The Debate in Russia in Global Affairs”](#)

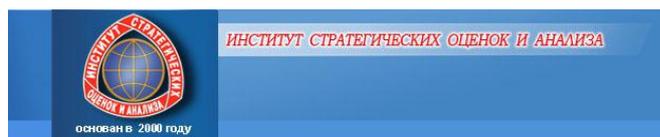
**Alexander Belkin** is Executive Vice-Director of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy. His areas of expertise include U.S.-Russian security relations, Russian defence strategy and military reforms. Prior to his post in CFDP he was defence analyst in the Russian Ministry of Defence. E-mail:



**Dmitry Suslov** is the Council's Director for Research and a Researcher at the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies, Higher School of Economics.

In a September 2008 interview with the state-owned TV channel Russia Today, Suslov said, “Joining the Russia-Belarus alliance is the best course of action for the new Caucasus states”.

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The **Institute for Strategic Assessment and Analysis (ISSA)** was founded in 2000. The board of directors and the staff consists of prominent experts in the field of domestic, foreign, geostrategic and military policy, economy, modern history and law. The ISSA's quarterly journal *Vestnik Analitiki (Analytical Messenger)* is financed in part by N-Trans, a leading Russian transportation and logistics company. The members of the editorial board are prominent politicians, economists and political scientists such as Sergey Karaganov, Chairman of Council of the Foreign and Defence Policy; Vladimir Ryzhkov, a liberal politician and former Deputy of the State Duma; and Alexander Rahr, the Program Director for Russia and Eurasia at the German Council on Foreign Relations.

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**Vagif Guseynov**, Major-General in retirement, is the **head of ISSA** and a member of the Russian Council on Foreign and Defence Policy. Guseynov began his career as a reporter for several radio stations and as an editor of a youth newspaper. During his political career he served as the First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee. From 1989 to 1992 Guseynov was the last chairman of the Azerbaijani KGB. After the collapse of the Soviet Union he was accused of having sent armed units to Baku during the 1990 protests. In 1993 he was released, left Azerbaijan and acquired Russian citizenship. Although the General Prosecutor of Azerbaijan demanded Guseynov's extradition, Russia's then-President Vladimir Putin refused to meet the request.

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The Institute has published two books on the South Caucasus. The first appeared in November 2008 under the title *The South Caucasus – Tendencies and Problems of Development*. The second, *The Armed Conflict in South Ossetia and Its Aftermath*, was published in July 2009. Full versions of both publications are available on ISSA's website at: <http://www.isoa.ru/articles.php> (in Russian only).



POLITY FOUNDATION

Фонд «Политика»

[www.polity.ru](http://www.polity.ru)

The **Polity Foundation**, founded in 1993, is an influential non-governmental organisation specialising in political consulting and research. Polity's founders were Russian political scientists including the Foundation's current president Vyacheslav Nikonov; the current President of INDEM Foundation, Georgiy Satarov; and Andranik Migranyan, a renowned political analyst.

Since June 1993 the Foundation has sponsored "Club-93", which brings together politicians, entrepreneurs, media representatives and political analysts. The Foundation and "Club-93" meet on a monthly basis to discuss political and socio-economic developments in Russia. Throughout its existence the Polity Foundation has gained increasingly greater influence as its President has maintained an active and growing political. In 1996, Mr. Nikonov worked as Deputy Head of the Coordinating Committee of the All-Russian Public Movement in support of Boris Yeltsin's presidential election campaign. The Polity Foundation is a founding member of several analytical institutions such as the Russian Public Policy Centre (together with the Presidential Administration, the Moscow City Administration and other organisations), the Centre of Political Technologies and the "Information Science for Democracy" foundation. Polity also collaborates with state institutions and other think tanks such as the Public Opinion Foundation (FOM), Carnegie Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

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**Vyacheslav Nikonov**, a pro-Kremlin political scientist, has been the **President of the Polity Foundation** since May 1993. He is also the President of the Unity for Russia Foundation. After graduating from Moscow State University with a doctorate in history, Nikonov, the grandson of Vyacheslav Molotov, Stalin's foreign minister, worked as a speechwriter and head of section in the Communist Party's Central Committee. In the 1990's he taught at the California Institute of Technology. After returning from the USA, he became a senior fellow at the Reforma Foundation. From 1994 to 1996 he was a member of the State Duma and Chairman of the Subcommittee for International Security and Arms Control. As

Deputy Chairman of the All-Russian Public Movement he supported the re-election campaign of President Boris Yeltsin. Nikonov is a board member of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, Vice-President of the Association of Political Consultancy Centres, a member of the Advisory Council of Carnegie Endowment Moscow, and Vice Chairman of the editorial board of *Russia in Global Affairs*. Nikonov is an eloquent critic of western policies towards Russia. He is the author of seven books including *Contemporary Russian Politics* (2005) and *A Code to Politics* (2006), and over 500 other publications. Nikonov holds a PhD in History.

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RUSSIAN PUBLIC POLICY CENTRE (RPPC)  
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The **Russian Public Policy Centre** was founded in 1991 by a decree of then President Boris Yeltsin to support the development of Russian society. The founding institutions included the Moscow municipal government, the Polity Foundation and the Centre for Political Technologies. In 1995 the Centre was transformed into a non-commercial foundation. The RPPS's objectives are to conduct research for social organisations, to mediate between non-governmental institutions and the government, to stimulate federalism and local self-governance in Russia, and to analyse international relations and security issues. One of the Centre's projects focuses on Armenia. RPPC cooperates with the Foundation for the Support of Russian-Armenian Cooperation on issues related to Russia's policy in the Caucasus.

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**Alexander Muzykantsky**, born in 1941, has been the **President of the Russian Public Policy Centre** since 2005. Muzykantsky held a number of posts at the municipality of Moscow in different positions: as Minister of Information; as Prefect of the central district of Moscow; and as deputy chief of the city council. Muzykantsky graduated from the engineering institute at the Moscow State University.



CENTRE FOR POLITICAL TECHNOLOGIES (CPT)  
 Центр политических технологий (ЦПТ)  
[www.cpt.ru](http://www.cpt.ru)

**Centre for Political Technologies (CPT)**, founded in 1991, is one of the oldest think tanks in Russia. The Centre specialises in political and business consulting and works on promoting Russia's image in the world. In particular, CPT has organized a number of events and provided commentary on improving Russia's image after the August 2008 war with Georgia. The Centre has a permanent staff of 70 people working in 13 departments; in addition, it attracts part-time specialists on a project basis from a pool of experienced professionals. Since 2002 CPT has been running Politcom.ru ([www.politcom.ru](http://www.politcom.ru)), an analytical commentary-focused website. The portal, updated daily, receives about 6,000 visits per day. CPT's Department for CIS countries analyses the situation in ex-Soviet states and the Russian "near abroad". See also ESI picture story on "[The Center for Political Technologies](#)"

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**Igor Bunin** is the Centre's founding Director and President. He is also the General Director of Politcom.ru and a founding member of the Association of Political Consulting Centres, the Russian Public Policy Centre and the Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism. He is also the initiator of the first regular political monitoring body in Russia and founder of a new line in Russian consulting operations. He has authored over 300 scientific publications. Bunin holds a PhD in political science.

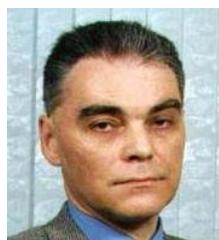
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**Sergey Mikheev** is Vice President of the Centre for Political Technologies and **head of the Department for CIS Countries**. Mikheev joined the Centre for Political Technologies after graduating from Moscow State University in 1999. He has worked as an analyst for different policy institutions such as Expertise and the Foundation for Analytical Programmes. Mikheev has analysed the political and social-economic situation in Russian regions and advised politicians, social organisations and companies. He also acts as a political commentator.

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Sergey Mikheev, "[Yerevan Should Understand that Russia Cannot Formulate Its Policy in the Region Tying It to Armenia's Interests](#)" (in Russian), *Novoye Vremya*, 30 April 2009.



**Alexey Zudin** is the head of the Political Science Department at CPT and an associate Professor at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Zudin led a group of consultants in the fields of diagnostics, strategy, image development and provision of consulting services in 13 different election campaigns. He has authored over 30 scholarly works and articles and holds a PhD in Political Science. E-mail: [a-zudin@cpt.ru](mailto:a-zudin@cpt.ru)



Commenting on the war in Georgia in August 2008 in *Vedomosti*, CPT Expert **Alexey Makarkin** refrained from inflammatory rhetoric, interpreting the events as the result of a two-layered conflict:

“The conflict in South Ossetia (as well as in Abkhazia) has two layers. The first layer is the most evident one and is related to the protracted confrontation between two peoples, a confrontation that became much sharper after Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s attempt to turn Georgia into a unitary state. The second layer became discernible several years ago, when competition between Russia and the US in the post-Soviet space transformed from ‘potential’ into ‘real’. While Russia has patronized the Ossetians from the very beginning (which is unsurprising, given that Russia contains the Republic of North Ossetia), the US has patronized Georgia, actively supporting its political regime, also in the military sphere. This patronage fuelled the ambitions of both parties in the conflict, providing each with an opportunity of turning to their ‘big brother’ in times of a crisis situation.

The difference lay in the fact that the irresponsibility of the South Ossetian authorities could not lead to a large-scale military action against Georgia (because of the small size of South Ossetian armed units), whereas the irresponsibility on the part of Tbilisi was able to provoke much graver consequences – which is exactly what happened. In this situation, the US at the very minimum did not carry out its containing function vis-à-vis a regime capable of engaging in such adventures. Preoccupied with the geopolitical confrontation with Russia, the Americans viewed their client in the Caucasus as a completely sensible potential NATO member – and this perception had not been seriously undermined even by last year’s (2007) crackdown on the opposition’s demonstrations in the centre of Tbilisi.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Alexey Makarkin, [“The War: The Drama of South Ossetia”](#) (in Russian), *Vedomosti*, no. 148 (2170), 11 August 2008.

## FOUNDATION FOR EFFECTIVE POLITICS (FEP)

Фонд эффективной политики

[www.fep.ru](http://www.fep.ru)

The **Foundation for Effective Politics** was established in 1995 by Gleb Pavlovsky, Maksim Meyer and Marat Gelman. Staff members and sources of funding are unspecified. A large percentage of individuals working for the foundation are civil servants, political activists, pro-government politicians or members of the opposition. The Foundation plays an important role during election campaigns in Russia, notably by providing online coverage and commentary. The first campaign the Foundation managed was on behalf of a political party called “The Union of Rightist Forces” (SPS); later tasks included managing Vladimir Putin’s campaign. The foundation launched a number of websites, including *The Russian Journal* ([www.russ.ru](http://www.russ.ru), launched in 1997), one of Russia’s first internet media. Pavlovsky and FEP also organized and funded a number of early information portals such as Lenta.Ru, VVP.ru (founded in 2000 to serve Putin’s presidential campaign), and Strana.ru, a pro-governmental website. (See this manual’s media section for further details.)



**Gleb Pavlovsky**, born on 5 March 1951 in Odessa, is the **President of the Foundation for Effective Politics**, a political analyst and key Kremlin adviser (or, as he calls himself, a “political technologist”).

Pavlovsky actively participated in recent parliamentary and presidential election campaigns. He is the founder of a number of pro-Kremlin Russian media networks such as Strana.ru, SMI.ru, Kreml.org, and Liberty.ru.

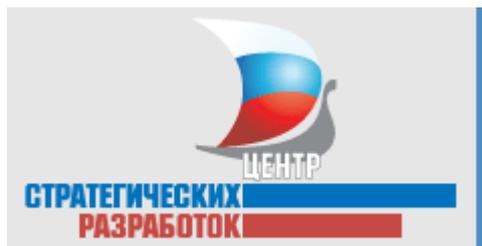
Pavlovsky is the Editor-in-Chief and publisher of the political magazine “Russian Journal”, which appears under the roof of the FEP. He is a professor at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow.

See also ESI Picture Story: **Political Technologists: Gleb Pavlovsky**. [http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story\\_ID=26&slide\\_ID=7](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story_ID=26&slide_ID=7)

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„Russia’s activities in the Caucasus, especially since 2000, do not only benefit Russia. By bringing recalcitrant minorities into a new security consensus, Russia has helped transform local ethnic conflict into a constructive process of nation-building. Therefore, when Russia claims to be a central element in the security of Eurasia, on a par with the US and the EU, this is not a claim by a Hobbesian state that wants to play the role of the Leviathan. Rather, it is an argument in favour of a universal legal order.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> [“How the West Misunderstands Russia”](#), European Council on Foreign Relations, September 2009, p. 74



CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC RESEARCH  
Центр стратегических разработок  
[www.csr.ru](http://www.csr.ru)

The **Centre for Strategic Research**, a Kremlin-affiliated institution, was founded in 1999 in order to analyse Russia's economic and social development. In May 2000 the Centre presented its first major project, "The Strategy of Socio-Economic Development of the Russian Federation until the Year 2010". The Strategy formulates proposals and measures to reform not only economic and social policy, but also to overhaul the administrative structure of the Russian Government.

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**Mikhail Dmitriev** is the President of the Centre for Strategic Research. He is the author of numerous works including *Restructuring of the economic mechanism as a factor in the economic competition of two systems* (1987), *Russian Banks at the End of the Golden Age* (1996), *Budget Policy in Modern Russia* (1997), *Pension Reform in Russia: Causes, Content, Perspectives* (1998). Dmitriev, who has a doctorate in economics, served as First Deputy to the Minister for Economic Development and Trade of the Russian Federation (2000 – 2004)



INSTITUTE OF EUROPE OF THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Институт Европы Российской академии наук

[www.ieras.ru](http://www.ieras.ru)

The **Institute of Europe** of the Russian Academy of Sciences was established in 1987 to analyse the dramatic changes in Europe, their prospects and consequences, to define a new security system in Europe, and to study European cooperation in economic, political and humanitarian spheres. The institute also provides expert assessments for state institutions. It undertakes interdisciplinary studies of political, economic, military-political, information, social and other issues related to Europe. Forecasting is one of the top priorities of research. The Institute publishes the quarterly journal “Contemporary Europe”. The January – April 2008 issues are available at <http://www.soveurope.ru/english/2008.htm>

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Director of the institute is **Nikolay Petrovich Smelyev** Tel: +7 495 629 45 07

Deputy Director is **Sergey Karaganov** (see Council on Foreign and Defence Policy)



CENTRE FOR CAUCASUS STUDIES AT THE MOSCOW  
STATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (CCS)  
Центр кавказских исследований (ЦКИ)  
<http://mgimo.ru/nksmi/cki/index.phtml>

The **Centre for Caucasus Studies** at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) was founded in May 2004. It is part of the Scientific Council for Coordination of International Studies (SCCIS), which coordinates, promotes and develops the analytical activities of the University.

The Centre's main research areas are international relations and security in the Caucasus region, the formation of state institutions and political trends in the South Caucasus states, the social-economic and political situation in the republics of the North Caucasus, as well as the history of the Caucasus within the Russian empire and the Soviet Union. The CCS prepares two publications: *Analiticheskiye Zapiski* ("Analytical Notes") and *Kavkazskii Sbornik* ("Caucasian Collection"), which are published annually and contain articles, essays and historical documents.

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**Vladimir Degoev** has been **head of the Centre** since 2004. He also teaches at MGIMO's Department of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy. (He joined MGIMO in 2000.) He has taught history at different universities in Russia and abroad, e.g. at Alberta University in Canada, in Belarus, and the USA. His main research interests are historical and contemporary problems in Russia and the Caucasus. In 2006 he published a book titled *Russia, the Caucasus and the World after the Soviet Union: Saying Goodbye to Illusions*. His articles can be found on the university's website [www.expert.mgimo.ru](http://www.expert.mgimo.ru). Degoev is also the Editor-in-Chief of *Kavkazskii Sbornik*, an annual publication.



**Vladimir Zakharov** has been **co-chairman of the Centre for Caucasus Studies** and the editor of *Kavkazskii Sbornik* since 2004. He is a member of the Union of Writers in Russia and Editor-in-Chief of the Lermontovsky sbornik" (Lermontov's Collection).

**Nikolai Yuryevich Silayev** has been a **senior analyst** at the Centre since 2004. He has a degree in history from Moscow State University, having completed his thesis on the "The Northern Caucasus on the Russian Territory in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century" in 2003. E-mail: [nsilaev@mail.ru](mailto:nsilaev@mail.ru); [silaev@sumail.ru](mailto:silaev@sumail.ru); [silaev@mgimo.ru](mailto:silaev@mgimo.ru).

Members of the Centre regularly publish their analyses on the Caucasus on [www.expert.mgimo.ru](http://www.expert.mgimo.ru)



ЦЕНТР КОМПЛЕКСНЫХ  
ЕВРОПЕЙСКИХ И МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ  
ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ

CENTRE FOR COMPREHENSIVE EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
(CCEIS)

[www.cceis.ru](http://www.cceis.ru)

The **Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies (CCEIS)** was founded in 2008 in the framework of the World Economics and International Affairs Faculty of the State University Higher School of Economics (HSE) and the HSE's Innovative Education Programme. The CCEIS runs research programs such as the World Around Russia in 2017, administration and the role of the state, Russian-American relations, Russian-European relations, world energy, the Middle East, and the Islamic world.

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**Timofey Bordachev** is the Director of the **Centre for Integrated European and International Research**. He is also Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal, leader of research programs of the Council of Foreign and Defence Policies and a leading researcher at the Institute of Europe at the Russian Academy of Sciences. Bordachev contributed to over 100 analyses for state authorities of the Russian Federation on issues such as the European Union's internal development and Russia-EU relations. He holds a PhD in political sciences.

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See also ESI Picture Story: **The EU, Russia and the Caucasus: Timofei Bordachev**  
([http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story\\_ID=26&slide\\_ID=6](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story_ID=26&slide_ID=6))

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EAST WEST INSTITUTE MOSCOW  
(EWI)

<http://www.ewi.info/russia>

The **EastWest Institute (EWI)**, founded in 1980, is a “global think-and-do tank that devises innovative solutions to pressing security concerns and mobilizes networks of individuals, institutions and nations to implement these solutions.”<sup>11</sup> EWI has offices in New York, Brussels and Moscow.

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**Vladimir Ivanov**, PhD, is Director of the EastWest Institute's Moscow office. Initially responsible for overseeing and managing EWI's Fiscal Transparency Program, including the publication of a series of studies on fiscal flows between the federal budget and the regions, Ivanov is currently involved in all Russia-related EWI projects, including Protection and Counter-terrorism and the U.S.-Russia Constructive Agenda Initiative. Ivanov received a B.A. in international journalism and a PhD in history from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). E-mail: [vivanov@ewi.info](mailto:vivanov@ewi.info)

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<sup>11</sup> EastWest Institute, “Who We Are,” <http://www.ewi.info/who-we-are>



RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES (RISS)  
(Российский институт стратегических исследований, РИСИ)

[www.riss.ru](http://www.riss.ru)

The Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS) was established in February 1992. The Institute's main task is to provide information and analytical support to the Russian federal authorities as they formulate strategic priorities and policies in the area of national security. The activities of RISS focus on a wide range of regions and issues including the Asia Pacific Region, Russia's relations with the EU and USA, defence policy, international economics, and Russia's policies in the post-Soviet states.

The Division for CIS Countries ("Near Abroad") researches the transformation of the foreign policies of CIS countries and the Baltic States, as well as their relations with Russia, the West, and international organizations. The Division also works on issues related to the unrecognized states in the region, the Russian diaspora in the post-Soviet space, and migration issues. It also publishes an analytical almanac *New Eurasia: Russia and Its Near Abroad* ("Novaya Evraziya: Rossiya i strany blizhnego zarubezhya").

In 2009, RISS opened a new branch, the Black Sea-Caspian Centre for Information and Analysis, in Rostov-on-Don, a large city in southern Russia. The director of the new centre is Dr. Eduard Popov.

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**Leonid Reshetnikov, RISS Director** (since April 2009)

Cand. Sc. in History

Born in 1947 in Potsdam, Reshetnikov graduated with a degree in history from Kharkov State University in Ukraine in 1970. He later studied in Sofia, Bulgaria. From 1976 till his retirement in April 2009 he worked for the KGB/FSB. He retains a rank of General Lieutenant.

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#### **Division for CIS Countries, Staff**



**Alexander Skakov**, Head of Division, Cand. Sc. in history, an expert on the South Caucasus

Born in 1971, Skakov graduated from Moscow State University with a degree in history. He obtained his Cand. Sc. degree from the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Science in 1998. Skakov joined RISS as a research fellow in 1998 and was appointed head of the Near Abroad Division in 2000.



**Dr. Eduard Popov, Director of the Black Sea - Caspian Region Centre for Information and Analysis of the RISS**

Eduard Popov's areas of expertise include political ideologies, domestic politics in Ukraine, ethno-political processes in the North Caucasus and the geopolitical situation in the Black Sea/Caspian region. Popov has authored 57 scientific publications.

RISS has organized a number of events, forums, roundtables, and discussion forums on the South Caucasus, including such recent ones as:

- Roundtable on "Russia – Azerbaijan: The Prospects of Development of the Bilateral Relations," 15 October 2009
- Roundtable on "Development Prospects of South Ossetia Following Its Recognition of Independence," 19 May 2009

**INSTITUTE OF CIS COUNTRIES**

(Институт стран СНГ)

<http://www.zatulin.ru/index.php?section=institute>[www.materik.ru](http://www.materik.ru)

The Institute of CIS countries was founded in 1996 by Konstantin Zatulin, First Deputy Chairman of the Duma's Committee of CIS affairs. The Institute is funded by the Moscow government, the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). The Institute cooperates with 20 experts on Russian foreign policy; its departments cover regions such as Ukraine and Crimea, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, as well as the Caucasus. It has 2 offices in Armenia and Kyrgyzstan. The Institute's main objective is to analyse Russian policies and interests in former Soviet countries. It also looks to support the Russian language, Russian culture and Russian people in the region.

The institute has its own website: [www.materik.ru](http://www.materik.ru), where the experts publish their research results.

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**Konstantin Zatulin** is Director of the Institute of CIS countries (see TV and Radio Section). In 2006, as a member of the Duma, Zatulin repeatedly endeavoured to initiate parliamentary hearings on independence movements in Abkhazia, Transnistria and South Ossetia.. On 12 November 2006, ahead of the referendum on South Ossetian independence, Zatulin was quoted by the Russian news agency Regnum as saying the following:

“In South Ossetia, we observe higher democratic standards than in many other countries; the voting process goes democratically and transparently. None of the presidential elections in Georgia has ever run smoothly – they always ended with a scandal. Remember at least the election of 2003 that became the motive for the so-called velvet revolution. And, speaking generally, it is unthinkable, as is suggested today, that a more democratic country becomes a constituent part of a less democratic country”.

**Andranik Migranyan** is Chairman of the Scientific Council. (See INDIVIDUALS, later in this section)

CENTRE FOR POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CPIS)

(Центр политических и международных исследований)

[www.cpis.su/index\\_en.htm](http://www.cpis.su/index_en.htm)

The Centre for Political and International Studies, established in 1989, is an independent non-profit research and consulting institution focusing on international security, disarmament, conflict resolution, and the political dynamics of contemporary societies. The Centre conducts expert studies, publishes analytical reports, and organizes conferences and seminars. Since 1992 the Centre has cooperated with the Committee on International Affairs and Defence Policy of the State Duma, as well as with the Russian Foreign Ministry and the CIS Council of Defence Ministers in organizing international conferences and consultations on East-West security issues involving the EU, WEU, NATO, and other international organizations. The CPIS has also drafted a “model law” on peacekeeping operations in the CIS. The Centre has launched a large number of conferences and projects on security issues. These include:

- “Parliamentary Control over the Military Sphere in the CIS,”
- “Role of Russia in Maintaining Stability and Security on the Territory of NIS,”
- “Peacekeeping Operations in the New Independent States,”
- “Russia-Georgia: Status and Prospects of Relations,”
- “Evolution of NATO and Interests of Russia,” and so forth.

The Centre’s most recent publication is a report on *Collective Security for Russia and the CIS*.

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**Dr. Alexander Nikitin** is the Director of the Centre for Political and International Studies and one of Russia’s most renowned political scientists. His areas of interests include Eurasian security, NATO, peacekeeping operations, and arms control. Nikitin is also the Director of the Centre for Euroatlantic Security and Professor of Political Theory at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). His publications include over 40 monographs and articles in Russian and foreign scholarly journals.

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EURASIA HERITAGE FOUNDATION  
(Некоммерческий Фонд «Наследие Евразии»)

[www.fundeh.org/eng/](http://www.fundeh.org/eng/)

The Eurasia Heritage Foundation is a non-governmental organization established in Moscow in 2004. Its declared goals include assistance in civil society development in Russia and Eurasia; preservation of Eurasia's "natural, scientific and cultural" heritage; and provision of political, economic and social forecasts. The Foundation is financially supported by the Russian business community. It monitors integration processes in the NIS and analyses key actors in the region. It is also active in promoting the interests of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers in post-Soviet states and worldwide. While the Foundation has so far focused more intensively on Central Asia, it has also implemented several Caucasus-related projects, including an opinion poll on "Social and political attitudes of the Georgian population". It has also published articles focusing on the South Caucasus, including "War in South Ossetia may make it more difficult to find a solution to the Transnistrian conflict" (August 2008) and "When there is no concord: The third GUAM summit in Batumi" (February 2009).

The Eurasia Heritage Foundation also maintains *Eurasian Home*, an analytical website on Eurasian affairs (in Russian and English, [www.eurasianhome.org](http://www.eurasianhome.org)).

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**Elena Yatsenko, President of the Eurasia Heritage Foundation**

Professional interests:

- NGO management;
- promotion of the Russian NGOs abroad;
- NIS: actors, interests, perspectives;
- Russian world in the NIS.



**Svyatoslav Polkhov, Expert**

Polkhov has been with the Foundation since 2004. Cand. Sc. degree in History

Professional interests:

- Transnistrian conflict;
- relations between Russia and Belarus;
- interests of great powers in Central Asia;
- Japanese-Russian relations.

Polkhov has also written on the South Caucasus.

## INDIVIDUALS:



**Sergey Markov**, born on 18 April 1958 in Dubna (Moscow Region), is a Kremlin adviser, a promoter of government policies and a deputy of the pro-Kremlin party United Russia. He heads the **Institute for Political Studies** (Институт политических исследований). A long-time supporter, Markov is co-Chairman of the National Strategic Council of Russia and a member of the Presidential Council for Facilitating the Development of Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights. Since 2000 he has been a consultant for a variety of Russian and international organizations. Markov is also a member (and deputy chairman) of the Public Chamber's commission for international cooperation and public democracy, the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, and the Russian Association of Political Science. Markov is a professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and a lecturer in the Philosophy Department at Moscow State University, where he obtained his degree.



**Alexander Dugin**, born on 7 January 1962 in Moscow, is the leader of the International Eurasian Movement and one of the most influential ideologists of Russian expansionism and nationalism. Said to have close ties to the Kremlin and Russian military intelligence, Dugin advocates restoring the Russian Empire – this, by way of partitioning of the former Soviet republics, such as Georgia and Ukraine, and absorbing Russian-speaking territories, particularly Eastern Ukraine and Crimea. He is the leader of institutions such as the Centre for Geopolitical Assessment, the Centre for Conservative Research at Moscow State University, and “Arktogeya”, a historical and religious association. Dugin holds a PhD in Philosophy.

Dugin's website, [www.evrazia.org](http://www.evrazia.org), is the main platform for his ideas. See also ESI picture story [“Alexander Dugin and Eurasianism”](#)

The Central Asia Caucasus Institute wrote on Dugin:

“Dugin has taken a position clearly in favour of the intensification of conflict with Georgia, arguing that the Caucasus is at the heart of American strategies to ‘destroy Russia’.”<sup>12</sup>



**Andranik Migranyan** is a high-profile Russian foreign policy expert and co-founder of the Polity Foundation. He is an outspoken critic of US and European policies towards Russia and has close ties with the Kremlin administration. He is currently the head of the Institute for Democracy and Cooperation in New York, a state-sponsored think tank founded (in 2008) to promote Russian foreign policy abroad. Migranyan is also a member of the Academy of Political Science and a professor at MGIMO. He previously held several key advisory positions at the Russian State Duma and the Federation Council. Migranyan graduated from the

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), specializing in American politics, socialism, and international social-democratic movements. Migranyan has published several books and hundreds of articles in leading Russian and international newspapers. He is a frequent commentator on TV and radio. Migranyan is the first Vice President of the Reforma Fund and the first Vice President of the Soglasie Fund. See also ESI picture story [“Russia's dilemma: partnership or empire?”](#)

Andranik Migranyan, [“Elections in Armenia and Russia's Strategic Interests”](#) (in Russian), *Politcom.ru*, 5 April 2007.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4928>



**Andrei Illarionov**, born in 1961 in Leningrad, is a well-known Russian libertarian economist who served as an economic advisor to President Putin from 2000 to 2005. Illarionov resigned from this position in protest against the increasingly authoritarian political course Russia took under Putin's direction. In 2006, Illarionov joined the Cato Institute, a conservative US think tank, as a senior fellow. He has been a vocal opponent of Russia's current leadership, criticizing its growing authoritarianism, restrictions on the freedom of speech, as well as its economic and foreign policies.

Illarionov has written extensively on Georgia; he supports Georgian President Saakashvili and former Georgian Economy Minister Kakha Bendukidze and has repeatedly praised the libertarian orientation of economic reforms in Georgia. Illarionov also maintains his own blog, <http://aillarionov.livejournal.com/> (mostly in Russian). Recent Georgia-related entries have covered such issues as decreasing corruption in Georgia; the shortcomings of the Tagliavini Report on the August 2008 war between Russia and Georgia; the adoption of the Act on Economic Freedom in Georgia; and others.

See also ESI Picture Story: [Russia as Aggressor: the view of Andrei Illarionov](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story_ID=26&slide_ID=11) ([http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story\\_ID=26&slide\\_ID=11](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story_ID=26&slide_ID=11))

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On his personal blog : [aillarionov.livejournal.com](http://aillarionov.livejournal.com) he writes:

“Sometimes I am reproached for giving too much attention to Georgia. I don't think so. As a matter of fact, I am convinced that I don't give enough attention to Georgia. Because the topics that are often times – superficially – referred to as ‘Georgian’ are in reality not only Georgian, but to no lesser extent ‘Russian’. Because what is happening in Georgia is oftentimes the most visible and convincing alternative to what is happening in our own country. Because what is happening in Georgia today gives us, Russians, invaluable lessons and perhaps can show us what our ‘tomorrow’ – or maybe ‘the day after tomorrow’ – may be like.”