

**HENRY E. HALE**  
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**CURRENT POSITIONS**

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

*Principal Investigator and Co-Director*. Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia), since 2009 (co-director with Cory Welt 2012-16, 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**

*The Zelensky Effect* (London/Oxford: Hurst Publishers and Oxford University Press, November 2022).  
Co-author: Olga Onuch.

- Discussion:
  - *The Democracy Paradox* podcast, November 23, 2022, <https://democracyparadox.com/2022/12/20/olga-onuch-and-henry-hale-describe-the-zelensky-effect/> (released December 20, 2022) (Hale & Onuch)
  - *Intelligence Squared (UK)* live podcast, December 6, 2022, <https://intelligencesquared.com/events/the-zelensky-effect-with-dr-olga-onuch-and-henry-hale/> (Hale & Onuch)
  - ZOiS “Meet the Author” forum, ““There are 44 million Zelenskys,”” November 14, 2022, published December 6, 2022, <https://www.zois-berlin.de/en/publications/meet-the-author/there-are-44-millions-zelenskys> (Hale & Onuch)
  - *Times Radio*, live with Hugh Rifkind, December 10, 2022, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/radio/show/20221210-12757/2022-12-10> (~2:10:45) (Hale & Onuch)
  - *Fox LiveNOW* internet platform, with host Joshua Breslow, December 22, 2022, [https://corpfox-my.sharepoint.com/:v/g/personal/joshua\\_breslow\\_fox\\_com/EbqLk5V4mHxAuxFXdvqlz3QBUfqUb3pu8eF1JjM0rkVnAw](https://corpfox-my.sharepoint.com/:v/g/personal/joshua_breslow_fox_com/EbqLk5V4mHxAuxFXdvqlz3QBUfqUb3pu8eF1JjM0rkVnAw) (Hale only)
  - *The Guardian*, book discussed in Patrick Wintour, “The Revenge of History in Ukraine: Year of War Has Shaken Up World Order,” December 26, 2022, 05:00 EST, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/dec/26/ukraine-war-revenge-of-history-how-geopolitics-shaping-conflict>
- Reviews
  - Foreword Review, March-April 2023 (Rachel Jagareski)
  - TLS, November 11, 2022, <https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/volodymyr-zelensky-biographies-book-review-anna-reid/> (Anna Reid, “The improbable rise of Volodymyr Zelensky”)

*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.

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*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 editions: *Developments in Russian Politics 7 & 8* (Houndmills: Palgrave-Macmillan and Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014). 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.

**Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals**

"Foreign Support Does Not Mean Sway for Illiberal Nationalist Regimes: Putin Sympathy, Russian Influence, and Trump Foreign Policy in the Balkans," *Comparative European Politics*, Firstview September 22, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-022-00308-2>. Coauthors: Aleksandr Fisher and Ridvan Peshkopia.

"A 'Terrific Symbol': Physical Personalization of Pandemic Relief Enhances Presidential Support," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, First View, January 20, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096521001438>.

"Imperfect Measures of Dynamic Identities: The Changing Impact of Ethnolinguistic Characteristics on Political Attitudes in Ukraine," *Nations and Nationalism*, v.28, no.3, 2022, pp.841-860, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/nana.12782> (published online November 2, 2021). Second author, with first author Volodymyr Kulyk.

"Authoritarian Rallying as Reputational Cascade? Evidence from Putin's Popularity Surge after Crimea," *American Political Science Review*, v.116, no.2, May 2022, pp.580-94 (First View, September 27, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421001052>.

"Trump Sympathy in the Balkans: Cross-Border Populist Appeal," *Mediterranean Politics*, August 9, 2021, DOI:10.1080/13629395.2021.1956775. Coauthor: Ridvan Peshkopia.

"A New Wave of Research on Civilizational Politics," *Nationalities Papers*, January 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.83>. Coauthor: Marlene Laruelle.

"Aspirational Identity Politics and Support for Radical Reform: The Case of Post-Maidan Ukraine," *Comparative Politics*, v.53, no.4, July 2021, pp.713-51, <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041521X16007978024129>. Coauthor: Volodymyr Kulyk.

"Pandemic Politics in Eurasia: Roadmap for a New Research Subfield," *Problems of Post-Communism*, v.68, no.1, January 2021,

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<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10758216.2020.1812404>. One of 17 coauthors, lead author Marlene Laruelle.

“Rethinking ‘Civilizations’ from the Bottom Up: A Case Study of Russia and a Research Agenda,” *Nationalities Papers*, v.48, no.3, May 2020, pp.585-602, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/nationalities-papers/article/rethinking-civilizational-identity-from-the-bottom-up-a-case-study-of-russia-and-a-research-agenda/F5ADC00D938D1A061B8931919233F150>. Coauthor: Marlene Laruelle.

“Crimea Come What May: Do Economic Sanctions Backfire Politically?” *Journal of Peace Research*, v.57, no.2, March 2020, pp.344-359 [OnlineFirst edition published October 22, 2019, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022343319866879>]. Coauthor: Mikhail A. Alexseev.

“A Surprising Connection Between Civilizational Identity and Succession Expectations among Russian Elites,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.35, nos.5-6, 2019, pp.406-421, <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.

- Reviewed in *Science News*, April 12, 2022, 07:00, <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/ukraine-identity-nationalism-independence-putin-russia>, accessed November 16, 2022 (Sujata Gupta, “Ukrainian identity solidified for 30 years. Putin ignored the science”)

“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).

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- “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.
- “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.
  - Circulated earlier as a PONARS Eurasia Working Paper, March 2013.
- “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.

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“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 razvitiie patronazhnogo prezidentsva,” *Prognosis* [Moscow], v.2, no.10, 2007, pp.267-94. Available at [http://intelros.ru/pdf/prognosis2\\_07/Hevl.pdf](http://intelros.ru/pdf/prognosis2_07/Hevl.pdf).
- Reprinted in Taras Kuzio, ed., *Post-Communist Democratic Revolutions in Comparative Perspective* (Stuttgart and Hanover: ibidem-Verlag, 2007).

“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 leading 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.

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“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.

“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**

“Regionalism in Comparative Perspective: A Cardinal Breakthrough in the Study of Ethnicity, Secession, and Political Violence,” chapter in Amy Liu and Joel Selway, eds., *Regionalism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

“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.oopen.org/search?identifier=605858>, accessed August 28, 2016.

“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.oopen.org/search?identifier=605858>, accessed August 28, 2016.

“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.

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“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.

“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](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 Gabdrafikov.

“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.

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**Other Academic Publications and Working Papers**

“Don’t Call it a Cold War: Findings from the U.S.-Russian Relations Survey 2019,” Working Group Paper 10, July 2020, Working Group on the Future of U.S.-Russian Relations, Harvard University and Higher School of Economics (Moscow), <https://us-russiafuture.org/2020/07/27/dont-call-it-a-cold-war-findings-from-the-russian-american-relations-survey/>, accessed July 29, 2020. Coauthor: Olga Kamenchuk.

“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](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.

“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.

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**Op-Eds**

“The Zelenskyy Effect: How Ukraine’s ‘Ze’ Is Defeating Russia’s ‘Z’,” *The Toronto Star*, March 26, 2022, <https://www.thestar.com/opinion/contributors/2022/03/26/the-zelenskyy-effect-why-ukraines-ze-is-defeating-russias-z.html>. With lead author Olga Onuch.

“Russia may be about to invade Ukraine. Russians don’t want it to,” *The Washington Post*, The Monkey Cage blog, February 11, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/02/11/russia-may-be-about-invade-ukraine-russians-dont-want-it/>, accessed February 12, 2022. Coauthors: Ora John Reuter, Bryn Rosenfeld, David Szakonyi, Katerina Tertychnaya.

“Russia’s referendum could keep Vladimir Putin in power until 2036. What do high-ranking Russians think?” *The Washington Post*, The Monkey Cage blog, July 1, 2020, 4:18 p.m. GMT+3, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/01/russias-referendum-could-keep-vladimir-putin-power-until-2036-what-do-high-ranking-russians-think/>, accessed July 1, 2020. With lead author Sharon Werning Rivera.

“Will the Protesters Return? Civil Disobedience in the Time of COVID-19,” *Political Violence at a Glance* blog, May 26, 2020, <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2020/05/26/will-the-protesters-return-civil-disobedience-in-the-time-of-covid-19/>, accessed May 26, 2020. Lead author Olga Onuch, with Volodymyr Kulyk, Gwendolyn Sasse, and Felipe G. Santos.

“Ukraine’s citizens worry about covid-19. And they still have to worry about the war,” *The Washington Post*, The Monkey Cage blog, May 22, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/05/22/ukraines-citizens-worry-about-covid-19-they-still-have-worry-about-war/>, accessed May 25, 2020. Coauthors: Volodymyr Kulyk, Olga Onuch, Gwendolyn Sasse.

“Why are Republicans using Putin’s talking points? This study helps explain,” *The Washington Post*, The Monkey Cage blog, February 4, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/02/04/why-are-republicans-using-putins-talking-points-this-study-helps-explain/>, accessed February 4, 2020. Coauthor: Olga Kamenchuk.

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**HENRY E. HALE**  
**The George Washington University**

**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.  
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- *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](http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication_list.cfm?program=CORE&ln=series&series=6)).
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***Carnegie Forum / Carnegie Corporation of New York Website***

- “How Is Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Likely to Alter the Post-World War II International Order?” answer published on <https://www.carnegie.org/our-work/article/how-is-russias-invasion-of-ukraine-likely-to-alter-the-post-world-war-ii-international-order/>, May 25, 2022.
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- “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](http://www.carnegie.ru), December 2008.
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***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/](http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,4237/type,1/).

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

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

***PONARS Eurasia (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia)***  
([www.ponarseurasia.org](http://www.ponarseurasia.org))

- Editing all PONARS Eurasia policy memos (about 1 per week) starting September 2016.
- “How Conservative Are Russians? Findings from the 2021 LegitRuss Survey,” September 12, 2022, no. 793, [https://www.ponarseurasia.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/PePm793\\_Hale\\_Sept2022.pdf](https://www.ponarseurasia.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/PePm793_Hale_Sept2022.pdf), accessed September 12, 2022.
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(<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.
- “Breaking Up is Hard to Do: Why Russia Won’t Collapse Like the USSR,” November 1998, no.54.
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- “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)
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- “Putin Has Off-Ramps: Let’s Not Block Them,” <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/putin-has-off-ramps-lets-not-block-them/>, February 2, 2022. Coauthor: Adam C. Lenton.
- “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

***PONARS Eurasia Podcasts***

- On upcoming State Duma elections, June 21, 2021
- On Putin’s presidential term-limit reset, May 1, 2020, <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/ponars-eurasia-podcast/id1367678895>, accessed May 11, 2020

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***Other Commentary***

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**Russian-Language Articles and Book Chapters**

“Dizain sovetskogo etnofederalizma, ego posledstviia i dolgoe ekho” [The Design of Soviet Ethnofederalism: Its Consequences and Long Echo], in Kirill Rogov, ed., *Demontazh kommunistizma: Tritsdat’ let spustia* (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2021), pp.390-414.

“Opyt peredachi vlasti na postsovetskom 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](http://www.liberal.ru/upload/files/Tsar_gory.%20Ekspertiza.Vip.6.pdf)), accessed June 14, 2019.

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

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“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/Hey1.pdf](http://intelros.ru/pdf/prognosis2_07/Hey1.pdf). Translation of an English publication.

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“Administrativnyi Resurs i Ukreplenie Elektorotov v National’noi Respublike: Vybory Deputatov Gosudarstvennoi Dumi v Odnomandatnykh Izbiratel’nykh Okrugakh Bashkortostana v 1993 g.,” in Igor

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V. Kuchumov (ed.), *Bashkortostan v Politicheskome 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 Politicheskome 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 prisoedinenie Kryma ne privedo 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](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.

**Ukrainian-Language Commentary**

“Hromads’ka dumka pro radykal’ni reformy: pidtrymka ‘liberalamy’ ‘natsionalistychnykh’ zmin,” *Vox Ukraine*, February 24, 2021, <https://voxukraine.org/uk/gromadska-dumka-pro-radikalni-reformi-pidtrimka-liberalami-natsionalistichnih-zmin/>, accessed February 25, 2021. Coauthor: Volodymyr Kulyk.

**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.

**DISSERTATION**

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

**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.
- 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.

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- 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 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, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Summer 2004
- Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard, 1997-98
- Peace Scholarship, United States Institute of Peace, 1995-96

**TEACHING**

*George Washington University, 2005-* (specific titles of courses vary)

PhD/MA Level

- Theories of Ethnic Politics
- Comparative Post-Soviet Politics
- Advanced Theories of Comparative Politics
- Russian Politics in Comparative Perspective
- State-Building in Central Asia and Transcaucasia

Undergraduate Level

- New in 2023: Ukrainian Politics in Comparative Perspective
- Government and Politics of Russia
- Post-Soviet Politics
- Introduction to Russian and East European Studies
- Advanced Russian Politics in Comparative Perspective

*Indiana University, as Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2000-05*

PhD/MA Level

- “Comparative Politics: Approaches and Issues” (field seminar)
- “Post-Soviet Politics: Crossroads of Area Studies and Political Science”
- “Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism”
- “State-Building in Central Asia and Transcaucasia”

Undergraduate Level

- “Introduction to Comparative Politics”
- “The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism”
- “Russian Politics”
- “Democracy Russian Style”

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*Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, as Adjunct Assistant Professor of International Politics, 1997-98*

MA Level:

- “Comparative State-Building in Central Asia and the Caucasus”
- “Russian Foreign Policy”

<b>SERVICE</b>
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**Leadership in Political Science Field (Selected)**

- *Advisory Board Member*, Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2013-
- *Member*, Program Committee, Ukraine Section, Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2016-
- *Vice President* (elected position), APSA Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Section, 2017-19
- *Secretary* (elected position), APSA Comparative Democratization Section, 2010-12
- *Advocacy Committee Member*, Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, 2013-17
- *Inaugural Head*, Ethnicity & Nationalism Section, Midwest Political Science Association, 2006-07
- *Editorial Board Chair*, Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, 2012-
  - (*Executive Editor*, 2007-11)
- *Associate Editor*, Central Asian Affairs, 2014-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Nationalities Papers, 2018-
- *Member of Advisory Board*, Acta Slavica Iaponica, 2016-
- *Member of Advisory Board*, Regional & Federal Studies, 2018-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Issues of Political Science (Kharkiv, Karazin U.), 2020-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Problems of Post-Communism, 2017-
- *Member of Editorial Board*, Russian Politics (founded 2014-15), 2014-
- *Member of International Advisory Board*, Europe-Asia Studies, 2019-

**Professional Memberships**

American Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Association for the Study of Nationalities  
American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies  
Central Eurasian Studies Society  
American Association for Ukrainian Studies  
Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia)

**Other Professional Positions Held**

- *Director*. Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. 2009-2012.
- *Research Associate*. SDI Project, Harvard. September 1998 - August 2000.

<b>WORKING LANGUAGES</b>
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English (native), Russian, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Uzbek