

## Index

*Note:* Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures; those with a *t* indicate tables.

- Abdelal, Rawi, 47n76, 48, 51  
 Abkhazia, 85n45, 93n79, 123, 161  
*acquis communautaire*, 66, 214–16; and  
 Czech Republic, 216–24, 270; and Poland,  
 253–59, 262–67, 270; and Ukraine, 187,  
 191, 192  
 Afghan refugees, 45t, 120; in Russia, 117,  
 125, 126; and Soviet Union, 33, 36, 37; in  
 Ukraine, 162–63, 164t, 181  
 African refugees, 20t, 119, 122, 261; from  
 Angola, 40, 162, 164t, 198, 232; from  
 Ethiopia, 45t, 126, 162; from Ghana,  
 164t, 232; from Rwanda, 207, 271; from  
 Somalia, 45t, 99, 164t; from Sudan, 45t,  
 164t, 232. *See also* developing-world  
 refugees  
 AIDS testing, 94n84, 261  
 Albania, 22t, 198  
 Aliens Acts, of Poland, 235–38, 242, 243,  
 246–52, 257, 266, 278  
 Aliens Protection Law, of Poland, 257, 258,  
 261, 263–65  
 Allina-Pisano, Jessica, 62n103  
 Allworth, Edward, 169n83  
 Amnesty International, 104–5, 119n180,  
 189n171  
 Amsterdam Treaty (1997), 214, 220  
 Anderson, Benedict, 47n78  
 Andreas, Peter, 41n52  
 Angolan refugees: in Czech Republic, 40,  
 198; in Poland, 232; in Ukraine, 36n36,  
 162, 164t  
 Apap, Joanna, 214n69  
 Appel, Hilary, 63n106  
 Arkhipov, Yurii, 109–11, 133  
 Armenia, 29t, 45t; and Azerbaijan conflicts,  
 30, 33; citizenship laws of, 31; democracy  
 score for, 23t; GDP of, 23t; IDPs in, 112  
 Arutiunov, Mikhail, 99  
 Ash, Timothy Garton, 228  
 asylum seekers, 2, 35, 162; criminal as, 94,  
 121, 180, 211; in Czech Republic, 19–20,  
 22t, 199–206; EU system for, 214–16,  
 220–22, 256, 258, 263–66; German  
 policies for, 41, 202, 204, 206; *mala fide*,  
 43; in Poland, 19–20, 22t, 232–40, 254–55,  
 260, 264; in Russia, 33–7, 99–100, 104–5,  
 109, 114, 116, 118–20, 124, 127, 129–30;  
 in Ukraine, 33–7, 162, 164t, 165, 171,  
 173–174, 176, 178–80, 183–86, 188  
 Austria, 41, 202, 204  
 Azerbaijan, 29t, 100; and Armenian  
 conflicts, 30, 33; citizenship laws of, 31;  
 democracy score for, 23t; GDP of, 23t;  
 IDPs in, 112; and Ukraine, 164t  
 Azrael, Dzhheremi, 30n17  
 Bakhmin, Viacheslav, 109  
 Baku. *See* Azerbaijan  
 Banac, Ivo, 63n107, 229n7  
 Barany, Zoltan, 11n34  
 Barrington, Lowell, 156n50  
 Bauböck, Rainer, 11n38  
 Beissinger, Mark, 272  
 Belarus, 27, 29t, 45t; democracy score for,  
 23t; GDP of, 23t; and Polish visa policy,  
 259; and Russian identity, 75, 77–79,  
 82–83, 138–39; and Ukraine, 135n2,  
 164t, 173  
 Bernatowicz, Adam, 249n99

- Betts, Alexander, 17n48  
 Billington, James, 73n2  
 Blair, Tony, 183  
 Boccardi, Ingrid, 214n69  
 Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22t, 45t, 207, 243.  
     *See also* Yugoslavia  
 Breslauer, George, 81  
 Brettell, Caroline, 3n10  
 Briachevs'ka, O., 38n44, 157n52  
 Brubaker, Rogers, 5n13, 11n38, 26–30, 46n72  
 Brudny, Yitzhak, 73–74, 80n33, 81  
 Brytchenko, Serhii, 173n100  
 Buckley, Cynthia, 27n11  
 Bukhovets, O. G., 27n11  
 Bukovyna, 135  
 Bulgaria, 22t, 43, 45t, 135n2, 198  
 Bunce, Valerie, 276n14  
 Byrne, Rosemary, 14n43, 221n94
- Cabrini, Luigi, 252n114  
 Canada, Afghan refugees in, 120  
 CEAS. *See* Common European Asylum System  
 Chaly, Petro, 148, 192  
 Chaponda, George, 252n114  
 Chechnya, 25t, 164t, 260; IDPs from, 111, 113, 116, 123–24  
 Checkel, Jeffrey, 276n14  
 Chernobyl, 243n69  
 Chernyshova, Olga, 166  
 Chervonnaia, Svetlana, 170n87  
 Chilean refugees, in Poland, 231  
 Chodakiewicz, Marek Jan, 228n4  
 Chubais, Igor, 81  
 CIS. *See* Commonwealth of Independent States  
 citizenship laws, 56–57; Estonian, 145; Latvian, 145; and nationalism, 142–43, 148; Russian, 31–33, 60, 84–99, 88t, 146–47, 149; Ukrainian, 31–33, 60, 142–56, 144t, 145t, 181–82. *See also* diaspora legislation; refugee policies  
 client politics model, of immigration, 9  
 coethnic refugees, 2, 5, 10, 28t; and diaspora laws, 51–54, 273; privileging of, 59–60. *See also* ethnicity, nontraditional refugees  
 Colton, Timothy, 7n21  
 Committee on Migration and Refugees, 1–2, 205  
 Common European Asylum System (CEAS), 216, 220, 256, 258  
 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS): citizenship laws of, 86–87; and Czech Republic, 45t; democracy scores for, 23t; GDPs of, 23t; IDPs of, 90, 111, 112, 114–16; and Ukraine, 141t, 142t, 176; visa policies for, 40, 259  
 Communist Party: Czech, 195–96, 224; Polish, 228–29, 240; Russian, 75; Ukrainian, 138–39, 146–47, 149  
 compatriots, 88t, 125; compromise/consensus, 58–59, 66, 68, 72; definitions of, 88t, 89–90; human rights of, 95; Russian, 95, 98–109, 102–3t, 106t, 117–20, 125. *See also* diaspora legislation  
 Congolese refugees, in Ukraine, 164t  
 contestation, index of, 55, 56t  
 contested postcommunist states, 26; and national identity, 11–13, 50–51, 273–76; refugee policies of, 57–61, 66, 67–69, 72, 193; versus uncontested, 12–13, 53–57, 66, 194. *See also* Russia; Ukraine  
 Cornelius, Wayne, 9n29  
 Cossacks, 137  
 Crimea, 135, 149, 176  
 Crimean Tatars, 25t, 33, 167–74, 179, 191, 276. *See also* Ukraine  
 criminals, among refugees, 94, 121, 180, 211. *See also* securitization  
 Croatia, 22t. *See also* Yugoslavia  
 Cuban temporary workers, in Czechoslovakia, 40  
 Czechoslovakia, 40, 135, 194–97, 244  
 Czech Republic, 194–226; asylum seekers in, 19–20, 22t, 199–206; contestation index for, 56t; democracy score for, 22t; deportations by, 210; elites of, 65, 194–99, 219–26, 230, 270; EU accession of, 213–24, 270; GDP of, 22t; party system of, 8; and Poland, 40, 227, 230, 241, 244–45, 265, 269–70; refugee policies of, 39–45, 44t, 45t, 70, 197–226; Roma (Gypsies) in, 210–11; and “safe third country” principle, 200n25, 202, 204, 214, 217, 220, 223; security issues of, 202–3, 217–19; temporary workers in, 39–40, 218; UNHCR in, 194, 199–213, 219–26; Velvet Revolution of, 194–96, 198; visa policies of, 259. *See also* uncontested postcommunist states
- Da Costa, Rosa, 206n45  
 Darden, Keith, 63n106  
 Dawisha, Karen, 228n5  
 Democratic Russia movement, 80–81  
 deportations: Czech, 210; Swedish, 233–35; USSR, 118–19, 124, 127, 134, 167–68, 170–73, 184–85, 191. *See also* formerly deported peoples

- Deutsch, Karl, 47n78  
 developing-world refugees, 2, 20t, 35, 36n36, 40–41; Polish policies for, 232–33; Russian policies for, 99–100, 104, 106t, 108–10, 117–30; Ukrainian policies for, 161–67, 164t, 165t, 171–79, 184, 191, 193. *See also specific countries*  
 diaspora legislation, 73; and national identity, 51–54, 150, 273; Russian, 60, 77, 86–93, 88t, 160; Ukrainian, 60, 138, 150–56, 152t, 154t. *See also* citizenship laws, compatriots  
 Dimitrov, Vesselin, 229n6  
 Drbohlav, Dušan, 218n83  
 Drohobycky, Maria, 169n87  
 Dubček, Alexander, 195  
 Dublin Conventions, 215, 216  
 Dziejwski, Jerzy, 250
- Eastern Orthodox Church, 136, 138  
 Ekiert, Grzegorz, 64n109, 195n1, 228n2  
 elites, 61–66, 73, 273, 276; autonomy of, 61–66; Czech, 65, 194–99, 219–26, 230, 270; international networks of, 276; Polish, 65, 229–30, 236, 240–41, 253–55; Russian, 73, 79–83, 96, 133; Ukrainian, 136, 139–41, 148, 150, 191–93  
 Elster, Jon, 7n20, 228n4  
 Estonia, 22t, 29t, 54, 115, 145  
 Ethiopian refugees, 45t, 126, 162  
 ethnicity, 125, 145; and diversity, 274; and genetics, 75; homogeneity of, 2, 5, 10, 46; and national identity, 10–11, 51–54; “passport,” 83; and racism, 109n125, 119, 122–23; Russian, 75–83, 83t, 84t, 119, 123–25; Ukrainian, 134, 136–38, 153, 154t, 158–59. *See also* coethnic refugees  
 “ethnic unmixing,” 5, 26–30, 114  
 Eurasianism (*Evrasiistvo*), 76  
 European Union, 66; asylum policies of, 214–16, 220–22, 256, 258, 263–64; Czech accession to, 213–24, 270; PHA program of, 213, 221, 222, 254; Polish accession to, 253–59, 262–67, 270; refugee policies of, 41–42, 65–67, 185, 263–66, 270; and Ukraine, 182–83, 185, 187, 191
- Faist, Thomas, 9n27, 253n118  
 FDPs. *See* formerly deported people  
 Federal Migration Service (FMS), 90–91, 97, 100–101; and asylum seekers, 119; liquidation of, 122; and UNHCR, 110–11, 126–30  
 Fendrych, Martin, 203  
 forced migrants, 97–101, 102t, 112, 115; legislation on, 39, 123, 128–29, 160; security issues with, 117, 120–26, 130, 131  
 foreign Ukrainians, law on the status of, 150–56, 152t, 154t  
 formerly deported people (FDPs), 118–19, 124, 127, 134, 167–68, 170–73, 184–85, 191; definition of, 25t  
 Freedom House democracy scores, 22–23t  
 Freeman, Garry, 8n24, 9  
 Freiová, Michaela, 196–97, 199  
 Frejka, Tomas, 40n50  
 Freund, Karel, 197
- Gaidar, Yegor, 92  
 Galicia, 135  
 Gallina, Nicole, 195n4, 229n7  
 Geddes, Andrew, 15n43, 214n69  
 Gellner, Ernest, 47n78  
 Geneva Convention (1951), 268; and Czech refugee policies, 198–99, 206; and Polish refugee policies, 235, 241, 256, 264; refugee definition of, 4–5, 24, 31; and Russian refugee policies, 98–99, 107–11; and Ukrainian refugee policies, 174, 175, 178–80. *See also* United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees  
 Georgia, 23t, 29t, 45t; Abkhazia refugees from, 123, 161; democracy score for, 23t; forced migrants from, 100; GDP of, 23t; IDPs of, 112, 113, 116; Meskhetian Turks in, 25t; refugee policies of, 185; and Ukraine, 164t, 173. *See also* Ossetia  
 German asylum laws, 41, 204, 206; and Czech Republic, 202–3; and Poland, 238, 240  
 Ghanian refugees, 164t, 232  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 86  
 Górny, Agata, 40n50, 232n18  
 Grabbe, Heather, 65n110  
 Greek Catholic Church, 136  
 Greek refugees, in Poland, 231  
 Greenhill, Kelly, 271n5  
 Grzymala-Busse, Anna, 62n103  
 Guild, Elspeth, 214n69  
 Guiraudon, Virginie, 9n28, 63n104  
 Gypsies, 210–11
- Habsburg dynasty, 135  
 Haišman, Tomáš, 197–98  
 Halász, Iván, 151  
 Hale, Henry, 54, 140n14  
 Hampl, Martin, 40n50

- Hanson, Stephen, 7n20, 46–47  
 Haran', Oleksii, 138n8  
 Hauser, Przemyslaw, 229n9  
 Havel, Václav, 195, 198  
 Hayden, Jacqueline, 228n5  
 Helleman, Wendy, 74n2  
 Helsinki Committee, 209, 225  
 Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, 234, 236, 237, 248–49, 267  
 Helsinki Group, 188  
 Helton, Arthur, 27n11, 114n149, 115n152, 115n157  
 Herrera, Yoshiko, 17n49, 56n98, 63n106  
 Higley, John, 230n14  
 HIV testing, 94n84, 261  
 Hobsbawm, Eric, 47n78  
 Hollifield, James, 9n30, 21n4  
 Hollis, Wendy, 195n2  
 Honcharuk, Hryhorii, 137n3  
 Hopf, Ted, 49, 51n92  
 Hughes, James, 65n112  
 human rights, 95; Czech legislation on, 196, 223; of forced migrants, 123–24; Helsinki Foundation for, 234, 236, 237, 248–49, 267; Lawyers Committee for, 105n115–16, 109n125  
 Human Rights Watch: in Czech Republic, 211n59; in Russia, 105n114, 109n125, 124n203; in Ukraine, 184n146–47  
 Hungary, 195; asylum seekers in, 19–20, 22t; democracy score for, 22t; GDP of, 22t; refugee policies of, 54, 198; Status Law of, 57, 152–53; and Ukraine, 135n2; UNHCR in, 4, 15  
 Huntington, Samuel, 48  
 Hurenko, Stanislav, 146
- IDPs. *See* internally displaced persons  
 Ieda, Osamu, 153n41  
 Iglicka, Krystyna, 40n50, 232n18  
 India, 43, 45t  
 Ingush conflict, 112, 113  
 Innes, Abby, 196n10  
 interests-based theory, 8n24  
 internally displaced persons (IDPs): from Chechnya, 111, 113, 116, 123–24; definitions of, 25t, 30, 111–12; and forced migrants, 98–99; from Georgia, 112, 113, 116; in Ukraine, 170, 185. *See also* nontraditional refugees  
 International Organization for Migration (IOM), 34, 114, 116  
 International Red Cross: in Czech Republic, 198; in Poland, 232, 233, 237, 266  
 involuntarily relocating persons (IRPs), 115–16, 185  
 Iranian refugees, 164t, 232  
 Iraqi refugees: in Czech Republic, 45t, 198; in Poland, 45t, 232; in Ukraine, 36n36, 162, 164t  
 Jacobson, David, 14n40  
 Jenkins, Brian, 269n2  
 Jews, 77, 135n2  
 Joppke, Christian, 9n30  
 Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), 213–15, 218, 254, 257
- Kántor, Zoltán, 151n38  
 Karabakh-Nagorno conflict, 156–57  
 Kavan, Jan, 197  
 Kazakhstan, 29t, 34, 45t, 54; Crimean Tatars from, 172; democracy score for, 23t; GDP of, 23t; and Ukraine, 173  
 Kelley, Judith, 276n14  
 Kemp-Welch, Anthony, 228n2  
 Keohane, Robert, 17n47  
 Kievan Rus, duchy of, 75–76, 135  
 King, Charles, 54  
 Kiszczak, Czeslaw, 229  
 Klaus, Václav, 245  
 Kolstø, Pål, 74n2  
 Korea, North, 40, 105  
 Kosař, David, 219n86  
 Kosatík, Pavel, 196n9  
 Kosovo, 25t  
 Kosowicz, Agnieszka, 3n8, 231n17  
 Kotenkov, Aleksandr, 94–95  
 Kozłowski, Krzysztof Jan, 229, 236  
 Kozłowski, Tomasz Kuba, 240, 243  
 Kozyrev, Andrei, 133  
 Kravchuk, Leonid, 149  
 Krieken, P. J. van, 66n115, 214n69  
 Kriuchkov, Georgii, 139n11  
 Krupa, Andrzej, 229n9  
 Kuchma, Leonid, 149, 193n188  
 Kulyk, Volodymyr, 137n3  
 Kupchan, Charles, 269n3, 273–74  
 Kurdish refugees, 105, 198, 232  
 Kutafin, Oleg, 94  
 Kuzio, Taras, 135n2  
 Kwaśniewski, Aleksander, 246, 249  
 Kyrgyzstan, 29t; Crimean Tatars from, 172; democracy score for, 23t; GDP of, 23t; and Ukraine, 173
- Lahav, Gallya, 6n18  
 Laitin, David, 49n87, 136n3

## Index

283

- Lake, David, 64n108  
 Laruelle, Marlène, 74n2  
 Latvia, 22t, 29t, 54, 115, 145  
 Lavenex, Sandra, 14n43, 41n52, 214n69  
 Lavrov, Sergei, 108  
 Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 105n115–16, 109n125  
 Lebanon, 45t, 232  
 Leibaut, Fabrice, 38n43  
 Levitsky, Steven, 24n5  
 Lewandowski, Krzysztof, 233n25, 252  
 Lewandowski, Marek, 250  
 liberal state thesis, 21n4  
 Linz, Juan, 274  
 Lithuania, 22t, 29t, 115, 135  
 Łódzinskaia, Zhanna, 128  
 Loescher, Gil, 14n39  
 Lubbers, Ruud, 185  
 lustration laws, 196, 229–30  
 Luzhkov, Yurii, 104  
 Lytvyn, Volodymyr, 148
- Maastricht Treaty (1992), 214  
 Macedonia, 22t, 231  
 Macierewicz, Antoni, 229  
 Magocsi, Paul Robert, 135n1  
 Malynovs'ka, Olena, 30n17, 38n43, 157n52  
 Masaryk, Jan, 199  
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 229, 245  
 McAuley, Mary, 7n20  
 Medvedchuk, Viktor, 139n13  
 Melvin, Neil, 54  
 Meskhetian Turks, 25t, 30n16, 33, 116, 157  
 Meyers, Eytan, 10n33  
 Michta, Andrew, 195n1, 246n80  
 Migration, 3, 5, 27, 28t, 29t, 30, 33–4, 39–42; of ethnic unmixing, 26–7, 29; and illegal, 34, 40–2; theories of, 6–10; and transit 33–4, 41–2. *See also specific countries*
- Milczanowski, Andrzej, 229  
 Millard, Frances, 228n5  
 Mojsiejuk, Jaroslaw, 252n114  
 Moldova, 29t, 45t; democracy score for, 23t; forced migrants from, 100; GDP of, 23t; IDPs in, 112; refugees from, 115, 135n2, 158  
 Money, Jeannette, 7n19  
 Morozov, V. E., 74n2, 80n32  
 Moskal', Henadii, 183n139, 186n158, 187, 190  
 Mukomel', V. I., 97n93  
 Muminov, Rustam, 124n203  
 Muslims, 77, 124
- Nadezhin, Boris, 95  
 Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, 156–57  
 Nalepa, Monika, 229n11  
 nation(s), 268–73; civic territorial, 80–82, 273–75; contested/uncontested, 12–13, 53–57, 66, 194; definitions of, 47, 51, 57–59, 68, 80–82; evolving notions of, 84–97, 88t  
 national identity, 11–13, 45–53, 271–76; definitions of, 11, 46–48; and diaspora laws, 51–54, 150, 273; and elite groups, 52–53, 59–61; and ethnicity, 10–11, 51–54; and language, 79–83, 87–93, 134, 160; measures of, 49–50; in postcommunist countries, 271–76; Russian politics of, 73–83, 83t, 84t; Ukrainian politics of, 134–37, 142–43, 144t, 150–51, 160, 182  
 Newly Independent States (NIS), 104, 114, 116n159. *See also* Commonwealth of Independent States  
 Nicholson, Frances, 14n39  
 Niessen, Jan, 40n50, 240n59  
 NIS. *See* Newly Independent States  
*nomenklatura*, 139, 140, 148  
 nontraditional refugees, 5, 17–18; demographics of, 22–23t, 28t; types of, 24–26, 25t; UNHCR strategies for, 170–72, 175. *See also* refugees, Ukraine, Russia.
- Novák, Petr, 197n14  
 Nowicki, Marek, 234  
 Nyíri, Pál, 232n18
- Offe, Claus, 2  
 Ogata, Sadako, 113, 169  
 Okólski, Marek, 157n52  
 Onyszkievich, Janusz, 234  
 Orange Revolution, 187–89, 275. *See also* Ukraine  
 Orenstein, Mitchell, 245n79  
 Organization for Aid to Refugees (OPU), 225–26  
 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 169  
 Ossetia, North, 30n16, 112, 113  
 Ostash, Ihor, 153  
 Ottoman Empire, 123, 135
- Pakistan, 34, 43, 45t  
 Phare Horizontal Program on Asylum (PHA), 213, 221, 222, 254  
 Pilkington, Hilary, 97n93  
 Pinochet, Augusto, 231  
 Piskun, Oleksandr, 191

- Plokyh, Serhii, 135n1
- Poland, 3, 195; Aliens Laws of, 235–38, 242, 243, 246–52, 257, 266, 278; Aliens Protection Law of, 257, 258, 261, 263–65; asylum seekers in, 19–20, 22t, 232–40, 254–55, 260, 264; Constitution of, 246; contestation index for, 56t; and Czech Republic, 40, 227, 230, 241, 244–45, 265, 269–70; democracy score for, 22t; elites of, 65, 229–30, 236, 240–41, 253–55; EU accession of, 253–59, 262–67, 270; GDP of, 22t; partitions of, 135; refugee policies of, 39–45, 44t, 45t, 70, 227, 231–59, 265–67; and “safe third country” principle, 242n68, 249, 254; security issues of, 234; Solidarity movement in, 8–9, 228–30, 236, 244–46; and Ukraine, 42, 135n2, 259; UNHCR in, 235–54, 257–67; visa policies of, 259. *See also* uncontested postcommunist states
- Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 135
- Pollack, Detlef, 195n1
- Poltoranin, Konstantin, 119
- Popov, Heorhii, 186n158
- Postavnin, Viacheslav, 123
- postcommunist countries: asylum seekers in, 19–20, 20–23t; contested versus uncontested, 12–13, 53–57, 66, 194; national identity in, 11–13, 45–53, 271–76; politics of transition in, 268
- Prague Spring, 195, 196
- Pribytkova, Irina, 173n100
- Prizel, Ilya, 48
- propiska*. *See* residency registration system
- Public Against Violence, 244
- Pustovoitov, Valerii, 155
- Putin, Vladimir, 122; on citizenship law, 92–97; on national identity, 73, 89
- Pyrozkhov, S. I., 38n43
- racism, 109n125, 119, 122–23.  
*See also* ethnicity
- Red Cross. *See* International Red Cross
- refugee policies: autonomy of, 64; and citizenship laws, 56–57, 60; in contested states, 57–61, 66; and elites, 61–66, 73, 273, 276; EU standards for, 41–42, 65–67, 185, 263–66, 270; international strategies of, 67–72; reforms in, 117–30; and security issues, 117, 120–26, 130–31, 182–83, 186, 234; in uncontested states, 61–66.  
*See also specific countries*
- refugees: criminals among, 94, 121, 180, 211; and crisis management, 271; as defined by Geneva Convention, 4–5, 24, 31; demographics of, 19–20, 20–23t, 28t, 29t; versus IDPs, 30, 98–99; and party politics, 6–11; *sur place*, 33, 39, 180.  
*See also* nontraditional refugees
- Regent, Tatiana, 97, 109, 133
- regional migration services (RMS), 185, 187
- Reshetnikov, Yurii, 186n158
- residency registration system: in Russia, 33, 97, 101–4, 176; in Ukraine, 33, 159, 171–72, 176–77
- Riabchuk, Mykola, 136n3
- Risse, Thomas, 14n42
- Rogala, Rafal, 255
- Rogers, Peter, 136n3
- Roma (Gypsies), 210–11
- Romania, 22t, 43, 45t, 135, 198, 228
- Romaniuk, Mykhailo, 157n52
- Romodanovski, Konstantin, 91
- Rucheikov, Vladimir, 131
- Rud’ko, Mykola, 186n158
- Rudolph, Christopher, 46n63
- Rudyk, Serhii, 186n158, 188
- Rukh* party, 137, 152–53, 191
- Ruml, Jan, 196, 197, 199, 208
- Russia, 28t, 29t, 45t, 73–133; asylum seekers in, 33–7, 99–100, 104–5, 109, 114, 116, 118–20, 124, 127, 129–30; and Belarus, 75, 77–79, 82–83, 138–39; and Chechnya, 25t, 111, 113, 116, 123–24, 164t, 260; citizenship laws of, 31–33, 60, 84–97, 88t; compatriot refugees in, 98–109, 102–3t, 106t, 117–20, 125; contestation index for, 56t; court system of, 125–26; and Crimea territory, 135, 172; democracy score for, 23t; developing-world refugees in, 99–100, 104, 106t, 108–10, 117–30; diaspora legislation in, 60, 77, 86–92, 88t, 160; as Eastern Slavic nation, 78–79; FMS of, 90–91, 97, 100–01, 110–111, 119, 122, 126–30; GDP of, 23t; national identity in, 73–83, 83t, 84t; and Polish visa policies, 259; racist views in, 109n125, 119, 122–23; refugee policies of, 23t, 26–39, 97–130, 102–3t, 106t, 160, 193; refugees in, 4–5, 17–18, 23t, 26–39; religious minorities in, 77, 124; residency registration system of, 33, 96, 101–4, 176; and “safe third country” principle, 121, 129, 177–78; security issues of, 117, 120–26, 130, 131; and Soviet identity, 74–76, 85–86, 88t,

## Index

285

- 93; and Ukraine, 2, 4–5, 135, 146, 269;  
and Ukrainian identity, 75, 77–79, 82–83;  
UNHCR in, 37, 38, 104–20, 125–33,  
175, 176; and Uzbekistan, 99, 115, 124.  
*See also* contested postcommunist states
- Russian language, 78–80, 82–83, 83t; and  
diaspora legislation, 87–93, 88t, 160; and  
Ukrainian, 134; Zaitsev on, 86
- Rybakovskii, Leonid, 27n11; “safe third  
country” principle, 41, 215; and Czech  
Republic, 200n25, 202, 204, 214, 217,  
220, 223; and Poland, 242n68, 249,  
254; and Russia, 121, 129, 177–78; and  
Ukraine, 159, 177–78, 180, 182, 193.  
*See also* *acquis communautaire*,  
European Union
- Sahan’, Oleksandr, 186n158, 190
- Sasse, Gwendolyn, 169n83
- Sassen, Saskia, 14n41
- Schain, Martin, 6n19
- Schengen group, 214–15, 258
- Schildkraut, Deborah, 49n87
- Schimmelfennig, Frank, 65n110
- Schöpflin, George, 195n1, 269
- securitization, 94, 180, 211; and Czech  
refugee policies, 202–3, 217–19; and Polish  
refugee policies, 234; and Russian refugee  
policies, 117, 120–26, 130, 131; and  
Ukrainian refugee policies, 182–83, 186
- Seleny, Anna, 228n2
- Serbia, 22t. *See also* Yugoslavia
- Sereda, Hryhorii, 186n158
- Sevastianov, Aleksandr, 78
- Shamshur, Oleh, 179
- Shenfield, Stephen, 77n16
- Shul’ga, Nikolai, 157n52
- Shulha, Mykola, 162, 179, 186n158
- Sienkiewicz, Krystyna, 233
- Simonenko, P. M., 139n11
- Skoczylas, Zbigniew, 233–36, 240
- Slavs, Eastern, 78–79, 82
- Slezkine, Yuri, 75
- Slovakia, 45t, 244; democracy score for,  
22t; GDP of, 22t; Gypsies of, 210–11; visa  
policies of, 259
- Slovenia, 22t
- Smith, Anthony, 48
- Smith, Graham, 73–74
- Śniegowska, Scholastyka, 232n20
- Snyder, Timothy, 42n55, 54n97
- Society of Citizens Assisting Emigrants  
(SOZE), 225–26
- Sokólska, Joanna, 232n20, 254n120
- Solidarity movement, 8–9, 228–30, 236,  
244–46
- Solnick, Steven, 62n101
- Somali refugees, 36n36, 45t, 99, 164t
- Soysal, Yasemin, 14n40
- Sri Lankan refugees, 36n36, 45t
- Stachanczyk, Piotr, 248, 255
- Stalin, Joseph, 168, 195
- Stark, David, 62n103
- Starovoitova, Galina, 92
- State Committee for Nationalities and  
Migration (SCNM), 159–60, 166,  
175–79, 186–91
- State Committee for Nationalities and  
Religion (SCNR), 188–91
- stateless persons, 56–57; definition of, 25t,  
31; Russian citizenship for, 88t, 93
- Stepan, Alfred, 274
- Stola, Dariusz, 42–43, 232n22
- Subtel’ny, Orest, 135n1
- Sudanese refugees, 36n36, 45t, 164t, 232
- Sumgait pogrom (1988), 30
- Suny, Ronald, 11n35, 75n5
- Sweden, deportations by, 233–35
- Szonert, Marek, 242n69
- Szporluk, Roman, 75, 85–86
- Tajikistan, 29t; Crimean Tatars from, 172;  
democracy score for, 23t; forced migrants  
from, 100; GDP of, 23t; IDPs in, 112; and  
Ukraine, 173
- Tatars. *See* Crimean Tatars
- Taylor, J. Edward, 40n50
- terrorism, 123, 124, 182.  
*See also* securitization
- Tichenor, Daniel, 8n24
- Tilly, Charles, 47
- Tishchenko, Yulia, 170n87
- Tishkov, Valerii, 27n11, 80, 81
- Tismaneanu, Vladimir, 195n1, 228n2
- Tiurkin, M. L., 97n93
- Tolerance Foundation, 211
- Tolz, Vera, 73–74, 78, 80
- Tomenko, Valentyna, 139n11
- Transcarpathia, 135
- “triple transition,” 2, 11, 12
- Trojan, Zdeněk, 205
- Troschynskiy, Volodymyr, 191
- Tsygankov, Andrei, 51n93
- Turks. *See* Meskhetian Turks
- Turkmenistan, 23t, 29t, 124
- Tymoshenko, Yulia, 189

- Udovenko, Henadii, 153
- Ukraine, 3, 28t, 29t, 45t, 134–93; asylum seekers in, 33–7, 162, 164t, 165, 171, 173–174, 176, 178–80, 183–86, 188; and Chernobyl, 243n69; citizenship laws of, 31–33, 60, 142–56, 144t, 145t, 181–82; Constitution of, 147; contestation index for, 56t; coup of 1991 in, 148; Crimean Tatars in, 25t, 33, 167–74, 179, 191, 276; democracy score for, 23t; developing-world refugees in, 161–67, 164t, 165t, 171–79, 184, 191, 193; diaspora legislation in, 60, 138, 150–56, 152t, 154t; elites of, 136, 139–41, 148, 150, 191–93; ethnicity in, 134, 136–38, 153, 154t, 158–59; and EU 182–83, 185, 187, 191; GDP of, 23t; history of, 75–76, 134–36; independence of, 137–40, 143, 146–48; national identity in, 134–37, 142–43, 144t, 150–51, 160, 182; Orange Revolution in, 187–89, 275; parliament of, 136–37, 140t; and Poland, 42, 135n2, 259; refugee policies of, 134, 156–93, 164t, 165t, 275–76; refugees in, 4–5, 17–18, 23t, 26–39; residency registration system of, 33, 145t, 159, 171–72, 176–77; and Russia, 2, 4–5, 115, 135, 146, 269; and Russian identity, 75, 77–79, 82–83, 138–41, 141t, 142t; and “safe third country” principle, 159, 177–78, 180, 182, 193; SCNM of, 159–60, 166, 176–79, 186–91; SCNR of, 188–91; security issues of, 182–83, 186; and Soviet Union, 135, 141t, 142t, 143, 146–47, 149, 164t; UNHCR in, 3, 35, 38, 134, 162, 166–93. *See also* contested postcommunist states
- Ukrainian language, 135–36, 145t, 147
- uncontested postcommunist states, 12–13, 26; calculation of, 55, 56t; versus contested, 53–57, 66, 194; elites in, 61–62; and national identity, 11–13, 50–51, 273–76; refugee policies of, 61–66, 69–72. *See also* Czech Republic; Poland
- Uniate Church, 136
- Union of Right Forces party, 95
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): asylum seekers in, 3; citizenship laws of, 143–44; Constitution of, 3; deportations by, 118–19, 124, 127, 134, 167–68, 170–73, 184–85, 191; migrants from, 102t; refugee policies of, 20t, 25, 30–31, 97, 157–58; and Russian citizenship, 85–86, 88t, 93, 106t, 160; and Russian identity, 74–79; and Ukrainian citizenship, 143, 146–47, 149, 164t; and Ukrainian identity, 135, 141t, 142t
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2–6, 13–18, 268; in Czech Republic, 194, 199–213, 219–26; PHA program of, 213, 221, 222, 254; in Poland, 235–54, 257–67; in Russia, 37, 38, 104–20, 125–33, 175, 176; strategies of, 67–72, 111–17, 174–79, 184–86, 270; in Ukraine, 3, 35, 38, 134, 162, 166–93. *See also* Geneva Convention (1951)
- Uzbekistan, 29t, 127; Crimean Tatars from, 172, 173; democracy score for, 23t; GDP of, 23t; Meskhetian Turks of, 25t, 30n16, 33, 116, 157; and Muslim extremists, 124; and Russia, 99, 115, 124; and Ukraine, 164t
- Vachudová, Milada Anna, 65n110
- van Krieken, P. J., 66n115, 214n69
- Velvet Revolution, 194–96, 198.  
*See also* Czech Republic
- Větrovský, Jaroslav, 219n86
- Vietnam, 40, 45t
- Volhynia, 135
- Voronin, Viktor, 188
- Vykhovanets, Ol’ga, 97n93
- Walesa, Lech, 229, 235, 245–46
- Wallace, Claire, 40n50, 42–43, 232n22
- Watts, Julie R., 8n24
- Way, Lucan, 275n12
- Weiner, Myron, 46n67
- Williams, Brian Glyn, 169n83
- Wilson, Andrew, 136n3, 139
- Wolchik, Sharon, 136n3
- Wróbel, Radoslaw, 233n27, 240
- Yabloko* party, 79, 95
- Yanukovych, Viktor, 149
- Yeltsin, Boris, 80; on citizenship law, 86; on compatriots, 92; on Crimean Tatars, 169
- Yemets, Oleksandr, 186n158, 191
- Yevtukh, Volodymyr, 138, 186n158, 191
- Yiagodin, Sergei, 108n123, 110n127
- Yugoslavia, 25t; and Bosnia, 22t, 45t, 207, 243; and Czech work program, 40; refugees from, 5, 20t, 202, 207, 271
- Yushchenko, Viktor, 187–89, 192, 275



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-76479-7 - Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe

Oxana Shevel

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

287

Zaionchkovskaia, Zhanna, 27n11, 157n52

Zaitsev, Yurii, 86

Zamojski, Jan, 233n24

Zevelev, Igor, 79n26, 90

Zhirinovskii, Valdimir, 77, 95

Zhulyns'kyi, Mykola, 191–92

Zielonka, Jan, 228n1, 244n74

Zimowski, Jerzy, 250

Ziuganov, Gennadii, 75–76, 78

Zubilova, Zoia, 120