

**Paul D'Anieri**  
Professor of Political Science  
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### Faculty Positions

2014-Present     **Professor**, University of California Riverside

- Department of Political Science
- School of Public Policy (joint appointment 2014-2025)

2008-2014     **Professor**, University of Florida

- Department of Political Science

2007-2008     **Professor**, University of Kansas

- Department of Political Science
- Center for Russian and East European Studies

1998-2007     **Associate Professor**, University of Kansas

1991-1998     **Assistant Professor**, University of Kansas

1998            **Visiting Associate Professor**, Harvard University (summer)

1993-1994     **Fulbright Visiting Scholar**, Lviv State University, Ukraine

### Leadership Positions

2014-2017     **Provost and Executive Vice Chancellor**, University of California Riverside

2008-2014     **Dean**, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida

2004-2008     **Associate Dean for Humanities**, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Kansas

2003-2004     **Director**, Center for Russian and East European Studies, Univ. of Kansas

1999-2003     **Associate Dean**, International Programs, University of Kansas

### Education

M.A., Ph.D.	Cornell University	Government	1986-91
Intensive Language	Norwich University	Russian School	1987
B.A.	Michigan State University	James Madison College, Honors College	1983-86

### Honors and Awards

Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies, Harvard University, 2017

Best Article, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 2007.

Choice "Outstanding Academic Book," *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine*, 2003.

William T. Kemper Fellowship for Excellence in Teaching, University of Kansas, 1996.

American Society of International Law, Workshop on International Organizations, 1992.

MacArthur Foundation/Cornell University Peace Studies Fellowship, 1988-1989.

Cornell University Graduate Summer Fellowship, 1988, 1989, 1990.

Herbert Lehman Graduate Fellowship, 1986-1990.

## Publications

### **Books (authored and co-authored):**

- Paul D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023) [first edition 2019]
- Taras Kuzio and Paul D'Anieri, *The Sources of Russia's Great Power Politics: Ukraine and the Challenge to the European Order* (Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing, 2018). <https://www.e-ir.info/publication/the-sources-of-russias-great-power-politics-ukraine-and-the-challenge-to-the-european-order/>
- Paul D'Anieri, *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs* (Boston: Cengage, 2009; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2011; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2013; 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 2016; 5<sup>th</sup> ed. 2020; 6<sup>th</sup> ed. 2026).
- Paul D'Anieri, *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007).
- Paul D'Anieri, *Economic Interdependence in Ukrainian-Russian Relations*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999).
- Paul D'Anieri, Robert Kravchuk, and Taras Kuzio, *Politics and Society in Ukraine*, (Boulder: Westview, 1999).

### **Books (edited and co-edited):**

- Taras Kuzio, Sergei I. Zhuk and Paul D'Anieri, eds. *Ukraine's Outpost: Dnipropetrovsk and the Russian-Ukrainian War* (Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing, 2022). <https://www.e-ir.info/publication/ukraines-outpost-dnipropetrovsk-and-the-russian-ukrainian-war/>
- Paul D'Anieri, ed., *Orange Revolution and Aftermath: Mobilization, Apathy, and the State in Ukraine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).
- Paul D'Anieri and Taras Kuzio, eds., *Aspects of the Orange Revolution: Democratization and Elections in Post-Communist Ukraine*, (Stuttgart/New York; ibidem Verlag/Columbia University Press, 2007).
- Taras Kuzio and Paul D'Anieri, eds., *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), **Named a Choice "Outstanding Academic Book" of 2003.**
- Taras Kuzio, Robert Kravchuk, and Paul D'Anieri, eds., *State and Institution Building in Ukraine*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

### **Articles:**

- "Fool Me Twice, Shame on Me: Security Guarantees, Commitment Problems and the Problem of Peace through Victory in Ukraine," *International Negotiation* 30, 1 (2025) 72–96.
- "Ukrainian Public Opinion and the Path to Peace with Russia," *East European Politics* (2025) with Alina Nychyk.
- "Forum: The Russia–Ukraine War and Reactions from the Global South," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 17, 4 (2024): 449-489. With Vidya Nadkarni, Sydney Kerr, Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, Xiaoyu Pu, Deepa M. Ollapally, Paulo Velasco Junior, Candice Moore, and Abdolrasool Divsallar. <https://doi.org/10.1093/CJIP/POAE021>.
- "Elections, Succession, and Legitimacy in Ukraine: Lessons from Six Presidential Transitions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, 4 (2024): 6-27. DOI: 10.1525/cpcs.2023.2001608
- "Power Politics and The Crisis of Democracy: Balance, Hegemony, and the Realpolitik of Domestic Politics," *Ideology and Politics Journal* (2023) DOI: 10.36169/2227-6068.2023.01.00001.
- "Conflict Studies and the War in Ukraine, 2014–2022," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 8, 2 (2022) 117-153.
- "Commitment Problems and the Failure of the Minsk Process: The Second-Order Commitment Challenge" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39:4 (2022): 257-272. DOI: 10.1080/1060586X.2022.2158685.
- "Ukraine's 2019 Elections: Pro-Russian Parties and The Impact of Occupation," *Europe-Asia Studies* 74,10 (2022): 1915-1936. DOI: 10.1080/09668136.2022.2117793.
- "The Evolution of Russian Political Tactics in Ukraine," with Ihor Hurak, *Problems of Post-Communism*. October 2020, DOI: 10.1080/10758216.2020.1819162
- "Ukraine after Five Years of Conflict" [Introduction to Special Issue] *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 60, 1 (2019): 1-5. DOI: 10.1080/15387216.2019.1635512

- “Magical Realism: Assumptions, Evidence and Prescriptions in the Ukraine Conflict” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 60, 1 (2019): 97-117. DOI: 10.1080/15387216.2019.1627231
- “Gerrymandering Ukraine? Electoral Consequences of Occupation,” *East European Politics and Societies*, 33, 1 (February 2019): 89–108. DOI: 10.1177/0888325418791020
- “Geopolitics Against Democracy: Ukraine’s Democratization and Russian Great Power Aspirations,” *Krytyka* (June 2018) at <https://m.krytyka.com/en/ukraine-and-donbas-can-we-be-together-again/articles/geopolitics-against-democracy-ukraines>.
- “Political Science and Politics in Ukraine after the February Revolution,” *Journal of Ukrainian Politics and Society* No. 1, (April 2015): 1-17.
- “Electoral Tactics and Autocratization,” *APSA Comparative Democratization Newsletter*, 11, 2 (June 2013): 1, 3-5.
- “Ukrainian Foreign Policy from Independence to Inertia,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 45 (2012): 447-456.
- “Nowhere Nation or Better Life? Ukraine’s Past and Future” (Conclusion to symposium on 20 years of Ukrainian independence) *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, (2012): 457-459.
- “Structural Constraints in Ukrainian Politics,” *East European Politics & Societies*, 25, 1 (February 2011): 28-46.
- “Introduction” [to symposium on Ukraine’s 2010 presidential election], *East European Politics & Societies*, 25, 1 (February 2011): 3.
- “The Orange Restoration and Ukraine’s Uneasy Pluralism,” *Harvard International Review*, Spring 2008.
- “Ethnic Tensions and State Strategies: Understanding the Survival of the Ukrainian State,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 23, 1 (2007): 4-29.
- “Explaining the Success and Failure of Post-Communist Revolutions,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, 3 (2006): 331-350.
- “What Has Changed in Ukrainian Politics? Assessing the Implications of the ‘Orange Revolution,’” *Problems of Post-Communism* (September-October 2005): 82-91.
- “The Last Hurrah: The 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections and the Limits of Machine Politics,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38, 2 (June 2005): 231-249.
- “Leonid Kuchma and the Personalization of the Ukrainian Presidency,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, (September 2003).
- “Povernutycya Do Zakhodu Spinoyu,” *Polityka i Chas* No. 3 (March 2003): 39-44.
- “Democracy Unfulfilled: The Establishment of Electoral Authoritarianism in Ukraine,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* Vol. 26, Nos. 1-2 (Summer/Winter 2001): 13-36.
- “Reforming the Rada: Getting the Funk out of Parliament,” *Analysis of Current Events*, Vol. 12, Nos. 1-2 (January/February 2000)
- “International Cooperation Between Unequal Partners: The Emergence of Bilateralism in the Former Soviet Union,” *International Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (December 1997): 417-448.
- “Nationalism and International Politics: Identity and Sovereignty in the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 1997): 1-28.
- “Dilemmas of Interdependence: Autonomy, Prosperity, and Sovereignty in Ukraine’s Russia Policy,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, January/February 1997.
- “Economic Interdependence in the Ukrainian-Russian Relationship,” *European Security*, December 1995.
- “The Political Crisis in Ukraine: An American Perspective,” *Universum* (November/ December 1994), (in Ukrainian).
- “European Security after the Cold War: The Policy of ‘Insulationism,’” *European Security* (Summer 1993), with Bryan Schmiedeler.
- “New Social Movements in Historical Perspective,” *Comparative Politics* (July 1990) (with Claire Ernst and Elizabeth Kier).

**Book Chapters:**

- “Fascism with Adjectives,” in Ian Garner and Taras Kuzio, eds., *Russia and Modern Fascism: New Perspectives on Russia's War Against Ukraine* (Hannover, Germany: ibidem-Verlag, 2025).
- “Ukraine,” in Zsuzsa Csergő, Daina S. Eglitis and Paula M. Pickering, eds., *Central & East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD; Rowman & Littlefield, 2025).
- Ucrânia e Rússia: dos acordos de Minsk à invasão de 2022” in Felipe Loureiro, ed. *Linha Vermelha: A Guerra Da Ucrânia E As Relações Internacionais No Século XXI* (Campinas, S.P, Brasil: Editora da Unicamp, 2022).
- The book was a semifinalist for the Jabuti Award in the Social Sciences.
- “Ukraine,” in Zsuzsa Csergő, Daina S. Eglitis and Paula M. Pickering, eds., *Central & East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD; Rowman & Littlefield, 2022).
- “The International Legacy of the Collapse of the Soviet Union,” in George Soroka and Tomasz Stępniewski, eds. *30 Years on From the Fall of the Soviet Union: Western Scholarly Perspectives* (Warsaw: Instytut Europy Środkowej, 2021).
- “Introduction,” in Taras Kuzio, Sergei I. Zhuk and Paul D'Anieri, eds. *Ukraine's Outpost: Dnipropetrovsk and the Russian-Ukrainian War* (Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing, 2022).
- “Continuity in Ukraine-US relations in the Biden-Zelenskyy era,” in Marta Drabczuk and Tomasz Stępniewski, eds., *Ukraine under Zelenskyy: Domestic, Foreign and Security Policy in Flux* (Warsaw: Instytut Europy Środkowej, 2021).
- “Anarchy, the State, and Ukraine,” in John Heathershaw and Ed Schatz, eds., *Paradox of Power: The Logics of State Weakness in Eurasia*, (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017).
- “Public Opinion and Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” (with Taras Kuzio) in T.J. Cheng and Wei-chin Lee, *National Security, Public Opinion and Regime Asymmetry, A Six-Country Study* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2017).
- “Establishing Ukraine's Fourth Republic: Reform after Revolution,” in Henry Hale and Robert Ortung, eds., *Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Lessons of Reform for Ukraine* (Palo Alto: Stanford, 2016).
- “The US, Russia, and Ukraine: End of an Era or Same Old Story?” in William Benton Whisenhunt and Norman E. Saul, *New Perspectives on Russian-American Relations* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- “Democracy and Geopolitics: Understanding Ukraine's Threat to Russia,” in Richard Sakwa and Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska, *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives* (Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing, 2015).
- “Autocratic Diffusion and the Pluralization of Democracy,” in Bruce Jentleson and Louis Pauly, eds., *Power in a Complex Global System* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 80-96.
- Introduction: Civil Society in Ukraine—From Despair to Hope . . . and Back” in Paul D'Anieri, ed., *Orange Revolution and Aftermath: Mobilization, Apathy, and the State in Ukraine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).
- “Asymetriya Mizhnarodnykh Ekonomichnykh Vidnosyn: Dylemy Nezalezhnosti,” in H. M. Perepelytsya and O.M. Subtelny, eds., *Asymetriya Mizhnarodnykh Vidnosyn* (Kyiv: Vydavnychyy Dim “Stylos,” 2005), pp. 147-187.
- “Debating the Assumptions of State Led Nation-Building in Ukraine,” in Taras Kuzio and Paul D'Anieri, eds., *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).
- “Constructivist Theory and Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” in Taras Kuzio and Jennifer D. P. Moroney, eds., *International Relations Theory and Ukrainian Foreign Policy*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).
- “Ukraine and the U.S. Since 1991: The Reshaping of Expectations,” in Sabrina P. Ramet and Christine Ingebrittsen, eds., *Coming in From the Cold: U.S.-European Interactions since 1980* (New York: Roman & Littlefield, 2002).
- “Russian Foreign Policy: Continuity, Revolution, and the Search for Status,” in Juliet Kaarbo, et. al., eds., *Contemporary Comparative Foreign Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2001).

- “The Impact of Domestic Divisions on Ukrainian Foreign Policy: Ukraine as a ‘Weak State,’” in Taras Kuzio, Robert Kravchuk, and Paul D’Anieri, eds., *State and Institution Building in Ukraine*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999).
- “Conclusion: Institutionalizing Democracy in a Divided State,” in Taras Kuzio, Robert Kravchuk, and Paul D’Anieri, eds., *State and Institution Building in Ukraine*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999).
- “International Organizations, Environmental Cooperation, and Regime Theory,” in Robert V. Bartlett, ed. *International Organizations and Environmental Policy*, (Greenwood, 1995).

**Editor:** *European Security* (quarterly scholarly journal), 2001-2004

**Guest Editor:**

- “Ukraine after Five Years of Conflict” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 60, 1 (2019).
- Symposium on Ukraine’s 2010 presidential election. *East European Politics & Societies*, 25, 1 (February 2011).
- “Ukraine: Elections and Democratization” (with Taras Kuzio). *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 38, Issue 2 (June 2005).
- Problems of Post-Communism*, (September-October 2004), Special Issue: “Ukraine under Leonid Kuchma.” (with Taras Kuzio).

**Reviews:**

- Review of Mark Kramer, “The Soviet Legacy and Moscow’s Disregard of International Humanitarian Law,” H-Diplo | Jervis Forum Article Review 187, January 20, 2026.  
<https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/JAR-187.pdf>
- Review of *Seize the City, Undo the State: The Inception of Russia’s War on Ukraine*, by Serhiy Kudelia (New York: Oxford University Press, 2025), *Ethics and International Affairs*, 39, 3 (2025): 288-290.
- Review of *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* by Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2024), *The Russian Review* 83, 3 (2024): 487-488.
- Review of *Ukraine’s Unnamed War: Before the Russian Invasion of 2022*, by Dominique Arel and Jesse Driscoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023) and *The Zelensky Effect*, by Olga Onuch and Henry E. Hale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), *Perspectives on Politics* 22, 3: 933-934. DOI: 10.1017/S153759272400015X.
- Review of Margarita M. Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains: The Remaking of Technopolitics from Siberia to Ukraine to the European Union* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021), *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 39, 2024.
- Review of *Greetings from Novorossiya: Eyewitness to the War in Ukraine*, by Pawel Pieniążek, *The Russian Review*, Vol. 77, No. 3 (2018): 523-4.
- “Ukraine, Russia, and the West: The Battle over Blame,” Review Essay, *The Russian Review* 75 (July 2016): 498–503.
- Review of *Rebounding Identities: The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine*, edited by Dominique Arel and Blair Ruble, *Slavic Review*, 2008.
- Review of *Swords and Sustenance: The Economics of Security in Ukraine and Belarus*, edited by Robert Legvold and Celeste Wallander, *Slavic Review* 65.2, (Summer 2006): 366-7.
- Review of *Ukraine’s Foreign and Security Policy, 1991-2000*, by Roman Wolczuk, *Europe-Asia Studies* (January 2005).
- Review of *Ukraine and Russia: The Post-Soviet Transition*, by Roman Solchanyk, *Slavic Review*, 2002.
- Review of *Ukraine and European Security*, by David E. Albright and Semyen J. Appatov, *Slavic Review* 59, 3 (Fall 2000): 657. doi.org/10.2307/2697363
- Review of *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, by Michael Mandelbaum, *International Affairs* (April 1999).
- Review of *Ukraine: State and Nation Building*, by Taras Kuzio, *International Affairs* (January 1999).

**Conference Report:**

Paul D'Anieri, *NATO: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, Report on the Conference held September 8-10, 1999 at the University of Kansas (Lawrence: Dole Institute, University of Kansas, 2000).

### Grants

US Department of State, Freedom Support Act Grant, "Development of Critical New and Expanded Capabilities in the Social Sciences in Ukraine," 2003-2006, \$269,000

US Department of Education Title VI National Resource Center Grant, 2003-2006, \$786,000

US Trade Development Agency, Azerbaijan MBA Program Feasibility Study, 2003-2004 \$304,000 (co-PI w/ Diana Carlin)

Smith Richardson Foundation Research Grant, 2002-2003, \$90,000.

USIA Training Grant, Summer Institute for Ukrainian Social Scientists, 1999-2002, \$254,000.

USIA College and University Partnership Program Grant with L'viv State Univ., 1998-2001, \$169,000 (co-PI with M. Carlson).

USIA Training Grant, Summer Institute for Russian Social Scientists, 1996, \$116,000 (co-PI with M. Carlson).

IREX Short Term Travel Grant, 1996, \$2,900

Fulbright Lecturing Grant (Ukraine), 1993-1994, \$35,000.

### Scholarly Conference Papers Presented

"Realist Theory and US Policy on the War in Ukraine," Polskie Towarzystwo Studiów Międzynarodowych / Polish International Studies Association, 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress, November 2024.

"Realist Theory, Policy Prescriptions, and the Russo-Ukrainian War," Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention, Columbia University, May 2024.

"Commitment Problems and the Failure of the Minsk Process: The Second-Order Commitment Challenge," Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention, Columbia University, May 5, 2022.

"Russia's Full-Scale Invasion: International Aspects," Roundtable on Sources of the Russian-Ukrainian War and Crimean Annexation: Resolvable or Intractable? BASEES Annual Convention, Robinson College, Cambridge, April 10, 2022.

"Commitment Problems and the Donbas Conflict," Mediation and Dialogue Research Center, Kyiv Mohyla Academy, April 22, 2021.

"Ukraine's 2019 Elections: Pro-Russian Parties and The Impact of Occupation," Conference of the American Society for Eurasian and East European Studies, November 7, 2020.

"Occupation, Attitudes, Elections: The Impact of Russian Occupation in Ukraine," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 10, 2020.

"Electoral Consequences of Occupation: Results from Ukraine's 2019 Elections," Conference of the American Society for Eurasian and East European Studies, San Francisco, November 2019.

Ukraine's 'Weberian' Problem: Legality, Legitimacy and State-Citizen Interactions (with Olga Onuch), Presented at the ASN World Convention, New York, May 2, 2019.

"The Altered Balance of Power in Ukrainian Politics," Presented at the Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Chicago, November 11, 2017.

"Anarchy, the State and Ukraine," ASN World Convention, New York, 2014.

"Advancing Reform in Ukraine: Introduction and Overview," Conference on Advancing Reform in Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine. December 14-15, 2013.

"A Balance of Power Approach to Informal Politics in the Former Soviet Union," Conference of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, November 21-24, 2013, Boston.

"Thinking about the Unpalatable: Learning to Live with a Nuclear North Korea," with Seung Lee, ISA South Conference, Charlotte, NC, October 19, 2013.

"Strategic Perspectives on Ukraine in the Black Sea," Conference on the Changing Security Environment of the Black Sea, University of Pittsburgh, May 2-3, 2013.

"Autocratic Diffusion and the Pluralization of Democracy," Conference honoring Peter Katzenstein, UC San Diego, March 23, 2013.

- “The 2012 Parliamentary Elections and the Distribution of Power in Ukraine,” plenary paper, Conference on the 2012 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine, I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, March 14, 2013.
- “Continuity in Ukrainian Foreign Policy: Independence to Inertia,” Symposium on Change and Continuity in Ukraine’s Foreign Policy, Harvard University, April 23, 2012.
- “Explaining Stability in Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 21, 2012.
- “A New Wave of Autocracy? Transnational Diffusion of Techniques to Reduce Political Competition,” Conference honoring Peter Katzenstein, Cornell University, October 14-15, 2011.
- “Structural Constraints in Ukrainian Politics,” Conference on the Ukrainian Presidential Election, George Washington University, April 5, 2010.
- “Succession Politics in Russia and Ukraine,” Conference on “Authoritarianism after the Cold War” University of Toronto, April 25-26, 2008.
- “Institutions and Norms in Ukraine’s Political Evolution,” Conference on Ukraine: Constitutional Order, Elections and Electorates, Simeiz, Crimea, Ukraine, October 17-21, 2007.
- “Power and Norms in the International Politics of Central Asia” (with Nathan Gerth), Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention, 12-14 April 2007. New York.
- “Explaining the Success and Failure of Post-Communist Revolutions,” World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, March 23, 2006.
- “Presidential Politics in Post Kuchma Ukraine,” Conference on the Orange Revolution, George Washington University, December 2, 2005
- “Asymmetric Interdependence in a Globalizing World,” Conference on Asymmetric Relations, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, October 6, 2005.
- “What Has Changed in Ukrainian Politics? Assessing the Implications of the ‘Orange Revolution,’” Conference on Ukrainian Election in Comparative Perspective, University of Toronto, January 21, 2005.
- “The Prospect of Institutional Reform in Ukraine,” Conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, April 3, 2004.
- “Machine Politics in Ukraine” Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Toronto, November 21, 2003.
- “Electoral Authoritarianism in the Former Soviet Union: A Comparative Analysis,” World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, April 4, 2003.
- “Evaluating Western Influence in Ukraine,” Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Pittsburgh, November 21, 2002.
- “National Identity vs. *Realpolitik* as Determinants of Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, April 2001.
- “Identity in Action: Assessing Russian Language Identity in the Ukrainian Parliament,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2000.
- “Institutional Sources of Fragmentation in the Ukrainian Parliament,” Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, April 2000.
- “Continuity and Change in Russian Foreign Policy,” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, March 2000.
- “The Mitigation of Ethnic Conflict in Ukraine: The Mysterious Case of the State that Didn’t Collapse,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, 31 August-3 September 1998.
- “Ethnic Tensions and State Strategies: Understanding the Survival of the Ukrainian State,” Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, 18-20 April 1998.
- “Institutional Divisions and Ukrainian Foreign Policy: Ukraine as a ‘Weak State,’” Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Seattle, 20-23 November 1997.

- “Nationalism and International Politics: Identity and Sovereignty in the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1997.
- “Ukrainian and Kazakh Foreign Policies after the Collapse of the Soviet Union,” American Political Science Association International Security and Arms Control Section Meeting, October 13, 1995, Washington, D.C.
- “Economic Interdependence in Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1995, Chicago.
- “National Identity and Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, July 8, 1995, Washington, D.C.
- “Economic Interdependence and Ukrainian Security Policy,” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, February 1995, Chicago.
- “Economic Dependence in Ukrainian Russian Relations,” International Studies Association Midwest Meeting, October 1, 1994, Columbus, Ohio.
- “Ukrainian Dependence on Russia: Two Dilemmas for Ukrainian Foreign Policy,” Geneza Research Institute, Lviv, Ukraine, November 7, 1993.
- “Methodological Issues in International Relations,” Geneza Research Institute, Lviv, Ukraine, October 14, 1993.
- “Distributive Issues in International Environmental Cooperation,” International Studies Association Annual Meeting, March 24, 1993, Acapulco, Mexico.
- “European Security after the Cold War: The Policy of 'Insulationism,’” International Studies Association Midwest Meeting, November 21, 1992, East Lansing. (with Bryan Schmiedeler).
- “The Problem of Trade Cooperation among the Post-Soviet States,” Central Slavic Conference, October 22-23, 1992, St. Louis. (with Trisha Hobson).
- “Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet States: Conceptualization and Prognosis,” Kansas Political Science Association, October 16, 1992, Lawrence.
- “The New Isolationism in Europe,” Michigan State University, East Lansing, September 25, 1992.
- “Relative Gains, International Organizations, and Environmental Cooperation,” Academic Council on the UN/American Society for International Law Summer Workshop on International Organization Studies, July 12-22, 1992, Hanover, New Hampshire.
- “Economic Disintegration of the Soviet Union as a Problem of International Cooperation,” Central Slavic Conference, November 1-2, 1991, Tulsa.
- “Theories of International Cooperation and U.S.-Soviet Arms Control: Lessons from the SALT I and MBFR Cases,” New York State Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 1991, New York City.
- “Perception of Gain and U.S.-Soviet Arms Control: The Case of the Baruch Plan,” New York State Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 1990, Albany.
- “A Historical Critique of New Social Movement Theory,” (with Claire Ernst), Columbia Graduate Student Conference on Western Europe, May 1989, New York City.
- “New Social Movements in History,” (with Claire Ernst) New England Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 1989, Boston.

### **Invited Presentations**

- “Sources of the Russo-Ukrainian War and Prospects for Peace,” Kyiv Mohyla Academy, January 31, 2026.
- “Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War,” Kyiv Economics University, January 30, 2026.
- “Peace Talks and Ukrainian Security after the War: Proposals and Prospects,” Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv, January 29, 2026
- “Why Didn’t the Russo-Ukrainian War End in 24 Hours?” Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland January 27, 2026.
- “Neutrality and Its Historical Record of Preventing Invasion,” Ignatium University, Cracow, Poland, January 26, 2026.

- Keynote Address, "Reflections on Ukrainian Studies During Wartime: The Imperialism of Ignorance," Shevchenko Scientific Society Workshop in Ukrainian Studies, October 31, 2025.
- "Sources of the Russo-Ukrainian War and Prospects for Peace," George Washington University, December 5, 2023.
- "Causes of War and Obstacles to Peace in Ukraine," Harvard University, June 28, 2023.
- "Ukrainian Public Opinion and the Path to Peace with Russia," with Alina Nychyk, Russia's War Against Ukraine Workshop, University of Manchester, June 19, 2023.
- "The War in Ukraine," Royce Symposium, California State University, Fullerton, March 17, 2023.
- "The Ukraine War, Year Two: Causes, Prospects and the Hard Choices Ahead," Baylor University, March 2, 2023.
- "The War in Ukraine and Paths to Peace," Bath Literary and Historical Society (UK), February 21, 2023.
- "Underlying Causes of the Russia-Ukraine War and the Prospects for Peace," Republic of Indonesia Defense University, December 8, 2022.
- "Power Politics and Russian Genocide in Ukraine," Conference on Past and Present Atrocities in Ukraine: Can They Be Qualified as Genocide (and How)? Fulbright Ukraine, November 17, 2022.
- "Prospects for Ukraine's Future: Russia's War and Its Consequences," UC Davis, November 18, 2022.
- "War in Ukraine: Underlying Causes and the Prospects for Peace in the Second Nuclear Age," Michigan State University, November 14, 2022.
- "Causes of Russia's War in Ukraine and the Implications for a Potential Peace Agreement," Kyiv Mohyla Academy, School of Policy Analysis, September 13, 2022.
- "Regardless of how the war ends, how can Ukraine's long-run security realistically be guaranteed?" PONARS Eurasia Policy Exchange, June 9, 2022.
- "Russian Invasion of Ukraine – Should the West Do More? Henry Jackson Society, March 17, 2022.
- "Rethinking Sovereignty," Temerty Contemporary Ukraine Program, Harvard University, February 9, 2022.
- "The Ukraine-Russia Conflict and its Implications for the West," University of Vienna, January 19, 2022.
- "Re-integration or Dis-integration: What Does the Future Hold for Occupied Donbas?" Chatham House, London, April 28, 2020 (via video).
- Harvard University, Temerty Contemporary Ukraine Program, panel on *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*, March 30, 2020 (via video).
- "Underlying sources of the Russia-Ukraine conflict," Petrach Symposium, George Washington University, November 15, 2018
- "Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Post-Soviet Period," Conference on The Future of Russian-Ukrainian Relations, Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt, Oslo, September 11, 2018.
- "US Foreign Policy under Trump and the Prospects for US-Ukraine Relations," Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, May 25, 2018.
- "Geopolitics versus Democracy in the Conflict over Ukraine," Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, May 24, 2018.
- "The Past and Future of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict," University of San Diego, April 20, 2018.
- "Democratic War? The Geopolitics of Democracy and the Conflict over Ukraine," Syracuse University, December 4, 2017.
- "Democracy and Geopolitics in the Conflict over Ukraine," Harvard University, October 2, 2017.
- "Democracy: Finding Peace in a Post-Cold War World," University of California Riverside, Palm Desert Campus, March 5, 2015.
- "Anarchy in the Ukraine," University of California, Irvine, February 26, 2015.
- "Possibilities for Resolving the Russia-Ukraine Conflict," Harvard University, November 13, 2014.
- "Anarchy in [the] Ukraine: How Ukraine's Crisis Represents 'Post-Post-Cold War' Politics," University of California Riverside, October 1, 2014.

- "Mobilization and Apathy in the former Soviet Union," presentation to US Embassies in Armenia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, State Department Virtual Lecture Series April 22, 2014
- "Power Politics versus Institutional Design" Michigan State University, November 17, 2006.
- "Ukrainian Foreign Policy: An Agenda for Research," Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, July 25, 2006.
- "Ukrainian-Russian Relations: Beyond the Gas Dispute," Harvard University, February 6, 2006.
- "Economic Prosperity and Power in the East Slavic Triangle," Presentation at the Conference "The Slavic Triangle: Between Europe and Eurasia," Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto January 27, 2006
- "Presidential Politics in Post-Kuchma Ukraine," Elliott School, George Washington University, December 2, 2005.
- "The Orange Revolution: One Year After," Kennan Institute, Washington, D.C., November 14, 2005.
- "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," Kansas State University, March 15, 2005.
- "Generational Change in Ukraine: The Political Context," National Intelligence Council Conference on Generational Change, February 16, 2005.
- "Assessing Ukraine's Election Outcome" Kennan Institute, Washington, D.C., November 22, 2004.
- "Asymmetric Relations and the Forthcoming Elections," Lecture Series (five lectures), at Diplomatic Academy, Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, October 25-29, 2004.
- "Ukrainian Foreign and Security Studies: Toward a Broadened Agenda?" Presented at the Conference: *Understanding the Transformation of Ukraine: Assessing What Has Been Learned, Devising a Research Agenda*, University of Ottawa, October 15-16, 2004.
- "Ukraine's Political Landscape and the 2004 Presidential Elections," Kennan Institute, Washington, D.C., December 18, 2003.
- "Ukrainian Foreign Policy in an Unequal World," Lecture Series (five lectures), at Diplomatic Academy, Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, October 6-10, 2003.
- "Executive Branch Dominance in Ukraine," US State Department Conference on Ukraine, Meridian House, Washington D.C., September 9, 2003.
- "Asymmetric Relations in Ukrainian Foreign Policy," lecture series (five lectures), Diplomatic Academy of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine, September 29-October 4, 2002.
- "International Relations Theory and the Post-Soviet Space." Lecture Series (eight lectures) at York University (Toronto, Canada), on May 5-9, 2003.
- "Prospects for Ukrainian Relations with the European Union," Ukraine Roundtable III, Washington, DC, October 8, 2002.
- "Asymmetric Relations in International Political Economy," lecture series (eight lectures) at York University, Toronto, Canada, May 2-10, 2002.
- "Asymmetric Relations in Ukrainian Foreign Policy," lecture series (five lectures), Diplomatic Academy of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine, November 12-16, 2001.
- "Russia and America in a Changed World," Institute of International Education Conference on New Directions in US Foreign Policy, University of Denver, November 2, 2001.
- "International Relations Theory and Ukrainian Foreign Policy," lecture series (eight lectures) at York University, Toronto, Canada, June 10-18, 2001.
- "Ukrainian Political Institutions in Comparative Perspective," Kansas State University, November 27, 2000.
- "The Evolution of the Ukrainian Parliament," Harvard University, November 6, 2000.
- "Democracy in Russia," Pittsburg State University, March 8, 2000.
- "Dilemmas in Ukrainian Foreign Policy," Harvard University, April 20, 1998.
- "The Problem of Trade Cooperation in the Former Soviet Union," University of Washington, Seattle, August 5, 1993.

**Presentations Related to Academic Administration:**

- “Zero-Based Budgeting Strategy,” University of Texas, Arlington, January 25, 2025.
- “In Sickness and in Health? Evaluating Institutional Finances,” American Council on Education Fellows Program, Final Retreat, June 5, 2023.
- “Connecting Money to Mission,” ACE Fellows Program Mid-Year Retreat, January 5, 2023, Tucson.
- “Budgeting and Strategy in Higher Education,” ACE Fellows Program Opening Meeting, August 13, 2022, Providence.
- “Financial Viability in Time of Crises,” International Association of University Presidents Annual Meeting, June 9, 2022.
- “Connecting Money to Mission: Revenues and Expenses,” ACE Fellows Mid-Year Retreat, January 6, 2022, Tucson.
- “Connecting Money to Mission: Financial Statements and Budgets,” ACE Fellows Mid-Year Retreat, January 5, 2022, Tucson.
- “Leading Change in Volatile Times: Building Stakeholder Support,” ACE Engage Program, Online Workshop, November 16, 2020.
- “Financial Viability in Time of Crisis,” American Council on Education, ACE Fellows Final Retreat, June 3, 2020 (via video).
- “Connecting Money to Mission,” American Council on Education, Fellows Mid-Year Retreat, Tucson, January 10, 2020.
- “Identifying the Financial Health of an Institution,” American Council on Education, ACE Fellows Final Retreat, Portland, OR, June 4, 2019.
- “Connecting Money to Mission,” American Council on Education, Fellows Mid-Year Retreat, Tucson, January 11, 2019.
- “Budgeting and Strategy in Higher Education,” Western Carolina University, Student Success Director’s Retreat, Highlands, NC, January 4, 2019.
- “Budgets and Financial Management for University Leaders,” ACE Fellows Program Opening Retreat, Richmond, VA, August 11, 2018.
- “Budget and Financial Management for Chairs,” ACE Leadership Academy for Department Chairs, Kent State University, August 8-9, 2018.
- “Department Chair Leadership in an Institutional Governance Structure,” ACE Leadership Academy for Department Chairs, Kent State University, August 8-9, 2018.
- “Caveat Emptor: Financial Questions to Ask When Taking a New Position in Academic Leadership,” American Council on Education, Fellows Final Retreat, New Haven, June 3, 2018.
- “Connecting Money to Mission,” American Council on Education, Fellows Mid-Year Retreat, San Jose, January 5, 2018.
- “What Resigning Teaches Us about Governance,” The Toronto Seminar in Justice Governance, November 27, 2017.
- “Budgeting and Financial Management,” with Maria Anguiano, American Council on Education, Leadership for Department Chairs Program, San Diego, January 12, 2017.
- “What Teamwork Means to Us,” with Maria Anguiano, American Council in Education/NACUBO conference on CAO/CFO Collaborations, August 2, 2016.
- “Cluster Hiring at UCR: Method and Early Results,” APLU Council of Academic Affairs annual meeting, Park City, Utah, July 10, 2016.
- Panel Participant, “Implications for Research & Practice: From Researchers & Practitioners,” Beyond Anecdote: New Tools to Decipher the Causes and Costs of Faculty Exit, UC Irvine, June 28, 2016.
- “Getting a Grip on the Cost of Teaching,” with Maria Anguiano and William Massy, Forum for the Future of Higher Education, Aspen, CO, June 15, 2016.
- “Distance Education: How to Ride a Revolution,” Caleb and Michele Grimes Lecture Series, University of Florida, April 1, 2013.
- “Emerging Challenges in Research Funding,” AAU Deans of Arts and Sciences annual meeting, UC Davis, March 7, 2013.

- “Career Development in University Administration,”  
SEC Academic Council Academic Leadership Conference, February 7, 2013.
- “Judgment in Academic Leadership,” UF Advanced Leadership and Professionals Academy,  
Gainesville, January 12, 2012; January 17, 2013.
- “Academic Pedigree and Bias in Faculty Searches: Problems and Possible Solutions,” 6th Annual  
Florida Conference on Diversity and Equity, Gainesville, FL, November 3, 2011.
- “Post-Tenure Review,” AAU Deans of Arts and Sciences Meeting, Gainesville, FL, March 4, 2011.
- “Administration as a Career,” Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA,  
January 6, 2011.
- “Two Approaches to Budget Cutting”  
AAU Deans of Arts and Sciences Meeting, University of Colorado, March 5, 2010.
- “Diversifying the Faculty: What Works and What Doesn’t,” AAU Deans of Arts and Sciences  
Meeting, University of Rochester, March 20, 2009.

### **Professional Activities**

- Finance Committee, International Studies Association, 2026-  
Editor, *European Security* (quarterly scholarly journal), 2001-2004  
Academic Associate, The Atlantic Council, 1992-2008.  
Manuscript Reviewer for *European Political Science Review*, *European Politics and Society*, *Party Politics*,  
*Europe Asia Studies*, *East European Politics and Societies*, *Demokratizatsiya*, *Comparative Politics*,  
*Comparative Political Studies*, *National Geographic*, *Armed Forces and Society*, *International Studies*  
*Quarterly*, *European Security*, *Comparative Politics*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Nationalism and Ethnic*  
*Politics*, *International Politics*, *Slavic Review*, Cornell University Press, St. Martin’s Press, Central  
European University Press, Westview Press; Rowman and Littlefield, Congressional  
Quarterly Press.

- Member: American Association for Ukrainian Studies (Executive Board, 2000-2007,  
2012- present; Vice-President, 2018-23)  
Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies  
Association for the Study of Nationalities  
International Studies Association

### **Languages**

Russian, Ukrainian, German.