

JOHN P. WILLERTON, JR.  
Professor of Political Science  
School of Government and Public Policy  
Social Sciences Building 316  
University of Arizona  
Tucson, Arizona 85721  
Phone: (520) 621-7600/7606  
Fax: (520) 621-5051  
E-mail: [jpw@email.arizona.edu](mailto:jpw@email.arizona.edu)  
Web Site: [jpw.faculty.arizona.edu/](http://jpw.faculty.arizona.edu/)

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Michigan, December, 1985. Received M.A. in Russian and East European Studies, May, 1982. Ph.D. Dissertation: "Patronage and Politics in the Soviet Union."

M.A., Political Science, Michigan State University, August, 1977.

B.A., with high honors, Michigan State University, June, 1975. Major field in Russian Language and Literature. Received Certificate of Russian and East European Studies.

MAJOR FIELDS OF PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:

1. Post-Soviet and Russian domestic politics: regime formation; decision-making and the policy process; federal executive and the presidency; center-periphery relations and the processes of regional cooperation.
2. Political elites: recruitment and mobility; political patronage; elite-mass relations and regime legitimacy; semi-presidentialism (France, Finland, and Russia).
3. Soviet and post-Soviet foreign policy: CIS and regional integration; Russian and post-Soviet relations with Eastern Europe.

EMPLOYMENT:

Professor, School of Government and Public Policy (formerly Department of Political Science), University of Arizona, since Summer 2016. [Formerly Assistant and Associate Professor, since 1988.] Affiliate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies; Affiliate, Department of Russian and Slavic Studies.

Courses Taught: Soviet and post-Soviet domestic politics (graduate and undergraduate), Soviet and post-Soviet foreign policy, comparative political elites, introduction to international relations, comparative politics (graduate and undergraduate), contemporary world politics, Russian and

Soviet Studies senior research seminar, survey of politics, policy and governance, the politics of happiness, diversity and politics.

Assistant Professor, James Madison College, Michigan State University, Fall, 1985 - Summer, 1988.

Courses Taught: Soviet domestic politics (graduate and undergraduate), Soviet foreign policy, political elites, survey of world politics, and American foreign policy.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:

**Scholarly Book**

Patronage and Politics in the USSR, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

**Recent Articles and Chapters**

“The Presidency,” in Graeme Gill, ed., Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society, Second Edition, London/New York: Routledge, 2023, pp. 87-98

“A Russian National Idea and the International System” [“Национальная идея России и международная система”], Journal of Political Research, Moscow, 5, 2021 (with Mikhail Beznosov and Martin Carrier).

“Can the U.S. shed its traditional hostility toward Russia?” in Limes: Revista Italiana di Geopolitica (Limes: Italian Review of Geopolitics), Italian title, “L’America odia più la Russia Dell’Unione Sovietica,” No. 11, 13 December 2021, available at:  
<https://www.limesonline.com/cartaceo/lamerica-odia-piu-la-russia-dellunione-sovietica>

“USA-Russia, Advancing Slowly” (“USA-Russia, Avanti Piano”), in Limes: Revista Italiana di Geopolitica (Limes: Italian Review of Geopolitics), Italian title, “USA-Russia, Avanti Piano,” No. 11, December 2020, available at:  
<https://www.limesonline.com/cartaceo/usa-russia-avanti-piano>

“Presidency and Executive,” in Richard Sakwa, Henry E. Hale, and Stephen White, eds., Developments in Russian Politics 9, Durham: Duke University Press, 2019, pp. 18-37.

“Willerton, John P., “Tackling Putin’s Russia,” in Paulette Kurzer, ed., Comparative Politics, McGraw-Hill-Create, 2019; electronic chapter, 50 pp.

“Searching for a Russian National Idea: Putin Team Efforts and Public Assessments,” Demokratizatsiya, 25, 3, Summer 2017, pp. 209-34.

“Washington calls Moscow” [“Washington chiama Mosca”], Limes: Italian Review of Geopolitics, Issue 11/16, 28 November 2016; electronic version available at:  
[http://www.limesonline.com/cartaceo/washington-chiama-mosca?prv=true&refresh\\_ce](http://www.limesonline.com/cartaceo/washington-chiama-mosca?prv=true&refresh_ce)

“Russian Public Assessments of the Putin Policy Program: Achievements and Challenges,” Russian Politics, 1, 2, 2016, pp. 131-158.

“Russia, the US, and the Cold War that Never Ended” [“Mosca è nostra nemica perché non la capiamo,” Limes: Italian Review of Geopolitics, Issue 2/16, March 2016, pp. 115-22.

“Russian Federation: Complexity and Uncertainty,” in Paulette Kurzer, ed., Comparative Politics, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 2016; electronic chapter, 50 pp.

“Internationalising the Curriculum on Campus – and Abroad: Juxtaposing the Lecture Hall and Study Abroad,” European Political Science, 14, 2015 (with Mikhail Beznosov).

“Mistrust and hegemony: Regional institutional design, the FSU-CIS, and Russia,” International Area Studies Review, 18, 1, March 2015, pp. 26-52 (lead author, with Gary Goertz and Michael Slobodchikoff).

“The Hegemonic Executive,” in Stephen White, Richard Sakwa, and Henry E. Hale, eds., Developments in Russian Politics 8, Durham: Duke University Press, 2014, pp. 19-41.

“Treaty Networks, Nesting, and Interstate Cooperation: Russia, the FSU, and the CIS,” International Area Studies Review, 15, 1, March 2012, pp. 59-82 (lead author, with Michael Slobodchikoff and Gary Goertz).

“The Presidency and Executive Branch,” in Graeme Gill, ed., Handbook of Russian Politics and Society, N.Y.: Routledge, 2011, pp. 99-115.

#### ONGOING RESEARCH:

Russia in Search of a National Idea, book manuscript (in preparation), with Mikhail Beznosov.

Russian and Polish Perspectives on the War in Ukraine and European Security Architecture, with Dr. Wojtek Michnik, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland.

#### SELECTED TEACHING AWARDS AND RECOGNITION:

Nominated and selected to deliver a “Last Lecture” [annual series based on the Randy Pausch’s “Last Lecture”], entitled “Playfulness and the Good Life,” University of Arizona, 26 September 2014.

Golden Key Honorary Society Faculty Member Award, University of Arizona, 2013.

Nominated and selected to deliver the Inaugural TEDx Talk, University of Arizona TEDx Group, “The Russian Soul,” 5 May 2013; selected and uploaded by TED Organization; YouTube link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1z9zZOUIPuw>; currently approximately 200,000 views.

Russian-language version, uploaded 2 May 2020; YouTube link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-NoiTqZLCs> (now behind a paywall); currently approximately 4.1 million views.

Outstanding Upper Division Teaching, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2012.

Humanities Seminars Teaching Award, College of Humanities, University of Arizona, 2012.

NATIONAL / INTERNATIONAL OUTREACH (highlights):

Until the pandemic arrived (2020), I was an invited participant in various research and teaching groups symposia, and forums including the NEPORUS Project (Oslo, Norway), the Aspen Institute, and the Wakonse Teaching Seminars. NEPORUS (New Russian Political Groups and the State), a working group of 9 scholars from Norway, Finland, Sweden, Russia, and the United States (I was one of two invited American members), created and implemented a public opinion survey in the Russian Federation, it entailed a continuing series of meetings and presentations in Oslo, Norway, Stockholm, Sweden, and St. Petersburg, Russia, and yielded publications (listed above on this CV).

During the past roughly decade, I regularly presented papers at political science disciplinary and Russian area studies professional association meetings, including American Political Science Association (APSA) national research meetings and APSA national teaching meetings, and American Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASSEES) national meetings.

I regularly contribute book reviews and prepared manuscript (book-length and article-length) reviews for a wide array of disciplinary and area studies publications including (but not limited to): Europe/Asia Studies, Demokratizatsiya, International Studies Review, International Affairs, Comparative Politics, Slavic Review, The Russian Review, Corruption and Reform, American Political Science Review; Cambridge University Press, Houghton Mifflin, Longman Publishing Group, McGraw Hill, Routledge, M.E. Sharpe, Unwin-Hyman (formerly Allen & Unwin), Wadsworth.

I have served as promotion and tenure reviewer, including in the past Oregon State University, Louisiana State University, the University of Denver, and most recently California State University, Chico.

LOCAL / STATE OUTREACH (highlights):

Until the pandemic arrived (2020), I annually delivered roughly a half-dozen to a dozen public presentations to various local and regional groups and organizations, including (but not limited to): the United Nations Association of Southern Arizona, the Tucson Committee on Foreign Relations, such alumni association as those of UArizona, Brandeis, Harvard, and Yale; also Phi Beta Kappa, numerous churches and temples, op-eds for local and state newspapers including *The Arizona Republic* and *The Arizona Daily Star*, various television and radio stations both in Tucson and Phoenix, and various student organizations and groups.

Since the pandemic arrived, I only deliver a few Zoom presentations, and to such groups and organizations as noted above (see information for calendar year 2022 below).

DEPARTMENTAL, COLLEGE, AND UNIVERSITY COMMITTEES (highlights):

Over the past decade, I have served on a wide array of committees at all three levels, departmental, college (including both SBS and the College of Humanities [COH]), and university. To summarize these commitments:

Department/SGPP: Graduate Studies Committee (member), Merit Review Committee (member) promotion and tenure committees (member).

College: SBS Promotion and Tenure Committee (member and chair), COH Committee for Russian and Slavic Studies Department Five-Year APR (member).

University: UArizona Faculty Senate (member), Faculty Senate Academic Personal & Policy Committee (member & chair), UArizona International Affairs College Advisory Committee (member), Faculty Election Committee (member and chair).

Other: Delta Delta Delta Sorority (faculty adviser), Arizona Assurance Student Program (member).

#### SERVICE TO CURRENT AND FORMER STUDENTS:

Over the past decade, I have annually prepared customized letters of recommendation for between 60 and 80 different current and former students, undergraduate and graduate, involving job applications, graduate and professional schools, internships, study abroad, fellowships, and financial aid. The number of students requesting letters grew from 15-20 per year to approximately 65-80 per year when I was teaching large lecture classes (Pol 150c3, “The Politics of Happiness,” and SGPP 300b, “Politics, Policy, and Governance: the U.S. and the World”), but the number is now declining to 40-60 annually as I teach more moderately sized courses

---

#### **Addendum for Professional Activities, Calendar Year 2022**

##### National/State/Local Outreach: Presentations:

- Interview, with Ryan Fish, KGUN 9 TV, 25 minutes, focus on beginning of Russia-Ukraine War, February 24, 2022.
- Interview, with Antonio Fraguas, Editor in Chief, [elDiario.es](http://elDiario.es), Madrid, Spain, March 7, 2022.
- Closed online policy discussion forum, 1 hour 50 minutes, organized by former Montana Governor Brian Schweitzer, invited audience of 28 federal and state government officials, focus on Russian foreign policy and the Russia-Ukraine War, March 11, 2022.
- Presentation and Q-and-A with Kappa Kappa Gamma Sorority, UA, 35 minutes, focus on motivation and student academic success, March 28, 2022.
- Extended interview and Q-and-A, 60 minutes, with Paul DeRienza, WBAI 99.5, New York City, focus on Russia-Ukraine War, June 28, 2022.
- Extended interview and Q-and-A, 50 minutes, with David Rosenberg, KPFA 94.1, San Francisco (and in Fresno, Berkeley, and Santa Cruz), focus on Russia-Ukraine War, June 28, 2022.
- Interview with [Washington Post](http://WashingtonPost.com), Maria Luisa Paúl, article entitled “How Gorbachev’s Pizza Hut ad came to be – and why it still reflects his legacy,” focus on the life and legacy of the recently deceased Mikhail Gorbachev, appeared online August 31, 2022, in hard copy one day later.
- Extended interview and Q-and-A, 65 minutes, Cary Harrison Show, KPFK 90.7, Los Angeles, carried on 200 stations nationwide, focus on death of Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian-American relations, September 6, 2022.

- Interview with Tony Thompson, *UK Independent*, focus on death of Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian-American relations, September 22, 2022; article appeared roughly one day later.
- Extended interview and Q-and-A, 55 minutes, Scott Harris Show, WKPN 89.5, Bridgeport, Connecticut and New York City, focus on death of Mikhail Gorbachev, U.S. foreign policy, and the Russian-Ukrainian-War, September 26, 2022.
- Interview with Patricio Porta, *La Política Online*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, September 27, 2022; article appeared two days later.

Published Short Reports on Russian Politics and Foreign Policy: appeared at the online site of the Institute for Public Accuracy, Washington, D.C., <https://accuracy.org>; Sam Hussein, editor:

- “*Blinded by Russiaphobia*,” published June 28, 2022.
- “*Gorbachev’s Death: Reflections*,” published August 31, 2022.
- “*Ukraine War: Is Media Misreporting Facilitating Escalation*,” published September 22, 2022.

College and Departmental Committee Service:

- Chair, 2022 Faculty Merit Review Committee for Academic Year 2021, Russians and Slavic Studies (RSS) Dept., College of Humanities (COH).
- Chair, P & T Committee for Assistant Professor seeking promotion, RSS Dept., COH.
- Member, RSS Dept. Five-Year APR, COH.

Guest Lecturing in Other Faculty Members’ Courses:

- RSSS 160c2, “Contemporary Russia,” two lectures on Russia-Ukraine War, April 4 and 6, 2022.
- RSSS 160c2, “Contemporary Russia,” three lectures on Russian politics and Russia-Ukraine War, October 19 and 21, and December 5, 2022.
- RSSS 345, “Russia and World War II,” two lectures on Russia, WWII, and the contemporary Russia-Ukraine War, October 31 and November 7, 2022.
- RSSS 160d1, “Music and Contemporary Russia,” two lectures on Russian nationalism, music, and war, November 28 and November 30, 2022.

Letters of Recommendation

- During calendar year 2022 I prepared letters of recommendation for approximately 49 current and past students, undergraduate and graduate, as well as others (faculty members, here and at other universities). This number is declining from the annual demand when I was teaching both Pol 150c3, “The Politics of Happiness,” and SGPP 300b, “Politics, Policy, and Governance: The U.S. and the World,” when I annually had around 1,500 students in the 3 offerings of these course. I note this activity because, when all aspects of letter preparation are combined, including interviewing those for whom I write letters, preparing and writing letters, then uploading the letters, are taken into account, I annually devote the equivalent of weeks of my work time to this all-important activity.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND HIGHLIGHTS 2022

A discussion of my professional activities, accomplishments and highlights for 2022, requires mention that all aspects of my professional life have been overwhelmed with the Russia-Ukraine War, the latest phase of which began February 24, 2022. All travel to and research in Russia are now ended, as are student study exchanges, and this is true indefinitely as the West is at war with Russia. Russia has now ended all American access to archives, databases, etc. The reality of my professional life has returned to that of the beginning of my career, in the 1980s, before the Soviet collapse, when research, teaching, and outreach activities had a rather different logic – and very limited possibilities for rich analysis. During the past year, and for the foreseeable future, I am readjusting and retooling to cope with this difficult work reality. Meanwhile, interest in Russia predictably grew dramatically in 2022, though the focus is on “Russia as enemy,” discussions overwhelmed by cartoon character depictions and simplistic assumptions.

My research agenda proceeds in part according to plans and efforts from the past years. I authored a published a chapter on the Russian presidency which has appeared in early 2023. I continue to work on a large project, “Vladimir Putin and Russia’s Search for a National Idea,” a first article appeared in late 2021 (online; published version in early 2022). A second article is nearing completion and will be submitted to a scholarly journal in 2023. The long-term book project continues apace, but developments of 2022 around both the sanctions and the war are tied with major adjustments to arguments and substance of the discussion of the “Russian National Idea.” Along with this major “National Idea” project, I have initiated a research project juxtaposing Russian and Polish perspectives on the Russia-Ukraine War and European/North Atlantic security architecture with Dr. Wojtek Michnik, Department of Political Science, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland; the project began in fall 2022, we developed a working paper organizing our extremely different “takes” on the war and on European security architecture, and we completed a Fulbright/NATO grant proposal for him to come to the University of Arizona to collaborate with me in person during fall 2023. [More regarding this new project in the 2023 Objectives and Plans section below.]

Predictably, my teaching agenda was uprooted by the Russia-Ukraine War. While I continued to conduct courses already developed, the online Pol 209 course required a refresh of the Russia module (I recorded in the studio roughly 9 new PowerPoint presentations), the International Security Studies Pol 551 course, “Russian Foreign Policy,” required a complete makeover (24 of the 26 PowerPoint presentations for the course were completed redone and recorded in the on-campus studio). Meanwhile, I chose to fully restructure Pol 451, “Russian Foreign Policy” (Spring 2022, not offered since Spring 2012), and Pol 443, “Russian Politics” (Fall 2022), setting out parallel new substantive material tied with the war/sanctions (e.g., spheres of influence, perception and communication, lying and deception in international politics, etc.) along with material in place from past offerings. I did formally conduct a few independent studies, but considerable time was engaging (reassuring) students with academic/career interests focused on Russia and Russian studies (including an April 2022 workshop I organized for RSSS majors, minors, and SGPP students with a Russia interest that was focused on evolving career opportunities in Russian studies in the wake of the sanctions and Ukraine wars.

Not surprisingly, my outreach activities were highly affected by world developments, while my service commitments continued from 2021 with a focus on the Russian and Slavic Studies Department, a department that does not have any tenured faculty other than its head (who himself is an associate, not a full, professor). Regarding outreach, I have conducted dozens of interviews with various outlets, domestic and foreign, but given time limits, I have mostly focused on radio programs with a national outreach (e.g., the Cary Harrison Show, KPFK, Los Angeles; the Scott Harris Show, WKPN, New York City) that are carried on numerous stations across the country. Mikhail Gorbachev's death in late August occasioned more media engagement, including with "The Washington Post" and print and online news outlets outside of the U.S. (e.g., Argentina and Spain). I prepared a series of short commentaries for the Institute for Public Accuracy, Washington, D.C., which are transmitted to thousands of subscribers across the English-speaking world. Here at the University, I delivered more than one-dozen lectures during the Spring and Fall 2022 Semesters, nearly all of them in RSSS courses, with all presentations addressing Russian politics, foreign policy, and the Russia-Ukraine War. Meanwhile, I continued to serve on many important RSSS Department committees, most notably chairing the 2022 Faculty Merit Review Committee and chairing a promotion and tenure case. I also served on the College of Humanities committee for the five-year review of the RSSS Department Head.

### OBJECTIVES AND PLANS 2023

I anticipate my professional life in calendar year 2023 will continue to be dominated by the Russia-Ukraine War and the related economic sanctions war between Russia and the West; my commitments will be as varied as in 2022. Thus, as I prepare this statement on Sunday, January 29, I have two scheduled Zoom meetings later today, one with a reporter based in Madrid, Spain, to discuss the sanctions, the second with two middle school students in Silver Spring, Maryland, who are making a documentary on the war, while I am also fine-tuning letters of recommendation for a former student currently in a dangerous living situation in Kiev, Ukraine. I anticipate many such activities throughout the year, along with my continuing (but evolving) two major research projects and my teaching responsibilities.

My objectives and plans 2023 statement is briefer than the above Achievements and Highlights section because I will build off of that narrative.

My research agenda will continue to be dominated by my longer-term "Russian National Idea" project, a second article-length paper will be completed and submitted for review, while already completed chapters of the intended book will be revised in light of dynamic international developments. Wojtek Michnik and I are in the process of securing small funding to facilitate a short visit by him to Tucson in late Spring 2023, followed by a hoped-for Fall 2023 Semester stay through a Fulbright-NATO grant (decision on the submitted grant pending). Our plan is to complete one or two article-length pieces on juxtaposed Polish and Russian perspectives on the war and on the evolving European security architecture.

In the teaching realm, I will be undertaking a substantial refresh of Pol 209, all 80 PowerPoint presentations for this cross-national, comparative politics course were recorded in Summer 2020, and I anticipate that at least 30%, or roughly 24 PP presentations will need to be redone. Meanwhile, the Pol

551, “Russian Foreign Policy,” course, will undergo another refresh with perhaps 5 PP presentations redone. I anticipate continuing challenges in offering both Pol 443, “Russian Politics,” and Pol 451, “Russian Foreign Policy,” as I strive to balance longer-term, foundational material with material tied with contemporary realities of both the Ukraine and sanctions wars. I am currently committed to supervising an undergraduate honors thesis for Spring and Fall 2023, as of January 2023 I am also conducting an undergraduate independent study.

Finally, I anticipate in the domain of outreach and service, I will be significantly engaged with focused public speaking, in-class guest presentations, and media interviews. January 2023 has already entailed a number of these. I am honored the Russian and Slavic Studies Department has appreciated my efforts in chairing or serving on a variety of different important committees, and they have invited me to do so again in 2023. I am currently chairing the 2023 RSSS Faculty Merit Review Committee covering faculty members’ professional activities in calendar year 2022.

**JUST IN CASE: Duplication below of selected material uploaded to UAVitae (in case there are problems of organization, presentation, and/or duplication of this material, especially student/gradpath information for 2022)**

Committees, honors theses & independent studies

- Dan Detzi, Phd Preliminary Exam Committee, Spring 2022.
- Nicholas Liendo, PhD Dissertation Committee, Spring 2022 (withdrew from program).
- Julia Lastika, Honor Thesis, Pol 498H, Spring 2022.
- Parker Dale, independent study, Pol 399, Summer 2022.
- Duaij Almatawaah, independent Study, Pol 399, Summer 2022.