

When Does Russia Expand and Why? (POLI4165) (POLI4166) (M14192) (M14193)

[View Online](#)

Aleksei, Bogaturov. n.d. "'Ukrainskii Vyzov" i Alternativy Vneshnei Politiki Rossii'. *Mezhdunarodnye Protsessy* 12(4):6–16.

Alexander L. George. 1969. 'The "Operational Code": A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making'. *International Studies Quarterly* 13(2):190–222.

Allison, Roy. 2013. *Russia, the West, and Military Intervention*. Oxford University Press.

Allison, Roy. 2014. 'Russian "deniable" Intervention in Ukraine: How and Why Russia Broke the Ru...' *International Affairs*.

Anon. 2014. 'Russia's Latest Land Grab: How Putin Won Crimea and Lost Ukraine'. *Foreign Affairs* 93(3).

Anon. n.d.-a. 'Chapter 4: Russian Imperialism and Military Power in the Eighteenth Century: Why and How'. in *Strategy and Power in Russia 1600-1914*.

Anon. n.d.-b. 'Cold War History'. 7(Special Issue: Ideas, International Relations and the End of the Cold War).

Anon. n.d.-c. 'Faulty Powers, Moscow's Choice. By: McFaul, Michael, *Foreign Affairs*, 00157120, Nov/Dec2014, Vol. 93, Issue 6'.

Anon. n.d.-d. 'IASC: The Hedgehog Review - Volume 17, No. 1 (Spring 2015) - Putin, Ukraine, and the Question of Realism -'. Retrieved (http://www.iasc-culture.org/THR/THR_article_2015_Spring_OwenInboden.php).

Anon. n.d.-e. 'What the Kremlin Is Thinking. By: Lukin, Alexander, *Foreign Affairs*, 00157120, Jul/Aug2014, Vol. 93, Issue 4'.

Anon. n.d.-f. 'Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. By: Mearsheimer, John J., *Foreign Affairs*, 00157120, Sep/Oct2014, Vol. 93, Issue 5'.

BARANOVSKII, V. 2016. 'Novaia Vneshniaia Politika Rossii: Vlianie Na Mezhdunarodnuiu Sistemu'. *Mirovaia Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia* 60(7):5–15. doi: 10.20542/0131-2227-2016-60-7-5-15.

Barbashin, Anton, and Hannah Thoburn. n.d. 'Putin's Brain | *Foreign Affairs*'. Retrieved (<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-03-31/putins-brain>).

Berryman, John. 2012. 'Geopolitics and Russian Foreign Policy'. *International Politics* 49(4):530-44.

Biersack, John, and Shannon O'Lear. 2014. 'The Geopolitics of Russia's Annexation of Crimea: Narratives, Identity, Silences, and Energy'. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55(3):247-69. doi: 10.1080/15387216.2014.985241.

Black, Cyril E. 1962. 'Chapter 1, The Pattern of Russian Objectives'. Pp. 3-38 in *Russian foreign policy: essays in historical perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bock, A. M., I. Henneberg, and F. Plank. 2015. "'If You Compress the Spring, It Will Snap Back Hard": The Ukrainian Crisis and the Balance of Threat Theory'. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 70(1):101-9. doi: 10.1177/0020702014562593.

Booth, Ken, and Nicholas J. Wheeler. 2008. *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brown, Archie. 2007. 'Perestroika and the End of the Cold War'. *Cold War History* 7(1):1-17. doi: 10.1080/14682740701197631.

Browning, Christopher. 2008. 'Reassessing Putin's Project: Reflections on IR Theory and the West'. *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(5):3-13. doi: 10.2753/PPC1075-8216550501.

Bukkvoll, Tor. 2016. 'Why Putin Went to War: Ideology, Interests and Decision-Making in the Russian Use of Force in Crimea and Donbas'. *Contemporary Politics* 22(3):267-82. doi: 10.1080/13569775.2016.1201310.

Charap, Samuel, and Keith Darden. 2014. 'Russia and Ukraine'. *Survival* 56(2):7-14. doi: 10.1080/00396338.2014.901726.

Charap, Samuel, and Mikhail Troitskiy. 2013. 'Russia, the West and the Integration Dilemma'. *Survival* 55(6):49-62. doi: 10.1080/00396338.2013.862935.

Charles L. Glaser. 1997. 'The Security Dilemma Revisited'. *World Politics* 50(1):171-201.

Collins, Alan. R. 2000. 'GRIT, Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War'. *Review of International Studies* 24(02):201-19.

Curtiss, John Shelton. 1979. *Russia's Crimean War*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Dafoe, Allan, Jonathan Renshon, and Paul Huth. 2014. 'Reputation and Status as Motives for War'. *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1):371-93. doi: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-071112-213421.

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry. 1992. 'The International Sources of Soviet Change'. *International Security* 16(3):74-118.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko. 2003. 'Shortcut to Greatness: The New Thinking and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy'. *International Organization*

57(1):77-109.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko. 2010. 'Status Seekers : Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy'. *International Security* 34(4):63-95.

Douglas J. Macdonald. 1996. 'Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War: Challenging Realism, Refuting Revisionism'. *International Security* 20(3):152-88.

Duncan, Peter J. S. 2000. *Russian Messianism: Third Rome, Revolution, Communism and After*. Vol. Routledge Advances in European Politics. London: Routledge.

English, Robert. 2000. *Russia and the Idea of the West : Gorbachev, Intellectuals, and the End of the Cold War*. Columbia University Press.

Evan Braden Montgomery. 2006. 'Breaking out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty'. *International Security* 31(2):151-85.

Fisher, Alan W. 1970. *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783*. Cambridge: University Press.

Forsberg, Tuomas, Regina Heller, and Reinhard Wolf. 2014. 'Status and Emotions in Russian Foreign Policy'. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47(3-4):261-68. doi: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2014.09.007.

Freedman, Lawrence. 2014. 'Ukraine and the Art of Limited War'. *Survival* 56(6):7-38. doi: 10.1080/00396338.2014.985432.

Fuller, William C. 1992a. 'Chapter 3 Russian Imperialism and Military Power in the Eighteenth Century: Obstacles'. Pp. 85-124 in *Strategy and power in Russia, 1600-1914*. New York: Free Press.

Fuller, William C. 1992b. *Strategy and Power in Russia, 1600-1914*. New York: Free Press.

Fuller, William C. 1992c. *Strategy and Power in Russia, 1600-1914*. New York: Free Press.
Garthoff, Raymond L. and Brookings Institution. 1994. *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War*. Washington: Brookings Institution.

Geyer, Dietrich. 1987. *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy, 1860-1914*. Vol. East European and Soviet studies. Leamington Spa: Berg.

Gillard, David. 1977a. *The Struggle for Asia, 1828-1914: A Study in British and Russian Imperialism*. London: Methuen.

Gillard, David. 1977b. *The Struggle for Asia, 1828-1914: A Study in British and Russian Imperialism*. London: Methuen.

Glaser, Charles L. 2010. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Goldfrank, David M. 1994. *The Origins of the Crimean War*. Vol. *Origins of modern wars*. London: Longman.

- Götz, Elias. 2016. 'Neorealism and Russia's Ukraine Policy, 1991–Present'. *Contemporary Politics* 22(3):301–23. doi: 10.1080/13569775.2016.1201312.
- Greenfeld, Liah. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy. 1969. *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I: Political Attitudes and the Conduct of Russian Diplomacy, 1801-1825*. Vol. Russian and East European studies. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Haas, M. de. 2011. *Russia's Foreign Security Policy in the 21st Century: Putin, Medvedev and Beyond*. Vol. Contemporary security studies. London: Routledge.
- Hansen, Flemming Splidsboel. 2016. 'Russia's Relations with the West: Ontological Security through Conflict'. *Contemporary Politics* 22(3):359–75. doi: 10.1080/13569775.2016.1201314.
- Harry Gelman. 1984. *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Detente*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- Haslam, Jonathan. 2011a. *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*. Yale University Press.
- Haslam, Jonathan. 2011b. *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*. Yale University Press.
- Hugh Ragsdale. 1988. 'Evaluating the Traditions of Russian Aggression: Catherine II and the Greek Project'. *The Slavonic and East European Review* 66(1):91–117.
- Ingle, Harold N. 1976. *Nesselrode and the Russian Rapprochement with Britain, 1836-1844*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jack Snyder. 1988a. 'The Gorbachev Revolution: A Waning of Soviet Expansionism?' *International Security* 12(3):93–131.
- Jack Snyder. 1988b. 'The Gorbachev Revolution: A Waning of Soviet Expansionism?' *International Security* 12(3):93–131.
- Jack Snyder. 1994. 'Russian Backwardness and the Future of Europe'. *Daedalus* 123(2):179–201.
- Janice Gross Stein. 1994. 'Political Learning by Doing: Gorbachev as Uncommitted Thinker and Motivated Learner'. *International Organization* 48(2):155–83.
- Jeff Checkel. 1993. 'Ideas, Institutions, and the Gorbachev Foreign Policy Revolution'. *World Politics* 45(2):271–300.
- Jelavich, Barbara. 1991. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton, N.J.:

Princeton University Press.

Jervis, Robert. 2001. 'Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?' *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3(1):36-60.

John P. LeDonne. 2006. 'Geopolitics, Logistics, and Grain: Russia's Ambitions in the Black Sea Basin, 1737-1834'. *The International History Review* 28(1):1-41.

Kagan, Korina. 1997. 'The Myth of the European Concert: The Realist-institutionalist Debate and Great Power Behavior in the Eastern Question, 1821-41'. *Security Studies* 7(2):1-57. doi: 10.1080/09636419708429341.

Kanet, Roger E. 2007. *Russia: Re-Emerging Great Power*. Vol. *Studies in central and eastern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Karagiannis, Emmanuel. 2014. 'The Russian Interventions in South Ossetia and Crimea Compared: Military Performance, Legitimacy and Goals'. *Contemporary Security Policy* 35(3):400-420. doi: 10.1080/13523260.2014.963965.

Katzenstein, Peter J., and Nicole Weygandt. 2017. 'Mapping Eurasia in an Open World: How the Insularity of Russia's Geopolitical and Civilizational Approaches Limits Its Foreign Policies'. *Perspectives on Politics* 15(02):428-42. doi: 10.1017/S153759271700010X.

Kennan, G. F. 1947. 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct'. *Foreign Affairs* 25(4):566-82.

Kennan, George. 1946. 'The Long Telegram'. Retrieved (<http://www.ntanet.net/KENNAN.html>).

Kohn, Hans, and Taras Hunczak. 1974a. *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Kohn, Hans, and Taras Hunczak. 1974b. *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Kropatcheva, Elena. 2012. 'Russian Foreign Policy in the Realm of European Security through the Lens of Neoclassical Realism'. *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 3(1):30-40. doi: 10.1016/j.euras.2011.10.004.

Kydd, Andrew. 1997. 'Sheep in Sheep's Clothing: Why Security Seekers Do Not Fight Each Other'. *Security Studies* 7(1):114-55. doi: 10.1080/09636419708429336.

Lebow, Richard Ned. 2008. *A Cultural Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lederer, Ivo J. 1962. *Russian Foreign Policy: Essays in Historical Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

LeDonne, John P. 1997. *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700-1917: The Geopolitics of Expansion and Containment*. New York: Oxford University Press.

LeDonne, John P. 2004. *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650-1831*. Oxford:

Oxford University Press.

Legvold, Robert. 2007. *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century and the Shadow of the Past*. New York: Columbia University Press.

MacFarlane, S. Neil. 2016. 'Kto Vinovat? Why Is There a Crisis in Russia's Relations with the West?' *Contemporary Politics* 22(3):342–58. doi: 10.1080/13569775.2016.1201315.

Maoz, Zeev. 2004. *Multiple Paths to Knowledge in International Relations: Methodology in the Study of Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution*. Vol. *Innovations in the study of world politics*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books.

Markey, Daniel. 1999. 'Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots'. *Security Studies* 8(4):126–72. doi: 10.1080/09636419908429388.

Matthew Evangelista. 1995. 'The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union'. *International Organization* 49(1):1–38.

Matthew Rendall. 2002. 'Restraint or Self-Restraint of Russia: Nicholas I, the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and the Vienna System, 1832-1841'. *The International History Review* 24(1):37–63.

Morozova, Natalia. 2009. 'Geopolitics, Eurasianism and Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin'. *Geopolitics* 14(4):667–86. doi: 10.1080/14650040903141349.

Nicholas V. Riasanovsky. 1952. 'Old Russia, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe'. *The American Slavic and East European Review* 11(3):171–88.

Nincic, Miroslav. 1989. *Anatomy of Hostility: The U.S.-Soviet Rivalry in Perspective*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Nolde, B. É. 1952 *La Formation de l'Empire Russe: Études, Notes et Documents*. Vol. *Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves*. Paris: Institut d'études slaves.

Nygren, Bertil. 2008. *The Rebuilding of Greater Russia: Putin's Foreign Policy towards the CIS Countries*. Vol. *Routledge contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe series*. Abingdon: Routledge.

O. Halecki. 1952. 'Imperialism in Slavic and East European History'. *The American Slavic and East European Review* 11(1):1–26.

Osteuropa-Institut München. 1936a. 'Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas'.

Osteuropa-Institut München. 1936b. 'Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas'.

Osteuropa-Institut München. 1936c. 'Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas'.

Oye, Kenneth A. 1995. 'Explaining the End of the Cold War: Morphological and Behavioral Adaptations to the Nuclear Peace?' in *International relations theory and the end of the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Raeff, Marc. 1972. Catherine the Great: A Profile. Vol. World profiles. London: Macmillan.
- Ragsdale, Hugh, and Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev. 1993a. 'Chapter 12, Persistent Factors in Russian Foreign Policy'. Pp. 315–59 in Imperial Russian foreign policy. Vol. Woodrow Wilson Center series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ragsdale, Hugh, and Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev. 1993b. Imperial Russian Foreign Policy. Vol. Woodrow Wilson Center series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ragsdale, Hugh, and Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev. 1993c. Imperial Russian Foreign Policy . Vol. Woodrow Wilson Center series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ragsdale, Hugh, and Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev. 1993d. Imperial Russian Foreign Policy. Vol. Woodrow Wilson Center series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ragsdale, Hugh, and Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev. 1993e. Imperial Russian Foreign Policy. Vol. Woodrow Wilson Center series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ragsdale, Hugh, and Valerii Nikolaevich Ponomarev. 1993f. Imperial Russian Foreign Policy . Vol. Woodrow Wilson Center series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rendall, Matthew. 2000. 'Russia, the Concert of Europe, and Greece, 1821–29: A Test of Hypotheses about the Vienna System'. Security Studies 9(4):52–90. doi: 10.1080/09636410008429413.
- RENDALL, MATTHEW. 2006. 'Defensive Realism and the Concert of Europe'. Review of International Studies 32(03). doi: 10.1017/S0260210506007145.
- Richard Sakwa. 2008. "'New Cold War" or Twenty Years' Crisis? Russia and International Politics'. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 84(2):241–67.
- Robert D. English. 2002. 'Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth'. International Security 26(4):70–92.
- Robert Jervis. 1978. 'Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma'. World Politics 30(2):167–214.
- Sarah E. Mendelson. 1993. 'Internal Battles and External Wars: Politics, Learning, and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan'. World Politics 45(3):327–60.
- Schiemann, Theodor. 1904. Geschichte Russlands Unter Kaiser Nikolaus I. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Schroeder, Paul W. 1972. Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Schroeder, Paul W. 1994. The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848. Vol. Oxford history of modern Europe. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Schütz, Eberhard. 1975. Die Europäische Allianzpolitik Alexanders I. Und Der Griechische Unabhängigkeitskampf, 1820-1830. Vol. Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München. Reihe Geschichte. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

- Schweller, Randall L. 1996. 'Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?' Pp. 90–121 in *Realism: restatements and renewal*. Vol. Cass series on security studies. London: Frank Cass.
- Sked, Alan. 1979. *Europe's Balance of Power, 1815-1848*. Vol. Problems in focus series. London: Macmillan.
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth. 2001. 'Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas'. *International Security* 25(3):5–53.
- Stephen Van Evera. 1998. 'Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War'. *International Security* 22(4):5–43.
- Sunderland, Willard. 2006. *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe*. Vol. Cornell paperbacks. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Tarle, Evgeniĭ Viktorovich. 1966. *Krymskai͡a Voĭna i dop. izd ed.* Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms.
- Tatishchev, S. S. 1887. 'Vneshniaia Politika Imperatora Nikolaia Pervago: Vvdenie v Istoriu Vneshnikh Snoshenii Rossii v Epokhu Sevastopol'skoi Voiny'.
- Theiler, Tobias. n.d. 'The Microfoundations of Diversionary Conflict'.
- Thomas Risse-Kappen. 1994. 'Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War'. *International Organization* 48(2):185–214.
- Trenin, Dmitrii. 2014. 'The Ukraine Crisis and the Resumption of Great Power Rivalry.'
- Tsygankov, Andrei. 2005. 'Vladimir Putin's Vision of Russia as a Normal Great Power'. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21(2):132–58.
- Tsygankov, Andrei. 2015. 'Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy'. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31(4):279–303. doi: 10.1080/1060586X.2015.1005903.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2012a. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2012b. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2012c. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2012d. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2012e. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tsygankov, Andrei P.1. 2012. 'Assessing Cultural and Regime-Based Explanations of Russia's Foreign Policy. "Authoritarian at Heart and Expansionist by Habit"?' *Europe-Asia Studies* 64(4):695–713.
- V. N., Vinogradov. 1996. 'Vek Ekateriny II: Proryv Na Balkany'. *Novaia i Noveishaia Istoriia* (4).
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1999. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Vladimir Lenin. n.d. 'Report on Peace'. Retrieved (<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/oct/25-26/26b.htm>).
- Von Laue, Theodore H. 1981. 'Stalin among the Moral and Political Imperatives, or How to Judge Stalin?' *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 8(1):1–17. doi: 10.1163/187633281X00010.
- Vsesoiuºznoe obshchestvo 'Znanie.', Izdatel'stvo 'Znanie.', and Vsesoiuºznoe obshchestvo po rasprostraneniui politicheskikh i nauchnykh znaniĩ. 1955. 'International Affairs'.
- Wallander, Celeste A. 2007. 'Russian Transimperialism and Its Implications'. *The Washington Quarterly* 30(2):107–22.
- William C. Wohlforth. 1995. 'Realism and the End of the Cold War'. *International Security* 19(3):91–129.
- William C. Wohlforth. 2009. 'Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War'. *World Politics* 61(1):28–57.
- Wohlforth, William C. 2001. 'The Russian-Soviet Empire: A Test of Neorealism'. *Review of International Studies* 27(05). doi: 10.1017/S0260210501008099.
- Wohlforth, William C. 2009. 'Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War'. *World Politics* 61(01). doi: 10.1017/S0043887109000021.
- Wolf, Reinhard. 2011. 'Respect and Disrespect in International Politics: The Significance of Status Recognition'. *International Theory* 3(01):105–42. doi: 10.1017/S1752971910000308.
- Zubok, V. M., and Konstantin Pleshakov. 1997. *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Zubok, Vladislav M. 2007a. *Failed Empire : The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Zubok, Vladislav M. 2007b. *Failed Empire : The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. University of North Carolina Press.