

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

1957 E St., NW, Suite 412
Washington, DC 20052
www.gwu.edu/~elliott/faculty/hale.cfm

Tel: (202) 994-4810
Fax: (202) 994-7743
Email: hhale@gwu.edu

CURRENT POSITIONS

Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, since 2015.
(Assistant professor 2005-2008. Associate professor 2008-15.)

Co-Director. Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia), since 2009 (sole director 2009-2012; co-director with Cory Welt 2012-16; with Marlene Laruelle 2016-).

EDUCATION

Harvard: Ph.D. in Political Science, March 1998
 A.M. in Regional Studies: Soviet Union, June 1990
Duke: A.B. *Summa Cum Laude*, May 1988

PUBLICATIONS

Books (Single-Author)

Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Problems of International Politics series.

The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Studies in Comparative Politics Series.

- Selected for the sixth ASEN and *Nations and Nationalism* public debate on a major work on the subject of nationalism, LSE, London, November 10, 2010.

Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

- **Winner**, 2007 Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award, APSA Political Organizations and Parties (POP) section, for best book on political parties and organizations published in the previous two years. One of two winners.

Books (Edited Volumes)

Developments in Russian Politics 9 (Houndmills: Palgrave-Macmillan and Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019). Co-editor, with Richard Sakwa (lead editor) and Stephen White.

- Also earlier edition: *Developments in Russian Politics 8* (Houndmills: Palgrave-Macmillan and Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014). Co-editor, with Stephen White and Richard Sakwa.
- Also earlier edition: *Developments in Russian Politics 7* (Houndmills: Palgrave-Macmillan and Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). Co-editor, with Stephen White and Richard Sakwa.

Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives for Advancing Reform in Ukraine (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2016). Co-editor, with Robert Ortung.

Rossiiia "dvukhtysiachnykh": stereoskopicheskii vzgliad (Russia in the 2000s: A Stereoscopic View) (Moscow: Planeta, 2011). Co-editor, with Ivan Kurilla.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

Articles in Peer-Reviewed or Partially Peer-Reviewed Journals

- “Crimea Come What May: Do Economic Sanctions Backfire Politically?” *Journal of Peace Research*, forthcoming, 2019. Coauthor: Mikhail Alexseev.
- “A Surprising Connection Between Civilizational Identity and Succession Expectations among Russian Elites,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, August 29, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2019.1662198>.
- “How Should We Now Conceptualize Protest, Diffusion, and Regime Change?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, July 15, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719862427>.
- “Russia’s Regime-on-the-Move,” *Russian Politics*, v.4, no.2, June 2019, pp.168-195. Coauthors: Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov.
- “Believing Facts in the Fog of War: Identity, Media and Hot Cognition in Ukraine’s 2014 Odesa Tragedy,” *Geopolitics*, v.23, no.4, Fall 2018, pp.851-881, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14650045.2018.1465044>. Coauthors: Oxana Shevel and Olga Onuch.
- “Timing Is Everything: A Quantitative Study of Presidentialist Authoritarianism in Eurasia 1992-2016,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.34, no.5, September 2018, <https://tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1060586X.2018.1500094> .
- “How Crimea Pays: Rallying ’Round the Flag and Authoritarian Support,” *Comparative Politics*, v.50, no.3, April 2018, pp.369-91.
- “Capturing Ethnicity: The Case of Ukraine,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.34, nos.2-3, April 2018, pp.84-106. Coauthor: Olga Onuch.
- “Studying Identity in Ukraine,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.34, nos.2-3, April 2018, pp.79-83. Coauthors: Olga Onuch, Gwen Sasse.
- “Who Defects? Unpacking a Defection Cascade from Russia’s Dominant Party 2008-12,” *American Political Science Review*, v.111, no.2, May 2017, pp.322-37. First author. Co-author: Timothy Colton.
- “Focus on the Fundamentals: Reflections on the State of Ethnic Conflict Studies,” *Ethnopolitics*, v.16, no.1, January 2017, pp.41-47.
- Reprinted as Chapter 7 in Erika Forsberg, Johanna K. Birnir, and Christian Davenport, eds., *Ethnic Politics and Conflict/Violence: State of the Field and New Directions* (Routledge, 2018).
- “The Nemtsov Vote: Public Opinion and Pro-Western Liberalism’s Decline in Russia,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.24, no.1, Winter 2016, pp.69-87.
- “Putin’s Uneasy Return and Hybrid Regime Stability: The 2012 Russian Election Studies Survey,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, v.61, no.2, March/April 2014, pp.3-22. Co-author: Timothy J. Colton.
- “Three Dilemmas of Hybrid Regime Governance: Russia from Putin to Putin,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.30, no.1, 2014, pp.1-26 (released online September 2013). Co-authors: Nikolay Petrov and Maria Lipman.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

“Civilizations Reframed: Towards a Theoretical Upgrade for a Stalled Paradigm,” *Journal of Civilization Studies / Medeniyet Arařtırmaları Dergisi*, v.1, no.1, January 2014, pp.5-23,
<http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/437697>.

“Did the Internet Break the Political Machine? Moldova’s 2009 ‘Twitter Revolution that Wasn’t,’” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.21, no.3, Fall 2013, pp.481-505.

“Regime Change Cascades: What We Have Learned from the 1848 Revolutions to the 2011 Arab Uprisings,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, v.16, June 2013, pp.331-53.

“Two Decades of Post-Soviet Regime Dynamics,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.20, no.2, Spring 2012, pp.71-77.

“Formal Constitutions in Informal Politics: Institutions and Democratization in Eurasia,” *World Politics*, v.63, no.4, October 2011, pp.581-617.

- Russian-language translation published as “Formal’nye konstitutsii v neformal’noi politike: instituty i demokratizatsiia v postsovetsoi Evrazii,” *Oikumena* (Ukraine), v.8, 2011, pp.87-118.

“The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.63, no.8, October 2011, pp.1357-1375.

“Ethnicity in Politics: Relational Theory and Its Critics,” *Nations and Nationalism*, v.17, no.4, October 2011. Invited essay originally presented as part of a debate on my book, *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics*, with Michael Hechter and Gwendolyn Sasse.

“Russians and the Putin-Medvedev ‘Tandemocracy’: A Survey-Based Portrait of the 2007-08 Election Season,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, v.57, no.2, March/April 2010, pp.3-20. Co-author: Timothy J. Colton.

“Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin’s Russia,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, v.1, no.1, 2010, pp.33-41. Invited for inaugural journal issue, bypassing usual peer review.

“The Putin Vote: Presidential Electorates in a Hybrid Regime,” *Slavic Review*, v.68, no.3, Fall 2009, pp.473-503. Co-author: Timothy J. Colton.

- Also response to invited discussant, “Responses: Political Science, Democracy, and Authoritarianism,” pp.552-3.

“Cause Without a Rebel: Kazakhstan’s Unionist Nationalism in the USSR and CIS,” *Nationalities Papers*, v.37, no.1, January 2009, pp.1-32.

“The Double-Edged Sword of Ethnofederalism: Ukraine and the USSR in Comparative Perspective,” *Comparative Politics*, v.40, no.3, April 2008, pp.293-312.

“Democracy or Autocracy on the March? The Colored Revolutions as Normal Dynamics of Patronal Presidentialism,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v.39, no.3, September 2006, pp.305-29. Invited for special issue on “Democratic Revolutions in Post-Communist States,” guest editor Taras Kuzio.

- Russian-language translation published as “Demokratiia ili avtokratiia na marshe? Tsvetnye revoliutsii kak normal’noe razvitie patronazhnogo prezidentsva,” *Prognosis* [Moscow], v.2, no.10, 2007, pp.267-94. Available at http://intelros.ru/pdf/prognosis2_07/Heyl.pdf.
- Reprinted in Taras Kuzio, ed., *Post-Communist Democratic Revolutions in Comparative Perspective* (Stuttgart and Hanover: ibidem-Verlag, 2007).

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

“Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia,” *World Politics*, v.58, no.1, October 2005, pp.133-65 (released July 2006).

- Reprinted in *Open Times*, a Chinese-language journal published in Guangzhou.

“The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell,” *Perspectives on Politics*, v.3, no.1, March 2005, pp.55-70.

“Why Not Parties? Supply and Demand on Russia’s Electoral Market,” *Comparative Politics*, v.37, no.2, January 2005, pp.147-66.

“Yabloko and the Challenge of Building a Liberal Party in Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.56, no.7, November 2004, pp.993-1020.

“Putin and the ‘Delegative Democracy’ Trap: Evidence from Russia’s 2003-04 Elections,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.20, no.4, October-December 2004, pp.285-319. Co-authors: Michael McFaul and Timothy Colton.

“Explaining Ethnicity,” *Comparative Political Studies*, v.37, no.4, May 2004, pp.458-85.

- Selected for republication in the compilation Rajat Ganguly, ed., *Ethnic Conflict* (London: Sage, 2009).

“Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics*, v.56, no.2, January 2004, pp.165-93.

- **Winner**, 2005 APSA Alexander L. George Award in qualitative methods (see *Honors* below). One of two winners.
- **Winner** (earlier draft), 2003 Combating Political Violence Paper Competition, IWPS, Columbia U. (see *Honors*)
- Selected for republication in Mark Kesselman, ed., *Readings in Comparative Politics* (Boston: Cengage, 2009)
- Selected for republication in John Kinkaid, ed., *Federalism* (London: Sage, 2011)

“The Origins of United Russia and the Putin Presidency: The Role of Contingency in Party-System Development,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.12, no.2, Spring 2004, pp.169-94.

“Explaining Machine Politics in Russia’s Regions: Economy, Ethnicity, and Legacy,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.19, no.3, July-September 2003, pp.228-63.

“Russia: Consolidation or Collapse?” *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.54, no.7, November 2002, pp.1101-25. Co-author: Rein Taagepera.

“Civil Society From Above? Statist and Liberal Models of State-Building in Russia,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.10, no.3, Summer 2002, pp.306-321.

“The Parade of Sovereignties: Testing Theories of Secession in the Soviet Setting,” *British Journal of Political Science*, v.30, no.1, January 2000, pp.31-56.

“Machine Politics and Institutionalized Electorates: A Comparative Analysis of Six Duma Races in Bashkortostan, Russia,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, v.15, no.4, December 1999, pp.70-110.

Articles in Non-Refereed Scholarly Journals

“Russian Patronal Politics Beyond Putin,” *Daedalus*, v.146, no.2, Spring 2017, pp.30-40,
<http://www.mitpressjournals.org/toc/daed/146/2>, accessed April 18, 2017.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

“Caucasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective,” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, v.12, no.1, July 2016, pp.27-48.

“Twenty-Five Years after the USSR: What’s Gone Wrong?” *Journal of Democracy*, v.27, no.3, July 2016, pp.24-35, <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Hale-27-3.pdf> .

“Explaining Support for Economic Integration in Central Asia,” *Al-Farabi: Journal of Socio-Humanitarian Studies* (Kazakhstan), no.4 (52), 2015, pp.74-88.

“The Uses of Divided Power,” *Journal of Democracy*, v.21, no.3, July 2010, pp.84-98.

Peer-Reviewed Book Chapters

“How Nationalism and Machine Politics Mix in Russia,” in Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, eds., *The New Russian Nationalism, 2000-2015: Imperialism, Ethnicity, Authoritarianism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp.221-248. Available at: <http://www.oapen.org/search?identifier=605858>.

“Rallying ’Round the Leader More than the Flag: Changes in Russian Nationalist Public Opinion 2013-14,” in Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, eds., *The New Russian Nationalism, 2000-2015: Imperialism, Ethnicity, Authoritarianism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp.192-220. Co-author: Mikhail Alexseev. Available at: <http://www.oapen.org/search?identifier=605858>.

“Hybrid Regimes: When Democracy and Autocracy Mix,” in Nathan Brown, ed., *Dynamics of Democratization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp.23-45.

“Correlates of Clientelism: Political Economy, Politicized Ethnicity, and Postcommunist Transition,” in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, eds., *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.227-50.

“Bashkortostan: The Logic of Ethnic Machine Politics and the Consolidation of Democracy,” in Timothy J. Colton and Jerry F. Hough (eds.) *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Election of 1993* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998) pp.599-636.

Book Chapters Refereed or Invited by Social Scientist Editors

“Introduction: Freeing Post-Soviet Regimes from the Procrustean Bed of Democracy Theory,” in Balint Magyar, ed., with an introduction by Henry E. Hale, *Stubborn Structures - Reconceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2019 [April]), pp.5-19.

“Psychology of Nationalism,” in John Stone, Dennis Rutledge, Polly Rizova and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2016).

“The Informal Politics of Formal Constitutions: Rethinking the Effects of ‘Presidentialism’ and ‘Parliamentarism’ in the Cases of Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Ukraine,” chapter in Tom Ginsburg and Alberto Simpser, eds., *Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.218-44.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

“Russian Regime Dynamics through 2025: Comparative Thinking about the Future,” in Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov, eds., *Russia 2025: Scenarios for the Future* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2013), pp.125-42.

- A Russian-language version was previously published in the Moscow-based journal *Pro et Contra* (see below)

“Why Do Political Systems Become Party Systems? Addressing a Cross-National Puzzle through Subnational Survey Data,” in William Reisinger, ed., *Russia’s Regions and Comparative Subnational Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2013) pp.63-81. Co-author: Timothy J. Colton.

- An early draft previously circulated as “Parties Versus Independents: The Case of Russia’s 2003 Elections in Krasnodar and Riazan,” NCEEER working paper series, May 23, 2007, available at http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2007_818_Hale-Colton.pdf

“Can the Machine Come to Life? Prospects for Russia’s Party System in 2020,” in Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov, eds., *Russia in 2020: Scenarios for the Future* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2011), pp.255-76.

- Russian-language translation published July 2012.

“Bashkortostan’s Democratic Moment? Patronal Presidentialism, Regional Regime Change, and Identity in Russia,” chapter in Osamu Ieda and Uyama Tomohiko, eds., *Reconstruction and Interaction of Slavic Eurasia and Its Neighboring Worlds* (Sapporo, Japan: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2006). Co-author: Ildar Gabdrifikov.

“Party Development in a Federal System: The Impact of Putin’s Reforms,” in Peter Reddaway and Robert Ortung, eds., *The Dynamics of Russian Politics: Putin’s Reform of Federal-Regional Relations*, v.2 (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), pp.179-211.

“Islam, State-Building and Uzbekistan’s Foreign Policy,” in Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (eds.) *The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and Its Borderlands* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), pp.136-72.

Other Academic Publications and Working Papers

“What It Means to Rule Like Putin,” *Seminar* (a widely read intellectual magazine in India), issue 693, May 2017, pp.32-36. Part of special issue on “Democratic Authoritarianism: A Symposium on the Fusion of Authoritarianism and Democracy in India and the World,” edited by Kanchan Chandra, <http://www.india-seminar.com/semframe.html>, accessed May 5, 2017.

“Ukraine’s 2012 Parliamentary Election and the Restoration of Patronal Presidentialism,” conference proceedings for the international conference “2012 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine,” March 14-15, 2013, I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies and National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv.

“Overmanaged Democracy in Russia: Dilemmas of Hybrid Regime Governance,” Carnegie Paper no.106, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 2010, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/overmanaged_democracy_2.pdf. With Nikolay Petrov and Maria Lipman.

“Russia’s Presidential Election and the Fate of Democracy: Taking the Cake,” *AAASS NewsNet*, Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, v.44, no.3, May 2004, pp.1-6.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

“Putin’s Anti-Campaign Campaign: Presidential Election Tactics in Today’s Russia,” *AAASS NewsNet*, Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, v.40, no.3, May 2000.
Co-author: Vladimir Boxer.

“Commentary on Kazakhstan,” in Aleksei Arbatov, Abraham Chayes, Antonia Handler Chayes, and Lara Olson (eds.) *Managing Conflict in the Post-Soviet Space: Russian and American Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA: CIS/MIT Press, 1997) pp.333-40.

Articles in Policy Journals

“Will Elections Erode Russia’s Democracy?” *The Fletcher Forum*, v.24, no.1, Spring 2000, pp.123-36.

“Integration and Independence in the Caspian Basin,” *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 1999, pp.163-89.

“The Rise of Russian Anti-Imperialism,” *Orbis*, Winter 1999, pp.111-25.

Special Issues/Sections of Journals Edited

“Studying Identity in Ukraine,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.34, nos.2-3, April 2018. Coeditor with Olga Onuch and Gwen Sasse.

Slavic Review, v.68, no.3, Fall 2009, special cluster of articles on Russian elections and parties.

Op-Eds

“Russians See Ukraine as an Illegitimate State,” *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage blog, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/05/20/russians-see-ukraine-as-an-illegitimate-state/>, May 20, 2015. Co-author: Mikhail Alexseev.

“Russian Nationalism and the Logic of the Kremlin’s Actions in Ukraine,” *The Guardian* online, August 29, 2014, 8:53, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/29/russian-nationalism-kremlin-actions-ukraine>. Originally appeared as “Nationalism and the Logic of Russian Actions in Ukraine,” Carnegie Forum on Rebuilding US-Russian Relations, August 2014, <http://perspectives.carnegie.org/us-russia/nationalism-logic-russian-actions-ukraine/>.

“4 Myths of Russia’s Party System,” *The Moscow Times*, July 25, 2011, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/4-myths-of-russias-party-system/441017.html>.

Briefs and Reports for Policy-Oriented Audiences

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard

- “Bazaar Politics: Prospects for Parties in Russia,” *Russia Watch*, no.9, special issue on Russian political parties, January 2003, pp.5-7.
http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication.cfm?program=CORE&ctype=paper&item_id=367
- *Russian Election Watch*. Editor and chief writer for monthly bulletin aimed at the English-speaking policymaking communities in the West and Russia. Funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York and co-sponsored by Indiana and Harvard Universities. October 2003 - March 2004 election cycle (<http://daviscenter.fas.harvard.edu/publications/rew.html>) and July 1999 - April 2000 election cycle (http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication_list.cfm?program=CORE&ln=series&series=6).

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

- *Russia's Electoral War of 1999-2000: The Russian Election Watch Compendium* (Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, Harvard University, 2000). New introduction.

Carnegie Forum, Carnegie Corporation of New York Website

- “Should the US Cooperate with Russia on Syria and ISIS?”
<https://www.carnegie.org/news/articles/carnegie-forum-us-russia-and-syria/>, October 6, 2015
- “Nationalism and the Logic of Russian Actions in Ukraine,” Carnegie Forum on Rebuilding US-Russian Relations, August 2014, <http://perspectives.carnegie.org/us-russia/nationalism-logic-russian-actions-ukraine/>

Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow

- “Is America’s Primaries System Coming Unraveled? (Or Why Clinton and Giuliani Are Not as Far Ahead as They Seem),” published in Russian on the Center’s website www.carnegie.ru, December 2008.
- “The Great Change Debate of 2008,” published in Russian on the Center’s website www.carnegie.ru, January 2008.
- “Russia’s Single-member-district Elections and the New Duma,” published on the Center’s elections website, <http://www.carnegie.ru/en/pubs/media/69304.htm>, December 7, 2003.

Center for Strategic and International Studies

- “Russia 2017: Thoughts on Domestic Drivers,” in Andrew Kuchins, ed., *Alternative Futures for Russia to 2017*, report of the Russia and Eurasia Program, November 2007, available at http://www.csis.org/component/option.com_csis_pubs/task.view/id.4237/type.1/.

Policy Studies Program, EastWest Institute, NY (<http://psp.iewe.org>)

- “The Federal Option for Afghanistan,” November 25, 2002.

PONARS Eurasia (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia)

www.ponarseurasia.org

- Editing all PONARS Eurasia policy memos starting September 2016.
- “Can Federalism Unite Ukraine in a Peace Deal?” August 2015, no.379. Co-authors: Nadiya Kravets and Olga Onuch.
 - Published in Ukrainian as “Chy zmozhe federalizm ob’edniaty Ukrainu u spravi myru?” *Krytyka*, September 2015, <http://krytyka.com.ua/articles/chy-zmozhe-federalizm-obiednaty-ukrayinu-u-spravi-myru>
- “A New Wave of Russian Nationalism? What Really Changed in Public Opinion after Crimea,” May 2015, no.362. Co-author: Mikhail Alexseev.
- “Afghanistan 2014: Ripe for Revolution?” April 2013, no.249.

PONARS (Program on New Approaches to Russian Security) (based at Harvard, then CSIS)

<http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/pm/>

- “Interpreting the Color Revolutions and Prospects for Post-Soviet Democratization: Breaking the Cycles,” December 2005, no.373.
- “The Bellwether Battle for Bashkortostan: Rage Against the Machine,” December 2003, no.293.
- “The Duma Districts: Key to Putin’s Power,” September 2003, no.290. Co-Author: Robert Ortung.
- “Ethnofederalism: Lessons for Afghanistan, Pakistan, Russia and Beyond,” November 2001, no.208.
- “B-Grade Democracy: Taking Stock of the Transition in Russia,” April 2000, no.119.
- “Is Russian Nationalism on the Rise?” February 2000, no.110.
- “Critical Political Mass: the Emergence of Russia’s Party System,” November 1999, no.74.
- “The Regionalization of Autocracy in Russia,” November 1998, no.42.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

- “Breaking Up is Hard to Do: Why Russia Won’t Collapse Like the USSR,” November 1998, no.54.
- “Russia’s Fiscal Veto on CIS Integration,” November 1997, no.15.

Russian Analytical Digest

- “The Beginning of Putin’s Endgame: Expect the Unexpected,” no.218, April 10, 2018, pp.2-3.
- “Trends in Russian Views on Democracy 2008-12: Has There Been a Russian Democratic Awakening?” no.117, September 19, 2012, pp.9-14. German version in *RusslandAnalysen*, no. 243. (7,000 subscribers overall)
- “The Putin Machine Sputters: First Impressions of Russia’s 2011 Duma Election,” no.106, December 21, 2011, pp.2-5.
- “The Upcoming 2007 Duma Elections and Russia’s Party System,” November 27, 2007.

PONARS Eurasia Blog Posts

- “Trump’s Extreme Pragmatism and U.S.-Russian Relations,” December 30, 2016
- “Ukraine’s Elections: Hope and Concern,” October 26, 2014
- “Old Age No Friend to Dictators,” March 27, 2013
- “How Many Really Support a ‘Russia without Putin’?” February 9, 2013
- “The Fruits and Frustrations of Democracy: Moldova’s Divided Parliament,” December 2, 2010
- “Ukraine: Tipping Back to the Post-Soviet Norm?” October 5, 2010

Other Commentary

“Finding the balance: Should Ukraine change its system of government?” post in Vox Ukraine, December 27, 2018, <https://voxukraine.org/en/president-pm-parliament-should-ukraine-change-the-form-of-government-and-the-constitution/>, accessed December 29, 2018.

“Survey: Tips for President Trump ahead of His First Meeting with Putin,” Russia Matters website, July 3, 2017, <https://www.russiamatters.org/analysis/survey-tips-president-trump-ahead-his-first-meeting-putin>. Reprinted by *Newsweek* and *The Moscow Times*.

“Presidential Power in Ukraine: Constitutions Matter,” Presidential Politics Blog, edited by Robert Elgie, February 28, 2017, <http://presidential-power.com/?tag=presidential-power>, accessed March 1, 2017.

Olympic Inbox, Elliott School video series on 2016 Summer Olympic Games, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eVxyC_EOCV8&feature=youtu.be, August 5, 2016.

Russian-Language Articles and Book Chapters

“Opyt peredachi vlasti na postsovetском prostranstve: chto my znaem pro eto?” (“Succession Politics in the Post-Soviet Space: What Do We Know?”) *Liberal’naia missiia--Ekspertiza* (Moscow), no.6, June 2019, <http://www.liberal.ru/articles/7378> (pdf at http://www.liberal.ru/upload/files/Tsar_gory.%20Ekspertiza.Vip.6.pdf), accessed June 14, 2019.

“Nationalizm i tsinizm v politike: est’ li protivorechie?” *Kontrapunkt*, v.1, no.2, December 2015, http://www.counter-point.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/hale_counterpoint2.pdf.

“Dinamika praviashchego rezhima v Rossii,” *Pro et Contra*, v.16, nos.4-5, July-October 2012, pp.33-53, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/ProEtContra_56_all.pdf.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

“Mozhno li ozhivit’ mashinu? Perspektivy rossiiskoi partiinoi sistemy na 2020 g.,” in Maria Lipman and Nikolay Petrov, eds., *Rossia 2020: Stsenarii razvitiia* (Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center, 2012) pp.257-76. Translation of an English publication.

“Prezidentskii rezhim, revoliutsiia, i demokratiia: sravnitel’nyi analiz Gruzii, Kyrgyzii, Rossii, i Ukrainy,” *Pro et Contra*, no.1, January-February 2008, pp.6-21.

- Featured and pre-released by *Polit.Ru*, May 27, 2008, <http://www.polit.ru/research/2008/05/26/hale.html> .

“Demokratiia ili avtokratiia na marshe? Tsvetnye revoliutsii kak normal’noe razvitie patronazhnogo prezidentsva,” *Prognozis* [Moscow], v.2, no.10, 2007, pp.267-94. Available at http://intelros.ru/pdf/prognosis2_07/Heyl.pdf. Translation of an English publication.

“Reformy i Razvitie Politicheskikh Partii,” in Nikolai Petrov (ed.), *Federal’naia Reforma 2000-2004, T.2. Strategii, Instituty, Problemy* (Moscow, Russia: Moskovskii Obshchestvennyi Nauchnyi Fond, 2005), pp.268-307. Translation of an English publication.

“Administrativnyi Resurs i Ukreplenie Elektoratorov v National’noi Respublike: Vybory Deputatov Gosudarstvennoi Dumy v Odnomandatnykh Izbiratel’nykh Okrugakh Bashkortostana v 1993 g.,” in Igor V. Kuchumov (ed.), *Bashkortostan v Politicheskom Prostranstve Rossii: Zarubezhnaia Politologiia o Tendentsiakh Sovremennogo Razvitiia Respubliki* (Ufa, Russia: Zdravookhraneniie Bashkortostana, 2004), pp.84-106. Translation of an English publication.

“Etnicheskaia Mobilizatsiia v Bashkortostane i Sud’ba Rossiiskoi Demokratii,” in Igor V. Kuchumov (ed.), *Bashkortostan v Politicheskom Prostranstve Rossii: Zarubezhnaia Politologiia o Tendentsiakh Sovremennogo Razvitiia Respubliki* (Ufa, Russia: Zdravookhraneniie Bashkortostana, 2004), pp.66-84. Translation of an English publication.

Russian-Language Commentary

“Pochemu prisoeдинenie Kryma ne privelo k vzletu russkogo natsionalizma,” *RBK*, May 28, 2015, <http://daily.rbc.ru/opinions/society/28/05/2015/5565a34a9a79472e2f6d19fc> (edited translation of PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no. 362). Coauthor: Mikhail Alexseev.

“Partiinaia sistema v Rossii: Chetyre mifa” (The Party System in Russia: Four Myths”), *Vedomosti*, July 18, 2011, no.130, http://www.vedomosti.ru/newspaper/article/264058/chetyre_mifa .

“Nesomnennaia neopredelennost’: Kakoe nasledstvo ostavit 2008 god,” *Polit.Ru*, May 13, 2008, 09:36, as part of the openDemocracy Russia project, <http://www.polit.ru/institutes/2008/05/13/analiz.html> .

“Perspektivy avtokratizma v Rossii: Kruglii Stol,” *Otechestvennye Zapiski*, v.39, no.6, 2007, pp.41-61. With six Russian participants.

Teaching Publications

“Teaching Central Eurasian Politics in Comparative Perspective,” *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, v.2, no.1, Winter 2003, pp.33-4. Article solicited by education section editor based on my contribution to a collection of syllabi on Central Asia.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

Book Reviews

William R. Reisinger and Bryon J. Moraski, *The Regional Roots of Russia's Political Regime* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2017), for *Slavic Review*, v.77, no.3, Fall 2018, pp.859-860.

Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua Tucker, *Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), for *Counterpoint*, no.10, December 2017, http://www.counter-point.org/10_pop_eleches_tucker_review/.

Uriel Abulof, *The Mortality and Morality of Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), for *Journal of Levantine Studies*, v.7, no.2, Winter 2017, p.169-71.

Kelly M. McMann, *Corruption as a Last Resort: Adapting to the Market in Central Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), for *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, forthcoming.

Lucan Way, *Pluralism by Default: Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), for *Perspectives on Politics*, forthcoming.

Mark Beissinger and Stephen Kotkin, eds., *Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), for *Slavic Review*, v.75, no.3, Fall 2016, pp.737-8.

Vladimir Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), for *Kontrapunkt*, v.1, no.2, December 2015.

Mark I. Lichbach, *Democratic Theory and Causal Methodology in Comparative Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), for *Perspectives on Politics*, review submitted August 2014.

Vit Hlousek and Lubomir Kopecek, *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe Compared* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), for *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, forthcoming 2013.

"Introduction," *H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable*, v.5, no.1, March 4, 2013, devoted to Kimberly Marten, *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-5-1.pdf>.

Johan Engvall, *The State as Investment Market: An Analytical Framework for Interpreting Politics and Bureaucracy in Kyrgyzstan*, dissertation in Political Science, Uppsala University (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University press, 2011). For *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift (The Swedish Journal of Political Science)*, forthcoming 2012.

Elise Giuliano, *Constructing Grievance: Ethnic Nationalism in Russia's Republics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011). For *Russian Review*, forthcoming January 2012.

Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnson, & Rose McDermott, eds., *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For *Nationalities Papers*, v.39, no.6, 2011, pp.119-20.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

Gerardo L. Munck, *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge Between Scholarship and Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). For *Perspectives on Politics*, v.9, no.2, June 2011, pp.417-8.

Philip G. Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). For *The Journal of Politics*, v.71, no.2, April 2009.

Regina Smyth, *Candidate Strategies and Electoral Competition in the Russian Federation: Democracy without Foundation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For *The Russian Review*, forthcoming.

Bryon Moraski, *Elections By Design: Parties and Patronage in Russia's Regions* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006). For *Slavic Review*, v.66, no.3, Fall 2007, pp.583-4.

Edward W. Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003). For *Journal of Cold War Studies*, v.9, no.1, Winter 2007, pp.170-1.

Andrew Konitzer, *Voting for Russia's Governors: Regional Elections and Accountability Under Yeltsin and Putin* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). For *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, published online January 5, 2007.

Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For *Political Science Quarterly*, v.120, no.3, Fall 2005.

V. Gel'man, G. Golosov, and E. Meleshkina (eds.), *Vtoroi Elektoral'nyi Tsikl v Rossii 1999-2000 gg.* (Moscow: Ves' Mir, 2002). For *Slavic Review*, v.63, no.2, Summer 2004.

Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2000). For *Comparative Political Studies*, v.36, no.7, September 2003, pp.849-52.

DISSERTATION

“Statehood at Stake: Democratization, Secession and the Collapse of the USSR”
Committee: Timothy Colton (chair), Robert Bates, Celeste Wallander.

GRANTS

Total of over \$6 million raised.

HONORS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- Michael E. Brown Research Prize 2016, awarded to one faculty member a year for outstanding research at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. This was the second year after the prize was established.
- Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship, National Endowment for Democracy, for the project “The Public Opinion Foundations for Democracy in Russia and Ukraine,” March-July 2016.
- Kennan Institute Title VIII Research Scholarship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, for the project “Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution: Two Decades of Regime Change Since Perestroika,” January-August 2009.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

- APSA Political Organizations and Parties (POP) Section 2007 Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award for *Why Not Parties in Russia?* This award “honors a book published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.”
- Fulbright Scholarship, for research in Russia on project “Russia’s Rubicon? The 2007-08 Election Cycle and Theories of Hybrid Regimes,” academic year 2007-08.
- APSA Qualitative Methods Section 2005 Alexander L. George Article Award for the best qualitative methods article, for “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics*, v.56, no.2, January 2004, pp.165-93.
- Combating Political Violence paper competition, \$5,000 prize, for the paper “Divided We Stand: Ethnofederalism as Problem and Solution in Divided Societies.” Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, April 2003
- Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies, \$6,000, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Summer 2004
- Mellon Faculty Summer Research Fellowship, \$5,000, REEI, Indiana University, Summer 2003
- Mellon Faculty Grant-in-Aid of Research, \$700, REEI, Indiana University, Spring 2001
- Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard, 1997-98
- Hoopes Prize for senior honors thesis (goes to student author & advisor), Harvard University, 1997
- Peace Scholarship, United States Institute of Peace, 1995-96
- Mellon Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Harvard Government Department, 1995-96
- Arthur Maass Prize Fellowship in Government, Harvard, 1990-91
- Mazur Fellowship in Arts and Sciences, Harvard, 1989-90
- Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, academic year 1989-90, summers 1989, 1992
- British Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarship for graduate study in UK, 1988-90 (declined)
- High Honors, Duke senior thesis in political science, 1988
- Proctor & Gamble Award, 1988, for Duke political science major with highest overall GPA
- *Phi Beta Kappa*, 1986

TEACHING

George Washington University. Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 2005-

- “Theories of Ethnic Politics” (specific titles of course vary)
- “Comparative Post-Soviet Politics” (specific titles of course vary)
- “Advanced Theories of Comparative Politics”
- “Russian Politics in Comparative Perspective”
- “State-Building in Central Asia and Transcaucasia”
- “Government and Politics of Russia”
- “Post-Soviet Politics”
- “Introduction to Russian and East European Studies”
- “Advanced Russian Politics” or “Russian Politics in Comparative Perspective)
- Graduate Independent Studies
- Graduate Student Committees: Currently chair of 6, member of 7 more

Indiana University. Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2000-05

- Y107 “Introduction to Comparative Politics”
- Y200 “War on Terrorism,” 2 lectures in team-taught course, POLS, Spring 2002
- Y200 “The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism”
- Y332 “Russian Politics”
- Y396 “Democracy Russian Style”
- Y557 “Comparative Politics: Approaches and Issues” (field seminar)

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

- Y657 “Post-Soviet Politics: Crossroads of Area Studies and Political Science”
- Y657 “Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism,” Spring 2003
- Y657 “State-Building in Central Asia and Transcaucasia,” Spring 2005
- Y680 Readings Courses

European University at St. Petersburg, Russia. Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science and Sociology.

- “Russia and the World,” for graduate students in a Western-accredited MA program funded by the Ford, MacArthur and Soros Foundations. Spring 1999.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Adjunct Assistant Professor of International Politics.

- “Comparative State-Building in Central Asia and the Caucasus,” Spring 1998.
- “Russian Foreign Policy,” Fall 1997.

SERVICE: BROADER SCHOLARLY AND POLICY COMMUNITIES

Leadership in Political Science Field

Professional Associations

- *Vice President* (elected position), APSA Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Section, 2017-19
- *Award Committee Member*, Daniel Elazar Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award, APSA Organized Section on Federalism, 2019
- *Program Committee (Ukraine section)*, ASN, 2017-19
- *Secretary* (elected position), APSA Comparative Democratization Section, 2010-12
- *Advocacy Committee Member*, Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, 2013-17
- *Advisory Board Member*, Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2013-
- *Inaugural Head*, Ethnicity & Nationalism Section, Midwest Political Science Association, 2006-07
- *Selection Committee Member*, Sage Paper Prize (best paper), APSA Comparative Politics Section, 2013
- *Selection Committee Chair*, Alexander George Award, APSA Qualitative Methods Section, 2011
- *Selection Committee Member*, Best Paper Award, APSA Comparative Democratization Section, 2010
- *Member*, Program Committee, Ukraine Section, Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2016-18
- *Conference Abstract Reviewer*, Central Eurasian Studies Society, 2004

Outside Centers, Institutes, and Programs

- *Advisory Board Member*, Competitive Authoritarian Protest Research Network (CAPRN), network of scholars studying mass protest in comparative authoritarian regimes, 2018-
- *Advisory Board Member*, “Russia Matters” project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2017-
- *Advisory Board Member*, Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden, 2011-
- *Advisory Board Member*, Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy Ph.D. Support Program, 2010-13
- *International Advisory Council Member*, Faculty of International Relations and Political Studies, North-West Institute of Administration, in the Russian Academy of the National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), St. Petersburg, Russia, 2012-

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

Journals

- *Editorial Board Chair*, Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, 2012-
 - (*Executive Editor*, 2007-11)
- *Associate Editor*, Central Asian Affairs, 2014-
- *Member of Advisory Board*, Acta Slavica Iaponica, 2016-
- *Member of Advisory Board*, Regional & Federal Studies, 2018-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Problems of Post-Communism, 2017-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Russian Politics (founded 2014-15), 2014-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Russian Academic Journal (Rostov, Russia), 2014-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Russian Politics and Law (US), 2008-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Journal of Eurasian Studies (South Korea), 2009-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Electronic Journal of Political Science Studies (Turkey), 2012-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Kyiv School of Economics Quarterly, 2013-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Krytyka: Journal of Ukrainian Politics and Society (Ukraine), 2013-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Bulletin of St. Petersburg University: Political Science, 2013-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Journal of Civilization Studies (Turkey), 2013-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Vestnik Volgogradskogo Universiteta, Seria 4: Istorica. Regionovedenie. Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenia (Russia), 2013-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Nationalities Papers, 2018-
- *Member of International Advisory Board*, Europe-Asia Studies, 2019-

Manuscripts Peer-Reviewed

Average of about 24 papers for journals per year, about 2 book manuscripts for presses.

Professional Memberships

American Economics Association
American Political Science Association
Association for the Study of Nationalities
American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
Central Eurasian Studies Society
Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia)
Working Group on the Future of U.S.-Russian Relations

Other Professional Positions Held

- *Director*. Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. 2009-2012.
- *Visiting Scholar*, Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden, November 26-December 3, 2010.
- *Visiting Scholar*. Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy. Summer 2010.
- *Visiting Scholar*. Carnegie Moscow Center. 2007-08.
- *Visiting Scholar*. Carnegie Moscow Center. 2003-04.
- *Policy Fellow*. Policy Studies Program, EastWest Institute, New York. June-August 2002.
- *Associate*. Strengthening Democratic Institutions (SDI) Project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard. Consulting, working with Russian political party leaders for SDI's Russian Political Party-Building Program. August 2000-July 2001.
- *Visiting Scholar*. Harriman Institute, Columbia University. June-August 2003, July-August 2001.

HENRY E. HALE
The George Washington University

- *Research Associate*. SDI Project, Harvard. Research, writing on Russian politics, political parties in comparative perspective. Writing, editing the monthly publication *Russian Election Watch*. Planning, implementing programs in US for Russian politicians. September 1998 - August 2000.
- *Part-Time Research Associate*. SDI Project, Harvard. Wrote/edited the final analytical report (80 pages) on the project's first US-Russian Investment Symposium, which involved nearly 600 top Russian, American and international officials and businesspeople. Research and editing for "A New Charter for Europe," a report by Graham Allison and Sergei Karaganov. Editing transcripts for the seminar series "The Caucasus and the Caspian." 1996-97.
- *Affiliate*. Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard. 1994-96.
- *Graduate Student Associate/Affiliate*. Center for International Affairs, Harvard. 1995-97.
- *Graduate Student Fellow*. Russian Research Center/Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard, 1992-97.
- *Staff Assistant*. Carnegie Younger Scholars Project Workshop on Russian Security Policy headed by Prof. Celeste Wallander. Organized 3-day workshop for 25 people. July-September 1996.
- *Moscow Field Manager*. Research project on Russian parliaments run by Professors Timothy Colton, Jerry Hough, Jeffrey Hahn, and Blair Ruble. September 1992-December 1993.

LANGUAGES

Russian:	fluent
Ukrainian:	reading knowledge, some speaking ability
Azerbaijani:	reading knowledge, some speaking ability
Uzbek:	basic knowledge
Turkish:	basic knowledge