

MARAT ILIYASOV, Ph.D.

A Chechen Scholar of International Relations, History, and Comparative Politics. I focus on the history of the Russo-Chechen interaction, wars, and post-war relations; post-Soviet conflicts in wider Eurasia; religious radicalization and governance of religions, authoritarianism and memory politics in Russia and Chechnya.

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EMPLOYMENT

- July 2023 – Research Fellow at Global Russia Academy (Elliott School of International Relations, GWU).
- Sept. 2022-Jun 2023. Visiting Assistant Professor at Miami University.
- July 2021 – July 2023. Post-doctoral Fellow at Vilnius University.
- Sept 2021 – Aug 2022. Post-doctoral researcher at Wisconsin University-Madison. Wisconsin Russia project.
- May 15– May 31, 2022. Visiting Scholar at Elliott School of International Relations, George Washington University.
- Dec 2018 – Sept 2022. Researcher at Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania. Religious governance and radicalization in Russia. Project „Radicalisation, Secularism and the Governance of Religion: Bringing together European and Asian Perspectives - GREASE“ Nr. 770640.
- Sept 2019- Sept 2020. Associate Lecturer (University of St. Andrews, School of IR).
- Sept 2014 – Aug 2018. Teaching Assistant (University of St. Andrews, School of IR).
- Sept 2017 – Aug 2018. Teaching Assistant (School of Politics and Social Sciences, Edinburgh University).

EDUCATION

- 2013-2017 – Ph.D. in International Relations (University of St. Andrews, Scotland).
- 2011 –2013 MA “Caucasus Studies” (Ilia State University, Georgia).
- 2002 –2004 MA “Diplomacy and Negotiation” (Vilnius University, Lithuania).
- 1998 – 2002 BA International Relations and Political Sciences (Vilnius University).

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Post-Soviet politics and society, comparative authoritarianism, domestic and foreign politics, political violence, political demography, collective identity, memory politics.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Procreation for the sake of the Nation (forthcoming in 2024, under contract with Lexington).

Peer-reviewed articles

2024. “The Clash of Collective Memories in Postwar Chechnya.” *Problems of Post-Communism*, 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2024.2340565> (Impact factor 1.6).

2024. “Russia's war strategies: what Chechnya suggests for Ukraine.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* (with Y. Herrera) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2024.2330882> (Impact factor 2.23).

2023. “Governing religion in Russia and Bulgaria: Between religious diversity and religious nationalism.” *Ethnicities* Special Issue, 1-19 (with L. Yakova and V. Bogdanova). <https://doi.org/10.1177/146879682312094>

2022. “Dynamics in state-religion relations in post-communist Central Eastern Europe and Russia.” *Religion, State and Society* 4, 415-435 (with D. Vekony & E. Račius. Impact factor 1.45). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2022.2127591>

2021. “Security and religion – the discursive legitimization of the Chechen authorities.” *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 10, 1-29 (impact factor 0.52). <https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-bja10029>

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2021. "To be or not to be a Chechen? The second generation of Chechens in Europe and their choices of identity." *The Frontiers of Sociology* (impact factor 2.28. Most often viewed article's - 13064 views). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.631961>
2019. "Chechen Demographic Growth as a Reaction to Conflict: The Views of Chechens." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 71(10), 1705-1733 (impact factor 2.108). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1602593>
2018. "Chechen Ethnic Identity: Assessing the Change from Resistance to Submission." *Middle Eastern Studies* 54, (3), 475-493 (impact factor 0.45). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2018.1423967>
2017. "Researching Chechen Diaspora in Europe: the Issues Faced." *Inter-Disciplinary Political Science Journal* 3, (1), 201-218. DOI: 10.1285/i20398573v3n1p201
2012. "Instability in the North Caucasus: Reasons, Factors, and Implications." *Caucasus and Globalization* 6, no. 3, 48-58.

Chapters in edited volumes

2024. "Chechnya: a unique case for the Russian Federation." In Hale, H. et al. (eds.) *Developments in Russian Politics. Textbook*. Bloomsbury.
2022. "Religious legitimization: indoctrination, de-legitimation, and pacification efforts in Chechnya." In G. Yemelianova and E. Racijs (eds.). *Routledge Handbook. Muslims of Post-Communist Eurasia*. Routledge.
2020. "Governance of religion in Russia: what, how, and why." In Triandafyllidou, A. and Magazzini, T. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook on the Governance of Religious Diversity*. Routledge, 131-145.

Non-referenced book chapters and reports

2020. Report. **Radicalization and Resilience. Case Study: Russia.** http://grease.eui.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2020/10/WP4-Report_Russia-1.pdf
2019. Report. "Radicalization in Russia. The roots and causes of Islamist radicalization in Russia: the state's response." <http://grease.eui.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2019/10/Russia-Report.pdf>
- 2019 "Nation and Religion-Reflections on Europe, the MENA Region and South Asia" (with Triandafyllidou, A., H. Güllalp, G., Mahajan, and E. Racijs) http://grease.eui.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2019/05/GREASE-concept-paper_D1.3_Nation-and-Religion_30May2019_FINAL1-2.pdf
2013. "Odds and Peculiarities of Family Life in the Caucasus." In Sipaviciene, Audra, and Rita Augutiene (eds.). *Handbook for Social Workers*. Vilnius: Baltijos kopija, 99-125. (in Lithuanian).
2008. "Models of Behaviour and Islam in Chechen Society." In Sipaviciene, Audra, and Rita Augutiene (eds.). *Handbook for Social Workers*. Vilnius: Baltijos kopija, 35-48. (in Lithuanian).
2007. "The Impact of the Regional Organisations to the Dis/Integration of the CIS." In Motieka, Egidijus (ed.). *CIS: Factors Restraining and Stimulating Integration and Development*. Vilnius: University Press, 35-69 (in Lithuanian).

Book reviews

2024. Bonds of Blood? State-building and Clanship in Chechnya and Ingushetia. By Ekaterina Sokirianskaia. *State Crime Journal* (forthcoming in State Crime Journal, Issue 13(1)).
2020. From Conquest to Deportation: The North Caucasus under Russian Rule. By Jeronim Perović. *Journal of Muslims in Europe*, 9(1), 131-134. (<https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-12341414>)

Media contributions and interviews

- 2024, May 23. Centering the North Caucasus in Russian Affairs. Webinar. Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/centering-north-caucasus-russian-affairs>
- 2024, May 17. Chechnya today and Ramzan Kadyrov's potential successors [Talk Eastern Europe - Episode 179: Chechnya today and Ramzan Kadyrov's potential successors](https://www.patreon.com/posts/episode-179-wars-104412121) [// https://www.patreon.com/posts/episode-179-wars-104412121](https://www.patreon.com/posts/episode-179-wars-104412121)
- 2024, June 10. Chechnya [#BruteCast S07 E22 Chechnya's Troubles with Putin's Russia w/ Dr. Marat Iliysov](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BruteCastS07E22) ([youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BruteCastS07E22))

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- 2024, May 5. What's the truth about Ramzan Kadyrov's 'terminal illness'? <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/ramzan-kadyrovs-death-will-change-little-in-chechnya/>
 - 2024, May 1. [Назад в 1990-е? Очередное вооруженное нападение на полицейских на Северном Кавказе \(kavkazr.com\)](#)
 - 2024, March 10. Čečeni i Inguši pamte: Osam decenija od genocidne deportacije. [Čečeni i Inguši pamte: Osam decenija od genocidne deportacije | Čečenija | Al Jazeera](#)
 - 2024, March 5. [Гнев и разочарование. Почему чеченцев возмутила возможность обмена Навального на Красикова \(kavkazr.com\)](#)
 - 2024, February 23. [Perspectives: Pain inflicted by Stalin's forced deportations during World War II has not healed | Eurasianet](#) (with B. Kassymbekova).
 - 2024, February 20. Repurposing Tradition to Justify the War in Ukraine (with V. Umanets, A. Garmazhapova, and Yasin Hakim) [Repurposing Tradition to Justify the War in Ukraine – PONARS Eurasia](#)
 - 2023, December 18. Ramzan Kadyrov: Between Putin's Loyal Praetorian Guard and Devoted Servant of the Chechen People (with Jean- François Ratelle). <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/ramzan-kadyrov-between-putins-loyal-praetorian-guard-and-devoted-servant-of-the-chechen-people/>
 - 2023, November 16. Palaidotos laisvės viltys: Čečėnijoje sukilimo nuotaikų nematyti. IQ. By Evaldas Labanauskas. https://iq.lt/iq-tema/palaidotos-laisves-viltys-nepaisant-su-rusijos-pralaimejimu-ukrainoje-siejamu-vilciu-sukilimo-nuotaiku-regione-nematyti/308988?fbclid=IwAR05yMoZEZ6gWVHp_tZtSzYOp5KVylOAcn57-ZmyY6Jrl7soZ84USPCMC4
 - 2023, November 9. (with Anya Free). [Chechnya's boss and Putin's foot soldier: How Ramzan Kadyrov became such a feared figure in Russia \(theconversation.com\)](#)
 - 2023, November 3. Травма войны, оторванность от диаспоры: почему молодежь Кавказа в криминальных сводках Франции. [Kavkaz Realii](#). By Andrey Krasno. <https://www.kavkazr.com/a/travma-voiny-otorvannostj-ot-diaspory-pochemu-molodezhj-kavkaza-v-kriminalnyh-svodkah-frantsii/32668823.html?fbclid=IwAR1BSjKJOUUpjZF4Ypat8fVGNvNIE4LrqHRMY-P1DFtEPNnfyaxan8rNsabw>
 - 2023, October 23. Chechens trying to find their place in Europe. OC Media. <https://oc-media.org/podcasts/podcast-chechens-trying-to-find-their-place-in-europe/>
 - 2023, October 13. Ramzan Kadyrov, Chechen Strategist of Russia's Middle East Policy. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/ramzan-kadyrov-chechen-strategist-russias-middle-east-policy> (with Anya Free).
 - 2023, October 2. What Would Change If Kadyrov Dies? [What Would Change If Kadyrov Dies? \(russiapost.info\)](#)
 - 2023, April 17. Why it is important to study memory politics? <https://sites.miamioh.edu/havighurst/2023/04/17/why-it-is-important-to-study-memory-politics/>
 - 2022, December 16. The Chechen Footprint During Russian Wartime <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-chechen-footprint-during-russian-wartime/>
 - 2022, April 24 (with Y. Herrera). Similarities Stain the Kremlin's Warfare on Chechens and Ukrainians <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/similarities-stain-the-kremlins-warfare-on-chechens-and-ukrainians/>
 - 2022, March 19. Moscow's Manipulated Memory Politics and Attack on Ukraine <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/moscows-manipulated-memory-politics-and-attack-on-ukraine/>
 - March 24, 2022. Chechen, Tatar Muslims fight for Ukraine. By Monir Ghaedi. <https://www.dw.com/en/chechen-and-tatar-muslims-take-up-arms-to-fight-for-ukraine/a-61174375>
 - August 9, 2021. Georgian-Russian Relations. [Georgian-Chechen Relationships \(gfsis.org.ge\)](#)
 - 2020, October 19. Russia's imaginary radicals. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/global-extremes/russias-imaginary-radicals/>
 - 2020. September 30. The war that can become bloody: If Russia's and Turkey's collision over Nagorno Karabakh is possible? https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/karas-kuris-gali-tapti-itin-kruvinas-ar-imanomas-turkijos-ir-rusijos-susidurimo-scenarijus.d?id=85369313&fbclid=IwAR22v91Mo8nqrRvAA9fJgukbCKyl-a78dAEv_Z69taBEEMeflyvTLEi5fM
 - 2019, April 17. Ingushetia fears outbreak of violence <https://www.balkanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Ingushetia/Ingushetia-fears-outbreaks-of-violence-194009>

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- 2019, January 10. Chechen demographic rise: reasons and concerns <https://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Chechnya/Chechen-demographic-rise-reasons-and-concerns-191886>
 - 2018, October 31. Chechnya-Ingushetia: a border change fuels new tensions <https://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Chechnya/Chechnya-Ingushetia-a-border-change-fuels-new-tensions-190905>

Work in progress

2024. "North Caucasus: Chechen wars, Dagestan and Ingushetia"; "Islam in Russia" In B. Rifkin (ed.) **Advanced Russian Through History**, Second Edition. Georgetown University Press (forthcoming).
2024. "Radicalization in Russia and state's response to it." In Hellyer H. and Grossman, M. (eds.) *Handbook on the Religious Radicalization*. Bloomsbury (forthcoming).
2024. "The critical points of Chechen collective memory." In D. Budryte and V. Davoliute (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Memory in Central and Eastern Europe*. Routledge (forthcoming).
2024. "Russia and the Russian-Chechen Conflict in the Collective Memory of Chechen Migrants in Europe." In C. Druey, M., Shogenov, and V., Tanailova (eds.) *Fighting for Self-Determination, Participation and Stability State-building, Civil Society and the Role of Historical Memories in Chechnya (1986 – 2021)*. Peter Lang Publishers (forthcoming).
2024. "The controversies of memory politics in authoritarian Chechnya." In Budryte, D. et al. (eds.) *Handbook on the Memory in Eastern Europe*. Routledge (forthcoming).

COURSES TAUGHT

- *Russian language and literature* (Guest Lecturer, Elliott School of International Affairs, GWU).
- *Comparative politics* (Miami University of Ohio).
- *Russian foreign policy* (Miami University of Ohio).
- *Putin's Russia / Russian domestic policy* (Miami University of Ohio).
- *Wars and Peace in the Caucasus* (University of St. Andrews).
- *Conflict and Peace in Post-Communist Eurasia* (University of St. Andrews).
- *The International Relations of Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe* (University of St. Andrews).
- *Comparative Regionalism* (University of St Andrews).
- *Theoretical Approaches to International Relations* (University of St. Andrews).
- *Introduction to International Relations* (University of St. Andrews).
- *Foreign Policy Analysis* (University of St. Andrews).
- *International Security* (University of St. Andrews).
- *Issues in International Relations* (University of St. Andrews).
- *Theories of International Relations* (University of Edinburgh).
- *Politics in a Changing World* (University of Edinburgh).

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Associations

- 2023 – present. Global Russian Academy (George Washington University).
- 2022-present. Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies (Miami University) www.miamioh.edu/cas/academics/centers/havighurst/
- 2015 – present. Center for Middle East, Central Asia, and Caucasus (University of St. Andrews) <https://mecacs.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk>
- 2022-present. Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia/PONARS (George Washington University) <http://www.ponarseurasia.org>
- 2021-present. Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES) <http://www.aseees.org>
- 2022-present. Central Eurasian Studies Association (CESS) <http://cess.org>

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- 2021-present. Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) [Home](#) | [Association for the Study of Nationalities](#)

Research visits:

- 2024 – Visiting Scholar at GFSIS
- 2023 – Visiting Scholar at IOS Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies <https://leibniz-ios.de/en>
- 2023 – Visiting Scholar at the Center for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies (CSEES) North Carolina University (CSEES) [The Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies \(unc.edu\)](#)
- 2022 – Visiting Scholar at the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES) George Washington University [The Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies \(IERES\) – at the Elliott School of International Affairs \(gwu.edu\)](#)
- 2021 – Visiting Scholar at GFSIS

CONSULTING

- 2024 Central Intelligence Agency. On discrimination of ethnic and religious minorities in Russia. Subcontracted through AMENTUM.
- 2024 Central Intelligence Agency. On political developments in Chechnya. Subcontracted through AMENTUM.
- 2024 Lithuanian Office of International Organization for Migration (IOM) on migrants from the Caucasus.
- 2024 US State Department on war effects in Russia.
- 2023 US State Department (Russian Desk) on Chechnya, Chechen government foreign and domestic politics and society.
- 2023 US Court on immigration case of Issa and Arkat Isakovs.
- 2023 US Court on immigration case of Magomed Israilov.
- 2022 US State Department on the reasons of war in Ukraine (focus on Russian memory politics).
- 2012 Lithuanian Ministry of Domestic Affairs on migrants from the Caucasus.
- 2012 Lithuanian Office of International Organization of Migration (IOM) on migrants from the Caucasus.
- 2009 Lithuanian Ministry of Domestic Affairs (on cultural differences between Lithuanians and Caucasians).
- 2006-2008 Lithuanian MFA via The Center of Strategic Studies (think-tank).

AWARDS and FELLOWSHIPS (selected)

2024 – Kennan Fellowship by Kennan Institute (Wilson Centre).
2022/2023 – Kennan Institute (Wilson Centre) J. H. Billington Fellowship alternate candidate.
2021 – WRP (Wisconsin Russia Project) post-doctoral grant recipient.
2015 – Jean Monnet PhD Summer School on “Security and Justice in Europe” (Scotland, Dundee).
2015 – Winter School on “Conflict Mediation” at Pontifical Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).
2014 – Summer School on “Peace Studies” at Oslo University Summer School, (Norway).
2013 – Methods of peaceful conflict resolution, mediation, conflict analysis and leadership in crisis (Potsdam University of Applied Sciences) in Tbilisi (Georgia) and Yerevan (Armenia).
2013 – 600-year anniversary scholarship (St Andrews, Scotland).
2012 – NATO Winter School in Baku (Azerbaijan).

INVITED TALKS and CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (selected)

2024 – Demographic growth as an indicator of unresolved conflict. New Voices of Eurasia. GWU.
2024 – Chechnya as a unique case in Russian Federation. Command & Staff College, Marine Corps University
2023 – Chechen lessons for the World. Keck Center (Claremont McKenna College).
2023 – Foreign Fighters in the Former Soviet Union (Ottawa, Canada).
2023 – Workshop for Bolashak Fellows. *How to write a book proposal* (GWU).
2023 – Decolonization and recolonization of Chechnya. Lessons taught and not learned. (Crimea Global. Understanding Ukraine through the South. Kyiv.)
2023 – Russia's War Strategy: What Chechnya Suggests for Ukraine (MPSA, Chicago).
2022 – War in Ukraine and Russian memory politics (Miami University, Oxford, Ohio).
2022 – Russo-Chechen conflict in a nutshell (Colgate University, NY).
2022 – Clash of collective memories in post-war Chechnya. (ASN virtual, NY).

2022 - Integration of Chechen migrants in Europe reasons of success and failure. (MPSA, Chicago).

2022 - Russia's wars in Chechnya and Ukraine (PONARS, Washington DC).

2021 - Russian domestic politics and Chechnya (Georgian Foundation of Strategic Studies, Tbilisi).

2021 - Religious self-legitimation of autocracies (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs).

2021 - Second generation of Chechens in Europe and their choices of identity (Russian and East European Studies, Tartu, Estonia).

2020 - Autocratic legitimization and collective memory (Luxembourg University).

2019 - Image as a tool of power legitimization: the case of Ramzan Kadyrov (ASIAC, Rome).

2019 - The consequences of migration: how religious and ethnic identities interact (Post-soviet Diaspora(s) in Western Europe, 1991/2019, Lisbon).

2019 - Chechen official discourse today: what the Chechens should remember? (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs).

2019 - Chechen perceptions of Russia: implications for the conflict resolution (Russian and East European Studies, Tartu, Estonia).

2019 - Islam in service of the state: Chechen case (The European Association for the Study of Religions, Tartu, Estonia).

2019 - Thinking possibilities of peace in the Caucasus (University of St Andrews).

SERVICE, EDITORIAL & REVIEWER COMMITMENTS

- October 2023 – Presenter at the workshop for Central Asian scholars (Bolashak). “How to write a book proposal” (GWU).
- Since 2023 -CESS (Central Eurasian Studies Society) Communications Committee.
- Since 2018 - Associate Editor of The Forum for EthnoGeoPolitics <https://www.ethnogeopolitics.org/about-us/>
- Since 2018 -Reviewer for the journal “Ethnicities”, “Nationalities Papers”, “Central Asian Survey”, “Democratization”, “Communist and Post-Communist Studies”, “Problems of Post-Communism” “Ethnopolitics”, “Europe-Asia Studies”, “Journal of Economy Culture and Society”, “All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace”.
- Since 2018 - Coach of self-defence and Martial Arts.

NON-ACADEMIC (PAST) EMPLOYMENT

- 2011 – 2013. **Project assistant / project manager**, NGO “Caucasian House” (Tbilisi, Georgia).
- 2003 – 2011. **Journalist, columnist, reporter, international news editor** at newspapers “Lithuanian News”, “The Day of Vilnius”, and media portal Delfi.lt (Vilnius, Lithuania).
- 2006 – 2008. **Analyst, author** at The Centre of Strategic Studies (Vilnius, Lithuania).

STUDENT ADVISING (University of St. Andrews)

Undergraduate thesis advising

- Ms. Anastasia Croy. *To what extent has the reconciliation agenda in Rwanda delivered justice?*
- Mr. Jake Eisenecker. *How can the Belt and Road Initiative and technological innovations explain trends in Uyghur persecution?*
- Ms. Kary Stevick. *The Role of Securitization in Diversionary Conflict.*
- Mr. Max Moorhouse. *Fragile Selves and Threatening Others - Charting Attempts to Reclaim Masculinity Through Violence.*
- Ms. Oona Singh. *The Unsecular, The Arbitrary, and The Constitution of India: Is the Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 constitutional?*
- Ms. Katya Vaseva. *Freedom of media in Russia under President Putin.*

Graduate thesis advising

- Ms. Anhelina Maiseyenka. *Malorossia or Ukraine Belorussia or Belarus: the phenomenon of the “Russian world” in action.*

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- Mr. Cyrus Nabili. *To what extent can economic sanctions be effective in altering the behaviour of hostile states.*
 - Mr. Arkadiy Osovtsov. *Russian subversion in the Visegrad group and the response to it.*
 - Mr. David Dennis. *Democratic Careening in the Solomon Islands.*

LANGUAGES

- Russian (mother tongue level), Lithuanian (excellent), Chechen (excellent), Italian (intermediate).

PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

- Black belt (Sandan) in Ju-Jitsu and (Shodan) in Aikido. Six years of coaching in Martial Arts experience.

REFERENCES

- Professor Yoshiko Herrera (University of Wisconsin-Madison. Department of Political Science. Mentor); phone: +1 (608) 263-2241; email: yherrera@wisc.edu
- Professor Henry Hale (George Washington University. Elliott School of IR. Mentor); phone: +1 (202) 994-4810; email: hhale@email.gwu.edu
- Professor Venelin Ganev (Miami University of Ohio, Political Science Department. Mentor); phone: +1 (513) 529-2334; email: ganevvi@miamioh.edu
- Professor Rick Fawn (University of St Andrews. School of IR, PhD Supervisor); phone: +44(0)1334 46 2957; email: rick.fawn@st-andrews.ac.uk