

The Politics of Russia and Eurasia

Spring 2021

MWF 1-1:50 pm Wake Forest Time, Kirby 109 and online

Instructor: Carrie Coberly

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Office Hours:

Virtual: MWF 3-4 pm via Zoom

Study Hour: Tuesdays 3-4 pm via Zoom

In Person: Email me to request a time

How has Vladimir Putin been able to consolidate his power as president of Russia? Why are Armenia and Azerbaijan at war over Nagorno-Karabakh? How did corruption get so bad in Ukraine? Will China or Russia have more influence over the oil-rich states of Central Asia? The countries of the former Soviet Union influence regional, international, and U.S. politics every day. This class aims to introduce students to the politics of these countries. Starting with a brief introduction to the legacies of the Soviet Union, we will trace the major political and economic reforms in the countries of Eurasia over the past three decades and discuss their implications for the politics of the region today.

Course Goals

- Expand students' knowledge about Russia and the countries of Eurasia.
- Apply theories of democratization, nationalism, and economic reform to the region.
- Develop students' research skills, specifically the ability to conduct effective comparisons of two or more countries.

This is a hybrid class with asynchronous elements. There are two cohorts – one will meet in person on Mondays and one online on Wednesdays. Both cohorts will meet online on Friday. Each week, students should attend class Friday and *either* Monday *or* Wednesday. The material presented in class will be identical on Mondays and Wednesdays. These days (Mondays/Wednesdays) will be devoted to discussion of relevant theory and regional dynamics on that week's topic. Fridays will be split between lecture on research methods (when needed to prepare for research paper) and discussion of individual cases.

Health and Well-being

You can switch to the online cohort at any time, so if you are feeling ill (even just a cold) or attended a large or unmasked gathering, you can (and should!) participate in class online - the content will be the same in either format. In line with [Wake Forest University](#) and [CDC](#) policy, in face-to-face classes, all students must properly wear cloth masks and maintain a distance of

six feet from each other. **Your health and welfare are my highest priority, so please let me know if you are having any problems or have any concerns.** Please also review the full university policy on classroom behavior in the time of COVID at the end of this syllabus.

Evaluation

I expect students to spend an average of 10 hours/week on this course. Three hours will be spent in class (including recorded lectures), and 3-4 hours/week *each* should be spent on doing course readings (around 2 hours of readings for M/W and 1 hour for Friday) and assignments. Students should prepare the course materials (readings, videos, and/or recorded lectures) listed on the Canvas page *before* each class and come prepared to discuss them.

<i>Assignment</i>	<i>% of overall grade</i>	<i>Type of grade</i>	<i>Date(s) due</i>
Class Activities	20	Points	Throughout semester
Reaction Papers (3)	30 (10% each)	Letter	Feb. 26, Apr. 2, May 7
Research Paper			
Research Question	5	Credit/No Credit	February 19
Bibliography	5	Letter	March 12
Literature Review	10	Letter	March 26
Research Design	10	Credit/No Credit	April 16
Presentation	5	Credit/No Credit	May 3
Final Paper	15	Letter	May 14

- **Class Activities** (20% of your grade)
I do not take attendance in class, but there are 12 assignments spread across the semester that ask you to reflect on what you have learned or comment on material presented in class. These assignments are generally graded on a 2-point scale, where students receive 1 point for turning in the assignment and 2 points for a thoughtful statement. To receive an A- for class activities, you need to turn in 10 of the 12 assignments (i.e., receive 10 points). To receive an A for this portion of your grade, you need to receive 14 points total.
- **Reaction Papers** (30% of your grade total, 10% each)
This class has six units. You need to write a short analytical essay (1 to 1½ pages single spaced) responding to a prompt about three of those units. These reaction papers will be due at the end of the 2nd, 4th, and final units and will receive letter grades.
- **Research Paper** (50% of grade)
Over the course of the semester you will complete a variety of assignments to complete a research paper comparing two or more countries in Eurasia (or two or more regions within Russia). These assignments will combine into a final research paper; some will receive letter grades, some will be graded credit/no credit. **You may do this research paper as an individual or as a group.** This paper will primarily be evaluated on the depth of your evaluation of existing research on the topic and the ability of your

research design to test a causal relationship. You will give a 5-minute presentation to the class on your research the final week of class.

Course Readings

NOTE: *This is not a complete list of material you will need to prepare for the class—it only highlights key readings. The full list of requirements for each day is available on Canvas.*

Unit 1: Historical Legacies

January 27 – Introduction

January 29 – The Soviet System

- McAuley, Mary. 1992. "Introduction" and "The Administrative-Command System under Brezhnev." In *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*. Oxford University Press, 1-11 and 75-88.

Week of February 1 – Breakup and Transition

- Dallin, Alexander. 1992. "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8(4): 279-302.
- Armijo, Leslie Elliott, Thomas J. Biersteker, and Abraham F. Lowenthal. 1994. "The Problems of Simultaneous Transitions." *Journal of Democracy* 5(4): 161-175.

Read ONE of the following:

- Bunce, Valerie. 1998. "Subversive Institutions: The End of the Soviet State in Comparative Perspective." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14(4): 323-354.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2009. "Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism." *Contemporary European History* 18(3): 331-347.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolutions of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

Unit 2 – Defining the State

Week of February 8 – Citizenship and National Identity

- Shevel, Oxana. 2011. "Russian Nation-Building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic, or Purposefully Ambiguous?" *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.63, no.2, 2011, pp.179-202.
- George, Julie A. 2009. "Expecting ethnic conflict: The Soviet legacy and ethnic politics in the Caucasus and Central Asia." In A.E. Wooden, and C.H. Stefes, eds. *The politics of transition in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Enduring legacies and emerging challenges*.

Read ONE of the following:

- Kramer, Mark. 2005. "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya." *International Security* 29(3): 5-63. AND Ratelle, Jean-François. 2013, July 8. "The Insurgency in the North Caucasus." *Russian Analytical Digest* 131: 5-8.

- Barrington, Lowell. 2000. "Understanding Citizenship Policy in the Baltic States." In Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, eds. *From Migrants to Citizens*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 253-294.
- Riabchuk, Mykola. 2015. "'Two Ukraines' Reconsidered: The End of Ukrainian Ambivalence?" *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 15(1): 138-156.
- Wachtel, Andrew. 2013. "Kyrgyzstan Between Democratization and Ethnic Intolerance." *Nationalities Papers* 41(6): 971-986.
- Blackburn, Matthew. 2019. "Discourses of Russian-speaking youth in Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan: Soviet legacies and responses to nation-building." *Central Asian Survey* 38(2): 217-236.

Week of February 15 – State building

- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2007. "Introduction." In *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies*. Cambridge University Press, p. 1-22.
- Taylor, Brian. 2011. "Coercion and Capacity: Political Order and the Central State." In *State Building in Putin's Russia*. Cambridge University Press, p. 71-111 (Chapter 3).

Read ONE of the following:

- Gel'man, Victor. 2004. "The Unrule of Law in the Making: The Politics of Informal Institution-Building in Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56(7): 1021-1040.
- Allina-Pisano, Jessica. 2010. "Social Contracts and Authoritarian Projects in Post-Soviet Space: The Use of Administrative Resource." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 4: 373-382. (Ukraine)
- Gans-Morse, Jordan. 2012. "Threats to Property Rights in Russia: From Private Coercion to State Aggression." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28(3): 263-295.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2007. "The Expansion of State Administration." In *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies*. Cambridge University Press, p. 133-166 (Baltics)
- Nasuti, Peter. 2016. "Administrative Cohesion and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Georgia and Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(5): 847-867.

Unit 3 – The Economic Context

Week of February 22 – Privatization and Reform

- Hellman, Joel. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transition." *World Politics* 50(2): 203-234.
- Frye, Timothy. 2002. "The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* 54: 308-37.

Read ONE of the following:

- Panagiotou, R. A. 2001. "Estonia's success: prescription or legacy?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34: 261-277.
- Yakovlev, A. 2006. "The Evolution of Business-State Interaction in Russia: From State Capture to Business Capture?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58(7): 1033-1056.
- Aslund, Anders. 2009. *How Ukraine became a market economy and democracy*. Peterson Institute for International Economics. (Read a chapter of your choice)
- Hamm, Patrick, Lawrence P. King, and David Stuckler. 2012. "Mass Privatization, State Capacity, and Economic Growth in Post-Communist Countries." *American Sociological Review* 77(2): 295-324.

Week of March 1 – Short Week – Corruption

- Watch "Citizen K" on Amazon Prime

Week of March 8 – Oil

- Weinthal, Erika and Pauline Jones Luong. 2006. "Combating the Resource Curse: An Alternative Solution to Managing Mineral Wealth." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(1): 35-53.
- Mitrova, Tatiana. 2016. *Shifting Political Economy of Russian Oil and Gas*. Center for Strategic and International Studies, p. vi-32.

Read ONE of the following:

- Jones Luong, Pauline and Erika Weinthal. 2010. *Oil Is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States*. Cambridge University Press. (Read ONE of the following chapters: 4 (Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan), 7 (Azerbaijan), or 8(Kazakhstan))
- Nakaya, Sumie. 2009. "Aid and Transition from a War Economy to an Oligarchy in Post-war Tajikistan." *Central Asian Survey* 28(3): 259-273.
- Guliyev, Farid. 2013. "Oil and Regime Stability in Azerbaijan." *Demokratizatsiya* 21(1): 113-147.

Unit 4 – Who Rules? Elites and Institutions

Week of March 15 – Variation in regime type

- Hale, Henry. 2005. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *World Politics* 58(1): 133-165.
- Darden, Keith and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse." *World Politics* 59(1): 83-115.

Read ONE of the following:

- Way, Lucan. 2005. "Authoritarian State Building and the Source of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine." *World Politics* 57(2): 231-261.

- Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Graeme Robertson. 2014. "After the Revolution: Long-Term Effects of Electoral Revolutions." *Problems of Post-Communism* 61(4): 3-22.
- Fortin, Jessica. 2012. "Is There a Necessary Condition for Democracy? The Role of State Capacity in Postcommunist Countries." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(7): 903-930.
- Roper, Steven. 2008. "From Semi-Presidentialism to Parliamentarism: Regime Change and Presidential Power in Moldova." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(1): 113-126.
- Silitski, Vitali. "Preempting Democracy: The Case of Belarus," *Journal of Democracy* 16(4): 83-97.
- Berglund, Christopher. 2014. "Georgia Between Dominant-Power Politics, Feckless Pluralism, and Democracy." *Demokratizatsiya* 22(3): 445-470.

Week of March 22 – Elites and parties

- Bader, Max. 2011. "Hegemonic Political Parties in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Toward Party-Based Authoritarianism?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44(3): 189-197. (Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan)
- Junisbai, Barbara. 2012. "Improbable but Potentially Pivotal Oppositions: Privatization, Capitalists, and Political Contestation in the Post-Soviet Autocracies," *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4): 891-916.

Read ONE of the following:

- Gel'man, Vladimir. 2008. "Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(6): 913-30.
- Isaacs, Rico. 2013. "Nur Otan, Informal Networks and the Countering of Elite Instability in Kazakhstan: Bringing the 'Formal' Back In." *Europe-Asia Studies* 65(6): 1055-1079.
- Kılavuz, İdil Tunçer. 2009. "Political and Social Networks in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan: 'Clan,' 'Region,' and Beyond." *Central Asian Survey* 28(3): 323-334.

Unit 5 – Publics

Week of March 29 – Popular support for authoritarian regimes

- Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker. 2013. "Associated with the Past? Communist Legacies and Civic Participation in Post-Communist Countries." *East European Politics & Societies* 27(1): 45-68.
- Hale, Henry. 2011. "A Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundation of a Hybrid Regime." *Europe-Asia Studies* 63(8): 1357-1375.

Read ONE of the following:

- Wilson, Kenneth. 2012. "How Russians View Electoral Fairness: A Qualitative Analysis." *Europe-Asia Studies* 64(1): 145-168.
- Smyth, Regina and Irina Soboleva. 2014. "Looking Beyond the Economy: Pussy Riot and the Kremlin's Voting Coalition." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30(4): 257-275.

- Kubicek, Paul. 2010. "Regional Polarisation in Ukraine: Public Opinion, Voting and Legislative Behaviour." *Europe-Asia Studies* 52(2): 273-294.
- Junisbai, Barbara and Azamat Junisbai. 2020. "Are Youth Different?: The Nazarbayev Generation and Public Opinion in Kazakhstan." *Problems of Post-Communism* 67(3): 251-263.
- Valiyev, Anar, Azer Babayev, Hajar Huseynova, and Khalida Jafarova. 2017. "Do Citizens of the Former Soviet Union Trust State Institutions and Why: The Case of Azerbaijan." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50(3): 221-231.

Week of April 5 – Short Week – Civil Society

- Watch "Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom" on Netflix

Week of April 12 – Protest and prospects for change

- Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62(1): 43-86.
- Rosenfeld, Bryn. 2017. "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia." *American Political Science Review* 111(4): 637-652.

Read ONE of the following:

- Robertson, Graeme B. 2007. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes." *American Political Science Review*. 101(4): 781-798.
- Kolesnikov, Andrei and Denis Volkov. 2017. *Defending one's backyard: Local Civic Activism in Moscow*. Carnegie Moscow Center. AND Jarrell, Andrew. 2012. "Local Democracy in Russia: An Antidote for an Aimless Protest Movement." *Russian Analytical Digest* 118(2): 8-10.
- Sultanova, Shahla. 2014. "Challenging the Aliyev Regime: Political Opposition in Azerbaijan," *Demokratizatsiya* 22(1): 15-37.
- Popova, Maria. 2014. "Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent." *Problems of Post-Communism* 61(6): 64-70.

Unit 6 – Foreign Policy and Regional Security

Week of April 19 – Russian Foreign Policy

- McFaul, Michael. 2020. "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security* 45(2): 95-139.
- Stronski, Paul. 2020. *There Goes the Neighborhood: The Limits of Russian Integration in Eurasia*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Read ONE of the following:

- Reach, Clint. 2020. The Military Role in Russia's Black Sea Strategy. In Stephen J. Flanagan, ed. *Russia, NATO, and Black Sea Security*. RAND, p 47-72.
- Rumer, Eugene, Richard Sokolsky, and Aleksandar Vladicic. 2020. *Russia in the Asia-Pacific: Less Than Meets the Eye*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, p. 1-29.
- Laruelle, Marlene and Dylan Royce. 2020, August. "No Great Game: Central Asia's Public Opinions on Russia, China, and the U.S." Kennan Cable No. 56. Wilson Center for International Scholars.
- Kakachia, Kornely, Salome Minesashvili, and Levan Kakhishvili. 2018. "Change and Continuity in the Foreign Policies of Small States: Elite Perceptions and Georgia's Foreign Policy Towards Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70(5): 814-831.

Week of April 26 – Regional Conflicts

- International Crisis Group. 2020, December 22. *Improving Prospects for Peace after the Nagorno-Karabakh War*. Crisis Group Europe Briefing No. 91.
- Sasse, Gwendolyn. 2020. "War and Displacement: The Case of Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72(3): 347-353.

Read ONE of the following:

- Rogstad, Adrian. 2018. "The Next Crimea?: Getting Russia's Transnistria Policy Right." *Problems of Post-Communism* 65(1): 49-64.
- International Crisis Group. 2018, May 24. *Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Time to Talk Trade*. Europe Report No. 249.
- International Crisis Group. 2019, July 16. *Rebels without a Cause: Russia's Proxies in Eastern Ukraine*. Europe Report No. 254
- Remler, Philip. 2020, October 20. *Russia's Stony Path in the South Caucasus*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Week of May 3 – Conclusion/Presentations

Course Policies

Masks and Social Distancing

Each of us shares responsibility for the health and safety of all in a learning space. Maintaining a consistent six feet of distance, wearing a face covering, limiting our gathering sizes, and isolating or quarantining when ill or exposed to someone with the virus are Wake Forest University directives and policies we all must follow. Students are encouraged to visit the Our Way Forward website (ourwayforward.wfu.edu) to stay informed about the latest guidance and review the Public Health Emergency Addendum to the Student Code of Conduct.

Specifically, in the classroom, we will mitigate the risks of virus transfer and take care of our community by abiding by the following safety directives:

- maintain six feet of distance at all times when feasible.
- wear a face covering for the entirety of class. This face covering should cover your mouth and your nose. A face shield without a face covering is not an acceptable substitute for a face covering.
- stay out of class when sick or after being exposed to someone who is sick.

Any student who does not follow these requirements will be asked once to follow the safety directives. I will offer you a mask or ask you to find one. If you do not comply, I will ask you to leave the class for that day. I will also refer the matter to the COVID-19 compliance reporting system. Possible disciplinary actions may follow as described in the Wake Forest University Undergraduate Student Conduct Code Public Health Emergency Addendum.

Civil discussion

We can only really learn in an environment where we keep an open mind and everyone is valued and respected. We will establish class expectations for civil discussion as a group, but as a starting point, please remember:

- Racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination and inequality exist. We may disagree about their causes and consequences, but we agree to work to better understand them and refrain from personal attacks.
- Personal experiences shared in class remain confidential unless otherwise agreed.
- No individual is expected to serve as a spokesperson for their identity group or country of origin.
- We all make mistakes. Questions and missteps are welcome in an environment of mutual respect and learning.

Late assignments

Every student gets two “free passes” to turn in an assignment late. If you need more time to complete an essay or part of your project, email me before it is due (preferably 24 hours in advance, but the same day is fine). You don’t need to give a reason – just say you are using one of your free passes. Otherwise, you will lose a letter grade for each day your assignment is late. If you are finding completing your assignments challenging in general, email me and we can talk about a schedule that will work for you.

Challenging a grade

If you disagree with a grade you received on an assignment, you may appeal that grade. To appeal, please submit a 1-2 paragraph explanation why the grade given was inappropriate. I will review the explanation and reevaluate the grade. Re-grade requests must be submitted no earlier than one day after grades have been returned and no later than one week from the time the grade was first received.

Contact Policy

I am always reachable via email (I respond between 8 am and 7 pm daily) and during my office hours, but will not always respond immediately. I have also provided my phone number to you

for emergencies. I will not respond to questions about grades until 24 hours after they have been returned to you.

Academic Honor Code

All students are expected to submit work that is a reflection of their own ideas and to properly cite published sources when referencing the ideas of others. Plagiarism will result in a failing grade for an assignment and possibly the course. If you have any questions about proper citation practices or what constitutes plagiarism, please come talk to me. Please review Wake Forest's honor code here: <https://studentconduct.wfu.edu/undergraduate-student-handbook/honor-code-and-conduct-system/>.

Student Resources

We are all under unusual stress right now, and it is important we all acknowledge the toll social distance and anxiety are taking on our mental and physical health. If you have specific needs or require an accommodation in class, please let me know as soon as possible. You may also find the following university resources of help:

- Learning Assistance Center: <https://lac.wfu.edu/>
- Office of Academic Advising: <https://advising.wfu.edu/>
- Wake Forest Office of Wellbeing: <https://thrive.wfu.edu/>
- University Counseling Center: <https://counselingcenter.wfu.edu/>
- Student Health: <https://shs.wfu.edu/>
- Wake Forest Information Systems: <https://is.wfu.edu/student/>

Resources on Russia and Eurasia

The below lists are not complete, but feature some of my favorite sites and books (that aren't assigned for class).

News

Eurasianet.org

A great source for feature news stories on the Caucasus and Central Asia.

BBC

Generally the best online source for international news, available in Russian if you are interested.

Russia Beyond the Headlines (rbth.com)

This is a state-owned website, so proceed with caution, but it does have fun stories about Russian culture.

Think Tanks

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The DC, Europe, and Moscow Centers (but particularly Carnegie.ru) all produce excellent, relevant commentary and research.

Wilson Center

The Kennan Institute at the Wilson Center provides policy-oriented research that comes from a strong historical foundation.

International Crisis Group

A general go-to for background and policy recommendations on conflict zones.

Atlantic Council

Their Eurasia Center has a particularly strong focus on Ukraine (sign up for their daily UkraineAlert newsletter if you are interested!).

Regional Think Tanks

- Check out this helpful report from the Atlantic Council on Russian think tanks: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/thinking-foreign-policy-in-russia-think-tanks-and-grand-narratives/>
- Caucasus
 - The Caucasus Institute (Yerevan): <http://c-i.am/en/front/>
 - Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies <https://www.gfsis.org/>

Books

- Åslund, Anders. 2019. *Russia's crony capitalism: the path from market economy to kleptocracy*. Yale University Press.
- Beissinger, Mark. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brady, Henry and Cynthia Kaplan. 2011. *Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Archie. 2009. *The Rise and Fall of Communism*. Harper Collins.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew and Carl Friedrich. 1956. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Harvard University Press.
- de Waal, Thomas. 2003. *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*. New York University Press.
- Frye, Timothy. 2010. *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, Henry. 2015. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

- Kornai, Janos. 1992. *The Soviet System: The Political Economy of Communism*. Oxford University Press.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 1997. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*. University of California Press.
- Laitin, David. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Cornell University Press.
- Lieven, Anatol. 1999. *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*. Yale University Press.
- McFaul, Michael. 2001. *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*. Cornell University Press.
- Remnick, David. 1994. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*. Vintage Press.
- Shevtsova, Lilia. 1997. *Yeltsin's Russia: Challenges and Constraints*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Slezkine, Yuri. 2017. *The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution*. Princeton University Press.
- Suny, Ronald. 1993. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford University Press.
- Talbott, Strobe. 2002. *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy*. Random House.
- Treisman, Daniel. 2011. *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*. Free Press.
- Wallander, Celeste. 1999. *Mortal Friends, Best Enemies: German-Russian Cooperation After the Cold War*. Cornell University Press