

Resume

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Employment

2014- Professor of Political Science, UCLA

1996-2014 Associate Professor of Political Science, UCLA

1989-1996 Assistant Professor of Political Science, UCLA

1988-1989 Instructor, Claremont Graduate School

1981-82 Staff Assistant to Rep. Les Aspin, Washington, D.C.

1978-81 Staff, Oversight Subcommittee, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, D.C.

1975-78 Analyst, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C.

1973-75 Technical Staff, General Electric/TEMPO, Washington, D.C.

1973 Second Lieutenant, U.S. Army Reserve, Active Duty for Training, Military Intelligence Officer Basic Course, Fort Huachuca, Arizona

Internships

1973 Editorial Board, The New York Times

1972 U.S. Mission to NATO, Brussels, Belgium

Education

Doctor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley, 1989

Master of Public Affairs, Princeton University, 1973

Bachelor of Arts, Davidson College, 1971

Honors

Odegard Prize, U.C. Berkeley, 1985

Phi Beta Kappa, Davidson College, 1971

Fellowships and Grants

International Research and Exchanges Board Short-Term Grant, 1995

UC Berkeley Center for German and European Studies Junior Faculty Award, 1992

UCLA International Studies and Overseas Programs Small Grant, 1992

RAND/UCLA Center for Soviet Studies Grant-in-Aid, Summer 1990

Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation Dissertation Fellow, 1987-1988

Stanford University Center for International Security and Arms Control Dissertation Fellow
1987-1988

MacArthur Fellow in International Security, 1986-1987

American Council of Learned Societies/Social Science Research Council Fellow in Russian and
Soviet Studies, 1985-1986

Foreign Language Area Studies Fellow, 1982-1983

Contracts

National Council for Soviet and East European Research, “Ideology, Communications, and Russian Democracy,” November 1996-July 1997.

National Council for Soviet and East European Research, “Speech and Democracy in Russia,” July 1993-September 1994.

Principal Publications

“Objections Proffering Choices: Negation in the Co-Construction of Political Identity by Rival Partisans in the Russian State Duma,” *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 2016, 61(1): 1–28.

“Not Easily Embarrassed: Political Metaphor and the Cooperative Construction of Political Identity in the Russian State Duma,” in *Over the Top*, Special Issue of *Politics, Culture, and Socialization* 2015, 6(1), in progress.

Discourse, Dictators and Democrats: Russia’s Place in a Global Process. Burlington, Vt. Ashgate, 2014.

“Discourse and Strategic Continuity from Gorbachev through Putin,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 46 (2013), 123–135.

“Crony Politics in Russia,” *International Studies Review* 14, (2012), 324–330.

“When the Center *Can* Hold: The Primacy of Politics in Shaping Russian Democracy,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43, 4 (2010), 397-408.

“Obuchenie i demokratiia,” in Russian translation, in *Uchitel’, pered imenem tvoim....: Materialy Vserossiiskogo nauchnoi- prakticheskoi konferentsii “Missiia uchitelia v proshlom, nastoiashchem, budushchem” 8-9 Aprelia 2010 goda* (Nizhnii Tagil’, Russia, 2010), 7-13.

“Soviet Ethnic Policy and the Discursive Roots of Central Asian Authoritarianism,” (Bloomington, Ind.: Center for Eurasian Studies, 2007).

“On a Cross-Cultural Resemblance among Certain Metaphors for Political Power,” *Politicheskaia Lingvistika* 20 (2006), 9-20; in Russian in *ibid.*, 21 (2007), 6-13.

“Discourse and the Export of Democracy,” *St. Antony’s International Review* 2 (February 2007), 18-34.

“The Causal Power of Metaphor: Cueing Democratic Identities in Russia and Beyond,” in Francis A. Beer and Christ’l de Landtsheer, eds., *Metaphorical World Politics: Rhetorics of Democracy, War and Globalization* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State, 2005); reprinted in Russian translation in Anatolii Chudinov and Eduard Budaev, *Vvedenie v politicheskuiu lingvistiku* (Moscow: Nauka, Flinta, 2007).

“Why Did the Soviet Empire Collapse So Fast – and Why Was the Collapse a Surprise?” in Bernard Grofman, ed., *Political Science as Puzzle Solving* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan, 2001).

Post-Communism and the Theory of Democracy, co-authored with M. Steven Fish, Stephen E. Hanson, and Philip G. Roeder, Princeton, 2001.

“Metaphors of Dictatorship and Democracy: Change in the Russian Political Lexicon and the Transformation of Russian Politics,” *Slavic Review*, Summer 2001, 312-335; reprinted in John E. Joseph, ed., *Language and Politics* (Routledge, 2010), vol. 2, 312-335.

“The Place of the Media in Popular Democracy,” *Critical Review* (Fall 1998) 12(4):481-500.

“The Russian Anomaly and the Theory of Democracy,” *Studies in Public Policy Number 309*, Center for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland, 1998.

“Pragmatic Ambiguity and Partisanship in Russia’s Emerging Democracy,” in Ofer Feldman and Christ’l de Landtsheer, eds., *Politically Speaking: A Worldwide Examination of Language Used in the Public Sphere* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998).

“Going Public in Undemocratic Polities,” in Shanto Iyengar and Richard Reeves, eds., *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America* (Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage, 1997), 334-348.

“Speech and Democracy in Russia: Responses to Political Texts in Three Russian Cities,” *British Journal of Political Science* (January 1997) 27:23-45.

“Rhetoric and Rationality: A Study of Democratization in the Soviet Union,” with Bernard Grofman, *Public Choice* (1997) 93:287-314.

“Russian Constitution and Women’s Political Opportunities,” in Wilma Rule and Norma C. Noonan, eds., *Russian Women in Politics and Society* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996).

“‘Look at All Those Nouns in a Row’: Authoritarianism, Democracy, and the Iconicity of Political Russian,” *Political Communication* (April-June 1996) 13(2):145-164.

“Russia—Old Wine in a New Bottle? The Circulation and Reproduction of Russian Elites, 1983-1993,” as third co-author after Eric Hanley and Natasha Yershova, *Theory and Society* 24 (1995), 639-668.

“Words Matter: Linguistic Conditions for Democracy in Russia,” with Valery I. Chervyakov and Pavel B. Parshin, *Slavic Review* (Winter 1995) 54(4):869-895.

“The Democratic Prospect in Russia,” *Contention*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Winter, 1994).

Public Politics in an Authoritarian State: Making Foreign Policy during the Brezhnev Years. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993.

“Totalitarizm: kontsept ili ideologija?” *Polis* (Moscow), 3, 1993.

“Explaining Self-Defeating Foreign Policy Decisions: Interpreting Soviet Arms for Egypt in 1973 through Process or Domestic Bargaining Models,” *American Political Science Review*, September 1992.

“Competitive Politics and Change in Soviet Policy toward the Middle East, 1971-1972,” in Steven Spiegel, ed., *Conflict Management in the Middle East* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1992).

“Why Competitive Politics Inhibits Learning in Soviet Foreign Policy,” in G.W. Breslauer and P.A. Tetlock, eds., *Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991).

“Questions of Evidence and Interpretation in Two Studies of Soviet Decisions in the Berlin Crises,” *Slavic Review*, Winter 1983.

“Soviet Decision-Making and Poland,” *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1982.

Miscellany

“Communist Parties,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2002), 2331-2334.

“Words of Liberation,” *Northwestern Journal of International Affairs* vol. 3 (summer 2001), 67-77.

“On the Wisdom of Enlarging NATO,” *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs*, 2 (Spring/Summer 1997), 1-23.

“The Defense Council, Succession Politics, and Soviet Military Spending,” Proceedings of a Workshop on July 7 and 8, 1982, sponsored by the Joint Economic Committee and the Congressional Research Service, Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 1983.

Short Reviews

Review of Timothy Frye, Building States and Markets after Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy, *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 4 (2011), 964-967.

Review of Herbert J. Ellison, Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Democratic Transformation, *Political Science Quarterly* (2007/2008) 122:689-690.

Review of Michael S. Gorham, Speaking in Soviet Tongues: Language Culture and the Politics of Voice in Revolutionary Russia, *Journal of Cold War Studies* (2004-2005) 7:203-205.

Review of Tom Bjorkman, Russia's Road to Deeper Democracy, *International Journal* (2003-2004), 59:226-228.

Review of Neil Robinson, Russia: A State of Uncertainty, *Slavic Review* (2003) 62:201-202.

Review of Arch Puddington, Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, *American Historical Review* (2002), 107:930-931.

Review of Stephen White, Russia's New Politics: The Management of a Postcommunist Society, *Europe-Asia Studies* (2000) 52:760-762.

Review of Celeste Wallender, Mortal Friends, Best Enemies: German-Russian Cooperation after the Cold War, *Slavic Review* (2000) 59:472-473.

Review of N.A. Kupina, Totalitarnyi iazyk: Slovar' i rechevye reaktsii, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* (1999) 31:487-488.

Review of James Richter, Khrushchev's Double Bind, *Political Science Quarterly* (1995) 110:141-142.

Review of Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, We All Lost the Cold War, *Slavic Review* (1994) 53:1153-1155.

Review of Philip G. Roeder, Red Sunset: The Failure of Soviet Politics, in *Comparative Politics Newsletter*, vol. v, no. 2.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

“Collective Action, Experimental Psychology, Spatial Discourse, and Democratic Decay,” presented to International Hellenic Conference of Political Science: New Challenges, New Answers, Athens, Greece, 17-20 April 2019.

Panelist, “Is America Enabling Autocrats to Run the World?” Zócalo Public Square, Los Angeles, CA, 30 January 2019.

“Cause for Concern: Trump, Putin and Democracy,” public lecture to The Plato Society of Los Angeles, 28 September 2017; available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwkpqPRkI8I>

“Putin, Centrism and Russian Policy in Ukraine and Syria,” Invited Lecture, California State University, Northridge, 4 November 2015.

“The Discursive Origins of Democracy in America,” Invited Lecture, Ovidius University, Constanța, Romania, 5 October 2015

“American Foreign Policy as Political Strategy,” Invited Lecture, Ovidius University, Constanța, Romania, 6 October 2015

“Perception and Identification: Some Soviet and Russian Evidence,” Invited Lecture, Political Communication Research Unit, University of Antwerp. 23 September 2015

“Putin, Centrism, and the Ambiguity of Political Images,” Invited Lecture, Political Communication Research Unit, University of Antwerp. 23 September 2015

Presentations to IPSA Conference on Methods in Political Science: “A Rainbow of Methods,”

University of Antwerp, Faculty of Social Sciences, Antwerp, Belgium, September 16-18, 2015:

“Spatial Cues in Undemocratic Politics”

“Discourse, the *Longue Durée*, and Regional Identity”

Also: Discussant, “Social science methods across the world—diversities and differences,” Panel 2; Chair, “Accommodating diversity in survey, focus group and experimental research,” Panel 3.

“Discursive Method in International Relations,” presented to International Studies Association Annual Convention New Orleans, Louisiana 21 February 2015.

“Discourse, Dictators and Democrats: Russia's Place in a Global Process,” CEES book talk with author, UCLA, Thursday, November 06, 2014

“Not Easily Embarrassed: Political Metaphor and the Cooperative Construction of Political Identity in the Russian State Duma,” presented to Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Rome, Italy, July 4-7, 2014.

“Offering Choices: Negation in the Co-Construction of Political Identity by Rival Partisans in the Russian State Duma,” presented to “Ain’t Misbehavin’? Implicit and explicit strategies in Eastern European political discourse,” conference held at University of Zurich, 19-20 October 2013.

Discussant, “The Politics of Representation and Identity,” International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Diego, California, 4 April 2012.

Discussant, “Political Culture,” International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Diego, California, 3 April 2012.

“Some Reasons for Skepticism about Political Effects of the Information Age,” presented to International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Diego, California, 2 April 2012.

Discussant, "Strategic Narratives: Leaders and Strategic Communication in a New Media Environment," APSA Political Communication Division Pre-Conference, “Power and Strategy in a New Communication Environment,” Washington, DC, 1 September 2010.

Public Lecture, “The Sources of War and the Prospects for Peace,” The Culture of Peace, Soka Gakkai International, Los Angeles, Ca., 28 August 2010.

Invited Lectures, “Political Communication: International Scientific School for Junior Scholars,” Yekaterinburg, Russia, 5-8 October, 2009: (1) “What Political Communications Do”; (2) “Cues to Identity in Political Communications”; (3) “What We Can Learn from Ancient Political Communications”; (4) “Communications in Democracy” (lectures presented in Russian).

Invited Lecture, Urals State Pedagogical University, 5 October 2009: “American Identity and Policy toward Russia.”

Hammer Forum, “Reversing the Deterioration of US-Soviet Relations,” Los Angeles, Ca., 5 March 2009.

Keynote Address, 14th Annual Central Eurasian Studies Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, 31 March 2007: “Soviet Ethnic Policy and the Discursive Roots of Central Asian Authoritarianism.”

Screeener, International Dissertation Field Research Fellowships, Social Science Research Council, 2005-2007.

Invited talk, “The 2004 Election: A Cognitive Science Approach,” UCLA Department of Political Science, October 2005.

Invited talk, “Discourse and Democracy in Russia,” Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Center and Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 23 February 2003.

Invited talk, “Discourse and Democracy in Russia,” University of California Irvine, 2001.

“I did not have sexual relations with that woman <pause, gaze averted> Ms. Lewinsky’: The Iconicity of Democratic Political Speech in English,” presented to Third Symposium on Iconicity in Language and Literature, 29-31 March 2001, Jena, Germany

Consultant, Soros Foundation Open Society Institute, August 2000.

External Examiner, Political Science Master’s Program, Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences and Manchester University, UK, 1997-2000.

“Metaphors of Dictatorship and Democracy: Change in the Russian Political Lexicon and the Transformation of Russian Politics,” presented to International Consortium for Soviet and East European Studies, Tampere, Finland, August 2000.

Invited talk, “Discourse and Democracy in Russia,” LISO, University of California, Santa

Barbara. October 8, 1999.

“Identity and Information in a Senate Campaign,” with Shanto Iyengar, presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, 3 September, 1999.

Participant, Roundtable on Neo-Institutional Theories and Post-Communist Evolution, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, 2 September, 1999

“Metaphors of Dictatorship and Democracy: Change in the Russian Political Lexicon and the Transformation of Russian Politics,” presented to the Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Amsterdam, July 1999.

“The Expansion of the European Union and the ‘Russian Question,’” presented to Enlargement of the European Union, a conference organized by the Center for European and Russian Studies, UCLA, February 26-27, 1999

Rossiiskoe iskliuchenie k teorii demokratii, presented to the International Symposium “Contemporary Development of Political and Sociological Sciences in the Context of Russian and International Experience in the XXth Century,” The Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences, Moscow, Russia, November 27-28, 1998.

“The Russian Anomaly and the Theory of Democracy,” presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.

“Discourse and Democratic Participation in the United States,” with Shanto Iyengar, presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.

Chair and Participant, Panel on “Preventing Deadly Conflicts in East and West Europe,” in “Preventing Deadly Conflict Among Nations in the 21st Century,” sponsored by Center for International Relations, April 22-24, 1998, UCLA

“Political Speech and the Emergence of Participatory Attitudes in Russia,” presented to Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 1997.

“Interlocutor Distance and Democratic Participation in Russia: An Experimental Study,” presented to Analysing Political Discourse, Aston University, July 17-19, 1997, and to Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Krakow, Poland, 21-24 July, 1997.

“On the Irrelevance of Culture to Politics,” presented at Third International Symposium: Dialogue of Civilizations: West-East, Russian University of Friendship of Peoples, Moscow, 2-4 April 1997.

“Encouraging Democratic Participation in Russia: Pragmatic Ambiguity and Identification with Political Speakers,” presented to Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Vancouver, BC, Canada, 3 July 1996

Chair and Discussant, Panel on Nationalism as Social Identity, Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Vancouver, BC, Canada, 1 July 1996

“Speech and Democracy in Russia,” Invited Lecture at University of California, Irvine, 25 May 1996

“‘Look at All Those Nouns in a Row’—Contestation, Inclusion, and the Syntax of Political Russian,” presented to American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, September 1995

“Speech and Democracy in Russia: An Experimental Result,” presented to American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 1993

“Women Legislators in Russia,” presented to American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 1993

Participant, “Central Asia in Transition,” sponsored by Duke University Center for East-West Trade, Investment and Communication, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, May 22-30, 1993

Organizer, Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation conference on domestic politics of foreign policy in the post-Soviet states, Monterey, May 1, 1993

Participant, Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation conference on regional security, Laguna, February 27-28, 1993

Participant, Roundtable on “Ethnic, Linguistic, and Regional Conflict and the Art of Constitutional Design,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, September 1992

Commentator, Whittier-UCLA Symposium on “Law and Economy after the Disintegration of the USSR,” June 12-13, 1992

Participant, Conference on “Central Asia in Transition,” sponsored by Duke University Center for East-West Trade, Investment and Communication, Phoenix, AZ, June 1992

“Perestroika as Issue Packaging and the Strategy of Democratization,” presented at “Rational Choice Approaches to Comparative Politics,” University of California, Irvine May 22-23, 1992

Discussant, “Civil Society in Post-Leninist States,” Trilateral Graduate Student Conference on the Post-Soviet Era, May 14-15, 1992

Participant, NSF Workshop on Political Economy of Former Communist States, UCLA, January 17-18, 1992

“Perestroika: Socioeconomics or Politics,” delivered at Conference on “U.S.-PRC Relations in a Period of Global Transition,” June 3-5, 1991, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley

“Perestroika and the Strategy of Democracy: Gorbachev in a Bargaining Game,” presented to Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, March 1991

Invited talk, Institute of Sociology, Goteborg University, Goteborg, Sweden, October 1990.

Discussant, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 1990

“Competitive Politics and Change in Soviet Mideast Policy, 1970-1972,” delivered to Conference on Conflict Management in the Middle East, August 1990

“Gorbachev in the Core,” invited talk at the Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis, December 1989

“Discriminating Between Internal and External Explanations for Foreign Policy: Soviet Response to Escalation in Vietnam, 1965,” delivered at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, September 1989

Participant, “Publication and Dissemination of Laws in Comparative Perspective,” Conference sponsored by Boalt Hall School of Law, U.C. Berkeley, August 4-5 1989

“Soviet Policy in the Third World: Learning or Adaptation?” delivered at Rockefeller program conference, at the RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, Ca., April 1988

Participant, 4th US-Korea Conference on Security in Northeast Asia, Seoul, Korea, December 1985

“Military Influence on the Andropov Succession,” delivered to the Section on Military Studies, International Studies Association, Monterey, Ca., Dec. 1983

Moderator, panel on Soviet defense spending, Kennan Institute, Washington, D. C., 1982

Discussant, panel on Soviet interventions, Conference on Soviet Defense Decision- Making, Monterey, Ca., 1979

Member, editorial boards, Politicheskaia Lingvistika, Kommunikativnye Issledovaniia

Referee: Princeton University Press, University of California Press, University of Michigan Press, Cornell University Press, Duke University Press, Columbia University Harriman Institute, American Political Science Review, Political Communication, International Studies Quarterly, International Organization, American Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Armed Forces and Society, Studies in Comparative Communism, Slavic Review, Millennium Review, Demokratizatsiia, Nationalities Papers, Canadian Slavonic Papers, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Flanders Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, Discourse & Society

ASSOCIATIONS (Past and present)

American Political Science Association, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, International Society for Political Psychology, International Studies Association

LANGUAGES

Russian, German, French, Dutch