

**CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN, EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES**  
**(Formerly the Centre for Russian and East European Studies)**

**ANNUAL REPORT 2013-2014**

Compiled by Tricia Carr and Tim Haughton

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**CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN, EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES  
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Tricia A Carr

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**CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN, EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES**  
**Annual Report 2013-2014**

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## INTRODUCTION

For CREES 2013-14 was an eventful academic year both for ourselves as an institution and for the region we study. We began the year continuing the celebrations of our 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary with a special series of seminars culminating in a double-headed event in December, appropriately enough with the first seminar focused on legacies and memories of the past and the second examining the present and future for Russian politics. One of the speakers on the latter panel was Julian Cooper who had formally retired a few days before. After a characteristically insightful and passionate contribution from Julian we raised a glass to him to express our thanks for his decades of service and contribution to CREES. Julian, however, remains research active as all who arrive in the early morning to the Muirhead Tower can testify! He is not the only former retired CREES director who continues to enrich our knowledge of the region. Indeed, the founding director of CREES Bob Davies this year published the sixth volume of his landmark *Industrialisation of Soviet Russia* series and is already working on the seventh and final volume.

During the course of the year we welcomed two new members of staff both at very different stages of their academic careers to Bob and Julian: post-doctoral fellows, Kamala Imranli-Lowe and Kevork Oskanian; a third Nino Kemoklidze, has just joined the team as I write this introduction. All three work on projects tied to one of the more under-researched areas of the CREES region: the Caucasus. The positive impact of these scholars is already being felt. Kevork, for instance, founded and edits the CREES blog. I encourage all in the CREES community to contribute to making that excellent initiative a success.

The entries in this annual report testify that CREES staff have maintained their impressive research activities with countless books, articles and chapters published, and even more presentations at leading conferences and numerous policy-focused events. For short-sighted politicians and pundits, in recent years the CREES region had become distinctly passé and less important than other parts of the globe. Events in Ukraine and the actions of Vladimir Putin during the 2013-14 academic year, however, changed all that. The demonstrations on the *Maidan*, the incorporation of Crimea into Russia and the ‘little green men’ fighting in the East of Ukraine reminded the world of the importance not just of the region, but also of having experts who know and understand it. There may be starkly contrasting views in CREES on the virtues and vices of Putin’s response to the events in Kiev, as a panel at our annual conference underlined, but all in CREES are unified on the importance of expertise rooted in knowledge of the language, history, culture and politics of the region. Only armed with this expertise will policy-makers in London, Washington and Brussels make the right decisions.

Events in Ukraine remind us all that whilst we need accumulated knowledge and expertise, we also have to recognize and respond to changes in the world. CREES has been at the forefront of the study of the region for five decades. To reflect better the new realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century I instigated a process to change the name of CREES to the Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies (still CREES of course). Although it had the unanimous support of CREES colleagues, it took some time to get the relevant University committees and authorities to approve the change. The re-formulated name, which had first been conceived some years ago by Derek Averre, is a much better label. Not only is it more appropriate for this century than the Cold War era of the last, but more importantly it reflects the diversity and geographical breadth of colleagues in the Centre which stretches across the European continent into Central Asia.

The past academic year was not just significant for the new name, but also for two other institutional changes. Firstly, the move of core CREES staff into POLSIS brought a few dangers, but offered some significant opportunities, especially the chance to turn CREES into a genuine pan-University centre bringing together the expertise on the region from across campus. Secondly, after two years at the helm and with my objectives such as initiating and leading the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations and the renaming the Centre complete, I decided to pass the torch to the next generation. We decided to create two co-directors, one drawn from POLSIS and one from another College as a way of harnessing more effectively the expertise and interest in the region from across the University. I was delighted to be able to pass the CREES baton to Richard

Connolly (whom I had the privilege of supervising when he was a doctoral student) and Jeremy Morris.

As someone who has written a book on institutional frameworks, agency and leadership, I can only say whilst institutions can significantly shape outcomes and leaders can play a critical role in determining outcomes, the attitude, commitment and participation of everyone in a polity can matter. The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations, in particular, underlined the extent, strength and vibrancy of the wider CREES community. I encourage all colleagues, friends and alumni to give Richard and Jeremy their full and enthusiastic support to help ensure another successful and golden 50 years. The future of CREES lies in all our hands.

**Dr Tim Haughton**  
**Director, CREES**  
**October 2014**

## CONFERENCES AND EXTERNAL PRESENTATIONS

### In Birmingham

**Dr Derek Averre** delivered a POLSIS seminar entitled ‘The Syria Conflict: a View from Moscow’ in October 2013 and in December he made a presentation to the British-Russian Society on ‘Russia and Security in the 21st Century’. In March 2014 he addressed the Birmingham UN Association on Russian foreign policy and the United Nations.

**Dr Richard Connolly** gave a presentation entitled ‘In the Shadow of Violence: Polity and Economy in Putin’s Russia’ at a seminar on ‘Russian Political Economy’ held at the University of Birmingham (with Professor Neil Robinson) in October 2013.

**Veysel Erdemli**, a postgraduate student, gave a presentation on ‘Perceptions of the “Social Sciences” and Doing Fieldwork in Turkey’ as part of the “ESRC Festival of Social Science” at a session on ‘Making Social Policy and Government work for us: a realistic ambition?’ in November at the Library of Birmingham.

**Dr Tim Haughton** presented a paper, ‘Castles Made of Sand and Stone: Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe’ to the POLSIS European Politics Group seminar on the ‘Eurozone Crisis and European Politics’ in February. He also presented two papers on Britain and the EU. Firstly, he presented ‘Way Out and Exit? Britain and the EU’ to the POLSIS Departmental Seminar Series in March and subsequently presented, ‘Farewell Britannia? “Issue Capture” and the Politics of Cameron’s EU Referendum Pledge’ at the Birmingham Law School’s conference ‘Leaving Europe? The Legal, Political and Economic Implications of a UK Exit from the EU’ in June.

**Dr Deema Kaneff** presented a paper entitled ‘Migration and the Repositioning of Rural Places Globally: Perspectives from Bulgaria’ at the seminar series on ‘Anthropology at the University of Birmingham’ in the Department of African Studies and Anthropology.

In February, **Dr Jeremy Morris** gave a talk as part of the Russian research seminar series entitled, ‘Bribes that are Gifts? Theorising Informality from the Ground up in Russia’.

### Elsewhere in UK

The British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) Annual Conference, took place at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge University in April. **Dr Richard Connolly** presented

a paper on ‘Regional Economic Development in Russia: Implications for Social Order Development’, **Dr Morris** acted as Panel Chair and gave a paper and book launch presentation entitled, ‘Informal Post-Socialist Economies: Embedded Practices and Livelihoods’, **Dr David White** delivered a paper entitled ‘In the Wake of the Navalny Phenomenon: a Realignment of Opposition Politics in Russia?’ and **Dr Bettina Renz** convened a panel and spoke on ‘Russian Choices of Security for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’.

In October 2013 **Dr Derek Averre** spoke at the Warwick United Nations Association on ‘Russia’s Role in the Syria Crisis’ and in January 2014 he presented at an ESRC seminar held at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, UK Defence Academy in Shrivenham, on ‘NATO after Afghanistan’. In March 2014 he spoke at a round-table at the University of Sheffield on ‘Ukraine: a Nation in Crisis’ and in May 2014 he delivered a paper at the University of Edinburgh entitled ‘Russia and the Norms of Intervention’. In June 2014 he presented at the University of Kent on ‘Security and Democratisation: the Case of the South Caucasus’ and in July 2014 a co-authored paper of his was delivered at the University of Surrey on ‘Russia, Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect’.

**Dr Richard Connolly** gave a presentation on ‘Prospects for Economic Reform in Russia’ at the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce event in London in October 2013 and in March he spoke on ‘Economic Development in Russia: Problems and Prospects’ at a Seminar on ‘Russia’s Financial Sector Development’ at the Centre for Financial System Innovation in London. In April he delivered a paper entitled ‘The Economic Consequences of Russia’s Intervention in Ukraine’ at a Russo-British Chamber of Commerce event in London.

**Professor Julian Cooper** delivered a seminar at Chatham House on ‘Strategic Planning in Russia, Origins, Ambitions and Reality’ in December and in April he gave a seminar presentation on the ‘Ukraine-Russia Crisis. What Could a Diplomatic Deal Look Like?’ at the Global Policy Institute in London. In May he spoke on the ‘Ukraine Crisis’ at Redburn Investments, City of London and in June he spoke on ‘Russian Military Economic Issues’ at the Ministry of Defence. In July he chaired a Chatham House seminar where the speaker was Tatiana Valovaya, Minister, Eurasian Economic Commission in Moscow.

As part of the ‘Without Borders?’ Area Studies Workshop held at University College London in June, **Dr Tim Haughton** gave a presentation entitled, ‘On the Edge? Is Area Studies’ Contribution to Political Science Marginal?’

**Dr Deema Kaneff** gave a public seminar presentation entitled ‘Migration and the Repositioning of Rural Places Globally’ at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society at the University of Oxford.

**Dr David White** made a presentation on ‘Coalitions of Protest in Conditions of Electoral Authoritarianism: Political Opposition in Putin’s Russia’ at the PSA Conference in Manchester in April.

### *Honorary Senior Research Fellows*

**Professor Mike Bradshaw** gave a presentation on ‘Russian LNG Exports to Asia: Current Status and Future Prospect,’ at the Fossil Fuel Experts Roundtable ‘Between Monopoly and Market: Evolution of Russia’s Gas Policy’ at Chatham House, London in October 2013 and in January he delivered the Monday Night Lecture at the Royal Geographical Society, London, on ‘Will the Shale Gail Prevail?’

**Professor Mark Harrison** presented a lecture on ‘What Do Secret Policemen Really Do? Insights from History and Social Science’ at the University of Warwick as part of the ESRC Festival of

Social Science at the University of Warwick on 4 November 2013; a keynote lecture on ‘Myths of the Great War’ to the Economic History Society Conference at the University of Warwick on 28 March 2014; a paper ‘Counter-Intelligence in a Command Economy’ (with Inga Zaksauskienė) to the conference on the ‘Economic History of Coercion and State Formation’ at the University of Warwick in March and a paper on “The Great War: Russia’s Home Front” to the Anglo-American Conference, University of London, Senate House, in July.

### *Honorary Research Fellows*

**Dr Paul Holtom** gave a presentation on ‘The Situation in Ukraine’: Implications for Russia, the West and the UN Security Council’, for the Warwick District United Nations Association which took place in Leamington Spa in July 2014.

In April, **Dr Bettina Renz** was an invited guest speaker on the topic of the ‘Russia/Ukraine Crisis’, on the senior officer course at RAF Cranwell.

### **Overseas**

In October 2013 **Dr Derek Averre** spoke at the Aleksanteri Institute conference on the topic ‘The Syria Conflict: Russia on the Right Side of History?’ He co-organised and presented at a NATO Advanced Research Workshop entitled ‘NATO and Russia: Towards Common Perceptions of Emerging Security Challenges’, held at the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Europe in November 2013. In April 2014 he spoke at the initial meeting, held at the *Fondation Maison des Sciences de l’Homme* in Paris, of the EU Framework Programme 7 project, coordinated for CREES by **Dr Kataryna Wolczuk**, on the ‘Security-Democracy Nexus in the Caucasus’ (CASCADE). In May 2014 he delivered two papers at the NATO Advanced Study Institute ‘Enhancing Strategic Analytical Capabilities in NATO Partner Countries: Security Cooperation and the Management of Current and Future Threats’, held in Kiev, the first on ‘A Strategy for NATO, the EU in the New Europe’ and the second on ‘The EU as a Strategic Actor Within NATO and Beyond’.

**Dr Richard Connolly** presented a paper entitled ‘Russian Military Expenditure: A Useful Public Investment?’ at FFI Workshop in Oslo in October 2013.

**Professor Cooper** gave a seminar on ‘Russian Defence Issues’ at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), Stockholm in September and in March he gave a presentation on ‘Eurasian Economic Integration’ at the Ministry of Defence, Stockholm (with Silvana Malle).

**Veysel Erdemli** gave a presentation on ‘Tradition and Belonging: The Associations of Georgians from the Batumi Region in Turkey’ at the ‘III International Congress of Caucasiologists’ in Tbilisi/Georgia in October 2013.

**Dr Tim Haughton** delivered a paper with Kevin Deegan-Krause (Wayne State) at the annual American Political Science Association conference in Washington DC in August entitled, ‘Hurricane Season: Systems of Instability in Central and East European Party Politics’. In addition, he participated in a panel discussion at the Catholic University of Leuven: ‘Lessons from the East: What the Study of Central Europe tells us about European Politics’ in December. As part of his evolving interest in the debate surrounding Britain’s membership in the European Union, he gave a presentation at the Indian Council for World Affairs in New Dehli in April entitled, ‘Exit, (Losing) Voice and (Lost) Loyalty: The Causes and Consequences of Britain’s Possible Exit from the EU’ and contributed to a panel discussion at Jawaharal Nehru University’s Centre for European Studies focused on the European Union and Global Politics.



**Dr Kamala Imranli-Lowe** delivered a paper on ‘The Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict and the Great Powers in 1918-1921 and 1992-2014: A Comparative Perspective’ at the Fourth Global International Studies Conference at Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany in August.

In January **Dr Deema Kaneff** was invited to present a paper on ‘Neoliberal Reforms and Generational Exclusion in Bulgaria’ at a conference on ‘Representing the Balkans Today’, held at CERI Sciences Po in Paris. In June she gave a Public Seminar on ‘Politics, History and Elite Economies of Favour: A Case from Bulgaria’ at The Centre for Southeast European Studies, Karl-Franzens University in Graz in June.

In September **Dr Jeremy Morris** gave an invited Guest Lecture on ‘Informal Economies – Studying the Post-Socialist Case (Ethnography as a Method and the Pitfalls of Post-Socialist Studies Generally)’ at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Aarhus in Denmark. In November he acted as Panel Chair and Discussant for the panel ‘Informal Society: Networks, Civil Society, Social Capital, Social Media, Uncivil Society’ at the Informal Practices and Structures in Eastern Europe and Central Asia Conference at the Academic Swiss Caucasus Net, University of Fribourg. Also in November he chaired the panel on ‘Positive and Negative Sides of Social Organizations: Modernity and Corruption’ and acted as chair and discussant at the panel entitled ‘Media and Power in the Post-Socialist Space’ at the international workshop on ‘Imagining Development: Comparing Theory and Practice of Development in the Post-Socialist World’ at Tallinn University.

In June Dr Morris delivered a paper entitled, ‘Blue-Collar Workers in Russia Between Precarity and Informality’, at the How Class Works - 2014 Conference at Stony Brook University, New York, part of the Center for Study of Working-class Life and in July he presented a paper entitled, ‘Blue-Collar Workers in Russia between Precarity and Informality: Notes on the “Worthless Dowry” of Soviet Industrial Modernity’ at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. In August, 2014, Dr Morris delivered a paper entitled, ‘Rethinking the “Worthless Dowry” of Soviet Industrial Modernity’ at the European Association of Social Anthropologists’ conference in Tallinn, Estonia, as part of the panel ‘Post-Industrial Revolution? Changes and Continuities within Urban Landscapes’ and later delivered a seminar paper entitled, ‘Russia's Worthless Dowry? - an Ethnographic Study of the Blue-Collar Monotown’ at the Aleksanteri Institute in Helsinki.

**Ingerid Opdahl**, a postgraduate student, presented a paper ‘Russia's Energy Relations with the former Soviet Union Through the Lens of Russian Companies: Cross-Border Legacies, Limited Access at Home’ at *Russia and the World*, the 13<sup>th</sup> Aleksanteri Conference, in Helsinki, Finland, in October.

**Dr David White** delivered a paper on ‘Reconceptualising Party Politics in Russia’s Electoral Authoritarian Regime’ alongside **Dr Tim Haughton** who presented a paper entitled ‘Castles Made of Sand and Stone: Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe’ at a special joint seminar with Université Libre de Bruxelles in Brussels in February.

### *Honorary Senior Research Fellows*

**Prof Mike Bradshaw** made a presentation on ‘Moving the Centre of Gravity from Europe to Asia? - The Progress and Potential of Oil and Gas Exports from Pacific Russia’ at the Conference on ‘Russian Energy and Security’ at the Aleksanteri Institute in Helsinki in February.

**Prof Mark Harrison** presented a paper ‘Counter-Intelligence in a Command Economy’ (with Inga Zaksauskienė) to the Yale Program in Economic History Conference on ‘Russian, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Economic History: New Frontiers’ at Yale University in November 2013, and to the Economics Department seminar of the Appalachian State University in April 2014; a keynote lecture on ‘Myths of the Great War’ to the Ninth Appalachian Spring Conference on ‘World

History and Economics', Appalachian State University in April; and a keynote lecture on 'What Do Secret Policemen Really Do? Insights from History and Social Science' to the Annual Hoover Workshop on 'Totalitarian Regimes' at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University in July.

**Professor Silvana Malle** gave a presentation at a Round Table on 'Russia's Modernization Challenges' at conference on 'Paesi BRICS: una nuova geografia economica?' in November and in March she acted as Chairperson at the first session of the Conference on 'The Challenges for Russia's Politicized Economic System'. Later that month she made a seminar presentation on the 'Customs Union: Eurasian Integration and Central Asia' at the Ministry of Defence in Stockholm. In May she contributed to the Liberty Fund Colloquium on 'Armen Alchian's Contributions to Liberty, Political Economy and the Rule of Law' in Alpbach, Austria.

### *Honorary Research Fellows*

In June **Dr Paul Holtom** gave a presentation on 'Profiling Unauthorized Retransfers' for 'Managing the Risks Posed by Unauthorized Retransfers of Arms', which was organised by the Stimson Center and took place in Washington DC. The following day he gave a presentation on 'The Arms Trade Treaty-Baseline Assessment Project' at the event 'Preparing for Entry into Force: Next Steps for the Arms Trade Treaty', which was organised by Stimson Center and also took place in Washington.

Dr Holtom gave a presentation on 'Preparing to Ratify the ATT: Identifying Needs and Assistance' at the Meeting of National Societies to 'Promote Ratification and Implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty', in Geneva in September. He also gave a presentation on 'The ATT and the EU' for a session on 'Arms Trade Treaty: The Way Forward' at the EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Conference in Brussels. In October he chaired a plenary session on the 'Arms Trade Treaty' and a workshop on the 'Role of Technical Expertise in Export Control Risk Assessments for the European Union COARM Regional Seminar on Arms Export Control in Eastern Europe, which was organised by the European Union Outreach for Export Controls of Conventional Arms Project and the government of Georgia and took place in Tbilisi. He also chaired an event co-organised by SIPRI, the Fredreich Ebert Stiftung and the Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations in New York entitled 'Transparency in International Arms Transfers: Has the Arms Trade Treaty Killed off the UN Register of Conventional Arms?' In November he gave a presentation on 'Possible Areas for Assistance and Available Tools' at the Second Asia Regional Meeting to Facilitate Dialogue on the Arms Trade Treaty, which was organised by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific and took place in Manila.

In February Dr Holtom gave a presentation on 'Record-Keeping and Reporting' at Geneva Arms Trade Treaty Network workshop, which was organised by Geneva ATT Network and the United Nations Office and took place in Geneva (Switzerland). Later that month he participated as an expert in the 'Lima Roundtable on the Arms Trade Treaty', which was organised by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean and took place in Peru. In April he presented: 'ATT-Baseline Assessment Project: Update and Next Steps' at the First Geneva ATT Network Meeting in the United Nations Office in Geneva and in May he prepared a background paper for discussion on obligations in the Arms Trade Treaty on import, transit, brokering and prohibitions for the Second Meeting of the informal Expert Group on Arms Trade Treaty Implementation, which was organised by Saferworld and the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and took place in Stockholm. In May, Dr Holtom gave a presentation on 'Arms Trade Treaty: Implementation and Ratification' at European Union COARM Regional Seminar on Arms Export Controls for South-Eastern Europe, organised by the European Union Outreach for Export Controls of Conventional Arms Project and the government of Albania and took place in Tirana. In June he gave a presentation on 'Laying the Foundation for an Effective Arms Trade Treaty: Presenting the Arms Trade Treaty-Baseline Assessment Project' at a Side Event during the Fifth Biennial Meeting of States to Consider the Implementation of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit

Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which was organised by the Stimson Center and the Permanent Mission of Australia to the United Nations and took place in New York and in July he prepared a background paper and gave a presentation on reporting on implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty for the Third Meeting of the informal Expert Group on Arms Trade Treaty Implementation, which was organised by Saferworld and the German Federal Foreign Office and took place in Berlin in July.

In September **Dr Bettina Renz** was invited to speak at a two-day review workshop for the Swedish Defence Research Agency's annual volume on *Russian Military Capabilities* in Stockholm and in October she was invited as the keynote speaker at a plenary session sponsored by the Finnish Ministry of Defence at the 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki. In January she was invited to give a presentation on 'Russian Military Capabilities in Emerging Security Challenges and Implications for NATO-Russia Relations' at a roundtable on NATO-Russia Cooperation at the NATO Defence College in Rome and in May she was invited to speak on 'Airpower and War in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century' at a conference on 'Military Thinking in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century' at the Swedish Royal Academy of War Sciences in Stockholm. In August she was invited to speak at workshops and a roundtable on the 'Crimea Crisis' at the University of Helsinki's Aleksanteri Institute.

## BOARDS AND COMMITTEES

**Professor Julian Cooper** was reappointed Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House, London.

**Dr Richard Connolly** continued to serve as a member of the editorial board of the journal *Eurasian Geography and Economics* and also for the BASEES/Routledge *Russian and East European Series*.

**Dr Linda Edmondson** is the Membership Secretary of the Berlioz Society.

**Veysel Erdemli** acted as a Member of the Committee for abstracts review for the 2nd LCSS PhD Methodology Conference, Mixed Methods in Social Sciences in February 2014 at the London School of Economics in London.

**Dr Tim Haughton** continued as co-editor of the *JCMS Annual Review of the European Union*. He also continued to serve on the editorial boards of the journals *Slavonic and East European Review* and *East European Politics* and also served as a member of the International Advisory Boards of *International Issues* and *Slovak Foreign Policy, Mezinarodni vztahy* and *Stredoevropske politicke studie*.

**Dr Paul Holtom** is a member of the Small Arms Survey's International Program Council.

**Dr Deema Kaneff** was appointed a member of Editorial Board for a new book series on 'European Studies in Socio-Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology' published by Berghahn Press and is a member of three other editorial boards: *Anthropology: Journal for Socio-cultural Anthropology*, *Southeast by East. Journal of European Politics and Society* (formerly: *Suedosteuropa. A Journal for Politics and Society*) and *Bulgarska Ethnologia* (Bulgarian Ethnology)

**Dr Jeremy Morris** continued to act as the University of Birmingham's representative to CEELBAS.

**Professor Maureen Perrie** expanded her collaboration with Russian colleagues at the Urals Federal University in Ekaterinburg. She continued her membership of the editorial advisory board

(*redaktsionnyi sovet*) of the *Izvestiia Ural'skogo Federal'nogo Universiteta, Serii 2: Gumanitarnye nauki*, and also joined the editorial advisory board of *Quaestio Rossica*, a new multi-disciplinary and multi-lingual Russian Studies journal, founded by the Urals Federal University, and available through open access online (<http://qr.urfu.ru>).

**Dr David White** and **Dr Tim Haughton** are members of the ESRC Peer Review College.

**Dr Kataryna Wolczuk** served as a member of the Editorial Board of the Review of Central and East European Law. She also served as a member of the Advisory Board of the Polish-American-Ukrainian Cooperation Initiative (PAUCI) Warsaw / Kyiv and as a member of the Advisory Board of the East European Studies Distance Learning Programme at the Free University Berlin.

**Dr Galina Yemelianova** continued to be a member of the editorial board of *Europe-Asia Studies*. Since August 2014 she has been also a member of the editorial boards of *Caucasus Survey* and *Orients*.

## RESEARCH

### History

**Professor Robert Davies** has completed research on the sixth volume of his *Industrialisation of Soviet Russia* (see publications) which deals with economic development of the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1936. This volume, based on extensive research in formerly secret archives, examines the progress of Soviet industrialisation against the background of the rising threat of aggression from Germany, Japan and Italy, and of the consolidation of Stalin's power. The iron and steel industry expanded rapidly, new non-ferrous and rare metals were introduced, and the foundations were laid of a modern armament industry. Following the disastrous famine of 1932-3, agriculture recovered, and sufficient grain stocks were accumulated to cope with the shortages after the bad weather of 1936. These successes were achieved, after the abolition of rationing, by combining central planning with the use of economic incentives and experimentation with markets. Although the Soviet system ultimately failed, its success in these years was a crucial stage in the spread to the rest of the world of the economic and social transformation which began in England in the eighteenth century.

Professor Davies is now working on volume seven, the final volume, which will cover the years 1937 to 1939. This volume deals with a dark period of Soviet history – the years 1937 and 1938 were a time of savage repressions - and with the intensive preparations of the economy for the threatening danger of attack from Germany, Japan and Italy. It is hoped to complete the volume during the next three years, with the continued support of Oleg Khlevnyuk (Moscow), Stephen Wheatcroft (Melbourne) and Michael Berry.

**Dr Linda Edmondson** is continuing her research on Russian music in the mid-nineteenth century and Russian composers' contacts with Hector Berlioz. She is contributing to the *Cambridge Berlioz Encyclopedia*, edited by Julian Rushton, scheduled for 2017.

**Professor Maureen Perrie** continued to work on concepts of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the monarch in seventeenth-century Russia. She has been focussing recently on Old Believer notions of the tsar as the Antichrist (or the agent or 'horn' of the Antichrist), especially around the expected date of the Apocalypse in 1666. She has also been considering the significance of the refusal by many Old Believers to pray for the tsar.

**Dr Galina Yemelianova** has continued to research the history and contemporary social, political and cultural dynamic of Muslim states and regions of Eurasia, with a particular focus on the role of Islam in the formation and functioning of its polities and societies. She has been also pursued her interest in the comparative historical study of the social and political dimensions of Islam and the role of Islamic leadership, in particular, in the Middle East, Turkey and Eurasia.

#### *Honorary Senior Research Fellows*

**Professor Mark Harrison** worked on a monograph entitled *One Day We Will Live Without Fear*, a collection of stories about life in a police state, to be published by the Hoover Press.

#### **Economics and Statistics**

**Dr Richard Connolly** continues to carry out research related to the political economy of Russia. He is currently working on a monograph that examines the nature of Russia's integration with the global economy. In addition, he is analysing the impact of Western economic sanctions on the Russian political economy.

**Professor Julian Cooper** continued his research into the economics of the military in Russia and completed a report commissioned by the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) on the analysis of Russian military expenditure. He also studied closely the evolution of Eurasian economic integration and the increasingly conflictual relations between Russia and Ukraine. Russian policy towards the economic development of the Far East was investigated jointly with Professor Silvana Malle.

#### *Honorary Senior Research Fellows*

**Professor Mark Harrison** collaborated with Inga Zaksauskienė (Vilnius University) in a project on the KGB as a regulator of the Soviet command economy. He also worked on a collection of papers on *The Economics of Coercion and Conflict*, to be published by World Scientific Publishing in The Tricontinental Series on Global Economic Issues.

#### **Politics and Security Studies**

**Dr Derek Averre** continued his research into aspects of Russian foreign and security policy. He is principal investigator on a project entitled 'Arms Control and Economic Transition' (£201,000) funded by the UK Government over the period June 2012 – May 2015. He also leads a work package on a EU Framework Programme 7 project, coordinated for CREES by **Dr Katarzyna Wolczuk**, on the 'Security-Democracy Nexus in the Caucasus' (CASCADE). The total value of the project is €2,488,450 (with funding of €344,940 for the University of Birmingham for 2014-16). He also coordinates for the University of Birmingham the European Commission Marie Curie Action International Research Staff Exchange scheme (IRSES) entitled 'EuinDepth - European Identity, Cultural Diversity and Political Change' with a budget for CREES of €123,500 (2014-2017).

In the 2013-14 academic year there were four main strands to **Dr Tim Haughton's** research. The primary focus of his work was on seeking to find an explanation for the stability and instability of party politics in Central and Eastern Europe. After completing a couple of articles on the theme in the past year (one of which was published in *East European Politics* and another is under review), Dr Haughton is now focusing on writing a book with Kevin Deegan-Krause (Wayne State). Linked to that project Drs Haughton and Deegan-Krause collaborated with Fernando Casal Bertoa (Nottingham) on a paper seeking to provide better measurements of volatility. Thirdly, he continued to co-edit with Nathaniel Copsey, *The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union*. Fourthly, he embarked on

research focused on Britain's membership of the European Union and published an article explaining why David Cameron made his referendum pledge on EU membership.

Within the externally funded project entitled 'The Western Framing of the Armenia-Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Factor in Resolving the Conflict, or in its Perpetuation?' **Kamala Imranli-Lowe** examined about 4,000 news reports and leading articles on the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict from leading British media outlets such as BBC TV, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Independent* and *The Economist* from February 1988 to February 2014. An article was prepared on the topic covering the period from February 1988 to May 1994, in order to find out how objective the coverage of the conflict by these media outlets was. The article has been submitted to a refereed journal and is currently under review.

**Dr David White's** research continues to focus on opposition and protest in Russia and in 2013-14 he worked on a British Academy-funded project, 'Political opposition in Putin's third term'. Dr White visited Moscow in September 2013 shortly after the mayoral elections in which the opposition leader, Alexei Navalny, had performed far better than anticipated. He met with a number of key players in Navalny's campaign as well as with activists from across the opposition political spectrum.

**Dr Galina Yemelianova** has continued her research into the interaction between Islam, ethnicity, nationalism and politics in the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Volga Urals region of the Russian Federation in the post-Soviet period, and the role of external political and ideological influences in this interaction.

### *Honorary Research Fellows*

**Dr Paul Holtom** is Head of the Peace, Reconciliation and Security team and is leading the research groups examining 'Armed Violence and Illicit Activities: Land and Sea' and 'The Role of Rising Powers in Peace and Conflict' at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University. His research interests focus on the impact of the international arms trade and arms trafficking on conflict dynamics and development, with a particular focus on small arms and light weapons (SALW) and UN instruments. His current research focuses on: (i) traditional and rising power approaches to conflict prevention, peace-making and peacekeeping; (ii) the implications of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) for the arms trade; and (iii) Russian arms exports and foreign policy.

**Dr Bettina Renz's** major research focus is on Russian security and defence policy with a particular emphasis on the modernisation/reforms of the armed forces and security services since the end of the Cold War.

### **Sociology and Social Anthropology**

**Veysel Erdemli** carried out research on the role of Georgian associations in preserving cultural practices and constructing a sense of belonging to the homeland. The project is based on ethnographic research over a ten-month period, involving extensive participant observation, in-depth interviews, analysis of Associations' websites and printed materials.

**Dr Deema Kaneff's** research activities this academic year have focussed on finalising several papers for publication on a range of topics including informal economy activities comparing the situations in Ukraine and Bulgaria, the private property market in Bulgaria and the (until recent) illegal involvement of foreigners in this market, and Ukraine entry into the global economy. These papers have been submitted and are either in press or under review.

Dr Kaneff has also carried out one month's fieldwork in Ukraine in September (funded by the University of Birmingham, Research and Knowledge Transfer Fund). The fieldwork builds on a long term commitment to Ukraine (Odessa oblast) based on research carried out in the region since 2000. The results of this research will be a series of papers and a book manuscript which is presently being drafted.

Currently **Dr Kamala Imranli-Lowe** is researching the role of historians in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict, the findings of which will be presented at a workshop to be held in Birmingham on 26 November 2014.

In December **Dr Jeremy Morris'** edited book on ethnographies of informal economies was published by Routledge. Throughout 2014 he continued to work on the follow-up edited book on informality in post-socialism to be published by Palgrave in 2015 as well as a related special issue for the *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Seven research publications were published in the period 2013-2014. In late 2013 Dr Morris began work on a monograph with the working title 'Inhabiting post-socialism: working-class life in Russia'. In June and July he spent a month doing fieldwork to support the research for the monograph in Russia. In the same period he was a visiting Marie Curie research fellow at HSE, Moscow. From August to October he was a visiting Aleksanteri research fellow at the University of Finland.

### *Honorary Research Fellows*

**Dr Erica Richardson** continues to work on health system reform in countries of the former Soviet Union at the European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies and she has developed a particular interest in the issue of equity in access to health services. Alongside work on health systems Dr Richardson has been collaborating on a diverse range of papers drawing on data from the Health in Times of Transition study (an FP7-HEALTH collaborative research project).

### **Russian Language and Literature**

**Michael Pushkin** completed his work as co-translator (with editor Simon Nicholls) of all the published writings of the composer Alexander Skryabin. Publication of the volume, to be entitled *Alexander Skryabin: Notebooks*, is expected in spring 2015 to coincide with the centenary of the composer's death.

### **EXTERNAL GRANTS**

The Western Framing of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict, €120,000, The Council on State Support to NGOs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Jan 2014-Dec 2014.

Principal Investigator: **Dr Galina Yemelianova**

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books and Articles published by Members, Associate Members and Honorary Research Staff of the Centre**

DL Averre                    'The Modernization Debate and Energy: Is Russia an "Energy Superpower"?', in J Godzimirski (ed), *Russian Energy in a Changing World: What is the Outlook for the Hydrocarbons Superpower?*, Ashgate, 2013, pp 75-90

- DL Averre 'Dealing with Russia: A New 2020 Vision?' in AA Michta and P Sigurd Hilde, eds, *The Future of NATO: Regional Defense and Global Security*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 2014, pp 55-75
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- RW Davies *The Industrialisation of Soviet Russia Volume 6: The Years of Progress The Soviet Economy, 1934-1936*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2014
- V Erdemli ‘Identifying the Georgians Living in Turkey as a Diasporic Community’, *Avrasya Incelemeleri Dergisi* (Journal of Eurasian Studies), Vol 1, No 2, 2013, pp 343-61
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- TJ Haughton (with T Novotna) ‘The European elections in Central and Eastern EU states illustrates that the rise of Euroscepticism was far from uniform across Europe’ May 2014 <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/category/authors/tim-haughton/>
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- D Kaneff 'Rural-Urban Relations in a Global Age' in G Duijzings, ed, *Global Villages. Rural and Urban Transformations in Contemporary Bulgaria*, Anthem Press: London, 2013, pp 33-51
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- J Morris ‘The Warm Home of Cacti and other Soviet Memories: Russian Workers on the Socialist Period’, *Central Europe*, Vol 12, No 1, 2014, pp 16-31
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- J Morris ‘Low Wages and No Dignity: Russian Workers Reflect on the Stark Post-Soviet Choices in Blue-Collar Employment’, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, Vol 84, 2013, pp 271-7
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- G Yemelianova ‘Islam, National Identity and Politics in Contemporary Kazakhstan’, *Asian Ethnicity*, Vol 15 No 3, 2014, pp 286-301
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## THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

### In Preparation

- K Avedissian 'Success and Failure of Social Movements in Authoritarian Contexts: the Cases of Krasnodar Krai and the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria' (PhD; supervisors G Yemelianova/S Wolff)
- N Coombs 'Lev Kamenev: A case study in moderate Bolshevism' (PhD; supervisor EA Rees)
- L Davies 'Cold War or Cool Peace? A Conceptual Analysis of the Contemporary Russo-European Relationship' (PhD; supervisors DL Averre/M Webber)
- V Erdemli 'Tradition and Belonging: Georgian Associations in Turkey' (PhD; supervisors D Kaneff/G Yemelianova)
- K Hoffman 'Regional Organisations in the Post-Soviet Space: Domestic Origins of Cooperation Dynamics' (PhD; supervisors K Wolczuk/DL Averre)
- D Ionescu 'Weaknesses of the EU evaluation of a candidate: Lessons to be learned from the Bulgarian/ Romanian Experience (PhD; supervisors H Macartney/G Timmins)
- N Kemoklidze 'Identity Construction and Ethno-National Violence in Georgia in the Early 1990s' (PhD; supervisors K Wolczuk, S Wolff, C Moore)
- J Kennedy 'How do Russian Communities Develop Social Resilience to Industrial Risk?' (PhD; supervisors JB Morris/DL Averre)
- D Leitch 'The Contribution of International Technical Assistance to Public Administrative Reform in Ukraine: the Case of Regional Policy 2000-2012' (PhD; supervisors K Wolczuk/A Campbell)
- P Manolova 'Transitions from Education to Work of Bulgarian Social Science Graduates' (PhD; supervisors D Kaneff/JB Morris)
- I Opdahl 'Energy and Russian Foreign Policy in the CIS 1995–2005' (PhD; supervisors R Connolly/JM Cooper)
- J Perera 'Russia's Nuclear Industry' (PhD; supervisors R Connolly/JM Cooper)

## SEMINARS

Organized by Dr Tim Haughton

### October 2013

'The Syrian Crisis: Perspectives and Prospects',

Speakers: Derek Averre, Adam Quinn, Stefan Wolff, Galina Yemelianova

‘In the Shadow of Violence: The Political Economy of Putin’s Russia’,  
Speakers: Professor Neil Robinson (University of Limerick) and Richard Connolly

### **November 2013**

‘Russia and the Post-Cold War Security Environment: Revisiting Russia’s Approach Towards Conflict Management’,  
Speaker: Lance Davies

### **December 2013**

‘Legacies and Memories of Dictatorship: the Communist Past and the Present’,  
Speakers: Joshua Tucker (New York University) and Sara Jones (IGS/POLISIS).  
Discussant: Tim Haughton

‘Living in Interesting Times: Russian Politics and Economics in Putin’s Third Term’,  
Speakers: Joshua Tucker (New York University), Julian Cooper and David White

### **January 2014**

‘Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and After the USSR’,  
Speakers: Jeremy Smith, Galina Yemelianova and Arfon Rees

‘In a Cross-Fire of Integration: Russia, Europe and Political Crisis in Ukraine’,  
Speakers: Sarah Whitmore (Oxford Brookes), Rilka Dragneva-Lewers and Kataryna Wolczuk

### **February 2014**

‘Bribes that are Gifts? Theorising Informality from the Ground Up in Russia’  
Joint event with the Department of Modern Languages, Speaker: Jeremy Morris

### **March 2014**

‘From Revolution to Annexation? Ukraine, Russia and the West’,  
Speakers: Julian Cooper, Rilka Dragneva-Lewers and Kataryna Wolczuk

‘The Production of Migrants in Contemporary Capitalism’  
Speakers: Dr Nikolaos Xypolitas (University of Cyprus); Dr Bahar Baser (University of Warwick).  
(Organized by Polina Manolova and Veysel Erdemli)

## **OTHER PUBLIC OUTPUT**

Numerous media interviews were given by **Dr Derek Averre** for *inter alia* BBC World News, BBC WM radio and Voice of Russia.

**Dr Richard Connolly** published five articles in *The Conversation* and one in *The Washington Post*. He also appeared on live television and radio news programmes, including BBC Breakfast and the BBC Radio 4 Today programme. In addition he contributed on numerous occasions to LBC radio, Russia Today, Islam News, CNBC, Wall Street Journal, and Voice of Russia.

In addition to commenting on European politics to a range of media and writing articles for the *Washington Post*, **Dr Tim Haughton** recorded a podcast with Isabelle Hertner and Adam Quinn: ‘The terrible, horrible, no good, very bad European elections edition’  
<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/government-society/departments/political-science-international-studies/news/2014/06/european-elections-podcast-04.aspx>

**Ingerid M. Opdahl** appeared on the Norwegian public broadcasters NRK (TV and radio) and TV2 (TV) on the crisis in Ukraine, in interviews and debates eleven times from March to August 2014. She also in this period contributed advice to Norwegian politicians and civil servants on Ukraine and Russian foreign policy.

An interview with **Professor Maureen Perrie** was filmed in September 2013 for a television programme on Ivan the Terrible, made by Moers Media and shown on the German ARTE channel in April 2014.

**Michael Pushkin** coached four soloists and a twelve-strong chorus in a Russian-language performance of Scene One of Tchaikovsky's opera *Evgenii Onegin*, the introductory item in the annual *Opera Scenes* production at Birmingham Conservatoire, 5-7 December 2013. He coached and organised the Conservatoire's third annual *Russian Song Evening* recital in May.

In April 2014 **Dr Bettina Renz** was invited to speak on the topic of 'Russian Paramilitary Forces' at a colloquium for a small group of decision-makers in the German chancellor's office, Ministry of Defence, Foreign Ministry and Federal Council organised by the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. Several interviews were given to media outlets in spring 2014 during the Crimea crisis, including BBC Radio Nottinghamshire, the Voice of Russia and Bloomberg.

At the end of 2013 David White gave a number of national radio interviews regarding the release of the Pussy riot activists and Mikhail Khodorkovsky.

## ANNUAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

St Catharine's Foundation Lecture by Guest Speaker: **Catherine Merridale** (Queen Mary and Westfield) - 'Red Fortress: History and Illusion in the Kremlin'

### Russian Politics after Ukraine: Problems and Perspective

Chair: Tim Haughton

Speakers:

Richard Sakwa (Kent)

Edwin Bacon (Birkbeck)

Luke March (Edinburgh)

### Perspectives on the Crisis in Ukraine

Chair: Tim Haughton

Speakers:

Julian Cooper

Rilka Dragneva-Lewers

Deema Kaneff

Galina Yemelianova

Kataryna Wolczuk

### Core and Periphery before and after the Soviet collapse

Chair: Galina Yemelianova

Speakers:

Mark Harrison (Warwick), 'The KGB: Success and Failure on the Western Border'

Alexander Titov (Queens University Belfast) 'The Rise of Post-Soviet Nationalism and the Collapse of the USSR: The Case of Lev Gumilev and Eurasianists'



Jeremy Smith (University of Eastern Finland), ‘Russia, Central Asia, and the Soviet Collapse’

The Military Dimension of Present-Day Russia

Chair: Deema Kaneff

Speakers:

Julian Cooper

Paul Holtom (Coventry University)

Hanna Smith (Aleksanteri Institute, Helsinki)

Bettina Renz (University of Nottingham)

Afghanistan after NATO: Regional Security Implications

Chair and Discussant: Derek Averre

Speakers:

Rodric Braithwaite (former ambassador to the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation),  
“‘This Time it Will be Different’: British, Russians, and Americans in Afghanistan’

Natasha Kuhrt (King's College London), ‘Russia, Afghanistan and Regional Security’

Lance Davies, ‘The CSTO as Regional ‘Conflict Manager’: An Insight into Doctrine and Practice’

Corruption in Russia: Some Characteristics and Counter-Measures

Chair: Silvana Malle (CREES/University of Verona)

Speakers:

Philip Hanson (Associate Fellow, Chatham House and CREES Emeritus Professor),  
‘Reiderstvo/Asset-grabbing: what it is, what scale it is on, the damage it does and the fight-back against it’

Elizabeth Teague (formerly FCO), ‘Building a Wall around the Nation: Putin’s “Re-nationalization” of the Elite’

Discussant: Richard Connolly

The Caucasus: The Role of External and internal Framing.

Chair: Galina Yemelianova

Speakers:

Kamala Imranli-Lowe, ‘Armenia-Azerbaijan Conflict through the Prism of the British Media’

Karena Avedissian, ‘Framing Social Protest by its Participants and the State in the Caucasus’

Domitilla Sagramoso (King’s College, London), ‘The Internal and Global Discourses of Islamic Radicals in the Caucasus’

## TRAVEL AND VISITS

### Visits by Centre Staff, Associate and Honorary Members

**Professor Julian Cooper** spent two weeks in April 2013 on an internship at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), Kista, Stockholm, Sweden, working on a commissioned report on Russian military expenditure.

**Veysel Erdemli** carried out fieldwork in Turkey and Georgia from May to August.

Funded by a grant by the POLSIS research committee **Dr Tim Haughton** undertook a research trip to Croatia, Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic during the campaign for the European Parliament elections.

**Dr Deema Kaneff** holds the position of Research Associate at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany and spent July at the institute.

In June and July 2014 **Dr Jeremy Morris** was a visiting Marie Curie research fellow at HSE, Moscow. From August to October 2014 he was a visiting Aleksanteri research fellow at the University of Finland.

### ***Honorary Senior Research Fellows***

**Professor Mark Harrison** visited the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, where he is a research fellow, for the month of August 2014.

### **Visitors to the Centre**

Professor Neil Robinson (University of Limerick)

Professor Joshua Tucker (New York University)

Dr Kevin Deegan-Krause (Wayne State University)

Dr Allan Sikk (University College London)

Professor Jeremy Smith (University of the East of Finland)

Dr Bahar Baser (Coventry University)

### **APPOINTMENTS AND PERSONALIA**

**Dr Derek Averre** continued his role as External Examiner for Central and East European Studies at the University of Glasgow and as a member of the editorial board of the journal *European Security*.

**Dr Richard Connolly** was promoted to Senior Lecturer in Political Economy.

From August 2013, **Julian Cooper** became Emeritus Professor, CREES, University of Birmingham. He retired fully from the University on 30 November 2013.

**Professor Mike Bradshaw** moved to Warwick Business School, University of Warwick, as Professor of Global Energy from 1 January 2014.

**Dr Richard Connolly** and **Dr Jeremy Morris** became Co-Directors of CREES in August 2014.