

Vita

MICHAEL ANTHONY MCFAUL

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EMPLOYMENT:

- 2015-present **Director**, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University.
- 1995-present **Olivier Nomellini Professor in International Studies**, Department of Political Science, Stanford University.
(Associate Professor, 2001-2005; Assistant Professor, 1995-2001)
- 2003-present **Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow**, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.
(Co-Director of the Iran Democracy Project, 2003-2009; Research Fellow, 1991-2003.)
- 2007-present **Senior Fellow**, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University.
- 2012-2014 **U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation**, U.S. Department of State.
- 2009-2012 **Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director, Russia and Eurasia Affairs**, National Security Council, The White House.
- 2006-2009 **Deputy Director**, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University.
(Acting Director, 2007).
- 2005-2009 **Director**, Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law, Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University.
- 1994-2009 **Senior Associate**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C.
(Director of the Russian Domestic Politics Program. In residence at the Moscow Carnegie, 1994-1995. In residence in Washington D.C., 1998-2001.)
- 1992-1994 **Research Associate**, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University. Co-Director of the program on defense conversion in Russia.
- 1992 **Field Representative**, National Democratic Institute, Moscow, Russia.
(Consultant to NDI from 1990-1996)
- 1991-1992 **Visiting Research Fellow**, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.
- 1990-1991 **Visiting Scholar**, Moscow State University.
- 1988-1990 **Research Fellow**, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University.

CONSULTING:

2014-present International Affairs Analyst, **NBC News**

2016-present Columnist, **The Washington Post**

EDUCATION:

1991 Ph.D. International Relations, Oxford University.
Rhodes Scholar. Dissertation Topic: "Southern African Liberation and Great Power Intervention:
Towards a Theory of Revolution in an International Context."

1986 M.A. Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University.

1986 B.A. International Relations and Slavic Languages, Stanford University.
Honor's, Distinction, and Phi Beta Kappa.

RELATED TRAINING:

2015, 2019 Visiting Scholar, Peking University, Beijing, China.

1990-91 Moscow State University, Moscow, USSR.

1988, 1989 University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe.

1988 Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal.

1986, 1987 Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland.

1985 Pushkin Institute, Moscow, USSR.

1983 Leningrad State University, Leningrad, USSR.

LANGUAGES:

Russian (fluent), Polish, Portuguese.

COURSES TAUGHT:

Foreign Policy Decision Making in Comparative Perspective

Russia and the West

American Foreign Policy

Revolutions

Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law

Dictatorship and Democracy in the Middle East

American Efforts at Promoting Democracy Abroad

Comparative Democratization

The Political Economy of Post-Communism

Russian Politics

U.S.-Russian Relations

The International Relations of Eastern Europe

Soviet Foreign Policy

Command Economies

Polish-Jewish Relations

The United Nations in Crisis

AWARDS AND HONORS:

Richard W. Lyman Award Winner, Stanford University, 2019.

Richard W. Smith Lecture in Cultural Studies, California State University Northridge, October 24, 2019.

Frank Church Lecture, Boise State University, October 14, 2019.

Presidential Lecture, University of Montana, April 10, 2019.

The Alex and Lena Casper Memorial Lecture, Miami University of Ohio, March 12, 2019.

The New York Times Best-Seller list, 2018.

John B. Hurford Memorial Lecture, Council on Foreign Relations, May 11, 2018.

Weidenbaum Center Award for Excellence, Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy, Washington University-St. Louis, May 5, 2016.

Honorary Doctorate, Montana State University, December 12, 2015.

Distinguished Mingde Faculty Fellow at the Stanford Center at Peking University (June-August 2015).

Commencement Speaker, Program in International Relations at Stanford University, June 14, 2015.

Bernard Brodie Distinguished Lecture On the Conditions of Peace, University of California-Los Angeles, May 12, 2015.

W. Averell Harriman Lecture, Columbia University, April 8, 2015.

Henry E. and Nancy Horton Bartels World Affairs Fellowship Lecture, Cornell University, March 16, 2015.

Rena and Angelus Anspach Lecture, University of Pennsylvania, October 30, 2014.

Class Day Speaker, Stanford University, June 16, 2007.

Georgetown University's Leggold Book Prize for best book in international relations (for *Power and Purpose*, with James Goldgeier, 2003), 2004.

Reagan/Fascell Fellow, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy, 2004.

Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching, Stanford University, 2004.

Honorable Mention, Vucinich Prize for best book in Slavic Studies (for *Russia's Unfinished Revolution*), 2002.

Best Paper, Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association (APSA) National Convention, 2001.

Russian Politics lecture course (Political Science 121M) selected by students as one of the ten best courses at

Stanford University, *Stanford Review*, 1996.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS:

Research Grant (with Frank Fukuyama and Anna Grzymala-Busse), Hewlett Foundation for project on Global Populisms, 2016-present.

Research Grant from the National Council for East European and Eurasian Research (NCEEER), with Timothy Colton and Henry Hale, to conduct survey research in Russia, 2008.

Research Grant, Smith Richardson Foundation, to support collaborative research on the external dimensions of democratic development, 2006-2008.

Research Grant, IRIS Center, University of Maryland, support for project on regime type and economic development, 2005.

Research Grant, Freedom House/Smith Richardson Foundation, to support collaborative research project on the conditions under which autocratic regimes endure and collapse, 2005.

Research Grant, Open Society Institute, for research on civil society in Russia, 2004-2006.

National Science Foundation Grant (with Timothy Colton and Henry Hale) to conduct survey research in Russia, 2003-2004.

Research Grant, Carnegie Corporation of New York, to conduct research on the 2003 parliamentary elections in Russia, 2003.

Research Grant, Bradley Foundation, to conduct research on Russian democracy, 2002 & 2003.

Nominee, Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer in American Foreign Policy, Beijing, China, 2003 (postponed because of SARS epidemic).

National Science Foundation Grant (with Timothy Colton) to conduct survey research in Russia, 1999-2000.

Research grant from the National Council for East European and Eurasian Research (NCEEER), with Timothy Colton, to conduct survey research in Russia, 1999-2000.

Grant, Carnegie Corporation of New York, to support my research programs on federalism, political parties, and elections at the Moscow Carnegie Center.

Research Grant (collaborative project in Russia), Mott Foundation, 1996-2000.

Forum Fellow, World Economic Forum, Davos Switzerland, 1997.

Research Grant, Earhart Foundation, 1996.

Research Grant, Eurasia Foundation, 1995-1996.

Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship, Title VIII grant from the Department of State, Hoover Institution, 1991-1992.

International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) Fellowship, Moscow, USSR, 1990-1991.

Ford Foundation Fellow in Combined Soviet/East European and International Security Studies, 1989-1990.

Fellowship, Institute for the Study of World Politics, summer 1989.

Fellowship, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1988-1989.

Rhodes Scholarship, Oxford University, 1986-1988.

Research grants from the Gilbert Murray Trust, Beit Trust, the Cyril Foster Fund, St. John's College, Oxford, and the Committee for Graduate Studies, Oxford, 1987-1988.

Fellowship, U.S. Dept. of Education, Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS), 1985-1986.

Member, Pi Sigma Alpha political science honor's society and Phi Beta Kappa.

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Member, U.S. Global Future Council, World Economic Forum, 2019-present

Advisory Council Member, The Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs, 2020-present.

Board Member, Boris Nemtsov Foundation, 2016-present.

Advisory Council Member, The Alliance for Securing Democracy, German Marshall Fund, 2017-present.

Editorial Board Member: *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, and *The Washington Quarterly*.

Board Member, National Security Education Board, 2017-2020.

Task Force Member, The Future of Work, The Markle Foundation, 2016-2019.

Selection Committee, Rhodes Scholarship and Knight-Hennessy Scholarship, various years

Foreign Policy Advisor, "Obama for America" Presidential Campaign, 2006-2008.

Board Member, Freedom House, 2005-2009.

Board Member, IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board), 2006-2009.

Board Member, International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy, 2005-2009.

Board Member, Tharwa Foundation, 2007-2009.

Board Member, Center for Civil Society International, 2002-2009.

Board Member, Institute for Corporate Governance and Law, 2001-2009.

Advisory Board Member: Eurasia Foundation, Washington Profile, Albert Shanker Institute, Johnson's Russia List (all terminated in 2009).

Member, Selection Committee for fellowships sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy, U.S. Institute of Peace, IREX, and ACTR.

Reviewer, major academic journals and academic presses.

Program Chair, Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, 2003.

Member, Task Force on Failed States Commission, Center for Global Development.

Member, Task Force on the United Nations, U.S. Institute of Peace.

Member, Task Force on U.S-Russian Relations, Council on Foreign Relations.

Member, Genocide Prevention Task Force, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum & U.S. Institute of Peace.

Member, Task Force, Presidential Task Force on Combating the Ideology of Radical Extremism, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Member, Task Force, Democracy Promotion in U.S. Grand Strategy, Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Member, Task Force, Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network.

Television Commentator: ABC, CBS, NBC, PBS, CNN, BBC, ITN, and Reuters.
Host/Producer, "Lyudi", news program on Russian Television (RTR), 1994-1995.
Consultant: State Department, Department of Defense, Agency for International Development, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, National Endowment for Democracy, and various other government agencies and companies.

MEMBERSHIPS:

American Political Science Association
American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
Council on Foreign Relations
International Forum for Democratic Studies
Pacific Council

UNIVERSITY SERVICE:

Member, Global Perspectives Advisory Committee, 2020-present.
Director, Master's in International Policy Program (2017-2019).
Co-Director, Stanford Cyber Initiative (2016-2019).
Faculty Advisor, Knight-Hennessy Scholars Program.
Member of the Steering Committee and Faculty Associate, Center for International Security and Cooperation.
Member of the Steering Committee, Center for Russian and East European and Eurasian Studies
Senior Fellow Appointment Committees, FSI and Hoover Institution.
Selection Committee, Stanford-in-Government Fellowships.
Co-Directors, Cardinal Conversation, (2018-2019)
Faculty in Residence, Stanford in Washington (2004-2006).
Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science (2001-2004).
Chair, Curriculum Committee, Department of Political Science (2001-2004).
Member, Policies and Promotions Committee, Department of Political Science (2003-2004).
Director, Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law (2005-2009).

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS:

Pragmatic Idealism in U.S. Foreign Policy: Lessons from the Cold War for Dealing with China, Russia, and Iran Today (forthcoming, 2021).

From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, 2018). *New York Times* Bestseller.

Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can (New York: Roman & Littlefield, 2009).

Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform (with Nikolai Petrov and Andrei Ryabov), (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004).

Power and Purpose: American Policy toward Russia after the Cold War (with James Goldgeier) (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2003). Winner of Georgetown University's Leggold Prize for best book in

international relations, 2004.

Popular Choice and Managed Democracy: The Russian Elections of 1999 and 2000 (with Timothy Colton) (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2003).

Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). Revised paperback edition, 2002. Honorable Mention, Vucinich Prize for best book in Slavic Studies, 2002. Published in Chinese in 2009.

Russia's 1996 Presidential Election: The End of Polarized Politics (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1997).

Post-Communist Politics: Democratic Prospects in Russia and Eastern Europe (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1993).

The Troubled Birth of Russian Democracy: Political Parties, Programs, and Profiles (with Sergei Markov) (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1993).

“Southern African Liberation and Great Power Intervention: Towards a Theory of Revolution in an International Context,” Ph.D. dissertation, 1991.

EDITED BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS:

Securing American Elections: Prescriptions for Enhancing the Integrity and Independence of the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election and Beyond, (Stanford, CA: Freeman Spogli Institute, June 2019).

With Kathryn Stoner, *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

With Kathryn Stoner-Weiss and Valerie Bunce, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

With Amichai Magen and Tomas Risse, *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law: American and European Strategies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

With Anders Aslund, *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

With Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

With Andrei Ryabov and Nikolai Petrov, *Rossiya v izbiratel'nom tsikle: 1999-2000 godov*, [Russia in the Electoral Cycle, 1999-2000], (Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 2000).

With Andrei Ryabov and Nikolai Petrov, *Primer on Russia's 1999 Duma Elections* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999). Also published in Russian.

With Andrei Ryabov, *Rossiiskoe Obshchestvo: Stanovlenie Demokraticeskikh Tsennostei?* [Russian Society: The Formation of Democratic Values?], (Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 1999).

With Nikolai Petrov, *Politicheskii Al'manakh Rossii 1989-1997* [Political Almanac of Russia, 1989-1997]

(Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 1998), second edition.

With Andrei Ryabov, *Formirovanie Partiino-Politicheskoi Systemi v Rossii* [Formation of the Political Party System in Russia] (Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 1997).

With Nikolai Petrov, *Parliamentskie Vybory 1995 Goda v Rossii* [1995 Parliamentary Elections in Russia] (Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 1996).

With Nikolai Petrov, *Previewing Russia's 1995 Parliamentary Elections*, (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 1995).

With Tova Perlmutter, eds., *Privatization, Conversion, and Enterprise Reform in Russia*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

With Sergei Bogolyubov, *Pravo i Mnogopartiinost' v Rossii* [Law and Multipartyism in Russia], (Moskva: Yustitsinform, 1994).

ARTICLES, SHORT-MONOGRAPHS, AND BOOK CHAPTERS:

“Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy: Individuals, Ideas, and Institutions,” *International Security* (forthcoming, Fall 2020).

“Xi Jinping is Not Stalin,” *Foreign Affairs* (August 2020).

With Anna Grzymala-Busse, Did Kuo, Frank Fukuyama, *Global Populisms and Their Challenges* (Stanford, CA: Freeman Spogli Institute, March 2020)

“Trump’s Gift to Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* (October 2019).

Putinism and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election (Stanford, CA: March 2019).

“Russian Security Policy toward the United States,” with Kathryn Stoner in *Routledge Handbook of Russian Security*, Roger Kent, editor, (London: Routledge, 2019).

"The Missed Opportunity of Technological Breakthrough in Putin’s Russia,” *Hoover Institution: Governance in an Emerging New World*, Fall Series (2018), Issue 118.

“Is Putinism the Russian Norm or an Aberration?” *Current History*, Vol. 117, Issue 80 (October 2018), pp. 251-257.

“Russia as It Is: A Grand Strategy for Confronting Putin,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (July-August 2018) pp. 82-91.

“Choosing Autocracy: Revolution, Institutional Inertia, and Actors in the Erosion of Russian Democracy,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Spring 2018), pp. 305-325.

“Reading Reagan in Tehran: A Strategy of Realistic Engagement” (with Abbas Milani) *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 2017), pp. 145-163.

“Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin,” (with Kathryn Stoner), *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 2

(Summer 2015), pp. 167-187.

“Engaging Autocrats (and Democrats) to Facilitate Democratic Transitions,” in Alexander Lennon, ed. *Democracy in U.S. Security Strategy*, (Washington: CSIS, 2009), pp. 75-96.

“The Missing Variable: The ‘International System’ as the Link between the Third and Fourth Waves Models of Democratization,” in Bunce, McFaul, and Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*, (New York: Cambridge, 2009), pp. 3-29.

“Importing Revolution: Internal and External Factors in Ukraine’s 2004 Democratic Breakthrough,” in Bunce, McFaul, and Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*, pp. 189-228.

“The Changing Character of the Global Struggle for Democracy,” (with Bunce and Stoner-Weiss), in *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*, pp. 325-336.

“Introduction: American and European Strategies to Promote Democracy—Shared Values, Common Challenges, Divergent Tools?” (with Amichai Magen), in Magen, McFaul, and Risse, *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law: American and European Strategies*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 1-33.

“External Sources and Consequences of Russia’s ‘Sovereign Democracy’,” (with Regine Spector), in Peter Burnell and Richard Youngs, eds., *New Challenges to Democratization*, (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 116-133.

“American Efforts at Promoting Regime Change in the Soviet Union and Russia: Lessons Learned,” (with James Goldgeier), unpublished manuscript, 2008.

“Democracy and the Politics of Parliamentary Elections in Iran,” (with Abbas Milani), *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. XV, Issue 1 (Fall/Winter 2008), pp. 25-36.

“Morocco’s Elections: The Limits of Limited Reforms,” (with Tamara Cofman Wittes), *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (January 2008), pp. 19-33.

“Boris Yeltsin: Catalyst for the Cold War’s End,” in Kiron Skinner, ed., *Turning Points in the Cold War*, (Palo Alto: Hoover Institution Press, 2008), pp. 273-305.

“The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin’s Crackdown Hurt Russia,” (with Kathryn Stoner-Weiss), *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 1 (Winter 2007), pp. 68-84.

“Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?” (with Francis Fukuyama), *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 2007), pp. 23-45. Reprinted in Derek Chollet, Tod Lindberg, and David Shorr, eds., *Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide: Liberals and Conservatives Find Common Ground on 10 Key Global Challengers* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 147-168.

“Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution,” *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Fall 2007), pp. 45-83.

“The Promise of Democracy Promotion,” in Morton Halperin, Jeffrey Laurenti, Peter Rundlet, and Spencer Boyer, eds., *Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century*, (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2007), pp. 209-234.

“Russian Liberalism in Retreat,” in Wojciech Kononczuk, ed., *Putin’s Empire* (Warsaw: Stefan Batory Foundation, 2007), pp. 43-54.

- “Constructing Self-Enforcing Federalism in the Early United States and Modern Russia,” (with Rui de Figueredo and Barry Weingast), *Publius: A Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 160-189.
- “Liberal Is as Liberal Does,” *The American Interest*, Vol. 2, No.4 (March/April 2007), pp. 83-89.
- “A Win-Win Strategy for Dealing with Iran,” (with Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond), *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2007), pp. 121-138. Reprinted in Alexander Lennon, *The Epicenter of Crisis: The New Middle East*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), pp. 185-206.
- “The Russian Federation,” in Ronald Suny, ed., *The Cambridge History of Russia*, Vol. III, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 352-382.
- “Sovereign Democracy and the Shrinking Political Space,” *Russia Business Watch*, Vol. 14, No 2 (April-June 2006), pp. 9,10, 36.
- “Political Transitions: Democracy and the Former Soviet Union,” *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 28, No.1 (Spring 2006), pp. 40-45.
- “Russian Resilience as a Great Power,” (with Alexandra Vacroux), *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (January-March 2006), pp. 24-33.
- “Seeding Liberal Democracy,” (with Larry Diamond), in Will Marshall, ed., *With All Our Might: A Progressive Strategy for Defeating Jihadism and Defending Liberty*, (New York: Roman & Littlefield, 2006), pp. 49-68.
- “Playing for the Long Haul in Iran: A Dual Track Strategy for Arms Control and Democratization,” (with Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond), *Brown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Winter/Spring 2006), pp. 259-289.
- “Engaging Autocratic Allies to Promote Democracy,” (with David Adesnik), *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 7-26.
- “Chinese Dreams, Persian Realities,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 2005), pp. 74-82.
- “What to Do about Russia,” (with James Goldgeier), *Policy Review*, No. 133 (October-November 2005), pp. 45-62.
- “Russia and the West: A Dangerous Drift,” *Current History*, Vol. 104, No. 684 (October 2005), pp. 307-312.
- “Introduction: Was the ‘Orange Revolution’ Really a Revolution?” in Aslund and McFaul, *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine’s Democratic Breakthrough*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).
- “Ukraine’s Democratic Breakthrough in Comparative Perspective,” in Aslund and McFaul, *Revolution in Orange*.
- “Transitions from Postcommunism,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No.3 (July 2005), pp. 5-19. Expanded version published in Russian as “Paths of Postcommunist Transformation: Comparative Analysis of Democratic Breakthroughs in Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine,” in *Pro et Contra*, No. 2 (29) 2005, pp. 92-107.
- “Russia,” in Sarah Repucci and Christopher Walker, eds., *Countries at the Crossroads 2005: A Survey of Democratic Governance*, (New York: Roman & Littlefield, 2005), pp. 465-492.
- “A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East,” (with Ronald Asmus, Larry Diamond and Mark Leonard), *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005), pp. 7-21.

- “Elections,” in Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa, eds., *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th edition, (London: Palgrave/MacMillan Press, 2005), pp. 61-79.
- “Democracy Promotion as a World Value” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 2004-2005), pp. 147-163.
- “Russian Reform in 2005,” (in Chinese) *World and China 2005*, (Beijing: Caijun Magazine, 2005), pp. 98-99.
- “What Democracy Assistance Is and Is Not,” *Diplomaatia*, No. 16 (January 2005), pp. 14-15.
- “Putin and the ‘Delegative Democracy’ Trap: Evidence from Russia’s 2003-04 Elections,” (with Timothy Colton and Henry Hale), *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 285-319.
- “Russian Democracy in Eclipse: What the Elections Tell Us,” (With Nikolai Petrov), *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (July 2004), pp. 20-31.
- “The Evolving Social Science of Postcommunism,” (with Kathryn Stoner-Wiess), in Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner Weiss, eds., *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-20.
- “Russians as Joiners: Realists and Liberal Conceptions of Postcommunist Europe,” (with James Goldgeier), in McFaul and Stoner-Weiss, eds., *After the Collapse of Communism*, pp. 232-256.
- “Putin and Democratization,” (with Timothy Colton), in Dale Herspring, ed., *The Putin Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, 2nd edition, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 13-30.
- “Putin and the Media” (with Masha Lipman) in Dale Herspring, ed., *The Putin Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, pp. 55-74.
- “Mezhdu demokratiei i diktaturoi,” [Between Democracy and Dictatorship] in Andrew Kuchins and Dmitri Trenin, eds., *Rossiia: blizhaishee desyatiletie*, [Russia: The Last Ten Years] (Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 2004), pp. 44-49.
- “Reengaging Russia: A New Agenda,” *Current History*, Vol. 103, No. 675 (October 2004) pp. 307-313.
- “Russian Democracy under Putin,” (with Timothy J. Colton), *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 12-21.
- U.S. Foreign Policy and Chechnya* (Washington: Twentieth Century Foundation, 2003).
- “Generational Change in Russia,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 64-78.
- “The Second Russian Revolution,” *Russia Business Watch*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (2003), pp. 3-8.
- “George W. Bush and Russia,” (with James Goldgeier), *Current History*, Vol. 101, No. 657 (October 2002), pp. 313-324. Reprinted in Helen Purkitt, ed., *World Politics 03/04* (Guildford, Conn.: McGraw Hill/Duskin, 2003).

“Are Russians Undemocratic?” (with Timothy Colton), *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (April-June 2002), pp. 91-121. Published in Russian as *Monitoring obshchestvennogo mneniya i sotsial'nye peremeny*, No. 54 (54), July-August 2001, pp. 13-26.

“Russian Civil Society,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 109-116.

“The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World,” *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (January 2002), pp. 212-244. Expanded and reprinted in McFaul and Stoner-Weiss, eds., *After the Collapse of Communism*, pp. 58-96.

“The Liberty Doctrine: Reclaiming the Purpose of American Power,” *Policy Review*, No. 112 (April/May 2002), pp. 3-24. Republished in Glenn Hastedt, ed., *American Foreign Policy 03/04*, (Guildford, Conn.: McGraw Hill/Duskin, 2003), pp. 24-33.

“Ten Years After the Soviet Breakup: A Mixed Record, an Uncertain Future,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (October 2001), pp. 87-94. Republished in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., *Democracy after Communism*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 262-270.

“Evaluating Yeltsin and his Revolution,” in Andrew Kuchins, ed., *Russia after the Fall* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002), pp. 21-38.

“Explaining Party Emergence and Non-Emergence in Post-Communist Russia: Institutions, Agents, and Chance,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 10 (December 2001), pp. 1159-1187.

“‘Managed Democracy’ in Russia: Putin and the Press,” (with Masha Lipman), *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Summer 2001), pp. 117-128.

“The Liberal Core and Realist Periphery in Europe,” (with James Goldgeier), *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 1-26.

“Russian Electoral Trends,” in Zoltan Borany, ed., *Russian Politics: Challenges of Democratization*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 19-63.

“The Sovereignty ‘Script’: The Red Book for Russia’s Revolutionaries,” in Stephen Krasner, ed., *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 194-223.

“America’s Real Russian Allies,” (with Timothy Colton), *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 6 (November/December 2001), pp. 1-13.

“Preventive Defense in Central Asia,” (with Linda McGinnis), *National Security Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 123-130.

“Realistic Engagement: A New Approach to American-Russian Relations,” *Current History*, Vol. 100, No. 648 (October 2001), pp. 313-322.

“Can Russians Be Democrats and Capitalists at the Same Time?” *Russia Business Watch*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 3-7.

“Between Two Extremes” (U.S.-Russian relations) *Northwestern Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3 (Summer 2001) pp. 33-44.

“Reinventing Russia's Party of Power: Unity and the 1999 Duma Election,” (with Timothy Colton), *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Summer 2000), pp. 201-224.

“Russia Under Putin: One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (July 2000), pp. 19-33. Reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., *The Global Diversity of Democracy*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); and Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., *Democracy after Communism*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 179-193.

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