



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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The Legitimacy and Future Stability of the Russian State

**A USIP Roundtable
Friday, April 11, 1997
Max Kampelman, Chair**

**The Westin Hotel
1400 M St., NW, Washington, DC**

Agenda

- 9:30 am Welcoming Remarks: Max Kampelman, Vice-Chairman,
U.S. Institute of Peace Board of Directors
- 10:00 am **Building Legitimate and Stable Institutions: Sources of Power**
Marshall Goldman, Harvard University
Harley Balzer, U.S. Institute of Peace
- 12:00 pm Lunch Break. Speaker: Ambassador Jack Matlock
Institute for Advanced Study
- 1:30 pm **The Extent of Mafia Expansion and General Disregard of the Law:
Effects on Governance**
Louise Shelley, American University
Joseph Blasi, Rutgers University
- 3:00 pm **Moscow and the Regions**
Blair Ruble, Kennan Institute
Daniel Treisman, University of California at Los Angeles
- 4:30 pm Adjourn



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The Legitimacy and Future Stability of the Russian State

There is justifiable concern in the United States about the consequences for the Russian government of specific events in Russia such as the defeat in Chechnya and President Yeltsin's health. Yet, there is a longer-range question about the Russian state that is less often scrutinized. We frequently accord existing Russian institutions legitimacy commensurate with our own institutions without considering that there may be important differences between the two. Is it perhaps unrealistic to assume that, after centuries of feudalism and absolutism, and then seventy years of arguably the worst totalitarian system ever devised, just four-five years later there is a government in Russia that is legitimate in the western sense? The question refers in part to how the rise of criminal groups affects Russia's economy and polity; it also refers to the consequences of the more general disregard of the law, which continues to be a norm in much of Russian society. What are the roots of personal and institutional legitimacy in Russia and how reliable and immutable are they? In other words, where exactly is the institutional power in Russia?

One related factor to the concern about the stability and legitimacy of the Russian state is the state's relation to, and control of, the various regions. Chechnya may be the most extreme example of the Russian central government's failure to convince a small region of its legitimate jurisdiction over it. Though similar violent conflicts are not likely, there are over twenty five million people in the Russian Federation who are not ethnic Russians; each of these groups has a different relationship with Moscow, and though not all of them have the kind of grievances that drove the Chechens to take up arms, few of the relationships are stable, well-established, and without tension. It is not only an ethnic issue, however, as even some predominantly Russian-populated regions have used the language of conventional self-determination movements in their struggle against central state control.

The legitimacy and stability of the Russian state and its institutions is extremely important to the future of Russian-American relations, and the United States' ability to pursue its interests in the world generally. US government representatives and others would benefit by a discussion of exactly what we are dealing with in Russia, not least to ensure that we are not operating on some reassuring but possibly false assumptions. Invited speakers will address three main topics: Russia's need to build legitimate institutions, control mafia excesses, and contend with regionalism, all the while emphasizing ways U.S. policies either ameliorate or exacerbate the difficulties.

April 8, 1997

To: Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fr: Patricia Carley

Subject: Introduction to the Russia Roundtable

Regarding your question over the phone, the attendees for the Russia roundtable received with their invitations a truncated version of the paper I sent you (see attached for comparison). The shorter version doesn't mention at all, for example, the issue of nostalgia for the Soviet period, and how the association of the rise in crime and the fall in living standards with "democracy" is not making democracy—and relations with the U.S.—very popular over there. Nor does it bode well for Russia's future.

Some of those coming will not be very familiar with USIP, so a few words on our role would be useful. That's to say, we do not have to wait until the explicit outbreak of violence before we examine a given situation, but aim to look at sources of tension and potential instability in a wider sense. The main purpose behind the convening of this meeting is to look at the *quality of the governance* of this extremely important country, economically devastated but armed with nuclear weapons, to determine the gravity of the situation.

I think a word or two about the subject of the sessions will be fine: the nature of institutional legitimacy, or lack thereof—where the "buck" stops (How stable and legitimate were Soviet institutions? How stable are the successors in the absence of the previous legitimizing force—the Communist Party?); the rise of organized crime to fill the vacuum after the Soviet collapse and the general absence of credible institutions representing the rule of law; and the current government or system's failure or inability to command the loyalty and/or cooperation of the various regions in Russia. That would succinctly outline exactly what we hope to discuss that day.

I hope for the meeting to be structured much like the self-determination meeting that you chaired a while back. That means that it is to be more of an informal roundtable discussion than a formal panel or conference. We will be sitting around a hollow square and I have told our speakers to think of themselves as offering remarks to launch discussion rather than presenting papers. I'm going to distribute bios so you won't need to introduce the speakers with much fanfare.

I hope this helps. Thanks again.



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April 11, 1997

List of Attendees

Anders Aslund
Carnegie Endowment

Sally Blair
United States Institute of Peace

Patricia Carley
United States Institute of Peace

Georgi Derlugian
United States Institute of Peace

Steven Erlanger
New York Times

Marshall Goldman
Harvard University

Keith Henderson
USAID

Anne Johnson
U.S. Department of State

George Kolt
National Intelligence Council

Corbin Lyday
USAID

Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer
Georgetown University

Joseph McMillan
U.S. Department of Defense

Harley Balzer
United States Institute of Peace

Joseph Blasi
Rutgers University

Ariel Cohen
The Heritage Foundation

Nadia Diuk
National Endowment for Democracy

John Finerty
Helsinki Commission

Eric Green
U.S. Department of State

Robert Herman
USAID

Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson

Cliff Kupchan
U.S. House of Representatives

Tom Lynch
U.S. Department of State

Jack Matlock
Institute for Advanced Study

David A. Merkel
International Republican Institute

Martha Olcott
Carnegie Endowment

Will Pomeranz
National Endowment for Democracy

Eugene Rumer
National Security Council

Louise Shelley
American University

Martin Swartz
Central Intelligence Agency

Daniel Treisman
University of California at L.A.

Lauren Van Metre
United States Institute of Peace

Thomas R. Pickering
U.S. Department of State

Blair Ruble
The Kennan Institute

Dan Schneider
U. S. Department of Justice

Jack Sontag
U.S. Department of State

Anara Tabyshalieva
United States Institute of Peace

Joan Urban
Catholic University

Marc D. Zlotnik
National Intelligence Council



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Speaker Biographies

Harley Balzer is currently a Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. Balzer is on leave from his positions as associate professor of government and Director of the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies at Georgetown University. He has also taught at Grinnell College and Boston University. He has visited Russia more than 30 times, and in 1989 was the first American scholar to give a lecture (in Russian) at the Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Balzer's publications include *Soviet Science on the Edge of Reform* (1989), *Five Years That Shook the World: Gorbachev's Unfinished Revolution* (1992), and *Russia's Missing Middle Class: The Professions in Russian History* (1996). He earned a B.A. in history and political science from Washington University (St. Louis) and a M.A. and PhD in history from the University of Pennsylvania.

Joseph Blasi is a member of the faculty at the Rutgers University School of Management and Labor Relations. From 1992-1996, Blasi served as an advisor to the Russian government on privatization and economic reform. From 1996-1997, he was a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. In 1997, he will be a visiting professor of Global Studies at Yale University's School of Management where he will teach a course on the Russian transition. Blasi is most recently the author of *Kremlin Capitalism: Privatizing The Russian Economy*, published in January 1997 by Cornell University Press.

Marshall Goldman is Kathryn Wasserman Davis Professor of Russian economics at Wellesley College, where he has been a faculty member since 1958. Goldman is also associate director of the Davis Center for Russian Studies at Harvard University. He is the author of numerous books on the former Soviet Union, including *What Went Wrong With Perestroika: the Rise and Fall of Mikhail Gorbachev* (1991), and, most recently, *Lost Opportunity: What Has Made Economic Reform in Russia So Difficult* (1996). Goldman was a Fulbright-Hayes lecturer at Moscow State University in 1977, and in 1983, 1986, and 1989 was invited by the U.S. Ambassador in Moscow to deliver a series of lectures on behalf of the U.S. government. He has published widely in such journals as *Foreign Affairs*, *The New York Times*, and *The Harvard Business Review*. Goldman has a B.A. from the Wharton School and an M.A. and PhD from Harvard University.

Max M. Kampelman was elected Vice Chairman of USIP's Board of Directors in September 1992. Kampelman was counselor for the Department of State and ambassador and head of U.S. delegations to the negotiations on nuclear and space arms in Geneva. In 1989, he returned to the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson as a Washington-based partner. Past government appointments include head

of the U.S. delegation with rank of ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, both in Madrid from 1980-83 and to subsequent CSCE conferences in Copenhagen, Geneva, and Moscow. He was founder and moderator of the public affairs program *Washington Week in Review*, and received the Presidential Citizens Medal from President Reagan in 1989. His book, *Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life*, was published in 1991. Kampelman received a J.D. from New York University and a PhD from the University of Minnesota.

Jack Matlock has since July 1996 been George F. Kennan Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. From 1993-1996, Matlock was Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor in the Practice of International Diplomacy at Columbia University. During his 35 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, he served as ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987-1991, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs on the National Security Council from 1983-1986, and ambassador to Czechoslovakia from 1981-1983. He has also served in Vienna, Munich, Accra, and Dar es Salaam. Matlock's book on the Soviet collapse, *Autopsy of an Empire*, was published in 1995. He holds degrees from Duke University and Columbia University.

Blair Ruble is Director of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies of the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, where he is also co-coordinator for comparative urban studies. Before coming to the Kennan Institute, Ruble worked at the Social Science Research Council and the National Council for Soviet and East European Research. He has written numerous monographs, including *Money Sings: the Politics of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Yaroslavl* (1995), and *Leningrad: Shaping a Soviet City* (1990), and his articles have appeared in such journals as *Urban Anthropology* and *Journal of Urban History*. Ruble received M.A. and PhD degrees from the University of Toronto.

Louise Shelley is a professor in the Department of Justice, Law, and Society and in the School of International Service at American University. Shelley is also currently running a MacArthur funded program on the problem of organized crime in four Russian cities, and is co-editor of the journals *Demokratizatsiya* and *Trends in Organized Crime*. She has testified before Congress on the problems of post-Soviet organized crime, and has advised the U.S. government and European Union on the issue. Shelley's more recent book is called *Policing Soviet Society* (1996). She is also the author of numerous articles and book chapters and is the recipient of Fulbright, NEH, Guggenheim and Kennan Institute grants.

Daniel Treisman is an assistant professor of political science at the University of California in Los Angeles, where he specializes in the politics and economics of post-Soviet Russia. He has published articles in *Foreign Affairs*, *Transition*, *The British Journal of Political Science*, and *The New Republic*. He has also worked as a reporter and news feature writer for *The Times* (London) and *The Daily Telegraph*. Treisman is currently a participant in a project to advise the Russian government on issues of fiscal federalism under the auspices of USAID. He has a B.A. from Oxford University (Politics, Economics and Philosophy) and a PhD from Harvard.