

# MYKHAILO MINAKOV

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### CONTACT INFORMATION

Saksahanskogo Str. 59-b, app. 26

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### ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- 2001 – 2018 **Professor of Philosophy and Political Studies** – University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies.
- March 2018 – present **Senior Advisor/Principal Investigator** for Ukraine, Kennan Institute – Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington DC.
- April 2017 – March 2019 **DAAD Visiting Professor**, European University Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder
- 2013 – 2014 **Research Fellow**, Alfred Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg, Greifswald
- June 2012 – August 2012 **Visiting Professor**, Harvard Ukrainian Studies Institute

### NONACADEMIC WORK

- 2017-present: UN Ukraine Good Will Ambassador
- 2016-2017: Senior Expert, UNDP GR Advisor and Special Peacemaking Mission in Donbas
- 2008 – 2010: Senior Program Manager, Democratic Governance Cluster, UNDP Ukraine (with focus on Crimea and Transnistria)
- 2008: Director for Development, Victor Pinchuk Foundation, Kiev.
- 2005 – 2008: Regional Director for Program Development, Eurasia Foundation Kyiv Regional Office for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.
- 2004 –2005: Program Director, International HIV/AIDS Alliance.
- 2001 – 2004: Senior Program Manager, George Soros Foundation in Ukraine.

### EDUCATION AND DEGREES

- 2007: Dr. Habil. in Philosophy, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine  
2000: PhD in Philosophy, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine  
1998: MA in Philosophy, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine  
1996: BA in Philosophy, University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine

## GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2017-19: DAAD Fellowship, Visiting Professor at European University Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder  
2013-14: Alfred Krupp Fellowship, Alfred Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg, Greifswald  
2013: Fulbright Scholarship, Visiting Scholar at Harvard Ukrainian Studies Institute  
2012: Fulbright-Kennan Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC  
2010: Eugene & Daymel Shkliar Fellowship, Harvard Ukrainian Studies Institute  
2000: Open Society Democracy Fellow, Open Society Institute/Central European University, Budapest.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*Dialectics of Modernity in Eastern Europe* (in Russian: *Диалектика модерности в Восточной Европе*). Moscow – London: School of Civic Education, 2019 (forthcoming).

*Development and Dystopia. Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe*. Stuttgart: ibidem, New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.

*History of the Concept of Experience* (in Ukrainian: *Історія поняття досвіду*). Kyiv: Tsentr praktychnoyi filosofii, 2007.

*Kant's Teaching on Faith of Reason* (in Ukrainian: *Вчення Канта про віру розуму*). Kyiv: Tsentr praktychnoyi filosofii, 2001.

### Edited volumes

Rabkin, Y., M. Minakov (eds). *Demodernization: The Future in the Past*. Stuttgart: ibidem, 2018.

Minakov, M. (ed.) *Post-Soviet Political Ideologies*. Stuttgart: ibidem, 2019 (forthcoming).

### Journal Articles & Book Chapters (recent 5 years)

"Demodernization in Post-Soviet Eastern Europe," in: Rabkin, Y., M. Minakov (eds). *Demodernization: The Future in the Past*. Stuttgart: ibidem, 2018, pp. 241-260.

"Civil Society and the Power Elites after the Euromaidan in Ukraine. Competition, Cooperation, and Fusion", in Horton Smith, D., A. Moldanova, S. Krasynska (eds.), *The Nonprofit Sector in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. Civil Society Advances and Challenges*, Leiden & Boston: Brill, pp. 174-190.

(in co-authorship with Matt Rojansky) “Democracy in Ukraine: Are We There Yet?”, *Kennan Cable*, 30, 2018, pp. 1-17.

“The Third Sector Entering The First: Cooperation and Competition of Civil Society, State and Oligarchs after Euromaidan in Ukraine,” in Marchetti, R. (ed.) *Government-NGOs Relationship in Africa, Asia, Europe, and MENA*, London: Routledge, 2018, pp.123-143.

“A return to the most important: Lev Shestov’s philosophical rebellion” (in Russian), *Istoriia filosofii*, 23, 1, 2018, pp. 82-95.

(in co-authorship with Ghia Nodia and Denis Cenusu) “Democracy and Its Deficits: the way of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine towards becoming European-style democracies”, *Centre for European Policy Studies policy papers series*, December 2017, (<https://www.ceps.eu/publications/democracy-and-its-deficits-path-towards-becoming-european-style-democracies-georgia>).

“Between Power Vertical and Liberal Democracy. Political Regime after Euromaidan” (in Ukrainian), *Agora*, 2017, 19-20, pp. 9-15.

“Novorossiia and Transnationalism of Unrecognized Post-Soviet Nations,” in: Beichelt, T., S. Worschech (eds) *Transnational Ukraine? Networks and Ties that Influence Contemporary Ukraine*, Stuttgart: ibidem, 2017, pp. 65-88.

“The Ontological situation of War” (in Russian), *Topos*, 2016, 1-2, pp. 11-18.

“The-Most-Important and the Last God: Ontotheologies of Lev Shestov and Martin Heidegger” (in Ukrainian), *Naukovi Zapysky NaUKMA*, 2017, pp. 22-28.

“Universalism and Particularism” (in Russian), *Obshchaia tetrad'*, 2016, 71, 3-4, pp. 25-29.

“Big Europe’s Gap: Dynamic Obstacles for integration between EU and EAU,” in A. Di Gregorio, A. Angeli (eds) *The Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union: Moving Toward a Greater Understanding*, The Hague: Eleven International Publishing, 2017, pp. 45-56.

“Euromaidan, War, and the Development of Ukraine's Political System in 2014 -2015,” in *Rimlands, Buffer Zones and Great Power Rivalry: Ukraine Conference Papers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016, pp. 67-88.

“Does Ukraine still matter?” in A. Ferrari (ed.), *Putin’s Russia: Really Back?*, Milan: ISPI, 2016, pp. 93-114.

“A Decisive Turn? Risks for Ukrainian Democracy After the Euromaidan”, *Carnegie Regional Insight, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 3, 2016, (<http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/02/03/decisive-turn-risks-for-ukrainian-democracy-after-euromaidan-pub-62641>).

“The Consolidation of Power in Ukraine: What It Means for the West”, *Carnegie Policy Paper Series*, September 20, 2016, (<https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/09/19/consolidation-of-power-in-ukraine-what-it-means-for-west-pub-64623>).

“The De-Modernization Current: An Approach to Understand Ethical and Political Challenges of Post-Soviet Societies,” *Global Political Theory and “Charitas in Veritate”*, Lviv: UCU, 2016, pp. 36–49.

“Kant’s Applied Enlightenment” (in Russian), *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas*, 1, 2016, ([https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/neprikosnovennyi\\_zapas/105\\_nz\\_1\\_2016/article/11830/](https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/neprikosnovennyi_zapas/105_nz_1_2016/article/11830/)).

“Too Soft Power: Ukrainian cultural diplomacy in Italy” (in Ukrainian), *Agora*, 16, 2016, pp. 3-9.

“Post-Soviet Parliamentary Drama: a View from ‘the gods’ in Kiev”, *OpenDemocracy*, February 23, 2016, (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/westminster/mikhail-minakov/post-soviet-parliamentarian-drama-view-from-gods-in-kiev>).

“Utopian Images of the West and Russia among Supporters and Opponents of the Euromaidan”, *Russian Politics & Law*, 53, 2015, 3, pp. 68-85.

“The Event of Primary Experience and Philosophy. Metatheory of Experience in Kant and Quine’s Epistemologies” (in Ukrainian), *Sententiae*, 2015, 2, pp. 64-74.

“Eastern European Traumas of 20th century. Lessons of Our Political Creativity”, *Agora*, 15, 2015, pp. 17-21.

“Post-Soviet De-Modernization: Times of the New Enchantment” (in Russian), *Neprikosnovennyi zapas*, 6, 2014, pp. 23-36.

“The Transformation of Philosophical Education in Ukraine at the end of XX century (1986-1995)” (in Russian), *Forum noveishei vostochnoevropeiskoi istorii i kultury*, 2014, 2, pp. 355–416.

“Moses und Prometheus. Die Ukraine zwischen Befreiung und Freiheit”, *Transit*, 44, 2013, pp. 55-70.

“Modernity and Revolution in Ukraine: On the Genealogy of Euromaidan” (in Ukrainian), *Naukovi Zapysky NaUKMA*, 154, 2013, pp. 45-53.

“Utopian Images of the West and Russia of the Activists of Maidan and Anti-Maidan in 2013 – 2014” (in Russian), *Forum noveishei vostochnoevropeiskoi istorii i kultury*, 2013, 1, pp. 61-73.

“Frameworks of Post-Soviet De-Modernization” (in Ukrainian), *Krytyka*, 2013, pp. 4-7, 9-10.

### **Policy and Analytical Papers:**

“Authoritarian Belt in Eastern Europe”, *Kennan Focus Ukraine*, 15 May 2018, (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/the-authoritarian-belt-europes-east>).

“Victims of Geopolitical Optimism: Is Long-Term Peace Possible in Eastern Europe?”, *Carnegie Russia Files*, 2018, (<https://carnegie.ru/commentary/76618>)

“Ukraine’s Strategic Challenges”, *Kennan Focus Ukraine*, 13 February 2018, (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/ukraines-strategic-challenges-2018>).

“L’Intermarium non fa per Ucraina”, *Limes*, 13 February 2018, (<http://www.limesonline.com/lintermarium-non-fa-per-lucraina/104808>).

“(Not Only a) Russian Revolution: Centennial Meditations”, *Kennan Focus Ukraine*, 7 November 2017, (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/not-only-russian-revolution-centennial-meditations>).

“Reconstructing the power vertical: the authoritarian threat in Ukraine” *OpenDemocracy*, June 29, 2017, (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/mikhail-minakov/reconstructing-power-vertical-authoritarian-threat-in-ukraine>).

“Ukraine: from Revolution of Dignity to Government of Shame”, *Carnegie.EU*, April 11, 2016, (<http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=63293>).

“Ukrainian Constitution: Reform or Crisis”, *OpenDemocracy*, February 16, 2016, (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/mikhail-minakov-maryna-stavniichuk/ukrainian-constitution-reform-or-crisis>).

“Reforming Ukraine. – On-going bi-monthly report” (in co-authorship with Carnegie Institute team), 2015 – 2018, (<http://carnegieendowment.org/specialprojects/Ukraine/>).

“Letter from Kiev: Assessment of EU policy towards Ukraine”, *Carnegie.EU*, November 6, 2015, (<http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/61893?lang=en>).

“Ukraine is caught between war and reform”, *OpenDemocracy*, November 26, 2015, (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/mikhail-minakov/ukraine-is-caught-between-war-and-reform>).

“Conflict in Eastern Europe: from War to Stable Peace”, *Kennan Cable*, 11, August 28, 2015, ([https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/11\\_kennan\\_cable-minakov.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/11_kennan_cable-minakov.pdf)).

“New Ukrainian Exceptionalism” (in co-authorship with Matt Rojansky), *Yale Global*, June 23, 2015, (<https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/new-ukrainian-exceptionalism>).

“Requiem for Maidan”, *OpenDemocracy*, March 27, 2015, (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/mikhail-minakov/requiem-for-euromaidan>).

“Ukrainian Sovereignty between Civic Activism and Oligarchic Renaissance”, *Krytyka*, 11-12, 2015, (<https://krytyka.com/en/articles/ukrainian-sovereignty-between-civic-activism-and-oligarchic-renaissance>).

“Corrupting Civil Society in the post-Maidan Ukraine?”, *Carnegie Moscow Center Publications*, April 2015 (<http://carnegie.ru/eurasiaoutlook/?fa=59749>).

### **INVITED TALKS (last 3 years)**

Frankfurt/Oder, August 21, 2018 “Post-Soviet Secessions and Ukraine”, Opening lecture ofr the Viadrinum Summer School, Europe University Viadrina

Cambridge, UK, February 8, 2018 “Cycles of Revolution in Ukraine”, Cambridge Committee for Russian and East European Studies, Cambridge University.

Paris, December 11-12, 2017 Keynote speech “Modernizing Ukraine: Revolutions and Dystopias in the 20th Century”. International workshop “The Ukrainian experiment: State-Building in practice (1917-22)”. German Historical Institute in France.

Florence, October 14, 2017 “Ukraine’s Political Myths” (as discussant), Department of History and Civilization, European University Institute.

Brussels, October 5, 2017 “25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Political and Economic Development in Post-Soviet Societies”, Center for European Policy Studies.

Frankfurt/Oder, July 10, 2017 “Conceptualizing the Shadow State: Understanding Roles of Official and Unofficial institutions in a Political System”, Institute for European Studies, European University Viadrina.

Milan, February 15, 2017	“Post-Revolutionary Political Process in Ukraine and Separatist Republics” Roundtable “Ukraine and Eastern Europe in 2016-17”, University of Milan.
Florence, February 20, 2017	“Political Economy of Regimes based on Extraction Economies. Round Table “Blood Oil”, European Institute University
Brussels, October 19, 2016	“Big Europe 2.0”. Roundtable “Future of Europe”. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung – Brussels
Berlin, October 16-17, 2016	“New nationalisms of EU member-states”. Civic Forum “In search of lost universalism”, MSPS and CoE.
Frankfurt/ Oder, August 22, 2016	“Revolutionary Cycles of Contemporary Ukraine and Experience of Post-Communist Europe”. Viadrinicum. Ukrainian Summer School 2016 “ReThinking Europe. Pan-European Challenges in Ukrainian Perspectives”.
Bologna, February 12, 2016	“Post-Soviet Political Experiments”, MIREES Master Program, Faculty of International Relations, Bologna University
Berlin, September 21, 2015	“Opportunities for peaceful development in Eastern Europe”, Heinrich Böll Stiftung. Peace and Reconciliation Tetralogue.
Florence, March 16, 2015	“Experiment after Experiment: Return of Capitalism into Post-Soviet Ukraine”. European University Institute.
Paris, January 26, 2015 Paris.	“Post-Soviet Oligarchs and Political Orders”, CERCEC,

### **CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (last 3 years)**

Sarajevo, 16-18 October 2018	“Ideological role of collective memories”, Alumni conference of the Wilson Center for International Scholars ‘Memory and political in Post-Communist Societies’.
Uppsala, 11-13 September 2018	“Soviet Roots of Russian and Ukrainian Oligarchic Clans”, BAEES Conference “Regimes and Conflicts in Eastern Europe after 1956”.
Tallin, 27-31 August 2018	“Ukrainian neoconservatism”. Seminar “Illiberal political turn in Eastern Europe”, Aspen Institute – Europe.
Berlin, 1-2 March 2018	“Contestation of Time and Space in post-Soviet Ukraine”. International conference “Contested Spaces”, ZOiS.
Florence, 5-10 February 2018	“Demodernization in contemporary Ukraine”. Conference “A Demodernization. A Global and Comparative History”, European Institute University.

- Frankfurt/ Oder, Nov. 30, 2017 “Radical Periphery. De Facto States in World-System Analysis”, Academic Workshop “European Peripheries: Transdisciplinary perspectives”, European University Viadrina
- Berlin, November 21-24, 2017 “Universalism and Globalism: Competing Ideas”. International Forum “In Quest for the Lost Universalism”.
- Berlin, November 5-7, 2017 “Populism as a thin ideology”. International conference “Populism under Spotlight”, Kennan Institute and ZOiS.
- Berlin, May 29, 2017 “Ideological Positions of the War-Affected Populations in Ukraine”. Prisma Ukraina/ZOiS Workshop “Donbas Identities in Context: From Industrial Region to Zone of Conflict”, Forum Transregionale Studien.
- Lviv, 26 – 28 June 2016 “Friendship in Post-Soviet Politics: between Cronyism and Solidarity”. 2016 ASEES-MAG Summer Convention
- New York, 14-16 April 2016 “Civil Society Functioning as State and Army. The Case of Post-Maidan Ukraine”, ASN Annual Conference, Columbia University
- Prague, May 18–22, 2016 “Politics and Authority in De-Modernizing Societies”. Conference ‘Philosophy and Social Science’, Central-European Institute of Philosophy.
- Rethymno, Greece, May 3-5, 2016 ‘The History of the Idea of Big Europe’. Conference “Rethinking Europe”, the International Society for Intellectual History, University of Crete
- Nice University, Mar. 1-2, 2016 “Post-Soviet Demodernization”. International Conference “Demodernization: Perspectives and Approaches”
- Frankfurt/Oder, Nov. 5-6, 2015 “The Novorossian Myth and Eastern European Un-Recognized Nations”. Conference “Ukraine’s Historical and Contemporary Interlockings: A Transnational Perspective on Transformations“. The Institute for Transformations Studies at European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO).
- Berlin, October 28-29, 2015 “Media and Propaganda in Post-Maidan Ukraine”. Civil Forum “In Quest for the Lost Universalism“, organized by the Moscow School for Political Studies.
- Berlin, October 23-24, 2015 “Post-Soviet De-Modernization”. Conference “Back to the Future? Ideas and Strategies of Retrograde Modernization in Russia and the Post-Soviet Region”. A cross-disciplinary conference organized by KomPost and DGO at Europäische Akademie
- Bologna-, Sep. 9-10, 2015 “Ideological and Political Developments in Ukraine after Euromaidan”. Conference ‘Envisioning Moving Frontiers. Ukraine & The Balkans’, Faculty of International Relations, Bologna University.

Rome, May 7-9, 2015	“Cooperation and Competition of Civil Society, State and Oligarchs after Euromaidan”. Conference ‘Risks and Opportunities in the Civil Society – Public Institutions Relationship. A Re-Assessment of the EU and Global Policy Process’, LUISS University.
Kiev, April 23 2015	“Positive Sublime in Kant’s Philosophy”. Conference “War and Peace. Kantian Co-Meditation”, Kant Society in Ukraine.
Berlin, March 2-3, 2015	“Conflicts in the post-Soviet Eastern Europe”. Conference “Ukraine, Russia and the EU Europe and Ukraine one year after Russia’s annexation of Crimea”. Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin.
Paris, January 21, 2015	“Political analysis of Ukrainian crises”. Conference ‘Ukraine, un an après. De la revolution a la guerre’. EHESS.
Ottawa, November 1-3, 2014	“Changing Civil Society after Maidan – 2014”, Danyliw Seminar, Ottawa University

## EDITORIAL WORK

September 2011 – present:	Editor-in-Chief, <i>Ideology and Politics Journal</i> (peer-reviewed Scopus indexed journal) ( <a href="http://ideopol.org/">http://ideopol.org/</a> )
2017 – present:	Editor-in-Chief, Kennan Focus Ukraine, ( <a href="http://www.kennan-focusukraine.org/">http://www.kennan-focusukraine.org/</a> ).

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

2017 – present:	Vice Chair, Supervisory Board, The Centre for East European and International Studies/ZOiS (Berlin, Germany).
2017 – present:	Member, Supervisory Board, School of Civic Studies (London, UK/Strasburg, France).
2015 – present:	Member, Editorial Board, <i>Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society</i>
2014 – present:	Member, Free Historical Association (Vol’noie Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo), Russia

## LANGUAGES

Ukrainian and Russian (Native)  
English (Fluent)  
German, Italian (Good)  
Polish, French (Minimal working knowledge)