

HENRY E. HALE
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CURRENT POSITION

Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science, George Washington University. Since August 2005.

EDUCATION

Harvard: Ph.D. in Political Science, March 1998
A.M. in Regional Studies: Soviet Union, June 1990
Duke: A.B. *Summa Cum Laude*, May 1988, Class Rank: 7 / 1472

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State (NY: Cambridge U. Press, 2006).

In Peer-Reviewed Journals

“The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell,”
Perspectives on Politics, v.3, no.1, March 2005, pp.55-70.

“Why Not Parties? Supply and Demand on Russia’s Electoral Market,” *Comparative Politics*, v.37, no.2,
January 2005, pp.147-66.

“Yabloko and the Challenge of Building a Liberal Party in Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.56,
no.7, November 2004, pp.993-1020.

“Explaining Ethnicity,” *Comparative Political Studies*, v.37, no.4, May 2004, pp.458-85.

“Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” *World
Politics*, v.56, no.2, January 2004, pp.165-93. Co-winner of the APSA Qualitative Methods Section’s
2005 Alexander L. George Article Award for the best qualitative methods article. Earlier version was
winner of

“The Origins of United Russia and the Putin Presidency: The Role of Contingency in Party-System
Development,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.12, no.2, Spring
2004, pp.169-94.

“Russia: Consolidation or Collapse?” *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.54, no.7, November 2002, pp.1101-25.
Co-author: Rein Taagepera.

“Civil Society From Above? Statist and Liberal Models of State-Building in Russia,” *Demokratizatsiya:
The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, v.10, no.3, Summer 2002, pp.306-321.

“The Parade of Sovereignties: Testing Theories of Secession in the Soviet Setting,” *British Journal of
Political Science*, v.30, no.1, January 2000, pp.31-56.

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“Machine Politics and Institutionalized Electorates: A Comparative Analysis of Six Duma Races in Bashkortostan, Russia,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, v.15, no.4, December 1999, pp.70-110.

In Edited Volumes and Other Social Science Periodicals

“Correlates of Clientelism: Political Economy, Politicized Ethnicity, and Postcommunist Transition,” in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson (eds.) *Citizen-Politician Linkages in Democratic Politics* (NY: Cambridge University Press, expected 2006).

“Party Development in a Federal System: The Impact of Putin’s Reforms,” in Peter Reddaway and Robert Ortung (eds.), *The Dynamics of Russian Politics: Putin's Reform of Federal-Regional Relations*, v.2 (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), pp.179-211.

“Putin and the ‘Delegative Democracy’ Trap: Evidence from Russia’s 2003-04 Elections,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.20, no.4, October-December 2004. Co-authors: Michael McFaul and Timothy Colton.

“Explaining Machine Politics in Russia’s Regions: Economy, Ethnicity, and Legacy,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.19, no.3, July-September 2003, pp.228-63.

“Bashkortostan: The Logic of Ethnic Machine Politics and the Consolidation of Democracy,” in Timothy J. Colton and Jerry F. Hough (eds.) *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Election of 1993* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998) pp.599-636.

“Commentary on Kazakhstan,” in Aleksei Arbatov, Abraham Chayes, Antonia Handler Chayes, and Lara Olson (eds.) *Managing Conflict in the Post-Soviet Space: Russian and American Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA: CIS/MIT Press, 1997) pp.333-40.

“Islam, State-Building and Uzbekistan’s Foreign Policy,” in Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (eds.) *The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and Its Borderlands* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994).

In Other Outlets

“Russia’s Presidential Election and the Fate of Democracy: Taking the Cake,” *AAASS NewsNet*, Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, v.44, no.3, May 2004, pp.1-6.

“Putin’s Anti-Campaign Campaign: Presidential Election Tactics in Today’s Russia,” *AAASS NewsNet*, Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, v.40, no.3, May 2000. Co-author: Vladimir Boxer.

“Will Elections Erode Russia’s Democracy?” *The Fletcher Forum*, v.24, no.1, Spring 2000, pp.123-36.

“Integration and Independence in the Caspian Basin,” *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring 1999, pp.163-89.

Russia’s Electoral War of 1999-2000: The Russian Election Watch Compendium (Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, Harvard University, 2000). Available at <http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/BCSIA/SDI.nsf/web/REWcompendium>

“The Party’s On: The Impact of Political Organizations in Russia’s Duma Elections,” PONARS working paper no.15, November 1999.

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“The Rise of Russian Anti-Imperialism,” *Orbis*, Winter 1999, pp.111-25.

“The Strange Death of the Soviet Union: Nationalism, Democratization and Leadership,” PONARS working paper no.12, April 1999.

Book Reviews

Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), *Political Science Quarterly*, forthcoming 2005.

Edward W. Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), *Journal of Cold War Studies*, forthcoming 2004.

V. Gel'man, G. Golosov, and E. Meleshkina (eds.), *Vtoroi Elektoral'nyi Tsikl v Rossii 1999-2000 gg.* (Moscow: Ves' Mir, 2002), for *Slavic Review*, 2004.

Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), *Comparative Political Studies*, v.36, no.7, September 2003, pp.849-52.

Russian Translations of English-Language Publications

“Etnicheskaia Mobilizatsiia v Bashkortostane I Sud'ba Rossiiskoi Demokratii,” in Igor V. Kuchumov (ed.), *Bashkortostan v Politicheskom Prostranstve Rossii: Zarubezhnaia Politologiia o Tendentsiakh Sovremennogo Razvitiia Respubliki* (Ufa, Russia: Zdravookhraneniie Bashkortostana, 2004), pp.66-84.

“Administrativnyi Resurs I Ukreplenie Elektoratov v National'noi Respublike: Vybory Deputatov Gosudarstvennoi Dumy v Odnomandatnykh Izbiratel'nykh Okrugakh Bashkortostana v 1993 g.,” in Igor V. Kuchumov (ed.), *Bashkortostan v Politicheskom Prostranstve Rossii: Zarubezhnaia Politologiia o Tendentsiakh Sovremennogo Razvitiia Respubliki* (Ufa, Russia: Zdravookhraneniie Bashkortostana, 2004), pp.84-106.

DISSERTATION

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

PUBLICATIONS FOR POLICYMAKING OR BROADER AUDIENCES

Harvard and Indiana Universities

- *Russian Election Watch*. Editor and chief writer for monthly bulletin aimed at the English-speaking policymaking communities in the West and Russia. Funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York and co-sponsored by Indiana and Harvard Universities. October 2003 - March 2004 election cycle (<http://daviscenter.fas.harvard.edu/publications/rew.html>) and July 1999 - April 2000 election cycle (http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication_list.cfm?program=CORE&ln=series&series=6).

Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow

- “Russia’s Single-member-district elections and the new Duma,” published on the Center’s elections website, <http://www.carnegie.ru/en/pubs/media/69304.htm>, December 7, 2003.

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard

- “Bazaar Politics: Prospects for Parties in Russia,” *Russia Watch*, no.9, special issue on Russian political parties, January 2003, pp.5-7.
http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication.cfm?program=CORE&ctype=paper&item_id=367

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

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

Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, Harvard (MA) and CSIS (Washington, DC)
(<http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/pm/>)

- “Interpreting the Color Revolutions and Prospects for Post-Soviet Democratization: Breaking the Cycles,” December 2005, no.373.
- “The Bellwether Battle for Bashkortostan: Rage Against the Machine,” December 2003, no.293.
- “The Duma Districts: Key to Putin’s Power,” September 2003, no.290.
- “Ethnofederalism: Lessons for Afghanistan, Pakistan, Russia and Beyond,” November 2001, no.208.
- “B-Grade Democracy: Taking Stock of the Transition in Russia,” April 2000, no.119.
- “Is Russian Nationalism on the Rise?” February 2000, no.110.
- “Critical Political Mass: the Emergence of Russia’s Party System,” November 1999, no.74.
- “The Regionalization of Autocracy in Russia,” November 1998, no.42.
- “Breaking Up is Hard to Do: Why Russia Won’t Collapse Like the USSR,” November 1998, no.54.
- “Russia’s Fiscal Veto on CIS Integration,” November 1997, no.15.

TEACHING PUBLICATIONS

“Managed Democracy and Russia’s 2003-04 Elections,” *AP Central*, web resource for advanced placement teachers, The College Board, <http://apcentral.collegeboard.com>, forthcoming.

“Teaching Central Eurasian Politics in Comparative Perspective,” *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, v.2, no.1, Winter 2003, pp.33-4, http://cess.fas.harvard.edu/CESS_Review.html. Article solicited by education section editor based on my contribution to a collection of syllabi on Central Asia. Syllabus available at <http://cesww.fas.harvard.edu>.

HONORS, GRANTS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

- Winner, APSA Qualitative Methods Section’s 2005 Alexander L. George Article Award for the best qualitative methods article, for “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics*, v.56, no.2, January 2004, pp.165-93.
- National Science Foundation. \$200,000 grant for the project “Party Development in Russia: Partisanship and Party Influences on Voting in Multiple Electoral Settings.” January 2004 - December 2005. Co-investigator. Principal investigator: Timothy Colton. Co-investigator: Michael McFaul.
- Carnegie Corporation of New York. \$50,000 grant for the project “The Forthcoming Russian Elections: Democracy Developing, Denied, or Denuded?” September 1, 2003 - August 31, 2004. Principal investigator. Co-investigators: Timothy Colton, Michael McFaul, Robert Ortung.
- National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, National Research Competition, Research Contract for \$55,000 for the project: “Democracy in the Duma Districts,” October 1, 2003 - September 30, 2005. First scholar. Second scholar: Timothy Colton.
- Winner, Combating Political Violence paper competition, \$5,000 prize, for the paper “Divided We Stand: Ethnofederalism as Problem and Solution in Divided Societies.” Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, April 2003
- Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies, \$6,000, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Summer 2004
- Mellon Faculty Summer Research Fellowship, \$5,000, REEI, Indiana University, Summer 2003
- Mellon Faculty Grant-in-Aid of Research, \$700, REEI, Indiana University, Spring 2001

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- Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard, 1997-98
- Peace Scholarship, U.S. Institute of Peace, 1995-96
- Mellon Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Harvard Government Department, 1995-96
- Arthur Maass Prize Fellowship in Government, Harvard, 1990-91
- Mazur Fellowship in Arts and Sciences, Harvard, 1989-90
- Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, academic year 1989-90, summers 1989, 1992
- British Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarship for graduate study in UK, 1988-90 (declined)
- High Honors, Duke senior thesis in political science on Gorbachev's agricultural reforms, 1988
- Proctor & Gamble Award, 1988, for Duke political science major with highest overall GPA
- *Phi Beta Kappa*, 1986

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Indiana University. Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2000 - 2005

European University at St. Petersburg, Russia. Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science and Sociology, Spring 1999

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Adjunct Assistant Professor of International Politics, academic year 1997-98

Harvard University. Head Teaching Fellow, Teaching Fellow, 1994-97

OTHER PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

- *Member.* American Political Science Association.
- *Member.* Midwest Political Science Association.
- *Member.* Association for the Study of Nationalities.
- *Member.* American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.
- *Member.* Central Eurasian Studies Society.
- *Member.* Program on New Approaches to Russian Security Policy (PONARS).
- *Visiting Scholar.* Carnegie Moscow Center. 2003-04.
- *Policy Fellow.* Policy Studies Program, EastWest Institute, New York. June-August 2002.
- *Visiting Scholar.* Harriman Institute, Columbia University. June-August 2003, July-August 2001.
- *Research Associate.* SDI Project, Harvard. Research, writing on Russian politics, political parties in comparative perspective. Writing, editing the monthly publication *Russian Election Watch*. Planning, implementing programs in US for Russian politicians. September 1998 - August 2000.

LANGUAGES

- Russian: fluency
- Ukrainian: reading knowledge
- Uzbek: some reading ability (dictionary necessary)
- Turkish: two years of coursework
- Azerbaijani: one semester of coursework