

# HILARY B. APPEL

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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

### **Claremont McKenna College** – Claremont, California

Podlich Family Professor of Government and George R. Roberts Fellow, 2011-present

Director, Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, 2019-present

Associate Dean of the Faculty, 2010-2013

Associate Professor of Government, 2005-2011

Assistant Professor of Government, 2000-2005

### **European University Institute** – Fiesole, Italy

Visiting Fellow, Political and Social Science Department, Fall 2013

### **Columbia University** – New York, New York

Postdoctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Fall 2002

### **Duke University** – Durham, North Carolina

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1998-1999

## EDUCATION

**Ph.D.** 1998, University of Pennsylvania, Political Science

**M.A.** 1992, Stanford University, Russian and East European Area Studies

**B.A.** 1991, Williams College, Political Science and Russian Language

## BOOKS

Appel, Hilary and Mitchell A. Orenstein, From Triumph to Crisis: Neoliberal Economic Reform in Post-Communist Countries, Cambridge University Press, 2018. **Winner of the Laura Shannon Silver Medal Prize for Best Book in European Studies published in 2018 & 2019.**

Appel, Hilary, Tax Politics in Eastern Europe: Globalization, Regional Integration and the Democratic Compromise, University of Michigan Press, 2011.

Appel, Hilary, A New Capitalist Order: Privatization and Ideology in Russia and Eastern Europe, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.

## EDITED VOLUMES

Appel, Hilary, Ed., The Changing Face of Europe: European Institutions in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century; Special Issue - International Studies Review, 8:1, March 2006.

Appel, Hilary, Ed., The Expansion of NATO and the European Union, Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, 2007.

Appel, Hilary, Ed., Evaluating Success and Failure in Postcommunist Transition, Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, 2005.

## **JOURNAL ARTICLES (peer reviewed)**

- “Minority Rights, the Roma, and Neoliberal Reform in EU Accession,” East European Politics, February 2023, pp.1-22. (DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2023.2180731)
- “Has Russia’s Anti-NATO Agenda Succeeded?” (with Jennifer Taw) Problems of Post-Communism, November 2020 (DOI: 10.1080/10758216.2020.1844024).
- “How Neoliberal Reforms Lose their Partisan Identity: Flat Tax Diffusion in Eastern Europe and Post-Soviet Eurasia,” Europe-Asia Studies, volume 70, September 2018.
- “Is Eastern Europe to Blame for Falling Corporate Taxes in Europe? The Politics of Tax Competition following EU Enlargement” (with Carissa Tudor, CMC ’09), East European Politics and Societies, volume 30:4, November 2016, pp. 855-884.
- “Why did Neoliberalism Triumph and Endure in the Post-Communist World?” (with Mitchell A. Orenstein) Comparative Politics, volume 48, April 2016, pp. 313-331.
- “Ideas versus Resources: Explaining the Flat Tax and Pension Privatization Revolutions in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union,” (with Mitchell A. Orenstein) Comparative Political Studies, volume 46, February 2013, pp. 123-152.
- “International Imperatives and Tax Reform: Lessons from Postcommunist Europe,” Comparative Politics, volume 39, October 2006, pp. 43-62.
- "Anti-Communist Justice and Founding the Post-Communist Order: Lustration and Restitution in Central Europe," East European Politics and Societies, vol. 19, August 2005, pp. 379-405.
- "Western Financial Institutions, Local Actors, and Promoting the Privatization Paradigm," Problems of Post-Communism, volume 51, September 2004, pp. 1-8.
- “Institutional Continuity and Change in Postcommunist Economies,” Review of International Political Economy, volume 11, May 2004, pp. 424-437. (Review Essay)
- "Corruption and the Collapse of the Czech Transition Miracle," East European Politics and Societies, volume 15, September 2001, pp. 528-553.
- “The Ideological Determinants of Liberal Economic Reform: The Case of Privatization,” World Politics, volume 52, July 2000, pp. 520-549.

[Reproduced in Global Governance: Critical Concepts in Political Science, edited by Timothy J. Sinclair, Routledge, 2004].

- “Identity Politics and Economic Reform: Examining Industrial-State Relations in the Czech and Slovak Republics,” (with John Gould), Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 52, January 2000, pp. 111-31.

- "Voucher Privatization in Russia: Structural Consequences and Mass Response in the Second Period of Reform," Europe-Asia Studies, volume 49, December 1997, pp. 1433-49.
- "Justice and the Reformulation of Property Rights in the Czech Republic," East European Politics and Societies, volume 9, December 1994, pp. 22-40.

#### **JOURNAL ARTICLES (invited, editor reviewed)**

- "Can the EU Stop Eastern Europe's Illiberal Turn?" Critical Review, volume 31, number 3, 2019
- "Is it Putin or Is it Oil? Explaining Russia's Fiscal Recovery," Post-Soviet Affairs, volume 24, October-December 2008.
- "Introduction: The Changing Face of Europe: European Institutions in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," International Studies Review, volume 8, March 2006.

#### **BOOK CHAPTERS, POLICY MEMOS, ESSAYS & OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

- "The Limits of the Russia-China Partnership after the Ukraine Invasion," (with Boyang Liu CMC '23), PONARS Policy Memo 803, October 24, 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-limits-of-the-russia-china-partnership-after-the-ukraine-invasion/>
- "Will Russia's Anti-NATO Gambit Succeed?" (with Jennifer Taw), Project Syndicate, January 27, 2022. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/russia-ukraine-brinkmanship-costs-and-benefits-by-hilary-appel-and-jennifer-taw-2022-01>
- "How East European Countries Signaled their Reforms to the World: Theorizing Post-Communist Transition (with Mitchell Orenstein), Comparative Politics Newsletter, volume 31, number 1, Spring 2021. [2021\\_spring.pdf \(comparativepoliticsnewsletter.org\)](https://www.comparativepoliticsnewsletter.org/2021_spring.pdf)
- "Are Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin Partners? Interpreting the Russia-China Rapprochement" PONARS Policy Memo 603, July 19, 2019. <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/are-xi-jinping-and-vladimir-putin-partners-interpreting-russia-china-rapprochement>. Related work: Interview with Jeffrey Mankoff, Center for Security and International Studies (CSIS) "Of Putin and Xi" – Russian Roulette Podcast, Episode 90, <https://soundcloud.com/csis-57169780/of-putin-and-xi-russian>
- "Putin's Renationalizing Campaign: Fighting Corruption or Forcing Officials' Loyalty" (with Wendy Sheng CMC '17) PONARS Policy Memo 483, August 2017. <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/putins-renationalization-campaign-fighting-corruption-or-forcing-officials-loyalty>

- “Russia’s Geopolitical Shift,” (with Vladimir Gel’man), PONARS Policy Memo 397, November 2015. <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/revising-russias-economic-model-shift-development-geopolitics> Russian version published by RBC “A Difficult Year: Kremlin’s Ambitions Hinder Russia’s Economic Growth” rbc.ru, December 15, 2015. <http://www.rbc.ru/opinions/politics/15/12/2015/566fd5d79a79475f0c866b44>
- “Duda’s Economic Populism: Poland’s New President and the Future of Neoliberalism,” (with Mitchell A. Orenstein), [ForeignAffairs.com](http://www.foreignaffairs.com), June 1, 2015. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/poland/2015-06-01/dudas-economic-populism>
- “The Sovereign Debt Crisis, Bailout Politics and Fiscal Coordination in the European Union” (with Carissa T. Block, CMC ’09) in The European Union beyond the Crisis: Evolving Governance, Contested Policies, and Disenchanted Publics (Boyka Stefanova, Ed.), Lexington Books, 2014.
- “The Long-Term Prospects for Ukraine’s Accession to the European Union: A Focus on EU Level Constraints,” PONARS Policy Memo 330, August 2014. ([http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/201408\\_Appel](http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/201408_Appel)). Russian translation published in RBC (<http://rbcdaily.ru/politics/562949992240248>).
- “The Near Abroad Factor: Why Putin Stands Firm over Ukraine,” [NationalInterest.org](http://nationalinterest.org), May 23, 2014. (<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-near-abroad-factor-why-putin-stands-firm-over-ukraine-10517>)
- “The Decline of Domestic Politics and Other Taxing Problems in Eastern Europe,” [EES News](http://www.eesnews.com), January-February, 2006.
- “Who Defines Success in Privatization? Assessing Privatization Outcomes in Eastern Europe and Russia,” and “Introduction” in Evaluating Success and Failure in Postcommunist Transition, Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, 2005.
- “What Have We Learned from Post-Communist Privatization?” [21<sup>st</sup> Century](http://www.21stcentury.com), October 2005.

## BOOK REVIEWS

- “Review of Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, *The Afterlife of the ‘Soviet Man’: Rethinking Homo Sovieticus*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023.” [Russian Review](http://www.russianreview.com), October 2023.
- “Review of David Szakonyi, *Politics for Profit: Business, Elections, and Policymaking in Russia*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.” [Perspectives on Politics](http://www.perspectivesonpolitics.com), 19:2, June 2021.
- “Review of Richard Connolly, *Russia’s Response to Sanctions: How Western Economic Statecraft is Reshaping Political Economy in Russia*, [The Russian Review](http://www.russianreview.com), April 2019.

- “Review of Vladimir Gel’man, Otar Marganiya and Dmitry Travin, *Reexamining Economic and Political Reforms in Russia, 1985-2000: Generations, Ideas, and Changes*, London: Lexington Books, 2014.” The Russian Review, July 2015.
- “Danissa Duvanova, *Building Business in Post-Communist Russia, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia: Collective Goods, Selective Incentives, and Predatory States*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.” Perspectives on Politics, volume 11, December 2013.
- “Review of Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits’ *Capitalist Diversity on Europe’s Periphery*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.” Slavic Review, Fall 2013.
- “Review of Gerald Easter, *Capital, Coercion and Post-Communist States*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.” Russian Review, Summer 2013.
- “Deborah Bräutigam, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad and Mick Moore, Eds., *Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent*, Cambridge University Press, 2008 and Scott Gehlbach, *Representation through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States*, Cambridge University Press, 2008,” Perspectives on Politics, volume 7, September 2009.
- “Jorn Holm-Hansen, *The Transferability of Policy Instruments: How New Environmental Policy Instruments Strike Roots in Russia and Latvia*, NIBR-rapport; 2005,” Canadian Slavonic Papers, March-June 2008.
- “Rick Fawn, ed. *Ideology and National Identity in Post-Communist Foreign Policies*, Cass, 2004,” Europe-Asia Studies, 2006.
- “Stefan Hedlund, *Russian Path Dependence*, Routledge, 2005,” Slavic Review, volume 65, Summer 2006.
- “Noel Calhoun, *Dilemmas of Justice in Eastern Europe’s Democratic Transitions*, Palgrave, 2004,” Human Rights Review, volume 7, July/Sept 2006.
- “Mark Hallerberg, *Domestic Budgets in a United Europe: Fiscal Governance from the End of Bretton Woods to EMU*, Cornell University Press, 2004,” Perspectives on Politics, volume 3, December 2005.
- “Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004,” Comparative Political Studies, volume 38, March 2005.
- “Mitchell Orenstein, *Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*, Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 2001,” East European Politics and Societies, volume 17, Winter 2003.

- “Graham Smith, *The Post-Soviet States: Mapping the Politics of Transitions*, London: Oxford University Press, 1999,” Canadian Slavonic Review, Fall 2003.

## **AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

**Laura Shannon Silver Medal Prize for Best Book in European Studies published in 2018 & 2019**, Nanovic Institute for European Studies, Notre Dame University, 2021.

**G. David Huntoon Sr. Teaching Award**, Claremont McKenna College, 2018

**Claremont McKenna College Dean of Faculty Award**, 2016

**Roy P. Crocker Award for Merit**, Awarded by Faculty at Claremont McKenna College, 2013

**National Council for Eurasian and East European Research**, Research Grant, 2007-10.

**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**, Kennan Institute Short-term Scholar, 2008.

**Social Science Research Council**, Postdoctoral Fellowship, 2002-03.

**Columbia University Harriman Institute**, Postdoctoral Fellow, 2002.

**American Council of Learned Societies**, Postdoctoral Fellowship, 2001-02.

**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**, Kennan Institute Research Scholar, 1999

**Social Science Research Council**, Dissertation Writing Fellowship, 1997.

**University of Pennsylvania School of Arts and Sciences**, Dissertation Fellowship, 1996, 1998.

**Fulbright Scholarship**, Dissertation Research Fellowship, 1995-1996.

**Institute for the Study of World Politics**, Dissertation Fellowship, 1996.

**Institute of International Education**, Professional Development Fellowship, Summer 1995.

**American Council of Learned Societies**, Pre-dissertation Travel Grant, Summer 1994 and Czech Language Training Grant, Summer 1992.

**Title VIII Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship**, Czech 1993-1994, Russian 1992-1993.

## **INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Philadelphia, December 1, 2023.
- Stanford University, REDS Seminar, October 12, 2023.
- American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, September 1, 2023.
- Korbel School, University of Denver, May 23, 2023.
- Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, May 18-19, 2023.
- Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 13-14, 2023.
- PONARS, George Washington University, February 24, 2023 (virtual).
- McGill University, Montreal, Canada, January 31, 2023 (virtual).
- Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), November 30, 2022 (virtual).

- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Chicago, November 11, 2022.
- Pepperdine University, November 3, 2022.
- Occidental College, October 20, 2022.
- Princeton University, October 14, 2022.
- PONARS, George Washington University, September 28, 2022.
- ISA-West, Pasadena, CA, September 24, 2022.
- London School of Economics and Politics, June 10, 2022 (virtual).
- Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, May 5, 2022 (virtual).
- PONARS, George Washington University, March 16, 2022 (virtual).
- Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg, November 13, 2021 (virtual).
- University of Ohio, May 7, 2021 (virtual).
- St. Anthony's College, Oxford University, April 30, 2021 (virtual).
- University of Southern California, November 6, 2020. (virtual).
- American Political Science Association, September 10, 2020 (virtual).
- University of Miami of Ohio, April 20, 2020.
- University of Denver, February 8, 2020.
- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, San Francisco, November 24, 2019.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, September 12, 2019.
- European University, St. Petersburg, Russia, June 27, 2019.
- Council for European Studies, Madrid, Spain, June 22, 2019.
- University of California Los Angeles, May 16, 2019.
- European Union Studies Association, Denver, May 11, 2019.
- University of Southern California, Los Angeles, April 15, 2019.
- University of Auckland, New Zealand, March 19, 2019.
- Scripps College, Claremont, March 12, 2019.
- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Boston, December 7, 2018.
- University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK, December 4, 2018
- New York University, New York, September 7, 2018.
- George Washington University, Washington DC, September 6, 2018.
- American Political Science Association, Boston, August 31, 2018.
- Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, June 8, 2018.
- University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, June 5, 2018.
- Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, May 5, 2018.
- International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 5, 2018.
- University of Tokyo - Keck Center, Tokyo, Japan, March 11, 2018.
- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Chicago, November 11, 2017.
- George Washington University, PONARS Policy Conference, Washington DC, Sept. 14, 2017
- American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 2, 2017.
- Council on European Studies, Glasgow, UK, July 14, 2017.
- Kings College London, UK, May 30, 2017.
- European University Institute, Florence Italy, May 28, 2017.
- Scripps College, Claremont, December 3, 2016.
- Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Washington DC, Nov. 19, 2016.

- Catholic University of Lviv, ASEEES-MAG Meeting, Lviv, Ukraine, June 27, 2016.
- Free University of Berlin, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Berlin, June 13, 2016.
- University of Helsinki-PONARS Eurasia Workshop, Helsinki, June 10, 2016.
- Council on European Studies, Philadelphia, April 14, 2016.
- Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 8, 2016.
- Western Political Science Association, San Diego, March 25, 2016.
- 2015 and earlier: University of Southern California, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, Harvard University, University of California Berkeley, University of Michigan Ann Arbor, University of Pennsylvania, Georgetown University, Miami University of Ohio, Columbia University, Stanford University, Johns Hopkins University, Science Politique, University of Texas Austin, Yale University, European University Viadrina, United States Department of State, National Foreign Service Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, New York University Abu Dhabi, McGill University, George Washington University, University of Bremen, Chinese University of Hong Kong, European University Institute, Scripps College, CSIS, and APSA, ISA, CES, AAASS, ASN national meetings multiple years.

## **TEACHING**

Introduction to Comparative Politics  
 East European and Russian Politics  
 International Political Economy of Money and Finance  
 Comparative Political Economy of Europe and Asia  
 Race, Gender and Identity in International Relations  
 Senior Honors Seminar in Government and International Relations

## **SERVICE TO THE COLLEGE**

- Director, Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, 2019-present
- Associate Dean of the Faculty, January 2010-June 2013
- Acting Director of the Mgrublian Center, January 2017-June 2018
- Appointments, Promotions and Tenure Executive Committee, 2021-2024
- Board of Trustees College Strategic Planning Committee, 2018-2019
- Board of Trustees Academic Affairs Committee Member, 2010-2013, 2019-2020
- Board of Trustees Advancement Committee Member, 2018-2019
- Board of Trustees Buildings and Grounds Committee Member, 2016-2017
- Board of Trustees Sub-committee on Research and Research Institutes, 2010-2013
- Research Committee Chair, 2010-2013, Member 2015-2016, 2017-2018
- Administration Committee Member: 2004-2005, 2010-2013, 2014-2016
- Appointments, Promotions and Tenure Committee, 2011-2013, 2016-2019, 2021-2024
- Admissions and Financial Aid Committee, 2020-2023
- College Campus Climate Committee Member, 2011-2012
- Faculty Hiring Committee Chair: 2005, 2008-2012, 2017, 2019, 2021-2023
- Faculty Hiring Committee Member 2007, 2012-2014, 2016, 2018, 2022-23
- Athenaeum Committee Chair: 2007-2013, 2014-2015, Member: 2003-2005



- Ad Hoc Committee for Revising Government Department Bylaws, Member, 2011
- Ad Hoc Committee for APT Decision Appeal: Summer 2009
- Government Department Honors Selection Committee: Summers 2008-2010, 2013
- Government Department Honors Seminar Director: 2000-2003, 2012-2013
- Ad Hoc Committee on Academic Freedom in Singapore: 2008-2009
- Off-Campus Study Committee Member: 2000-2002
- Intercollegiate Library Faculty Advisory Council Member: 2003-2004
- Keck Center Faculty Advisory Committee 2002-2010; Associate Director: 2002-2005
- Keck Center Associate Faculty Director of International Journalism Lab, 2016-present
- EU Center Intercollegiate Committee Member: 2001-2015
- Steering Committee Mellon Roundtable on Courage, Empathy and Creativity 2015-2016
- Ad Hoc Committee for Diversity Research and Teaching Awards and Fellowship: 2003-2004
- Ad Hoc Selection Committee for Faculty Teaching Award: 2002-2003, 2010-2012
- Claremont International Relations Society, Faculty Associate: 2000-2014

## **SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION**

### Academic Department External Reviewer

Wesleyan University (2018), Lewis and Clark College (2017), Wabash College (2016)

### Manuscript reviewer

*American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, International Studies Quarterly, Review of International Political Economy, World Politics, Journal of European Public Policy, East European Politics and Societies, European Journal of International Relations, Problems of Post-Communism, Slavic Review, World Development, Problems of Post-Communism; East European Politics; Journal of Peace Research, Journal of International Relations and Development, Governance, Sociology, West European Politics, East Central Europe Review, Czech Sociological Review.* Cambridge University Press, University of Michigan Press, Oxford University Press, Routledge Press, Temple University Press, Penn State University Press, Lynne Rienner Publishers, European University Institute.

### Grant proposal reviewer:

Multiple Years: Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, American Council for International Education-ACIR/ACCELS, IDRF Program Reviewer.

### Association Committee Service

American Political Science Association

- Treasurer for Section on European Politics and Societies, 2014-2017
- 2016 National Meeting, Co-organizer of the Section on the Politics of Communist and Post-Communist Countries
- 2010 National Meeting, Co-organizer of the Section on the Politics of Communist and Post-Communist Countries

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

- Ed Hewett Memorial Book Prize Committee Member, 2017-18

- 2010 National Meeting, Organizer for the Section on Comparative Politics and International Relations

## **MEDIA**

Interviews with CNBC, KTLA, Spectrum 1 TV News, DC News, Forbes, ERI, Clarín (Argentina), Kyodo Newswire (Japan), Project Syndicate (The Japan Times, The Daily Star, Bangladesh), Newsweek, Time.

## **SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY**

### Pacific Council, Los Angeles

Public lecture on US-Russian Politics (October 23, 2018).

### Newport Beach Public Library

Public lecture to Orange County high school students and community on Bulgarian politics (May 24, 2011).

### Claremont International Studies Educational Project

Public lecture to Los Angeles County high school teachers on Russian politics (November 10, 2007).

### California International Studies Project

Public lecture to San Bernardino and Riverside area high school teachers on Russian politics under Presidents Yeltsin and Putin (October 25, 2005).

### Constitutional Rights Foundation, Los Angeles

Public presentations to Los Angeles area high school teachers on current affairs in Russia and Eastern Europe (September 8, 2003, July 19, 2003, March 8, 2003, April 8, 2002).