

## Truth in Testimony Disclosure Form

In accordance with Rule XI, clause 2(g)(5)\*, of the *Rules of the House of Representatives*, witnesses are asked to disclose the following information. Please complete this form electronically by filling in the provided blanks.

Committee: Intelligence

Subcommittee: \_\_\_\_\_

Hearing Date: March 28, 2019

Hearing Title :

"Putin's Playbook: The Kremlin's Use of Oligarchs, Money and Intelligence in 2014 and Beyond"

Witness Name: Michael McFaul

Position/Title: Professor

Witness Type:  Governmental  Non-governmental

Are you representing yourself or an organization?  Self  Organization

If you are representing an organization, please list what entity or entities you are representing:

\_\_\_\_\_

If you are a **non-governmental witness**, please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) related to the hearing's subject matter that you or the organization(s) you represent at this hearing received in the current calendar year and previous two calendar years. Include the source and amount of each grant or contract. *If necessary, attach additional sheet(s) to provide more information.*

none

If you are a **non-governmental witness**, please list any contracts or payments originating with a foreign government and related to the hearing's subject matter that you or the organization(s) you represent at this hearing received in the current year and previous two calendar years. Include the amount and country of origin of each contract or payment. *If necessary, attach additional sheet(s) to provide more information.*

none

**False Statements Certification**

Knowingly providing material false information to this committee/subcommittee, or knowingly concealing material information from this committee/subcommittee, is a crime (18 U.S.C. § 1001). This form will be made part of the hearing record.



Witness signature

3/23/19

Date

**If you are a non-governmental witness, please ensure that you attach the following documents to this disclosure. Check both boxes to acknowledge that you have done so.**

- Written statement of proposed testimony
- Curriculum vitae or biography

\*Rule XI, clause 2(g)(5), of the U.S. House of Representatives provides:

(5)(A) Each committee shall, to the greatest extent practicable, require witnesses who appear before it to submit in advance written statements of proposed testimony and to limit their initial presentations to the committee to brief summaries thereof.

(B) In the case of a witness appearing in a nongovernmental capacity, a written statement of proposed testimony shall include a curriculum vitae and a disclosure of any Federal grants or contracts, or contracts or payments originating with a foreign government, received during the current calendar year or either of the two previous calendar years by the witness or by an entity represented by the witness and related to the subject matter of the hearing.

(C) The disclosure referred to in subdivision (B) shall include—

- (i) the amount and source of each Federal grant (or subgrant thereof) or contract (or subcontract thereof) related to the subject matter of the hearing; and
- (ii) the amount and country of origin of any payment or contract related to the subject matter of the hearing originating with a foreign government.

(D) Such statements, with appropriate redactions to protect the privacy or security of the witness, shall be made publicly available in electronic form not later than one day after the witness appears.

Vita

**MICHAEL ANTHONY MCFAUL**

Stanford CA, 94305



**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:**

- 1990-91      Moscow State University, Moscow, USSR.
- 1988 & 89      University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe.
- 1988      Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal.
- 1986 & 87      Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland.
- 1985      Pushkin Institute, Moscow, USSR.
- 1983      Leningrad State University, Leningrad, USSR.

**LANGUAGES:** Russian (fluent), Polish, Portuguese

**COURSES TAUGHT**

Comparative Foreign Policy Decisionmaking  
Russia and the West  
American Foreign Policy  
Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law  
Dictatorship and Democracy in the Middle East  
American Efforts at Promoting Democracy Abroad  
Revolutions  
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:**

*New York Times* Best-Seller list, 2018.

Miami Regionals' Alex and Lena Casper Memorial Lecture, University of Miami, March 12, 2019

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.

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.

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

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:**

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

Board Member, Boris Nemtsov Foundation, 2016-present

Task Force Member, The Future of Work, The Markle 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*.

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:**

Director, Master's in International Policy Program, 2017-present.  
Co-Director, Stanford Cyber Initiative, 2016-present.  
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:**

*The Rise and Fall of Ideological Great Powers : American Foreign Policy Towards China, Russia, and Iran* (forthcoming).

*From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia* (NY, 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**

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 Demokraticheskikh 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:**

*Putinism and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election (White Paper: 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*, 6<sup>th</sup> 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.
- “Mezhdru demokratiei i diktaturoi,” [Between Democracy and Dictatorship] in Andrew Kuchins and Dmitri

- Trenin, eds., *Rossiya: 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.
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