

# Julian G. Waller, Ph.D

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## Curriculum Vitae

### Education

The George Washington University – Washington, DC	2013-2022
Department of Political Science – Ph.D in Political Science	
Department of Political Science – MA in Political Science	2013-2016
The George Washington University – Washington, DC	2009-2013
Elliott School of International Affairs – BA in International Affairs	

### Current Professional Employment

Center for Naval Analyses (Russia Studies Program) – <i>Research Analyst</i>	2020-present
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### Current Academic Affiliations

The George Washington University – <i>Professorial Lecturer in Political Science</i>	2022-present
Illiberalism Studies Program (Elliott School of International Affairs) – <i>Non-Resident Fellow</i>	2020-present

### Books & Monographs

*Autocrats Can't Always Get What They Want: State Institutions and Autonomy under Authoritarianism*, University of Michigan Press, 2024. (w/ Nathan J. Brown, Steven D. Schaaf, and Samer Anabtawi)

**Ph.D Dissertation:** *Beyond the Rubber-Stamp: Essays on Parliamentary Bodies Under Authoritarianism*, George Washington University, 2022.

### Academic & Scholarly Publications (Peer-Reviewed/Formal)

"Authoritarianism, Reform, or Capture?: Democracy in Trump's America," *American Affairs*, 9:3 Fall 2025, pp. 106-122. (w/ Dima Kortukov).

"Postliberalism and the 2024 Election," *Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, Ahead-of-Print/June 2025.

"The Sahel Coup Belt and the Return of Praetorianism," *Survival*, 67:3 (June 2025), pp. 81-91. (w/ Naman Habtom).

"The Foundations of Russian Statehood: The *Pentabasis*, National History, and Civic Values in Wartime Russia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 58:2 (June 2025), pp. 1-27. (w/ Dima Kortukov).

"Integralism, Political Catholicism, and Actually-Existing Democracy in the Modern West," in William Murphy, ed. *Social Catholicism for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? Vol. 1*, Wipf and Stock, 2024.

"Characterizing Future Authoritarian Governance in the Space Domain," *Journal of Advanced Military Studies*, 15:1 (Spring 2024), pp. 115-135.

"Illiberalism and Authoritarianism," in Marlene Laruelle, ed. *Oxford Handbook of Illiberalism*, 2024.

"Distinctions with a Difference: Illiberalism and Authoritarianism in Scholarly Study," *Political Studies Review*, 22:2 (May 2024), pp. 365-386.

\*Runner-Up of the 2024 *Political Studies Review* Best Original Research Paper Prize

"Mimicking the Mad Printer: Legislating Illiberalism in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 70:3 (Summer 2023), pp. 225-240.

"Disentangling Authoritarianism and Illiberalism in the Context of the Global States System," *Journal of International Affairs*, 75:1 (Fall/Winter 2022), pp. 33-54.

"Authoritarianism Here?" *American Affairs*, 6:1 (Spring 2022), pp. 158-178.

"Elites and Institutions in the Russian Thermidor: Regime Instrumentalism, Entrepreneurial Signaling, and Inherent Illiberalism," *Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, 1:1, (June 2021), pp. 1-23.

"Mobilization, Mass Perceptions, & (Dis)information: 'New' and 'Old' Media Consumption Patterns and Protest," *Social Media + Society*, 7:2 (April-June 2021). (w/ Olga Onuch & Emma Mateo)

"Constitutional Courts and Political Uncertainty: Constitutional Ruptures and the Rule of Judges," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 14:4 (Oct. 2016), pp. 817-850. (w/ Nathan J. Brown)

\*Winner of the 2017 I•CON Best Paper Prize

### **Selected Gov't-Funded Research Publications (*Center for Naval Analyses*)**

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*Russia-India Relations: Multipolarity in Practice?* CNA, July 2025, w/ Dmitry Gorenburg, Jeff Edmonds, Jeff Kucik, and Decker Eveleth.

*Wartime Russian Civil-Military Relations: Dimensions, Tensions, and Disruptions*, CNA, January 2025, w/ Cornell Overfield.

*The Evolving Russia-Iran Relationship: Political, Military, and Economic Dimensions of an Improving Partnership*, CNA, January 2025, w/ Elizabeth Wishnick, Margaret Sparling, & Michael Connell.

*The Central Brain of the Russian Armed Forces: The Modern Russian General Staff in Institutional Context*, CNA, September 2024, w/ Dmitry Gorenburg.

*Russian Military Logistics in the Ukraine War: Recent Reforms and Wartime Operations*, CNA, September 2023, w/ Paul Schwartz, Anya Fink, & Michael Kofman.

*Russian Approaches to Competition*, CNA, October 2021, w/ Michael Kofman, Dmitry Gorenburg, Mary Chesnut, Paul Saunders, & Kasey Stricklin.

*Russian Military Strategy: Core Tenets and Operational Concepts*, CNA, August 2021, w/ Michael Kofman, Anya Fink, Dmitry Gorenburg, Mary Chesnut, & Jeffrey Edmonds.

*Artificial Intelligence and Autonomy in Russia*, CNA, May 2021, w/ Jeffrey Edmonds, Samuel Bendett, Anya Fink, Mary Chesnut, Dmitry Gorenburg, Michael Kofman, & Kasey Stricklin.

### **National Security, Political-Military, & Regional Analysis Publications**

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"Russia and China Have Drawn Closer: Three Ways to Wedge Them Apart," *CNA InDepth*, August 2025.

"Russia and China Respond – or Don't – to the 12-Day War in Iran," *CNA InDepth*, July 2025.

"Political Analogies and Wartime Russia," *RIDDLE Russia*, June 2025.

"Bashar al-Assad and the Oversimplified Myth of Autocracies' Inherent Fragility," *Modern War Institute*, January 2025.

"'The DNA of Russia': Ideology and Patriotic Education in Wartime Russia," *Russia.Post*, October 2024.

"The Institutional Ecosystem of Russia's Personalist Dictatorship," *RIDDLE Russia*, October 2024.

"Putin the Resilient," *Foreign Affairs*, August 2024.

"Rewind & Reconnoiter: Public Politics in the Wartime Russian Dictatorship with Julian Waller," *War on the Rocks*, March 2024.

"What Does Tucker Carlson's Vladimir Putin Interview Mean for the Ukraine War?" *The National Interest*, February 2024.

"Putin's Wartime Dictatorship Enters a New Year," *The National Interest*, December 2023.

"Guardianship and Resentment in Precarious Civil-Military Relations," *The Strategy Bridge*, December 2023. (w/ Naman Karl-Thomas Habtom).

"Elite Political Culture and Illiberalism in Wartime Russia," *Russian Analytical Digest*, No.299, August 2023, pp. 8-11.

"Intelligence Failures and Political Misjudgment in an Age of Ideological Change," *The Strategy Bridge*, June 2023.

"Putin's Agency and the Decision for War," *RIDDLE Russia*, May 2023.

"Public Politics in the Russian Wartime Dictatorship," *War on the Rocks*, January 2023.

"Problems With Russia's Political Prepwork in the Russo-Ukrainian War," *The National Interest*, March 2022.

"Russian Duma Offers a Possible Post-Invasion Vision of Ukraine," *The National Interest*, February 2022.

"Q&A With CNA: Russia's Troop Build-up on Ukraine's Border," *CNA InDepth*, January 2022.

"Beyond Pessimism: Three Paths to Progress in U.S.-Russia Relations," *CNA InDepth*, January 2022.

"Dynamics of Illiberalism in Russia and Eurasia," *RIDDLE Russia*, September 2021.

"Russia's Response to US Withdrawal from Afghanistan: Criticism of US, Concerns About Security Environment," *Russia Matters*, September 2021 (w/ Mary Chesnut).

"Institutional Constraints and Possibilities in (Semi-)Revolutionary Belarus," *Baltic Worlds*, Sept 2020.

"Parliamentary Daydreams in Belarus: When the Rubber-Stamp Really is Just a Rubber-Stamp," *NYU Jordan Center – All the Russias*, April 2020.

\*First Prize Winner, Graduate Essay Contest

"'Smart Voting' is Getting Smarter," *RIDDLE Russia*, October 2019.

"Personalisierung und die Gefahr geschwächter autoritärer Institutionen: Putins Zentralisierung und die Krise institutioneller Politik in Russland," *Russland-Analysen*, No. 346, December 2017, pp. 7-11.

"The Early Run-Up to the Russian Election," *ZOiS-Spotlight*, November 2017.

"Re-setting the Game: The Logic and Practice of Official Support for Alexei Navalny's Mayoral Run," *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 136, September 2013, pp. 6-9.

## **Analytic & Scholarly Publications (Shorter-Form)**

"Legitimacy, Popular Sovereignty, and Competing Justifications for Political Order," *Liberty Fund*, June 2025.

"National Heresies," *FUSION Journal*, March 2025.

"Understanding the Call of the Authoritarian," *FUSION Journal*, April 2024.

"Political Actors: A Review of Patrick Deneen's Regime Change," *The Lamp*, September 2023.

"Illiberalism and Postliberalism: Comparing Ideological Ferment in Eastern Europe and the Anglo-American World," *Illiberalism Studies Program* (Postliberal America Series), February 2023.

"Varieties of Constitutional Models and Authoritarian Political Order," *The Loop* – ECPR, December 2022.

"The Illiberal Right Moves Beyond Critique," *Illiberalism Studies Program* (Postliberal America Series), November 2022.

"Classical Political Forms, the Mixed Regime, and the State of Emergency – Roman, Byzantine, Muscovite?" *Ius & Iustitium*, October 2022.

"America's Pro-Authoritarian Theorists," *American Purpose*, August 2022.

"Is America's Democracy Really Backsliding?" *RealClearWorld*, July 2022.

"We Just Can't Shake the F-Word," *Russia.Post*, June 2022.

"It's the Sausage-Making," *American Purpose*, September 2021.

"Harnessing Illiberalism's Analytical Leverage," *The Loop* – ECPR, August 2021.

"Scholarly Blinders and the Diversity of Authoritarianism," *The University Bookman*, February 2021.

"Quirks in the Neo-Integralist Vision," *Church-Life Journal*, February 2021.

## **Working Papers & Manuscripts Under Review**

"Intellectual Entrepreneurs Against Democracy: Theorizing Authoritarian Futures in America," under review.

"'Illiberalism' in the East But 'Postliberalism' in the West? Contrasting Elite Ideological Dissent from Eastern Europe to North America," under review.

"Influence of the Patriarchs: Coordinating Church and State in Post-Soviet Russia," (w/Kevin Zhang), under review.

"Authoritarianism Before Democracy Was Standardized: Models of Interwar-Era Electoral Authoritarianism and the Liberal Inheritance," working paper.

"Authoritarian Conciliar Bodies and Judicial Systems: Theory-Building Cases from Post-Soviet Eurasia," working paper.

"Authoritarian Roads Not Taken: Institutional Trajectories of Authoritarian Constitutionalism in Interwar Eastern Europe," working paper.

"The Perils of Authoritarian Presidentialism: Stumbling Towards Post-Democratic Institutionalism in Eurasia," working paper.

"A Whig History of Electoral Authoritarianism? Trajectories of Parliamentary Capacity and Prestige in the Post-Soviet Space," working paper.

"Legislator Recruitment and Retainment in Authoritarian Parliaments: The Case of Russia," (w/ Henry E. Hale), working paper.

"Is Russia Fascist and Why It Matters," working paper for *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

## **Professional Experience & Visiting Positions**

Non-Resident Fellow, <i>Illiberalism Studies Program</i> (GWU)	2020-present
Visiting Scholar, <i>Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies</i> (IERES)	2022-2023
Contributing Scholar, <i>Classics of Strategy and Diplomacy Project</i>	2020-2022
Visiting Researcher, <i>Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München</i>	Spring 2018

Visiting Scholar, <i>Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien (ZOiS)</i>	Fall 2017
Visiting Researcher, <i>Higher School of Economics (ISCID)</i>	2016-2017
Doctoral Student Fellow, <i>Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES)</i>	2015-2016

## Selected Awards & Honors

Friedrich Hayek Fund for Scholars (Institute for Humane Studies)	Summer 2018; Fall 2019, 2022
Bradley Foundation Graduate Fellowship (Bradley Foundation)	2019-2020
Humane Studies Fellowship (Institute for Humane Studies)	2019-2020
ASEEES Dissertation Research Grant (ASEEES)	Spring 2017
Hoffman Dissertation Fellowship (IERES)	Fall 2016
Bucerius Dissertation Fieldwork Grant (ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius)	Fall 2016
William and Helen Petrach Program on Ukraine Grant (IERES)	Summer 2014
Elliott School Undergraduate Research Grant (GWU)	Summer 2013
National Security Education Program (NSEP) David L. Boren Scholarship (DoD)	Fall 2012
Critical Language Scholarship (US Department of State)	Summer 2012

## Teaching Experience

• Professorial Lecturer, <i>Dictators in Europe &amp; Russia</i>	Spring 2025-present
• Professorial Lecturer, <i>Russian Politics</i>	2022-2024
• Instructor, <i>Introduction to Comparative Politics</i>	Spring 2019
• Teaching Assistant for Eric Kramon, <i>Development Politics</i>	Fall 2015
• Teaching Assistant for Harris Mylonas, <i>Nationalism</i>	Spring 2015
• Teaching Assistant for Harvey Feigenbaum, <i>Comparative Politics of W. Europe</i>	Fall 2014
• Teaching Assistant for Bruce Dickson, <i>Intro to Comparative Politics</i>	Spring 2014
• Teaching Assistant for Kimberly Morgan, <i>Intro to Comparative Politics</i>	Fall 2013

## Additional Abroad Coursework, Professional Development, & Certificates

Münchener Volkshochschule – Munich, Germany	Spring 2018
Berliner Volkshochschule, – Berlin, Germany	Fall 2017
Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research – Syracuse, New York	Summer 2016
International Centre of Slavic Studies – Kyiv, Ukraine	Summer 2014
Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University – Saint-Petersburg, Russia	Fall 2012
Akmulla Bashkir State Pedagogical University – Ufa, Russia	Summer 2012

## Academic Book Reviews

Review of Paul Robinson, *Russian Liberalism*. In *Europe-Asia Studies*, 77:4 (June 2025), pp. 666–668.

Review of Kathryn Hendley and Peter H. Solomon, Jr., *The Judicial System of Russia*. In *Russian Review*, 83:4 (October 2024) pp. 683-684.

Review of Bo Petersson, *The Putin Predicament: Problems of Legitimacy and Succession in Russia*. In *Europe-Asia Studies*, 75:8 (October 2023), pp. 1417-1419.

Review of András Sajó, Renáta Uitz, and Stephen Holmes, *Routledge Handbook of Illiberalism*. With Maria Snegovaya and Mihai Varga. In *The Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, 7:3 (Spring 2023), pp. 117-127.

Review of Richard Sakwa, Henry E. Hale, and Stephen White, eds. 2018. *Developments in Russian Politics* 9. In *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73:10 (Dec 2021), pp. 1976-1977.

Review of Megan Hauser. 2019. *Electoral Strategies Under Authoritarianism: Evidence from the Former Soviet Union*. In *Europe-Asia Studies*, 72:9 (Dec 2020), pp. 1608-1610.

Review of Daniel Treisman, ed. 2018. *The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia*. In *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70:10 (Dec 2018), pp. 1720-1721.

Review of David James Meadows. 2012. *The Effects of Political-Culture on Divergent Patterns of Post-Soviet Political-Economic Transformation: A Comparison of the Experiences of Latvia and Belarus Since 1991* (Doctoral dissertation). In *Dissertation Reviews*, Dec 2014.

## **Professional Activities, Affiliations, & Miscellanea**

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- DC Area Postcommunist Politics Social Science Workshop (PPSSW), DC-Area Comparative Workshop, American Political Science Association (APSA), Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Southern Political Science Association (SPSA), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES).
- Peer-Reviewer for *Political Studies Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Democratization*, *The Review of Politics*, *Journal of Advanced Military Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Communist & Post-Communist Studies*, *Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, and *International Journal of Constitutional Law*.
- Personal **Substack** (essay platform): "Political Order(s) with Julian Waller"

## **Languages**

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**English** – Native Fluent, **Russian** – Advanced, **German** – Intermediate, **Ukrainian** – Beginner

## **Technical Skills**

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Microsoft Office, Stata, LaTeX, Python, NVIVO