

Short Bio

Kristina Stoeckl (1977, Austria) joined the University of Innsbruck in 2015 and became full professor of sociology in 2019. She studied Comparative Literature and Russian at the University of Innsbruck (2001) and International Relations and European Studies at the Central European University in Budapest (2003). She holds a PhD in Social and Political Sciences from the European University Institute in Florence (2007). Before joining the University of Innsbruck in 2015, she was a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Post-Doc Fellow at the University of Rome Tor Vergata (2009-2012) and APART Fellow of the Austrian Academy of Sciences at the University of Vienna (2012-2015). Among her most significant achievements in the recent years are an ERC Starting Grant and FWF Start Prize for the project “Postsecular Conflicts” (2015-2022). In the past, she has been invited as Visiting Fellow at the IWM – Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen in Vienna, the Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies in Florence, and Uppsala University. Her research areas are sociology of religion, political sociology and political theory, with a focus on politics and religion, on state-religion relations in Russia, norm and anti-gender mobilizations and transnational religious actors. She has published *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights* (2014) and *Moralist International. Russia in the Global Culture Wars* (forthcoming 2022) as well as numerous journal articles in *Religion, State and Society*, *Global Networks*, *Journal of Contemporary Religion* and others. Austrian by nationality and long-time resident in Italy, she is fluent in Italian and also speaks Russian and French apart from her native German and English.

European Academy of Religion

Renewal of the EuARe Executive Committee 2022 – Expression of Interest

By Univ.-Prof. Dr. **KRISTINA STOECKL** (University of Innsbruck)

Statement of interest

Dear members of the general assembly of the European Academy of Religion and distinguished members of the current executive committee,

I herewith submit my candidacy for the Executive Committee of the European Academy of Religion (2022-2026). I have been a member of EuARe from the very beginning and have actively participated in each of the Academy's annual conferences. In 2020, I was invited to hold one of the keynote lectures, due to COVID-19 pandemic in an online fashion.

My research addresses the global dimension of conflicts over morality policies ("culture wars"). Disagreement and even conflicts over different moral outlooks are normal in democratic, pluralistic societies, but they also pose great challenges. Academic research helps to address such conflicts with civility and constructively by providing definitions, concepts and historical and epistemic contextualization.

As sociologist of religion with a specialization on Orthodox Christianity and religion-state relations in post-soviet Russia, I have always appreciated the fact that EuARe, more than comparable scientific associations, has managed to create an active participation of scholars from basically all Orthodox traditions. As a member of the Executive Committee, I would actively work for keeping open doors for collaboration with Orthodox scholars, theologians and activists. With the unlawful military aggression of Russia against Ukraine, the world of Orthodox theology and ecumenical relations stands in front of unprecedented challenges. I would see it as my task to strengthen, inside EuARe, collaborations with Orthodox and Greek-Catholic scholars from Ukraine. EuARe should also continue to be a platform for theologians and scholars from Russia and Belarus, many of them facing limitations to academic freedom and freedom of expression.

As member of the executive committee, I would also see it as my task to represent the EuARe in exchange with sociologists of religion and religious studies scholars at other European universities.

The multidisciplinary, multireligious, and multilinguistic reality of the European Academy of Religion is a resource for addressing burning problems of our contemporary society. I would be happy to invest energy and time in the coming years into the flourishing of this important academic undertaking.

Kristina Stoeckl

Curriculum Vitae

KRISTINA STOECKL

CURRENT POSITION *full professor & head of department*
INSTITUTION University of Innsbruck, Department of Sociology,
Universitätsstraße 15, A-6020 Innsbruck, tel. +43 660 7223996
HOME Via Laura 58, 50121 Florence (FI), tel. +39 348 5200268
E-MAIL kristina.stoeckl@uibk.ac.at
TWITTER @StoecklKristina (postsecular_conflicts)

PERSONAL born 1977, married, one child (born 2011)
NATIONALITY Austrian
LANGUAGES German, English, Italian, Russian, French
HOMEPAGE www.kristinastoeckl.eu;
<https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/postsecular-conflicts/>
ORCID 0000-0001-5043-2977

RESEARCH STATEMENT

My research is set at the intersection of (international) political sociology, political and social theory, and sociology of religion with a special expertise on Russia and Russian Orthodoxy. The focus of my publications lies on religion-state relations in Russia and Orthodox Christianity, on political liberalism, secularism and religion, on the sociology of human rights, and transnational norm mobilization. The most significant achievement in recent years was winning both an ERC Starting Grant and an FWF Start Prize for my project “Postsecular Conflicts” (2015-2022), which investigated moral conservative norm mobilization and transnational networks of right-wing actors across Russia, Europe and the United States. The resulting monograph, entitled *Moralist International. Russia in the Global Culture Wars* (co-authored with Dmitry Uzlaner), will be published with Fordham University Press in 2022. I am currently working on a monograph entitled “Global Resistances to Sexual-Orientation-Gender-Rights” (co-authored with Phillip Ayoub).

EDUCATION

2007 PhD in Social and Political Sciences
Social and Political Sciences Dept., **European University Institute**
2003 Master in International Relations and European Studies | International
Relations and European Studies Dept., **Central European University**
2001 Mag. Phil. | Comparative Literature Dept., **University of Innsbruck**

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

Since 01.03.2019 Full Professor & Head of Department, Dept. of Sociology, University
of Innsbruck
2015-2019 Senior Post-Doc / Assistant Professor / Associate Professor,
University of Innsbruck (Habilitation, *venia docendi* Sociology,
2017.04)
2015 Part-time Visiting Professor, Dept. International Relations, Central
European University, Budapest (fall-term)

2012–2015	APART [Austrian Program for Advanced Research and Technology]-Fellow of Austrian Academy of Sciences at Department of Political Sciences, University of Vienna
2012–2015	Affiliated Research Fellow, IWM, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna
2009–2012	MARIE CURIE Intra-European Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Dept. of Philosophical Research, University of Rome Tor Vergata, Italy
2007–2009	Research Assistant, Research Platform World Order-Religion-Violence, UIBK

FELLOWSHIPS

2017	Invitation for 3-months-visiting fellowship, Exzellenzcluster Religion & Politics, University of Münster (<i>declined</i>)
2015.05	Short-term Visiting Fellow, Faculty of Theology & Center for Russian Studies, Uppsala University
2012–2013	Visiting Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies & EUI, ReligioWest research project

DISTINCTIONS

2019	Kardinal-Innitzer-Förderungspreis
2008	Award for publication of the doctoral thesis by the Austrian Science Community <i>ÖFG</i>
2008	Award for publication of the doctoral thesis by the Dr. Otto-Seibert-Foundation

FUNDING ID

<i>year</i>	<i>project name and funding agency</i>	<i>Funding amount</i>
2022	“MORE” ERC Proof-of-Concept Grant	<i>submitted</i>
2015	“POSEC” ERC Starting Grant nr. 676804	euro 1.498.750,00
2015	2016-2021 (Covid-extended to 04.2022), “Postsecular Conflicts” START-Prize FWF Austrian Science Fund, nr. Y-919, 2015-2021	euro 1.138.380,00
2012	“Orthodox Christianity and Politics” APART-Grant nr. 11545	euro 208.100,00
2009	2012-2015 OeAW, Austrian Academy of Sciences “European Orthodoxy”, Marie Skłodowska Curie Grant, FP7-MC-IEF nr. 235041	euro 156.043,41

MEMBERSHIPS

Member of the Young Academy, OeAW, Austrian Academy of Sciences since 2016
 Member of the Commission for the Study of Islam in Central Asia, OeAW since 2021
 Member, Kuratorium Europäisches Forum Alpbach since 2018
 Luce Leadership 100, Fordham University, Orthodox Christian Studies Center since 2019

COMMISSIONS OF TRUST

REVIEWER (FUNDING INSTITUTIONS)

European Research Council (Consolidator and Advanced); VIDI Program of the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research; Polish Science Fund; Russian Science Foundation (RSF); Central European University Institute for Advanced Studies;

Max-Weber-Kolleg Erfurt; American Academy Berlin; Austrian Academy of Sciences
Dissertationspreis Migrationsforschung

REVIEWER (JOURNALS)

Slavic Review; Politics, Religion & Ideology; Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie; Religion, State and Society; Journal of Religion in Europe; Journal of Contemporary Religion; Critical Research on Religion; Entangled Religions; St. Antony's International Review; The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review; Studies in East European Thought; Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft; European Legacy; Problems of Post-Communism; Religions

EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBER

Religioni e Società, Italy

MENTORING OF POST-GRADUATE RESEARCHERS

Mentor in the Mentoring program for female researchers, University of Innsbruck
Mentor in the Mentoring program of the DGO-Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde

SELECTION OF RECENT LECTURES, CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION and PUBLIC OUTREACH

1. Lecture "The war in Ukraine and the Churches", University of Fribourg, Theological Faculty, 16.03.2022
2. Panelist "YOUR BODY IS A BATTLEGROUND. Ultrakonservative Strategien zur Wiederherstellung einer 'natürlichen Ordnung'", Frankfurter Kunstverein, 18.-19.09.2021.
3. Keynote lecture "Europe's new religious conflicts: Russian Orthodoxy, American Christian Conservatives, and the emergence of a European Populist Christian Right", *European Academy of Religion - (Digital) Annual Conference 2020*, Bologna, 22.06.2020. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mi6_t7hbRuE&t=20s
4. Conference Organization "Postsecular Conflicts Mid-Term Conference", 6-8.02.2019, Vienna. With a public panel discussion "European Culture Wars?" with James D. Hunter, Olivier Roy, Susanna Mancini, and Ivan Vejvoda, Austrian Academy of Sciences. Available: <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/detail/news/wertedebatten-neue-allianzen-und-alte-konfliktthemen/>
5. Conference Organization "Russia in the Global Culture Wars", *Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs*, Washington, DC, 17-18.10.2019. Proceedings available at Berkley Forum "The Culture Wars Today": <https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/posts/the-culture-wars-today>
6. Webinar "Woman Scholars of Orthodox Christianity", *Orthodox Christian Studies Center at Fordham University*, 16.09.2020. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4KXzIPdAqxk>
7. Lecture "A Moralism International? The Role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Globalization of the Culture Wars." *Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs*, Washington, DC, 22.02.2018.

10 MOST IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS

1. Stoeckl, Kristina/Uzlaner, Dmitry (2022): *Moralist International. Russia in the Global Culture Wars*. New York: Fordham University Press.
2. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Russian Orthodoxy and Secularism. *Brill Research Perspectives in Religion and Politics* nr. 1 vol. 2 (monographic number), 75 p. ISBN: 978-90-04-42859-1.
3. Stoeckl, Kristina (2014) *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights*. London, New York: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0415658713. Paperback 2016, ISBN: 9781138205963.
4. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): The rise of the Russian Christian Right: the case of the World Congress of Families. *Religion, State and Society*, 48/4, 222-238. DOI: 10.1080/09637494.2020.1796172.
5. Mourão Permoser, Julia; Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Reframing human rights: the global network of moral conservative homeschooling activists. *Global Networks - A Journal of Transnational Affairs*. Online first, S. 1 - 22. DOI: 10.1111/glob.12299
6. Uzlaner, Dmitry; Stoeckl, Kristina (2019): From Pussy Riot's 'punk prayer' to 'Matilda': Orthodox believers, critique, and religious freedom in Russia. In: *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 34/3, S. 427 - 445. Reprinted in: Stensvold, Anne (ed.) (2020): *Blasphemies Compared. Transgressive Speech in a Globalized World*. London; New York [u.a.]: Routledge, 255-258. ISBN 9780367254223.
7. Stoeckl, Kristina; Medvedeva, Kseniya (2018): Double Bind at the UN: Western actors, Russia, and the traditionalist agenda. In: *Global Constitutionalism. Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law* 7/3, S. 383 - 421.
8. Uzlaner, Dmitry; Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): The Legacy of Pitirim Sorokin in the transnational alliances of moral conservatives. In: *Journal of Classical Sociology* 18/2, S. 133 - 153.
9. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017). Political liberalism and religious claims: four blind spots, *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 44/2, 132-151. DOI: 10.1177/0191453716651665
10. Stoeckl, Kristina (2016) The Russian Orthodox Church as moral norm entrepreneur, *Religion, State and Society*, 44/2, 132-151, DOI: 10.1080/09637494.2016.1194010.

Kristina Stoeckl: Shortened list of publications of the last five years (2017-2022).
A complete list of publications is available at <http://www.kristinastoeckl.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/List-of-publications.pdf>

Books

11. Stoeckl, Kristina/Uzlaner, Dmitry (2022): *Moralist International. Russia in the Global Culture Wars*. New York: Fordham University Press.
12. Phillip Ayoub/Stoeckl, Kristina (publication planned 2023): *The Global Resistances to SOGI Rights. Actors, Ideas, Claims*.
13. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Russian Orthodoxy and Secularism. *Brill Research Perspectives in Religion and Politics* nr. 1 vol. 2 (monographic number), 75 p. ISBN: 978-90-04-42859-1.

Edited books

14. Stoeckl, Kristina/Uzlaner, Dmitry eds. (2020): *Postsecular Conflicts. Debating tradition in Russia and the United States*. Innsbruck: innsbruck university press (IUP). ISBN 978-3-903187-99-3.
15. Stoeckl, Kristina/Gabriel, Ingeborg/Papanikolaou, Aristotle eds. (2017) *Political Theologies in Orthodox Christianity*. London, New York: T&T Clark/Bloomsbury.

Edited special issues

16. Stoeckl, Kristina, and Dmitry Uzlaner, eds. (2021) *The Russian Orthodox Church after the post-soviet transition*. *Religions*, ISSN 2077-1444 (Open Access).

Articles in peer-reviewed journals

17. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): The rise of the Russian Christian Right: the case of the World Congress of Families. *Religion, State and Society*, 48/4, 222-238. DOI: 10.1080/09637494.2020.1796172.
18. Mourão Permoser, Julia; Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Reframing human rights: the global network of moral conservative homeschooling activists. *Global Networks - A Journal of Transnational Affairs*. Online first, S. 1 - 22. DOI: 10.1111/glob.12299
19. Stoeckl, Kristina (2019) New frontiers in Russian religious philosophy: the philosophical anthropology of Sergey S. Horujy. *Russian Studies in Philosophy* (special issue on S. S. Horujy, edited by Marina Bykova), 51/1, 2-16. Print ISSN: 1061-1967 Online ISSN: 1558-0431.
20. Uzlaner, Dmitry; Stoeckl, Kristina (2019): From Pussy Riot's 'punk prayer' to 'Matilda': Orthodox believers, critique, and religious freedom in Russia. In: *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 34/3, S. 427 - 445. Reprinted in: Stensvold, Anne (ed.) (2020): *Blasphemies Compared. Transgressive Speech in a Globalized World*. London; New York [u.a.]: Routledge, 255-258. ISBN 9780367254223.
21. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Tri modeli tserkovno-gosudarstvennykh otnoshenij v sovremennoj Rossii [Three models of Church-State Relations in Contemporary Russia]. In: *State, Religion and Church in Russia and Worldwide / Gosudarstvo, religii, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 3/36, S. 219 - 246.
22. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Aktivisty vne konfessional'nykh granits: "konservativnyy ekumenizm" Vsemirnogo Kongressa Semey. In: *State, Religion*

and Church in Russia and Worldwide / Gosudarstvo, religiia, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom 4, S. 58 - 68.

23. Stoeckl, Kristina; Medvedeva, Kseniya (2018): Double Bind at the UN: Western actors, Russia, and the traditionalist agenda. In: *Global Constitutionalism. Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law* 7/3, S. 383 - 421.
24. Uzlaner, Dmitry; Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): The Legacy of Pitirim Sorokin in the transnational alliances of moral conservatives. In: *Journal of Classical Sociology* 18/2, S. 133 - 153.
25. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017): The Russian Orthodox Church's Conservative Crusade. In: *Current History* 116/792, S. 271.
26. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017). Political liberalism and religious claims: four blind spots, *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 44/2, 132-151. DOI: 10.1177/0191453716651665
- 27.

Articles in edited volumes

28. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): The Russian Orthodox Church and Neo-Nationalism. In: Höhne, Florian/Meireis, Torsten (Eds.): *Religion and Neo-Nationalism in Europe*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 311-320.
29. Stoeckl, Kristina (2021): Konservative Netzwerke über Konfessionsgrenzen hinweg. Die „konservative Ökumene“ des World Congress of Families. In: Strube, Sonja A./Perintfalvi, Rita/Hemet, Raphaela/Metze, Miriam/Sahbaz, Cicek (eds.) *Anti-Genderismus in Europa. Allianzen von Rechtspopulismus und religiösem Fundamentalismus. Mobilisierung - Vernetzung - Transformation*. Bielefeldt: Transcript-Verlag, 217-118.
30. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Three Models of Church-State Relations in Contemporary Russia. In: Mancini, Susanna: *Constitutions and Religion*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 237-252. ISBN 978 1 78643 928 4,.
31. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Introduction: What are Postsecular Conflicts? In: Stoeckl, Kristina; Uzlaner, Dmitry: *Postsecular Conflicts. Debating tradition in Russia and the United States*. Innsbruck: innsbruck university press (IUP), ISBN 978-3-903187-99-3, S. 7 - 23.
32. Stoeckl, Kristina; Uzlaner, Dmitry (2019): The Russian Postsecular. In: Schneider, Christoph: *Theology and Philosophy in Eastern Orthodoxy: Essays on Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Thought*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, ISBN 9781608994212, S. 32 - 52.
33. Stoeckl, Kristina; Uzlaner, Dmitry (2018): Four Genealogies of the Postsecular. In: Justin Beaumont (ed.) *Routledge Handbook on Postsecularity*. London: Routledge, 269-279. ISBN: 9781138234147
34. Stoeckl, Kristina; Medvedeva, Kseniya (2019): Menschenrechte unter Druck: Russland als Verteidiger 'traditioneller Werte' vor den Vereinten Nationen. In: Ganner, Michael; Voithofer, Caroline: *Rechtstatsachenforschung. Tagungsband 2018*. Innsbruck: innsbruck university press (IUP) (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Rechtstatsachenforschung, 10), ISBN 978-3-903187-65-8, S. 93 - 104.
35. Mancini, Susanna; Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Transatlantic conversations: the emergence of society-protective anti-abortion arguments in the United States, Europe and Russia. In: Mancini, Susanna; Rosenfeld, Michel: *The Conscience Wars. Rethinking the Balance between Religion and Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 220-257. ISBN 9781107173309.

36. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Religion in der Öffentlichkeit – zwei Modelle, zwei Versuchungen. In: Dürnberger, Martin: Öffentlichkeiten. Innsbruck, Wien: Tyrolia (= Salzburger Hochschulwochen), ISBN 978-3-7022-3653-3, S. 125-151.
37. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017): Il ruolo della Chiesa Ortodossa Russia nell'ambito della dottrina dei diritti umani. In: Macrì, Gianfranco; Annicchino, Pasquale: Diritto, religione e politica nell'arena internazionale. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, ISBN 978-8-849-85053-6, S. 107-118.
38. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017) "Modernity and Political Theologies", Political Theologies in Orthodox Christianity, edited by Ingeborg Gabriel, Aristotle Papanikolaou and Kristina Stoeckl. London, New York: T&T Clark/Bloomsbury, 15-24.

Encyclopedia articles

39. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): Human Rights. In: Ritzer, George (Hrsg.): *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Oxford [u.a.]: Blackwell Publishing, ISBN 1-4051-2433-4.
40. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018) "Jean Luc Nancy, Dekonstruktion des Christentums", *Religionsphilosophie und Religionskritik – ein Handbuch*, hrsg. von Michael Kühnlein. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 874-885. ISBN: 978-3-518-29740-7.

Working papers, policy-papers, conference-reports and short articles

41. Stoeckl, Kristina with Claudio Paravati (2021). Dossier "I conflitti post-secolari nelle società moderne", a special issue of *Confronti. Religione, Politica e Società*, XI/2021 (Novembre).
42. Stoeckl, Kristina (2021) The COVID-10 Pandemic strengthens Church and Political Elite, Weakens Russian Society. In: *Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs Forum*. 19 August 2021.
<https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/the-covid-19-pandemic-strengthens-church-and-political-elite-weakens-russian-society>
43. Stoeckl, Kristina (2020): The End of Post-Soviet Religion. In: *Public Orthodoxy*, 20 July 2020, <https://publicorthodoxy.org/2020/07/20/the-end-of-post-soviet-religion/>
44. Stoeckl, Kristina (2019): The Shifting Coordinates of the Conservative Worldview. In: *Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs Forum*. 18 December 2019.
<https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/the-shifting-coordinates-of-the-conservative-worldview>
45. Stoeckl, Kristina (2019): The European Culture Wars. Spotlight 13/2019 (3 April 2019) In: *ZOiS – Center for East European and International Studies*, Berlin:
<https://en.zois-berlin.de/publications/zois-spotlight-2019/the-european-culture-wars/>
46. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Ökumene 2.0 - zwischen Ökumene und Anti-Ökumene. Einleitung zur Schwerpunktausgabe "Ökumene 2.0". In: *Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West* 10, S. 5 – 6.
47. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Putins Werk und Kirills Beitrag. In: *Publik-Forum - Zeitschrift kritischer Christen* 20, S. 26 - 28.

48. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018): Zivilgesellschaft von rechts. *Junge-Akademie-Blog auf derStandard.at*, <https://derstandard.at/2000080174316/Zivilgesellschaft-von-rechts>
49. Stoeckl, Kristina (2018) The World Congress of Families in Georgia and Moldova. In: *The rise of illiberal civil society in Georgia, Armenia, Moldova, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan*, edited by Adam Hug. The Foreign Policy Centre <https://fpc.org.uk/publications/>
50. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017). The ‚Matilda‘ Controversy and the Politics of Religious Feelings. Public Orthodoxy Blog, October 2017: <https://publicorthodoxy.org/2017/10/06/matilda-controversy/>
51. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017): Postsäkulare Konflikte und Culture Wars: Wertedebatten und Religion in Europa, Russland und den USA. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (= Akademie im Dialog, 6).
52. Stoeckl, Kristina (2017): Russland als Verteidiger traditioneller Werte? Eine Idee und ihre Grenzen. In: *Russland-Analysen* 355, S. 5 - 7.