

August 10, 2015

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CURRENT POSITION

1993-present. Executive Director, The Berkeley Program in Eurasian and East European Studies (formerly The Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies), University of California, Berkeley.

1999-present. Associate Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

EDUCATION

Ph.D., October 1992, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Dissertation: "Structural Pressures, Political Choice, and Institutional Change: Bureaucratic Totalitarianism and the Origins of Perestroika." Defended, December 1991. Deposited July 1992.
Dissertation advisor: Seweryn Bialer.

Diploma, Summer 1989, G.V. Plekhanov Institute of National Economy, Moscow. Summer program for advanced U.S. graduate students with Russian area specialization, including seminars on Soviet/Russian society, economics, and politics.

MA, 1986, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.
Concentration in Soviet area studies with sub-focus in international monetary and trade theory.

BA, Magna Cum Laude, 1977, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Government major, with sub-focus in international relations, security studies, and African politics and development.

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Colgate University. 1993.

Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science, New York University. 1990.

President, Discovery Analysts, Inc. (DAI), a litigation support group (peak employment 30) based in Washington, D.C., offering research services to law firms. The firm assisted in pre-trial discovery and trial preparation. 1979-1984.

1978-79. Law firm research Assistant, Pierson, Semmes, Crolius and Finley, Washington D.C.

1978. Intern, U.S. State Department, U.S. Embassy, Monrovia, Liberia.

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AWARDS AND HONORS

National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (1997-1998). Proposal: "Contesting Sovereignty: Secession and Autonomy in the Former Soviet Union." With case studies of Abkhazia, Chechnya, Crimea, Karabakh, Tatarstan, and Transdnistria.

PepsiCo Foundation Travel Fellowship for Research in Russia, Columbia University (1993).

Harriman Institute Post-Doctoral Fellow, 1991-1992, Columbia University (1991-92).

W. Averell Harriman Institute Junior Fellow, Columbia University (1990-91).

PepsiCo Foundation Travel-Research Fellowship for Research in the Soviet Union, Columbia University (1989).

Joseph T. Meiers Fellow, Columbia University (1989-90).

W. Averell Harriman Institute Junior Fellow, Columbia University (1988-89).

Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship, Columbia University (Summer 1988).

President's Fellow, Columbia University (1987-88).

Fellow of Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (1986-87).

BOOKS

Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union, Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield (2003).

Editor. *Minorities, Mullabs, and Modernity: Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union*, by Mark Saroyan, International and Area Studies, University of California at Berkeley (1997).

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

"Between East and West: NATO Enlargement and the Geopolitics of the Ukraine Crisis," *E-International Relations*, contribution to an e-book, *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives*, April 2015, pp. 141-54 (<http://www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Ukraine-and-Russia-E-IR.pdf>).

"Twenty Years On: What We Thought Then, What We Know Now," in *Two Decades of Development in Post-Soviet States: Successes and Failures*, Sergiu Musteață, and Ludmila Coadă, eds., Iasi Publications, Romania, 2014, pp. 13-30

"Crime Without Punishment: The Litvinenko Affair and Putin's Culture of Violence," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2007, pp. 97-105.

"The Long Road from Empire: Legacies of Nation Building in the Soviet Successor States," in *From Empire to Nation*, Joseph Esherick, Hasan Kayali, Eric Van Young, eds., Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, pp. 298-339.

"Islam, Territory, and Contested Space in Post-Soviet Russia," *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, vol. 26, no. 4, 2005, pp. 247-271.

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"Islam, Islamism, and Political Order in Central Asia," *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2003.

"Dagestan and the Stability of Instability in the North Caucasus," in Victoria E. Bonnell and George W. Breslauer, eds., *Russia in the New Century: Stability or Disorder?* Westview Press, 2001. A longer version was published under the title, "Russia's Soft Underbelly: The Stability of Instability in Dagestan," Working Paper, UC Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Winter 1999.

"No Peace, No War in the Caucasus: Secessionist Conflicts in Chechnya, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh," in Gary Bertsch, Cassidy Craft, Scott Jones, and Michael Beck, eds., *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Routledge: 2000. A longer version was published under the same title as an Occasional Paper, Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 1998.

"Negotiating Autonomy: Tatarstan, Asymmetrical Federalism, and State Consolidation in Russia," in Metta Spencer, ed., *Separatism: Democracy and Disintegration*, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers (1998).

"Yeltsin's Constitutional Conundrum: Legal Obstacles to Peace in Chechnya," *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 6, no. 1, Winter 1997.

"The Dog that Didn't Bark: Tatarstan and Asymmetrical Federalism in Russia," *The Harriman Review*, Spring 1996.

"Samoupravliaiushchiesia territorii Britanii i status Bermudskikh ostrovov: model' dlia Chechni?" ("Britain's Self-Governing Territories and the Status of Bermuda: A Model for Chechnya?"), *Panorama*, no. 2, 1995, pp. 22-38.

"The Federation Provisions in Russia's New Constitution," *Problems of Post-Communism*, July/August 1995.

"Designing Center-Regional Relations in the New Russia," *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 4, no.1, Winter 1995.

"Ethnicity and Ethnopolitics in Tuva," with Zoia Anaiban, in *Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World: Case Studies and Analysis*, Leokadiia Drobizheva, Rose Gottemoeller, Catherine M. Kelleher, and Lee Walker, eds., Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

"Nationalism, Regionalism, and Federalism: Center-Periphery Relations in Post-Communist Russia," with Gail W. Lapidus, in *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation*, Gail W. Lapidus, ed., Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

"The New Constitution: Executive-Legislative Relations," in *Russia After the Elections*, Carol A. Timko, ed., Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Berkeley, 1994.

"Moscow and the Provinces: Economic and Political Dimensions of Russian Regionalism," *Eurasia Report*, vol. 3, no. 2, Winter 1993.

"The Politics of Blame and Presidentialism in Russia's New Constitution," *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 2, no. 4, Winter 1993.

"The Nationality Problem and Center-Periphery Relations in Russia," *The Harriman Institute Forum*, vol. 7, nos. 1-2, 1993.

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“Post-Sovietology, Area Studies, and Political Science,” *The Harriman Institute Forum*, vol. 6, nos. 6-7, 1993.

“The Neglected Dimension: Russian Federalism and Its Implications for Constitution-making,” *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1993.

“Ethno-Violence in Russia,” *New Europe Law Review*, Special Proceedings, Fall 1993.

“Perestroika and Sovietology: A Post-mortem,” in Susan Solomon, ed., *Beyond Sovietology: Essays in Politics and History*, M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

“Militarism,” in the *International Military and Defense Encyclopedia*, Westview Press, 1994.

“The New Russian Constitution and the Future of the Russian Federation,” *The Harriman Institute Forum*, Vol. 5, No. 10, 1992.

“Russia: The Nationalities Problem Round II,” in *Nationalities Papers*, Special Issue, Fall 1992.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Putin’s European Fifth Column,” with Gerard Roland and Yuriy Gorodnichenko, *Project Syndicate*, February 13, 2015.

“A Strategic Response to the Ukraine Crisis,” April 1, 2014, *Huffington Post*.

“What’s behind Russia’s moves in Ukraine? Fear of NATO,” March 4, 2014, *Los Angeles Times*.

“Bread and Circus: Putin and the Sochi Olympics,” Spring 2013, *Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies*.

Review of Lowell Barrington, ed. *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States*, University of Michigan Press, *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 5, no. 3, September 2007.

“Ethnic War, Holy War, War O’ War: Does the Adjective Matter in Explaining Collective Political Violence?” working paper, UC Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Spring 2006.

“Central Asia, the War on Terror, and Islamist Militancy,” in *Regional Conflict Prevention and Promoting Stability in Central Asia*, conference proceedings (November 23-24, 2004), University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Tashkent/London 2005.

“Islamist Militancy: Implications for Central Asia,” in *Responding to Terrorism and Other New Threats and Challenges in Central Asia and Afghanistan*, conference proceedings (May 20-21, 2004), International Centre for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow 2005.

“Islam and Islamic Practices in Georgia,” co-authored with George Sanikidze, Occasional Paper Series, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Fall 2004.

“Legacies of Soviet Nationality Policy,” in *Cultural Legacies in Post-Socialist Europe: The Role of the Various Pasts in the Current Transformation Process*, Michael Minkenberg and Timm Beichelt, eds., discussion paper series, Frankfurt Institut Fur Transformationsstudien, 2004.

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“Chechnya, the Pankisi Gorge, and US Policy,” *Newsletter of the Caucasus and Central Asia Program*, UC Berkeley, Winter 2002.

“Roots of Rage: Militant Islam in Central Asia,” *Newsletter of the Caucasus and Central Asia Program*, UC Berkeley, Winter 2001.

“The Balkans and the West After Milosevic,” *Center for Slavic and East European Studies Newsletter*, University of California, Berkeley, Summer 2001.

“Russia and the War in Chechnya,” *Contemporary Caucasus Newsletter*, UC Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Issue 9, Spring 2000.

“Chechnya and the Economic Consequences of Secession,” *Contemporary Caucasus Newsletter*, UC Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Issue 7, Spring 1999.

“Islam in Chechnya,” *Contemporary Caucasus Newsletter*, UC Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Issue 6, Fall 1998.

“Armenia’s ‘Constitutional Coup’ and the Karabakh Conflict,” *Analysis of Current Events*, vol. 10, nos. 3-4, March/April 1998.

“The Prospects for Peace in Chechnya,” *Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Nationalities*, Spring 1996.

“The December Elections and the Prospects for Democracy in Russia,” *Khronika: Newsletter of the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies*, Spring 1996.

“The Crisis in Chechnya,” *Center for Slavic and East European Studies Newsletter*, Spring 1995.

“Viewpoint: Thoughts on the December Elections in Russia,” *Khronika: Newsletter of the Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies*, Spring 1994.

“A Chronology of Nationality Related Events under Gorbachev,” in Charles F. Furtado, Jr. and Andrea S. Chandler, eds., *Perestroika in the Soviet Republics: Documents on the National Question*, Westview, 1992.

“Andranik M. Migranyan: A Soviet Machiavelli?,” *Soviet Observer*, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1990.

“A Chronology of Events in the Non-Russian Republics (13 May 1989 - 3 May 1990),” *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 18, No. 1; “A Chronology of Events in the non-Russian Republics (4 May 1990 - 1 May 1991),” *Ibid*, Vol. 19, No. 1; “A Chronology of Religious Events in the Soviet Union Since Gorbachev,” *Ibid*, Vol. 20, No. 1.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS, WORKSHOPS, AND PUBLIC LECTURES

“Sovereignty and the Donbas Conflict,” conference presentation, April 29, 2016, ISEEEES Annual Outreach Conference, “Ukraine After the Maidan,” UC Berkeley.

“Security Implications of the Russia-Turkey Crisis for the Black Sea Region,” panel presentation, April 19, 2016, UC Berkeley.

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“U.S.-Russia Relations: A New Cold War?” interlocutor with Steven Lee Myers, New York Times correspondent, to discuss his recent book, *The New Tsar: The Rise and Reign of Vladimir Putin*, October 27, 2015, The Commonwealth Club of California.

“Ukraine’s Prospects for European Integration,” workshop presentation, CENTRA, McLean, VA, December 4, 2015.

“U.S. Options in Responding to Russia’s Intervention,” panel discussion, , November 30, 2015, UC Berkeley.

“Can the U.S. Avoid Another Cold War with Russia?” private lecture, November 23, 2015, Phi Delta Epsilon, UC Berkeley.

“The Ukraine Crisis: How We Got Here, Where It’s Going,” guest lecture, November 10, 2015, Slavic101, UC Berkeley.

“Securing NATO’s Eastern Flank after the Ukraine Crisis,” private lecture, September 17, 2015, Vienna, Cal Discoveries.

“Europe in Crisis,” private lecture, September 15, 2015, Cal Discoveries, Budapest.

Panel discussion with Ilya Ponomarov, May 20, 2015, Deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

“The Ukraine Crisis: Assessing U.S. Policy Towards Russia,” lecture, April 29, 2015, World Affairs Council, East Bay Chapter.

“Why a ‘Frozen Conflict is a Least Worst Outcome in the Donbas War,” conference presentation, April 16, 2015 Conference on Frozen Conflicts, Center for Global Education, Chapman University, Los Angeles.

“U.S.-Russia Relations and the Ukraine Crisis,” panel presentation, December 12, 2014, part of panel on “Russia, the West, and the Ukraine Crisis, UC Berkeley.

“The Role of the West in the Collapse of the Soviet Union,” November 14, 2014, public lecture, San Francisco State University.

“Ukraine after the Rada Elections,” November 6, 2014, public lecture, UC Berkeley.

“Russia, the West, and the Crisis in Ukraine,” November 5, 2014, lecture, Stanford University Women’s Alumni Association, San Francisco.

“Lessons Learned from Other Post-Soviet Frozen Conflicts,” panel presentation, October 24, 2014, VoxUkraine, Kyiv, Ukraine.

“U.S. Policy toward Ukraine and Russia in the Remaining Years of the Obama Presidency,” public lecture, October 22, 2014, Kyiv School of Economics, Kyiv, Ukraine.

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“Russia, NATO, and Ukraine: The Security Dimension,” September 12, 2014, panel discussion, “Perspectives on the ‘Ukraine Crisis,’ Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.

“Ukraine: Between Russia and the West,” July 17, 2014, panel discussion, World Affairs Council, Sacramento Chapter.

“The Dissolution of the Soviet Union,” June 3, 2014, guest lecture, PS 129B, “Russian Politics,” UC Berkeley.

“Europe and the Crisis in Ukraine,” May 2, 2014, private lecture, Cal Discoveries, France.

“Nations, States, and the European Union,” April 29, 2014, private lecture, Cal Discoveries, Portugal.

“Russia, the West, and the Crisis in Ukraine,” April 23, 2014, World Affairs Council, East Bay Chapter.

“Carrots and Sticks: A Strategic Response to the Ukrainian Crisis,” April 10, 2014, panel discussion, UC Berkeley.

“Ukraine in Crisis: Revolution and Russian Intervention,” April 7, 2014, panel discussion, UCLA.

“Putin and the Sochi Olympics,” September 9, 2013, private lecture, Cal Discoveries, Black Sea.

“Geopolitics and the Black Sea,” September 3, 2013, private lecture, Cal Discoveries, Black Sea.

“Russia’s Post-Soviet Transformation, 1989-1996: Some Lessons,” September 14, 2012, Conference, “Democracy Rising? Global Prospects, Perils, and Policy Challenges, UC Berkeley.

“The Collapse of Soviet Socialism and the Arab Spring Compared,” March 2, 2012, Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Stanford University.

“The Origins of Perestroika,” April 30, 2011, ISEEEES Outreach Conference, UC Berkeley.

“Law and the Politics of Genocide,” April 18, 2011, Armenian Studies Association, UC Berkeley.

“Is Russia a Normal Country?,” March 4, 2011, Berkeley-Stanford Conference, UC Berkeley.

“Is Russia Becoming a Normal Country?,” October 29, 2010, World Affairs Council, Marin Chapter, Dominican University.

“Russia and its Neighbors,” April 6, 2010, presentation at the World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco.

“Regime, State, and the Collapse of Soviet Socialism,” February 19, 2010, paper presented at the VII Annual Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Studies, “From Empire to Nation: The Ottoman Case in Comparative Perspective,” UC Berkeley.

“Democracy Development as a Foreign Policy Goal,” November 12, 2009, comments on public lecture by Jeremy Kinsman, Institute of International Studies, UC Berkeley.

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“What is ‘Religion’? Religion as a Social Science Category,” October 30, 2009, presentation for the Berkeley Program in Eurasian and European Studies faculty-graduate student seminar series, “Ideology and Religion.”

“Russia Resurgent: Challenges and Opportunities for the Obama Administration,” April 21, 2009, Rossmoor Great Decisions Series.

“Russia and the Global Financial Crisis: The End of ‘Putinism’?,” discussant of paper by Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Stanford University, April 2, 2009, at the conference, “Responding to a Resurgent Russia: Russia Policy and Responses from the EU and US,” UC Berkeley.

“US-Russia Relations: Challenges and Opportunities for the Obama Administration,” February 8, 2009, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

“Crisis in the Caucasus: The Five-Day Russo-Georgian War,” Panel Discussant, September 4, 2008.

“Assessing Putin’s Presidency,” February 26, 2008, Rossmoor Great Decisions Series, Rossmoor, CA.

“The Litvinenko Affair and Putin’s Russia,” September 20, 2007, World Affairs Council of Northern California, Marin County.

“Great Decisions: The New Geopolitics of Central Asia,” April 24, 2007, World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco.

“The World After Iraq: Geopolitics in Central Eurasia,” April 4, 2007, Berkeley City Commons Club, Berkeley, CA.

“Great Decisions: The New Geopolitics of Central Asia,” March 24, 2007, Rossmoor Great Decisions Series, Walnut Creek, CA..

“Islam and Post-Socialism: Interdisciplinary Approaches,” November 17, 2006, Annual Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington DC.

“Security/Terrorism: The Changing Nature of Security in Historical Perspective,” April 6, 2006, panel discussant, conference organized by the Institute of European Studies, “Mars vs. Venus: American, Europe and the Future of the West,” UC Berkeley.

“Ethnic War, Holy War, War o’ War: Does the Adjective Matter in Explaining Collective Political Violence?,” March 23, 2006, paper presentation, Annual Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University.

“Glasnost and the ‘Pre-Crisis Situation in Soviet Society’: Soviet Discourse on Brezhnevism, the Era of Stagnation, and the *Mekhanizm Tormozheniia*,” March 3, 2006, conference presentation, Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Stanford University.

“Ideational Dynamics and Collective Political Violence: Chechnya, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan,” Jan. 30, 2006, seminar presentation, Borderlands Seminar, Center for Russia, European, and Eurasia Studies, Stanford University.

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“New Security Threats in Central Asia: Evaluation of the Current Threat,” May 20, 2005, conference presentation, “New Security Threats in Central Asia, Moscow, Royal Institute of International Affairs and International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow.

“Who Done It? Tactical and Strategic Deception, Uncertainty, and the Big Bang,” paper presentation, workshop on “The Big Bang: International Ramifications of Nuclear Terrorism,” Goldman School of Public Policy and the Institute of International Studies, UC Berkeley, Marconi Center, May 3-4, 2005.

“Islam and the State in the North Caucasus,” March 4, 2005, conference presentation, “The Caucasus: Culture, History, Politics,” Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Whither Russia,” February 8, 2005, public lecture, The World Affairs Council, San Francisco, CA.

“Terrorism in the North Caucasus: Internationalist Jihadism or Nationalist Separatism?,” roundtable discussion, “Russia After Beslan,” Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley, September 21, 2004.

“The Islamist Challenge in Central Asia,” May 20-21, 2004, conference presentation, “Responding to Terrorism and Other New Threats and Challenges in Central Asia and Afghanistan,” Royal Institute of International Affairs and International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow.

“Ethnic War, Civil War, Holy War: Does the Adjective Matter in Explaining Collective Political Violence?,” May 7-9, 2004, conference paper, “The Roots of Islamic Radicalism,” Yale University.

“Empires, Nation States, Multinational States: State and Community in Post-Soviet Space,” April 16, 2004, Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Stanford University.

“Islamism and Russia's Role in the War on Terror,” April 14, 2004, Delta Phi Epsilon, UC Berkeley.

“Russia's Muslims: Islam and Islamism After Communism,” April 5, 2004, UC Berkeley Retirement Center, Emeritus Association, UC Berkeley.

“The Long Road From Empire: Legacies of Nation Building in the Soviet Successor States,” 10 March 2004, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan.

“Islam and Islamist Movements in Central Asia,” 9 March 2004, Near Eastern Studies Department, University of Michigan.

“US-Russia Relations and the War on Terror,” 24 September 2003, World Affairs Council of Northern California, Marin Chapter.

“Russia, Chechnya, and the War of Terror,” 3 June 2003, Contra Costa Jewish Community Center, Lafayette, CA.

“Chechnya: A War Without End?,” 21 April 2003, lecture, Diablo International Resource Center, Walnut Creek, CA.

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“Islam and the Conflict in Chechnya,” 26 April 2003, lecture, Annual Teachers Outreach Conferences, Institute for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Islam and Politics in Central Asia,” 15 April 21, 2003, lecture, World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco.

“Afghanistan and the Cold War,” 23 February 2003, lecture, Teachers’ Outreach Series, Center for Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University.

“From Empire to Nation: Thoughts on the Russian/Soviet Case,” 6 December 2002, workshop paper, UC Santa Barbara.

“Chechnya, the Pankisi Gorge, and the U.S. Policy,” 12 September 2002, conference presentation, “The New Great Game,” Yale University.

“Militant Islamism in Central Asia,” 11 June 2002, lecture, Elderhostel Group, UC Berkeley.

“The Legacies of Soviet Nationality Policy,” 5 June 2002, conference paper, “Legacies of Communism,” Frankfurt/Oder, Germany.

“Ideologies, Identities, and Cleavages: War and Violence in the Former Soviet Union,” 26 April 2002, presentation for the Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Stanford University.

“Russia Reexamined,” 27 March 2002, lecture, City Commons Club, Berkeley, CA.

“Russia Reexamined,” 19 March 2002, lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

“Ideologies, Identities, and Cleavages: The Impact of War in Chechnya, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan,” 25 February 2002, lecture, Davis Center, Harvard University.

Workshop participant, “Conflicts in Multiethnic Societies,” 4-8 December 2001, National Academy of Sciences, US-Russian Interacademy project, Washington, DC.

“Russian-U.S. Relations: Before and After 9/11,” 29 November 2001, lecture, World Affairs Council, Marin Chapter, Marin, CA.

“The Multiple Identities of Central Asia,” 14 November 2001, lecture, School of Journalism, UC Berkeley.

“Roots of Rage: Militant Islamism in Central Asia,” 29 October 2001, panel presentation, Institute for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies and Institute for International Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin,” 7 June 2001, lecture, Elderhostel Group, UC Berkeley.

“Ten Years After the Soviet Union: What We Know Now That We Didn’t Know Then,” 28 April 2001, Institute for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Annual Teachers Outreach Conference, UC Berkeley.

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“Kosovo’s Future: Independence or Autonomy?” 22 March 2001, lecture, World Affairs Council, Peninsula Chapter, Stanford, CA.

“The International Community and the Conflict in Chechnya,” 3 November 2000, lecture, Institute for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, UC Berkeley.

“US-Russia Relations in the Bush/Putin Era,” 16 October 2000, lecture, Diablo International Resource Center, Walnut Creek, CA.

“Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union,” 9 October 2000, Carnegie seminar presentation, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

Workshop participant, “Negotiating Self-Determination: The Karabakh Case,” 15-16 September 2000, workshop presentation, Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA.

“Lessons from Tatarstan,” 7 June 2000, conference presentation, US Institute of Peace and the Watson Institute, Brown University, Washington, DC.

“Supply vs. Demand: The Rule of Law in Post-Soviet Russia,” 12 May 2000, presentation at Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Stanford University.

“The War in Chechnya: Islamic Holy War or National Liberation Struggle?” 21 January 2000, lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco, CA.

“Russia and the West,” 15 October 1999, lecture, Meadowood Club, Napa, CA.

“Crisis in the North Caucasus: Chechnya, Dagestan, and Russia’s Territorial Integrity,” 4 October 1999, panel presentation, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Russia and the Balkans,” 24 June 1999, lecture, World Affairs Council, Marin, CA.

“Theories in Practice: Predicting Stability/Instability in Dagestan,” 15 April 1999, paper presentation at the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University.

“Preventing Ethnic Conflict: Lessons from the Karabakh Case,” 13 April 1999, workshop presentation, Watson Institute, Brown University.

“Russia’s Political Elite: Something Old, Something New,” 12 March 1999, presentation at Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, UC Berkeley.

“The Political Economy of Secession: The Case of Chechnya,” 14 November 1998, seminar presentation at New York University.

“Russia’s Economic Meltdown: End of Reform or a New Beginning?” 7 October 1998, lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

“No Peace, No War in the Caucasus: Secessionist Conflicts in Chechnya, Abkhazia, and Karabakh,” 3 October 1998, conference paper, Center for International Trade and Security, University of Georgia.

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“Russia’s Economic Meltdown: End of Reform or a New Beginning?” 17 September 1998, panel presentation, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“The Crisis in Russia,” 16 September 1998, lecture, Foreign Intelligence Club, San Francisco, CA.

“Ethnicity, Religion, and Conflict in the Caucasus,” 1 May 1998, lecture at the Annual Asilomar Conference, World Affairs Council, Monterey, CA.

“Prospects for the North Caucasus,” 7 April 1998, conference presentation, US Department of State, Meridian International Center, Washington, DC.

“Secession and Autonomy in the Soviet Successor States,” 31 March 1998, lecture, Commonwealth Club, Berkeley, CA.

“Nagorno-Karabakh: Lessons for Conflict Mediation Efforts,” 24 March 1998, workshop presentation, US Institute of Peace, Washington D.C.

“Religion and Political Violence in the Caucasus,” 30 January 1998, presentation at the Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference.

“Secession and Autonomy in the Soviet Successor States,” 28 December 1997, seminar presentation, Hoover Institution.

“The Dog That Didn’t Bark: Tatarstan and Asymmetrical Federalism in Russia,” 29 August 1997,” paper presentation at Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

“Secession, Autonomy and International Law: Status Wars in the Former Soviet Union,” 30 July 1997, lecture, Orinda Rotary Club, Orinda, CA.

“Status War in the Soviet Successor States,” 23 June 1997, conference presentation, Yerevan, Armenia.

“Between Independence and Incorporation: Virtual States in the Post-Soviet Space,” 21 June 1997, lecture, Foreign Diplomatic Academy, San Francisco, CA.

Served as an “expert observer and commentator,” The Hague Initiative on Chechnya, 22-25 May 1997, Conflict Management Group, The Hague, Netherlands.

“Update on Russia’s Transition,” 14 March 1997, lecture, City Commons Club, Berkeley, CA.

“Sovereignty and the Breakup of the USSR,” 9 March 1997, workshop presentation, Stanford University.

“Russia’s Presidential Elections: Has Russian Turned the Corner?,” 10 October 1996, lecture, Foreign Service Alumni Association, San Francisco.

“Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Russia,” 1 October 1996, lecture, Mt. Diablo International Resource Center, Walnut Creek, CA.

“Russia’s Presidential Elections,” 17 July 1996, lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

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“Tatarstan and Asymmetrical Federalism in Russia,” 8 May 1996, seminar presentation, Stanford University.

“Russia’s Parliamentary Elections,” 10 January 1996, lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

“Organized Crime in Russia’s North Caucasus,” 20 October 1995, presentation at Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Russia, the United States, and the Crisis in Chechnya,” 14 June 1995, lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco.

“Federalism and Russia’s New Constitution,” 8 February 1995, public lecture, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, UC Berkeley.

“The Crisis in Chechnya: Why Yeltsin Invaded,” 23 January 1995, panel presentation, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“The Consequences of Alternative Transition Paths: Lessons from the Soviet Successor States,” 16 April 1994, presentation at Annual Teachers Outreach Conference, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Federalism in Comparative Perspective: Advantages and Disadvantages,” 26 March 1994, conference presentation, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia [in Russian].

“Executive-Legislative Relations in Russia,” 25 February 1994, workshop paper, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“The December 1993 Elections in Russia: Implications for Political Stabilization,” 24 January 1994, lecture, Lawrence Livermore Lab.

“Russia’s New Constitution: Implications for Democracy,” 30 November 1993, lecture, English Language Program, UC Berkeley.

“Super-presidentialism and the New Russian Constitution,” 15 November 1993, workshop paper, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Russia’s Political Crisis and the Draft Constitution,” 14 October 1993, public lecture, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“The New Russian Constitution and the Federal Question,” 29 September 1993, public lecture, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley.

“Russia’s Federation Crisis,” 21 February 1993, lecture, Syracuse University.

“Stalin and Stalinism, 1934-1939,” 16 February 1993, lecture, Kenyon College.

“Will the Russian Federation Survive Until 1994?” 9 February 1993, lecture, Duquesne University.

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“Ethno-Violence in Russia,” 11 December 1992, conference paper, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

“Post-Soviet Area Studies and Political Science,” 4 December 1992, workshop paper, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

“The Nationality Problem Round II,” 1 May 1992, conference paper, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

“Prospects for the New Russian Constitution: Will the Russian Federation Survive Until 1994?” 1 April 1992, lecture, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

“Roots of Reform: Gorbachev and the Launching of Perestroika,” 7 February 1992, lecture, Wellesley College.

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“The Institutional Dimensions of Transition: Bringing Conceptual Order to the Chaos of Regime Change,” 10 June 1990, paper presentation, SSRC Workshop of Soviet Domestic Politics and Society, University of Toronto.

“Patterns of Transition,” 2 November 1990, paper presentation with Gabriel Almond, seminar, Moscow, Russia.

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RECENT MEDIA APPEARANCES

BBC Newshour, Pacifica Radio (KPFA), Australian National Radio, Berkeley School of Journalism, CNN International, Daily Cal, Channel News Asia (Singapore), Al Jazeera English Channel, China Radio National.

BLOG: EURASIAN GEOPOLITICS <EURASIANGEOPOLITICS.COM>

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