$\frac{21\text{H}.467\text{J} / 17.57\text{J}}{\text{Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society, 1917 to the Present}}$

At its greatest extent the former Soviet Union encompassed a geographical area that covered one-sixth of the Earth's land mass. It spanned 11 time zones and contained over 100 distinct nationalities, 22 of which numbered over one million in population. In the 74 years from the October Revolution in 1917 to the fall of Communism in 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its leaders and its people, had to face a number of challenges: the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy, the establishment of a new state, four years of civil war, a famine, transition to a mixed economy, political strife after Lenin's death, industrialization, collectivization, a second famine, political show trials, World War II, post-war reconstruction and repression, the Cold War, the Thaw after Stalin's death, Khrushchev's experimentation, and Brezhnev's decline. This was then followed by Gorbachev's perestroika, Yeltsin's social and economic engineering, and Putin's recentralization.

Students will write three papers over the course of the semester (due **February 23**, **March 9**, and **April 22**), totaling twenty pages in length. Grading in the course will be determined as follows: 20% for attendance, participation and performance on small quizzes; 60% for the three papers (20% each); and 20% for the final examination.

Texts Available for Purchase at the M.I.T. Bookstore

Gennady Andreev-Khomiakov, <u>Bitter Waters: Life and Work in Stalin's Russia</u> (1997) Jonathan Daly and Leonid Trofimov [DT], <u>Russia in War and Revolution</u>, 1914-1922: A Documentary History (Hackett Publishing, 2009)

Sergei Dovlatov, <u>The Compromise</u> (Academy Chicago Publishers, 1990) Michael Kort, <u>The Soviet Colossus: History and Aftermath</u> (M.E. Sharpe, 2006) Richard Sakwa, <u>The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union</u>, 1917-1991 (Routledge, 1999)

Tues. Feb. 2- Introduction to the Course

Thurs. Feb. 4 – Autocracy in Russia

Michael Kort, Soviet Colossus, pp. 3-44

- * "Key Events in Pre-Revolutionary History" (chronology)
- * "Nationalities," "Social Estates" and "Sources of Income" (statistics from 1897, the last Tsarist census)
 - * "Mosaic of Peoples" <u>Time Magazine</u>, 3/12/1990 (USSR nationalities in 1990) Soviet Union Land Use (CIA data):

http://www.marxists.org/glossary/media/places/u/ussr/1982/land-use.jpg

Soviet Union: Coal and Major Minerals (CIA data):

http://www.marxists.org/glossary/media/places/u/ussr/1982/coal-minerals.jpg

^{*} indicates materials available on e-reserves on the course website

also recommended: Russia |---| GoogleEarth Russia |---| Eurasia
outline |---| Northern hemisphere snow now |---| Global
tetrahedral

Here's a website with maps and exercises in Russian geography:

http://www.uoregon.edu/~kimball/ggr.htm

Russia Engages the World: 1453-1825. A multimedia exhibit at the New York Public Library.http://russia.nypl.org/, especially the maps

Photographs at www.loc.gov/exhibits/empire/

<u>Key Terms:</u> Eurasia, steppe, tundra, taiga, Ural Mountains; autocracy; Peter the Great; serfdom; Alexander II; intelligentsia; Slavophiles; Westerners; Emancipation of the Peasantry (1861); populism; socialism; revolutionary dictatorship; nihilism; elitism; Chernyshevsky and the "new men"; "going to the people" (1870s); People's Will

<u>Geography:</u> I expect you to know the basic size and extent of the Soviet Union, its 15 republics, most important nationalities, religions, and boundaries. See the map in Kort (just before the Table of Contents); also

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Soviet Union Administrative Divisions 1989.jpg Discussion Topics: Russian history and geography are deeply linked. Please use your own resources to learn more about the political and economic geography of the Soviet Union. Consider the approaches taken by Michael Kort. What can you say about his views as a historian? In general, who is Kort comparing Russia to? What do you think of this choice of comparison? What may have been the advantages and disadvantages of autocracy as a form of organization? Why does Kort link autocracy and serfdom? Why might Russians (both the government and the people) have been ambivalent about Westernization? How did Peter the Great strengthen the state? What were some of the contradictions facing Russia in the 19th century? Who were the intelligentsia? Why did so many of them become convinced that the only solution to Russia's ills was revolution?

Tues. Feb. 9- The Crisis of Tsarism (1900-1914)

Kort, pp. 47-85

Sakwa, pp. 5-11, 12-14, 16 (docs. 1.4-1.6, 1.8, 1.11)

*"Father Gapon's Petition" from Dmytryshyn, pp. 409-13

*"The October Manifesto of Nicholas II, 1905" from James Cracraft, ed., <u>Major Problems</u> in the History of Imperial Russia, pp.595-96

<u>Key Terms:</u> Sergei Witte and industrialization; Nicholas II; Marxism in Russia; Vladimir Lenin; Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP), also known as Social Democrats (SDs); Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs); "What is to be Done?"; "party of a new type"; professional revolutionaries; trade union consciousness vs. Social-Democratic consciousness; Rosa Luxemburg; Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; democratic centralism (Sakwa, doc. 1.11); Russo-Japanese War; Father Gapon; Bloody Sunday; 1905 Revolution; October Manifesto; Duma; Stolypin reforms; peasant mir (commune) and urban soviet

Marxism: class struggle; dictatorship of the proletariat; state capitalism

<u>Discussion Topics:</u> Why were Russians of all political views ambivalent about capitalism? What were some of the different tactics revolutionaries tried? What were some of the early

criticisms of Lenin and his followers? Why was 1905 a key turning point? What kind of a revolution was this? Why was the proletariat supposed to be pivotal in any Russian Revolution? What can you say about Tsar Nicholas II's views of autocracy and society from reading his October Manifesto?

Thurs. Feb. 11 – World War I and the February Revolution, 1917

Kort, pp. 86-99

Daly and Trofimov [DT], <u>Russia in War and Revolution</u>, pp. 5-13, 16-27, 35-58 *Browse in:*

"Did the War Cause a Revolution?" – primary documents relating to WWI and the 1917 Revolutions: http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/modules/eu/mod03_1917/evidence.html

Note: Shtiurmer was Prime Minister in 1916 and a close associate of Rasputin; he was regarded as one of the most corrupt ministers.

<u>Key Terms:</u> Durnovo's Memorandum; Miliukov; "What is it, stupidity or treason?"; Rasputin; dual power; Provisional Government; Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies; Order No. 1 <u>Discussion Topics:</u> Why was WWI such a trial for Russia? How can you evaluate the short and long-term causes of the collapse of the Romanov dynasty and tsarism in February 1917?

Tues. Feb. 16 – No class (Monday schedule of classes)

Thurs. Feb. 18 -The Deepening Crisis and the October Revolution

Due: You must turn in your paper topic for Paper No. 1 in class.

Kort, 99-112

DT, pp.70-73, 75-81, 86-99, 122-24, 127-29, 210-11

Sakwa, pp. 44-50, 54-63 (docs 2.8-2.13, 2.15-2.23)

<u>Note:</u> Blanquism (named after Louis Auguste Blanqui) (Sakwa, p. 46) means to seize power through a coup d'etat. *Syndicates* (Sakwa, pp. 47-48) are trade unions. *Sovnarkom* (Sakwa, p. 58), meaning Council of People's Commissars, was the Bolsheviks' term for their government (used until 1946 when Stalin called it the Council of Ministers).

<u>Key Terms:</u> Lenin's April Theses; defensism and defeatism; First and Second Congress of Soviets; July Days; Kerensky; Kornilov; Constituent Assembly; Military Revolutionary Committee; October seizure of power

<u>Discussion Topics:</u> What were the problems facing the Provisional Government and the Soviet in the months between February and October? What can you say about the "deepening" of the revolution? How united were the Bolsheviks? What were Lenin's views? Why do you think his views were increasingly holding sway? Why did others resist his views sometimes? What were the criticisms that emerged immediately following the Bolshevik seizure of power?

Tues. Feb. 23- First paper due in class

Thurs. Feb. 25— Establishing a New Government and plunging into Civil War

Kort, pp. 113-39

Sakwa, pp. 66-68, 74-78, 81, 83-85 (docs. 2.27-2.28, 3.1-3.5, 3.8, 3.10)

DT, pp. 140-41, 156-60, 163-64, 183, 187-88, 223-27, 230-32, 238-39, 246-48, 280-81, *Key Terms:* "the dustbin of history"; Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom); Left SRs; revolutionary tribunals and Cheka; VSNKh (Vesenkha); state capitalism; Constituent Assembly; Brest-Litovsk; Red Terror; Reds & Whites; War Communism; Politburo; class war; party cadre. *Discussion Topics:* As the Bolsheviks took up the reins of power, what issues did they need to solve and how did they solve them? How "Marxist" do you think their solutions were? How consistent were they with their own principles? What did Lenin think about entering a civil war? What factors contributed to the victory of the Reds over the Whites? What kind of leadership do you see in Trotsky's memoir article "The Train" (DT, 246-48) and in his Sakwa piece (p. 81)? What was War Communism and how did the practices of WC compare with the earlier ideals of the Bolshevik leaders? In general, how and why do you think the Bolsheviks were able to take power throughout the country? Why were their critics not able to be effective?

Tues. Mar. 2 - The Shift to NEP

Kort, pp. 141-69 Sakwa, pp. 107-14, 118-22, 127-31 (docs. 3.22, 3.24, 3.27-28, 4.1-4.3) DT, pp. 288-89, 291-92, 303-7, 310-14, 149-52, 320-22 http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1921 tab: "Antonov Rebellion"

<u>Key Terms:</u> Kronstadt; Tenth Party Congress; NEP; tax in kind; commanding heights; Gosplan; Nepmen; Democratic Centralists; Workers' Opposition; bureaucratic degeneration; appointmentalism; "On Party Unity"; "On the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in Our Party"; purge; General Secretary; Komsomol; agitprop; Comintern; Rabkrin; Lenin's Testament <u>Note:</u> "There can be no self-activity" [Sakwa, 111] means there could be no worker-sponsored and worker-directed activism.

<u>Discussion Topics:</u> Why did War Communism end up in crisis? How were the NEP decrees intended to head off further crisis? How do these latter relate to the stated values of the Bolshevik Party? What kinds of organizations was the Party establishing at this time? What were some of Lenin's doubts towards the end of his life?

Thurs. Mar. 4- The Politics and Economics of the NEP Years

Kort, pp. 173-96

Sakwa, pp. 143-49, 153-56, 161-62, 167-75 (docs. 4.11-4.13, 4.16, 4.20, 4.24-4.29)

* Wood, <u>The Baba and the Comrade</u>, "The New Threat to the Social Contract," pp. 123-26; ch. 8, "Daily Life and Gender Transformation," pp. 194-208

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1924 tab: Antireligious Propaganda - Images

Key Terms: the industrialization debate; the USSR;

<u>Discussion Topics</u>: How do you explain Stalin's rise to power? What can you say about Lenin's legacy? What was the industrialization debate and why was it so contentious? Why do you think NEP reached what Kort calls "a dead end" by the late 1920s?

Tues. Mar. 9- Second paper due. In-class debate.

Thurs. Mar. 11- The Great Break: Collectivization & Industrialization

Kort, pp. 197-226

Sakwa, 179-97 (docs. 5.3-5.10, 5.14)

*Stalin's Letters to Molotov, pp. 168-69, 175

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1929 tab: "Complaints about the MTS"; Collectivization video:

"Confiscations in a Cossack Village"

Under 1939 tab: Under "Labor Discipline" read "Labor Booklets"; video Moscow-Volga Canal"

<u>Key Terms</u>: collectivization; Urals-Siberian method; 25,000ers; "Dizzy with Success"; dekulakization; famine; Machine Tractor Stations (MTS); industrialization; shock methods; Stakhanovites; show trials; Shakhty Trial; GULAG; Lysenko; wage equalization; socialist realism;

<u>Discussion Topics:</u> Why did the Left win out in the struggle over collectivization? What were the main goals of collectivization? Were they achieved? Why might Stalin have issued his "Dizzy with Success" speech? What did the word "Bolshevik" mean to Stalin and probably to much of the top leadership? What were Stalin's most important credos in this period? What can we say about his psychology from his speeches?

Tues. Mar. 16 - Economic Life

Gennady Andreev-Khomiakov, *Bitter Waters*, ix-xxi, 185-188, 1-13, 22-25, 39-55, 69-85, 105-122

Notes: "defitsitny" [pp. xix, 23, 70] means an item that is in short supply; "organized recruitment of labor" [p. 5] meant that everyone was assigned a job and everyone had a workbook showing all their previous jobs; "blat" [14] means influence or pull; "kombinatsii" [73-74] - making deals. Be sure to look at the footnotes for other terms you don't understand.

<u>Discussion Topics:</u> What does Andreev-Khomiakov tell us about how the economy worked in actual practice? How does this differ from what you might expect based on the Marxist/socialist theory of the day?

Thurs. Mar. 18- Purge and Terror

Kort, pp. 226-43

Sakwa, pp. 199-203, 211-19, 231-33 (docs. 5.17-5.19, 5.23-5.26, 5.32)

*Terror documents in Suny, ed., <u>Structure of Soviet History</u>, pp. 241-250

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1936 tab: "Letter on the Removal of Ezhov"; "Ordzhonikidze speech"; Stalin, "On deficiencies in Party work"

<u>Key terms:</u> Ryutin, the Congress of Victors (17th Party Congress, 1934), Terror; Sergei Kirov; The Purge Plenum (Feb.-March 1937); Vyshinsky

<u>Discussion topics:</u> The Terror is one of the most debated topics in Soviet history - why did it happen? Were there structural causes as well as Stalin's paranoia? If Stalin's paranoia was the principal driving force, why wasn't there resistance from other quarters in state and society?

Why do you think Joseph Davies, the American Ambassador to the USSR, believed that the trials were real? What do you think? What was Trotsky's interpretation of what has gone wrong?

March 22–27 – Spring Vacation

Tues. Mar. 30- World War II

Kort, pp. 244-59

Sakwa, pp. 235-36, 238-39, 240-45, 247-48, 249-51, 252-55, 257-61, 264-67, 274-77, 287-88 (docs 6.1, 6.3-6.4, 6.6-6.7, 6.9, 6.11, 6.13-6.17, 6.19-6.21, 6.24-6.26, 6.30-6.32, 6.39) http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1939 tab: Read "Soviet territorial annexations" and text "Secret protocol" and contexts "Deportation from Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia"

Under 1943 tab: Read "Deportation of Minorities": Decree No. 5859ss; Beria Report on the Deportation; Chechen Traitors

<u>Key terms:</u> Munich Conference (Sept. 1938); appeasement; Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (August 1939); German invasion of Poland (Sept. 1939); German Invasion of the USSR (June 1941); Katyn massacre; Stalingrad; Victory Day (May 9, 1945)

<u>Discussion topics</u>: Why do you think the Soviet authorities signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August 1939? Why were they caught unawares in June 1941 when the Nazis invaded? How did the tenor of Soviet propaganda and practice change (and not change) during the war years?

Thurs. Apr. 1- The Aftermath of the War and the Origins of the Cold War

Kort, 260-76

Sakwa, pp. 277-84, 289-302, 309-12 (docs. 6.33-6.36, 7.1-7.8, 7.13-7.14)

* David Holloway, "Stalin and the Bomb," in ibid., 273-285

*The Novikov Telegram, pp. 3, 8, 12-16

<u>Key terms:</u> percentages agreement; Yalta; Zhdanov, Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Doctors' Plot, Khrushchev, Malenkov

<u>Discussion topics</u>: What do you see as the origins of the Cold War and when would you date them to? What kinds of factors contributed to the intensification of the Cold War over time? What were the effects of the post-war settlements for Eastern Europe? Why? Why do you think anti-Semitism was growing exponentially in the post-war years? What forms did the renewed political orthodoxy of the post-war years take?

Tues. Apr. 6– The Khrushchev Era: Thaw and Social Change

Kort, 279-310

Sakwa, pp. 316-33, 347-50 (docs 8.4-8.12, 8.18-8.21)

*"Khrushchev - Key Events" (chronology)

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1961: Corn Campaign – Images; First Cosmonaut – Images; Novocherkassk: "Top Secret KGB Report"; "The Prosecutor's Report"

<u>Key terms:</u> collective leadership, Thaw, de-Stalinization, Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congresses, Khrushchev's Secret Speech; Anti-Party group

<u>Discussion topics</u>: Stalin died on March 3, 1953; how much do you think his legacy continued and how much do you think his heirs were able to begin again with a fresh slate? How complete do you think Khrushchev's deStalinization turned out to be? What do you think were his intentions? Be prepared to analyze his 20th Party Congress speech in depth (Saka, 8.4). What were some consequences (both intended and unintended) of his speech? In 1961 the CPSU claimed that the national question had indeed been "solved" - what do you think?

Thurs. Apr. 8 – The Khrushchev Era: New Relations with the World

Sakwa, pp. 344-50 (docs. 8.16-8.21)

*Zubok, "The Nuclear Education of Nikita Khrushchev," in his <u>Failed Empire</u>, 123-62

*David Nordlander, "Khrushchev's Image in Light of Glasnost and Perestroika," <u>Russian</u> Review (April 1993): 248-64

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1968: Crisis in Czechoslovakia– Images, video; Red Square Demonstration <u>Key terms:</u> Comecon; NATO; Warsaw Treaty Organization; Peaceful Coexistence; 1956 Invasion of Hungary; Berlin Wall (1960); Cuban Missile Crisis (1962); Novocherkassk (1962) <u>Discussion topics:</u> In 1962 the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. faced one of the worst crises of the Cold War era, the Cuban Missile Crisis. What do you think was going on? What do you think of Khrushchev's and Kennedy's strategies in this situation? In 1964 Khrushchev was ousted - what was significant about this?

Tues. Apr. 13- The Brezhnev Era: Politics and Society

Sakwa, pp. 351-52, 354-56, 359, 363-65 (introduction, docs. 9.3, 9.5, 9.8-9.10) Sergei Dovlatov, <u>The Compromise</u>

optional:

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1968: The Double Burden – "A Week like any Other"

<u>Key terms:</u> Leonid Brezhnev; detente; 1973 Helsinki Accords; 1977 Constitution; Sinyavsky-Daniel Trial (1966)

<u>Discussion topics</u>: How did Brezhnev come to power? How did he differentiate himself from his predecessor? The Brezhnev years witnessed the birth of the dissident movement. Where did it come from? How effective do you think it was? What different kinds of dissidents were there? The Soviet Union had three constitutions in its history (1918, 1924, 1936, and 1977) - how effective were they in protecting people's rights? Why do you think the regime created such constitutions? With hindsight, the Brezhnev years became known as the years of stagnation. How accurate is that characterization?

Recommended: Baranskaia, A Week Like Any Other, pp. 1-62

Thurs. Apr. 15 - The Emerging New Generation: Boris Yeltsin and the Soviet System *Boris Yeltsin, Against the Grain, pp. 43-56, 61-82 [13+21 = 34]

<u>Discussion topics</u>: What kind of memoir is Yeltsin's <u>Against the Grain</u>? Who is the audience? Is there an argument, a principal point or points he is trying to convey? How does his own portrayal of himself compare with Colton's? What does Yeltsin's memoir tell us about how the economy and society were working in the Brezhnev years? What can you say about Yeltsin's management style? How does it compare to Trotsky's in The Train and that of the two main characters in Bitter Waters?

Tues. Apr. 20 – no class (Patriots Day)

Thurs. Apr. 22 - *Third Paper due in Class*

Tues. Apr. 27 -Gorbachev's Political Revolution

Kort, pp. 355-58, 362-74, 376-407

Sakwa, pp. 425, 440-46, 459-61, 466-69, 474-75, 483-487 (docs. 10.3, 10.10, 10.16-17, 10.20-22, 10.26, 10.29-10.32)

* "Key Developments in Nationality Policy" (chronology)

http://www.soviethistory.org

Under 1991: The August coup: "The Putsch addresses the Soviet People"; Images and videos (all if possible)

*Optional: John Gooding, "Perestroika as Revolution from Within: An Interpretation," *Russian Review* 51 (January 1992): 36-57

<u>Key terms:</u> Mikhail Gorbachev, Yegor Likhachev, Alexander Yakovlev; acceleration, perestroika, glasnost', Chernobyl (April 1986), Nina Andreeva letter (1988), Congress of People's Deputies (March 1989 elections, televised May sessions); fall of the Berlin Wall (1989); amendment to Article Six (CPSU's "leading role,"1990); Yeltsin's election as President of the Russian Republic (June 1991)

<u>Discussion topics</u>: Where did Gorbachev come from? How much do you think he was leading events under perestroika and how much was he reacting to events unfolding? How did his style of rule and his priorities change over time? Why was economic restructuring so difficult? What was the relationship between political and economic change - were they linked or separate? What kinds of resistance emerged? Who was Nina Andreeva and why did her letter to the newspaper create such a furor? Why did nationalism arise with such intensity in these years? What forms did it take? How did it evolve? What was Russian nationalism? Why were observers so surprised by it? How did technology (e.g., television) affect consciousness? Why did Gorbachev and Yeltsin have such a stormy relationship? Why did Gorbachev begin to retreat circa 1990? What were the causes and consequences of the August 1991 coup? also optional: Lilia Shevtsova, "Russia's Post-Communist Politics: Revolution or Continuity?" in Suny, *The Structure of Soviet History*, pp. 478-492

Thurs. Apr. 29 - The Yeltsin Years: Riding the Bucking Bronco [34+9=43]

Kort, pp. 408-442

*Stephen Holmes, "What Russia Teaches Us Now: How Weak States Threaten Freedom," in Ronald Suny, Structure of Soviet History, 564-73

* "The Yeltsin Years" (chronology)

website for October 1993: http://www.cs.toronto.edu/~mes/russia/period/october93.html https://www.cs.toronto.edu/~mes/russia/period/october93.html https://www.cs.toronto.edu/~mes/russia/period/o

<u>Discussion Topics</u>: Economic reform in early post-Soviet Russia entailed quite a paradox: should capitalism "evolve" or should it be imposed from above? What conditions did it require for takeoff? Why did the Yeltsin administration run up head long against Parliament in 1992-1993? What happened in the aftermath of that standoff? How did the oligarchs enrich themselves in these years?

Tues. May 4 – Putin Centralizes Power

*Dmitry Gorenburg, "Great Promise Unfulfilled: How Russia Lost Its Way after Independence" (Feb. 2006); http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/ruseur_wp_026.pdf

*Lilia Shevtsova, "Post-Communist Russia: A Historic Opportunity Missed," International Affairs (Sept. 2007): 891-912;

*Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back," Foreign Affairs, January 2008; http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080101faessay87105/michael-mcfaul-kathryn-stoner-weiss/the-myth-of-the-authoritarian-model.html

*Peter Maass, "The Triumph of the Quiet Tycoon," N. Y. Times Magazine, 8/1/2004

*Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," <u>Foreign Affairs</u> (March/April 2005); http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050301faessay84205/adrian-karatnycky/ukraine-s-orange-revolution.html?mode=print

Thurs. May 6- Chechnya and the Caucasus

* Maps of the Caucasus from Eurasian Geography (2007);

N.B.: you do not need to read the accompanying texts; just examine closely the maps

* John Dunlop "Beslan: Russia's 9-11" (October 2005),

http://www.peaceinthecaucasus.org/reports/Beslan.pdf

*Aslan Doukaev, "Putin's Long-Ended War Enters Its 10th Year," October 31, 2008, http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/2008-199-20.cfm

Tues. May 11- Putin, Medvedev, and the Question of Power

*Elizabeth A. Wood, "Who Leads Russia?" <u>Audit of the Conventional Wisdom</u> (June 2008); http://web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/Audit_06_08_Wood.pdf

*Michael Specter, "The Devastation," The New Yorker, October 2004

*Dmitri Trenin "The Legacy of Vladimir Putin," Carnegie International Center, Moscow, October 2007,

Clifford Levy, "Kremlin Rules: Russia's Liberals Lose Their Voice," <u>New York Times</u> Dec. 24, 2008, <u>http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/24/world/europe/24russia.html</u>

Thurs. May 13- Review

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