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CURRENT POSITION

Associate Professor of Political Science, Baylor University (with tenure)

EDUCATION

2008, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)

1999, M.A., Stanford University, Political Science

1998, B.A., Ivan Franko Lviv National University (Ukraine), International Relations

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

August 2018 - current

Associate Professor of Political Science, Baylor University

August, 2012 – July 2018

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Baylor University

January 2009 – August 2011

Assistant Professor of Political Science, National University “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy” (Ukraine).

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

July – August, 2018: Program Director, Baylor in Maastricht Program.

August 10 – 21, 2015: Lecturer, Ukrainian Studies Summer School, Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald (Germany). Title of the course: “Sovereignty, Solidarity and the Remaking of Ukrainian State.”

September 2007- May 2008/September – December, 2011

Professorial Lecturer, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (SAIS).

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Advisor to Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine — May 2008 - April 2009

Prepared analytical reports and policy memos, drafted policy statements and organized interagency negotiations on the issues of Ukraine’s infrastructural development in the run-up to UEFA EURO-2012.

Correspondent, Washington DC Bureau of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (Ukrainian Service) –

May, 2003 – May, 2007 Scripting and reporting of news stories and conducting interviews for radio programs on US-Ukrainian relations and world politics.

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS WITH ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS

[The Strategy of Campaigning: Lessons from Ronald Reagan and Boris Yeltsin](#), with Kiron Skinner, Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Condoleezza Rice (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007)

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- [16] “In My Name: The Impact of Regional Identity on Civilian Attitudes in the Armed Conflict in Donbas” co-authored with Johanna van Zyl, *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 47, No. 5, September 2019, pp. 801 – 821.
- [15] “How They Joined? Militants and Informers in the Armed Conflict in Ukraine,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, vol. 30, No. 2, 2019, pp. 279 – 306.
- [14] “Ukraine’s Emerging Security State,” *Current History*, vol. 117, No. 801, 2018, 246 – 261.
- [13] “When Numbers Are Not Enough: The Strategic Use of Violence in Ukraine’s 2014 Revolution,” *Comparative Politics*, vol. 50, No. 4, 2018, pp. 501 – 521.
- [12] “Presidential Activism and Government Termination in Dual-Executive Ukraine,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 34, No. 4, 2018, pp. 246 – 261.
- [11] “Breaking the Russia-Ukraine Stalemate,” *Russia in Global Affairs*, Issue 2, 2018 (in Russian).
- [10] “The Donbas Rift,” *Russian Politics & Law*, vol. 54, No. 1, 2016, pp. 5 – 27; reprinted in *Russian Social Science Review*, vol. 58, Issues 2 – 3, 2017, pp. 212 – 234.
- [9] “Nothing Personal: Explaining the Rise and Decline of Political Machines in Ukraine,” co-authored with Taras Kuzio, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 31, No. 3, 2015, pp. 250 – 278.
- [8] “The House That Yanukovich Built,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 25, No. 3, July 2014, pp. 19 – 34.
- [7] “If Tomorrow Comes: Power Balance and Time Horizons in Ukraine's Constitutional Politics,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 2013, pp. 151 – 178.
- [6] “Choosing Violence in Irregular Wars: The Case of Anti-Soviet Insurgency in Western Ukraine, 1944 – 1950,” *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 27, no. 1, February 2013, pp. 147 – 179.
- [5] “When External Leverage Fails: The Case of Yulia Tymoshenko’s Trial,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 60, no. 1, January–February 2013, pp. 29 – 42.
- [4] “The Sources of Continuity and Change of Ukraine’s Incomplete State,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 45, Nos. 3 – 4, September – December 2012, pp. 417 – 428.
- [3] “Risky Politics: Repression and Resistance in Slavic Autocracies,” *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, vol. 32, No. 2, Summer – Fall, 2012, pp. 151 – 162.
- [2] “Society as an Actor in Post-Soviet State-Building,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, vol. 20, No. 2, Spring 2012, pp. 149 – 156.
- [1] “Revolutionary Bargain: The Unmaking of Ukraine’s Autocracy through Pacting,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 23, Issue 1, March 2007, pp. 77 – 100; reprinted in Taras Kuzio ed., Democratic Revolution in Ukraine: From Kuchmagate to Orange Revolution (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), pp. 78 – 101.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

[6] “Ukraine Crises and the Limits of Transatlantic Cooperation,” in Crisis, the Politics of Resilience, and the Future of Transatlantic Relations, eds. Sebastian Harnisch, Gordon Thies and Gordon Friedrichs (Routledge 2019).

[5] “Corruption in Ukraine: Perpetual Motion Machines or the Endplay of Post-Soviet Elites?” in Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives for Advancing Reform in Ukraine, Henry Hale and Robert Ortung eds. (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016), pp. 61 – 79;

[4] “Russia: European or Not?” with Bruce Parrott in Ronald Tiersky and Erik Jones eds., Europe Today: A Twenty-First Century Introduction (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 219 – 256.

[3] “Ukraine’s Credibility Gap as a Perennial Foreign Policy Problem” in Strategie und Sicherheit 2012: Der Gestaltungsspielraum der österreichischen Sicherheitspolitik, Johann Pucher and Johann Frank, eds. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012).

[2] “Politics and Democracy in Ukraine,” in Open Ukraine: Changing Course towards a European Future, Taras Kuzio and Daniel Hamilton eds. (Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2011), pp. 1 – 20.

[1] “Betting on Society: Power Perceptions and Elite Games in Ukraine,” in Paul D’Anieri, ed., Orange Revolution and Aftermath: Mobilization, Apathy and the State in Ukraine (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 160 – 189.

BOOK REVIEWS

Review of Gerard Toal’s Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), *Counterpoint*, August 2017: http://www.counterpoint.org/8_toal_review/ (in Russian)

Review of Richard Sakwa’s Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands (I.B. Tauris, 2015), *Open Democracy*, February 11, 2015: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/serhiy-kudelia/book-review-richard-sakwa-'frontline-ukraine-crisis-in-borderlands'>

Review of Andrew Wilson’s Ukraine Crisis (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), *Open Democracy*, November 19, 2014: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/serhiy-kudelia/review-andrew-wilson-%E2%80%98ukraine-crisis%27>

Review of Francis Fukuyama’s Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to French Revolution (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), *Krytyka*, July-August 2011, pp. 15 – 16: <http://krytyka.com/en/articles/elixir-effective-democracy>

POLICY MEMOS AND REPORTS

“Institutional Paths to Ending the Donbas Conflict,” Kennan Cable Report No. 35, 2018: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/kennan-cable-no-35-institutional-paths-to-ending-the-donbas-conflict>

“Extrajudicial Violence in Donbas and its Consequences for Ukraine,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 486, October 2017: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/extrajudicial-violence-donbas-and-its-consequences-ukraine>

“Domestic Sources of the Donbas Insurgency,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 351, September 2014: http://www.ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/Pepm351_Kudelia_Sept2014.pdf

“The Price of Brotherly Love: What Will Russia Lose from Integrating Ukraine?,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 257, June 2013: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/price-brotherly-love-what-will-russia-lose-integrating-ukraine>

MEDIA OP-EDs AND INTERVIEWS (since 2012)

“Rally around ‘Ze!’ Flag: Ballots as Pitchforks in Ukraine’s Parliamentary Race,” *Point & Counterpoint*, August 8, 2019: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/point-counter/article/rally-around-ze-flag-ukraine-parliamentary-race>

“Could Zelenskiy Presidency Prove a Breakthrough for Conflict Resolution in the Donbas?,” *Wilson Center Focus Ukraine*, April 11, 2019: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/could-zelenskiy-presidency-prove-breakthrough-for-conflict-resolution-the-donbas>

“Ukraine’s 2019 Election: The End of Ideology and the Last Comedian,” *Point & Counterpoint*, March 20, 2019: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/point-counter/article/kudelia-ukraine-2019-election>

“Ways to End the Donbas Conflict,” Interview by Maria Lipman, *Point & Counterpoint*, September 24, 2018: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/point-counter/ways-to-end-donbas-conflict-interview-serhiy-kudelia>

“What Does the Murder of Pavel Sheremet Say About Contemporary Ukraine?,” *Open Democracy*, July 22, 2016: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/serhiy-kudelia/what-does-murder-of-pavel-sheremet-say-about-contemporary-ukraine>

“Ukraine’s Election: Springboard for Change?,” *The International Institute for Strategic Studies*, vol. 20, Strategic Comment No. 32, October, 2014: <http://www.iiss.org/en/publications/strategic%20comments/sections/2014-a6f5/ukraine--39-s-election--springboard-for-change-98fc>

“Will Eastern Ukraine turn into Northern Ireland?,” *Washington Post*, July 26, 2014: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/26/will-eastern-ukraine-turn-into-northern-ireland/>

“What Expanded Presidential Powers Does Poroshenko Want?,” PONARS Eurasia, July 7, 2014: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/what-expanded-presidential-powers-does-poroshenko-want>

“Ukraine’s 2014 Presidential Election Result in Unlikely to be Repeated,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 2014: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/02/ukraines-2014-presidential-election-result-is-unlikely-to-be-repeated/>

“Ukraine in Context: What Happens When Authoritarians Fall,” *Foreign Affairs*, February 27, 2014: www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/140976/serhiy-kudelia/ukraine-in-context

“Localized Revolution and the Fragmentation of Ukraine’s State,” PONARS Eurasia, January 27, 2014: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/localized-revolution-and-fragmentation-ukraine%E2%80%99s-state>

“Ukraine’s Perfect Storm: How Far Will It Go?,” PONARS Eurasia, December 2, 2013: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/ukraine%E2%80%99s-perfect-storm-how-far-will-it-go>

“The Failure of the Cox-Kwasniewski Mission and Its Implications for Ukraine,” PONARS Eurasia, November 22, 2013: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/failure-cox-kwasniewski-mission-and-its-implications-ukraine>

“EU-Ukraine Association Agreement: Yanukovich’s Two-Level Games,” PONARS Eurasia, September 20, 2013: <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/eu-ukraine-association-agreement-yanukovich%E2%80%99s-two-level-games>

CONFERENCE PAPERS AND ROUND-TABLES (since 2012)

Panel discussion “Social and Territorial Changes in Ukraine and Ukraine’s 2019 Presidential Election,” Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) annual conference, May 2, 2019.

“How Can Political Science Findings on Civil War Settlements Inform Conflict Resolution in Donbas?”, presented at the conference “Russian Policy and the War in Ukraine’s Donbas: Options for the Future and Canadian Responses,” University of Alberta, November 1, 2018.

Panel discussion “So Near, Yet So Abroad: Russia, Its Neighbors, and the Idea of the Near Abroad,” Harriman Institute, Columbia University, October 18, 2017.

PONARS Eurasia Annual Conference, Paper presentation “Extrajudicial Violence in Donbas and its Consequences for Ukraine,” September 14, 2017.

Annual Conference of Midwest Political Science Association, Paper: “Patterns of Insurgent Recruitment and Collaboration in the Armed Conflict in Donbas,” Chicago, April 6 – 9, 2017.

Presentation “Can Ukraine Escape Corruption?”, IERES/George Washington University, December 6, 2016.

2016 Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies, Paper: “Civilian Loyalties, Rebel Recruitment and Insurgency Mobilization in Donbas,” Washington, DC, November 9 – 12, 2016.

PONARS Eurasia Workshop “Regime, Institutions and Change: Post-Soviet Eurasia in Comparative Perspective,” Paper: “The Anomaly of Cooperation: Ukraine’s Divided Executive After Euromaidan,” Helsinki, Finland, June 9 – 11, 2016.

Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention, Paper: “Opolchentsy or Terrorists? Local Views of the Donbas Insurgents,” New York, April 14 – 16, 2016.

IX ICCEES World Congress, Roundtable on the Conflict in Ukraine, Makuhari, Japan, August 5, 2015.

IX ICCEES World Congress, Paper: “Burning Down the House: Why Violent Protest Worked in Ukraine?”, Makuhari, Japan, August 3 – 8, 2015.

Workshop on the War in Ukraine, George Washington University, Paper: “Pathways to Insurgency: Individual Choices and Collective Action Problem in Donbas,” May 19-20, 2015.

Association for Slavic, East European & Eurasian Studies Conference, Round-Table on “Euromaidan, Mass Protests, and Presidential Elections in Ukraine,” San Antonio, November 21, 2014.

2014 Annual Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine, University of Ottawa, Paper: “The Donbas Insurgency: Origins, Organization and the Dynamics of Violence,” Ottawa, October 30, 2014.

PONARS Conference, Title of the Paper: “Domestic Sources of the Donbas Insurgency,” Washington, DC, September 22, 2014.

National Endowment for Democracy, Roundtable: “Ukraine: The Maidan and Beyond,” Washington, DC, July 14, 2014.

Baylor University, *Keston Symposium, Religion and Political Culture in Post-Communist Countries: Past, Present and Future*, Roundtable Discussion: “Religion and Foreign Policy in Contemporary Russia,” November 15, 2013.

The International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, DC, Roundtable: “Ukraine: Democracy in Danger?” April 9, 2013.

Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University Panel Discussion: “The Future of Ukraine: A Debate,” March 13, 2013.

“The Limits of Western Leverage: The Case of Yulia Tymoshenko's Trial,” Paper prepared for Annual Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 19 – 21, 2012.

“Institutional Design and Elite Interests: The Case of Ukraine,” Paper prepared for 2011/12 DC Area Postcommunist Politics Social Science Workshop, George Washington University/IERES, January 10, 2012.

ACADEMIC LECTURES (SINCE 2012)

University of California, Berkeley, “The War in Donbas: Who Fights and Why?” March 31, 2015.

University of Pittsburgh, “Revolutionary Cycles and the Secessionist Conflict in Ukraine,” March 9, 2015.

The World Affairs Council of Houston, “War, Revolution and Ukraine’s State-Building Crisis,” November 8, 2014.

Baylor University, “International Organizations and the War in Ukraine,” October 25, 2014.

The University of Oklahoma, “The Battle for Kyiv: How Will Revolution Change Ukraine?”, March 10, 2014.

University of Texas, Austin, “Ukraine’s Winter of Discontent: Will the Rise of People Power End Authoritarian Backsliding?”, January 31, 2014.

Harvard University, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, “The End of Ukraine’s Balancing Act or Russia’s Last Chance? The European Union’s November Summit in Vilnius,” September 16, 2013.

National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Kyiv, Ukraine), “The Study of Terrorism and Rational Choice Theory,” May 28, 2013.

University of Toronto, CERES (Canada): “Anger, Greed and Treachery: The Future of Ukraine’s Autocracy,” March 11, 2013.

National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), “Elections in Hybrid Regimes,” November 7, 2012.

Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, “The State of EU-Ukraine Relations,” April 17, 2012.

AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2018: One-Semester Research Leave (Baylor University) to conduct field work in Donbas, Ukraine.

2015: University Research Committee Grant (Baylor University) to conduct field work and survey research in Donbas, Ukraine.

2015: American Association for Ukrainian Studies, 2012 – 14 Best Article Award for “If Tomorrow Comes: Power Balance and Time Horizons in Ukraine’s Constitutional Politics,” *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 2013.

2013: University Teaching Development Grant (Baylor University) to participate in Counterterrorism Workshop in Herzliya, Israel.

2011: Award for a Best Paper by an Emerging Scholar, Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine, University of Ottawa

2011-12: Petrach Visiting Scholar Fellowship in Eurasian Studies, George Washington University

2010-11: Returning Scholar, Academic Fellowship Program, Open Society Institute

2009-10: Petro Jacyk Post-Doctoral Fellowship, University of Toronto

2000-04: Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies, Doctoral Fellowship

1998-99: Stanford University, New Democracy Graduate Studies Fellowship

1997: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Summer School Fellowship

1995-96: American Collegiate Consortium, One-Year Undergraduate Exchange Fellowship, Tulane University

COURSES TAUGHT

Undergraduate

Dictatorship, Democracy and Regime Change (Baylor University: Fall 2017)

Government and Politics of Russia (Baylor University: Fall 2012, Fall 2013; Fall 2015; Spring 2018)

Russia and the World (Baylor University: Spring 2017/Fall 2020)

Revolutions and Social Movements in Non-Democratic Regimes (Baylor University: Fall 2012)

Comparative Politics (Kyiv-Mohyla Academy: Spring 2009, Summer 2010, Spring 2011; Baylor University: Spring 2013, Fall 2014; Fall 2015; Spring/Fall 2016; Spring/Fall 2017; Spring 2018; Summer 2018; Spring/Fall 2019; Spring 2020/Fall 2020)

Terrorism (Baylor University: Spring 2013, Spring 2014; Spring 2015; Spring 2016; Summer 2018; Spring 2019)

Ethnopolitical Conflicts (Baylor University: Fall 2013, Fall 2014; Fall 2015; Fall 2016; Fall 2019)

Principles of Political Development (Baylor University: Spring 2014; Spring 2020)

Theories of Democracy (Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Fall 2010)

Graduate

Post-communist Revolutions (SAIS, Fall 2011)

Politics and Civil Society in Russia and Ukraine (SAIS, Spring 2008; University of Toronto, 2010; Ernst Moritz Arndt University of Greifswald, Summer 2011)

State-Building in Ukraine and Belarus (SAIS, Spring 2007)

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS)

Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Reviewer for Oxford University Press, Routledge, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Rowman&Littlefield, CEU Press, Freedom House, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *Democratization*, *Government and Opposition*, *West European Politics*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, *Politics*, *Nationalities Papers*, *East European Politics and Societies*, *Slavic Review*, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *Journal of Church and State*, *Politics, Groups and Identities*, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*.

Grant reviewer for American Councils for International Education (ACTR/ACCELS), National Science Center (Poland).

L A N G U A G E S

Ukrainian/Russian (native); English (fluent); Polish (reading/comprehension – fluent; speaking - intermediate); German (reading/comprehension – intermediate; speaking - poor).