

MICHAEL RYWKIN

Project Director, Russia and Central Asia Project

Education:

Ph.D. Columbia U., New York, 1960 (Dept. of Public Law and Government and Russian Institute)
M.A., CCNY, New York, 1955 (International Relations Program)
Diplôme, Ecole des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Paris, 1950.
Diplôme, Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales, Paris, 1951.
other undergraduate studies in Poland (U. of Lodz), Certificate, 1947 and Uzbekistan (Uzbek State Univ., Samarkand), Certificate, 1946.
HS diploma, Samarkand, Uzbekistan, 1945; attended schools in France, Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine.

Teaching experience:

Professor Emeritus, CCNY of CUNY, 1993- present
1963-1992, Russian Area Studies Program at CCNY, New York, professor, director.
1960-1962, Asst. Prof., NYU, New York,
1959-1960 Instructor, Colgate U., Hamilton, N.Y.
1958-1959, instructor, NYU, New York
Also: July 93, July '95- 04. Visiting Professor, Eastern Summer School, Univ. of Warsaw, Poland
Aug, 1997, Guest Professor, Open Society Foundation Summer University, Almaty,
1969-1970, Visiting Professor, U. of Oklahoma, Munich Program
1962-81, p/t instructor, Lycée Français de New York
1955-1958 Special Lecturer, USAF Program, Russian Inst., Columbia U., New York

Specialization: Russian affairs, Soviet and post-Soviet society, Russian policies towards CIS countries, Soviet and post-Soviet Central Asia, Nationalities Problems in the CIS countries.

Organizational activities:

Association for the Study of Nationalities (USSR & Eastern Europe), Inc. (ASN),
President 1984-94, Acting President Dec 97-Apr.98. Chairman, Policy Board, 1994-2004, President Emeritus,
1998- present
Member, Advisory Board, director, Central Asian Initiative, National Committee for American Foreign Policy.

Honors:

Fulbright Senior Specialist Grant, Baku May 2003, Warsaw, fall '05
Medal, City of Warsaw, Poland, July 2000; Medal, University of Warsaw, Poland, July 1997.
IREX grants, 1984, 87, 90, 92.
Chairman, All-CUNY Committee on Slavic Grants, '78-'79
Chevalier des Palmes Académiques, France, decree of the Ministry of Culture of Aug.24, '76.
Research Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard U., 1962-63.
Research Fellow, Research Project on the History of the CPSU, summer 1960
New York Foundation Award, CCNY, 1955

Foreign languages:

Fluent French, Russian, Polish. Good understanding of Ukrainian and Belorussian.

Other experience:

Consultant, Open Society Foundation, March-June 1993;
Contract Consultant, US Dept. of State, 1978; p/t Escort-interpreter, 1960-63;
Staff member and lecturer aboard student ships for CIEE, summers 64-66, '68.
Consultant, Linguaphone Inst., and International Advisory Council, '59; Compiler, USJPRS, 1957-58

Publications: Books

Russia in Central Asia. N.Y.-London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963. Also in Turkish translation, Istanbul, 1975.

Moscow's Muslim Challenge. Soviet Central Asia. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E.Sharpe. First ed., 1982, second revised ed. 1990. (also in paperback) Also in London by Christopher Hurst, 1982. In Farsi translation, Meshhed, Iran, 1988.

(Ed.) Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917. London: Mansell, 1988.

Soviet Society Today. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E.Sharpe, 1989, also in paperback.

Moscow's Lost Empire. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E.Sharpe, 1994, also in paperback

Articles:

"Education for Communist Leadership," *Current History*, vol. 35, N. 203, July, 1958, pp.35-39.

"Incentives in Soviet Schools," *Comparative Education Review*, vol.2, N.1, July 1958, pp. 19-21.

"Central Asia and the Price of Sovietization," *Problems of Communism*, vol. xiii, N.1, Jan-Febr, 1964, pp. 7-15. [Also in Spanish]; also in *Contrat Social*, Paris, Spring 1964; also in *Das Parliament*, Bonn, N.18,'64; also in George A.Lanyi and William C.McWilliams, *Crisis and Continuity in World Politics*, N.Y.: Random House, 1966.

"Generations in Conflict. The Literary Arena," *Problems of Communism*, vol. xiii, July-Aug. 1964, pp. 1-10. [also in Spanish]

"Some Changes in the Administrative and Political Structure of Central Asia During and After Khrushchev," *International Review of History and Political Science*, vol. V, N. 3 (Meerut, India), August 1968, pp. 33-45.

"Moscow Versus the Minority Nationalities: Trends for the New Decade," *Bulletin*, Institute for the Study of the USSR (Munich, Germany), vol. xvii, N.10, Oct. 1970, pp. 14- 22.

"Russian Colonial Expansion Before Ivan the Dread: A Survey of Basic Trends," *The Russian Review*, vol, 32, N.3, July 1973, pp. 286-293.

"Black Americans: A Race or Nationality? Some Communist Viewpoints. *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, vol. 3, N.1, Fall-Autumn, 1975, pp.89-96.

"Religion, Modern Nationalism and Political Power in Soviet Central Asia," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, N. 2-3, 1975; also in Ihor Kamenetsky (Editor), *Nationalism and Human Rights: Process of Modernization in the USSR*, Littleton, Colorado, Libraries Unlimited, 1977.

"The Prikaz of the Kazan Court: First Russian Colonial Office," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. xviii, N.3, September 1976, pp.293-300.

- “Central Asia and Soviet Manpower,” *Problems of Communism*, vol. xxviii, Jan-Feb, 1979, pp. 1-13.
- “Code Words and Catchwords of Brezhnev’s Nationality Policy,” *Survey* (London), vol. 24, N.3 (108), Summer 1979, pp.83-90.
- Foreword to “The Territorial Redistribution of Labor Resources in the USSR,” *Problems of Economics* (Armonk, NY) vol. xxiii, N.1, May 1980, pp. 3-6.
- “Housing in Central Asia: the Uzbek Example,” Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies. Occasional Paper N.82, Washington DC, 1979; also in Steven A. Grant (Ed.) *Soviet Housing and Urban Design*, Wilson Ctr, Washington, DC, Sept. 1980, pp.39-42.
- “The Russia-Wide Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR): Privileged or Underprivileged?,” in Edward Allworth (Editor) *Ethnic Russia in the USSR. The Dilemma of Dominance*, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1980, pp. 179-187.
- “Dissent in Soviet Central Asia,” *Nationalities Papers*, vol.ix, N.1, 1981, pp.27-34.
- “Soviet Central Asia and the State,” *Conference on the Study of Central Asia*, The Wilson Center, Wash. D.C., March 10-11, 1983, pp. 57-69.
- “First Muslim or First Soviet? Some Current Interpretations of Soviet Muslim Allegiances,” *Journal*. Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Jeddah, vol.3, N.2, [1984], pp.277-279.
- “National Symbiosis: Vitality, Religion, Identity, Allegiance,” in Yaacov Ro’i,” *The USSR and the Muslim World. Issues in Domestic and Foreign Policy*,” London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984.
- “The Impact of Socio-economic Change and Demographic Growth on National Identity and Socialization,” *Central Asian Survey*, 3/3, 1985, pp.79-98.
- “Power and Ethnicity: Party Staffing in Uzbekistan (1941/46, 1957/58),” *ibid.* (London), vol. 4, N.1, 1985, pp. 41-73.
- “Alexandre Bennigsen in the Eyes of the Soviet Press,” in *Turvo-Tatar Past. Soviet Present*. Studies Presented to Alexandre Bennigsen, Louvain-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, pp. 19-29. Enlarged version in *Nationalities Papers*, xiv, 1-2, 1986, pp. 5ff.
- “Power and Ethnicity: Regional and District Party Staffing in Uzbekistan, 1983-84,” *Central Asian Survey* (Oxford), pp 3-40. [Also as a separate brochure in Turkish, Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi, 1987]
- “Reading Soviet Signals,” *American Foreign Policy Newsletter*, vol. 8, N.2, April ‘85
- “Cadres Competition in Uzbekistan: The Ethnic Aspect,” *ibid.*, vol.5, N. 3/4, 1986, pp.183-194.
- “Islam and the New Soviet Man: 70 Years of Evolution,” *ibid.*, vol.6, N.4, 1987, pp. 23-32.
- “Russian Party Apparatus in a Muslim Republic,” *Journal*. Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs (Jeddah-London), vol.8:2, July 1987, pp. 259-277.
- “Pribaltiiskaia problema glazami amerikantsa,” *Raduga* (Tallinn), N.5, ‘88; *Vikukaar* (Tallinn), 2, ‘88; *Nemunas* (Vilnius), 11, ‘88.

Introduction to Viktor Kozlov, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*, London: Hutchinson and Bloomington: Indiana U.Press, 1988, pp. 1-9.

“Perestroika in Central Asia,” *Nationalities Papers*, xvii, 1, 1989, pp.51ff.

“Facing Gorbachev’s Dilemma: The Nationalities Crisis in the Soviet Union,” National Committee for American Foreign Policy *Newsletter*, May 1990, pp. 3-8.

“The Breakdown of Cadre Policy,” *Nationalities Papers*, xviii, 1, 1990, pp. 47ff.

“The Struggle for Political Sovereignty,” Soviet Nationalities Despite Gorbachev, *Nationalities Papers*. (*Special issue*), vol.xix, N.1, Spring 1991, pp78-79.

“The Communist Party and the Sufi Tarikats in the Checheno-Ingush Republic,” *Central Asian Survey* vol. 10, N.1/2, 1991, pp. 133-146

“Post-USSR Political Developments in Soviet Central Asia,” *Nationalities Papers*, vol. xx, 2, 1992, pp97-103.

“Survival of Soviet Features in Post-Soviet Turkestan,” in Hakkında Yazılanlar Abdurrahim Polat Baymirza Hayit ve Büyük Turkestan, (Turkey, 199?)

“The autonomy of Bashkirs,” *Central Asian Survey*, (Oxfordshire, England), vol. 12/ 1, 1993, pp.47-58.

“Power and Ethnicity: party staffing in the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus in the Middle 1980s,” *ibid.*, (Oxfordshire, England), vol. 12, N.3, 1993, pp. 347-364.

“Problemy narodowosciowe krajów bylego ZSSR,” *Obóz*, 28, 1993, pp.83-93.

“La fin du communisme et l’attrait de la Communauté européenne comme causes de xéneophobie,” in Emile Malet (ed.) La Xenophobia, Paris : Passages-Unesco, 1994, pp.290-296.

“Western Borderlands of the former USSR: Issues and Problems,” National Committee for American Foreign Policy *Newsletter*, N.17/1 (February 1995), pp.5-16.

“La Jérusalem de Lituanie,” *Passages*, (Paris) Sept. 1995, pp.40-42.

“Ouzbekistan revisité,” *Passages*, (Paris) 1997

“From Silk Route to Oil Route: The Caspian Sea Basin,” *American Foreign Policy Interests*, April 1997
also in Russian and in original in *Vremia po Grinnichu/The Globe*, NN. 61-64(Almaty) August 1997

“Le politiquement correct dans les médias Américains,” *Passages*, Paris, août 1997

“Przemiany polityczne, etniczne i kulturowe w Azji Srodkowej,” *Obóz* (Warsaw) 31/32, 1997, pp.45-62

“Traversant les terres de l’ancienne Rzeczpospolita. A la recherche de la Pologne historique,” *Passages*, n. 90 (July 1998). Also in English translation in: columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/

“Kazakhstan and the Rest of Central Asia: Fifteen Shades of Difference,” *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 26, n.3, Sept. 1998, pp.573-579.

“The Politics of the Caspian Sea Basin,” *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Oct. 1998, pp.1-8.

“Quelques observations sur le débâcle russe,” *Passages*, n.95, Févr/Mars 1999, pp. 53-54.

“A Selection of twenty-two Polish books in the 1990s on Nationalities Problems. Review Article,” *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 28, no.3, 2000, pp.565-572.

“Restoring the Empire. Dreams, Demagoguery, and Reality,” *American Foreign Policy Interests*, vol. 22, n.3 (June 2000), pp.8-15.

“Militant Islamic Fundamentalism and Political Stability in Central Asia. Reviewing US Policy Options,” *ibid*, vol.23, no.2, April 2001

“L’Asie centrale post-soviétique face a l’islamisme militant,” *Passages*, Dec.2001-Janv.2002, pp.26-29.

« Central Asia in the Forefront of Attention,” *American Foreign Policy Interests*, vol. 24, N.1, Feb. 2002, pp 35-42. Also in ROA National Security Report Archive, May 2002

« L’Amérique six mois après, » *Passages*, été 2002, pp.16-18.

« Russia and the Near Abroad Under Putin, » *American Foreign Policy Interests*, vol.25, n.1, Feb. 2003, pp 3-12. also in *Passages* (Paris), Mars/April, 2002, and in *Obóz* (Warsaw), N.42, 2003.

“An Odd Entity. The Case of the Kaliningrad Enclave,” *ibid*, vol.25, no.3, June 2003.

“La Pologne face à l’affrontement transatlantique: une revue de la presse polonaise,” *Passages* (Paris), Nov. 2003

« Putin and Russia’s Southern Belt Since the War ion Iraq, » *American Foreign Policy Interest*, vol.26, n.1; Feb. 2004

« Putin and Russia’s Southern Belt Since the Iraq War, » *ibid*, vol. 26, n.1, February 2004, pp.11-19.

“The Great Game Revisited, *ibid*”_vol.26, n.6, Dec.2004

Encyclopedic Articles:

in (Michael Florinsky (Editor) Entries on all the Union Republics (except Ukraine) in *Encyclopedia on Russia and the Soviet Union*, NY: McGraw Hill, 1961.

Also entries in *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1965; in *Collier Jr. Encyclopedia*, 1966 ed.

“Russia and the Former Soviet Union,” *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, vol. I. San Diego...Academic Press, 2001, pp 653-672.

Major conference participation since 1989:

Key-note speaker, and “Putin’s Policy Towards Russia’s Southern Belt After the War in Iraq,” Warsaw Special Convention of ASN, July 18-21, 2004

“Quasi States and Odd Entities after WWII,” conference on “South Caucasus in the Context of New Geopolitical Relationship, “ Western University, Baku, Azerbaijan, May 22-23, 2003.

“The Frontline States of Central Asia Between the West, Russia, and the Middle East,” National Identity and Regional Cooperation. Compatibilities and Incompatibilities, Special Convention organized by Istituto per l’Europa Centro Orientale e Balcanica in association with ASN, Forli, Italy, 5-9 June 2002.

“Islamic Fundamentalism in Central Asia: Myth or Reality?,” Nationality and Citizenship in Post-Communist Europe, Colloque international organisé par la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques et l’Association for the Study of Nationalities, Paris July 9-10, 2001

“The Influence of Russian Past on the Development of Relations with Europe,” Conference on Polish-Russian Relations,” Russian Humanities University, Moscow, June 15, 2000.

“Caucasus: A View from Moscow,” Conference on: “Caucase: élites, enjeux politiques, économiques et stratégiques” sponsored by L’Observatoire Européen de Géopolitique with the support of the Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques du Ministère de la Défense, Paris, 10 dec. 1998.

“Civil Society, Ethnicity and Religion,” Conference on “Regional Stability and Security in Central Asia,” sponsored by the Marshall Center for Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Dec 7, 1998.

Speaker, Conference on “Regional Stability and Security in Central Asia,” sponsored by the George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies and the Uzbekistan Institute of Strategic Studies (ISRS), Tashkent, Uzbekistan, August 12-16, 1996, and moderator, Almaty December 1997

“Russian Monroe Doctrine and the Stability of the Region,” Seminar on “Economic Resources and Potentials in Central Asia and the Caucasus,” Institute of Political and International Studies (IPIS) Tehran, January 1995;

“Kazakhstan: Fifteen Points of Difference,” International Conference on Caucasus and Central Asia: After Independence, Past and Future,” Ankara, May 25-27, 1995.

Key-note speaker, Eastern Summer School, Warsaw University, Poland, July 1993.

Key-note speaker at the November 1992 St. Petersburg Conference on the “New Russian Diaspora” organized by the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Co-chairman for the Assoc. for the Study of Nationalities of the conference on “Contemporary Azerbaijan through the Eyes of American Scholars,” Baku, 5, 1992.

Co-chairman, International Conference on “Underdevelopment and Ethnic Conflicts” organized by the Feltrinelli Foundation of Milano, the Assoc. for the Study of Nationalities and La Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, Paris, in Cortona, Tuscany, Italy, May 1991.

Co-organizer, Conference on “Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians in their Historical Encounter, NY., April 1990.

Participant, Ditchley House, Ditchley Park, Enstone, Oxfordshire, England, round table on “ Problems of Autonomy in Heterogeneous Societies,” April 1989

Co-chairman, International Conference on “Muslim Minority/Majority Relations” the Assoc. for the Study of Nationalities and the Institute of Muslim Minority Relations of Jeddah and London, New York, Oct.1989.

Foreign travel:

Most of Western, Central and Eastern Europe, former USSR (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Baltic republics, Central Asia, Tran Caucasus), Middle East, Caribbean, some Latin America

TV and Radio interviews:

N.Y., Honolulu, London, Tallinn, Kiev, Baku, St. Petersburg, Tehran. Tashkent, Almaty, Warsaw, Vilnius. Interviews with presidents A. Reuqital of Estonia and V. Lansbergis of Lithuania, (Dec. 1990).