

**The Collapse of the Soviet Union: An  
Annotated Bibliography of Select  
English-Languages Sources**

**Tyler N. Bradley in collaboration with  
Professor Theofanis G. Stavrou**

**2011**

## Introduction

It would be exceedingly difficult to overstate the complex and multifaceted nature of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The process was not a simple and linear progression toward the official end of the USSR when Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as its president. Perestroika, glasnost, democratization, economic stagnation and the push toward a free market, nationalism, nuclear disarmament – the list of the different themes of the Soviet collapse goes on and on. The primary purpose of this bibliography is to highlight sources that can potentially increase the inquisitive reader's understanding of the many different components of the last years of the USSR and the subsequent establishment of ostensibly democratic governments in the former Soviet Socialist Republics. At best, what follows is a selective bibliography representing different fields and their contribution to a better understanding of the Soviet collapse. The major objective is to give users of this tool a means by which they can enter into the different channels of research afforded by the wide range of factors that contributed to and resulted from the dissolution.

I compiled the majority of sources in this bibliography during the summer of 2011 in collaboration with Professor Theofanis G. Stavrou from the Department of History at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities. All works included were personally examined. Also, they are relatively easy to access through university libraries and the Interlibrary Loan system. In addition, my assessment of these sources reflects the insights that culminated after several regular discussions with Professor Stavrou on the subjects of the bibliography. Annotations are meant to give a brief summation of the content and merit of each source and were compiled by means of the aforementioned examinations and with information provided by the reviews cited below many of the sources included. In regards to the format of my citations, I owe a great debt to Paul Horecky's *Russia and the Soviet Union: A Bibliographic Guide to Western-Language Publications* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) and to David M. Shapiro's *A Select Bibliography of Works in English on Russian History, 1801-1917* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962). The current bibliography does not include monographs by Western or Eastern scholars. There are a few exceptions, such as Stephen Kotkin's *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*, which was included because of its utility as a succinct and well-argued analysis and overview of relevant events. Also included are a selection of edited collections that contain contributions by scholars and academics, as I deemed such sources to be valuable by virtue of the multiple viewpoints and modes of analysis that they address. Other edited collections include letters from Soviet citizens to Soviet publications and essays written by Soviet officials as a means to promote the reforms of perestroika and glasnost.

The ultimate emphasis of this bibliography is memoirs and eyewitness accounts, both by Soviet officials who actively participated – as proponents or opponents – in the changes and events that contributed to and immediately followed the collapse of the USSR, as well as by journalists and foreign diplomats. Not all Soviet politicians who have written memoirs have had their work translated into English. Those who have done so, however, represent a broad spectrum of ideologies and motivations, from conservative and anti-reform to democratic and capitalist. Some Soviet memoirs are of a much higher caliber than others, but the annotations that have been included after each source as well as the citations of relevant reviews should give users of this bibliography a good sense of the relative values of each source. Memoirs or monographs by foreign ambassadors or journalists are included because the author had a first-hand experience with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Some of these sources are purely

memoirs, others are minute-by-minute accounts of specific events (such as the 1991 coup), and still others are attempts at analysis of the tumultuous years of the Soviet collapse. Professor Stavrou and I chose to emphasize primary eyewitness accounts over secondary historical analysis for multiple reasons, but Timothy Garton Ash sums it up beautifully in *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* when he notes that eyewitness accounts offer experiences of “things that a historian will not find in any document” (page 22).

My greatest hope is that this bibliography will be used as a jumping-off point for research on the dissolution of the Soviet Union. My intention was to create a tool that promotes understanding of this tumultuous and complicated process of collapse, and I feel that I have accomplished my purpose. There are a multitude of different directions in which one can travel by examining the Soviet collapse, and this bibliography should not be viewed as a summary of where such channels lead, but rather as a map of where they begin.

In conclusion, I would like to offer a brief explanation about the categorization of the bibliography's contents. By their very nature they cannot be neatly categorized. Therefore, there is a great deal of overlap. Still, the three main categories into which they fall (Soviet Memoirs and Accounts; Non-Soviet Memoirs and Accounts; and Edited Collections) do a fair job of representing the fields I sought to cover in this bibliographic exercise.

Tyler N. Bradley

October 6, 2011

## Soviet Memoirs and Accounts

Arbatov, Georgi. *The System: An Insider's Life in Soviet Politics*. New York: Random House, 1992. 380 pp.

Georgi Arbatov, once the director of the Soviet Union's Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada and an official appointed to the Central Committee during the Khrushchev years, outlines his reasons for writing this memoir in the first chapter, claiming that his political and social standing and proximity to important events created an urge to write of his experiences. Beginning with his youth and military service, Arbatov moves in to what he sees as his responsibility to describe the Soviet "system" of which he was a part. In the postscript, he laments that the system collapsed rather than be reformed, and he maintains that he has not lost faith in the "social-democratic" core of the socialist ideal. Some Western scholars, however, are not convinced by the stated intentions of the man whose ubiquitous presence on American television created an impression of him as one of the USSR's chief apologists and propagandists. Arbatov's book seems to be a complete and drastic reversal of his former speaking points, and in Vladimir Tismaneanu's review of *The System* in *Orbis*, he refers to Arbatov as "the producer of ideological disguises that justified the abominations of Sovietism."

Rev: Richard Pipes, *New Republic*, Vol. 207, Issue 17, pp. 40-43

Rev: Arch Puddington, *American Spectator*, Vol. 26, Issue 1, pp. 89-90

Rev: Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Orbis*, Vol. 37, Issue 2, p. 312

Boldin, Valery I. *Ten Years that Shook the World: The Gorbachev Era as Witnessed by His Chief of Staff*. Translated by Evelyn Rossiter. New York: Basic Books, 1994. 310 pp.

An interesting addition to the list of memoirs from Soviet officials in the final years of the USSR, as Boldin was Gorbachev's chief of staff from 1981 until he was arrested for his role in conspiring to depose Gorbachev in the August 1991 putsch. As a result of his role in the coup, Boldin wrote this book while in prison awaiting trial; but intriguing as the circumstances may be, Boldin's words should be taken with a grain of salt. The view of Gorbachev in this work is contemptuous to say the least, and Boldin's supposedly long-running and rabid dislike for Gorbachev seems odd considering how long Boldin worked for him. The portraits of Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev are certainly a far cry from the rosy portrayals in some of the other accounts from Soviet officials and Western media outlets, but the inept, cruel, greedy figures of Boldin's memoir undoubtedly stem to a certain degree from his own bitterness. Useful due to its source and subject matter, but the reader should not be pulled in by all of Boldin's self-serving claims.

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, Issue 4, pp. 174-175

Rev: Lester W. Grau, *Military Review*, Vol. 76, Issue 1, pp. 91-92

Rev: Archie Brown, *TLS*, Issue 4755, p. 6

Chernyaev, Anatoly S. *My Six Years with Gorbachev*. Translated by Robert D. English and Elizabeth Tucker. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. 437 pp.

As Gorbachev's foreign policy advisor starting in 1986, Anatoly Chernayev was privy to much insider information during the final years of the Soviet Union, and his book draws substantially from his notes and journal entries from this time. Chernayev's stated purpose was to write a book about Gorbachev rather than a personal memoir, and while he stays loyal to Gorbachev he nonetheless demonstrates admirable objectivity in addressing the leader's faults and where Gorbachev's policies went wrong. Despite his foreign policy background, Chernayev gives valuable insight into domestic policies – including glasnost and perestroika – that he attained in his years as a close confidant of Gorbachev. A well-written and well-translated work that is worthwhile for readers interested in the collapse of the Soviet Union and looking for an intelligent insider's judgment of where things went wrong and what a reformed system could have been.

Rev: Wayne Chinander, *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 10, Issue 4, pp. 577-579

Rev: Robert Cottrell, *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48 Issue 7, pp. 20-22

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, Issue 2, pp. 181-182

Gaidar, Yegor T. *Collapse of an Empire: Lessons for Modern Russia*. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007. 332 pp.

Yegor Gaidar, an economist and the former Russian prime minister and minister of finance known primarily as the orchestrator of “shock therapy”, intends this work in part as a warning against the effects of “post-imperial syndrome” in Russia. He argues that the nostalgia experienced for the Soviet imperial past is akin to that experienced by Germany after the fall of the German Empire and immediately preceding the rise of Nazism. Gaidar posits a working definition of “empire” and attempts to analyze the disintegration of empires and the problems that originate from them, ultimately hoping to prevent developments akin to those in post-imperial Germany from occurring in post-Soviet Russia. In his estimation, flaws inherent to the Soviet system caused its collapse rather than the popular belief in Russia that foreign intrigues and manipulators sabotaged the USSR. While some of his arguments edge toward sensationalism, Gaidar's work is a valuable insight into the theories of an influential figure in the Russian transition following the Soviet collapse.

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, Issue 3, pp. 153-154

See also Gaidar's other books on the collapse of the Soviet system and the transition to a market economy: *Days of Defeat and Victory* (translated by Jane

Ann Miller, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999, 342 pp.) and *State and Evolution: Russia's Search for a Free Market* (translated by Jane Ann Miller, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003, 139 pp.).

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. *The August Coup: The Truth and the Lessons*. London: HarperCollins, 1991. 127 pp.

In his review of Gorbachev's *The August Coup* for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Carl G. Jacobsen writes that the coup was simultaneously Gorbachev's finest and saddest hour. This is a particularly revealing statement, considering that in Gorbachev's account and analysis of the 1991 putsch, he ascribes the successful defiance of the coup plotters' orders by democratic leaders like Yeltsin, as well as by the military, to the success of the policies of perestroika and glasnost. Gorbachev reveals more about his time as a hostage in the Crimea during the coup, and there are useful documents contained in the appendices, but this book — rushed through editing processes and published in English mere months after the coup occurred — is poignant in the sense that it reveals the thoughts of a political leader who is returning to a different country than the one he left and is attempting to make sense of processes that have fallen out of his control.

Rev: *The Economist*, Vol. 321, Issue 7731, pp. 84-85

Rev: Carl G. Jacobsen, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 48, Issue 1, pp. 41-42

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 71, Issue 2, p. 205

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987. 254 pp.

The book *Perestroika* is divided into two parts: "Perestroika" and "New Thinking and the World." Gorbachev shies away from specifics for the ultimate goals of "restructuring," but emphasizes the need to increase the democratic components of socialism. He claims that perestroika is a revolution which involves all Soviet people and is a necessity that will overcome stagnation. After the rhetoric touting the lofty and vague goals Gorbachev has in mind for perestroika, there is an evaluation of the status of reforms already in progress followed by explanations of how restructuring will affect the rest of the socialist world as well as of the status of Soviet foreign policy toward Europe and disarmament negotiations with the United States. *Perestroika* is a pivotal text for anyone wishing to understand how Gorbachev's reforms were portrayed on the international stage.

Rev: Stephen White, *International Affairs*, Vol. 64, Issue 4, p. 703

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. *Memoirs*. New York: Doubleday, 1995. 769 pp.

Gorbachev's hefty memoirs must be viewed as what they are: the words of a politician. Despite his incredible achievements and the massive changes that accompanied his time in office, as well as the magnificent failures that ultimately contributed to his loss of power, his memoirs are neither bombastic nor self-deprecating — they are straightforward and a bit bland. Notably, in place of a preface, Gorbachev includes a transcript of the televised address on December 25, 1991, announcing his resignation as president of the USSR, and this is followed by a section on his "roots" (the day he was elected a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee being introduced prior to his familial and educational roots) and subsequently by three sections on his years as general secretary and as president of the USSR, one of these sections being devoted to 1991 exclusively. While certainly a pivotal text for readers interested in Gorbachev himself, there are better options for those who are interested in the end of the Soviet Union, especially when one considers that Gorbachev wrote multiple works while in power that serve as very useful sources.

Rev: Leonard Buskoff, *Christian Science Monitor*, Vol. 89, Issue 45, p. B1

Rev: Bill Keller, *New York Times Book Review*, 10/20/1996, p. 7

See also Gorbachev's *On My Country and the World* (translated by George Shriver, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, 300 pp.) for more of his later thoughts and reflections on Russia and the USSR.

For Raisa Gorbachev's perspective, see *I Hope* (translated by David Floyd, New York: HarperCollins, 1991, 207 pp.).

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. and Zdeněk Mlynář. *Conversations with Gorbachev: On Perestroika, the Prague Spring, and the Crossroads of Socialism*. Translated by George Shriver. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. 225 pp.

This illuminating book consists of edited transcripts from a series of taped conversations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Zdeněk Mlynář, beginning in November 1993 and ending in June 1994. Mlynář, who is Czech, played a crucial role in the Prague Spring of 1968, and his association with Gorbachev can be traced back to their days as classmates in the Moscow University law school. These discussions deliver an intimacy and candidness that is often absent from more traditional memoirs of Soviet officials, although Gorbachev is noticeably more reserved than Mlynář. Their conversations are divided into three sections, the first being "The Criss-Crossing of Our Paths," the second "How We Sought to Reinvigorate Socialism," and the third being "There's Only One World." This book gives a relatively unguarded look into the ideological and intellectual growth and transformation of two men who played a substantial role in the final years of the USSR, and it is a welcome change of pace to read memories and

reflections as recollected between two old friends. This book is of potential use to both the casually and academically interested reader.

Rev: Peter J. S. Duncan, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 81, Issue 4, pp. 774-775

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, Issue 5, p. 213

Rev: James R. Ozinga, *Russian Review*, Vol. 62, Issue 2, pp. 294-299

See also Mlynář's early work on Gorbachev's reforms before the collapse of the USSR: *Can Gorbachev Change the Soviet Union? The International Dimensions of Political Reform* (translated by Marian Sling and Ruth Tosek, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990, 184 pp.).

Grachev, Andrei S. *Final Days: The Inside Story of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Translated by Margo Milne. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995. 222 pp.

As one of Gorbachev's foreign policy advisors and, following the August coup, his press secretary, Andrei Grachev accompanied the first and last president of the USSR on nearly all of his foreign trips after 1985, but it was only as press secretary that he had truly unique access to Gorbachev's political dealings. As a result, Grachev primarily focuses on the months following the August coup, and his memoirs are frank and insightful even if they do not necessarily succeed in giving a full picture of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Despite his more limited "inside" knowledge of Soviet politics in the years before the coup relative to some of the other former Soviet politicians who have written their "inside stories," Grachev has succeeded in writing one of the better memoirs.

Rev: John B. Dunlop, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 55, Issue 4, pp. 931-932

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, Issue 2, pp. 160-161

Rev: Vladimir Tikhomirov, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 48, Issue 8, pp. 1436-1438

Grachev, Andrei S. *Gorbachev's Gamble: Soviet Foreign Policy and the End of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008. 271 pp.

Grachev's more recent work addresses some of the lingering questions that continue to arise in assessments of the role of Gorbachev and the role of Western powers in the collapse of the USSR. The titular "gamble" refers to Gorbachev's belief that he could simultaneously reform the system and end the Cold War without these two goals coming into conflict. Grachev undoubtedly remains pro-Gorbachev, but this does not hinder his analysis of many of the foreign policy hallmarks of Gorbachev's years in power, and Grachev brings up a number of astute points. In the final chapter, he addresses Gorbachev's incredibly low popularity in recent polls in Russia relative to other twentieth century national leaders, and there certainly was a drastic difference between the Soviet "superpower" and post-Soviet Russia, but Grachev proposes that the immense amount of hope and high expectations that accompanied Gorbachev's reforms led



to disproportionate blame being directed at Gorbachev when things fell apart. Ultimately, Grachev views Gorbachev as a principled leader presiding over a transition to a new reality.

Rev: Mary Buckley, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 88, Issue 4, pp. 782-784

Rev: William Taubman, *Cold War History*, Vol. 9, Issue 4, pp. 526-527

Havel, Václav. *Disturbing the Peace: A Conversation with Karel Hvizďala*. Translated by Paul Wilson. New York: Knopf, 1990. 228 pp.

Václav Havel became the president of Czechoslovakia in December 1989, but the mail interview in *Disturbing the Peace* between Havel and Karel Hvizďala, an exiled Czech journalist living in West Germany, took place between 1985 and 1986 and gave a chance for Havel to reflect on his life as he approached his fiftieth birthday. It was initially published in 1986 as samizdat literature in Prague and subsequently became the first samizdat book in Czechoslovakia to be published legally in 1989. The interview includes a substantial amount of biographical information, but also present are meditations about philosophical, ethical, and metaphysical issues. This is an eloquent book that gives insight into the mind of Havel as playwright, dissident, and future president – ultimately enjoyable, and a useful portrait of an important figure during the final years of the USSR.

Rev: F. W. Galan, *World Literature Today*, Vol. 65, Issue 1, pp. 142-143

Rev: Ann Nevin, *Journal of Educational & Psychological Consultation*, Vol. 4, Issue 2, pp. 191-193

Rev: Marcia L. Sprules, *Library Journal*, Vol. 115, Issue 11, p. 117

See also Havel's *Summer Meditations* (translated by Paul Wilson, New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992, 151 pp.) for his reflections on the dissolution of the Soviet Union and his experience as the president of Czechoslovakia.

Kagarlitsky, Boris. *The Disintegration of the Monolith*. Translated by Renfrey Clarke.

London: Verso, 1992. 169 pp.

Russian dissident and politician Boris Kagarlitsky writes of the “new” Russian officials as merely continuations of the old *nomenklatura*, changing their ideology only so as to stay in power. He believes that a socialist agenda is what is needed to create a freer and more democratic Russia, and he compares the repressive policies of Yeltsin's administration to those of the vanguard that is a hallmark of Leninist ideology. This book is more of an analysis (and indictment) of the politics and economic policies of post-communist Russia than it is of the “disintegration of the monolith,” and Kagarlitsky's leftist viewpoint is not all that objective, but this is nonetheless a helpful source and an interesting analysis for

those interested in the emergence of the “new” Russia after the collapse of the USSR.

Rev: Mike Bowker, *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, Issue 3, pp. 607-608

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, Issue 3, p. 206

Rev: Kirill Nourzhanov, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 49, Issue 1, pp. 163-164

See also Kagarlitsky’s *Farewell Perestroika: A Soviet Chronicle* (translated by Rick Simon, London: Verso, 1990, 217 pp.) for his analysis and skepticism of perestroika.

For the viewpoint of another prominent dissident, see Andrei Sakharov’s *Moscow and Beyond: 1986 to 1989*, (translated by Antonina W. Bouis, New York: Knopf, 1991, 168 pp.), which are the memoirs of his final years and his involvement in Gorbachev’s reforms.

Khasbulatov, Ruslan I. *The Struggle for Russia: Power and Change in the Democratic Revolution*. Edited by Richard Sakwa. London: Routledge, 1993. 270 pp.

Ruslan Khasbulatov was First Deputy Chair in the Russian Congress of People’s Deputies in 1990 and later served as speaker of the Russian Parliament, in which position he emerged as an influential organizer in the defense of the White House during the August 1991 coup. *The Struggle for Russia*, consisting of three parts, begins in the form of an interview with Khasbulatov that discusses everything from his childhood to the days before the coup. The second part concerns the August coup and Khasbulatov’s role in it, using his position as Active Speaker to oppose the conservative coup plotters. The third part consists of his thoughts on the state of Russia roughly one year after the breakup of the USSR, this section also serving as a means for Khasbulatov to call for separation of powers in Russia and for the defense of the rights of Parliament. He was opposed to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the third section feels like a platform for him to push his political agenda, but Khasbulatov’s account of the August coup is engaging and informative.

Rev: Mike Bowker, *International Affairs*, Vol. 70, Issue 1, pp. 175-176

Rev: Martin McCauley, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 73, Issue 1, pp. 183-184

Rev: Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Orbis*, Vol. 37, Issue 4, p. 682

Kokh, Alfred and Igor Svinarenko. *A Crate of Vodka*. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. New York: Enigma Books, 2009. 712 pp.

The rather novel premise of *A Crate of Vodka*, co-authored by Russian journalist Igor Svinarenko and former deputy prime minister of Russia Alfred Kokh (during Yeltsin’s term), is to carry on a tradition of confining political talk to the “privacy of one’s kitchen” by discussing the twenty-year period from Brezhnev’s death in

1982 to the September 11, 2001 attacks in the U.S. over a twenty-bottle crate of vodka – one bottle per year. Each chapter takes the form of a conversation featuring intermittent lengthy commentaries by each author. While certainly an original and ambitious undertaking, the format is often frustrating and difficult to navigate. *A Crate of Vodka* contains useful information as well as a healthy dose of humor, but due to its length and approach the book would likely discourage anyone without a particularly strong interest in the subject matter.

Ligachev, Yegor K. *Inside Gorbachev's Kremlin: The Memoirs of Yegor Ligachev*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, Michele A. Berdy, and Dobrochna Dyrz-Freeman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993. 369 pp.

Yegor Ligachev – the Soviet politician who was second in command of the Communist Party and is primarily known as the archconservative, anti-reform rival of Gorbachev's team of reformers – is one of the most prominent former Soviet officials from the conservative camp to have his memoirs translated into English. While his memoirs are frequently used as an opportunity to disparage opponents and to downplay his role in some of the more controversial events of his career, Ligachev's credibility is boosted by his noted incorruptibility in a political landscape in which corruption was the norm. Ligachev wanted to fix the system – as did Gorbachev, and Andropov before him – not break it, but he blames the more “radical” reformers for the collapse of the USSR and for swindling a naïve Gorbachev. See Martha Merritt's review in *Europe-Asia Studies* of a later edition of Ligachev's memoirs published by Westview in 1996, as this newer edition includes an afterword in which Ligachev endorses the August 1991 coup and calls for a renewal of the Soviet system. Ligachev's stubbornness demonstrates how strongly he believed in the Soviet system, and while his memoirs should be read cautiously – as most memoirs should to a certain degree – they offer the viewpoint of a powerful figure in a unique position during the Soviet collapse.

Rev: Martha Merritt, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 5, pp. 926-927

Rev: Arch Puddington, *American Spectator*, Vol. 26, Issue 6, pp. 68-69

Rev: David K. Shipler, *Nation*, Vol. 256, Issue 15, pp. 528-530

Palazchenko, Pavel. *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze: The Memoir of a Soviet Interpreter*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997. 394 pp.

Pavel Palazchenko served as Mikhail Gorbachev's English-language interpreter from 1985 to Gorbachev's resignation in December 1991 and as Eduard Shevardnadze's from 1985 until Shevardnadze's resignation in December 1990. His memoirs and commentary, by his own admission, are largely personal, as he does not wish to violate the trust of those people who put their trust in him and

who he respects – namely Gorbachev and Shevardnadze – by revealing government secrets or human failings of those involved. His memoirs begin with a chapter on his “formative years” from 1949 to 1985, and the subsequent chapters focus on his years as an interpreter, the most emphasis being placed on 1990-1991. Understandably, Palazchenko spends much of his time relating his many experiences in diplomatic meetings between the foreign leaders and the two Soviet officials, but outside of foreign affairs his analyses are somewhat weak. These memoirs are easy to read, but in terms of insightful commentary on the causes of the collapse of the USSR they are lacking.

Rev: Jack F. Matlock, *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 44, Issue 14, pp. 67-74

Rev: James P. Nichol, *Russian Review*, Vol. 57, Issue 3, pp. 487-489

Pankin, Boris D. *The Last Hundred Days of the Soviet Union*. Translated by Alexei Pankin.

London: I.B. Tauris, 1996. 282 pp.

Boris Pankin had a long career as an ambassador for the Soviet Union, but during the last 100 days alluded to in the title of his memoir, he served as the last foreign minister of the USSR. Critical of the Soviet regime to a degree during his diplomatic career, he also condemned the August 1991 coup and shortly thereafter was named foreign minister, which contrasts with the lack of risks taken in Pankin’s memoir. There is nothing that is notably new or revealing, and his descriptions of other Soviet officials leave something to be desired. This book can be useful as a primary source in the same ways that other memoirs from Soviet officials can be, but compared to some of the more insightful and unguarded memoirs, Pankin’s is unremarkable.

Rev: Bohdan Harasymiw, *Russian Review*, Vol. 57, Issue 3, pp. 490-491

Pozner, Vladimir. *Eyewitness: The Personal Account of the Unraveling of the Soviet Union*. New

York: Random House, 1992. 220 pp.

Vladimir Pozner was a leading political commentator who offered the “Soviet perspective” to American television viewers during the Cold War, partially due to the fact that he spoke fluent English after having been raised in the U.S. until his family was forced to emigrate, initially landing in Western Europe but ultimately ending up in Moscow in 1952. This book is his attempt to give Westerners the historical and political context to the 1991 August coup as a compliment to the extensive coverage in Western media of the events of the coup as they happened. The book is presented as a series of Pozner’s flashbacks, and his ultimate argument is that the events of the three-day coup “galvanized” the forces unleashed by Gorbachev beginning in 1985 and ultimately led to the “unraveling” of the Soviet Union.

Rev: William Mandel, *Science & Society*, Vol. 58, Issue 1, pp. 98-100

See also Pozner's autobiography, *Parting with Illusions: The Extraordinary Life and Controversial Views of the Soviet Union's Leading Commentator* (New York: Avon Books, 1991, 346 p.), but be warned that the minutiae from his personal recollections and his overt American patriotism are somewhat hard to swallow when one is aware of his past television comments – much like in the book of another television personality, Georgi Arbatov. For more, see reviews such as Cathy Young's in *American Spectator* (Vol. 23, Issue 5, pp. 44-45).

Primakov, Yevgeny M. *Russian Crossroads: Toward the New Millennium*. Translated by Felix

Rosenthal. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. 337 pp.

Yevgeny Primakov's long political career included stints as Russia's foreign minister and prime minister as well as the head of Russia's foreign intelligence agency. His memoirs cover a very broad scope of experiences, from his time as an academic at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations during the rule of Leonid Brezhnev to the transition from Boris Yeltsin to Vladimir Putin after Yeltsin named Putin his successor on December 31, 1999. Primakov spends a substantial amount of time focusing on the Gulf War of 1990-1991 and on relations with the Middle East, which might seem overly ambitious for a book that also contains a chapter on the "paradoxes of perestroika," but Primakov proves to be an intelligent writer and analyst. *Russian Crossroads* goes beyond the dissolution of the USSR, but there is nonetheless useful information regarding the collapse as well as insightful commentary on Russia after the passage of a remarkably chaotic decade.

Rev: P. Lentini, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 84 Issue 3, pp. 574-576

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, Issue 2, pp. 181-182

*Putsch: The Diary: Three Days that Collapsed the Empire*. Translated from Russian. Oakville,

ON: Mosaic Press, 1991. 155 pp.

*Putsch* collects all of the announcements from the Russian Information Agency and Postfactum from 4:00 a.m. on August 19th, 1991, to 1:49 p.m. on August 21st, 1991. This is barebones reporting, as there is no attempt at analysis or interpretation, and all releases are included despite potential inaccuracies, giving the reader a sense of the speed at which these announcements were sent out minute-to-minute. The original editions of *Putsch* were rushed out by Progress Publishers a mere month after the coup, and the English translation has subsequently provided a convenient collection of primary source documents for research on the coup. Researching the documents is, after all, the only advisable reason to read this book, as even the potential selling point that is Yeltsin's introduction is riddled with typos and awkward sentence structure.

Rev: R. B. McKean, *History*, Vol. 80, Issue 259, p. 353

Rev: Marcia Sprules, *Library Journal*, Vol. 117, Issue 13, p. 132

Shevardnadze, Eduard. *The Future Belongs to Freedom*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick.

New York: The Free Press, 1991. 237 pp.

Shevardnadze was Gorbachev's foreign minister from 1985 until December 1990, when he resigned because he was convinced – and rightly so – that a coup would result from Gorbachev's willingness to appease the reactionary wing of the Party. Shevardnadze's commitment to liberal reforms in the face of right-wing opposition, as well as his choice to stand with Yeltsin and other democrats during the 1991 coup, make his memoir seem much more genuine than many of his other colleagues from Soviet officialdom (although, as with any political memoir, there is bound to be a certain amount of self-serving bias). These memoirs also seem more candid than others, as the familiar claim by former Soviet officials that Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin changed the way they viewed their country is augmented by Shevardnadze's acknowledgement that he also resented Khrushchev, taking the admonishment of Stalin as an admonishment of Shevardnadze's native Georgia. There is also attention paid to Shevardnadze's time as first Party secretary of Georgia. This memoir is arguably among the best from former Soviet officials, and readers should be made aware of the fact that Shevardnadze's writing is not as outlandish and inflated as is the title given to the English translation.

Rev: Peter Reddaway, *New Republic*, Vol. 205, Issue 21, pp. 40-45

Rev: David Shorr, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 48, Issue 1, pp. 42-43

Rev: Adam Ulam, *National Review*, Vol. 43, Issue 19, pp. 44-46

Sobchak, Anatoly A. *For a New Russia: The Mayor of St. Petersburg's Own Story of the*

*Struggle for Justice and Democracy*. New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992.

191 pp.

Spending much of his prior career teaching law in Leningrad, Anatoly Sobchak admits to being a political amateur when he was elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet in June 1989, but his political career ultimately led to his being the democratically elected mayor of Leningrad and, after the city was returned to its past name on September 6, 1991, St. Petersburg. Sobchak was part of the group of newly elected liberal politicians that were surprised to find that the way in which the rules had changed under Gorbachev allowed them to accomplish goals that would have been impossible less than a decade before. Sobchak's past and point of view make his memoirs an excellent insider study of the political climate in the Soviet Union from 1989 through 1991, although the account is occasionally marred by a lack of coherence. Included in this edition is an afterword by Sobchak written in August 1991 regarding the coup and the "new beginning" he believes was presented after the failure of the coup plotters.

Rev: Stephen Sestanovich, *New Republic*, Vol. 206, Issue 4, pp. 33-36

Rev: Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Orbis*, Vol. 36, Issue 2, p. 305

Wałęsa, Lech with the collaboration of Arkadiusz Rybicki. *The Struggle and the Triumph: An Autobiography*. Translated by Franklin Philip in collaboration with Helen Mahut. New York: Arcade Pub., 1992. 330 pp.

*The Struggle and the Triumph*, a sequel to Lech Wałęsa's earlier autobiography *A Way of Hope* (New York: H. Holt, 1987, 325 pp.), is summed up by Stanislaw Baranczak in *New York Times Book Review* as "mostly devoted to recording the immensity of the Triumph while scarcely revealing the inconvenient details of the Struggle." Wałęsa's impressive rise from unemployed electrician to – following his role as the leader of the 1980 workers' revolt at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk – the leader of the Solidarity movement to president of Poland is absolutely worthy of admiration, but his autobiography is bombastic and egotistical and is valuable only in the sense that it gives insight into the personality of a central figure in Poland's transition from Communist Party rule and Soviet influence to democracy.

Rev: Stanislaw Baranczak, *New York Times Book Review*, 11/15/1992, p. 3

Rev: Rena Fowler, *Library Journal*, Vol. 117, Issue 14, p. 185

Rev: Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Orbis*, Vol. 37, Issue 1, p. 175

Yakovlev, Alexander N. *The Fate of Marxism in Russia*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993. 250 pp.

As a member of the Politburo who was close to Gorbachev and is considered to be one of the primary ideological forces behind the reforms of glasnost, Alexander N. Yakovlev could potentially have written a captivating memoir; no such luck. *The Fate of Marxism in Russia* contains almost no references to Yakovlev's life as a Soviet official or to any of the crucial figures of the final years of the USSR. Rather, his monograph is, as the title suggests, a treatise on Marxism, which he sees as the root of the problems of the USSR. Yakovlev advocates for capitalism and private property, and while his work is eloquent, it seems strange that he is lambasting Marxism so entirely when he was entrenched in the Soviet power structure for so long. Although Yakovlev was a major actor in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, his monograph reveals very little about his experiences or the collapse.

Rev: Robert V. Daniels, *New Leader*, Vol. 77, Issue 2, pp. 17-18

Rev: Arthur Jay Klinghoffer, *Russian Review*, Vol. 53, Issue 4, pp. 602-603

Rev: Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Orbis*, Vol. 38, Issue 3, pp. 505-509

Yeltsin, Boris N. *Against the Grain: An Autobiography*. Translated by Michael Glenny. London: Jonathan Cape, 1990. 215 pp.

Boris Yeltsin's autobiography, produced with the help of a journalist ghostwriter named Valentin Yumashev, appears to be – in terms of the time it was written and barring the hindsight gained by his years as Russia's president after the Soviet collapse – a genuine and candid account of a simple, hardworking, honest, and stubborn man. The man even purports to have donated the proceeds from the book to campaigns against AIDS in the Soviet Union. In the years following the publication of this book, the world has certainly had more experiences with Yeltsin that have revealed more about his character and capacity for leadership, but this book is a valuable resource that shows the vision of the man just over a year before the collapse of the Soviet Union, when he still represented a revolutionary democrat in a corrupt system. While he gives Gorbachev a certain amount of respectful acknowledgement for initial reforms, Yeltsin is otherwise extremely critical of the Soviet leader. Undoubtedly, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in Yeltsin or the democratic movement in the years before the Soviet collapse.

Rev: Eugene Methvin, *National Review*, Vol. 42, Issue 10, pp. 41-42

Rev: David Remnick, *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 37, Issue 8, pp. 3-5

Rev: Daniel Singer, *Nation*, Vol. 250, Issue 18, pp. 637-638

See also Yeltsin's other works on the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of the "new" Russia: *The Struggle for Russia* (translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, New York: Times Books, 1994, 316 pp.) and *The View from the Kremlin* (translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, London: HarperCollins, 1994, 316 pp.).

Yevtushenko, Yevgeny A. *Fatal Half Measures: The Culture of Democracy in the Soviet Union*.

Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1991. 357 pp.

Russian poet, film director, and elected member of the Congress of People's Deputies (in 1989) Yevgeny Yevtushenko offers up this collection of miscellaneous writings, including telegrams, letters, speeches and essays. Editor and translator Antonina W. Bouis contributes introductions to some selections, as she states that some contexts may be unclear due to the fact that Yevtushenko's writings are aimed at Soviet audiences. *Fatal Half Measures* is an enjoyable compilation of works by a leader of the Russian democratic movement, and even casual readers will enjoy Yevtushenko's reminiscences regarding his foreign travels and knowledge of Russian literature.

Rev: Lee B. Croft, *World Literature Today*, Vol. 66, Issue 1, p. 159



Zaslavskaya, Tatyana. *The Second Socialist Revolution: An Alternative Soviet Strategy*.

Translated by Susan M. Davies and Jenny Warren. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990. 241 pp.

Sociologist Tatyana Zaslavskaya created and became the first director of the USSR's National Public Opinion Research Centre, was elected to the Congress of Soviet Deputies of the Academy of Sciences, and served on the Standing Committee for Social Problems. She was an influential figure in constructing and explaining perestroika, and she makes the claim that no less than a second socialist revolution is needed to overcome the corruption and stagnation of the past. The first chapter deals with historical background, focusing on Stalinism, Khrushchev's "Thaw," and the re-Stalinization – or stagnation – of the Brezhnev years. Zaslavskaya is largely concerned with the sociological components of restructuring, and much of this book is concerned with social policies, conditions and management. She argues that the success of perestroika is contingent on continuing the Soviet command economy rather than moving toward the market and privatization, and while this advice was ultimately not taken, her book is an intelligent and useful analysis of the sociological aspects of Soviet restructuring.

Rev: Janet G. Chapman, *Russian Review*, Vol. 51, Issue 2, pp. 288-289

Rev: Cynthia S. Kaplan, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 47, Issue 3, p. 42

Rev: Richard Sakwa, *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, Issue 1, pp. 178-179

Zinoviev, Alexander. *Katastroika: Legends and Reality of Gorbachevism*. Translated by Charles Janson. London: Claridge Press, 1990. 238 pp.

*Katastroika* is dissident émigré writer Alexander Zinoviev's attempt to shatter what he sees as the legend of "Gorbachevism" perpetrated by Soviet and Western mass media, which view Gorbachevism as a revolution from above with the primary aims of democratization, liberalization and westernization. Zinoviev purports to be neither a supporter nor an opponent of Gorbachevism, but rather an objective observer. His belief is that perestroika will lead only to a temporary westernization of the USSR, which will only be swept away because a "post-communist era is, for the time being, nothing more than a Western dream" (page 16). His work is ambitious, discussing many of the reforms of perestroika in terms of Soviet historical trends and examining Gorbachevism as nothing more than another form of the same Soviet system of power and government. Zinoviev's objectivity is questionable, and his predictions for the end result of Gorbachev's reforms proved false, but this is still a valuable source from one of the USSR's most notable émigré writers.

For the viewpoint of another famous Soviet émigré writer, see Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Rebuilding Russia: Reflections and Tentative Proposals* (translated by Alexis Klimoff, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991, 119 pp.).

Zyuganov, Gennady A. *My Russia: The Political Autobiography of Gennady Zyuganov*. Edited

by Vadim Medish. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997. 198 pp.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the Russian Federation, Gennady Zyuganov became the leader of Russia's post-Soviet Communist Party. *My Russia* is, as the author notes, aimed specifically at American readers and is primarily a compilation of Zyuganov's previous essays and translated excerpts from his books. He is often critical of Gorbachev and the reforms of glasnost and perestroika in these sections, which are followed by a section consisting of campaign documents from the 1996 presidential elections in Russia, in which Zyuganov finished as a close second to Yeltsin. The final section contains Zyuganov's reflections on the 1996 elections. These latter sections are probably the most useful for readers interested in elections and democracy in Russia after the fall of the USSR, but potential readers should be warned that Zyuganov often panders to nationalist – even Stalinist – sentiment in Russia.

Rev: Stephen White, *Slavonica*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, pp. 87-88

## Non-Soviet Memoirs and Accounts

Billington, James H. *Russia Transformed: Breakthrough to Hope: Moscow, August 1991*. New York: Free Press, 1992. 202 pp.

As luck would have it, Librarian of Congress and historian of Russia James Billington found himself in Moscow during the August 1991 coup, which occurred about a week into his routine visit to Moscow to fulfill library-related duties. Billington did not have unusual access to key figures, and there are other accounts of the coup that contain far more information, but he is writing from the unique position of a historian spontaneously swept up in a pivotal moment in the history of Russia. His account pays particular attention to the connections between Russia's "transformation" and Billington's prior knowledge of Russian culture and religion. He is perhaps overzealous in the importance he places upon the August coup, which he claims was the stage on which the "spontaneous heroism of a relatively small band of Russians" brought about the end of the Cold War and a psychological rebirth of the Russian people (page 4). Those well-versed in the events of August 1991 will find little in Billington's work, but it still has potential for readers looking for a readable, optimistic view of the final days of the USSR and the future (circa 1992) of the newly "transformed" Russia.

Rev: Bernard Gwertzman, *New York Times Book Review*, 8/23/1992, p. 5

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 71, Issue 5, pp. 211

Bonet, Pilar. *Figures in a Red Landscape*. Translated by Norman Thomas di Giovanni and Susan Ashe. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1993. 148 pp.

Pilar Bonet worked as a Moscow correspondent for the Spanish daily *El País* from January 1984 to 1991. *Figures in a Red Landscape* is unlike any of the other accounts by foreign journalists reporting from the Soviet Union in the years leading up to its dissolution, as the book consists of a series of sketches "drawn from unusual angles" intended to "depict day-to-day human drama" during the transition from the Soviet system to a freer yet more insecure society (page xi). The vignettes portray the extreme complexity of the Soviet collapse and reveal more than one might expect from such a small book. Notable portraits include that of Russian Orthodox priest Alexander Men, who was murdered with an axe the week that Bonet interviewed him. *Figures in a Red Landscape* is a quick read that offers a more sensitive and focused approach to the multitude of issues and tangles that accompanied the end of the USSR.

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, Issue 5, pp. 174-175

Braithwaite, Rodric. *Across the Moscow River: The World Turned Upside Down*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002. 371 pp.

Sir Rodric Braithwaite was Britain's ambassador to Moscow from 1988 to 1992, making his memoirs a first-hand account of the final years of the Soviet Union. As Braithwaite himself notes, he was the first British ambassador to Russia proper since George Buchanan, who held the position from 1910 to 1918. His memoirs are frequently tinged with a refreshing sense of humor, and Braithwaite is particularly deft in describing the Soviet officials he meets with as well as in reporting the events of the August 1991 coup. He conveys the process by which Gorbachev lost power with a sense of compassion, and it is fairly apparent that Braithwaite holds more admiration for Gorbachev than he does Yeltsin. Braithwaite has composed an enjoyable and informative memoir.

Rev: Brian Lapping, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, Issue 1557, p. 33

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, Issue 6, p. 198

Rev: John Ure, *TLS*, Issue 5180, p. 30

Chiesa, Giulietto with Douglas T. Northrop. *Transition to Democracy: Political Change in the Soviet Union, 1987-1991*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993. 304 pp.

Giullietto Chiesa was the Moscow correspondent for *la Stampa*, an Italian newspaper, and he wrote this book with the help of a doctoral candidate at Stanford University. The focus of the book is on the first three Congresses of Peoples' Deputies, which does not cover the entire "transition to democracy" but is still vital in assessing the implications of the democratic experiment that was the CPD, being — among other things — an arena for new nationalist representatives to call for independence for Lithuania, Ukraine and Moldova. Contained in this work are extensive appendices, examples of which are: lists of deputies; roll-call statistics; pie charts dividing political groups into social categories like *nomenklatura*, military, workers, etc.; and shifts in political affiliation between congresses. The statistics included in these appendices do seem to oversimplify the categorization of deputies, but the authors are cognizant of such issues and outline much of their methodology in chapter 15. This is not a work for the casual reader, as it is certainly directed towards persons with at least a foundational knowledge of the structure of and reforms in the USSR during this time period.

Rev: Charles King, *International Affairs*, Vol. 70, Issue 3, pp. 584-585

Rev: Jonathan Sanders, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54, Issue 2, pp. 486-487

See also Chiesa's work with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, *Time of Change: An Insider's View of Russia's Transformation* (translated by Michael Moore, New York: Pantheon Books, 1989, 346 pp.).

DeKovner-Mayer, Barbara. *Shattered Silence: Feelings from Former Soviets Struggling with Freedom at Home*. Los Angeles: The Americas Group, 1993. 160 pp.

Barbara DeKovner-Mayer – dancer, journalist, and lecturer – wrote a letter to Pravda in September 1990 encouraging Soviet citizens to support Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms. The letter was published in January 1991 with a reply address, and DeKovner-Mayer began to receive letters from Soviet citizens, culminating in hundreds of letters that she used to compile the more than 60 vignettes in *Shattered Silence*. She also met some respondents in person, and the ultimate result is this collection of the Soviet perspective as related to (and presented by) an outsider; a collection that would not have been possible before the initiation of glasnost. While not the most academic or scholarly source, the vignettes, photographs, and illustrations are an interesting collection for casual readers.

Dobbs, Michael. *Down with Big Brother: The Fall of the Soviet Empire*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997. 502 pp.

Michael Dobbs served as Moscow bureau chief for the *Washington Post* from 1988 to 1993 and had been on reporting tours in Yugoslavia, Poland, and the Soviet Union beginning in 1977. This book is the outcome of these tours as well as extensive research and interviewing, and it is written as a collection of pieces or episodes of history rather than as a running narrative. The first episode takes place on August 15, 1980, when Lech Wałęsa led a revolt of workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk. Another notable inclusion is the Mathias Rust incident on May 28, 1987, in which a West German teenager landed a single-engine Cessna 172 sports plane between St. Basil's Cathedral and the Kremlin's Spassky Gate. Yet another covers the rise and fall of the August 1991 coup, and Dobbs relates all of these events in a scholarly and simultaneously entertaining manner. *Down with Big Brother* is a useful source for students of the collapse of the Soviet Union, but even those with only a minor interest would enjoy Dobbs' account.

Rev: Anders Aslund, *National Interest*, Issue 47, pp. 107-110

Rev: Robert H. Johnston, *Library Journal*, Vol. 122, Issue 1, pp. 123-124

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, Issue 3, p. 139

Doder, Dusko. *Shadows and Whispers: Power Politics Inside the Kremlin from Brezhnev to Gorbachev*. New York: Random House, 1986. 339 pp.

Doder Dusko served as the Moscow bureau chief for the *Washington Post* from 1981 to 1985, and his experience trying to infiltrate Kremlin politics as a foreign journalist forms the basis of this book. The focus is on the four general secretaries who reigned in as many years during Doder's years in Moscow: Brezhnev,

Andropov, Chernenko and Gorbachev. Doder's story about his own experiences is particularly entertaining, essentially displaying his detective skills when confronted with such events as Andropov's death, which he recounts in the first chapter and explains how he became the only journalist to file a story before the death was announced publicly. In terms of his knowledge of political intrigues and powerful Soviet officials, Doder's writing relies primarily on information from his contacts, and verification of some of his claims is problematic, but this is still an engaging account of the quick succession of Soviet leaders that culminated in the rise of Gorbachev, and the book is highly readable.

Rev: John C. Campbell, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 65, Issue 4, p. 906

Rev: James R. Kuhlman, *Library Journal*, Vol. 112, Issue 1, p. 80

Rev: Nina Tumarkin, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 43, Issue 6, pp. 57-58

See also Dusko Doder and Louise Branson's *Gorbachev: Heretic in the Kremlin* (New York: Viking, 1990, 450 pp.), which follows a similar vein as *Shadows and Whispers* but focuses on Gorbachev and relies on Doder's experience as a Moscow correspondent for the *Washington Post* and *U.S. News & World Report* as well as Branson's experience as Moscow correspondent for the London *Sunday Times*.

Garton Ash, Timothy. *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw,*

*Budapest, Berlin, and Prague.* New York: Random House, 1990, 156 pp.

Timothy Garton Ash was a regular contributor to the *New York Review of Books* and the *Spectator* when he became a witness to the revolutions occurring in East-Central Europe. He makes clear that he does not write from the perspective of a historian and only addresses revolutions in countries where he was present as a witness, and therefore he does not "pretend to offer a full analysis of Soviet policy, of economic policies, of developments inside the communist parties and governments, let alone longer-term causes" (page 20). Garton Ash spends roughly the same amount of time addressing the first three cities in the subtitle of his book, but a disproportionate amount of time is spent on Prague and the Czech revolution. Garton Ash claims that the reason for this was his unique position in this revolution, alluding to an anecdote in which he quips to Václav Havel, "In Poland it took ten years, in Hungary ten months, in East Germany ten weeks: Perhaps in Czechoslovakia it will take ten days!," only to find his words spreading through the Czech, Polish, and even Western press (page 78). Prague was also host to the Magic Lantern Theatre referred to by the title of Garton Ash's account due to its status as the headquarters for the opposition group known as the Civic Forum. *The Magic Lantern* is very much an account from the eyes of a witness, told in vivid detail and with the excitement and elation that often coincides with revolutionary changes, and it is therefore a book to be enjoyed by anyone with even a passing interest in the subject.

Rev: John C. Campbell, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 69, Issue 5, p. 202

Rev: Jan T. Gross, *New York Times Book Review*, 7/22/1990, p. 29

Gati, Charles. *The Bloc that Failed: Soviet-East European Relations in Transition*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990. 226 pp.

Gati, a professional lecturer in Russian and Eurasian Studies at Johns Hopkins University and preeminent analyst of Soviet-East European relations, divides his book into three parts. The first section begins by discussing the issues of Stalin and “Sovietization” and moves into an overview of the other general secretaries who preceded Gorbachev. The remaining two parts concern changes under Gorbachev, the first covering the “reformist” years from 1985 through 1988 and the final section covering the “revolutionary change” since 1988. Part III prominently features discussions of over a dozen questions posed by Gati in the preface in regards to the condition and future of Eastern Europe after Soviet rule.

Rev: Roger Kanet, *Russian Review*, Vol. 51, Issue 1, pp. 143-144

Rev: Thomas McLaughlin, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 45, Issue 1, pp. 301-304

Handelman, Stephen. *Comrade Criminal: Russia's New Mafiya*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. 398 pp.

Stephen Handelman served as the *Toronto Star's* Moscow bureau chief from 1987 to 1992, and this book is the result of his forays into the Russian underworld, encompassing both traditional research and journalistic reporting and interviews. The portrait of the underworld is that of a preexisting criminal element that was essentially set loose in the landscape of privatization in post-communist Russia without any legal means to regulate entrepreneurs and businesses, as laws were catered to the socialist command economy. The book is highly entertaining, as books involving the criminal underworld often are, and Handelman's work is admirable, encompassing a substantial amount of interviews with those fighting organized crime and those involved in it. Although Handelman is somewhat overzealous in stating the importance of organized crime in hindering the development of democracy and capitalism in Russia, his book nonetheless illuminates the level of corruption and collusion that have permitted the “Comrade Criminal” to flourish. This book will likely appeal to any reader interested in organized crime or in the role of the Russian underworld during the dissolution of the USSR.

Rev: James O. Finckenauer, *Russian Review*, Vol. 55, Issue 3, pp. 530-531

Rev: Mark Hopkins, *New Leader*, Vol. 78, Issue 5, pp. 18-19

Rev: Serge Schmemmann, *New York Times Book Review*, 6/4/1995, p. 1

See also Moscow journalist Arkady Vaksberg's earlier account of organized crime in the Soviet Union: *The Soviet Mafia* (translated by John and Elizabeth Roberts, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991, 275 pp.).

Kapuściński, Ryszard. *Imperium*. Translated by Klara Glowczewska. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. 331 pp.

Famed Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuściński offers a poetic vision of the Soviet Empire in *Imperium*. Divided into three parts, the first being concerned with the Soviet occupation of Kapuściński's hometown when he was just a boy as well as with his initial travels as a journalist to many of the territories of the USSR; the second and by far the largest section being concerned with his experiences in the Soviet territories during the turbulent span of time from 1989 to 1991; and the third being a collection of notes and observations. This book is beautifully written and eloquently translated, and it highlights experiences during the final years of the Soviet Union that took place in areas that are often overlooked, from the sweltering heat of Central Asia to the lethal cold of the remotest reaches of Siberia. There is really no prior interest in the subject matter required for enjoying this book; it is a pleasure to read.

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, Issue 6, p. 178

Rev: Andrew Nagorski, *Newsweek*, Vol. 124, Issue 13, p. 62

Rev: Joseph P. Parsons, *Library Journal*, Vol. 119, Issue 13, pp. 102-103

Kaul, Triloki N. *The Future of the Commonwealth of Independent States ... Will it Survive?* New

Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1992. 103 pp.

This work by Indian diplomat Triloki N. Kaul is one of relatively few books in English that represent a non-Western and non-Russian viewpoint of the Gorbachev and Yeltsin eras. Kaul introduces his book as a catalyst for positive discussions that will help in the drive toward a more peaceful world, and he acknowledges that his analyses and predictions are highly tentative considering the volatile state of the Soviet Union when he was writing. He notes that, at the time, it was still possible that Gorbachev and Yeltsin might find some means of reconciling and working together, but he notes that the two leaders conflicting personalities make that highly unlikely. Topics Kaul discusses include nuclear disarmament, implications of changes in the Soviet Union for the Third World, and the future of communism. The book closes with a call for peace and a warning that the bloodless revolution brought about by democratization in the USSR could still turn violent.

For more of the Indian perspective on the collapse of the USSR, see *Beyond Perestroika: Choices and Challenges Facing Gorbachev* (edited by Manohar L. Sondhi, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1989, 156 pp.).

Kotkin, Stephen. *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2001. 245 pp.



In this succinct and articulate work, Princeton historian Stephen Kotkin gives a broad overview of what he claims was a thirty year process of the collapse of the Soviet Union, spanning from Brezhnev through Yeltsin. Kotkin argues that Gorbachev's attempts at reform through perestroika and glasnost were continuations of the initial attempts under Khrushchev at creating "socialism with a human face," but the system was ultimately incapable of sustaining reform. The "Armageddon" referred to in the title is a reference to the possibility that the USSR, teeming with nuclear weapons and military power, could have unleashed massive destruction in its death throes, but instead collapsed almost without a whimper. This is hardly the focus of Kotkin's monograph, and his well-reasoned argument is more concerned with outlining and explaining the roots and results of the dissolution of the Soviet system, including the problems caused by the "inherited" Soviet structural components that were present during the Yeltsin administration.

Rev: Shashank Joshi, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, Issue 4, pp. 699-701

Rev: David W. Lovell, *European Legacy*, Vol. 9, Issue 5, pp. 689-690

Rev: Peter Rutland, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, Issue 4, pp. 453-456

Levin, Aryeh. *Envoy to Moscow: Memoirs of an Israeli Ambassador, 1988-92*. London: Frank Cass, 1996. 417 pp.

There are other memoirs by foreign diplomats who served as their respective country's final ambassador to the USSR, but Aryeh Levin was also his country's first ambassador after over 20 years without a consular mission in Moscow. As the Israeli ambassador, Levin brings to light numerous topics that other accounts of the collapse of the Soviet Union either fail to mention or pass over without much consideration. As is to be expected, a substantial amount of his focus involves the Jewish population in the USSR, including issues of Jewish culture, immigration, and emigration. Levin was in the Soviet Union during a span of time that marked the height of the transition between two eras. His memoirs give a unique perspective and are a valuable addition to the list of accounts by foreign ambassadors.

Matlock, Jr., Jack F. *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. New York: Random House, 1995. 836 pp.

Despite the fact that Jack Matlock's account of the collapse of the USSR is an extremely hefty volume, it would be to one's great disservice to avoid this book due to intimidation by its mass. As the American ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987 to 1991, Matlock experienced many of the events leading up to the dissolution of the USSR first-hand, and yet his account strives more than most to be objective and intelligent while simultaneously writing in a style that is highly readable. Understandably due to his diplomatic position, this is primarily an

account of the main *political* actors and events of the final years before the collapse, but Matlock's judgments and analyses are nonetheless worthwhile for their fairness and cohesiveness. He arguably exaggerates the U.S. role in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but this goes hand-in-hand with, to a certain degree, the fact that he reveals more about the American side of the main events than previous accounts. Even when making broader and much more contentious claims about the trends and causes that led to the ultimate collapse, as well as of his views of what the future holds for Russia, Matlock adds to the merit of this book by addressing counter-arguments.

Rev: Alexander Dallin, *American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, Issue 3, pp. 925-926

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, Issue 2, pp. 159-160

Rev: Anatol Lieven, *New York Times Book Review*, 11/26/1995, p. 6

Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. 588 pp.

American journalist David Remnick, the Moscow correspondent for the *Washington Post* for four years, presents his first-hand account of the events leading up to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in *Lenin's Tomb*. Interviews with Russian politicians, activists, and citizens are frequently utilized and include figures from both sides of the political split between conservative Party members and democrats. Remnick argues that Gorbachev was largely responsible for setting in motion the events that brought about the collapse of the U.S.S.R., but claims the former Soviet leader merely hastened the downfall of a corrupt and excessively bureaucratic system.

Rev: Anna Geifman, *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 118-120

Rev: Arnold Beichman, *National Review*, Vol. 45, Issue 15, p. 64

Rev: Robert Levgold, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, Issue 4, p. 167

See also Remnick's *Resurrection: The Struggle for a New Russia* (New York: Random House, 1997, 352 pp.) for more of his highly readable writing; in this case, as it pertains to the formative years of post-Soviet Russia.

Roxburgh, Angus. *The Second Russian Revolution: The Struggle for Power in the Kremlin*.

London: BBC Books, 1991. 218 pp.

Angus Roxburgh served as a Moscow correspondent for London's *Sunday Times* until being expelled by the KGB in 1989, only to return and serve as a correspondent for the *Guardian* covering the August 1991 coup and then as a reporter for the BBC. *The Second Russian Revolution*, however, is less a memoir than it is an attempt at an objective analysis of the final years of the USSR, and he draws on interviews with twelve Politburo members and their advisors; interviews meant for the television series that accompanied the book. Those interviewed

include highly prominent figures: Nikolai Ryzhkov, Alexander Yakovlev, Yegor Ligachev, Boris Yeltsin, and Viktor Grishin, to name a few. Roxburgh relies on “insider” accounts wherever possible and largely avoids the use of information that cannot be verified unless it is the only version of the facts available, in which case he claims that he “clearly indicates” such a lack of substantiation by using turns of phrase such as “probably” (page 2). Roxburgh’s book is a veritable fountain of facts, presented with relatively little analysis, written for any individual interested in the collapse of the USSR who is not necessarily looking for a scholarly overview.

Rev: G. Shestakov, *TLS*, Issue 4607, p. 7

Sebestyen, Victor. *Revolution 1989: The Fall of the Soviet Empire*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2009. 451 pp.

In part due to his career as a journalist contributing to British newspapers such as the *Evening Standard*, Victor Sebestyen made over two hundred trips to Central and Eastern Europe in the span of three decades (beginning in the late 1970s), allowing him to produce this well-written and often riveting account of the revolutions of 1989. Sebestyen competently analyzes the major turning points in the USSR prior to 1989, including Chernobyl and most notably the Soviet war in Afghanistan, but the bulk of his account is a country-to-country view of the European revolutions of the titular year, transitioning between East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania. The sections on Romania offer a particularly intense view of a 1989 revolution that was not bloodless and culminated in the execution of Romania’s leader Nicolai Ceaușescu and his wife Elena. *Revolution 1989* is a skillful and enjoyable account of the revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe preceding the collapse of the USSR.

Rev: John Birch, *International Affairs*, Vol. 85, Issue 6, pp. 1270-1271

Rev: Archie Brown, *History Today*, Vol. 60, Issue 3, pp. 62-63

Rev: *Kirkus Reviews*, Vol. 77, Issue 18, p. 62

\* Lech Wałęsa’s *The Struggle and the Triumph: An Autobiography* is included in the first section with Soviet memoirs and accounts, but it is noted here due to the difficulty presented when trying to categorize his memoirs. See page 14 for full annotation.

\* For Alexander Zinoviev’s *Katastroika: Legends and Reality of Gorbachevism*, see page 16 for the full annotation, as it was included with Soviet memoirs and accounts despite the fact that Zinoviev was writing as an émigré.

## Edited Collections

Abalkin, Leonid I., ed. *USSR: Reorganization and Renewal*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988.

327 pp.

Leonid Abalkin was one of the foremost Soviet economists during the perestroika era and head of the government's Economic Reform Commission, emerging as a vital figure in the transition from the planned Soviet economy to a market economy. *USSR: Reorganization and Renewal* is a rather poorly demarcated collection of work from various contributors who are only mentioned by the last name and first initials in the table of contents. The chapters try to cover a lot of ground, including discussions of everything from developments in the Soviet economy to socialist democracy to the development of culture and the "moulding of personality." There is also a lengthy discussion of foreign policy and nuclear disarmament. This volume is a bit of a novelty, as the poor organization and the ambiguity surrounding the contributors suggest a certain propagandistic quality to the text, which is reinforced by a hefty dose of triumphalism. However, as a collection compiled as events occurred and originating from Soviet academics (presumably) within the USSR, it is still a potentially useful tool for those with enough background knowledge to properly judge its claims.

See also Leonid Abalkin's *The Strategy of Economic Development in the USSR* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1987, 227 pp.) for a more purely economic focus.

Adelman, Deborah. *The "Children of Perestroika": Moscow Teenagers Talk about Their Lives and the Future*. Narratives translated by Deborah Adelman, Fay Greenbaum, and Sharon Mckee. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991. 256 pp.

This work collects material from a series of interviews that Adelman performed with eleven Moscow teenagers – ages 15 to 17 – from January to June 1989, during which time Adelman was in Moscow through a faculty exchange program. There are six female and five male interviewees, most being students either in ninth grade or in vocational school. Calling this book a series of interviews is somewhat of a misnomer, as Adelman's presence is nearly indistinguishable after the teens begin to talk about their lives and what they think about the events taking place around them. This is an enlightening source, as these interviews give the honest and unadulterated perspectives of regular youths in Moscow during a pivotal point in Russia's history, but the reader should be warned that attempting to read the entire volume can become a bit monotonous. Essentially, each teen discusses topics that include perestroika, glasnost, Gorbachev, Stalin, leaving school and becoming a worker, the differences between East and West – issues

that are perhaps discussed elsewhere, but rarely in the words of teenagers in the USSR.

Rev: Sarah Ashwin, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 70, Issue 3, p. 582

Rev: Jim Riordan, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 44, Issue 5, pp. 924-925

Aganbegyan, Abel, ed. *Perestroika 1989*. Translated by Helen Szamuely. New York: C.

Scribner's Sons, 1988. 346 pp.

This useful volume compiles twelve essays by some of the leading Soviet proponents of perestroika and includes a chronology and "who's who" of perestroika as well as an introduction to the "language of perestroika." The contributors are also conveniently and thoroughly introduced before each essay. Although not the most objective collection of essays regarding perestroika, the book does offer a broad and intriguing range of contributors, from the political perspective of Alexander Yakovlev to the religious perspective of Metropolitan Alexiy. An essay by world chess champion Garry Kasparov is also included and is aptly titled "Your Move, Perestroika!" Abel Aganbegyan, Academic Secretary of the Department of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, serves as the editor in chief and a contributor with an essay focusing on economic reforms.

Rev: John C. Campbell, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 68, Issue 3, p. 178

See also Aganbegyan's *Inside Perestroika: The Future of the Soviet Economy* (translated by Helen Szamuely, New York: Harper & Row, 1989, 241 pp.) for a more extensive example of his economic analysis.

Bahry, Romana M., ed. *Echoes of Glasnost in Soviet Ukraine*. North York, Ont. Canada: Captus

University Publications, 1989. 236 pp.

Originating from a "Glasnost in Soviet Ukraine" symposium at York University in Toronto, this collection is introduced by editor Romana Bahry, associate professor at York University, as "the first book on the subject" of glasnost and perestroika in Soviet Ukraine (vii). The book brings together 16 Western scholars and a fairly broad range of representatives from the Soviet Union. Soviet contributors include Ukrainian artists, dissidents, diplomats, and a Ukrainian Orthodox priest. The collection, which consists of essays, interviews, and one very brief commentary by a former political prisoner, is divided into two parts: "Politics" and "Literature and the Arts." There is certainly not a dearth of essay collections that focus on different aspects of the Soviet collapse, but the broad topical focus of this collection within the boundaries of Ukraine is worthy of attention.

Rev: Jaroslaw Bilocerkowycz, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 50, Issue 4, pp. 1038-1039

Rev: David Saunders, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 70, Issue 2, pp. 371-372

For more on Ukraine and its struggle for independence, see the memoirs of Kostiantyn Morozov: *Above and Beyond: From Soviet General to Ukrainian State Builder*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000, 295 pp.).

Batalden, Stephen K., ed. *Seeking God: The Recovery of Religious Identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993. 299 pp.

Though one might expect at least some representation of religious leaders from Russia, Ukraine or Georgia in this collection of essays, with the exception of one religious leader from New York (Michael A. Meerson) and one professor from Moscow State University, all contributors to this volume are Western scholars. While this lack is by no means a fatal flaw, it would have been greatly appreciated if Eastern religious leaders had been represented considering the shortage of written works by such figures in regards to the collapse of the Soviet Union. This collection consists of three parts: "Popular Religious Culture and Orthodox Identity," "Confessional and National Identity in the Orthodox World," and "Sources for Study of Religious Identity in the Orthodox East," the latter section containing an essay concerning how to use Vatican archives to study Eastern Christianity. While this is a useful work owing to the relative lack of attention paid to religion in many other books concerning the collapse of the USSR, it is likely to only be of interest to those who are intrigued by Eastern Orthodoxy.

Rev: Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Church History*, Vol. 64, Issue 1, pp. 153-154

Rev: W. F. Ryan, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 74, Issue 1, pp. 150-152

Rev: Walter Sawatsky, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Vol. 33, Issue 1, pp. 97-98

Bialer, Seweryn, ed. *Politics, Society and Nationality inside Gorbachev's Russia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. 255 pp.

A collection of essays written by Western scholars who attempt to analyze the long-term trends as well as recent reforms in the Soviet Union in order to answer questions regarding whether Gorbachev's policies can succeed and whether such policies are enough to overcome problems posed by nationalism, power politics and other issues within the USSR. A book that is almost certainly directed at scholars, this collection does not offer anything that will appear very interesting or unique to more casual readers. Although contributors include some big names in Sovietology, such as Archie Brown and Gail Lapidus, this volume will likely only hold an appeal for those who want to study the Western academic perspective of Gorbachev's policies as they were being enacted.

Rev: John C. Campbell, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 68, Issue 2, pp. 199-200

Rev: Ronald J. Hill, *International Affairs*, Vol. 65, Issue 4, p. 737

Black, Joseph L. *Into the Dustbin of History: The USSR from Coup to Commonwealth, August-December 1991: a Documentary Narrative*. Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1993. 349 pp.

While certainly not directed toward the casual reader of Soviet history, this collection of primary sources brings together many documents that would be otherwise difficult to attain as English-language translations. J. L. Black has put together an invaluable variety of documents for student researchers in need of primary source documents relating to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The translations — largely carried out by members of the Research Centre for Canada and the Soviet Successor States under Black's supervision — certainly do not put much weight in attempting eloquence, but the content is the focus more than the way in which said content is presented. The book includes statements, interviews and documents from a wide range of contributors; Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, Ligachev, Nina Andreyeva, G. Shipitko, G. Yanaev, and many other relevant figures are, in one way or another, contributors. Black also includes a 64-page introductory essay, commentary on the documents presented, and the occasional cartoon from *Krokodil*.

Bonnell, Victoria E., Ann Cooper, and Gregory Freiden, eds. *Russia at the Barricades:*

*Eyewitness Accounts of the August 1991 Coup*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.

371 pp.

The editors of this book include the former National Public Radio bureau chief in Moscow (Ann Cooper), a sociologist from UC, Berkeley (Victoria E. Bonnell), and a Russian literature scholar from Stanford University who was also a former Muscovite (Gregory Frieden). All three happened to be in Moscow at the time of the August 1991 coup, and this book is their attempt to give a sense of what it was like to be in Russia at the time of the coup. Most of the focus is, understandably, on Moscow, but some other cities are represented, and included are an assortment of official documents and decrees as well as viewpoints from coup plotters, the Moscow public, democratic resistance leaders, and Russian journalists. While not exhaustive, this book is a useful compilation of in-the-moment accounts for those interested in how the coup transpired and what the view was from both sides.

Rev: Mark Galeotti, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 74, Issue 2, pp. 369-370

Rev: Richard Sakwa, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 47, Issue 3, p. 531

Rev: John Yurechko, *Library Journal*, Vol. 119, Issue 8, pp. 124-125

Bourdeaux, Michael, ed. *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*.

Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995. 321 pp.

The third volume in the International Politics of Eurasia series, this collection of essays addresses questions regarding the role of religion in former Soviet countries. The first five essays following Canon Michael Bourdeaux's introduction concern Russia, followed by four essays focusing on "The Western Newly Independent States" (primarily Ukraine), and the final four essays deal with "The Southern Newly Independent States" (Islamic countries including Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). Issues which are more substantially addressed in this volume include the difficulties experienced by religious institutions attempting to become resurgent in post-Soviet societies while not fully disclosing the extent of their collusion with the KGB and successive Soviet regimes, the attempts to essentially build from scratch a democratic political culture within religious traditions, and the role of Islamist fundamentalism in shaping the politics of Soviet successor states. Although it is fairly broad in focus considering that only 13 articles are included, this collection offers a good range of different perspectives from regional experts and religious figures, and it is certainly a useful volume for those interested in the role of religion in the Soviet successor states.

Rev: Philip Boobbyer, *International Affairs*, Vol. 72, Issue 2, pp. 408-409

Rev: Martin Dewhurst, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 48, Issue 8, pp. 1448-1449

Rev: Gerald Shenk, *Journal of Church & State*, Vol. 38, Issue 3, pp. 642-643

See also the other books in the series – they are not annotated here to avoid being repetitious, not because they are any less useful – which apply a similar format to different topics of discussion (N.B. publisher is M. E. Sharpe for all volumes in series): Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, eds., *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1995, 360 pp.); Karen Dawisha, ed., *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. (1997, 462 pp.); Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., *The End of Empire? : The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective* (1997, 374 pp.); Bartłomiej Kamiński, ed., *Economic Transition in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1996, 430 pp.); Bruce Parrott, ed., *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1995, 319 pp.); George H. Quester, ed., *The Nuclear Challenge in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1995, 274 pp.); S. F. Starr, ed., *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1994, 313 pp.); Roman Szporluk, ed. *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1994, 328 pp.); and Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., *Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1995, 384 pp.).

For more from editors Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, see the four-volume series of essays on democratization and authoritarianism in post-communist societies (all published in 1997 by Cambridge University Press), the four volumes being *The Consolidation of Democracy in East-Central Europe* (389 pp.), *Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe* (472 pp.), *Democratic Changes and Authoritarian Reactions in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova* (386 pp.), and *Conflict, Cleavage, and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (423 pp.).



Cerf, Christopher and Marina Albee, eds. *Small Fires: Letters from the Soviet People to*

*Ogonyok Magazine, 1987-1990*. Translated by Hans Fenstermacher. New York: Summit Books, 1990. 303 pp.

*Ogonyok* magazine was the first publication in the Soviet Union to publish letters from readers in a regular column, which was titled “A Word from the Reader.” Editor in Chief of *Ogonyok* Vitaly Korotich introduces this revealing collection of letters, essentially a measurement of the thoughts and concerns that occupied the hearts and minds of the Soviet people as the USSR approached dissolution. The letters are organized by topic and cover a wide range, from perestroika and democratization to nationalities to daily life and current issues, the latter being further subdivided into categories such as crime, drugs, AIDS, and the environment. Authors include Boris Yeltsin, who writes a letter in response to an article published about the AIDS epidemic, but the value of the book comes from the insight it gives into the struggles of ordinary people during this tumultuous period of transition and into what these people hoped their country would become.

Rev: Michelle Bulatovic, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 43, Issue 3, pp. 585-586

Rev: Robert Decker, *Library Journal*, Vol. 115, Issue 19, p. 114

See also the collection edited by Vitaly Korotich and Cathy Porter, *The New Soviet Journalism: The Best of the Soviet Weekly Ogonyok* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990, 224 pp.) for more selections from *Ogonyok*. For letters written by Soviet citizens to a publication other than *Ogonyok*, see *Letters to Gorbachev: Life in Russia through the Postbag of Argumenty i Fakty* (edited by Ron McKay, London: Michael Joseph, 1991, 208 pp.).

Cohen, Stephen F. and Katrina vanden Heuvel. *Voices of Glasnost: Interviews with Gorbachev's*

*Reformers*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989. 339 pp.

The fourteen interviews contained in this collection occurred between June 1987 and April 1989, and all involve advocates — if not architects — of Gorbachev's reforms. Most of the interviews are translated from Russian transcripts, excluding the interviews in English with Georgi Arbatov and Yevgeny Yevtushenko (the only non-party member interviewed). Cohen connects the reforms touted by “Gorbachev's reformers” with a long tradition in Soviet politics beginning with Lenin's New Economic Policy and continued during the Khrushchev years. Although consisting of almost all party members, the interviewees come from a variety of social and intellectual backgrounds, and their comments are useful considering the fact that all of them played a role in this era of reform but not all of them have published memoirs. The interviews in this book, with figures

ranging from acclaimed director Elem Klimov to perestroika economist Nikolai Shmelyov, give information that is helpful for both researchers and readers with a casual interest in the dynamics of glasnost and perestroika.

Rev: Barbara A. Chotiner, *Russian Review*, Vol. 50, Issue 2, pp. 234-235

Rev: Michael Falchikov, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 44, Issue 4, p. 722

Rev: Simon Tormey, *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, Issue 3, pp. 614-615

Dallin, Alexander and Gail W. Lapidus, eds. *The Soviet System: From Crisis to Collapse*.

Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995. 725 pp.

This revised edition of *The Soviet System in Crisis: A Reader of Western and Soviet Views* is one of the most exhaustive compilations of essays relating to the collapse of the USSR, and it is arguably one of the best. This edition includes material on the August 1991 coup and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union – a needed addition considering that the early version had the misfortune of being published during the eventful year of 1991. The book strives to include a broad spectrum of contributors, often with opposing viewpoints on particular issues, and includes big names in Western scholarship in the USSR (e.g. Richard Pipes, Stephen F. Cohen) as well as speeches and documents from prominent Soviet figures (e.g. Eduard Shevardnadze, Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin). This volume also includes the infamous letter from Nina Andreyeva. Though the book's bulk may make it unpalatable to the casual reader, this is an invaluable resource for serious research and scholarship.

Rev: Susan S. Vosper, *Political Studies*, Vol. 41, Issue 1, p. 143

Rev: David L. Williams, *Perspectives on Political Science*, Vol. 25, Issue 1, p. 41

\* Barbara DeKovner-Mayer's *Shattered Silence: Feelings from Former Soviets Struggling with Freedom at Home* is included in the second section, as she summarizes in her own words letters she received from Soviet citizens rather than presenting them as edited translations. Therefore, it seemed more fitting to include with Non-Soviet memoirs and accounts than with edited collections. See page 20 for full annotation.

Ellman, Michael and Vladimir Kontorovich, eds. *The Destruction of the Soviet Economic*

*System: An Insiders' History*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998. 326 pp.

The documents collected in this volume are the result of papers commissioned between 1993 and 1995 from Soviet "insiders" selected by the editors due to each insider's potential knowledge and insight on the collapse of the Soviet economy. The intent was to receive essays that discussed what occurred in the insiders' workplaces during the collapse, and the final contributors represent a large proportion of the main institutions of the USSR. There are several former members of the Central Committee and/or the Politburo (such as Yurii Belik and

Vadim Medvedev), but the editors anticipated more difficulty in gleaning responses from former officials of the military-industrial complex and from provincial Party officials and therefore modified their methods for collecting information from these two groups (page 8). There are also a number of contributors from research institutions, and the ultimate result is a broad spectrum of viewpoints that challenge many of the assumptions about the relation between the Soviet economy and the collapse of the USSR. One of the central arguments of the book is outlined by Ellman and Kontorovich in the second chapter: “While disappointing and harmful, the economic changes alone did not threaten the country’s survival. It was the political innovations ... that proved divisive” (page 26). This collection presents an extremely useful method of viewing the destruction of a fairly stable economy that resulted when the commanding authority of the Party was challenged, although the book is much better suited to economic and Soviet historians than it is to casual readers.

Rev: Robert Campbell, *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 60, Issue 1, pp. 288-289

Rev: Andrei Kuznetsov, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 51, Issue 2, pp. 355-356

Rev: Peter Rutland, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 58, Issue 3, pp. 699-700

Giles, Robert, Robert W. Snyder and Lisa DeLisle, eds. *Reporting the Post-Communist Revolution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2001. 245 pp.

This collection of 23 essays examines the various roles played by journalism and journalists during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the succeeding decade. Contributors include Western journalists and historians as well as citizens of the former Soviet Union and émigrés. The book is highly convenient in format, as the table of contents gives a very brief overview of the main focus of each essay, and each contribution is followed by a brief explanation of the author’s background. The essays cover topics ranging from the journalism of perestroika to Hungarian post-communist broadcasting laws to the effects of the fall of the Berlin Wall on German media. This compilation is a useful resource for those interested in the role of media and journalism during and after the collapse of the USSR.

Rev: Frank Ellis, *Slavonic & East European Review*, Vol. 81, Issue 1, pp. 173-175

For more edited collections on journalism in the final years of the USSR, particularly collections of articles from the Soviet press, see: *Perestroika in Action: A Collection of Press Articles and Interviews* (edited by Vladimir Mezhenkov and Eva Skelley, London: Collets, 1988, 453 pp.), *Gorbachev and Glasnost: Viewpoints from the Soviet Press* (edited by Isaac J. Tarasulo, Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1989, 363 pp.), and *Perils of Perestroika: Viewpoints from the Soviet Press, 1989-1991* (edited by Isaac J. Tarasulo, Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1992, 355 pp.).

Sever, Christina, ed. *Christianity and Government in Russia and the Soviet Union: Reflections on the Millennium*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. 166 pp.

This odd collection of essays is part of a series on change in contemporary Soviet society, the series editor being Nicolai N. Petro. The first essay by émigré Russian historian Sergei Pushkarev is ostensibly about the role of the Orthodox Church in Russian history. The essay is introduced as a summary of the main themes in church-state relations up to 1917, but Pushkarev pays passing attention – if any attention at all – to a number of controversial issues, making more of a scatter plot than a summary. Vladimir Rusak, a dissident deacon in the Russian Orthodox Church, offers up the second essay, which focuses on church-state relations during the Soviet era. The third essay is by Father Gleb Yakunin of the ROC. He wrote the first section of his contribution in 1979, and here he bemoans the church's subservience to the Soviet state and its corruption by the regime. The next two sections of his essay consist of open letters to Gorbachev and the Supreme Soviet in 1987. This compilation is misnamed and gives little insight into the collapse of the USSR other than what can be gleaned from Yakunin's letters, and it is likely of little use to anyone who is not acutely fascinated by the role of the ROC in the final days of the Soviet Union. Despite being listed in some databases as having been authored by Pushkarev, Rusak, and Yakunin, the reader should be warned that this is in fact an edited compilation.

Rev: James W. Cunningham, *Journal of Church & State*, Vol. 32, Issue 1, pp. 127-128

Rev: William C. Fletcher, *Russian Review*, Vol. 49, Issue 3, pp. 370-371

Shalin, Dmitri N., ed. *Russian Culture at the Crossroads: Paradoxes of Postcommunist*

*Consciousness*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996. 341 pp.

This volume collects eleven essays from a fairly equal mixture of Western and Russian scholars and cultural critics, all of whom were participants in the Nevada Conference on Soviet Culture in November 1992. The essays are organized as representation of different components of culture: historical, intellectual, psychological, religious, everyday, moral, popular, literary, artistic, labor, and civic. Although these titles are occasionally applied rather liberally, the novel approach of this collection is appreciated and should be interesting to anyone concerned with the cultural landscape of Russia after the dissolution of the USSR. There is also a useful introduction that attempts to spell out the assumptions that the contributors made in compiling this volume and the general problems and methodological issues present in the field of cultural studies. While not groundbreaking in its content, this is a convenient text for those interested in post-Soviet Russian culture but without much prior knowledge on the subject.

Rev: Thomas Cushman, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 6, pp. 1133-1134

Rev: Temira Pachmuss, *World Literature Today*, Vol. 70, Issue 4, p. 984

Rev: Marshall Shatz, *Slavonica*, Vol. 3, Issue 2, pp. 92-93