

Vita

**MICHAEL ANTHONY MCFAUL**

616 Jane Stanford Way  
Stanford CA, 94305  
mcfaul@stanford.edu

**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 Angelius 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, *Rossiia 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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.

“Authoritarian and Democratic Responses to Financial Meltdown in Russia,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, July/August 1999, pp. 22-32.

“Lessons from Russia's Protracted Transition from Communist Rule,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 114, No. 1 (Spring 1999), pp. 103-130. Reprinted in Demetrios James Carley, ed., *Democracy at Home and Abroad*, (New York: Academy of Politics Science, 2000).

“Realistic Engagement” and “Democracy Assistance,” both in Tom Carothers et. al., *A New Agenda in U.S.-Russian Relations*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000).

“Far East Challenges to Russian Federalism: Myths and Realities,” in Sherman Garnett, *Rapprochement or Rivalry? Russian-Chinese Relations in a Changing Asia*, (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), pp. 313-346.

“The Power of Putin,” *Current History* (October 2000), pp. 307-314.

“Russian Democracy: A U.S. National Security Interest,” (with Sarah Mendelson) *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Summer 2000), pp. 330-353.

“Yeltsin's Legacy,” *The Wilson Quarterly* (Spring 2000), pp. 42-58.

“Russia's 1999 Parliamentary Elections: Party Consolidation and Fragmentation,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter 2000), pp. 5-23.

“Russia's Stalled Democracy,” Special Feature, *The World and I* (March 2000), pp. 16-29.

“Nobody Lost Russia,” *Blueprint* (Winter 2000), pp. 44-47.

“Russia Democracy: Still Not a Lost Cause,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter 2000), pp. 161-172.

“Getting Russia Right,” *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1999-2000), pp. 58-73.

“What Went Wrong in Russia? The Perils of a Protracted Transition,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (April 1999), pp. 4-18. Reprinted in Russian as “Opasnosti Zatyanyvshegosya Perekhodnogo Perioda,” *Pro et Contra*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 175-190.

“Institutional Design, Uncertainty, and Path Dependency during Transitions: Cases from Russia,” *Constitutional Political Economy*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March 1999), pp. 27-52.

“Reform during Revolution,” forward to Yegor Gaidar, *Days: Tragedies and Triumphs*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. ix-xix.

“The Political Economy of Social Policy Reform in Russia: Ideas, Institutions, and Interests,” in Marilyn

- Rueschemeyer, Mitchell Ornstein, and Linda Cook, eds., *Left Parties and Social Policy in Post-Communist Europe*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), pp. 207-234.
- “The Changing Function of Elections in Russian Politics,” (with Nikolai Petrov), in Anders Aslund and Martha Olcott, eds., *Russia After Communism*, (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999), pp. 27-60.
- “Russia’s Many Foreign Policies,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Summer 1999), pp. 393-412.
- “Foreign Policy in Russia after the Kosovo Crisis,” *Oxford International Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 15-25.
- “Russia's ‘Privatized’ State as an Impediment to Democratic Consolidation,” Part II, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 219-236.
- “Russia's ‘Privatized’ State as an Impediment to Democratic Consolidation,” Part I, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 25-33.
- “The Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy,” *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 5-35.
- “Russia's Choice: The Perils of Revolutionary Democracy,” in Timothy Colton and Jerry Hough, eds., *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Elections of 1993*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998), pp. 115-140.
- “Russia’s Summer of Discontent,” *Current History* (October 1998), pp. 307-312.
- “Refocusing American Policy towards Russia: Theory and Practice,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 326-346.
- “Russian Electoral Politics after Transition: Regional and National Assessments,” (with Nikolai Petrov), *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*, Vol. 38, No. 9 (November 1997), pp. 507-549.
- “Russia” in *Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties, 1995-1996* (New York: Transaction Book, 1997), pp. 14-25.
- “American Policy Towards Russia: Framework for Analysis and Guide to Action,” in *The United States and Russia into the 21st Century* (Carlisle, PA: United States Army War College, 1997), pp. 39-70.
- “Russian Economic Interest Groups: Winners and Losers in the Politics of Economic Reform,” in David Bernstein, ed., *Cooperative Business Ventures between U.S. Companies and Russian Defense Enterprises*, (Stanford, CA: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1997), pp. 219-234.
- “Russia's Rough Ride,” in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 64-94.
- “Democracy Unfolds in Russia,” *Current History*, Vol. 96, No. 612 (October 1997), pp. 319-325. Reprinted in Christian Soe, ed., *Comparative Politics 1998/99*, (Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 1998).
- “Russia: Transition without Consolidation,” *Freedom Review*, Vol. 28, No.1 (January 1997), pp. 38-57.
- “Russia's 1996 Presidential Elections,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, (October-December 1996), pp. 318-

350.

*Russia Between Elections: What the 1995 Parliamentary Elections Really Mean*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1996).

“The Allocation of Property Rights in Russia: The First Round,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 1-22.

“Russia Between Elections: The Vanishing Center,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7, No. 2, (April 1996), pp. 90-104.

“Revolutionary Transformations in Comparative Perspective: Defining a Post-Communist Research Agenda,” in David Holloway and Norman Naimark, eds., *Reexamining the Soviet Experience: Essays in Honor of Alexander Dallin*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 167-196.

“State Power, Institutional Change, and the Politics of Privatization in Russia,” *World Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 2, (January 1995), pp. 210-243. Reprinted in Vincent Wright and Luisa Perrotti, eds. *Privatization and Public Policy*, (London: Edward Elgar, 2000).

“Revolutionary Ideas, State Interests, and Russian Foreign Policy,” in Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., *Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 27-52.

“Rossiiskii Elektorat v 1993: Motivatsiya Vybora,” [Russian Electorate in 1993: Electoral Motivations], (with Vladimir Bokser and Vasili Ostashev) in *Analiz Elektorata Politicheskikh Sil Rossii*, (Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center, 1995), pp. 92-110.

“Demilitarization and Defense Conversion,” (with David Holloway) in Gail Lapidus, ed., *The New Russia*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 193-222.

“Russian Politics After Chechnya,” *Foreign Policy*, No. 99 (Summer 1995), pp. 149-165.

“Why Russia's Politics Matter,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (January/February 1995), pp. 87-99.

“Is Russian Democracy Doomed? Explaining the Vote,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (April 1994).

“Osmyslenie Parliamentskikh Vyborov 1993 g. v Rossii,” [Explaining the 1993 Parliamentary Elections in Russia], Part Two, *Polis*, Vol. 23, No. 6, (1994), pp. 179-185.

“Osmyslenie Parliamentskikh Vyborov 1993 g. v Rossii,” [Explaining the 1993 Parliamentary Elections in Russia], Part One, *Polis*, Vol. 23, No. 5, (1994), pp. 124-139.

*Understanding Russia's 1993 Parliamentary Elections: Implications for American Foreign Policy*, Essays in Public Policy, (Palo Alto: Hoover Institution Press, 1994).

“Privatization at Four Enterprises,” in David Bernstein, ed., *Defense Industry Restructuring in Russia: Case Studies and Analysis*, (Stanford, CA: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1994), pp. 111-136.

“Impuls,” (with Elaine Naugle and Tova Perlmutter) and “The Machinostroenie Enterprise,” (with Jeffrey Lehrer and Tova Perlmutter) in Bernstein, ed., *Defense Industry Restructuring in Russia*, pp. 45-58 and pp. 59-78.

“Agency Problems in the Privatization of Large Enterprises in Russia,” in Michael McFaul and Tova

Perlmutter, eds., *Privatization, Conversion, and Enterprise Reform*, pp. 39-56.

“Russian Politics: The Calm Before the Storm?” *Current History*, Vol. 93, No. 585 (October 1994). Reprinted in Christian Soe, ed., *Comparative Politics 1995/96*, (New York: McGraw-Hill 1996).

“Russian Centrism and Revolutionary Transitions,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 4, (July-September 1993), pp. 196-222.

“Russia at the Crossroads: Democrats in Disarray,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (April 1993), pp. 17-29.

*Can the Russian Military-Industrial Complex Be Privatized?* (Stanford, CA: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1993), in English and Russian.

“Party Formation after Revolutionary Transitions: The Russian Case,” in Alexander Dallin, ed., *Political Parties in Russia*, (Berkeley, CA: International and Area Studies, 1993), pp. 7-28.

“The Dynamics of Change in Russia and the Former Soviet Union,” in Michael Klare and Daniel Thomas, eds., *World Security: Challenges for a New Century*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 63-84.

“A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era,” (with James M. Goldgeier), *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 467-491. Reprinted in Kay Knickrehm, ed., *Toward the 21st Century: A Reader in World Politics*, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1994).

“Thwarting the Specter of Russian Fascism,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Winter 1993), pp. 1-19.

“Russia's Emerging Political Parties,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 3, No. 1. (January 1992), pp. 25-40.

“Moscow's Drama: A View From Below,” *Freedom Review*, Vol. 22, No. 6 (November/December 1991).

“Social Democrats and Republicans Attempt to Merge,” *Report on the USSR*, (Munich) Vol. 3, No. 3 (January 21, 1991).

“The Demise of the World Revolutionary Process: Soviet-Angolan Relations Under Gorbachev,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (March 1990), pp. 165-189.

“Rethinking the 'Reagan Doctrine' in Angola,” *International Security*, Vol. 14 No. 3 (Winter 1989/90), pp. 99-135.

“Last Hurrah for the CPSU,” in *Report on the USSR*, Vol. 2, No. 30 (July 27, 1990).

#### **PUBLISHED WORKING PAPERS AND REPORTS:**

*Strategic Leadership: Framework for a 21st Century National Security*, with Anne-Marie Slaughter, Bruce Jentlesen, Ivo Daalder, Antony Blinken, Kurt Campbell, James O'Brien, Gale Smith, and James Steinberg, (Washington: Center for a New American Security, 2008).

*New Day, New Way: U.S. Foreign Assistance in the 21st Century*, multiple authors headed by Stephen Radelet and Gayle Smith, (Washington: Center for Global Development, 2008).

“Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?” with Frank Fukuyama, *Working Paper, Bridging the*



*Foreign Policy Divide*, (Stanley Foundation, June 2007).

*Democracy Promotion and American National Interests* (Washington: New American Foundation, September 2005).

*Comparing Democratic Breakthroughs in Mexico and Serbia: Lessons Learned*, (Washington: National Endowment of Democracy, 2005).

*Beyond Incrementalism: A New U.S. Strategy for Dealing with Iran*, with Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond, (Hoover: Hoover Institution Press, May 2005).

“The Second Wave of Democratic Breakthroughs in the Post-Communist World: Comparing Serbia 2000, Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004, and Kyrgyzstan 2005,” *Danyliw/Jazyck Working Papers*, No. 4. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2005).

*American Interests and UN Reform: Report of the Task Force on the United Nations*, with several other task forces members, (Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2005).

*On the Brink: Weak States and US National Security*, with several other commissioners, (Washington: Center for Global Development, 2004).

*Democracy and Human Development in the Broader Middle East: A Transatlantic Strategy for Partnership*, with several others, Istanbul Papers No. 1 (Washington: German Marshall Fund and Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation, June 2004).

*Re-engaging Russia and Russians: New Agenda for American Foreign Policy*, (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2004).

*Breakthrough or Breakdown? The Future of Democracy in Ukraine*, (Washington: National Endowment of Democracy, 2003) 80 pages.

“Communist Opposition Becalmed: The KPRF and the Election of 1999,” (Washington: National Council for East European and Eurasian Research, December 2002).

*Generational Change in Russia*, CSIS Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, Working Paper No. 21 (October 2002), pp. 1-17.

*Are Russians Undemocratic?* with Timothy Colton, Working Papers, No. 20 (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001).

“The United States and Russia: Partners or Competitors?” *Policy Bulletin*, The Stanley Foundation, October 2001.

*Party Formation and Non-Formation in Russia*, Working Papers, No. 12 (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2000) pp. 1-31.

“Russian Reforms Under Siege,” in Dick Clark, ed., *U.S. Relations with the Successor States of the former Soviet Union*, (Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 1998) pp. 5-12.

*Uncertainty, Institutional Design and Path Dependency during Transitions: Cases from Russia*, Working Paper, No. 7, (Harvard University, Davis Center for Russian Studies, 1998), pp. 1-29.

*When Capitalism and Democracy Collide in Transition*, Working Paper, No. 1, (Harvard University, Davis Center for Russian Studies, 1997), pp. 1-37.

“The Domestic Politics of NATO Expansion in Russia: Implication for American Foreign Policy,” in Coit Blacker, Ashton Carter, Warren Christopher, David Hamburg, William Perry, *NATO After Madrid: Looking to the Future*, (Stanford, CA: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1997).

*The December 1995 Parliamentary Elections in the Russian Federation: Pre-Election Report*, (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute, December 1, 1995), 70 pages.

*The Causes and Consequences for the 'End of Market Romanticism' in Russia: Towards a Political Economy of Russia's Transition*, Working Paper, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1994).

*Industrial Demilitarization, Privatization, Economic Reform, and Investment in Russia*, (with David Bernstein) working paper, (Stanford, CA: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1993).

*NDI Pre-Election Report: The December 1993 Elections in the Russian Federation*, (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute, November 23, 1993). 55 pages.

*All Power to the Soviets? An Assessment of Local Government in the Soviet Union*, (Washington, D.C.: National Democratic Institute, Spring 1991).

Contributor to collectively authored report edited by John Harvey and Uziel Rubin, *Ballistic Missile Proliferation in the Developing World*, (Stanford: Center for International Security and Arms Control, 1991).

Co-author, *U.S.-Soviet Cooperation in Space*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, OTA-TM-STI-27, July 1985).

## **TESTIMONIES:**

“Exposing and Demanding Accountability for Kremlin Crimes Abroad,” U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, July 7, 2020.

“Putin’s Playbook: The Kremlin’s Use of Oligarchs, Money and Intelligence in 2016 and Beyond,” U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, March 28, 2019.

“Russian Sanctions: Current Effectiveness and Potential Next Steps,” U.S. Senate Banking Committee, September 6, 2018.

“U.S. Policy Towards Putin’s Russia,” U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, June 14, 2016.

“U.S.-Russia Relations in the Aftermath of the Georgia Crisis,” U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, September 9, 2008.

“Russia: Rebuilding the Iron Curtain,” U.S. House Committee on Foreign Relations, May 17, 2007.

“U.S. Policy on Human Rights in Russia,” U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, February 1, 2006.

“Russia’s Transition to Democracy and U.S.-Russia Relations: Unfinished Business,” U.S. House Committee on International Relations, September 30, 2003.

“U.S.-Russian Relations after September 11<sup>th</sup>,” Subcommittee on Europe, U.S. House Committee on International Relations, February 27, 2002. Published in Russian on *strana.ru*.

“Russia After the 2000 Presidential Election,” U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 12, 2000.

“What Are Russian Foreign Policy Objectives?” U.S. House Committee on International Relations, May 12, 1999.

“Russia's Bumpy Road to Democracy,” U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, July 10, 1996.

#### **ESSAYS/BOOK REVIEWS/OPINION PIECES:**

“Why Trump’s complacency about Putin is a problem – whatever his motives,” *The Washington Post*, August 4, 2020.

“Trump would do anything for Putin. No wonder he’s ignoring the Russian bounties,” *The Washington Post*, July 1, 2020.

“The U.S. is losing ground in the global effort to promote democratic ideals,” *The Washington Post*, June 4, 2020

“The pandemic shows that Putin is not a strong leader,” *The Washington Post*, May 20, 2020.

“We need to start preparing for the November election — now,” *The Washington Post*, April 15, 2020.

“It’s imperative for the U.S. and China to work together on the coronavirus pandemic,” *The Washington Post*, March 26, 2020.

“Thanks for defending democracy, Mike Pompeo. So when will Trump change his policies?” *The Washington Post*, February 21, 2020.

“Chinese Dreams, Russian Realities,” (with Kathryn Stoner) *The Moscow Times*, January 23, 2020.

“Be prepared to fight a dangerous new wave of disinformation during the Senate trial,” *The Washington Post*, January 13, 2020.

“The Minimal Value of Trump’s ‘Maximum Pressure’ on Iran,” (with Abbas Milani) *The New York Review of Books*, January 8, 2020.

“Here’s how Russia will attack the 2020 election. We’re still not ready,” (with Alex Stamos and Renee DiResta) *The Washington Post*, November 15, 2019.

“The Deeply Dedicated State,” *The New York Review of Books*, October 31, 2019.

“Alexander Vindman should be celebrated, not smeared,” *The Washington Post*, October 30, 2019.

“The Trump-Ukraine scandal proves we need to clean up U.S. diplomacy,” *The Washington Post*, October 18, 2019.

“Here’s what a presidential phone call with a foreign leader looks like in a normal White House,” *The Washington Post*, September 30, 2019.

“How Vladimir Putin is outplaying the U.S. in Africa,” (with Grant Harris) *The Washington Post*, September 17, 2019.

“In foreign policy, Trump gets points for creativity. Results, not so much,” *The Washington Post*, September 10, 2019.

“A high-level Senate report confirms it: Our elections still aren’t safe,” *The Washington Post*, July 30, 2019.

“China is winning the ideological battle with the U.S.” *The Washington Post*, July 23, 2019.

“Trump needs to stop siding with our adversaries against other Americans,” *The Washington Post*, May 28, 2019.

“Europe’s Glorious Years of Peace and Prosperity,” *The New York Times*, May 4, 2019.

“Russia attacked us. The Mueller report still doesn’t give us the full story,” *The Washington Post*, April 19, 2019.

“It’s time to secure the 2020 election,” *The Washington Post*, March 26, 2019.

“Trump’s denuclearization strategies for Iran and North Korea are totally opposite. Why?,” *The Washington Post*, March 1, 2019.

“Sorry, but Trump is not ‘Tough’ on Russia,” *The Washington Post*, January 16, 2019.

“Why Vladimir Putin is a Terrible Strategist,” *The Washington Post*, December 17, 2018.

“Iran Must Free Farhad Meysami,” (with Larry Diamond and Frank Fukuyama) *The Washington Post*, December 17, 2018.

“A Cold War with China is a Choice, Not a Destiny,” *Medium*, November 28, 2018.

“Trump Is Pulling Out of One of the Most Successful Arms-Control Treaties Ever,” *The Washington Post*, October 25, 2018.

“Enabling Autocrats is Not the U.S. National Interest,” *Medium*, October 23, 2018.

“Want Americans to Vote? Give Them the Day Off,” (with Adam Bonica) *The Washington Post*, October 10, 2018.

“Time to Start Preparing the Next Round of Sanctions Against Russia,” *The Washington Post*, September 28, 2018.

“Putin Wanted to Interrogate Me. Trump Called it ‘an Incredible Offer.’ Why?” *The Washington Post*, July 27, 2018.

“The U.S. Needs a Russia Strategy Now More Than Ever,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 18, 2018.

“The Trump-Putin Summit in Helsinki was a Historic Event – in the Worst Possible Way,” *The Washington*

*Post*, July 17, 2018.

“I’ve Been in Meetings with Putin. Here’s What Trump Can Expect,” *The Washington Post*, July 15, 2018.

“What’s it Like to Meet Putin Face to Face?” *Medium*, July 13, 2018.

“Why Trump’s Personalized Approach to Diplomacy is Bad for America,” *The Washington Post*, June 28, 2018.

“Why Trump’s Plans for Regime Change in Iran will Have the Opposite Effect,” *The Washington Post*, May 30, 2018.

“Putin Needed an American Enemy. He Picked Me,” *The Washington Post*, May 11, 2018.

“The Cold War is Over, but There’s ‘Hot Peace’ between the U.S. and Russia,” *The Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2018.

“Ukraine’s Democracy is Approaching ‘Make or Break’ – and the West is Missing in Action,” *The Washington Post*, May 1, 2018.

“The North Korea Talks Haven’t Even Started Yet, and Trump is Already in Trouble,” *The Washington Post*, March 13, 2018.

“Remembering a Russian Champion of Freedom,” *The Washington Post*, February 27, 2018

“The Right Way to Manage Nuclear Competition with Russia,” *The Washington Post*, February 5, 2018.

“Why Ignoring Trump’s Words is a Luxury that Diplomats Can’t Afford,” *The Washington Post*, January 19, 2018.

“Putin is to blame for the tragedy of Russia’s Olympics ban,” *The Washington Post*, December 7, 2017

“Welcome to Stanford, Ambassador Antonov!” *The Echo of Moscow*. December 5, 2017. (In Russian)

“China has Arrived. That doesn’t mean it should dismiss the United States,” *The Washington Post*, November 17, 2017.

“For the Good of America, Trump Needs to Learn the Art of Diplomacy,” *The Washington Post*, November 6, 2017.

“Enough is Enough: How to Stop Russia’s Cyber Interference,” *The Washington Post*, September 28, 2017.

“Cold War Lessons in Coercive Diplomacy for Dealing with North Korea Today,” *Medium*, August 16, 2017.

“Trump’s Weakness Against Putin is on Display – Again,” *The Washington Post*, August 11, 2017.

“Why Deciding to ‘Move Forward’ with Putin is a Big Mistake,” *The Washington Post*, July 10, 2017.

“What Trump Needs to Read Before Meeting Putin,” *The Washington Post*, July 3, 2017.

“Trump has Given Putin the Best Gift he Could ask for,” *The Washington Post*, May 17, 2017.

“Is Trump Learning – or Add-Libbing – on Foreign Policy?” *The Washington Post*, April 28, 2017.

“The Real Winner of the House Intelligence Committee Hearing on Russia,” *The Washington Post*, March 23, 2017.

“Putin Needs to Act Decisively and Right Now,” *The Echo of Moscow*, February 10, 2017. (In Russian)

“We can’t let Trump go down Putin’s path,” *The Washington Post*, February 6, 2017.

A 'City on a Hill' as a Fortress in a Moat: The Notion that One Form of Prejudice Can Defeat Another is an Illusion, (With Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond) *The Atlantic*, February 3, 2017

“Steve Bannon: our new Dugin at the White House,” *The Echo of Moscow*, February 2, 2017. (In Russian)

“Dear Trump: Defending Democracy is No Vice,” *The Washington Post*, January 17, 2017.

“How Trump Can Play Nice with Russia, Without Selling Out America,” *Foreign Policy*, January 6, 2017.

“America Needs to Play both the Short and Long Game in Cybersecurity,” *The Washington Post*, December 19, 2016.

“Let’s Get the Facts Right on Foreign Involvement in Our Elections,” *The Washington Post*, December 10, 2016.

“Shaping and Constraining the Next Administration’s Foreign Policy Agenda,” *Medium*, December 8, 2016

“Our Allies are Afraid. Here’s How Trump Can Reassure Them,” *The Washington Post*, November 17, 2016.

“Trump is Right: The United States Needs Electoral Reform,” *The Washington Post*, October 31, 2016.

“Donald Trump and Ronald Reagan Could Not be More Different on Foreign Policy,” *The Washington Post*, September 23, 2016.

“Why Putin Wants a Trump Victory (So Much He Might Even be Trying to Help Him),” *The Washington Post*, August 17, 2016.

“How to Counter the Putin Playbook,” *The New York Times*, July 30, 2016.

“Mr. Trump, NATO is an Alliance, Not a Protection Racket,” *The Washington Post*, July 25, 2016.

“How Brexit is a Win for Putin,” *The Washington Post*, June 25, 2016.

“How to Rescue Egypt,” (with Amr Hamzawy), *The Washington Post*, January 28, 2016.

“Can America and Russia Cooperate in Syria?” *The Moscow Times*, January 6, 2016.

“Where the 2016 Republicans Split from Ronald Reagan,” *The Wall Street Journal*, December 17, 2015.

“The Myth of Putin’s Strategic Genius,” *New York Times*, October 23, 2015.

“What the Iran-Deal Debate Is Like in Iran,” (with Abbas Milani), *The Atlantic*, August 11, 2015.

“Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis: Moscow’s Choice,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2014), pp. 167-171.

“To Beat Putin, Support Ukraine,” *New York Times*, August 6, 2014.

“Putin, the (Not So) Great,” *Politico*, August 4, 2014.

“Confronting Putin’s Russia,” *New York Times*, March 23, 2014.

“Debating Obama’s Weakness Only Makes Our Entire Country Weak,” *Time*, March 19, 2014.

“What Reagan and Shultz Can Teach Us About Talking to Iran,” *Democracy Arsenal*, July 7, 2008.

“A Helsinki Process for the Middle East,” *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, No. 8 (Spring 2008), pp. 19-21.

“Medvedev Should Move Beyond Autocracy,” (with Kathryn Stoner-Weiss), *Energy Tribune*, February 2008, pp. 22-24.

“The Right Way to Engage Iran,” (with Abbas Milani), *The Washington Post*, December 29, 2007.

“The Legend and Myth of Putin,” *New Times*, No. 46, December 2007.

“Time Names Putin ‘Person of the Year,’ But Has He Really Saved Russia?” (with Kathryn Stoner-Weiss), *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 26, 2007.

“Putin? Really? Time Magazine Gives Vladimir Putin Way Too Much Credit for Russia’s Economic Recovery,” *Slate*, December 26, 2007.

“The Myth of Putin’s Success,” (with Kathryn Stoner-Weiss), *International Herald Tribune*, December 13, 2007.

“Small Democratic Step,” *The Moscow Times*, December 13, 2007.

“Putin’s Plan,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2007.

“New Russia, New Threat,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 2007.

“Decoding Messages in Maine,” [On U.S.-Russian relations], *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 2007.

“Are New Democracies War-Prone?” (Review of *Electing to Fight: Why Democracies Got to War?* 2005), *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (April 2007), pp. 160-167.

“Nukes, Democracy, and Iran: A Third Way,” (with Abbas Milani), *Boston Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (May/June 2007), pp. 15-18.

“Iran’s Weakened Hardliners Crave US Attack,” (with Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond), *Christian Science Monitor*, February 7, 2007.

Review of *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in a Post-Soviet World*, by Andrew Wilson, *Slavic Review*, Spring 2007, pp. 167-168.

“After the Fall [of the USSR],” *Washington Post*, December 24, 2006.

“Why a Democratic Russia Should Join NATO,” (with Leonid Gozman), *Carnegie Endowment Web Commentary*, July 13, 2006.

“The U.S. and Egypt: Giving Up on the Liberty Doctrine,” (with Amr Hamzawy), *International Herald Tribune*, July 3, 2006.

“Inside Iran’s Fractured Regime,” (with Abbas Milani), *Washington Post*, June 25, 2006.

“Venikom po Sovky,” *Moskovskii Komsomelts*, June 1, 2006.

“End of Partnership,” *Kommersant*, May 11, 2006.

“Russia’s No Democracy. So What?” (with James Goldgeier), *Washington Post*, April 9, 2006.

“Ukraine’s Victors,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 29, 2006.

“Ukraine’s Democracy Has a Lot of Life, Yet,” *The National Post*, March 24, 2006.

“After-Orange Ukraine,” *Kommersant*, March 13, 2006.

“A Checking Account for Democracy,” [Iran], (with Abbas Milani), *Wall Street Journal*, March 6, 2006.

“Putin on the Ritz,” (review of Peter Baker and Susan Glasser’s *Kremlin Rising*), *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 11, No. 23 (February 27, 2006), pp. 33-34.

“Vladimir the Terrible” (review of Anna Politkovskaya’s *Putin’s Russia*), *Washington Post*, February 14, 2006.

“Gas Wars,” *The Hoover Digest*, No. 1, 2006.

“To Tame Tehran,” (with Abbas Milani), *Washington Post*, January 28, 2006.

“What’s a Corrupt Election among Friends?” (piece on Azerbaijan), with Chingiz Mammadov, *Los Angeles Times*, October 23, 2005.

“Political Charades,” (review of Andrew Wilson’s *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post Soviet World*), *Moscow Times*, September 30-October 6, 2005.

“The False Promise of Autocratic Stability,” *The Hoover Digest*, No. 4, 2005.

“Should the United States Pressure President Putin on Political and Legal Rights in Russia?” *The CQ Researcher*, June 17, 2005, p. 557.

“Cracks in the Land of the Ayatollahs,” (with Abbas Milani), *International Herald Tribune*, June 17, 2005.

“Its OK to Scold the Backslider,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 2005.

“Studying Islam, Strengthening the Nation,” (with Peter Berkowitz), *Washington Post*, April 12, 2004.

“Was Bush Right about the War?” (with Amr Hamzawy), *San Jose Mercury News*, March 20, 2005.

“Putin’s Authoritarian Soul: The First Test of Bush’s Liberty Doctrine,” (with James Goldgeier), *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 10. , No. 22, February 28, 2005, pp. 14-16.



“Finding Russia’s True Friends and Foes,” *Moscow Times*, February 18, 2005.

“Reporters Paved Way for a Freer Ukraine,” (with Nadia Diuk), *San Jose Mercury News*, December 26, 2004.

“Meddling in Ukraine: Democracy Is Not an American Plot,” *Washington Post*, December 21, 2004.

“Putin Gambles Big and Loses: He needs a new Ukraine policy; we need a new Russia policy,” *The Weekly Standard*, December 13, 2004, pp. 10-12.

“Persian Dilemmas: The discouraging lessons of U.S. Iranian relations,” *Slate*, December 2, 2004.

“How U.S. Should Take on Iran,” (with Abbas Milani), *San Jose Mercury News*, November 28, 2004.

“Moscow and Washington Need a Mega Project,” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, November 2, 2004.

“A Washington Perspective,” (on the Ukrainian Elections), *Moscow Times*, October 29, 2004.

“Engaging Russia,” *International Herald Tribune*, October 22, 2004.

“Ukraina—pered dolenosim vyborom,” (with John Didiuk), *Svoboda*, October 15, 2004.

“Ukraine’s Election Is Pivotal,” *Ukrainian Weekly*, October 10, 2004.

“Russia’s democracy falters; Bush watches,” *Akron Beacon Journal*, October 1, 2004.

“State of Siege: Putin’s Strong Hand Is Failing Russia,” *Washington Post* (Outlook Section), September 12, 2004.

“The Putin Paradox,” *Center for American Progress Website*, June 24, 2004.

“Veering from Reagan,” *Washington Post*, June 18, 2004.

“Reagan’s Unfinished Agenda: Democracy Still Has a Way to Go in Russia,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 2004.

“Russian Democracy Protects U.S. National Interests,” *Eurasia Outlook*, No. 12 (2004), pp. 5-7.

“A Joint Plan to Help the Greater Middle East,” (with Urban Ahlin, Ronald Asmus, Steven Everts, Jana Hybaskova, Mark Leonard, and Michael Mertes), *International Herald Tribune*, March 15, 2004. Reprinted in several European and Asian newspapers.

Review of Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders by George Breslauer, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 63, No.1 (Spring 2004), pp. 2000-2001.

“Russia’s Glass Is Half Full and Leaking,” *RFE/RL Political Weekly*, March 15, 2004

“Little to Show from Putin,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 2004.

“Let’s Get Serious About Democracy in the Greater Middle East,” (with Ronald Asmus), *PPI Front and Center*, March 9, 2004.

“Solidarity with Iran,” (with Abbas Milani), *Wall Street Journal*, February 23, 2004. An extended version of this article appears in *Hoover Digest*, No. 2 (2004) pp. 59-69.

“Alyans ne vyzhil,” *Moskovskie Novosti*, February 17, 2004.

“Stable and Stagnant Relations,” *Moscow Times*, February 11, 2004.

“Reconsidering Our Foreign Policy: America’s second Change in Iraq,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 21, 2003.

“Doom and Duma? Why the nationalists surged in the Russian election,” *Slate*, December 16, 2003.

“Russian Elections Show Resurgence of Nationalism,” *San Jose Mercury News*, December 12, 2003.

“The Dangers of ‘Managed Democracy’,” *RFE/RL Russian Political Report*, December 11, 2003.

“Manageable Nationalists?” *Moscow Times*, December 8, 2003.

“Putin’s Project Almost Completed,” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, December 8, 2003.

“Shine to the Light of Liberty in Russia as Well,” *Hoover Weekly Essay*, November 24, 2003, republished in *National Review* and *The New Republic*.

“Vladimir Putin’s Grand Strategy ... for anti-democratic regime change in Russia,” *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 9, Issue 10 (November 17, 2003).

“Turtle Bay Tango,” [United Nations reform] *Wall Street Journal*, October 14, 2003.

“Rushing Elections Will Only Hurt Iraq,” (with Larry Diamond), *San Jose Mercury News*, September 28, 2003.

“New Russia’ Ailing; Stand Up, Mr. Bush,” (with James Goldgeier), *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 2003.

“No Time to Stay the Course,” *Washington Post*, August 24, 2003.

“A Blurred Vision,” [U.S. policy towards Iran] (with Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond), *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 2003.

“The Real Putin,” *Wall Street Journal* (Europe), July 9, 2003.

“How to Look Credible in Promoting Liberty,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 16, 2003.

“Camps of Terror, Often Overlooked,” [review of Anne Applebaum’s *Gulag: A History*], *New York Times*, June 11, 2003.

“Democracy as a New International Norm?” Hoover Weekly Essay, published in June 2003 issues of *The National Review*, *The New Republic*, and *The Weekly Standard*.

“Budet li vtoroi medovyi mesyats?” [Will There Be A Second Honeymoon?] *Stolichnaya Vechernaya Gazeta*, May 21, 2003.

“How to Reinvigorate the Relationship,” *Moscow Times*, May 26, 2003.

“Staying Power,” (re: democracy in Iraq), *San Jose Mercury News*, April 20, 2002.

“Between Restoration and Revolution in Iraq,” *Washington Post*, April 16, 2003.

“Reshaping the Middle East: Winning a Lasting Peace in Iraq Will Take More than Tanks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 23, 2003.

“U.S. Ignores Putin's Assault on Rights,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 2003.

“Bush’s Turn,” *San Jose Mercury News*, January 19, 2003.

“An Alliance That Really Works,” *New York Times*, November 24, 2002.

“A Reshaped Role for the U.N.,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 2002.

“We Need a Plan for Iran If We Topple Interlinked Iraq,” *Contra Costa Times*, October 6, 2002. Also published as a Hoover Essay called “What about Iran?” in *The Weekly Standard* and *The New Republic*.

“A New, More Flexible George W. Bush?” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 29, 2002.

“Unfinished Business in Europe,” *Washington Post*, September 22, 2002.

“Change the Focus on Iraq,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 16, 2002.

“Keep Pressing Putin,” (with James Goldgeier), *Christian Science Monitor*, May 29, 2002.

“United States/Russia: Landmark Summit,” *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, May 23, 2002.

“Taking the Russia Summit a Step Further,” *New York Times*, May 20, 2002.

“The Russian Graduate,” (re: Jackson-Vanik) *Washington Post*, May 10, 2002.

“The Other Half of the Job,” (re: rebuilding Afghanistan), *Washington Post*, February 2, 2002.

“Two Out of Three Is Not Good Enough,” (re: Russian reform), *Moscow Times*, January 28, 2002.

“Reconstructing Afghanistan?” book review of Akhmed Rashid’s *The Taliban*, and Larry Goodson’s *Afghanistan’s Endless War*, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 170-175.

“A Half-Democratic Russian Will Always Be a Half-Ally to the U.S.,” (with Nikolai Zlobin), *Obshchaya Gazeta*, No. 46, November 14-21, 2001. Republished in *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Fall 2001), pp. 476-481.

“United States and Russia: Revised Relations,” *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, November 12, 2001.

“Putin’s Risky Westward Turn,” *Christian Science Monitor*, November 9, 2001.

“Milestones of Russian Reform,” *The Washington Times*, November 8, 2001.

“The Moment of Truth for the Kremlin,” (with Nikolai Zlobin), *Obshchaya Gazeta*, No. 41, October 11-18, 2001.

“This is Russia's Chance to Become a Full Partner,” *San Jose Mercury News*, October 2, 2001.

“Putin’s Moment of Truth,” *The Weekly Standard*, October 1, 2001.

“Strike at the Root: Deploying our Full Arsenal,” (with Linda McGinnis), *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 30, 2001.

“To Fight the New ‘Ism’,” *Washington Post*, September 22, 2001.

“Thank You Russia,” *Vremya-Novosti*, September 17, 2001.

“Putinskie Svecunki,” *Moskovskii Komsomolets*, August 7, 2001.

“Bush’s Post-Cold War Vision,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 26, 2001.

“Russia’s 12 Myths About the U.S. Media,” *The Moscow Times*, July 13, 2001.

“Judge Putin by His Democratic Acts, Not His Talk,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 2001.

“West of East for Russia?” *The Washington Post*, June 9, 2001.

“Putin Shows His True Colors,” *The New Republic*, May 28, 2001, p. 13. Reprinted in *The Hoover Digest*, No. 3 (2001) pp. 139-141.

“A Step Backward on Nuclear Cooperation,” *New York Times*, April 11, 2001.

“Time for Putin to Take the Initiative,” *Moscow Times*, April 9, 2001. Reprinted in Russian on *Strana.ru*.

“The New Russia,” (review of Stephen Cohen’s *Failed Crusade*), *The Weekly Standard*, April 9, 2001, pp. 37-38.

“U.S. Must Speak Out for Russian Democracy,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 2001.

“Contradiction Is Good,” *strana.ru*, January 29, 2001.

“Moscow, Misreading Bush,” *Washington Post*, January 23, 2001.

“Get Real, Russia,” *Moscow Times*, January 18, 2001.

“Yeltsin and Family Return,” (review of Boris Yeltsin’s *Midnight Diaries*), *The New Leader*, November/December 2000, pp. 18-20.

“No Simple Truths about Russia,” *Washington Post*, September 30, 2000.

Review of *Elections and Voters in Post-communist Russia*, Matthew Wyman, Stephen White, and Sarah Oates, eds., *Slavic Review*, Vol. 60, N.1 (Spring 2001) pp. 191-192.

“Kremlin Man Fails the Test,” *Sunday Times* (London), August 27, 2000.

“Russian Rationalism, At Home and Abroad,” *Wall Street Journal Europe*, July 17, 2000. An extended version of this essay appeared as “The Putin Paradox,” *Hoover Digest*, No. 4 (2000), pp. 151-155.

“Indifferent to Democracy,” *Washington Post*, March 3, 2000. Reprinted in *International Herald Tribune*, *Newsday*, *Moscow Times*, and *Obshchaya Gazeta*.

“With Yeltsin Gone, Putin Seems Destined to Be Next President,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 2000.

“Scoring Russia’s Duma Vote: State 2, Society 1, *Parliamentary Elections Bulletin*, No. 4 (January 2000).

“Parliamentary Parties and Presidential Coalitions,” *Parliamentary Elections Bulletin*, No. 3 (December 1999).

“Ulterior Motives in Chechnya,” *The Weekly Standard*, December 13, 1999.

“Who Won Russia,” Policy Memo No. 88 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, December 1999).

“War Protesters Scarce,” *Moscow Times*, October 26, 1999.

“Despite All the Bad News, Democracy Marches On,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1999. Abridged version reprinted in the *International Herald Tribune*, October 14, 1999.

“Russia’s Revolution Is Not Over,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 20, 1999.

“Tak Kto Zhe Poteryl Rossiyu,” [Who Lost Russia?] *Vek*, September 17-23, 1999.

“Russia's Political Forces Realign,” *Wall Street Journal* (European Edition), August 26, 1999.

“Russia’s Pyhrric ‘Pristina Victory’,” *Wall Street Journal* (European Edition), June 17, 1999. Reprinted as “Kosovo Joyride,” *The Hoover Digest*, No. 4 (Fall 1999), pp. 102-107.

“Poslednii Rubikon,” *Itogi*, June 15, 1999.

“Balkan Conflict Turns Russia into Vocal Defender of the U.N.,” *The Changing United Nations*, May-June 1999.

“With Foes Like Communists, How Can Yeltsin Ever Lose?” *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1999, p. M2.

“Time to Follow the Law,” *Moscow Times*, May 15, 1999.

“Dazhe prezidenty dolzhny igrat’ po pravilam,” [Even the President Must Play by the Rules] *Vek*, May 21-27, 1999, p. 5.

“Russia’s PR Coup,” *Washington Post*, May 8, 1999.

“Don’t Look to Russia for Help on Kosovo,” *New York Times*, April 8, 1999, p. A27. Reprinted as “Now Is Hardly the Time to Play the Russia Card,” *International Herald Tribune*, April 9, 1999, p. 7.

“NATO’s Collateral Damage in Russia,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 5, 1999, p. 9.

“Russia: Indispensable Thorn in U.S. Side,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 1999, pp. M1 & 6.

“Voinstvennyi liberal’nyi romantik,” [Aggressive Liberal Romantic] *Itogi*, March 30, 1999, pp. 14-15.

“The Demon Within,” *Moscow Times*, March 2, 1999.

“O chem sebe dumayut v Vashington,” [What Do They Think about Us in Washington], *Vek*, March 19-25, 1999, p. 1.

“Kosova Intervention by U.S. Will Be a Hard Sell,” *Illyria*, February 26-March 3, 1999, p. 7.

“The Case for American Engagement with Russia,” Policy Memo No. 62 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, December 1998).

“Rano stavit’ krest na Rossii,” [It’s Too Early to Place a Cross over Russia] *Vek*, No. 40, October 9-15, 1998, p. 1.

“A Flawed Pragmatism,” (with Jim Goldgeier), *Moscow Times*, October 10, 1998.

“A Russia Still Redeemable,” *Washington Post*, September 21, 1998. Reprinted as “Into the Trenches to Help a Redeemable Russia,” *International Herald Tribune*, September 22, 1998; and “West’s Aid to Russia Needs to Continue, but Change,” *St. Petersburg Times*, September 25, 1998.

“Is This the Last Red Duma?” *Moscow Times*, September 10, 1998.

“Forget about Monica, It’s Moscow and the Stakes are Global,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1998. Reprinted as “U.S.-Russia Summit: Clinton’s Big Chance,” *International Herald Tribune*, August 20, 1998.

“Russia Needs Real Reform, Not Higher Taxes,” *New York Times*, August 4, 1998.

“Clinton’s Moscow Mission,” *PONARS Policy Memo*, No. 30 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, August 1998).

“The Rebirth of Russian Studies,” (review of Michael Urban, Vyacheslav Igrunov, and Sergei Mitrokhin, *The Rebirth of Russian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), *American Sociological Review*, Summer 1998.

“China Is No Russia,” *New York Times*, May 26, 1998.

“Russia: The Sky Has Not Fallen,” *Washington Post*, May 19, 1998, p. A21.

“Perils of Yeltsin’s Passion,” *Moscow Times*, April 2, 1998.

“Theorizing about Post-Communist Transitions,” book review of Klaus von Beyme, *Transitions to Democracy in Eastern Europe*, (1996), in *Slavic Review*, Winter 1998.

“Is Yeltsin Irreplaceable?” *Analysis of Current Events*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 1998), pp. 5 & 11.

“Life after Yeltsin,” *Moscow Times*, December 22, 1997.

“Perils of Analogizing History,” *St. Petersburg Times*, December 8-14, 1997.

“The Myth of Absolute Power,” *Moscow Times*, November 21, 1997. Reprinted as “The Myth of Russian Dictatorship,” in *Hoover Digest*, No. 2 (1998), pp. 124-126.

“Skewed NATO Debate,” *Moscow Times*, October 22, 1997.

“Russia: The Elections of '96,” *Hoover Digest*, No. 4 (1997), pp. 65-72.

“Russian Regional Elections: Presidential Primaries?” *Analysis of Current Events*, Vol. 9, No. 9, (September 1997), pp. 1-3.

“Time Ripe for Yabloko,” *Moscow Times*, September 22, 1997.

“Gefar von rechts,” *Die Zeit*, August 1, 1997.

“New Kind of Candidate,” (with Sergei Markov), *Moscow Times*, July 23, 1997.

“Russia's Ominous Void,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1997.

“Lebed: the Next Hope?” *Moscow Times*, February 27, 1997.

“Revolutionary Thinker or Good Loser?” (review of Mikhail Gorbachev's *Memoirs*), *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 2, 1996.

“Clinton's Foreign Policy: The Second Term,” *Moscow Times*, October 26, 1996.

“Politicheskii Razklad v Rossii Izmenilsya,” [The Political Spectrum in Russia Has Changed], *Kapital*, October 2-8, 1996.

“What Russian Crisis?” *New York Times*, October 1, 1996. Reprinted as “Pre-election Maneuvers for a Yeltsin Succession,” in *International Herald Tribune*, October 2, 1996; and “What Crisis?” in *Hoover Digest*, No. 1 (1997), pp. 78-80.

“Democracy's Triumph in Russia,” *NDI Reports*, Summer 1996.

“Yanks Brag, Press Bites,” *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 1, No. 43, July 22, 1996, pp. 14-16. Reprinted as “Scoop or Doop? American 'Heroes' in Moscow,” *The Moscow Times*, July 17, 1996.

“Russia: Still A Long Way to Go,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 1996.

“A Victory for Optimists,” *Moscow Times*, July 6, 1996.

With Vladimir Bokser and Vasilii Ostavshev, “Elektoraty priserov” [The Electorate of the Winners], *Prezidentskie Vybory v Rossii*, No. 9, (June 1996), pp. 5-8.

“Who Supported Lebed?” *The Moscow Times*, June 26, 1996. Reprinted in Russian as “Komu otdadut golosa storoniki Lebedya?” *Kapital*, June 26-July 2, 1996, p. 12.

With Vladimir Bokser and Vasilii Ostavshev, “Golosa -- oboim, strana --odnomu,” [Voices of Two, Country of One], *Itoги*, June 25, 1996, pp. 10-12.

“Has Yeltsin Lost Steam?” *Moscow Times*, June 15, 1996.

“Trevozhnoe leto 96-go,” [The Dangerous Summer of 1996], *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, May 13-17, 1996, p. 3. Reprinted in L.N. Dopkhotov, ed., *Ot Yeltsina k Yeltsinu: prezidentskaya gonka-96* (Moscow: Terra, 1997), pp. 472-475.

“Russia Between Elections: McFaul on Parties, Platforms, and Polarization,” *Russia Business Watch*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 1996), pp. 49-54.

“Is Yeltsin the Chechens' Biggest Hostage?” *Chicago Tribune*, January 25, 1996, p. 27.

“Balance in Russian Parliament Will Be the Same,” *Houston Chronicle*, December 22, 1995.

“A Communist Rout?” *New York Times*, December 20, 1995.

“U.S. Needs to Support Free and Fair Elections,” *The Plain Dealer*, December 18, 1995.

“Signal Our Support for Democracy,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1996.

“Like a Democracy,” *Washington Post*, July 11, 1995.

“A Win for Democracy,” *Moscow Times*, July 4, 1995.

“Barking Now, Biting Later (Russian Electoral Politics and Economic Reform),” *Business Russia*, The Economist Intelligence Unit, June 1995.

“Pochemu Rossiiskaya Politika Imeet Znachenie,” [Why Russian Politics Matters], *Doverie*, Nos. 15-16, 1995.

“Russia Aid: Not All or Nothing,” *Washington Times*, February 16, 1995.

“West Must Think Hard (about aid to Russia),” *Moscow Times*, January 28, 1995.

“One Man, One Vote, One Time?” *Moscow News*, No. 44, November 4-10, 1994.

“Who Should Be the Owners?” *Conversion*, No. 5, January 1995.

“Spektr Russkogo Fashizma,” [The Specter of Russian Fascism], *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, November 2, 1994.

“Nut ‘N’ Honey: Why Zhirinovskiy Can Win,” *The New Republic*, February 14, 1994.

“The Specter of Russian Fascism: Recommendations for U.S. Policy,” *Conversion*, No. 3, January 1994.

“Russia Vote Is Democracy for Real,” *Newsday*, December 3, 1993.

“SSSR i YuAR: Kak Mi Pokhozhi! [The USSR and South Africa: How Similar We Are!],” *Stolitsa* (Moscow), No. 34, 1991.

“Workers of the World Unite! Again? Socialist Politics in Post-Communist Russia,” *Work in Progress*, (Johannesburg, South Africa), No. 76, July/August 1991.

“1789, 1917 Can Guide '90s Soviets,” *San Jose Mercury News*, August 19, 1990.

“A Conversation with Yuri Skubco: Leader of the Democratic Union,” *The New Leader* (New York), Vol. LXXIII, No. 15, August 1990.

“The Beginning of the End for Gorbachev,” *The Times* (San Mateo, CA), July 27, 1990.