Dr. Henry Hale, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, who served as the Director of IERES from 2008 to 2012, won the prestigious Michael E. Brown Research Prize. At the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, Henry Hale occupies a special place due to the extraordinary impact that his research has made and continues to make in the field of political science as a whole. Dr. Hale's three books – Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective (2015), The Foundation of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World (2008), and Why No Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State (2006) – were all published with Cambridge University Press. In addition, Dr. Hale coedited three volumes and authored 25 peer-reviewed articles, as well as numerous book chapters and articles. What is striking in Dr. Hale's scholarly output is the consistency with which he strives for a synthesis between empirical data and theoretical generalization. This affords his publications a relevance that goes far beyond the geographical region – Russia and Eurasia – on which he specializes. As a matter of fact, his latest book, Patronal Politics, aims at defining political principles that function globally within a certain socioeconomic constellation. Indeed, Kimberly Marten (Columbia University) wrote that "Patronal Politics explains more about the trajectories of post-Soviet societies than anything else on the market."

On November 11, Slovenian journalist Jela Krecic Žižek, together with her husband, philosopher Slavoj Žižek, came to IERES to discuss comedy’s role in grappling and reconciling with trauma and turmoil. Their lively talk focused on the works of Chaplin, Lubitsch, and Sturges and their approaches to economic, social, and political crises. Following the talk, IERES members and staff of the Slovenian embassy had a chance to chat with the couple one-on-one over pastries and coffee.
**Student Involvement at IERES: PEERS**

**PEERS** - Professionals in European, Eurasian, and Russian Studies (PEERS) is a graduate student organization housed within IERES. The organization hosts expert panels on topics affecting a wide, geopolitically important region spanning from Dublin to Ankara, Bishkek, and St. Petersburg. PEERS attempts to focus these expert panels on topics widely discussed in the greater D.C. community and encourages the participation of mid-level professionals who are seldom the face of their respective organizations but are experts nonetheless. The panels also serve as an opportunity for graduate students to host and moderate discussions, and they are held after normal working hours so more students are able to attend. Additionally, PEERS organizes visits to embassies of nations within its region of focus and frequently arranges discussions with Ambassadors or other mission staff, who offer candid insights into international affairs during off-the-record discussions.

On October 25, 2016, PEERS hosted its first expert panel of the 2016-2017 academic year, “Year Three of the Ukrainian Crisis: Analysis and Discussion.” The event featured Franklin Holcomb and Kathleen Weinberger, who focused on the Ukrainian conflict from the Ukrainian and Russian perspectives at the Institute for the Study of War, and Hannah Thoburn, who is a Russia and Ukraine expert at the Hudson Institute. The discussion began with a micro-analysis of Russian involvement in the separatist region Donbass, including estimates of military hardware Russia has supplied to the separatists, and touched on the regimes governing the separatist regions. It went on to examine the Russian strategy behind the destabilization of eastern Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea, Russia’s possible ultimate goals. It concluded with an analysis of the geopolitical and regional consequences of the conflict and a prognosis of how it will continue to effect regional politics into the future.
Central Asia Highlights: the Central Asia Program (CAP) at IERES

On September 9, 2016, CAP collaborated with the Embassy of the Kyrgyz Republic to the USA & Canada and the U.S. Peace Corps to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Kyrgyz Republic’s independence day. Panelists discussed the country’s evolution since independence from the perspectives of policy, academia, and the Peace Corps (picture on left).

On October 27, 2016, CAP hosted an event “What Changes in a Post-Karimov Uzbekistan?” which discussed changes in the Uzbek domestic landscape and the possibility of an evolving economic policy after the death of long-time president Islam Karimov. The new president, Shavkat Mirziyayev, reached out to all of Uzbekistan’s immediate neighbors, most noticeably to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, in his first two months in power and seemed willing to initiate major changes in the country’s regional policy. As a sign of reorganizing the domestic political landscape, Mirziyayev also rehabilitated several figures who had fallen from grace during Karimov’s later years in power.

In November, CAP had the honor of hosting film director Zhanna Issabayeva for the Kazakh Film Festival, a two-night event including screenings of Issabayeva’s My Dear Children and Nagima (picture on right).

On February 7, 2017, CAP opened the exhibition “Through the Eyes of Durdy Bayramov. Turkmen Village Life, 1960s-1980s.” The photographs were selected from Durdy Bayramov’s personal archive. Although he took great pleasure in photography, Bayramov used it primarily as a tool in his artistic process and never expected that others would find the photographs fascinating in their own right. The images provide a rare and intimate glimpse into the customs and material culture of Turkmen villagers during this period and at the same time reflect the profound human spirit shared by all communities. H.E. Meret B. Orazov, Ambassador of Turkmenistan to the United States, as well as Bayramov’s daughter, Keya Bayramova, spoke at the exhibition opening.
In December 2016, CAP, Nazarbayev University and the National Analytical Center (NAC) announced the launch of the NAC-NU Central Asia Studies Program. The program will develop state of the art research and act as a hub for scholarship on and in Central Asia. Over 2017 and 2018, the Program will work on 5 topics:

- China’s OBOR project and its impact for Central Asia;
- External and internal migrations in Central Asia;
- Economic diversification in Central Asia;
- Youth and national identity in Central Asia; and
- Exchange rate policy and macroeconomic policy framework in Central Asia.

The first call for papers was announced in January 2017, focusing on China’s OBOR project and its impact for Central Asia.

In addition, CAP published two additional volumes of the Contemporary Central Asia. Societies, Politics and Cultures book series:

1. **Kazakhstan in the Making. Legitimacy, Symbols, and Social Changes** (Edited by Marlene Laruelle)
   
   Kazakhstan is one of the best-known success stories of Central Asia, perhaps even of the entire Eurasian space. It boasts a fast growing economy—until the 2014 crisis—a strategic location between Russia, China, and the rest of Central Asia, and a regime with far-reaching branding strategies. But the country also faces weak institutionalization, patronage, authoritarianism, and regional gaps in socioeconomic standards that challenge the stability and prosperity narrative advanced by the aging President Nursultan Nazarbayev. This policy-oriented analysis does not tell us a lot about the Kazakhstani society itself and its transformations.

   This edited volume returns Kazakhstan to the scholarly spotlight, offering new, multidisciplinary insights into the country’s recent evolution, drawing from political science, anthropology, and sociology. It looks at the regime’s sophisticated legitimacy mechanisms and ongoing quest for popular support. It analyzes the country’s fast changing national identity and the delicate balance between the Kazakh majority and the Russian-speaking minorities. It explores how the society negotiates deep social transformations and generates new hybrid, local and global, cultural references.

2. **The Origins of the Civil War in Tajikistan. Nationalism, Islamism, and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Space** (By Tim Epkenhans)

   In May 1992, political and social tensions in the former Soviet Republic of Tajikistan escalated to a devastating civil war, which killed approximately 40,000-100,000 people and displaced more than one million. The enormous challenge of the Soviet Union’s disintegration compounded by inner-elite conflicts, ideological disputes and state failure triggered a downward spiral to one of the worst violent conflicts in the post-Soviet space. This book explains the causes of the Civil War in Tajikistan with a historical narrative recognizing long-term structural causes of the conflict originating in the Soviet transformation of Central Asia since the 1920s as well as short-term causes triggered by Perestroika or Glasnost and the rapid dismantling of the Soviet Union. For the first time, a major publication on the Tajik Civil War addresses the many contested events, their sequences and how individuals and groups shaped the dynamics of events or responded to them. The book scrutinizes the role of regionalism, political Islam, masculinities and violent non-state actors in the momentous years between Perestroika and independence drawing on rich autobiographical accounts written by key actors of the unfolding conflict. Paired with complementary sources such as the media coverage and interviews, these autobiographies provide insights how Tajik politicians, field commanders and intellectuals perceived and rationalized the outbreak of the Civil War within the complex context of post-Soviet decolonization, Islamic revival and nationalist renaissance.
PONARS Eurasia Welcomes New Co-Director — Marlene Laruelle (GW) joined Henry Hale as co-director of PONARS Eurasia on Dec. 1, 2016. Marlene replaced long-time co-director Cory Welt, who accepted a position at the Library of Congress Congressional Research Service. Marlene is recognized as a top specialist on Russian/Eurasian politics, society, and history and brings extensive administrative and program-building experience to the position.

PONARS Eurasia is a community of scholars and experts committed to developing and sharing policy-relevant and collaborative research. Some of the program’s main events from 2016 are highlighted here.

The Life and Legacy of Boris Nemtsov — In March 2016, PONARS Eurasia and IERES hosted an event on the life and impact of Boris Nemtsov, a Russian politician and Kremlin critic who was assassinated in Moscow in February 2015. Panelists Henry Hale (GW), Robert Orttung (GW) and Andrey Makarychev (University of Tartu) spoke about Nemtsov’s role in Russian political history. The event was linked to a special issue of Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization.

The President of Georgia Speaks at GW — Georgian President Giorgi Margvelashvili joined students and guests last spring to share his outlook on “Enhancing Euro-Atlantic Security.” President Margvelashvili offered views on the changing significance of the Caucasus region, the benefits of security cooperation between Georgia and the West, and Georgia’s prospects for greater integration with the Euro-Atlantic community. Former IERES associate director Cory Welt helped organize and moderated the event.
**Annual Policy Conference** — PONARS Eurasia held its annual policy conference in Washington, DC, on September 23-24, 2016. Over thirty panelists offered views and took questions on a wide variety of significant topics — economics, politics, security, terrorism, society, culture — related to Russia and Eurasia. The two-day event brought together experts, analysts, diplomats, policymakers, businesspeople, and students. Visit the PONARS Eurasia website for event-related videos and policy memos.

**EU-Eurasian Relations at the Crossroads** — PONARS Eurasia and McGill University’s European Union Center of Excellence (directed by PONARS Eurasia member Juliet Johnson) hosted a colloquium on EU-Eurasian relations in early December 2016. Special guest, Ambassador Marie-Anne Coninsx, EU Delegation to Canada, opened the proceedings with an interesting presentation on the EU perceptions of contemporary trans-Atlantic relations. Policy memos derived from the event are in the process of being published by PONARS Eurasia (see the panelists and agenda).

Other notable events facilitated by PONARS Eurasia in 2016 include a policy workshop in Istanbul, Turkey (covered in the previous issue of IERES Insight), “The Disappearing Shadow of Local Democracy in Russia” with Ivan Kurilla (European University at St. Petersburg), “Will Europe Blink on Ukraine” with Arkady Moshes (Finnish Institute of International Affairs), and a book presentation by Juliet Johnson for Priests of Prosperity: How Central Bankers Transformed the Postcommunist World.

PONARS Eurasia is housed at IERES. Henry Hale and Marlene Laruelle are co-directors, Sasha Schmemann is the managing editor, Sufian Zhemukhov is the Russian-language editor, Eileen Joms is the program assistant, and Ellen Riina is the research assistant. PONARS Eurasia is supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the George Washington University/IERES. www.ponarseurasia.org
Books


Articles & Book Chapters


Policy Papers


Soak up the free knowledge! Numerous policy papers are available at the websites of the Central Asia Program and PONARS Eurasia!

Recent Event Highlights

Professors Henry Hale, Paul D’Anieri (UC Riverside), Robert Orttung, and Vice President for Research Leo Chalupa at the presentation of the book Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives for Advancing Reform in Ukraine.

Professors Peter Rollberg and Henry Hale at the book event.

Pavel Palazhchenko (interpreter for Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze) discusses the Cold War and its aftermath.
First head of independent Belarus, Stanislau Shushkevich, exchanges views with an audience member after his talk “The USSR’s Collapse 25 Years On.”

Hungarian-born historian Dr. John Lukacs shares his experiences during the Hungarian Revolution at the IERES event “1956 Hungarian Revolution: Massacre and Memory,” which was co-sponsored by the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation. The event also included an exhibit display, “Massacre and its Memorial” (sponsored by the National Office of Public Collections and Directorate of Public Education of the Hungarian Parliament), which showed images and descriptions of the Kossuth Square Massacre.

Participants at the first annual “Promoting Urban Sustainability in the Arctic” (PIRE) conference, held at GWU. This grant – which allows for research on environmental and demographic changes in the Arctic – is funded by the National Science Foundation.
Visiting Scholars
2016-2017

Temirlan Abdyldaev is a CAP Fellow from Kyrgyzstan. He has worked at the Ministry of Economy of Kyrgyzstan; his research focuses on the politics of border disputes in Central Asia, particularly in the Ferghana Valley.

Snejana Atanova is a Carnegie Fellow and PhD candidate at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO) in Paris. Her research comprises comparative analyses of nation branding and nation building in Russia and Central Asia in the post-Soviet period, as well as the cultural heritage of these two regions.

Dr. Elena Bogdanova is a Visiting Fulbright Scholar who received a doctorate at the Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences and is pursuing a second doctorate at the University of Eastern Finland’s Legislative Studies Program. At IERES, she is researching how Russian and American citizens voice complaints to their respective presidents.

Dr. Eirini Cheila is a Professor of International Politics at the Department of International, European and Area Studies at Panteion University (Athens, Greece). She is researching Greek foreign policy, ethnic conflict, international security, international relations theory, crisis management, and multilateral diplomacy.

Wang Dao is a PhD candidate at Renmin University in Beijing. He is researching US policy during WWII and the Cold War, as well as post-war American diplomatic history.

Carolina de Stefano is a PhD candidate at Sant’Anna School of Advanced Studies in Pisa and visiting researcher at the HSE in Moscow. Via primary archival sources, she researches the evolution of Gorbachev’s and Yeltsin’s nationality policies in the context of the final crisis of the Soviet Union.

Berikbol Dukeyev is a CAP Fellow from Kazakhstan. He is a research fellow at the Foreign Policy and International Security Department at the Kazakhstan Institute of Strategic Studies; his research focuses on push-and-pull factors behind the repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs from China.

Kamal Gasimov is a CAP Fellow from Azerbaijan. He works at the Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan; his research focuses on the transformations in the religious landscape of Azerbaijan, particularly within Islam.

Alessandro Albanese Ginammi is a PhD candidate at the European University of Rome. His research interests include the history of international relations, the history of the European Union, economic history, and EEC-Turkey relations.

Dr. Farid Guliyev is a Visiting Fulbright Scholar researching transparency in natural resource governance (EITI), education policy in oil-exporting countries, and the ideological basis of the

I work on Soviet and Russian nationality policies, and thanks to the period I have spent at IERES as a visiting scholar, my research made huge progress. At the Institute, I found not only great experts on my subject, but also an informal, open, passionate and highly professional environment. The Institute weekly organizes very interesting seminars that approach the region from a variety of different perspectives, thus enriching academic research with a deep, much-needed, cultural dimension. ~ Carolina de Stefano
government opposition stalemate in Azerbaijan. In Azerbaijan, he works as a research associate with NRGI’s Eurasia Extractive Industries Knowledge Hub.

**Savia Hasanova** is a CAP Fellow from Kyrgyzstan. She is an economic expert at the public association “The Investment Round Table”; her research focuses on the effects of different types of social benefits on income inequality in Kyrgyzstan.

**Zuhra Halimova** worked as the Executive Director of the Open Society Institute in Tajikistan from 1997 to 2016. She has served as a member of the International Harm Reduction Program Advisory Board and of OSF’s International Youth Program and Education Support Program Advisory Boards for several years. Her research at IERES centers on foreign aid to Eurasia (i.e. donors’ agendas and local perceptions thereof).

**Jorunn Hallaraker** is an Ambassador Robert D. Stuart Fellow who works in the Norwegian Parliament as a political adviser in the Labour and Social Affairs Committee of the Christian Democratic Party’s Parliamentary Group. Her research interests include U.S. foreign policy towards Europe and Russia and American political systems.

**Lars Mattis Hanssen** is an Ambassador Robert D. Stuart Fellow who works in the Norwegian Parliament as political adviser to Jonas Gahr Store, leader of the Norwegian Labour Party and former Minister of Foreign Affairs. His research interests include U.S. diplomacy and foreign affairs, U.S. politics, and sustainable business development in the Arctic.

**Dr. Altin Hoti**, a Visiting Fulbright Scholar, is an Associate Professor of International Economics and Dean of Economic Faculty at Luarasi University in Albania. His research interests focus on development economics, specifically the impact of special economic zones on small economies.

**Mykhailo Hrabynskyi** is a Visiting Petrach Fellow from Lviv, Ukraine. A PhD candidate in international law at Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, he is researching the structure, history, and legal regulations of international financial and credit relations.

**Nazik Imanbekova** is a CAP Fellow from Kyrgyzstan who works as a transparency and open government activist. Her research focuses on the impact of mining contracts, the effects of current policies and contract clauses on local communities in Kyrgyzstan.

**Murad Ismayilov** is a CAP Fellow from Azerbaijan. He is a doctoral researcher in Politics, Psychology, Sociology, and International Studies at the University of Cambridge; his research focuses on the sociology of religious communities in Azerbaijan, including the dynamics of state-society relations at the macro-level.

**Serik Jaxylykov** is a CAP Fellow from Kazakhstan. He works at a private research company in Almaty; his research focuses on Kazakhstan’s internal migration issues, especially efforts to create equilibrium between the overpopulated South and the shrinking population in the North.

**Dr. Roman Kalytchak** is a Visiting Petrach Fellow from Lviv, Ukraine. He is the director of the Center for American Studies at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, as well as the Deputy Chairman of the Curriculum Subcommittee at the Ministry of Education and Sciences of Ukraine. He is conducting research on the drivers, channels, extent, and limitations of non-state actors in the EU surrounding Russia’s annexation of Crimea.

**Dr. Vera Kulagina** is a researcher at the V.B. Sochava Institute of Geography within the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. She is researching the economic strategies of indigenous people in Arctic cities.

**Daniyar Kussainov** is a CAP Fellow from Kazakhstan who works at the International Organization for Migration (IOM). His research focuses on state educational policies and their potential effects on rising socio-economic inequality in Kazakhstan.
Alia Leukavets is a PhD candidate at the University of Bremen. Her research interests include integration dynamics in East Europe, human rights and law, European energy security, EU-Russia energy dialogue, EU human rights, and democratization policy vis-à-vis post-Soviet states.

Janyl Moldalieva is a Visiting Fulbright Scholar and PhD candidate at the United Nations University (Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology/Maastricht Graduate School of Governance). Her research interests include resource governance, transparency & accountability, network governance, and neopatrimonialism.

Dinara Nurusheva is a CAP Fellow from Kazakhstan who is a member of the PaperLab Research Group. Her research focuses on social and economic implications of living in a mining city.

Dr. Anastasia Riabchuk is a Carnegie Fellow and senior lecturer in sociology at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Her research interests include religion and labor in post-Soviet societies, homelessness and urban marginality, and visual research methods.

Dr. Mykola Riabchuk, a Visiting Fulbright Scholar, is a senior research fellow at the Institute of Political and Nationalities’ Studies in Kyiv. His current research interests are centered on the construction of modern Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarussian identities as part of an East Slavonic “imagined community.”

Rafael Sattarov is a CAP Fellow from Uzbekistan who works as a political analyst and columnist. His research focuses on spirituality and conservatism in Uzbekistan and their relevance in modern-day Uzbek society.

Ambassador Vasil Sikharulidze is a Visiting Fulbright Scholar who has served as Ambassador of Georgia to the United States and as the Minister of Defense of Georgia. Currently the chairman of the Atlantic Council of Georgia, Ambassador Sikharulidze’s interests include security sector reform in transitional democracies, democratic transformation in Eastern Europe, and U.S. security assistance in Georgia.

Alexandra Tsay is a CAP Fellow from Kazakhstan who is also an Independent Research Fellow in Cultural Studies and a member of the PaperLab Research Group. Her research focuses on the cultural public sphere in Kazakhstan and its function in debates and restrictive societies.

Dr. Ivon Vuković is an Assistant Professor in Political Science at the University of Montenegro, as well as a Visiting Fulbright Scholar and lecturer at IERES. His academic interests include party politics, comparative democratization, new authoritarianism, and post-communist Europe.

Dr. Xianghong Zeng is a professor and researcher at the Institute for Central Asian Studies at Langzhou University in China. He is conducting his research on US-China interactions in Central Asia, great powers in Central Asia, and international relations theory.

It has been nearly a year since I learned that as a Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program, I would be conducting my post-doctoral research at the George Washington University’s Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies. Given its excellent academic reputation and high concentration of scholars with similar research interests, I was very excited. Today, six months after joining IERES, I feel privileged and extremely grateful for what has turned out to be the best academic experience of my life. In terms of professional advancement, being a part of the Institute’s vibrant academic community along with an unexpected opportunity to teach an undergraduate course, have given me much more than I could have hoped for. Still, what I truly find exceptional about IERES is the genuinely friendly and warm atmosphere which I have enjoyed every single moment. On the fourth floor of the Elliott School building, I have met academic excellence and, more importantly, great people. ~ Ivan Vuković
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Washington, D.C. 20052

For more information, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 994-6340 – IERES Director Peter Rollberg

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**Thank you!**

We are grateful to all who have contributed, including:

- A. Michael Hoffman
- Shant Z. Mardirossian
- Sheila Anne Murphy
- Detta Voesar
- The Henry Luce Foundation
- Foundation to Promote Open Society
- The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation
- Carnegie Corporation of New York
- Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan
- Fredo Arias-King
- The Helen and Sergius Yakobson Scholarship Endowment
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- Open Society Institute
- Sodertorn University
- The Stuart Program on Northern Europe
- University of Tromso
- U.S. Department of State
- The William and Helen Petrach Endowment
- Mr. Louis J. Wilkerson