

February 2019

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#### **4. PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1963-64  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Columbia University, Summer 1966  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1964-1969  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan 1969-1974  
Associate Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1971  
Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, 1972-1978  
Associate Dean for the Faculty, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, University of Michigan, 1981-1984  
Co-Director, Program for International Peace and Security Research, 1983 -2007  
Research Professor, Center for Political Studies, 1989 - 2007  
Visiting Professor, Harvard University, winter 1988  
Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1974 - present  
Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, September 1991-1992  
Director, Center for Political Studies 1996 – 2002  
Visiting Professor, European University, St. Petersburg, Russia 2000 and 2002  
Emeritus Professor of Political Science, July 2007-  
Emeritus Research Professor, Center for Political Studies, 2007-

#### **5. Knowledge of foreign languages**

Russian: reading, good; oral, adequate for professional conversations  
French: reading, fair; oral, passive  
Serbo-Croatian, reading, fair; oral now passive

#### **6. Relevant Recent Public Activities**

Chair, Detroit Committee on Foreign Relations, 1994 - 2003  
Visiting Committee, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1997-2002  
Member, Carnegie Corporation Advisory Council, Program on Russian Regional Universities (MION) 2000-2006  
Chair, Department of Political Science Centennial Committee, 2010-11

## **7 Detailed resume**

### **7a and b. Higher education:**

Swarthmore College, B.A. with honors, 1958

George Washington University, MA 1959

Columbia University, PhD 1965

### **7c: Awards and Titles**

## HONORS, AWARDS & GRANTS

Foreign Area Training Fellowship, Ford Foundation, 1961-1962

William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, Columbia University, 1962-63, toured for 2 months (September - October 1962) in Soviet Union and several East European countries

Research Grants, Institute for War and Peace Studies and Russian Institute, Columbia University, summer 1965

Inter-university Committee on Travel Grants Fellowship for 1956-1966, American/Soviet exchange of young faculty, spent 5 months February - June 1966) in the Soviet Union, primarily at Leningrad University

Helen Dwight Reid Award of the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the fields of international relations, law, and politics in 1965, September 1966

Phi Kappa Phi, 1967

Research Grant, Program on International Organization, University of Michigan, June - December 1968, Summer 1967, and Summer 1972

Fulbright-Hays Grant for Research in Yugoslavia, May - December 1970 (ACLS-SSRC Grant for same period and purpose declined)

(with Walter Connor, Zvi Gitelman, William Lockwood, and Ladislav Matejka) "Industrialization, Mobilization, and Mass Attitude Change in Eastern Europe," Ford Foundation, July 1, 1972 - June 30, 1976

Pi Sigma Alpha award of the American Political Science Association for the best paper presented at the 1973 Annual Convention, 1974

IREX Travel Grant to Romania, 1975

(along with Zvi Gitelman and Morris Bornstein) "The World Economy and Soviet-East European Relations," Rockefeller Foundation, July 1, 1976 - June 30, 1979

(with Robert Axelrod) "Politics and Deception in the Soviet Press" Ford Foundation September 1, 1978 - December 1980, and Earhart Foundation, June 1979-August 1980

Member, Council on Foreign Relations

Who's Who

Senior Research Associate, Soviet Interview Project (James Millar, Director)

Principal Investigator (with Norman Nie) Soviet Military Project

Co-Principal Investigator (with Harold Jacobson) "Domestic Bases of Bi-Polar Stability" MacArthur Foundation

Co-Principal Investigator (with Harold Jacobson) "New Approaches to International Conflict" Carnegie Corporation

Principal investigator, MacArthur Pre-doctoral and Post-doctoral Scholars Program in

International Peace and Security Studies

Principal investigator, Social Science Research Council conference grant

Principal investigator, National Council for Soviet-East European Research grant "The Russian People and Foreign Policy"

Principal investigator, National Council for Soviet-East European Research grant "Markets, Democracy and Russian Foreign Policy"

Co-Principal Investigator with Timothy Colton, 1996 Russian Election Study, Carnegie Corporation and MacArthur Foundation

Principal investigator, U.S. Information Agency grant, "Summer Institute for the Study of the United States: The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy," grant awarded in 1996, 1997, 1998.

Fulbright award, European University, St. Petersburg, Russia, spring 2002.

Principal investigator, Upgrading Russian Social Science, Carnegie Corporation, 2001-2003, renewed for 2003-2011

Principal investigator, National Council for East European and Eurasian Studies, for fourth wave of elite surveys "Continuity and Change in Russian Foreign Policy Elite Perspectives".

Lifetime Achievement Award, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, December, 2004.

Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award, University of Michigan, 2005

Principal Investigator, National Council for East European and Eurasian Studies, for fifth wave of elite surveys, "Russian Foreign Policy Elite Perspectives," 2008-2009

Coprincipal Investigator, seventh wave of elite surveys

**7d. Research interests:** Russian elites, Soviet and Russian political systems, comparative foreign policy,

### **7e. Publications**

#### BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

(with Harold Jacobson, eds.) The Shaping of Foreign Policy. (New York: Atherton 1969).

Soviet Perspectives on International Relations, 1957-67, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1969). Jointly sponsored by the Institute of War and Peace Studies, and Russian Institute, Columbia University (Reprinted in paperback edition 1973; Indian edition, 1973).

(with Morris Bornstein and Zvi Gitelman, eds.), East-West Relations and the Future of Eastern Europe (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981).

Open Borders, Nonalignment and the Political Evolution of Yugoslavia. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Culture and Politics in Yugoslavia. (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1988).

(ed.) Beyond the Soviet Threat: Rethinking American Security Policy in a New Era.

(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

(with Harold K. Jacobson, eds.) Behavior, Culture, and Conflict in World Politics.  
(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994)

The Russian People and Foreign Policy: Russian Elite and Mass Perspectives 1993-2000  
(Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Ruling Russia: Authoritarianism from the Revolution to Putin (Princeton University Press, 2014;  
Paperback 2015; German edition, 2015; Chinese edition, August 2018)

(with Sharon Rivera ( preface and editors) "Russian Foreign Policy Elites," Post-Soviet Affairs,  
(Double issue: March 2019) , Vol. 35, No.2

#### ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

"Issues Before the Fifteenth General Assembly," International Conciliation, No. 529  
(September 1960) 9-48.

"Sokolovskii and His Critics," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 8, No. 3, (September 1964)  
322-328.

"Russia and the World Order," Survey, 1966, No. 58, 209-214.

"Soviet Strategic Policy: A Review," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 10, No. 4, (December  
1966) 524-528.

"Soviet Perceptions of American Foreign Policy," in Alexander Dallin and Thomas Larson (eds.),  
Soviet Politics Since Khrushchev, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Spectrum 1968) 173-179.

"International Relations in the Soviet Union: The Emergence of a Discipline," Journal of Politics,  
Vol. 31, No. 1 (February 1969) 52-70.

"Friendship without Friends," Problems of Communism, (May 1969), 39-41.

"Elite Perspectives and the Explanation of Soviet Foreign Policy," Journal of International Affairs,  
Vol. 24, No. 1 (1970) 84-98. Reprinted in Erik P. Hoffman and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr.,  
(eds.), The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy, (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton 1971) 19-30.

"International Relations," in Sowjetsystem und Demokratische Gesellschaft (Freiberg: Herder  
1971) 226-233.

"The Soviet Union," in Steven Spiegel and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), Conflict in World Politics,  
(Cambridge, MA: Winthrop 1971) 38-55.

- “Hierarchical Regional Systems and the Politics of System Boundaries,” International Organization, (Winter 1972) 18-36.
- “The Transformation of the Modern Multi-State System: The Exhaustion of Communist Alternatives,” Journal of Conflict Resolution, (September 1972) 303-317.
- “Issue Area and the Foreign Policy Process: A Research Note in Search of a General Theory,” American Political Science Review, Vol. 57, (December 1973) 1204-1212.
- “Soviet Foreign Policy in the Seventies,” Survey, No. 2 (87) (Spring 1973) 188-198.
- “Choices in the Postwar World: Containment and the Soviet Union,” Charles Gati (ed.), Caging the Bear: Containment and the Cold War, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill 1974) 85-108.
- “The Tito Succession and the Evolution of Yugoslav Politics,” Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, (Spring-Summer 1976) 62-79.
- “What Americans Know and Don’t Know About the Soviet Union,” The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 2 (January 1977) 118-128.
- “National-International Linkages in Yugoslavia: The Political Consequences of Openness,” in Jan Triska and Paul Cocks (eds.), Political Development in Eastern Europe (New York: Praeger 1977) 334-364.
- “The Tito Legacy and Yugoslavia’s Future,” Problems of Communism, Vol. 26, No. 3 (May-June 1977) 19-33.
- “Soviet Party Congresses: Intended and Unintended Consequences,” in Alexander Dallin (ed.), The Congress of the CPSU (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press 1977) 1-7.
- “A Rejoinder to Johnson,” Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1977) 405-411.
- “Dependency Theory and the Soviet-East European Hierarchical Regional System: Initial Tests” Slavic Review, Vol. 37, No. 4 (December 1978) 604-623. Reprinted in Ronald Linden, East European Foreign Policies (Boulder: Westview 1980).
- “Foreign Policy Performance and Foreign Policy Goals: Communist Policies in the Third World,” Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 1979) 91-103.
- “The Soviet Union and the West,” in Stephen Cohen et al., The Soviet Union Since Stalin. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1980) 305-311. Reprinted in Hoffman and Fleron, The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Revised ed. 1980) 664-670.

- “The Energy Crisis, Western ‘Stagflation’ and the Evolution of Soviet-East European Relations” in Egon Neuberger and Laura D’Andrea Tyson (eds.), The Impact of International Economic Disturbances on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (New York: Pergamon, 1980) 409-438.
- “A Bold Strategy for Independence,” Newsweek, International Edition, (May 19, 1980) 16-17.
- “Rethinking Soviet Foreign Policy: Changing American Perspectives” International Journal, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Summer 1980) 548-562.
- “The Korean and Vietnam Wars,” in Stephen Kaplan (ed.), The Diplomacy of Power: Soviet Armed Force as a Political Instrument (Washington: Brookings, 1981) 314-356.
- With Robert Axelrod “The Soviet Press on Soviet Foreign Policy: A Usually Reliable Source,” British Journal of Political Science (April 1981) 183-200.
- With Robert Axelrod, “The Soviet ‘Lessons’ of Vietnam and Soviet Foreign Policy,” World Politics (October 1981) 1-24. Reprinted in Joseph Collins ed., Lessons of Recent Wars in the Third World (New York: DC Heath, 1985).
- “What do Scholars Know about Soviet Foreign Policy?” International Journal, Vol. 28, 198-219. Reprinted in Robbin Laird and Erik Hoffman (eds.) Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World. (New York: Aldine, 1986) 84-98.
- “Why Yugoslavia Survived: Yugoslav Strategies of Independence 1948-1980”.; in Wayne Vucinich (ed.) At the Brink of War and Peace: The Tito Stalin Split (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 11-28.
- (with Glenn Palmer), “Words and Deeds in Soviet Foreign Policy: The Case of the Soviet Military Budget.” American Political Science Review, June 1983, 358-367.
- “International-national Linkages and Political Processes in Yugoslavia” in Michael J. Todaro and Sharon L. Wolchik, eds., Foreign and Domestic Policy in Eastern Europe in the 1980s (New York: MacMillan, 1983) 27-46.
- “Soviet Relations with Yugoslavia and Romania” in Sarah Terry, ed., Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) 125-154.
- “Mobilized Participation and the Nature of the Soviet Dictatorship” in James Millar (ed.) Politics, Work and Daily Life in the U.S.S.R. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 352-381 (Beijing edition: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1989).
- (with Michael Berbaum) “Soviet Civilian and Military Performance: an Initial Report”, in James Millar (ed.) Politics, Work and Daily Life in the U.S.S.R. (in Chinese) (Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1989) 135-148.

- “Scholars and the Conception of the Soviet Problem in American Foreign Policy,” Research in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1-17, 1991.
- “Soviet Foreign Policy and World Politics” Journal of International Affairs, Spring 1990, 44, 1, 125-138. (Reprinted in Frederic Fleron, ed. Classics in Soviet Foreign Policy 125-139. (Aldine, 1991) and in Robert Rothstein, ed. The Evolution of Theory in International Relations (RIIA, 1990).
- “Reform, Democratization, and Soviet Foreign Policy,” in R. Jervis and S. Bialer (eds.) Soviet-American Relations after the Cold War (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 76-97.
- “The Yalta System, Eastern Europe and the Two Koreas” The Korean Journal of International Studies, No. 2, 1991, 1-13, excerpted in Korea Herald, September 6, 1990.
- “Intergenerational Differences in Attitude Toward Foreign Policy”, Arthur Miller, William Reisinger and Vicki Hasli (eds.) Public Opinion and Regime Change (Boulder, CO: Westview 1993), 259-70.
- (with Michael Berbaum) “Soviet Military Manpower Policy in the Brezhnev Era: Regime Goals, Social Origins and ‘Working the System’” in Europe Asia Studies (Soviet Studies) 45,2, March 1993, 281-302.
- “Social and Economic Change, the Transformation of the Balkans, and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia”, eds. Steven R. Dorr and Neysa M. Slater, European Military and Political Environment in a Post Cold War Era, (Washington, D.C.: Defense War College 1992) 73-81.
- (with Deborah Yarsike) “Mass Publics and New Thinking in Soviet and Russian Foreign Policy”, in William Zimmerman (ed.) Beyond the Soviet Threat: Rethinking American Security Policy in a New Era (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press 1992), 3-20.
- “Migration and Security in Yugoslavia,” in Myron Weiner (ed.) International Migration and Security (Boulder, CO: Westview 1993), 65-82.
- “Markets, Democracy and Russian Foreign Policy” Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 10, 2, April-June 1994, 103-126, reprinted in Mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniia: sovremennost’ i istoriia, #3, 1999.
- “Arzamas-15 and Russian Studies” Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 11, 1, January 1995, 83-88.
- “Synoptic Thinking and Political Culture in Post-Soviet Russia.” Slavic Review, 54, 3 (Fall 1995), 630-41.

- “Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian Foreign Policy Processes: A Preliminary Assessment,” in David Holloway and Norman Naimark, eds., Reexamining the Soviet Experience (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), 197-216.
- “Is Ukraine a Political Community?” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 31 (1998), No. 1, pp. 43-55.
- (With Elena Nikitina and James Clem) “The Soviet Union and the Russian Federation: A Natural Experiment in Environmental Compliance,” in Harold K. Jacobson and Edith Brown-Weiss, eds., Engaging Countries: Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), pp. 291-326.
- (with Judith Kullberg) “Liberal Elites, Socialist Masses, and Problems of Russian Democracy,” World Politics, Vol. 51, No. 3 (April 1999), pp. 323-58.
- “The Diminishing Burden of the Soviet Past: Russian Assessments of Russian-Ukrainian Linkages,” in Lubomyr Hajda, Zvi Gitelman, John-Paul Himka, and Roman Solchanyk (eds.) Cultures and Conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000, pp. 432-446.
- “Survey Research and Russian Perspectives on NATO Expansion,” Post-Soviet Affairs, July-September, 2001, pp.235-261.
- (with Boris Doktorov) “More than Half of St. Petersburg Considers the U.S. a Threat” (in Russian), Chas Pik, June 2002.
- “Political Behavior and Systems: Introduction” in James S. House et al., A Telescope on Society: Survey Research and Social Science at the University of Michigan and Beyond, pp. 65-69 (University of Michigan Press, 2004).
- “The Michigan Way,” Michigan Journal of International Law, 24 (2004), 4, pp. 1037-1040.
- “Slavophiles and Westernizers redux: Contemporary Russian foreign policy elite perspectives,” Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 22, No. 3 (2005), pp. 183-210.
- “‘Normal democracies’ and improving how they are measured: the case of Russia,” Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 23 (2007), No. 1, pp. 1-18.
- “Russian National Interests, Use of Blood and Treasure, and Energy Price Assessments: 2008-2009,” Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2009), pp. 185-208.
- David Sokolov, et al “ Disillusion and Anti-Americanism in Russia. ” *International Studies Quarterly*, June 26, 2018