DIRECTOR’S LETTER

Dr. Henry E. Hale

Fall 2011 was a semester of both celebration and sadness for IERES. We celebrated with a series of major events marking the Institute’s 50th anniversary, but mourned the tragic and untimely passing of one of the key figures who got us there, Suzanne Stephenson.

Suzanne had been at GW for 38 years, the vast majority of those being at the Institute. She was not just a pillar of the community, but multiple pillars all at once. She spearheaded our administrative team as the Institute grew at the same time that she created important social traditions that continue to build the kind of community that makes the Institute a lively, productive, interesting, and even fun place to be, helping us better achieve our missions in education, research, and policy engagement.

It is in keeping with Suzanne’s spirit that the Institute and Elliott School events held to remember her were celebrations of her life, as is described in a special article in this newsletter (see p. 19). She will be sorely missed.

Suzanne Stephenson

50TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

IERES celebrated by hosting a number of landmark events:

Two Decades of Post-Soviet Independence: What Have We Learned?
December 7-8, 2011
The EU at the Crossroads: Economic and Political Perspectives
Theo Christov, Henry Farrell, Harvey Feigenbaum, Michael Sodaro Scheherazade Rehman, & Kimberly Morgan, November 30, 2011
The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall: Perspectives on the Wall 50 Years After It was Built, Hope M. Harrison & Marianne Birthler (IERES Visiting Scholar)
November 9, 2011
Rethinking the Cold War, Hope M. Harrison, James Hershberg, & Gregg Brazinsky, November 3, 2011
Director’s letter (continued from p. 1)

Suzanne’s impact, however, will continue to be felt as was clear from the Institute’s 50th anniversary celebration. This celebration consisted of a series of major events designed to showcase IERES programs and expertise, to reflect on IERES’s history, and to directly serve the Institute’s mission by providing timely analysis of important developments in our region, such as the crisis in the European Union (see the special article in this newsletter), and reflecting on what we have learned about the Cold War through GW’s world-renowned program on this subject.

Two of the 50th anniversary events made use of the fact that the second half of 2011 also coincided with the 50th anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall and the 20th anniversary of the demise of the USSR. The Berlin Wall event took advantage of the fact that IERES can boast America’s leading expert on the politics of the Wall, Hope Harrison, and of the great opportunity we had to host Marianne Birthler, a former East German activist and German Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Files from 2001 to 2011, both of whom spoke. The other event was a major PONARS Eurasia conference, co-sponsored by the Kennan Institute, that brought some 40 leading scholars together from around the world to reflect on what we can conclude about post-Soviet politics, economics, and culture and also about Soviet-era history now that we have had 20 years to analyze it since the USSR’s breakup (see the special article in this newsletter). This celebration was capped off by a gala dinner, supported in part by a generous gift from A. Michael Hoffman that gathered alumni, faculty, students, staff, visiting scholars, donors, and other friends of the Institute.

We also celebrated other collective successes, including a new $800,000 grant to support PONARS Eurasia (which Suzanne had played a key role in securing) and the release of IERES Professor Sharon Wolchik’s major new book with Valerie Bunce, Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries (Cambridge University Press, 2011). We were also excited to welcome a great new group of European and Eurasian Studies MA students, a very interesting set of visiting scholars, and a new faculty member with an exciting research and teaching agenda, Michelle Kelso. These and many more developments are highlighted in the pages that follow, and we look forward to more to come in the spring semester.

- Henry

IERES AFFILIATED PROGRAMS

Caucasus Analytical Digest • Central Asia Program • Demokratizatsiya Journal • GW Cold War Group • European Union Center • History, Memory, and Politics of The Past Project • Petrach Program on Ukraine • PONARS Eurasia • Program on Conducting Archival Research • Russian Analytical Digest • Stuart Program on Northern Europe

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IERES Insight is produced by Robert Orttung and Sasha Schmemann
IERES 50TH ANNIVERSARY—
TWO-DAY CONFERENCE MARKS
20 YEARS SINCE THE COLLAPSE
OF THE SOVIET UNION

IERES hosted a two-day conference as part of its
PONARS Eurasia program and a gala dinner on
December 7-8, 2011, the flagship events of IERES’s
fall celebration of the 50th anniversary of its founding
in 1961 as the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies. The
conference, entitled “Two Decades of Post-Soviet
Independence: What Have We Learned?” featured
nearly 40 presentations covering all aspects of post-
Soviet life: foreign policy, political economy, ethnic
politics, culture, history, and society.

Foreign Policy
Ohio State University’s Ted Hopf launched the
discussion by arguing that Russia is a semi-periphery
in the world capitalist economy, but a core state for
its own dominated periphery. He argued that Russia
serves as a raw material and energy exporter to
Western powers and is far less integrated into the
global economy than Western countries. The next
paper shifted the focus south. The changing realities
of Central Asian autocratic rule mean that now
authoritarian Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are more
open to US interests than is democratic Kyrgyzstan,
according to George Mason’s Eric McGlinchey. He
explained this puzzle by pointing out that the
authoritarian leaders seek legitimacy abroad, while
the democratically-elected leader of Kyrgyzstan
does not need such support. The Caucasus
Institute’s Sergey Minasyan classified the various
post-Soviet states into “univectoral” or
“multivectoral” based on their foreign policy
attitudes toward the major powers (Russia, the US,
EU, and China). Armenia uniquely pursues a policy
of “complementarism,” which seeks to combine and
balance the interests of all major players. Moscow
State University of International Relations’ Yulia
Nikitina asked, “What lessons can the post-Soviet
states teach to the West?” One is that frozen
conflicts are often better than resolved conflicts that
involve numerous deaths and that such cold peace
can be maintained even when some of the
peacekeepers have a strong interest in the situation
they are monitoring. IERES’s Robert Orttung argued
that while many analysts have written about energy
security issues, they have overemphasized the role
of conflict in the world. A more balanced approach
provides considerably more room for the evolution
of cooperation.

Political Economy
Kent State University’s Andrew Barnes stressed the
importance of informal networks and bargaining for
getting things done in post-Soviet economies.
Following the work of Joel Hellman and others, he
noted the importance of the “first-round winners” in
the economic transitions, but showed that there
have also been “second-round winners” and that it
is necessary to understand their role as well. Brown
University’s Pauline Jones Luong and the New
Economic School’s Konstantin Sonin debated the
relevance of the resource curse for studying the
post-Soviet space. Luong argued that the initial configuration of elites and the countervailing pressures from the regional and international context in which they emerged were more important than the presence or absence of petroleum. Among petroleum-rich states, the impact of the resources was mediated by the ownership structures of the petroleum sector. Sonin, in contrast, claimed that Russia was a textbook example of the resource curse. He noted his previous research, which had successfully linked the price of petroleum to the level of media freedom in a variety of countries. UCLA’s Daniel Treisman argued that the post-Communist countries have largely lost the distinctive distortions of Communism and have blended into their geographical neighborhoods and synchronized their business cycles with those of the global economy. His future research will examine what drives the post-Communist countries to become more like their neighbors, whether it is a blending effect or some external factors that drive the common process.

Ethnic Politics
Columbia’s Elise Guiliano and Harvard’s Dmitri Gorenburg argued that ethnicity has played a small and non-divisive role in Russian politics over the last twenty years. However, they warned that while ethnic mobilization has declined, Russian nationalism and xenophobia have emerged as significant concerns. The Center for Strategic and International Studies’ Sergey Markedonov focused on the phenomenon of unrecognized states in the wake of the USSR’s collapse. He argued that they are a result of a lack of clarity following the collapse of the old Yalta-Potsdam international system and the inchoate rise of a new one. The University of California, San Diego’s Philip Roeder used the 20th anniversary as a good occasion to summarize several insights about the way we understand nationalism and self-determination. He noted, for example, that granting independence to secessionists is not a bad option, democratization may be a primary cause of nationalist conflict, and that Islamists were trumped by nationalists in the breakup of the Soviet Union, but have taken a leadership role where nationalists have failed. The Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy’s Anar Valiyev examined the impact of the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan. He noted that both countries understand that continuing the conflict is not in their interests, but that each side hopes that the status quo will hurt the other side more. The failure to resolve the conflict hinders democratization in both countries.

Culture
Dianne Beal, the owner of Galerie Blue Square, described the growing market for Russian paintings and art, with some artists able to command seven figure sums for their works. Globalization does not mean the triumph of Western cultural identities, at least not if urban, educated bearers of Islamic globalization are indicative of a trend, according to Providence College’s Douglas Blum. The Free University of Berlin’s Andrey Makarychev analyzed the literary works of Dmitry Bykov, Zakhar Prilepin, Vladimir Sorokin, and Viktor Pelevin and concluded that they share a pessimistic view that Russia is a country in which power is executed for the sake of power itself. They believe that the type of modernization advocated by President Dmitry Medvedev is not possible and is reduced to a proliferation of gadgets that is compatible with the persistence of unreformed mechanisms of power. IERES’s Peter Rollberg issued a cri de cœur for a greater emphasis on Eurasian cultural studies in the West. His cause gained support from a representative of the Department of Defense in the audience who noted that recognizing cultural references is essential to understanding what is happening in the countries we study.
IERES 50th Events 1961-2011

"Knowledge is of no value unless you put it into practice."
- Anton Chekhov

Photographs by Alex Agaryshev

MAURICE EAST

XU LIU

ALBERT SCHMIDT AND BETSY REDDAWAY

WILLIAM GLASS AND GALIMA GALIYULLINA

ALBERT SCHMIDT AND CORY WELT

SEAN PATRICK
Politics
Harvard’s Timothy Colton called for a greater emphasis on leadership studies, which have been underrepresented in his estimation. He proposed evaluating leaders on the basis of their effectiveness in achieving the goals that they set for themselves and their broader impact on the world around them. We have only a poor understanding of the color revolutions, according to Kharkiv National University’s Oleksandr Fisun. Rather than a clash between democrats and the middle class and the authoritarian regime, they were more a conflict between a neopatrimonial bureaucracy and rent-seeking political entrepreneurs. Moreover, the key point for the success of the revolutions was the support of the leading economic elite for outsiders. IERES’s Henry Hale examined big patterns in post-Soviet regime dynamics by stressing the role of patronal politics - a social equilibrium where individuals organize their political and economic pursuits primarily around the personalized exchange of concrete rewards and punishments, and not primarily around abstract, impersonal principles such as ideological belief or categorizations that include many people one has not actually met in person. The result is the rise of network politics and to the extent that democracy occurs, it is an open battle of networks. The Carnegie Moscow Center’s Nikolai Petrov took a similar approach, arguing that Putin has restored the Nomenklatura system from the Communist era. The difference is that the perks of the Communist-era Nomenklatura have been replaced by the “right to corruption.” Indiana University’s Regina Smyth noted the failure of scholars to link partisan development to regime outcomes, arguing that in adopting an institutional framework researchers failed to take account of the variation in preference structures. She concluded that the ruling United Russia party may be more stable than current poll numbers indicate, particularly since its policy positions marginalize the left.

History
The History panel looked at how societies have come to grips with their pasts. Harvard’s Mark Kramer noted that Putin has no great interest in “rehashing the past” with the result that Stalin’s baleful legacy will remain a blight on Russia’s future. A more effective examination of Russia’s history would improve democratic stability and social cohesiveness, he argued. IERES’s Marlène Laruelle listed several myths that historians have overturned in recent years. For example, many believe that Stalin personally drew border lines to divide and conquer peoples in Central Asia. However, archival research has revealed that indigenous elites were associated with the process of territorial division and many of their conflicts were echoed in the central ruling bodies in Moscow. George Mason’s Steven Barnes described the growing interest in Gulag studies. While even in Soviet times there were reports from individual prisoners describing their experiences, there were no systematic studies of the prison system. Now we know that overall the Gulag was economically irrational, costing a lot and producing little. Future research should examine topics focused on the individuals who staffed the prisons, the surveillance system, and sexual violence in the camps. Columbia’s Tarik Amar started by considering Mark von Hagen’s 1995 essay entitled “Does Ukraine Have a History?” He concluded that “Unlike the Ukrainian state’s politics of history and memory, the history of Ukraine, as a combination of international academic practice and institutions, has unambiguously seen improvement.” He noted that Ukrainian history has become more complicated and contentious as scholars gain better access to Ukrainian archives.

State and Society
Finally, the state and society panel examined a variety of issues related to citizenship. The New Economic School’s Samuel Green argued that the idea of a social contract in which people trade
quiescence for prosperity should be replaced with a view of state-society relations as a divorce settlement in which people basically trade political non-engagement for economic autonomy. The social contract approach does not explain why support for the regime stayed strong in 2008, but is flagging now. IERES’s Serhiy Kudelia examined the role of society in post-Soviet state-building. He argued that society remained malleable and disunited in the face of the state due to citizens’ preference for short-term benefits, salient cultural or historical cleavages, and disjointed values. Nevertheless, society maintains the ability to emerge as a transformational actor through social mobilization driven by a common set of long-term interests and shared beliefs. New York University’s Joshua Tucker (presenting research jointly conducted with Princeton’s Grigore Pop-Eleches) examined the question of how the Communist past affects political attitudes and behavior in the post-Communist present. Their work on Communist legacies seeks to identify the mechanism in which this past matters, whether through lived experience, a specific socio-demographic landscape, or the political and economic shocks that these countries experienced in the last two decades. Their work has suggested that the latter two are more powerful explanations, but the research is on-going. The Kennan Institute’s William Pomeranz argued that the persistent abuse of criminal law, corruption, and deep-rooted authoritarian tendencies negate what progress has been made in establishing a law-based state in Russia. Until Russia can subordinate its state to its own laws, establishing the rule of law will remain an elusive goal. Similarly, Barnard College’s Alexander Cooley examined transnational corruption networks in Central Asia. He noted that these networks show that Central Asian states are integrated into certain global economic processes and not isolated from outside flows as often assumed. He also pointed out that the informal corruption networks serve the interests of some external powers and domestic elites, while allowing them to deny any nefarious connection.

Reddaway on Putin’s Russia
In a rousing dinner address, IERES Professor Emeritus Peter Reddaway argued that Putin’s system is more vulnerable to decline and eventual collapse than the USSR was. As factors weakening the system, he pointed to Putin’s diminishing luster after 12 years in power; the growing influence of Russia’s emerging capitalists; the extensive corruption of Putin’s party of power, United Russia; the lack of a national ideology; the absence of a consensus on Russia’s territorial boundaries; and, finally, a host of social problems, including demographic decline, drug use, and brain drain.

Sponsors
This “intellectual feast” had numerous co-sponsors, including PONARS Eurasia (funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York), the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars’ Kennan Institute, the William and Helen Petrach Endowment for Ukrainian Exchanges and Programs, A. Michael Hoffman (who made a special gift to support the 50th Anniversary dinner), and the Heyward Isham Fund for Russian and Eastern European Studies.
THE EU AT THE CROSSROADS
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

As part of IERES’s 50th anniversary series of events, six IERES faculty members on November 30th participated in a panel to share their insights on the dramatic crisis that has been unfolding within the European Union.

The Concept of Europe

Theo Christov, Assistant Professor of Honors and History, launched the discussion by briefly outlining the historical antecedents of the EU, which he delineated into three distinct periods. The first epoch is that of antiquity. For the Greeks, as later for the Romans, the word Europe was associated with myth, and only later with geography. The second period began much later, starting in the 16th century, when Europe also began to acquire a political and social meaning. This period was the beginning of early modernity, or, what one could rightly call, the enlightened narrative of Europe. The third period began with the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community, followed by the Treaty of Paris a year later. Thus began the formal legal rubric of a common European space, culminating in the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon. Although Christov was generally optimistic about the long-term future of the EU, he ironically observed that “while Greeks were the first Europeans, they may also be the first to be cast out of Europe.”

Foreign Policy

Michael Sodaro, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, spoke on the status of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) of the EU. This policy, launched in 2004, seeks to ensure that there are no dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its 16 nearest neighbors. Overall, Sodaro concluded that while some specific countries such as Croatia and Iceland are likely candidates for EU membership, the majority of participants in the neighborhood policy such as Macedonia, Albania, Turkey, Serbia, and Montenegro still face steep political and economic challenges. Croatia, in fact, signed a treaty to become the 28th EU member on December 9, shortly after the presentation.

The Euro

Both Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs Henry Farrell and Professor of International Business and International Affairs Scheherazade Rehman tackled questions of the survivability of the euro and the problems facing the Union. Farrell argued that the overly bureaucratic culture of problem-solving in the EU led to a gap between political elites and disinterested publics. He went so far as to say that the central problem was that politics in the EU were “too boring.” Uninterested publics did not pay attention until the debt crisis on the continent became exceedingly grave. Rehman discussed how the metastasizing financial and debt crisis has spread to Italy which is “too big to save” for the European Central Bank and the EU governments, and that the crisis has greatly impacted the global economy, including the U.S. She has no doubt that the Eurozone will survive...
but that Europe will have a long, hard road towards economic recovery, with the euro losing ground against the dollar.

**Domestic Politics**

Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs Kimberly Morgan and Professor of Political Science and International Affairs Harvey Feigenbaum discussed the domestic politics of some of the EU powerhouses and how they might impact the EU as a whole. Feigenbaum examined the 2010 election in Britain as well as the upcoming prospects for elections in France, Germany, and Italy. The dire economic situation appears likely to turn electoral fortunes against incumbents.

Polls indicate that the current oppositions in France and Germany are likely to take over, while the situation in Italy is still clouded.

Morgan noted that migration issues have risen in salience across the continent and are increasingly becoming gendered. Laws targeting Muslim minorities have increased, from headscarf bans in France to a successful referendum against the construction of new minarets in Switzerland. This xenophobic trend in European politics reflects the rising popularity of populist right-wing political parties that also oppose European integration.

**IERES WELCOMES NEW FACULTY MEMBER**

Michelle Kelso is Assistant Professor of Human Services, Sociology, and International Affairs. She came to GW after receiving her doctorate in Sociology from the University of Michigan in 2010. Having worked for over 15 years with Roma communities, Michelle has focused on the Romani persecution during the Holocaust in Romania both inside and outside of academia. Her dissertation focused on the Romani experience in Romanian-run camps in occupied Soviet Union, and contemporary views in Romania of Roma as Holocaust victims. She has also played an active role in civil society. From 2005-2010, she was the director of a Romanian non-profit organization, the Association for Dialogue and Civic Education, which organized projects on Holocaust education, tolerance promotion, as well as researching the fate of the Romanian Roma during WWII. In 2005, Michelle made a documentary film, “Hidden Sorrows: The Persecution of Romanian Gypsies during WWII,” which has been screened in seven countries, at numerous film festivals, and on three national television channels. Her interests span from collective memory and education, to aging and beauty, using qualitative methods to discover personal constructions of identity. She speaks Romanian, French, and some Romani.

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IERES Visiting Scholars 2011-2012

Gökhan Alper Ataşer is a Ph.D. Student at Middle East Technical University in Turkey. His areas of interest include state-society relations, democratization, post-Soviet transitions, and the sociology of mass communication. At IERES, he is working on a project dealing with the Azerbaijani political elite in a period of multiple transformations. ataser@gwu.edu (September 2011–August 2012)

Jacob Eder is a Mellon Fellow in Contemporary History at IERES and a Ph.D. Candidate in the history department at the University of Pennsylvania. He is helping organize the Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR). His study examines German cultural diplomacy in the United States and its relevance for the formation of transnational Holocaust memory. Eder is also an associate member of the graduate school of the Jena Center for the History of the Twentieth Century at the Freidrich Schiller University in Jena, Germany. He is the recipient of numerous academic grants and fellowships, including doctoral fellowships from the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the USHMM, and the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. eder@gwu.edu (September 2011–July 2012)

Rebecca A. Chamberlain-Creanga is finishing her Ph.D. in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics, specializing in industrial anthropology and the political economy of identity and conflict. Her dissertation is entitled: “Manufacturing Separatism: Transnational Economy, Identity, and Politics on a Post-Soviet Frozen War Front.” Chamberlain did participant-observation research in urban heavy industry on both of Moldova’s river banks, including in the secessionist Transnistrian region, for almost two years in 2004-06 for the study “Cementing Modernization,” supported by several Title VIII/US Department of State academic fellowships. She will continue this work at IERES, incorporating her most recent research on political change and conflict, including transnational dimensions and local-level sources of separatism. racc@gwu.edu (February–December 2012)

Paul Coyer is a Ph.D. candidate at the London School of Economics and Political Science, writing on the role played by the Congress in the early development of Sino-American relations, 1969-1980. The working title of his dissertation is “Congress, China and the Cold War.” coyer@gwu.edu (January 2011–August 2012)

Dariga Chukmaitova is a Ph.D. candidate at Claremont Graduate University who is originally from Kazakhstan. She is writing about “Sector-switching” in Kazakhstan’s healthcare industry. The study examines why doctors switch from the national to the private system, a topic that has yet to be carefully examined. dariga@gwu.edu (September 2010–December 2012)

Chao Fan is a Ph.D. Candidate at Peking University. At IERES, he is working on a project entitled “China’s Foreign Policy toward the United States in the 1980s.” He is particularly interested in the role that the USSR played in the Sino-US relationship. He participated in IERES’s Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR) with the research topic: “The Cold War and the Origin of China’s Foreign Aid Policy (1949-1965).” fanchao@gwu.edu (September 2011–August 2012)
Liping Fan, associate professor at Guangxi Normal University, is working on a project entitled “To Win Cambodia Over: The Game in Southeast Asia during the Cold War between the US and China (1954-1975).” Her research focuses on Southeast Asian history during the Cold War, especially relations between the United States and China. (February 2012–August 2012)

Mami Hamamoto is a research fellow at the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, the University of Tokyo, Japan, specializing in the history of Russian Muslims, especially Tatars. She received her Ph.D. (2006) at Kyoto University (Japan) and audited classes at the Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow from 1999 to 2001. At IERES, she will examine the activities of Tatar merchants in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. hamamoto@gwu.edu (September 2011–September 2012)

Leo Jansons is a Ph.D. student of Modern History at the University of Latvia in Riga. His dissertation takes a multi-dimensional look at the Baltic Question—the “strange existence” of the Baltic States after June 1940. He will examine documents in the U.S. National Archive to analyze the Baltic Question from the American institutional point of view, the first undertaking of this kind. (April 2012–May 2012)

Francisco Javier Rodríguez Jiménez is a Fulbright Scholar from the University of Salamanca, Spain. He is studying American cultural diplomacy with regard to Spain after World War II. His interests include American studies; anti-Americanism; American high culture vs. popular culture; cultural diplomacy and soft powers of different states in a comparative approach. His book, “Antidoto Contra el Antiamericanismo? American Studies en Espana, 1945-1969” [An antidote for Anti-Americanism? American Studies in Spain, 1945-1969], was recently published in Spain. fjrdrig@gwu.edu (September 2010–September 2012)

Iwona Kaliszewska is a Ph.D. student in the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Warsaw in Poland. She will work on a project entitled “ Stateless Places? Sharia Communities in Dagestan.” She is the president and one of the founders of the Kaukaz.net Foundation and plays an active role in its website. Additionally, she is a co-author of the book “Matryoshka in a Hijab. Essays on Dagestan and Chechnya (2010).” Among other adventures, she and her husband enjoy traveling through the Caucasus with their baby Lenka! (February 2012–June 2012)

Serhiy Kudelia is the IERES Petrich Post-Doctoral Fellow in Eurasian Studies. His research interests include the sources and outcomes of the constitutional changes in Ukraine under the presidencies of Kuchma, Yushchenko, and Yanukovych and conflict in Western Ukraine following the Soviet take-over in 1944. He was previously an assistant professor at the National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Ukraine. skudelia@gwu.edu (September 2011–May 2012)

Yuriy Kyrylych is a William and Helen Petrich Fellow at IERES. He is a Ph.D. student at Lviv’s Ivan Franko National University and will be researching the problems of uneven socio-economic development in the world under globalization. (January 2012–April 2012)
Hong Sub Lee is associate professor in the Department of International Relations at the Korea National Defense University (KNDU) in Seoul. He will research the prospects for democratization in Russia during his time at IERES. His research interests include Russian military reform and energy politics in Eurasia. (August 2012–July 2013)

Nancy Meyers is researching the role of moral shock in early 1999 Serbian protests and the 1996-97 protest in central Serbia. She is also teaching 51 undergraduates in PSc2331 Central and East European Politics during the fall semester. nancylm@gwu.edu (July 2010–July 2012)

Evangelos Liaras is the IERES Davis Post-Doctoral Fellow in European Studies. His primary interests are ethnic conflict and electoral politics. Since earning his Ph.D. at MIT, he has worked as a post-doctoral fellow and instructor at Koç University in Istanbul. At IERES, he is turning his dissertation “Ballot Box and Tinderbox: Can Electoral Engineering Save Multiethnic Democracy?” which received the American Political Science Association’s Juan Linz Award, into a book. The study examined the impact of electoral reforms on conflict in four divided societies: Northern Ireland, Turkey, Sri Lanka, and Guyana. eliaras@gwu.edu (September 2011–May 2012)

Victor Nemchenok is a Mellon Fellow in Contemporary History at IERES and a Ph.D. Candidate in the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia. He is helping organize the Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR) and working on his dissertation, entitled “A Dialogue of Power: Development, Global Civil Society, and the Third World Challenge to International Order, 1970-1988.” It examines how experts and NGOs from the global “south,” the third world, interpreted and contested leading nations’ efforts at modernization during the 1970s and 1980s. He has conducted archival research in Egypt, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, and France for this project. He has published in Cold War History, The Middle East Journal, and Diplomacy and Statecraft. vnemchenok@gwu.edu (September 2011–July 2012)

Xu Liu is a research fellow at the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, and is currently studying Russia’s energy policy and energy cooperation in Northeast Asia. He earned two bachelor’s degrees from Peking University, one in Russian literature and the other in economics, and has studied at Tsukuba University and Hokkaido University, where he earned his Ph.D. He is a regular writer for the opinion corner of the Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA) and has published papers related to Russia’s energy policy in academic journals and industry magazines in four languages: Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and English. liuxu@gwu.edu (July 2011–May 2012)

Jun Niu is a professor at Peking University in China. At IERES, he is working on a project examining “The Origin of New China’s Asia Policy in the 1980s,” particularly in the context of US-USSR relations during the Cold War. His research is focused on China’s foreign policymaking since 1949, US foreign policy, and the Sino-US relationship. His recent publications include: From Yan’an to the World: The Origin and Development of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy, Towards a History of Chinese Communist Foreign Relations (1920s-1960s), and Lengzhan yu zhongguo [The Cold War and China]. He received his
Oleksandr Sukhodolia, from the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, is in residence at IERES from November 2011 through August 2012. Here on a Fulbright Scholarship, he is working on a project entitled “Energy Security of Ukraine: Geopolitics, Economics, and Governance.” Oleksandr gained practical experience in implementing Ukraine’s energy policy when he worked at the State Committee of Ukraine on Energy Conservation (1998-2003) and the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine (2007-2011). He has also helped develop legislation on energy efficiency and energy policy in Ukraine. His current research project involves developing an analytical model that reflects the motives of power elites in decision making on energy policy and energy security issues.

(Ph.D. from the People's University of China in 1988.

niujun@gwu.edu  (August 2011–January 2012)

Alexandr Osipian is working on a project entitled “Uses of History and Regional Diversity in Ukraine’s Elections, 2004-2010: The Failed Reforms in a Divided Society.” His work examines how history is actively and cynically used in politics. He is associate professor of history at Kramatorsk Institute of Economics and Humanities and is a NCEEER Carnegie Research Fellow. (January – May 2012)

Margaret Paxson is senior associate at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Her research project is entitled "Remembering the Good: Legacies of Rescue and Resistance in the Plateau Vivarais-Lignon." She is researching how the extraordinary rescue efforts on the Plateau Vivarais-Lignon during the Holocaust are recalled—in story and in action—by the local community. She has studied memory patterns and social/moral questions in rural communities extensively in Russia and the Caucasus. paxson@gwu.edu  (January–December 2011)

Olesya Tkacheva recently completed a Ph.D. in public policy and political science at the University of Michigan and then was a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Rochester. At IERES, her research focuses on new media and politics in the European Union and Eastern Europe.

(otkachev@umich.edu  (August 2011–August 2012)

Dicle Korkmaz Temel is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Tampere. Her interests include energy security, EU-Turkey relations, EU integration, and English School International Relations theory. She will be conducting research on her dissertation, which is entitled “European Energy Security and Integration: Turkey as a Case Study.”

(January 2012–June 2012)

Liliya Ukraynets, associate professor at Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, is a William and Helen Petrach fellow at IERES. She is researching the evolution of the relationships in the US-India-China triangle in the context of globalization. (February 2012–May 2012)

Christine Vodovar comes to IERES as a research fellow at the International Center on Democracies and Democratization, Luiss Guido Carli, Rome. She received her Ph.D. in the Political History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries at the Universities of Bologna (Italy) and Paris X-Nanterre (France). Her research interests focus on the comparative history of Western European political systems, with particular interests in Left wing parties and the history of European integration. Her research

(otkachev@umich.edu  (August 2011–August 2012)
project examines “American Diplomacy and French and Italian Socialist Parties (1945-1956).”
(June 2012 – July 2012)

Sufian Zhemukhov is a Heyward Isham Visiting Scholar in Russian and East European Studies, working on a project entitled “The structure and practices of Circassian Nationalism.” He defended his Ph.D. at the Institute of Ethnology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1997, and has worked in Nalchik as director of the Teacher Training Institute (2000-2004), and editor-in-chief of the newspapers Kabardino-Balkarskaia Pravda (2006-2007) and Voice of Kabarda (since 2011). He is a former Kennan-Fulbright Scholar (2005-2006) and recently received fellowships from the U.S. Institute of International Education and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. zhemukho@gwu.edu

(May 2011–December 2012)

Welcome to our visiting fellows and scholars!

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RECENT EVENTS AT IERES

Arctic Working Group
“Migration and Development in Russia’s Northern and Arctic Regions,” Timothy Heleniak, University of Maryland, October 18, 2011.

Behind the Headlines

“Migrants in Multiethnic Slovakia: Contemporary Problems and Historical Roots,” Marta Botiková, Comenius University, November 21, 2011.

“China, Russia, and the Existing World Order,” Kimilaka Matsuzato, Hokkaido University, Atsushi Ogushi, Osaka University, Yuko Adachi, Sophia University, Shinichiro Tabata, Hokkaido University, Yugo Konno, Mizuho Research Institute, Co-sponsor: Sigur Center for Asian Studies, November 21, 2011.


“The Kremlin and the Russian Extreme Right in the New Century: Moscow’s Anti-Western Turn under Vladimir Putin,” Andreas Umland, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, November 14, 2011.

Ethnic Politics
“Regime Change and the Proliferation of Ethnic Democracies,” Oded Haklai, Queen’s University, Co-sponsor: Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, September 15, 2011.

Eurasian Leaders Series

“A Conversation on Turkish Foreign Policy,” Ambassador Namik Tan, Co-sponsor: The Turkish Student Association and International Affairs Society, December 8, 2011.


European Politics
A Conversation with<br>The Turkish Ambassador<br>to the United States

Ambassador Namik Tan, Ambassador of Turkey to the United States, joined us on December 8, 2011, to speak on current issues regarding the U.S.-Turkish partnership and how changes in foreign policy affect Turkey’s increasing prominence on the international stage. The host was Michael Sodaro, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, GW.

Faculty Forum
"Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries,” Valerie Bunce, Cornell University, Sharon Wolchik, IERES, Comments by Nathan Brown, GWU, November 21, 2011.


"Imagining Europe: Symbols and Practices in the Construction of the EU,” Kathleen McMamara, Georgetown University, September 23, 2011.

"How Old is the New Europe?” Theo Christov, Honors Program and Department of History, GW, November 9, 2011.

"Post-Communist Construction of Holocaust Memory: Case Study of Romanian Roma,” Michelle Kelso, Department of Sociology, GW, November 8, 2011.


IERES 50th Anniversary


"The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall: Perspectives on the Wall 50 Years After It was Built,” Hope M. Harrison and Marianne Birthler, IERES Visiting Scholar, November 9, 2011.

"Rethinking the Cold War,” Hope M. Harrison, James Hershberg, Gregg Brazinsky, IERES, November 3, 2011.

PEERS


Petrach Program on Ukraine
"Tymoshenko, Yanukovych and Ukrainian Politics: Countdown to the 2012 Elections,” Taras Kuzio, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, Serhiy Kudelia, IERES, Robert Orttung, IERES, November 16, 2011.

"Reform in Ukraine: Drivers and Obstacles,” November 16, 2011.


PONARS Eurasia
Reflections of a Former Prime Minister: José Aznar

IERES’s Eurasian Leadership Series was pleased to welcome Former Prime Minister of Spain (“President of Government”) José María Aznar, who spoke at the Elliott School on Wednesday, February 1, about his time as the leader of the Spanish government. Topics included his decision to deploy Spanish troops to Iraq and Afghanistan and the 2004 Madrid terrorist attacks. The on-the-record event was co-sponsored by the International Affairs Society and IERES.

PONARS Eurasia Policy Book Forum
(funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York)

Postcommunist Politics Social Science Workshop
(sponsored by The Heyward Isham Fund for Russian and East European Studies) “‘Patriotism from Below’ in Russia,” Marlière Laruelle, IERES, Discussant: Elizabeth Anderson Worden, American University, December 13, 2011.

“Can There Be a Political Science of the Holocaust?” Charles King, Georgetown, Discussant: Harris Mylonas, IERES, November 8, 2011.


Visiting Scholar Roundtable

“Dealing with the Communist Past in a Unified Germany,” Marianne Birthler, IERES Visiting Scholar, Comments by Hope M. Harrison, IERES, November 7, 2011.


“Remembering the Good: Social Memory and the Resistance to Violence in Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France,” Margaret Paxson, IERES Visiting Scholar, October 13, 2011.


World Youth Democracy Forum
“Meeting with the 2011 Ion Ratiu Democracy Award Winner,” Nabeel Rajab, Bahrain Center for Human Rights, organized and hosted by Eliot Sorel, IERES, Co-sponsors: The Ion Ratiu Democracy Award at the Woodrow Wilson Center and IMES, December 2, 2011.

Faculty Awards
- Henry Hale was awarded $68,000 from the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research for a project entitled Managing the Masses in Russia’s Hybrid Regime.

Student Awards
- IERES Millar Scholar William Schreiber was print undergraduate runner-up in the German Marshall Fund of the United States Ronald D. Asmus Freedom Journalism Contest with his essay “Lukashenko’s War on Press.”
SELECTED IERES PUBLICATIONS 2010-2011

Books


Marlène Laruelle and Sébastien Peyrous (eds.), Mapping Central Asia: Indian Perceptions and Strategies, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.


Marlène Laruelle, Russia’s Strategies in Afghanistan and Their Consequences for NATO, NATO Research Paper, No. 69, November 2011.


Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas, The Promethean Dilemma: Third-party State-building in Occupied Territories, Ethnopolitics DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2011.596127


Commentary

Henry Hale quoted in Tom Watkins, “Other outspoken Russian oligarchs have fared poorly,” CNN online, December 13, 2011.


Harris Mylonas on the Crisis in Greece, Elliott School Media, November 2011.


Thomas Meaney and Harris Mylonas, “Are Greece’s Leaders Being Reckless or Bold?” CNN World, November 2, 2011.


ALUMNI NOTES

Camille Lopez

Camille Lopez (EES ’07) works for Global Green USA in New Orleans where she manages the NOLA Wise program, helping homeowners access home energy assessments, financing and incentives, and trusted local contractors (Global Green USA is the American Arm of Green Cross International, which was created by USSR President Mikhail S. Gorbachev to foster a global value shift toward a sustainable and secure future by reconnecting humanity with the environment).

Before joining Global Green, Lopez worked on Katrina recovery projects with several organizations, including Rebuilding Together New Orleans, which focused on sustainable building practices in low-income communities.

Prior to her arrival in the Gulf, Lopez served on tsunami response teams in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, managing direct aid delivery to rural survivors. Early in her career, she taught English in Romania with the U.S. Peace Corps, and is fluent in Romanian. A native of Southern California, Lopez purchased and renovated a 100-year-old shotgun-style house in New Orleans and is working on improving its energy efficiency.

Aaron Stover

IERES Alum Aaron D. Stover’s (EES ’02) career has gone full circle. Immediately after his Elliott School studies, he worked at CSIS on a commission focused on Slovakia. Now, 10 years later he has returned to a position with a focus on Central Europe as a Senior Program Officer at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA).

Prior to joining CEPA, he was Director of Corporate Research at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, where he oversaw the executive fundraising research process. Stover also served as a marketing manager at the Chamber, focusing on the financial services and information communications technology industries. Previously, he managed projects for the U.S.-EU-Slovakia Action Commission at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in the areas of economic, foreign and security policy reform in Slovakia.

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Suzanne Stephenson

1950-2011

It is with great sadness that we learned of the passing of Suzanne Stephenson, a pillar of the GW and IERES communities for 38 years. The Elliott School held a moving service honoring her memory on December 16, 2011. Dean Michael Brown called her “one of the unsung heroes of the School.”

Suzanne first joined the GW community in June 1973 as the secretary for the Slavic Languages and Literature Department. In 1978, she earned her MA in Russian Studies at GW. From October 1980 to August 1984, she was the executive assistant for the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies. Then she worked as executive coordinator for IERES until July 1993. She was executive associate for IERES from July 1993 to December 2005. From the beginning of 2006 until her death, she was the Grants Management Coordinator for the entire Elliott School.

Suzanne’s friends and colleagues remember her for the numerous professional and personal contributions she made. She worked diligently on all the finances for IERES and then all the grants for the Elliott School, helping countless professors with impending application and report deadlines, according to former IERES Director Hope Harrison. Outside of work, Suzanne loved traveling with her husband Richard Fitzgerald, enjoying a glass of wine or a margarita, and rescuing cats in need.

Former IERES Director and current Dean of American University’s School of International Service Jim Goldgeier described Suzanne as “one of the most extraordinarily devoted members of the Elliott School staff, a model of integrity and humanity, and the key to the Institute remaining strong through the years.” Her commitment to getting things done and making the system work for numerous grateful colleagues is legendary. Desperate grant-writers often appealed to her at the last minute to move their proposal out the door.

“She was an amazingly helpful, efficient, conscientious, modest, loyal, and generous person,” according to Peter Reddaway. She used her skills to coax wayward professors in the direction that they needed to go. In fact, Suzanne’s great love of cats came in handy as she worked with the faculty, according to Kathy McManus.

Suzanne brought her great joy of life to the office. With former IERES Director Jim Millar, Suzanne invented the tradition of Friday afternoon “staff meetings.” Neither Suzanne nor Jim could remember which of them had the exact idea, so they claimed it together—they were very close. Essentially an excuse to gather coworkers for good wine and cheerful conversation, these meetings started sometime in the 1980s and continue today. Suzanne and Jim, who passed away in 2008, enjoyed the challenge of finding quality, inexpensive wines. As a result, IERES is one of the few institutes in the world with its own “wine cellar,” a floor-to-ceiling rack tucked away behind the kitchen. Suzanne and her husband Richard stocked the cellar for many years.

Smoked turkey was a defining feature of Suzanne’s tenure since she often brought the birds to the office to share with colleagues. Almost every colleague had a fond story remembering the meal that her husband lovingly prepared.

Suzanne’s work had international implications. Upon hearing of Suzanne’s death, the Chinese scholar Li Qianyu sent a letter expressing gratitude for her support in organizing his first trip to the United States to participate in SICAR and then helping him to secure a position as a visiting scholar. Li noted that Suzanne “not only helped American professors and students, but also indeed changed an ordinary Chinese young man’s life.”

Basketball was one of Suzanne’s most fervent passions and she and her husband held season tickets for GW’s men’s and women’s teams. She once sat with Scheherazade Rehman’s daughter and gave her GW pompons and a hat. To this day, the girl still takes them out to celebrate a school or personal success. Olga Novikova also became a basketball fan thanks to Suzanne’s enthusiasm and access to free tickets. In fact, Suzanne’s energy was so prodigious that even the Institute’s twenty-something staffers felt hard-pressed to keep up with her.

At the service, numerous colleagues recalled Suzanne’s great love for cats. Sharon Walchik remembers frequently discussing what her and Suzanne’s cats were up to. Jeff Milles even ended up with a cat at the urging of his youngest daughter. Suzanne patiently explained to him and others all about the lives and habits of cats.

Plants were also one of her loves. Suzanne ardently defended attention-starved fens from negligent colleagues who forgot to care for them, according to Peter Rollberg, a film expert who noted Suzanne’s resemblance to Ali McGraw.

Suzanne was a big fan of hashing, which is “a mixture of athleticism and sociability, hedonism and hard work.” Her husband Richard described this activity as a “drinking club with a running problem.”

Suzanne greatly enjoyed scuba diving and made more than 250 dives during her life. She died in a diving accident off the coast of Mexico. Her colleague Dale Stephenson (no relation) said that she was “truly a free spirit.”

Suzanne leaves a powerful legacy at IERES and the Elliott School, something that makes it possible to keep building both to ever greater heights. She made the university administration work to help the faculty and students get the resources they needed. But beyond solving problems, she found a way to bring colleagues together in the interests of having a good time and building the kinds of friendships that make GW and the Elliott School a “home” as well as an academic and professional environment.

Her husband, Richard Fitzgerald, has asked that if people want to do something to remember Suzanne, it would be wonderful for them to donate in her name to the Animal Welfare League of Arlington or the Feline Foundation of Greater Washington.
Gifts and Giving Opportunities

IERES is grateful for support from individuals, foundations, and corporations for its activities. This funding helps make possible some of our most important activities: supporting outstanding students; providing opportunities for students to study in Europe or Eurasia; sponsoring research conducted by students and professors; bringing in outside speakers to share their insights with the IERES community; organizing events that bring together students, professors and outside experts; and more.

Support Our Programs and Events
In 2010, IERES held almost 40 events, including panel discussions, film screenings, conferences, and academic workshops. Support for IERES helps the Institute sponsor a wide range of events, which attract students, professors, and practitioners from various fields.

Support Our Students
Contributions to IERES support graduate students scholarships for study abroad programs, language courses, internships and research projects in Europe and Eurasia.

Support Our Research Initiatives
IERES is home to over 25 faculty members who are active in their fields, writing books, articles, and opinion pieces and lecturing in the US and abroad. The Institute also hosts over 20 visiting scholars each year from institutions around the world. Supporting IERES research projects enables faculty and visiting scholars to continue their research activities both at the Institute and in the field.

To donate to any of the activities of IERES
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