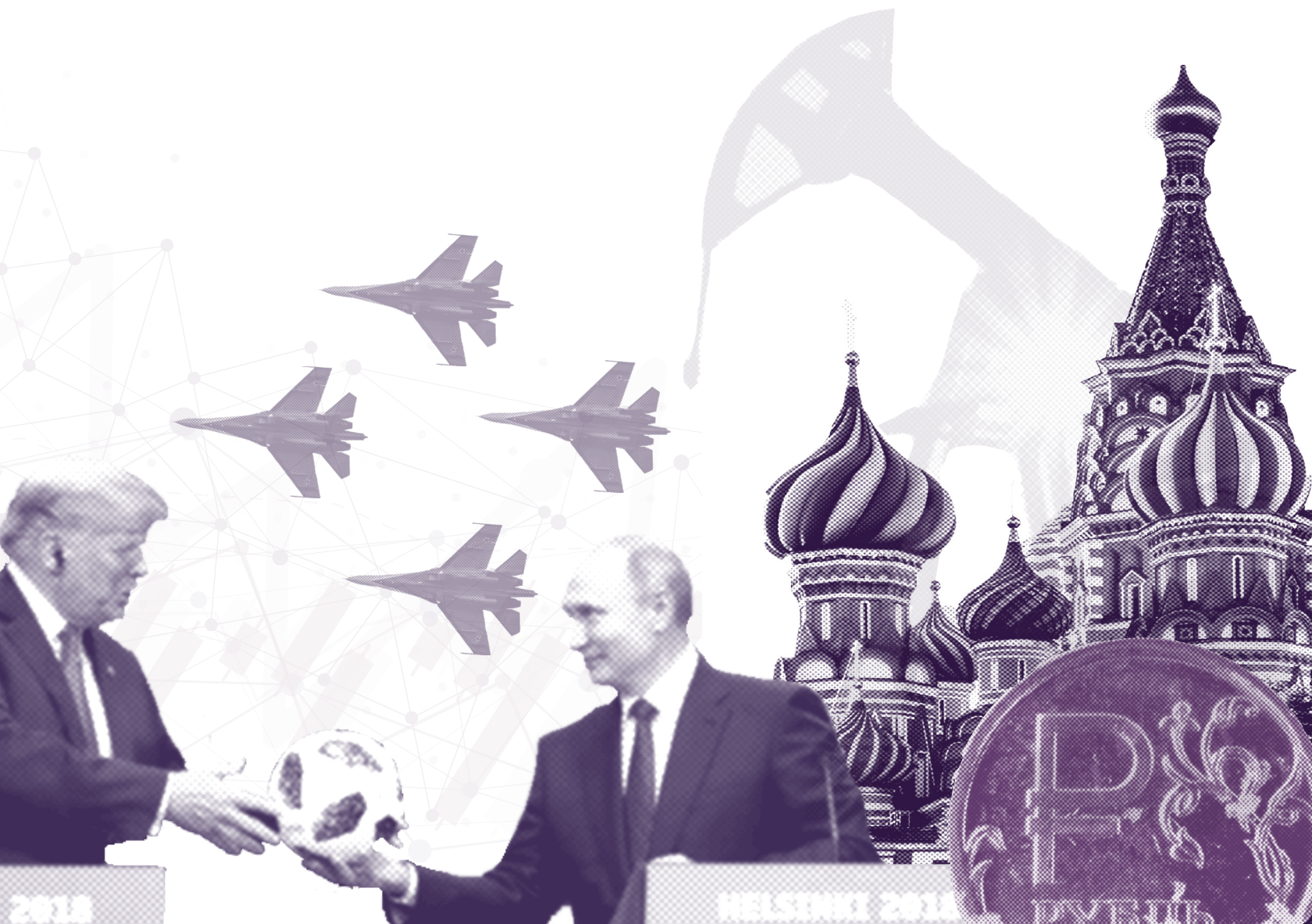


FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

EURASIA

PROGRAM

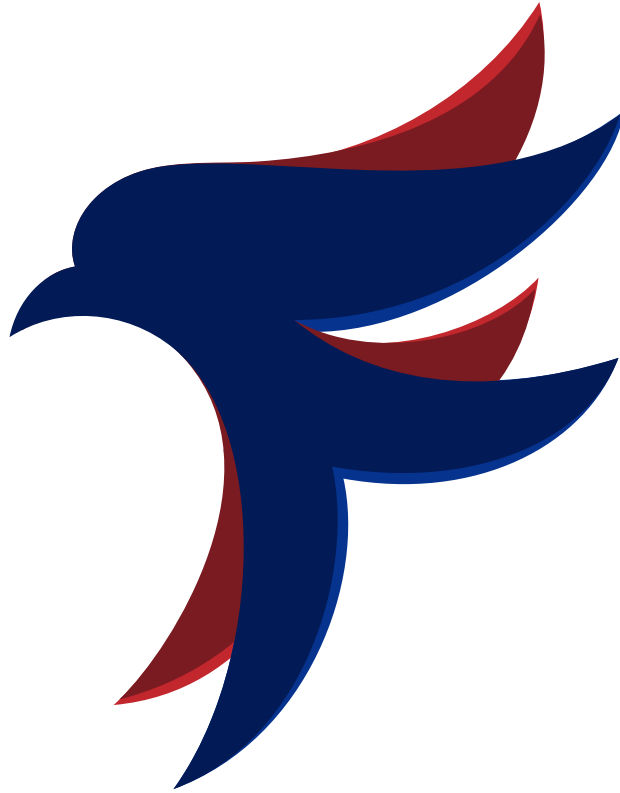
2019 MID-YEAR REPORT



2018

HELSINKI 2018





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July 2019

EURASIA PROGRAM

FPRI's Eurasia Program includes 27 affiliated scholars, five thematic initiatives, and seven regular publication series. In January 2019 we appointed two Black Sea Fellows and three Baltic Sea Fellows, and named Dr. Stephen Kotkin our special Eurasia Fellow for 2019.

LEADERSHIP TEAM



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Adrian A. Basora**
Co-Chair



John R. Haines
Co-Chair



Chris Miller
Director



Maia Otashvili
Deputy Director

EURASIA PROGRAM INITIATIVES



**RUSSIA POLITICAL
ECONOMY PROJECT**



BMB RUSSIA



CENTRAL ASIA INITIATIVE



DEMOCRACY AT RISK



BLACK SEA INITIATIVE



BALTIC INITIATIVE

BALTIC INITIATIVE

In January 2019 we appointed three Baltic Sea Fellows. **Una Bergmane, Indra Ekmanis,** and **Lukas Milevski** are driving FPRI's focus on political and security issues in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and on NATO-Russia relations in the Baltic Sea region more generally.

Dr. Milevski is an American scholar based at Leiden University, where he writes on Baltic defense and on grand strategy and strategic studies more generally. In January, Dr. Milevski briefed our Philadelphia audience about NATO-Russia relations, and the role of the Baltic states. Based at the London School of Economics, Dr. Bergmane is developing a research project entitled "**How to Confront Ukraine's Oligarchs: Lessons from Latvia.**" Her research and writing for the Baltic Bulletin focuses on Latvian domestic politics and Russian disinformation efforts. Earlier this year we launched a monthly newsletter called the "**Baltic Roundup,**" authored by Dr. Ekmanis, and **reaches over a thousand Baltic Bulletin subscribers per month.**

In addition to this research, FPRI continues to expand its Baltic-related partnerships in the U.S. and in the Baltic Sea region. We expect to launch several new Baltic-related programs in the near future. First, FPRI will partner with the **Baltic American Freedom Foundation** and to host junior visiting scholars of security and defense issues from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Second, in collaboration with the **Lithuanian Free Market Institute,** we will publish a series of Baltic Bulletins analyzing the country's successful economic reforms implemented in Lithuania. Additionally, in October, FPRI is co-sponsoring a conference with the **Vilnius Institute for Policy Analysis,** titled "**Europe on the Edge: The Politics of Grey Zones.**" The event, which will take place in Vilnius, Lithuania, will feature FPRI scholars, with emphasis on the destabilizing role that China and Russia are playing in Central and Eastern Europe.



Dr. Lukas Milevski and Deputy Director Maia Otarashvili discussed Milevski's new book "The West's East" at FPRI in January 2019.

BALTIC SEA FELLOWS



UNA BERGMANE is a Baltic Sea Fellow at the Eurasia Program. She holds a Ph.D. from Sciences Po Paris. She is a 2016-2017 postdoctoral fellow at the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University. Her research focuses on the Soviet disintegration and the end of the Cold War, Russian media propaganda in the Baltic States, and contemporary politics of Latvia.



INDRA EKMANIS is a Title VIII Research Scholar at the Kennan Institute in the Woodrow Wilson Center. She completed her PhD in International Studies at University of Washington in 2017 where her research focused on social integration and democratic transition in Latvia. Her current project examines the effects of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on Baltic independence movements and post-Soviet transition.



LUKAS MILEVSKI is an assistant professor at Leiden University, where he teaches strategy on the MA International Relations and BA International Studies programs. He was a Baltic Sea Fellow at FPRI in 2017 and is again in 2019. He has published two books with Oxford University Press, *The Evolution of Modern Grand Strategic Thought* (2016) and *The West's East: Contemporary Baltic Defense in Strategic Perspective* (2018).



@BalticBulletin



LATVIA'S "HARMONY" IN JEOPARDY

In this **Baltic Bulletin** Una Bergmane explains the internal turmoil of Latvia's political landscape and the prominent Harmony party.

Read it here: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/04/latvias-harmony-in-jeopardy/>

BLACK SEA INITIATIVE

This year we named **Dr. Robert Hamilton** of the Army War College and **Dr. Nicholas Gvosdev** of the Naval War College as FPRI's 2019 Black Sea fellows.

In May 2019 Dr. Hamilton traveled to Ukraine for field research in Kyiv and Donetsk. Upon his return, he briefed scholars, policymakers, and Ukraine-watchers in Washington and Philadelphia, and presented his findings at a scholars' meeting in Washington. He will continue to disseminate his research findings in the second half of the year, upon publication of his forthcoming report, which draws lessons from the Russia-Ukraine war in the Donbas in the five years since that conflict began.

Dr. Gvosdev's work has analyzed Russian foreign policy towards its Black Sea neighbors, and Russia's impact on regional security and geo-economics. Furthermore, Dr. Gvosdev regularly writes on American foreign policy more generally in a period of increased great power competition.

During the first half of 2019, FPRI organized scholars' meetings, hosted delegations, and provided research funding for scholars' travel to the region. We will publish the resultant Black Sea Strategy Papers this fall, **examining topics such as China's role in the Caucasus, the foreign policies of the Black Sea states, the geo-economics of the Black Sea ports, Georgia-Russia relations, and Turkey-Russia relations.**



Robert Hamilton speaks at the Princeton Committee of FPRI.



RUSSIA'S TRAGIC GREAT POWER POLITICS

Robert E. Hamilton argues that the true tragedy of Russia's great power politics is that this outcome was not determined by the structure of the international system but by the choices Russia itself has made. These choices turned theoretical threats into actual threats, making Russia less secure in the process.



@BlackSeaFPRI

DEMOCRACY AT RISK

Does the health of democracy abroad matter to the security of the United States? Do democracies make safer neighbors and better allies? How should the United States deal with the democratic recession of the past decade and the authoritarian counter-offensive that has reversed some of the spectacular democratic gains of the 15 years following the fall of the Berlin Wall? The Democracy at Risk Initiative aims to address these questions through publications, events, study groups, and partnerships with other institutions. In 2018 we worked with the University of Pennsylvania's Andrea Mitchell Center, the Center for Ethics and

Rule of Law, and the Department of Russian and East European Studies to co-sponsor an event series called "**Democracy in Trouble?**" The final conference of the series was held in March 2019, assembling 15 researchers for a day-long event entitled "**Is Russia Undermining Democracy in the West?**". The Democracy at Risk Initiative places special emphasis on contemporary political developments in the CEE region, with recent publications focusing on the protest movement in the Czech Republic, Ukraine's elections, unrest in Georgia, and politics in Moldova.

"IS RUSSIA UNDERMINING DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST?" CONFERENCE

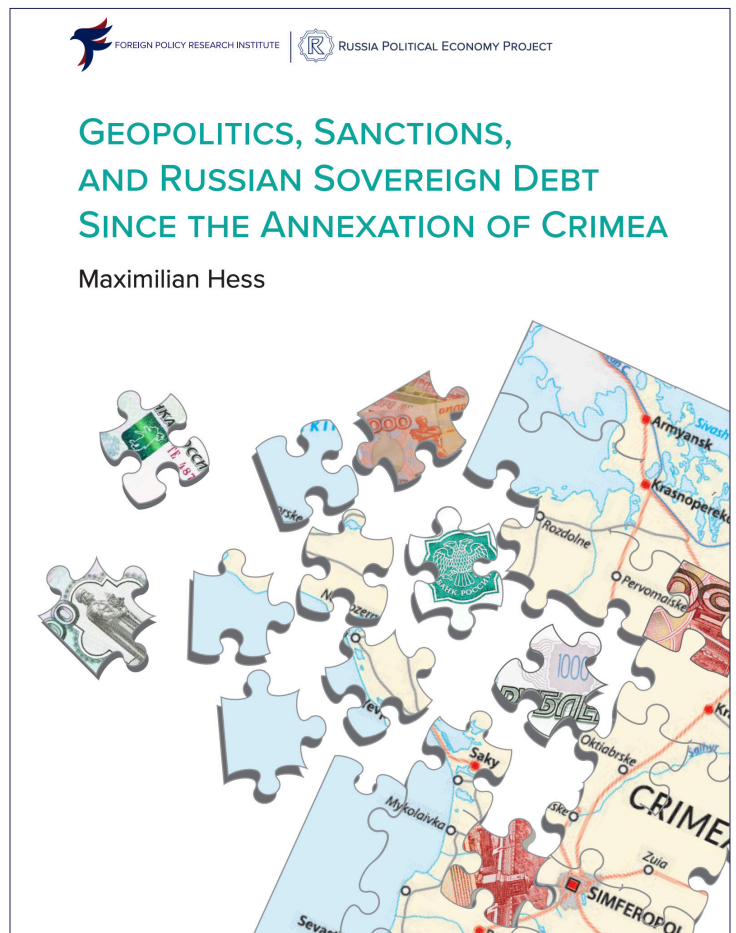
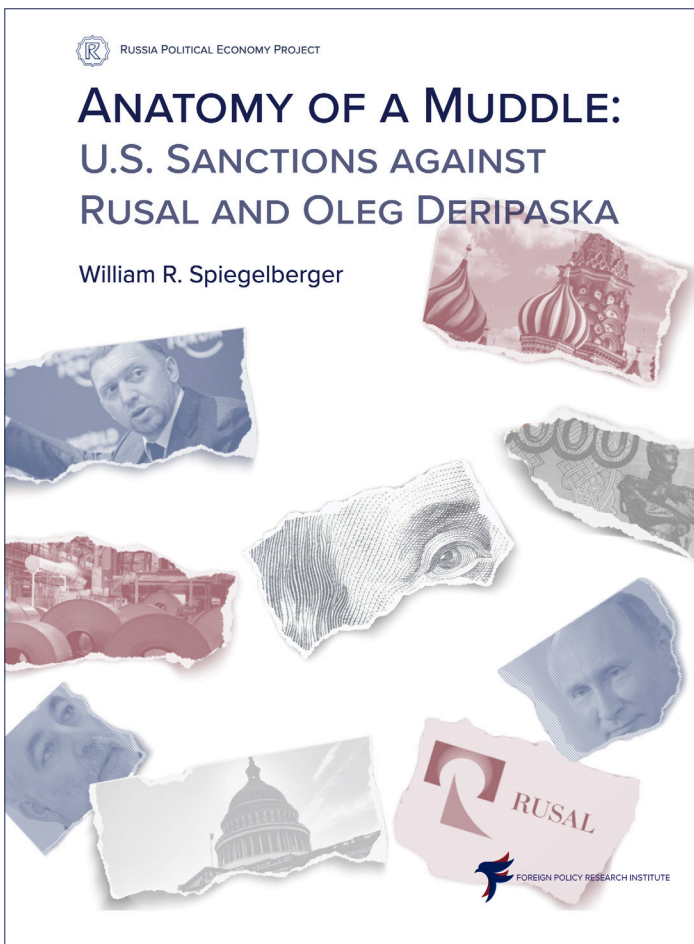
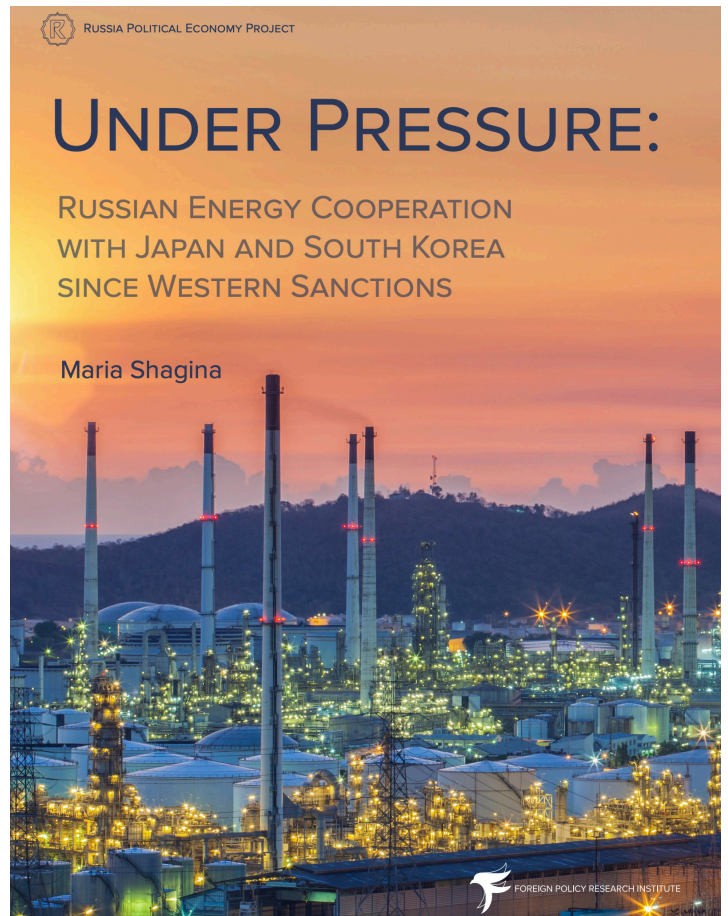


RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

In late 2017 we inaugurated the Russia Political Economy Project, which publishes research papers providing a clear-eyed assessment of Russian political economy trends. **The program is based on the notion that American analysis of Russia has too often projected its own ideas and politics onto Russia rather than understanding how Russia's leaders think.** Rather than trying to maximize their population's wealth, Russia's leaders see economics as a tool for projecting Russian power on the international stage. In 2019 the project is producing a series of reports mapping how Russia uses economic tools to achieve foreign policy leverage, several of which have already been published.

Our coverage of Russian foreign policy will be further supplemented by five forthcoming Russia Foreign Policy Reports, which will be published in the fall. These reports will cover **Russia's interests in Asia, the history of Russian propaganda and interference in other countries, Russia-Belarus relations, and Russia's history of imperial expansion.**





FPRI's BMB Russia provides a daily newsletter on Russia's economy, politics, business climate, and political risk environment in Russia, Ukraine and the post-Soviet space more generally. In addition to providing an indispensable resource for understanding Russia's political and economic developments, BMB also provides a network of young scholars an opportunity to engage with FPRI and develop their Russia expertise. BMB reaches an influential group of diplomats, journalists, analysts, and business people. This year we have also launched BMB Ukraine, a weekly supplement focused on Ukrainian politics.

B BMB Russia @BearMarketBrief · 1h
With the parliamentary election just three days ahead, @fabrice_deprez looks at Volodymyr Zelensky's first two months in power and sums up the latest polls - mailchi.mp/b07fc7d1ac6d/z...



B BMB Russia @BearMarketBrief · Jul 4
BMB Ukraine takes a deeper look at the situation in Eastern Ukraine as @fabrice_deprez reports from Donbass and journalist @niktwick explains the significance of Ukraine's decision to pull its military back from the Stanysia Luhanska crossing point. - mailchi.mp/5a821d7ec298/u...

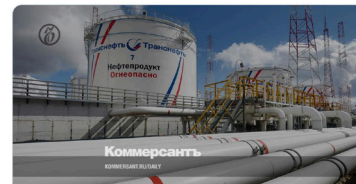


B BMB Russia @BearMarketBrief · Jul 8
Medvedev approves plans for a tollroad from the EU to Kazakhstan — @AlexNigest takes on Oreshkin's mud-slinging — Siluanov weighs in on the consumer credit debate — and @Maggie_Tennis talks the death of the INF Treaty. mailchi.mp/2611e2504990/t...



B BMB Russia @BearMarketBrief · Jul 16
The Energy Fix with @ntrickett16 -

New reportage shows that Lukoil's Volgograd refinery received oil via Transneft's pipeline network from April 4-12 with elevated levels of organic chlorides.



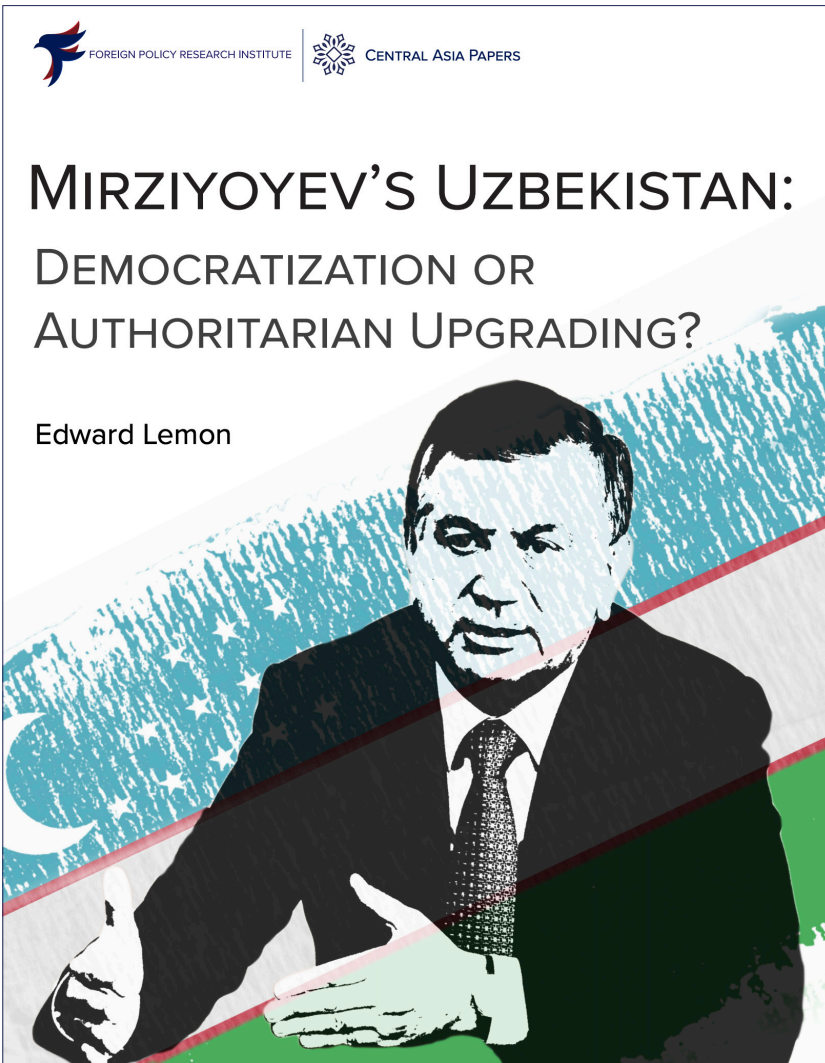
Хлор в законе
Российские НПЗ получили загрязненную нефть и до проблем на «Дружбе»
kommersant.ru



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CENTRAL ASIA INITIATIVE

In June 2019 we inaugurated FPRI's Central Asia Initiative, inspired by concern that America was losing focus on Central Asia even as the region was becoming a center of geopolitical competition. As the region's old post-Soviet dictators leave the scene, a new generation must reckon with Russia and China, both of which are trying to shape the region's politics and economics. Both Russia and China also have competing integration schemes for the region, with Moscow pushing the Eurasian Economic Union and Beijing advocating the Belt and Road. FPRI's Central Asia Initiative will objective analysis of trends in Central Asia, informing policy makers and the public on matters that affect U.S. national interests, including **energy; the Belt and Road Initiative; terrorism and extremism; and competition between powers such as China, Russia, Turkey, and Iran.**



MIRZIYOYEV'S UZBEKISTAN

In the first Central Asia Paper, Edward Lemon argues that Uzbekistan is not democratizing. Rather, it is in the midst of an “authoritarian upgrading.” Authoritarian upgrading entails selectively adopting economic and political reforms to placate the population’s demands for democratization, while existing elites capture most of the benefits of the country’s embrace of globalization and marketization. The result is a softer authoritarian regime which relies more on persuasion than coercion. So far the reforms have been welcomed by many citizens. But if the regime fails to deliver on its promises and demand for further change grows, Mirziyoyev’s new Uzbek path could meet with resistance from both those who desire a return to Karimov era repression and those wanting genuine democratization.

2019 PUBLICATIONS

Russia's Attempts to Undermine Democracy in the West: Effects and Causes
Robert Hamilton - Orbis, Summer 2019

Is Russia Sabotaging Democracy in the West?
Nikolas Gvosdev - Orbis, Summer 2019

After a Full Week of Tbilisi Protests, Georgia's Future Looks Partly Promising
Maia Otarashvili - Geopoliticus, June 27, 2019

Czechs Protest like it's 1989, Demand Resignation of 'Czech Trump'
Mitchell Orenstein - Geopoliticus, June 26, 2019

Geopolitics, Sanctions, and Russian Sovereign Debt Since the Annexation of Crimea
Maximilian Hess - Russia Political Economy Report, June 25, 2019

Turmoil in Georgia
Maia Otarashvili - E-Notes, June 21, 2019

Georgia and Azerbaijan's David Gareja Monastery Conundrum
Miro Popkhadze - Geopoliticus, June 14, 2019

Mirziyoyev's Uzbekistan: Democratization or Authoritarian Upgrading?
Edward Lemon - Central Asia Papers, June 12, 2019

Perceptions of Russian Interference in U.S. Elections Matter as Much as the Actual Involvement
Aleksandr Fisher - Geopoliticus, May 09, 2019

Hope from a Century Past: The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the First Parliamentary Republic of the Muslim World
Michael A. Reynolds - E-Notes, May 08, 2019

Volodymyr Zelensky: Ukraine's Servant of the People?
Stephanie Petrella - Geopoliticus, May 08, 2019

Latvia's 'Harmony' in Jeopardy
Una Bergmane - Baltic Bulletin, April 30, 2019

Anatomy of a Muddle: U.S. Sanctions against Rusal and Oleg Deripaska
William R. Spiegelberger - Russia Political Economy Report, April 29, 2019

Lithuania's Presidential Election: Same Policy Wine in New Bottles?
Egle Murauskaite - Baltic Bulletin, April 17, 2019

New Baltic Defense Discussions and Beyond at Vilnius Security Forum
Lukas Milevski - Baltic Bulletin, April 12, 2019

Georgia's Latest Banking Scandal Tests the Limits of its Democratic Institutions
Elene Melikishvili - Geopoliticus, April 11, 2019

Yandex's Balancing Act and the Sovereign Runet Bill
Natasha Bluth - Geopoliticus, March 28, 2019

Is Russia Undermining Democracy in the West? Conference Report
Carl Lampe, Roksana Gabidullina - Conference Report, March 26, 2019

Ukraine's Presidential Election and the Future of its Foreign Policy

Melanie G. Mierzejewski-Voznyak - E-Notes, March 26, 2019

Russia's Tragic Great Power Politics

Robert E. Hamilton - E-Notes, March 08, 2019

Not all Song and Dance: Georgia as a New Economic Center

Steven Luber - Geopoliticus, March 04, 2019

The State of Russia's IPO Market

Peter Simon - Geopoliticus, February 20, 2019

Armenia and the Velvet Revolution: The Merits and Flaws of a Protest-based Civil Society

Simon Hoellerbauer - Geopoliticus, February 19, 2019

Latvia's Balancing Act: The Birth of a Pushmi-pullyu Government

Una Bergmane - Baltic Bulletin, February 15, 2019

Under Pressure: Russian Energy Cooperation with Japan and South Korea since Western Sanctions

Maria Shagina - Russia Political Economy Report, February 07, 2019

Do Svidaniya, Chernobyl: Russian economic statecraft in Turkey and Belarus

Anna J. Davidson - Geopoliticus, February 06, 2019

Democracy is 'a priority we cannot afford to ignore' –at home or abroad

Thomas O. Melia - Geopoliticus, February 05, 2019

Russia's National Guard Sets its Sights on the Country's Private Security Business

Fabrice Deprez - Geopoliticus, January 31, 2019

(De)friending in the Baltics: Lessons from Facebook's Sputnik Crackdown

Indra Ekmanis - Baltic Bulletin, January 31, 2019

Russia in Venezuela: Geopolitical Boon or Economic Misadventure?

Maximilian Hess - Russia Political Economy Report, January 30, 2019

Yulia Tymoshenko: Ukraine's Candidate of Uncertainty

Stephanie Petrella - E-Notes, January 28, 2019

Green By Name, Green By Nature: The First Russian Green Bonds

Ed Hicks, Matthew Fisher - Geopoliticus, January 28, 2019

Why Russia Sticks With Venezuela

Ivan Ulises Kentros Klyszcz - Geopoliticus, January 23, 2019

Trump vs. Trotsky: The Many Consequences of a U.S. Withdrawal From Syria

Robert E. Hamilton - E-Notes, January 23, 2019

Understanding Russian Foreign Policy

Chris Miller - Orbis, January 16, 2019

Contextualizing Russia and the Baltic States

Joe Kyle - Orbis, January 16, 2019

Taking Stock of U.S. Sanctions on Russia

Janis Kluge - E-Notes, January 14, 2019

MEDIA APPEARANCES




PROGRAM PARTNERS

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Russia Matters

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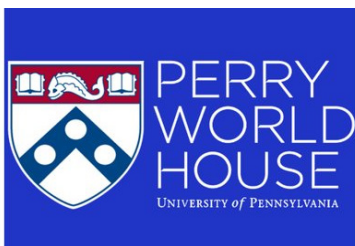
The Royal Institute of International Affairs



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