

Stephen F. Jones, curriculum vitae

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EDUCATION

- Ph.D., 1984 London School of Economics and Political Science (L.S.E): *Georgian Social Democracy in Opposition and Power; 1918-1921*.
(Joint Ph.D. student, L.S.E. and School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).
- M.Sc. (Econ.), 1976 L.S.E.: Soviet Government and Politics.
- B.A. (Honors), 1974 University of Essex. Comparative Government.

EMPLOYMENT

- 2001 - Professor of Russian and Eurasian Studies. Mount Holyoke College
- 1994 Associate Professor of Russian and Eurasian Studies,
Mount Holyoke College.
- 1989 Assistant Professor of Russian Studies, Mount Holyoke College,
South Hadley, MA.
- 1988-89 Lecturer in Politics, University College, University of Oxford.
- 1986-88 Research Fellow, School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University of London
- 1986 Part-Time Lecturer, Polytechnic of North London, U.K.
- 1985-86 Visiting Assistant Professor of Politics, University of California,
Santa Cruz, California.

ARTICLES, CHAPTERS, REPORTS (selected):

“The fate of Georgian dreams,” *Open Democracy*, 18 October 2016, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/stephen-f-jones/fate-of-georgian-dreams>

“Georgian Social Democracy” in Karumidze, Zurab (ed.), *Georgia’s European Ways: Political and Cultural Perspectives*, Tbilisi, 2016, pp.28-43

“Agreement by association: Georgia edges closer to Europe,” **Open Democracy**, 19 March 2015, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/stephen-f-jones/agreement-by-association-georgia-edges-closer-to-europe>

“Kakha Bendukidze and Georgia’s failed experiment,” **Open Democracy**, 2 January 2015, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/stephen-f-jones/kakha-bendukidze-and-georgia%E2%80%99s-failed-experiment>

“South Ossetia’s Unwanted Independence,” **Open Democracy**, June 10, 2014; <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/stephen-f-jones/south-ossetia%E2%80%99s-unwanted-independence>

“Russia’s unhealthy foreign policy will come back to haunt it soon,” **The Conversation**, 29 April, 2014, <https://theconversation.com/russias-unhealthy-foreign-policy-will-come-back-to-haunt-it-soon-25974>

“Between Ideology and Pragmatism: Social Democracy and the Economic Transition in Georgia 1918-21,” **Caucasus Survey** (London) no. 2. April, 2014, pp.65-81.

“Introduction” in **The Making of Modern Georgia: The First Georgian Republic and Its Successors, 1918-2010**, (Stephen Jones, ed.), London: Routledge, February, 2014.

“Reaching the Summit: Implication of Vilnius for Georgia,” **The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst**, 11/12/2013,

“The Interregnum: Georgian Foreign Policy from Independence to the Rose Revolution” (co-author Levan Kakakishvili), in Michael Cecire and Kornely Kakachia (eds.) **Georgian Foreign Policy: The Quest for Sustainable Security**, Tbilisi: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2013, pp.13-40

“Georgia, through a glass darkly,” **Open Democracy**, 18 November, 2013, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/stephen-f-jones/georgia-through-glass-darkly>

“Democracy in Georgia: Da Capo?” **Cicero Foundation**, Great Debate Paper, No. 13/02, April, 2013, <http://www.cicerofoundation.org/>

“Reflections on the Rose Revolution,” **European Security**, Volume 21, No. 1, 1 March 2012, pp. 5-15.

“Georgian Politics and Society,” in George T. Kurian (ed.) **International Encyclopedia of Political Science**, Washington D.C.,: CQ Press (Sage), (forthcoming)

“Georgia’s Rose Revolution of 2003: Enforcing Peaceful Change” in Adam Roberts, T. Garton Ash, Thomas Davies (eds.) **Civil resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present**, Oxford: OUP, 2009, pp.317-334.

“Soviet Nationality Policy: 1924-1991,” in Simon Dixon (ed.), **The Oxford Handbook of Modern Russian History** Oxford: OUP (forthcoming).

“The Georgian Orthodox Church,” in Lucian Leustean (ed.), **Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945-91**, Routledge, 2009, pp. 99-120

Guest Editor for special issue of **Central Asian Survey** Volume 28, Number 2 June 2009, **Georgia Ablaze: War and Revolution in the Caucasus**. Author of “Introduction: Georgia’s Domestic Front,” pp.93-98.

“Clash in the Caucasus: Georgia, Russia, and the Fate of South Ossetia,” **Origins: ehistory** (A journal of Ohio State University) November 2008 (vol. 2 issue 2), <http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/origins/article.cfm?articleid=20>

“The Conflict in Georgia and the Self-Defeating Nature of Nationalism,” Interviewed by Sergey Glebov, **Ab Imperio**, Issue 3/2008 (pp.223-235)

“A Tragedy for All,” Commentary, (August 8th, 2008), **Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty**
http://www.rferl.org/content/Tragedy_For_All/1189888.html

“Reflections on the Rose Revolution: A tale of Two Rallies,” **Harvard International Review** (online)
March 16, 2008, <http://www.harvardir.org/articles/1702/>. 4pp.

“The Rose Revolution: A Revolution Without Revolutionaries?” **Cambridge Review of International Affairs**, March 2006 (Vol. 19, No. 1), pp.33-48.

“Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Georgia, 2004” **Electoral Studies**, Vol. 24, Issue No. 2, June 2005, pp.303-311.

“Georgia: from Under the Rubble,” Lowell Barrington (ed.) **After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Post-communist States**, Michigan: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2006, pp.248-276.

“The Role of Cultural Paradigms in Georgian Foreign Policy,” in **The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics** Vol. 19, No. 3, 2003, pp.83-110 and Rick Fawn (ed.), **Ideology and National Identity in Post-Communist Foreign Policies**, London: Frank Cass, 2003, pp.83-110.

“Georgian Nationalism: A Reassessment,” **Analysis of Current Events**, Vol. 12, Nos. 5-6, September 2000, pp.3-5.

“Georgia’s Presidential Election,” **Newsnet** (Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies), Vol. 40, No 4, September 2000, pp.11-13.

“Democracy from Below: Interest Groups in Georgian Society,” **Slavic Review**, Vol. 59, No.1, Spring, 2000, pp.42-73.

“Georgia: A Difficult Year,” Peter Rutland (ed.) **Annual Survey of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Holding The Course**, Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1998, pp. 353-60.

Library Assessment and National Library Conference in the Republic of Georgia Co-Author with Sandra Ward, Nancy Birkrem and Susan Perry, IREX, Washington DC., 1997 (also at Website <http://www.irex.org>).

“The Georgian-Abkhazian Dispute: a Hot Summer,” **Analysis of Current Events**, June 1997, Vol. 9, No. 6, pp.9-11.

“Georgia: the trauma of statehood,” Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (eds.) **New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations**, Cambridge (UK): CUP, 1997 (Updated and revised version of “Georgia: a Failed Democratic Transition,” Bremmer and Taras (eds.), **Nation and Politics in the Soviet Successor States**, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 288,-310).

“Georgians” **Encyclopedia of American Immigrant Cultures**, David Levinson and Melvin Ember (eds.), New York: Simon & Schuster, pp. 310-315.

Prospect for the Return of Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees to Abkhazia; a UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) Review of the Situation in Georgia. Co-authored with Joel Boutroue, Geneva: May 1997.

“Progress Amid Privation,” Peter Rutland (ed) **Annual Survey of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: The Challenge of Integration**, Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, , 1998, pp. 333-344.

Internal Report: "The Political Economy of Reform: Interest Groups in Georgian Society" **The World Bank**, Washington D.C., 1996.

"Georgian-Armenian Relations in 1918-20 and 1992-94: A Comparison," Ronald Suny (ed.) **Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change: Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia**, Ann Arbor,: Rev. ed. Univ. of Michigan Press, 1996, pp.441-460.

"Georgia's Return From Chaos," **Current History**, October 1996, pp.340-345.

"The Common Problems of Georgia's Independence Today and in the Past," (in Georgian), Roin Metreveli (ed.) **Georgian Diplomacy Annual**, Vol. II, Tbilisi: Tbilisi Univ. Press, 1995, pp.53-58.

"Georgia and the Georgians," Graham Smith (ed.) **The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States**, Harlow, U.K: Longman, 1996, pp. 291-313. Joint authorship with Robert Parsons.

"Adventurers or Commanders: Civil-Military Relations in Georgia," in Constantin Danopoulos and David Zirker (eds.), **Civil-Military Relations in the Soviet and Yugoslav Successor States**, Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, pp.35-52.

"The Georgian Language State Program and Its Implications," **Nationalities Papers**, Vol. 23, No. 3, September 1995, pp. 535-548.

"Georgia: the Caucasian Context," **Caspian Crossroads**, No. 2, Spring 1995, pp. 11-13.

"Old Ghosts and New Chains: Ethnicity and Memory in the Georgian Republic," Rubie Watson (ed.), **Memory, History and Opposition Under State Socialism**, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1994, pp. 149-165.

"Populism in Georgia: the Gamsakhurdia Phenomenon," **Nationalism and History: the Politics of Nation Building in Post-Soviet Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia**, Donald Schwarz and Razmik Panossian (eds.), Toronto: University of Toronto Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp. 127-149.

"The Mingrelians," **Encyclopedia of World Cultures, Vol VI, Russia and Eurasia/China. Part One: Cultures of Russia and Eurasia**, Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1994, pp. 262-265.

"The Georgian SSR," Archie Brown and Michael Kaser (eds.), **The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Former Soviet Union**, (2nd. ed.), Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 37-39.

"Georgia's Power Structures," **Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe Research Report**, Volume 2, No 39, October 1, 1993, pp. 5-9.

"The Meskhetians: Muslim Georgian or Meskhetian Turks? A Community Without a Homeland," **Refuge**, Vol. 13, No. 2, May 1993, pp. 14-16.

"Georgia: a Failed Democratic Transition," Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (eds.), **Nation and Politics in the Soviet Successor States**, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 288-310.

"The Non-Russian Nationalities," Robert Service (ed.), **Society and Politics in the Russian Revolution**, London, St. Martin's Press, Macmillan/St. Martin's Press, 1992, pp. 35-63.

"Indigenes and Settlers," **Cultural Survival Quarterly**, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1992, pp. 30-32.

“Revolutions in Revolutions Within Revolution: Minorities in the Georgian Republic,” Zvi Gitelman (ed.), **The Politics of Nationality and the Erosion of the USSR**, London: Macmillan/St. Martin’s Press, 1992, pp. 77-101.

“Georgia: the Long Battle for Independence,” M. Rezun (ed.), **Nationalism and the Breakup of an Empire: Russia and its Periphery**, Westport: Praeger Press, 1992, pp. 73-96.

“Georgian Social Democracy in 1917,” Jonathan Frankel, Edith Rogovin Frankel and Baruch Knei-Paz (eds.), **Revolution in Russia: Reassessments of 1917**, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 247-273.

“Glasnost, Perestroika and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,” in Ron Suny (guest ed.), **Armenian Review**, Summer/Autumn 1990, Vol 43, No. 2-3, pp. 127-152.

“sakartvelos sotsial-demokratia 1917 tsilis,” **Mnatobi** (Tbilisi, Georgia), No 5, May 1991, pp. 140-150. (This is a translation of “Georgian Social Democracy in 1917,” op.cit.).

“Soviet Religious Policy and the Georgian Church: from Khrushchev to Gorbachev,” **Religion in Communist Lands**, Winter, 1989-90, pp. 292-312.

“Religion and Nationalism in Soviet Georgia and Armenia,” in Pedro Ramet (ed.), **Religion and Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe**, Durham: (2nd rev. and expanded ed.), Duke University Press, 1989, pp. 171-195.

“Marxism and Peasant Revolution in the Russian Empire: the Case of the Gurian Republic,” **The Slavonic and East European Review**, Vol. 67, No. 3, July 1989, pp. 403-434.

“The Caucasian Mountain Railway Project: a Victory for Glasnost?” **Central Asian Survey**, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1989, pp. 47-59.

“Transcaucasia Before 1917,” “Transcaucasia: Revolution and Civil War,” “Khoiski, Fath Ali Khan,” “Rasul Zadeh, Mehmid Emin,” “Tsereteli, Irakli,” “Vratsian, Simon,” “Zhordania Noi,” in Harry Shukman (ed.), **Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution**, Oxford: Blackwells, 1988, pp. 232-239.

“The Georgian Orthodox Church,” in Pedro Ramet (ed.), **Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century**, Durham: Duke University Press, 1988, pp. 286-308 (under pseudonym C.J. Peters).

“The Establishment of Soviet Power in Transcaucasia: the Case of Georgia 1921-1928,” **Soviet Studies**, Vol. XL, No. 4, October 1988, pp. 618-639.

“National Conflict at the Eighth All-Union Writers’ Congress,” **Nationalities Papers**, Vol. XV, No. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 7-21.

“Russian Imperial Administration and the Georgian Nobility: the Georgian Conspiracy of 1832,” **The Slavonic and East European Review**, Vol. 65, No. 1, 1987, pp. 53-76.

BOOKS

Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy, 1883-1917, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005 (Georgian translation published by Ilya Chavchavadze State University, Tbilisi, 2007).

War and Revolution in the Caucasus: Georgia Ablaze, (ed.) London: Routledge, March, 2010.

Georgia: A Political History of Independence, London: I.B. Tauris. October 2012 (Georgian translation published by Center for Social Sciences, Tbilisi, December 2013)

The Making of Modern Georgia: The First Georgian Republic and Its Successors, 1918-2010, (ed.)
London: Routledge, February, 2014.

English Language Editor-in-Chief of **kartlis tskhovreba (The History of Georgia)**, Georgian Editor, Roin Metreveli; Georgian Academy of Sciences and Artanuji Publishers, Tbilisi, 2014

BOOK REVIEWS in the following journals:

Armenian Review
Canadian Slavonic Studies
Canadian-American Slavic Studies
Caucasus Survey
Central Asian Survey
Europe-Asia Studies (formerly Soviet Studies)
History of Ideas
International Affairs
Journal of Communist Studies
Political Studies
Revolutionary Russia
Russian Review
Slavic Review
Slavonic and East European Review
Slavonica
Soviet and Post-Soviet Review

LECTURE SERIES, CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION (selected):

- 2016 Convener of **Summer School on “Oral History: Recording Georgia’s Past and Training Scholars for the Future”** Dedoplistkharo, Ilia State University, Georgia, September 12-18
- 2011 Coordinator of **Open World Leadership program**, hosting six **Georgian educators** for one week in Amherst, MA. Funded by the *Academy of Educational Development* and the *Library of Congress*. Theme: “Improving Management & Academic Standards in Secondary and Higher Education.”
- 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011
- Center for Social Sciences, Tbilisi State University**. Annual seminars and lectures in Political Science for Masters’ students of the Center for Social Sciences. Political Science Disciplinary Meetings in Istanbul and Antalya in 2011. Higher Educational Support Program (OSI)
- 2009 (October) Co-Convener: International Conference “*The Birth of Modern Georgia: The First Georgian Republic and its Successor States 1918-2009*,” Tbilisi, Tbilisi State University and Ilya Chavchavadze University
- 2006 (April) Oberlin College, *Oil and Water in Central Asia: Four Guest lectures*
- 2004-2005 Director, Program on Religious Tolerance, Republic of Georgia, **Institute for Training and Development, funded by the Bureau for Cultural and Educational Affairs, US State Department**, Summer 2004 (Amherst), March 2005 (Tbilisi), June 2005 (Poti)
- 2003 (fall) Director Library Training Program, Republic of Georgia, **Institute for Training and**

Development, funded by the Bureau for Cultural and Educational Affairs, US State Department, Fall 2003 (Georgia), January 2004 (Amherst, Mass).

2000 (Summer) **American University of Armenia**, Yerevan, Armenia. Summer lecture course on Nationalism

PANELS/PRESENTATIONS/ LECTURES (last 12 years only):

“The Rise of Conservatism in the South Caucasus and its Implications,” Conference: **Trends in the South Caucasus**, Centra Technology, Inc. Arlington, VA. June 9th, 2017

Book Panel on Erik R. Scott’s *Familiar Strangers: The Georgian Diaspora and the Evolution of Soviet Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2016), **ASN**, Columbia University, May 5th, 2017

“What is Eurasia? Russia’s Role in the Russia, Caucasus and Central Asia Triangle,” Eurasian Seminar series, **Davis Center, Harvard University**, February 24, 2017.

“Putinism. A new Imperialism? **Laurel Chain Society Lecture Series**, MHC, February 22nd, 2017

“Can the South Caucasian States Break with their Past?” Key Speaker at **Russia and the Caucasus Regional Research Inaugural Conference**, Dec 9-10, 2016, Malmo University, Sweden,.

Co-convenor of one-day “Workshop on Oral History: Recording Georgia’s Past,” **National Public Library of Georgia**, Tbilisi, Georgia, December 13, 2016. Funded by the Adenauer Foundation.

Convener of **Summer School on “Oral History: Recording Georgia’s Past and Training Scholars for the Future”** Dedoplistskharo, Iliia State University, Georgia, September 12-18, 2016. Funded by the Rustaveli National Science Foundation.

Examiner on Doctoral Defense of Tamara Svanidze; **Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, (INALCO)**, Paris, France, June 3, 2016

“Social Democrats, Marxists, Nationalists, Mensheviks, or Something in Between? The Leaders of the Georgian Democratic Republic,” 1918-1921,” **Centre for Studies of Russia, Caucasia and Central Europe**, Paris, France, June 2, 2016

Discussant and chair for two panels at **Association for the Study of Nationalities 21st International Conference**, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, NYC, April 16

Guest Lecture for Prof. Alexandra Vacroux, **Georgia and NATO: Prospects**, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, April 15, 2016.

Lecture and Coordinator, **Harvard Summer School in Georgia**, Tbilisi, June 2015

“Domestic Developments from a Historical Perspective,” **Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Dept. of State**, Washington DC , September 10, 2015, (Briefing for Ambassador Ian Kelley)

Chair at International symposium, **Education in the South Caucasus: Modernization, Innovation and Future Trends**, Iliia State University, Tbilisi, June 19th, 2015, (sponsored by ARISC and OSGF)

European Choice of Georgia: Role for the US, presentation in panel “Internal and External Challenges for European Integration,” Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, Washington DC, May 6, 2014

Panel on my book, **Georgia: A Political History Since Independence**; Chair of panel *Caucasus Survey: State-of-the-Field in Caucasian Studies*, ASN World Convention, Columbia University, 24-26 April, 2014.

Five College Faculty Panel: The Russia-Ukraine Crisis, Amherst College, Fayerweather Hall Pruyne Auditorium, - April 15, 7:30 PM

Book presentation and panel, **Georgia: A Political History of Independence**, London: I.B. Tauris, Tbilisi State University and Center for Social Sciences, December 10, 2013.

“Independent Georgia: 20 Years On,” **Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen**, Bâtiment France, Paris, October 2nd, 2013.

“Georgia: Five Years After the War,” **Georgian Embassy**, Brussels, September 24th, 2013

“Georgia: the Struggle for Stability,” **At the Crossroads: Quo Vadis?** Mount Holyoke European Alumnae Symposium, Central Agricultural Library, Warsaw, September 21, 2013

“Looking Through the Glass Darkly? Western Views of Georgia 1991-2012” **Heinrich Böll Foundation**, Tbilisi, Georgia, June 24th, 2013.

“Georgia’s Democratic Breakthrough; Is it for Real?” **Key speaker** at conference: **Political Transformation and Social Change in the South Caucasus: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan in Perspective**, Marriot Courtyard Hotel, Tbilisi, organized by Academic Swiss Caucasus Net (ASCN), June 21-22, 2013

“Why the Saakashvili System Failed,” **Franke Institute for the Humanities**, University of Chicago, May 21, 2013

“Social Engineers or Vandals: The Saakashvili Era in the Republic of Georgia,” Modern Languages Dept., **Emory University**, April 15, 2013.

“Recent Developments in Georgia,” **International Higher Education Support Program** Academic Fellowship Program, Eser Hotel, Istanbul, April 4-7, 2013.

“The Best and Worst Case Scenarios for the October 2012 Parliamentary and 2013 Presidential Elections,” **The Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State** and The National Intelligence Council, System Planning Corporation, Arlington, VA. July 2, 2012

“Georgia: Towards a Virtuous Democracy?” (Roundtable: Politics of Regime and State in Georgia) **ASN International Conference**, Harriman Institute, Columbia Univ., NY, April 19th, 2012

“Georgia's Democracy: What's Working and What's Not” Symposium on the Contemporary Caucasus, **Davis Center, Harvard University**, February 3rd, 2012.

“Georgia: A Political History since Independence,” **Kennan Institute**, Washington D.C., Jan 9th, 2012.

“The Quality of Democracy in Georgia,” **Tbilisi State University**, June 12th, 2011

June 2010: three lectures on Georgian issues at the **Centre d’études des Mondes Russe, Caucasian et Centre Europeen**, Paris. Funded by the **Fondation Maison des Sciences de L’Homme**, France.

“The Rose Revolution in Historical Perspective,” **Center for Social Sciences**, Tbilisi State University, May 18th, 2010.

International Higher Education Support Program, Academic Fellowship Program.

Conference of Political Science Discipline, Budva, Montenegro. Discussant and Panelist

“Reflections on the Rose Revolution,” International Conference. *The Caucasus: Imagining Freedom, Negotiating Dominion*, Center for Russian, Soviet, Central and East European Studies, St Andrew’s University, Scotland, 16-17th April, 2010.

“Environment and National Security: the Georgian Dilemma.” **Tbilisi State University**, June 5th, 2009.

“Historical Perspectives on the First Republic in Georgia.” (in Georgian), **Georgian Academy of Sciences**, Tbilisi, June 3rd, 2009

“La premier republique Georgienne,” (in French) **Noe Jordania Institute**, Paris, May 30th, 2009

“La révolution des roses en Géorgie,” Lecture at **L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales**, Paris, May 28th, 2009.

“Language Policies and the Russian Language in Belarus, the Baltics, Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia Since 2000,” and “The 2008 Georgia War: Origins and Implications,” **ASN 14th Annual Convention**, Columbia University, 23-25 April, 2009.

International Higher Education Support Program, Academic Fellowship Program.

Conference, Istanbul, April 1-4th, 2009. Chair and Discussant.

“The New Great Game: Oil and Geopolitics in the Caucasus,” **Mount Holyoke Club of South Florida**, Sarasota, Florida, March 28, 2009.

“Who has the Right to Independence? Lessons from Georgia” Lecture at **Wellesley College**, March 4th, 2009

The Laments of Liberalism: The Case of Georgia,” Lecture at **Connecticut College**, February 26th, 2009

“War in the Caucasus” Lecture at **Franklin and Marshall College**, December 5th, 2008

“State Building or State Destroying” (panel: the Colored Revolution Phenomena), **AAASS National Convention**, Philadelphia, November 21st, 2008

Discussant, Chair and Panelist. Two panels at **Central Eurasian Studies Society Ninth Annual Conference**, September 21, 2008. Georgetown University, Washington D.C. “Roundtable on Georgia: Current Events,” and “Tolerance Building in the South Caucasus.”

“The War in Georgia, Back in the USSR?” **World Affairs Council**, of Western Massachusetts, Springfield, Mass, September 11th, 2008.

State Department Policy Forum on the Russian-Georgian Situation, State Department, Washington D.C., August 26th, 2008.

June 22-July 23rd Life Along the Ancient Silk Road. Guide and Lecturer (three lectures: The Great Game, The Nomads; Central Asia Today)

“Reflections on the Rose Revolution,” **Tbilisi State University**, Georgia, June 5th, 2008.

Senior Scholar for **IREX 2008 Regional Policy Symposium** (Three meetings: January 25th/April 9-11th/April 14th. Final Meeting - a debriefing at US Dept. of State)

“The Role of Non-Violence in the Rose Revolution,” **International Conference: Georgia: the Making of a National Culture**, May 15-18, University of Michigan

Panelist and Discussant, ASN 2008 World Conference, Columbia University, April 2008. “A Special Panel on Charles King’s **The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus**,” and “The Effects of State-Building on Georgia’s Ethnic Minorities,” (discussant).

“Russia in 2008,” in two lectures, Jan. 31st and April 12th, 2008, Global Education Center (Teachers’ Workshop) Clark University, Worcester.

“Putin’s Russia,” **Great Decisions 2008: A Foreign Policy Association program**, Northampton, MA, March 28, 2008.

Open Society Institute/International Higher Education Support Program Academic Fellowship Program. Conference, Istanbul, March, 2008. Chair and Discussant.

“Georgia: The Problem of Re-stating and De-stating” in **The Rose Revolution: Four Years Later**, The Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Harriman Institute, Columbia. November 17, 2007.

The Caucasus: New Agendas in Scholarship, Two Day Symposium for senior scholars, Kennan Institute, Washington, DC, May 10-11, 2007.

“Georgia: A Forced Revolution,” **International Conference on Civil Resistance and Power**, St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, March 15-19th, 2007.

Two panel presentations “After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States,” and with MHC students Ally Nehrer and Nino Guruli, “Environmental Change and Acute Conflict in Georgia,” **Association for the Study of Nationalities**, 11th Annual Convention, Columbia Univ., April, 2006.

“Central Asia: the People and the Region,” March 10th; “The Disappearing Sea,” April 14th, 2005; Global Education Center (Teachers’ Workshop) Clark University, Worcester.

“Nationalism and the Nation in the Caucasus” Discussant for panel at ASN (**Association for the Study of Nationalities**) 10th Annual Convention, Columbia University, April 15, 2005.

“The Rose Revolution in Georgia,” **NRC Teachers’ Workshop**, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, June 29th, 2004, Harvard University, Cambridge.

“Citizenship, Elections and Orientation in Azerbaijan and Georgia,” **Association for the Study of Nationalities Ninth World Conference**, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, April 15, 2004, Discussant.

“Georgia, A Little Different, But Not Much” on panel *The Impact of the South Caucasus on the Study of International Relations*, International Conference: **Armenia/the South Caucasus and Foreign Policy Challenges**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 21-23, 2004.

“Caucasia,” **Teachers Center for Global Studies**, Clark University, March 18, 2004.

“Georgia Since 1991,” **Davis Center, Harvard University**, NRC Winter Workshop. January 2003

Helsinki Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Hearing on the Republic of Georgia, Washington D.C., September 24th, 2002.

“Georgia Today: A New Crossroads Between East and West,” **Policy Forum, US Dept. of State**, Washington DC, July 24th, 2002.

“Georgia in 2002” Panel participant, “The New Caucasian States: 10 Years After” at **Institute of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, University of California at Berkeley**, April 15th, 2002

Five Presentations on Problems of Democratic Development in Georgia, presented (in Georgian) at the **Georgian National Public Library, Institute of Politology (Georgian Academy of Sciences), European School of Management, Grigol Robakidze University, and American Councils for International Education (ACTR-ACCELS)**, Republic of Georgia, August-December 2001.

“Georgia and the Economy,” Workshop: **Economic Stability and Independence in Critical transition States, Office of External Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Dept. of State**, Meridian International Center, May 21, 2001.

“Georgia. The First Republic: 1918-1921,” School of Historical Studies, **Institute for Advanced Study**, Princeton, March 12th, 2001

Consultant and Participant in “Georgian Policy Planning Exercise,” **Office of Special Programs, Foreign Service Institute, US Dept. of State**, February 7th, 2001

“Political and Economic Challenges for Georgia,” **Roundtable Discussion, US Dept. of State**, National Foreign Affairs Training Center, December 7th, 2000

“Minority, Ethnic Group and Nation in the Caucasus,” **Constructing Minorities, Defining Communities**, Conference presentation, Connecticut College, April 29th, 2000

Discussant on panel “Ethnic Minorities in Georgia,” **Association for the Study of Nationalities Fifth Annual World Convention**, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 13-15 April, 2000.

“Civil Society in the Caucasus,” **Central Asia and the South Caucasus: Re-Orientations, Internal Transitions and Strategic Dynamics**, National Intelligence Council and Science Applications International Corporation, Airlie House, Virginia, April 5-7th, 2000.

“Georgia: a New Nationalism in the Making,” **US State Department, National Foreign Affairs Training Center**, Arlington, VA, March 28th, 2000.

“Eastward and Upward: Romancing the Caucasus,” Gallery Talk at **Mount Holyoke College Art Museum** to address photographic exhibition **Summit: Vittorio Sella, Mountaineer and Photographer**, March 2nd, 2000.

“The New Elites in Georgia,” **Conference on Emerging Elites in the South Caucasus**, Meridian International Center, Washington D.C., September 17th, 1999.

“Nationalism after Independence in Georgia,” **Nationalism after Independence in the Transcaucasus and Russia**, panel at **APSA (American Political Science Association)**, Atlanta, September 2-5th, 1999.

“The Economic Implications of Secession: the Georgian-Abkhaz Case,” **Political Economics of Secession; World Policy Institute**, 4-5 June, 1999, Ciragan Place, Istanbul.

“Georgia: Miracle or Misery,” **Central Intelligence Agency**, Reston Center, Virginia, April 9th, 1999.

Organized and chaired panel **Constitutional Politics in the Caucasian States for Association for the Study of Nationalities, Fourth Annual World Convention**, April 15-17, 1999, Columbia University.

“Georgia: One Step Back, two Steps Forward; Two Steps Back, One Step Forward,” **National Foreign Affairs Training Center**, March 16, 1999.

“The Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict: Economic solutions?” **Political Economics of Secession**, World Policy Institute, Barcelona, January 14-15th, 1999.

Organized panel **Post-Soviet Constitutions: a Review**, and delivered paper “The Georgian Constitution” for the panel. Sponsored by **Yale Center for International and Area Studies**. Mount Holyoke College, December 12, 1998.

“Georgia 1918-21: the First Democratically Elected Republic,” **International Conference on the 80th Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Georgian Republic**, UNESCO, Paris, November 23rd, 1998.

Panel participant in **The Caspian Region: the Quest for Influence**, Strategic Assessments Group, Directorate of Intelligence, Rosslyn, Virginia, November 12-13th, 1998.

“Georgia’s Strategic Culture,” Paper presented at workshop **Caspian Region: History and Culture as Tools for Developing Future Scenarios**, Strategic Assessments Group, CIA. Crystal City, September 14th, Washington DC, 1998.

“Georgia: the State of Economic and Political Reform,” **Caspian Forum: Eurasia Group of the World Policy Institute**, Four Seasons Hotel, Houston, Texas, July 28th, 1998.

“State and Democracy Building in the First and Second Georgian Republics” **Chair** of three panels at **Noe Jordania International Conference on Georgia and the Caucasus**, Tbilisi, Georgia, May 26-28th, 1998.

“Interest Groups in Georgian Society,” **Peaceful Caucasus**, University of Tbilisi, Georgia, May 22-24th, 1998.

“The First Georgian Republic” **The 80th Anniversary of the Georgian Declaration of Independence**, Kellogg Center, Columbia University, May 19th, 1998.

“The Development of Civic Society in Georgia,” **US Department of State, National Foreign Affairs Training Center**, Arlington, VA, May 12th, 1998.

“The Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict: the Georgian Viewpoint,” **Senior Seminar in Peacemaking and Preventative Diplomacy**, United Nations Institute for Training and Research, Mont Pelerin, April 17th-20th, 1998.

MEDIA

Newspapers:

“Georgia in His Time.” **Toronto Globe and Mail** on Wednesday, November 26, 2003.

“Etnicheski natsionalizm v Evrope,” **Svobodaia Gruziia**, 16 July, 1993. p. 2.

“Socialist who thought the party could justify any means,” (On the 50th anniversary of Trotsky’s death), **The Times**, (London) 18 August, 1990.

“Le pays de la toison d’or: Une grande capacite de survie,” **Le Monde Diplomatique**, No. 423, 12 April 1989.

“Moscow’s restless tribes,” **The Times**, (London) 12 April, 1989.
“Galaktion Tabidze” in **Letters from Georgia**, Tbilisi, No 1, 1994, p.25.

Radio and TV:

Broadcasts for: National Public Radio Sunday Weekend Edition, All Things Considered, KPSA Radio (Berkeley), Channel 40 WGGB (ABC Springfield, MA), Channel 22 (Springfield), CBS3 (Springfield), WGBY (PBS, Springfield), WHMP Radio (Northampton), Voice of America (Russia, Georgian and English Services), Radio Liberty, ABC Radio (Australia), BBC Radio 4, (Today, World at One), BBC World Service (The World Today, Focus, Newshour, Topic of the Week, Twenty Four Hours), Channel 4 News (ITN, UK), BBC TV (Breakfast Time), Channel 1 (Republic of Georgia), Radio Tbilisi (Republic of Georgia), Rustavi 2 (Independent TV, Republic of Georgia)

CONSULTANT:

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
World Bank
National Geographic Magazine
New York Times
McNeil-Lehrer
US State Department

REFEREESHIP /CONSULTANCY

ACSN, Project Adviser (The Influence of Identity on Foreign and Security Policy Formation in Armenia and Georgia), 2016; **Center for Social Sciences (CSS)**, Tbilisi State University. Master’s program in Social Sciences, Co-Chair and External Advisor, MA in Caucasian Regional Studies/Transformation in the South Caucasus, Center for Social Sciences, Tbilisi State University. Since 2010, consultant and participant in preparation of Tbilisi State University doctoral program funded by Higher Educational Support Program. **Open Society Institute (OSI) Academic Fellowship Program** (supervision of OSI foreign fellows), PhD supervisor, Boston University (2005).
Selection committee for **United States Information Agency/Academy for Educational Development, University Partnerships Program, International Research and Exchanges Board** (2001-2014, various years), **American Councils for International Education**.

Referee for **National Endowment of Humanities, Ohio University Research Committee, Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasia, Slavic Review, Russian Review, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, Conflict Quarterly, Caucasian Regional Studies, Nationalities Papers, Kritika, The Carl Beck papers in Russian and East European Studies (University of Pittsburgh), Historia Contemporánea, Central Asian Survey, Caucasus Journal, Problems of Post-Communism, Identity Studies (Georgia), Spekali (Georgia) and the Rustaveli Foundation (Georgia)**

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE: (last 5 years)

International Relations Committee.
European Studies Committee (Chair 2007-2010)
Center for Global Initiatives, Faculty Advisory Board
Advisory Committee on Appointments, Reappointments and Promotions (2007-2011)
Faculty Conference Committee (2012-2016)
Sander Thoenes Award Committee (Hampshire College)
Fellowships Committee (MHC, 2011-)
Chair of AAUP chapter at MHC (2011-2012)

PUBLIC SERVICE

Boards:

ARISC (American Research Institute for the South Caucasus) (Vice President)
Caucasus Survey (Editorial Board)
Central Asian Survey (Editorial Board)
Georgian Politics (Tbilisi) (Editorial Board)
Georgian Association in the USA (Secretary 2009-2014)
American Friends of Georgia (Board member)
SWSEEL (Summer Workshop in Slavic, East European and Central Asian Languages) (Board Member)
Bruce Lincoln Prize Committee (AAASS), 2010
Horizonti (Georgian NGO) (Chair) 1995-1999 (Board Member)
Housing Discrimination Project 1999-2002 (Board Member)
WFCR (local NPR radio station) 2001-2003 (Board Member)
American Friends Service Committee, 2003-2006 (Board Member)

GRANTS, SCHOLARSHIPS, AWARDS

2016 **Ivane Javakhishvili Prize** for Georgian Studies Awarded by Tbilisi State University.
Co-PI: **Georgian National Science Foundation**: Oral History: Recording Georgia's Past and Training Scholars for the Future.
Fulbright Award for Fall 2016 in Georgia

2015 MHC Faculty Grant, "Social Democracy and State Building in the Democratic Republic of Georgia, 1918-21: the Role of the Legislature."

2014 **Kennan Institute Short Term Scholar Grant**, Summer 2014, Kennan Institute, Washington DC ("Social Democracy and State Building in the Democratic Republic of Georgia, 1918-21)
Center Associate, Davis Center, Harvard University

2013 Project organizer for cataloguing and preservation of Georgian archive (Leuville, France), funded by **Georgian National Parliamentary Library and Georgian Ministry of Culture**,
"Surviving the Transition: The Implications of Economic Change in Post-Soviet Eurasia for Development and Democracy." **Five College Mellon Grant** (with Profs. Regine Spector and Audrey Altstadt)
MHC Faculty Grant, Archival research in the *National Archives*, UK.

2011 **Honorary Doctoral degree**, Tbilisi State University, Georgia

2010 **Foreign Member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences**

2010 **Fondation Maison des Sciences de L'Homme** (Grant for archival research in Paris)

2009 **MHC Faculty Fellowship**. Sabbatical support

2007 2007 Meredith E. Cameron **Faculty Award for Scholarship and Teaching**

2006-2012 **Higher Educational Support Program International Fellow** - Open Society (External supervision of Master's Program at Tbilisi State University, Georgia).

2005 **MHC Summer Fellowship**: award for research with two MHC students in summer 2005 on the relationship between environmental degradation and social conflict (one month in Republic of Georgia)

2004 **Innovation Grant**, Mount Holyoke College (for development of Study Abroad Program in Georgia)

2003 **Media Grant**, Mount Holyoke College (for multimedia projects in the classroom)

2002 **Smith Richardson Foundation**, one year grant for book project: US Policy in Georgia and the Caucasus: Four Case Studies."

2001 **Institute for Advanced Study**, School of Historical Studies, Princeton (Membership with stipend for spring semester to complete book, 2001)

- Fellowship in Policy Research and Development**, International Research and Exchanges Board, to complete project on local government in Georgia, Fall, 2001.
- Mount Holyoke College **Faculty Fellowship**
- Mount Holyoke **Faculty Grant**
- 1999 International Research and Exchanges Board **Creation of an Electronic Guide to the Archive of Contemporary History, Tbilisi, Georgia.**
- 1998 Faculty grant for curriculum development (**Speaking, Writing and Arguing Program, Mount Holyoke College**).
- 1997 Mount Holyoke College **Faculty Fellowship**
- 1996 International Research and Exchanges Board: **The Creation of a MARC-based Guide to the Republic of Georgia's Central Historical Archive.**
- 1995 International Research and Exchanges Board: **Short Term Travel Grant for Professor Alexander Rondeli, Chair of International Relations' Dept., University of Tbilisi, to visit Mount Holyoke College: Collaboration on article "Caucasia, Time for a Foreign Policy?"**
- 1995 International Research and Exchanges Board: **Library Assessment and National Library Conference in the Republic of Georgia.**
- 1993-1994 International Research and Exchanges Board: **Research Residency.** Tbilisi, Georgia.
- 1992 **Class of 1929 Virginia Apgar Assistant Professor of Russian and Eurasian Studies** (Chair for Junior Faculty, Mount Holyoke College)
- 1992-1993 Mount Holyoke College **Faculty Fellowship.**
- 1992 **Pew Faculty Grant** for organization of Faculty Seminar "Ethnicity and Nationalism."
- 1991 Mount Holyoke College **Faculty Grant: The Shevardnadze Era in Georgia.**
- 1990 **Research Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard University.**
- Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies:** Grant for curriculum development.
- 1989 Mount Holyoke College **Faculty Grant** for conference presentation in Moscow, April, 1990.
- 1988 **Marjory Wardrop Grant** (Oxford University). Archival research at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France.
- 1987-1989 **Economic Social Research Council:** Post-doctoral Fellowship.
- 1986 University of California, Santa Cruz **Faculty Research Grant:** the Shevardnadze era in Georgia.
- 1983 **British Council Scholarship;** study at the University of Tbilisi, Georgian SSR, USSR.
- 1982 Elected **Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College,** Oxford University, Oxford.
- 1980 **University of London Central Research Fund:** archival research at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 1975-1979 **Social Science Research Council:** scholarship for graduate study, London School of Economics, London.
- British Council Scholarship (twice),** Tbilisi University.

LANGUAGES

English (native), Georgian (fluent), Russian (very good), French (good),