

The Soviet Union and Russia since 1917

POL 3512

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Class hours: Thursdays, 16:15—20:00

Location: D 134

Office hours and availability: Mondays, 13:15—15:00

Purpose of the class: To provide students with an introduction to the history and politics of the Soviet Union and Russia, with attention to the revolutionary origins and historical development of the Soviet Union as well as to post-Soviet developments. Special attention will be paid to nationalities policy, Church-state relations, and gender equality. One week will be devoted to discussing post-1991 Ukraine and Belarus.

Requirements: A research paper, 20 to 30 double-spaced pages (typed), with appropriate documentation, and an oral exam based on the assigned readings, class discussions, and the research paper. The research paper and oral exam will be given equal weight. In order to be admitted to the oral exam, students must have attended at least 80% of class meetings. Students will also be expected to present first drafts of their papers orally to the class according to an agreed schedule. Students submitting written drafts at the time they present them will receive feedback on their drafts the following week. The paper may cover any topic post-1917 concerning issues in the Soviet Union, or, in the post-1991 setting, concerning events or issues in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, or the Baltic republics.

Required readings available at the bookstore (PENSUM):

Kenez, Peter. *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*, 2nd ed.

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 1—304 (entire book)

McDermott, Kevin. *Stalin: Revolutionary in an Era of War* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2006): 1—167 (entire book)

Löwenhardt, John. *The Reincarnation of Russia: Struggling with the Legacy of Communism, 1990—1994* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995): 1—182 (entire book)

Herspring, Dale R. (ed.). *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, 3rd ed.

(Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006): 1—300 (entire book)

Lynch, Allen C. *How Russia is Not Ruled: Reflections on Russian Political Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 1—255 (entire book)

Recommended (not required):

Treadgold, Donald W. and Herbert J. Ellison. *Twentieth Century Russia*, 9th ed.

(Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2000): 95—469

Davies, Sarah and James Harris. *Stalin: A New History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Gibbs, Joseph. *Gorbachev's Glasnost: The Soviet Media in the First Phase of Perestroika* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1999)

Black, J. L. *Vladimir Putin and the New World Order: Looking East, Looking West?* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004)

Class schedule:

11 January: **Introduction; Framework for an analysis of Soviet politics.** A theory of politics. Totalitarian and oligarchic models. Revolutionary mass movement regimes. Mobilization and inclusion. System destruction (1917—23). Consolidation and mobilization (1923—28). System building (1928—38). The Russian historical experience pre-1917; communism vs. post-communist politics. Values driving the Soviet system.

18 January: **The Bolshevik Revolution.** The Bolsheviks in exile. The Provisional government. The Bolsheviks seize power. Civil war & war communism. Early egalitarianism. Reenacting the revolution – rituals and parades. Evolution of the control system.

Required reading: Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union*, pp. 1—40

Recommended reading: Adam B. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks: The intellectual and political history of the triumph of communism in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Leon Trotsky, *The Russian Revolution*, ed. by F. W. Dupee (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959)

25 January: *Students to select topics and indicate in class;* **The liberal interlude: the 1920s.** NEP and NEP-men. The kulaks. Left vs. Right and the problem of voluntarism – can history be accelerated? Federal Structure. State and party hierarchies. The CPSU. Decision-making. Regional and local administration. Elections. Political succession.

Required reading: Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union*, pp. 41—79

1 February: **Mobilization – Stalinism at its height** – Trials of the left and right oppositions. Collectivization. Crash industrialization. Stakhanovite movement. Purges and terror. the cult of the personality. The 1936 constitution.

Required reading: Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union*, pp. 80—131

Recommended reading: Davies and Harris (eds.), *Stalin: A New History*, pp. 181—225; and Basil Dmytryshyn, *USSR: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), pp. 155—207

8 February: **Soviet nationalities policy & religious policy; status of women**

Required reading: McDermott, *Stalin*, pp. 1—87

Recommended reading: Davies and Harris (eds.), *Stalin: A New History*, pp. 45—62

15 February: – **Organs of control** – People's control. The KGB. Psychiatric clinics. The procuracy & the courts. Socialist legality. Youth organizations.

Required reading: McDermott, *Stalin*, pp. 88—167

Recommended reading: Davies and Harris (eds.), *Stalin: A New History*, pp. 226—270

- 22 February: **System building, from Stalin to Brezhnev** – War. Protracted secessionism. Economic recovery. Prokofiev and Shostakovich. The Zhdanovshchina. Death of Stalin and the fall of Beria. Rise of Khrushchev. Khrushchev's secret speech. De-stalinization. The 22nd party congress. The virgin lands program. Khrushchev's 'hare-brained' schemes. Brezhnev and Kosygin. Dissidents. Psychiatric terror. The fall of Shelest. The 1977 constitution. The gerontocracy and the Brezhnev succession. Demographic problems.
Required reading: Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union*, pp. 132—242
- 1 March: **Soviet foreign policy, 1954—1991**. Relations with the Middle East. The Sino-Soviet rift. Relations with the United States, including the Cuban missile crisis. The invasion of Afghanistan. Temptations in Africa and Nicaragua.
Required reading: Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union*, pp. 243—304
Recommended reading: Basil Dmytryshyn, *USSR: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), pp. 304—325, 341—371
- 8 March: **System reform – from Andropov to Gorbachev and beyond**. Andropov. Chernenko. Gorbachev. Yeltsin.
Required reading: Löwenhardt, *Reincarnation*
Recommended reading: Gibbs, *Gorbachev's Glasnost*
- 15 March: **The Putin era**. Domestic policy. The Chechen war. Foreign policy.
Required reading: Herspring, *Putin's Russia*
Recommended reading: Marshall I. Goldman, Marshall I. "Putin and the Oligarchs", in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 6 (November—December 2004), pp. 33—44; and J. L. Black, *Vladimir Putin and the New World Order: Looking East, Looking West?* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 3—158
- 22 March: Writing week; no class meeting
- 29 March: **Ukraine and Belarus since 1991**.
Required reading: Lynch, *How Russia*, pp. 1—46
Recommended reading: David R. Marples, "The Prospects for Democracy in Belarus", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January—February 2004), pp. 31—42 ; and Paul D'Anieri, "Leonid Kuchma and the Personalization of the Ukrainian Presidency", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 50, No. 5 (September—October 2003), pp. 58—65
- 5 April: Easter week; no class
- 12 April: **Guest lecturer: Paul Midford, on Soviet-Japanese relations**
Required reading: Lynch, *How Russia*, pp. 47—127
- 19 April: **Guest lecturer, 13:15—15:00, in Room D14: Vjeran Pavlakovic, "Contested Histories and Commemorations of Croatia's Homeland War"**

At the regular time: Student presentations and feedback
Required reading: Lynch, *How Russia*, pp. 128—165

26 April: **Guest lecturer, 13:15—15:00, in Room D151: Konstanty Gebert, “Surviving Putin: Independent provincial media in Russia”,**

At the regular time: Student presentations and feedback
Required reading: Lynch, *How Russia*, pp. 166—194
Recommended reading: Andrei Bogomolov, *News from Russia: Language, life and the Russian media* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)

3 May: Student presentations and feedback
Required reading: Lynch, *How Russia*, pp. 195—255

4 May: **Guest lecturer, 13:15—15:00, Dragvoll meeting room 7 in the Faculty of Arts administration building: David Marples, “Lukashenka’s Belarus: Europe’s Last Dictatorship or Populist Alternative?”**

10 May: Reading week; no class meeting
Review the reading

RESOURCES

The NTNU university library has current subscriptions to *Slavic Review* (also on JSTOR), *Europe-Asia Studies* (also on JSTOR), *Ethnic & Racial Studies* (also on EBESCO), *Problems of Post-Communism* (since 1994), *Demokratizatsiya*, *Osturopa*, and *Nordisk Øst-forum*, an electronic subscription to *Russian Review* (on JSTOR & BlackwellSynergy), and past holdings of *International Affairs* (Moscow, 1969—91), *Russian Studies in History* (1992—2000), and *Studies in Soviet Thought* (1961—1984). The list of sources below is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely to assist the student in getting a start. Many of the books listed below are available within the BIBSYS system; all journals listed are available at the NTNU university library.

In addition to books and journal articles, there are also internet resources from the region which are published in English. These include the following:

Western sources:

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty at www.rferl.org/

TOL News at www.tol.cz/look/TOLnew/home.tpl

The Independent at www.independent.co.uk

The Guardian at www.guardian.co.uk

Frankfurter Allgemeine (English-language service), at www.faz.com/

New York Times, at www.nytimes.com

Baltic sources:

Baltic News Service (news from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), at

www.bns.ee/login.jsp?lang=en

The Baltic Times, at www.baltictimes.com/

Estonian Institute, with various links, at www.einst.ee/

Välisministeerium (Estonian Foreign Ministry), at www.vm.ee/eng/

Belarusian sources:

Belarus Breaking News, at www.einnews.com/belarus/

Belarus News, at www.topix.net/world/belarus

Belarusian News – Daily News from Belarus, with various links, at

www.centreurope.org/maggb/belarusian-news.htm

Radio Racyja, at racyja.promedia.by/en/

Russian & Ukrainian sources:

Moscow News, at english.mn.ru/english/

Moscow Times, at www.moscowtimes.ru/indexes/01.html

Pravda, at english.pravda.ru

Ukrainian Weekly, at www.ukrweekly.com/

General works

Allworth, Edward (ed.). *Ethnic Russia in the USSR: The Dilemma of Dominance* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980)

Blakkisrud, Helge. *Den russiske føderasjonen i støpeskjeen: Etniske og territoriale utfordringer* (Oslo: Spartacus, 1997)

Dmytryshyn, Basil. *USSR: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978)

Fainsod, Merle. *How Russia is Ruled* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963)

Hønneland, Geir and Helge Blakkisrud (eds.). *Centre-periphery relations in Russia: The case of the northwestern regions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)

Hosking, Geoffrey. *Russia and the Russians: A History* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001)

_____ and Robert Service (eds.). *Reinterpreting Russia* (London: Arnold, 1999)

Hunt, R. N. Carew. *The Theory and Practice of Marxism*. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963)

Karatnycky, Adrian, Alexander Motyl, and Amanda Schnetzer (eds.). *Nations in Transit 2003: Democratization in East Central Europe and Eurasia* (Lanham, Md.: Freedom House and Rowman & Littlefield, 2003)

Kolstø, Pål and Helge Blakkisrud (eds.). *Nation-building and common values in Russia* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004)

Meissner, Boris. *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Party leadership, organization, and ideology*, trans. by Fred Holling (New York: Praeger, 1956)

Obolonsky, Alexander V. *The Drama of Russian Political History: System Against Individuality* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2003)

- Schapiro, Leonard B. *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York: Random House, 1971)
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, The USSR, and the Successor States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Tucker, Robert C. *Political culture and leadership in Soviet Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf, 1987)
- Ulam, Adam B. *Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet foreign policy, 1917—73*, Rev. ed. (New York: Praeger, 1974)
- _____. *A History of Soviet Russia* (New York: Praeger, 1976)
- von Rauch, Georg. *A History of Soviet Russia*, 6th ed. (New York: Praeger, 1972)
- Williams, Christopher and Stephen Hanson, "National Socialism, Left Patriotism, or Superimperialism? The 'Radical Right' in Russia", in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), *The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 1999): 257—277
- Wolfe, Bertram D. *Three Who Made a Revolution*, Rev. ed. (New York: Stein and Day, 1964; reissued 1984)

The Lenin era

- Carleton, Gregory. *Sexual Revolution in Bolshevik Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005)
- Carr, E. H. *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917—1923*, 3 vols. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1953)
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- _____, Alexander Rabinowitch, and Richard Stites (eds.). *Russia in the Era of NEP: Explorations in Soviet Society and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991)
- Marples, David R. *Lenin's revolution: Russia, 1917—1921* (Harlow, U.K.: Pearson-Longman, 2000)
- Pipes, Richard. *The formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and nationalism, 1917—1923* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954)
- Service, Robert. *The Bolshevik Party in Revolution: A study in organizational change, 1917—1923* (London: Macmillan, 1979)
- _____. *Lenin: En biografi*, trans. by Bertil Knudsen (Oslo: Damm, 2006)
- _____. *Lenin: A political life*, 5 vols. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1985--)
- Trotsky, Leon. *The Russian Revolution*, trans. By Max Eastman (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1952, 1959)
- Ulam, Adam B. *The Bolsheviks: The intellectual and political history of the triumph of communism in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998)
- Von Geldern, James. *Bolshevik Festivals, 1917—1920* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993)

The Stalin era

- Apor, Balázs (ed.). *The Leader Cult in Communist Dictatorships: Stalin and the Eastern Bloc* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)
- Bialer, Seweryn. *Stalin and His Generals: Soviet military memoirs of World War II* (New York: Pegasus, 1969)

- Conquest, Robert. *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (New York: Macmillan, 1973)
- _____. *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- _____. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet collectivization and the terror-famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986)
- _____. *Inside Stalin's secret police: NKVD politics, 1936—1939* (London: Macmillan, 1985)
- Deutscher, Isaac. *Stalin: A Political Biography*, 2nd ed. (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1967)
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Cultural Front: Power and culture in revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992)
- _____. (ed.). *Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928—1931* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978, 1984)
- Getty, J. Arch. *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933—1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- Hoffmann, David (ed.). *Stalinism: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003)
- Medvedev, Roy. *Let History Judge: The origins and consequences of Stalinism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972)
- Medvedev, Zhores A. and Roy A. Medvedev. *The Unknown Stalin*, trans. from Russian by Ellen Dahrendorf (New York: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2003)
- Miller, Frank J. *Folklore for Stalin: Russian Folklore and Pseudofolklore of the Stalin Era* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1990)
- Overy, Richard. *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia* (London: BCA, 2004)
- Rossmann, Jeffrey J. *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and revolution on the shop floor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005)
- Service, Robert. *Stalin: A biography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005)
- Souvarine, Boris. *Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism*, trans. by C.L.R. James (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939)
- Ulam, Adam. *Stalin: The Man and His Era*, Expanded ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989)
- Volkogonov, Dmitri. *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, trans. from Russian by Harold Shukman (Rocklin, Calif.: Prima Publishing, 1992)

The Khrushchev era

- Breslauer, George W. *Khrushchev and Brezhnev as leaders: Building authority in Soviet politics* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1982)
- Jones, Polly (ed.). *The dilemmas of de-Stalinization: Negotiating cultural and social change in the Khrushchev era* (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Khrushchev, Nikita S. *Khrushchev Remembers*, trans. & ed. by Strobe Talbott (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1970)
- _____. *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*, trans. & ed. by Strobe Talbott (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1974)
- McCauley, Martin. *The Khrushchev era, 1954—1964* (London: Longman, 1995)
- Taubman, William. *Khrushchev: The man and his era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003)

The Brezhnev era

- Bacon, Edwin and Mark Sandle (eds.). *Brezhnev Reconsidered* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)
- Bialer, Seweryn. *Stalin's successors: Leadership, stability, and change in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- Bloch, Sidney and Peter Reddaway. *Psychiatric Terror: How Soviet Psychiatry is used to suppress dissent* (New York: Basic Books, 1977)
- Dornberg, John. *Brezhnev: The masks of power* (New York: Basic Books, 1974)
- Gelman, Harry. *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984)
- Kelley, Donald R. (ed.). *Soviet politics in the Brezhnev era* (New York: Praeger, 1980)
- Nogee, Joseph L. (ed.). *Man, State, and Society in the Soviet Union* (1972)
- Tompson, William. *The Soviet Union under Brezhnev* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2003)
- Reshetar, John S. *The Soviet Polity: Government and Politics in the USSR, 4th ed.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989)
- Voslensky, Michael. *Nomenklatura: The Soviet Ruling Class – An Insider's Report*, trans. by Eric Moshacher (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984)

Years of transition

- Colton, Timothy J. and Thane Gustafson (eds.). *Soldiers and the Soviet state: Civil-military relations from Brezhnev to Gorbachev* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990)
- Doder, Dusko. *Shadows and Whispers: Power politics inside the Kremlin from Brezhnev to Gorbachev* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988)
- Hazan, Baruch A. *From Brezhnev to Gorbachev: Infighting in the Kremlin* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987)
- Medvedev, Zhores A. *Andropov* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983)
- Steele, Jonathan. *Andropov in power: From Komsomol to Kremlin* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1983)
- Zemtsov, Ilya. *Chernenko: The Last Bolshevik* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1989)

The Gorbachev era

- Brown, Archie. *The Gorbachev Factor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Buckley, Mary. *Redefining Russian Society and Polity* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993)
- Doder, Dusko and Louise Branson. *Gorbachev: Heretic in the Kremlin* (New York: Viking, 1990)
- Galeotti, Mark. *Gorbachev and his revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1997)
- Marples, David R. *Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Harlow, U.K.: Pearson-Longman, 2004)
- Melville, Andrei and Gail W. Lapidus (eds.). *The Glasnost Papers: Voices on Reform from Moscow* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1990)
- Schmidt-Häuer, Christian. *Gorbachev: Path to Power* (Boston: Salem House, 1986)
- White, Stephen. *Russia's New Politics: The Management of a Postcommunist Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

The Yeltsin era

- Alexseev, Mikhail A. "From the Cold War to the 'Cold Peace': U.S.—Russian Interactions from Gorbachev to the Present", in Sabrina P. Ramet and Christine Ingebritsen (eds.), *Coming in from the Cold War: Changes in U.S.—European Interactions since 1980* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002): 147—172
- Breslauer, George W. *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as leaders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Brown, Archie and Lilia Shevtsova (eds.). *Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin: Political leadership in Russia's transition* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001)
- Kagarlitsky, Boris. *Russia under Yeltsin and Putin: Neo-liberal autocracy* (London & Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2002)
- Löwenhardt, John. (ed.). *Party politics in post-communist Russia* (London & Portland: Frank Cass, 1998)
- McFaul, Michael. *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political change from Gorbachev to Putin* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001)
- Medvedev, Roy A. *Post-Soviet Russia: A journey through the Yeltsin era*, trans. & ed. by George Shriver (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000)
- Smith, Kathleen E. *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and memory during the Yeltsin era* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002)
- Yeltsin, Boris N. *Against the Grain: An Autobiography* (New York: Summit Books, 1990)
- _____. *Midnight diaries*, trans. by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick (New York: Public Affairs, 2000)

The Putin era

- Frisby, Tanya (1998). "The Rise of Organised Crime in Russia: Its Roots and Social Significance", in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (January): 129—146.
- Goldman, Marshall I. (2004). "Putin and the Oligarchs", in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 6 (November—December): 33—44.
- Gregory, Paul R. (1997). "Has Russia's Transition Really Been Such a Failure?", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 44, No. 6 (November—December 1997): 13—22.
- Hashim, S. Mohsin. "Shadows of the Past: Successor Parties in the Polish, Hungarian, and Russian Transitions", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (May—June 2002): 42—58
- Jack, Andrew. *Inside Putin's Russia* (London: Granta, 2004)
- Karklins, Rasma (2002). "Typology of Post-Communist Corruption", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (July—August): 22—32.
- Kolstø, Pål. *Nasjonsbygging: Russland og de nye statene i øst* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999)
- Oldberg, Ingmar (2002). *Uneasy Neighbours: Russia and the Baltic States in the Context of NATO and EU enlargements* (Trondheim: Trondheim Studies on East European Cultures and Societies, No. 12)
- Politkovskaia, Anna. *Putin's Russia*, trans. By Arch Tait (London: Harvill, 2004)
- Putin, Vladimir V. *First Person*, trans. By Catherine A. Fitzpatrick (New York: Public Affairs, 2000)

- Ross, Cameron. *Russian Politics under Putin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)
- Shevtsova, Liliia Fedorovna. *Putin's Russia* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003)
- Smith, Mark A. *Putin's Power Bases* (Camberley, Surrey: Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2001)
- _____. *Russia & the EU under Putin* (Camberley, Surrey: Defence Academy of the U.K., 2004)
- Truscott, Peter. *Putin's Progress: A biography of Russia's enigmatic president, Vladimir Putin* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2004)

Belarus

- Garnett, Sherman W. and Robert Legvold (eds.). *Belarus at the crossroads* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999)
- Korosteleva, Elena A., Rosalind J. Marsh, and Colin W. Lawson (eds.). *Contemporary Belarus: Between democracy and dictatorship* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2003)
- Legvold, Robert and Celeste A. Wallander (eds.). *Swords and sustenance: The economics of security in Belarus and Ukraine* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004)
- Lubachko, Ivan S. *Belorussia under Soviet rule, 1917—1957* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972)
- Marples, David R. *Belarus: A denationalized nation* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publ., 1999)
- _____. "The Prospects for Democracy in Belarus", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January—February 2004): 31—42
- Moshes, Arkady and Bertil Nygren (eds.). *A Slavic Triangle? Present and future relations between Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Stockholm: Försvarshögskolan, 2003)
- Smith, Graham et al. *Nation-building in the post-Soviet borderlands: The politics of national identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- White, Stephen, Elena Korosteleva, and John Löwenhardt (eds.). *Postcommunist Belarus* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)
- Zaprudnik, Jan. *Belarus: At a crossroads in history* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993)
- No author, *Belarus: Towards a knowledge-based economy – Country readiness assessment report* (New York: U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, 2002)

Ukraine

- Albright, David E. and Semyen J. Appatov. *Ukraine and European security* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999)
- Armstrong, John A. *Ukrainian nationalism*, 3rd ed. (Englewood, Colo.: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990)
- Berljpff, Karel C. *Harvest of despair: Life and death in Ukraine under Nazi rule* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004)
- Bilinsky, Yaroslav. *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1964)

- Borys, Jurij. *The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917—1923: The communist doctrine and practice of national self-determination*, Rev. ed. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980)
- Bukkvoll, Tor. "Private Interests, Public Policy: Ukraine and the Common Economic Space Agreement", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 51, No. 5 (September—October 2004): 11—22
- _____. *Ukraine and European security* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997)
- Chirovsky, Nicholas L. *Moscow's Russification of Ukraine: Papers and articles* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1987)
- Conquest, Robert. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet collectivization and the terror-famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986)
- D'Anieri, Paul. "Leonid Kuchma and the Personalization of the Ukrainian Presidency", in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 50, No. 5 (September—October 2003): 58—65
- _____. "Ukraine and the United States since 1991: The Reshaping of Expectations", in Sabrina P. Ramet and Christine Ingebritsen (eds.), *Coming in from the Cold War: Changes in U.S.—European Interactions since 1980* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002): 191—208
- Dawson, Jane I. *Eco-Nationalism: Anti-nuclear activism and national identity in Russia, Lithuania, and Ukraine* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996)
- Dyczok, Marta. *Ukraine: Movement without change, change without movement* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 2000)
- Hodnett, Grey and Peter J. Potichnyj. *The Ukraine and the Czechoslovak Crisis* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1970)
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