

Mitterrand Years, 1981–1995 (1998); in M. Mclean (ed.), *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy and Evaluation* (1998); and in D. S. Bell, *François Mitterrand: A Political Biography* (2005). France's response to the reunification of Germany is the subject of T. Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany* (trans. 2009).

For the evolution of European socialism, one may read S. Padgett and W. Patterson, *A History of Social Democracy in Postwar Europe* (1991), the previously cited D. Sasson, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (1997), and G. Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (2002); and a discussion of recent ideas for socialist revisionism can be found in M. Harnecker, *Rebuilding the Left* (2007).

There are informative accounts of the evolving political and social systems in other European nations in P. McCarthy (ed.), *Italy since 1945* (2000), cited earlier, and L. Kettenacker, *Germany since 1945* (1997). On developments in Spain one may read J. Hooper, *The New Spaniards* (rev. 2006); and the Portuguese revolution of 1974, leading to the gradual emergence of political stability in that nation, is analyzed in H. G. Ferreira and M. W. Marshall, *Portugal's Revolution: Ten Years On* (1986).

Useful Web Sites and Online Resources

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars provides a helpful Web site with materials on all regions of the contemporary world and on themes such as international security and the global economy, accessible through a link to “programs” at www.wilsoncenter.org. Current debates on international conflicts and security issues may be explored through the Web site of Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation, at <http://cisac.stanford.edu>. There are helpful links to resources on the global economy

at www4.uwm.edu/cie, a site developed by A. Dye at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Readers will find current information on the EU and other aspects of contemporary Europe at the UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, www.international.ucla.edu/euro/; and additional information is available at the EU Web site, *Europa—The European Union On-Line*, http://europa.eu/index_en.htm.

25. THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLT AGAINST SOVIET COMMUNISM

Books on the recent past inevitably face limitations in their perspectives and sources as historians and journalists seek to analyze events that are often still developing. It can thus be difficult to assess the durable value of historical writing about the most recent two or three decades, and yet historians begin to write about the very recent past almost as quickly as it recedes from current events. Readers should therefore continue to look for new books on recent events in the reviews and bibliographies that are published constantly in periodicals, professional journals, and the contemporary electronic media.

The Soviet Union: Crisis, Reform, and Collapse

Efforts to assess the Gorbachev reforms in their historical context include A. Nove, *Glasnost in Action: Cultural Renaissance in Russia* (1989); A. Aslund, *Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform* (rev. 1991); B. Kerblay, *Gorbachev's Russia* (1989); and G. Hosking, *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* (1991). For analyses of the key transitions, see A. Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (1996), a convincing assessment; G. W. Breslauer, *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders* (2002); and A. Brown, *Seven Years That Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective* (2007). The final phase of the Cold War is examined in J. F. Matlock, *Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended* (2004), an important work by a for-

mer American diplomat; and J. Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War* (2009). Especially valuable also is J. B. Dunlop, *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire* (1993), while M. E. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (1994), cited earlier, critically evaluates those decades; for an analysis that includes post-Soviet Russia, see S. Rosefielde and S. Hedlund, *Russia since 1980: Wrestling with Westernization* (2009). F. Furet, *The Passing of an Illusion* (trans. 1999), by a distinguished French historian, assesses the ending of an era in which many in Europe and elsewhere were attracted to communism.

The Demise of Communism and the Dissolution of the Soviet Union

For the events of 1991 and the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., one may turn to D. Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (1993), by a perceptive journalist-observer; J. F. Matlock Jr., *Autopsy on an Empire* (1995), a compelling contribution by the American ambassador at the time; and R. V. Daniels, *The End of the Communist Revolution* (1993). On the ethnic and national tensions that led to the dissolution of the union, one may read H. Carrère d'Encausse, *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations* (trans. 1993); G. I. Mirsky, *On Ruins of Empire: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union* (1997); and R. G. Suny, *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the U.S.S.R., and the Successor States* (1998). An engaging narrative description of the end of the U.S.S.R is developed in C. O'Clery, *Moscow, December 25, 1991: The Last Day of the Soviet Union* (2011).

Assessments of the Yeltsin presidency and efforts at economic reform may be found in R. W. Davies, *Soviet History in the Yeltsin Era* (1997); D. Remnick, *Resurrection: The Struggle for a New Russia* (1997); T. Gustafson, *Capitalism Russian Style* (1997), especially informative for the econ-

omy; A. Shleifer and D. Treisman, *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia* (2000). For biographical accounts and discussion of the president's role in Russia's political and economic development, see T. Colton, *Yeltsin: A Life* (2008); and H. Ellison, *Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Democratic Transformation* (2006). The suppression of the Chechen rebellion is studied in J. Dunlop, *Russia Confronts Chechnya* (1998); M. Evangelista, *The Chechen Wars* (2002); J. Hughes, *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad* (2007); E. Gilligan, *Terror in Chechnya: Russia and the Tragedy of Civilians in War* (2010); and I. Akhmadov and M. Lanskoj, *The Chechen Struggle: Independence Won and Lost* (2010).

The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, 1989

Several books have already been cited for chapter 22 for central and eastern Europe in the post-1945 years. The growing restiveness under Soviet domination emerges as a theme in M. Charlton, *The Eagle and the Small Birds: Crisis in the Soviet Union from Yalta to Solidarity* (1984), and G. Schöpflin and N. Woods (eds.), *In Search of Central Europe* (1989); the opposition to the Soviets is also described in M. Pittaway, *Eastern Europe, 1939–2000* (2004). The connection between Soviet reform and the collapse of eastern European communism is covered in H. Hardman, *Gorbachev's Export of Perestroika to Eastern Europe: Democratization Reconsidered* (2012); and A. Grachev, *Gorbachev's Gamble: Soviet Foreign Policy and the End of the Cold War* (2008). The best account of the long transition in Eastern Europe from the height of Communism to the beginning of the new millennium is I. T. Berand, *From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union: The Economic and Social Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe since 1973* (2009).

T. Garton Ash, a British journalist-historian, vividly describes the collapse of the Communist regimes in central and

eastern Europe in 1989 as he witnessed and reflected on these events in *The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe* (1989) and *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (1990); and Garton Ash also summarized his assessments of the Polish upheavals in *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (rev. 2002). Other informative studies include Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Making and Breaking of Communist Europe* (1991); the essays in I. Banac (ed.), *Eastern Europe in Revolution* (1992); G. Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe* (1993); V. Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State* (1999); M. E. Sarotte, *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (2009); and S. Kotkin, *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment* (2009). For the role of nationalism in the revolutions, see C. King, *Extreme Politics: Nationalism, Violence, and the End of Eastern Europe* (2010); and for the legacy of liberation, A. Michnik, *In Search of Lost Meaning: The New Eastern Europe* (trans. 2011). Of special interest is J. Lévesque, *The Enigma of 1989: The U.S.S.R. and the Liberation of Eastern Europe* (1997), an effort to assess reactions in the Soviet Union.

Careful assessments of the events leading to German reunification are T. Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (1993), cited for chapter 22; K. H. Jarausch, *The Rush to German Unity* (1994); E. Pond, *Beyond the Wall: Germany's Road to Unification* (1993); C. S. Maier, *The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (1997), with special insights into the decayed East German economy; and P. Zelickow and C. Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (1997), with early access to key documents. More recent contributions to the literature include G. Ritter, *The Price of German Unity: Reunification and the Crisis of the Welfare State* (trans. 2011);

and M. Veenis, *Material Fantasies: Expectations of the Western Consumer World among East Germans* (2012).

A few additional books on the Revolution of 1989 in the central and eastern European countries merit citing. For Poland, one may read A. Kemp-Welch, *The Birth of Solidarity* (1991); J. Harrison, *The Solidarity Decade: Poland, 1980–1991* (1993); and M. Szporer, *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980* (2012). For Czechoslovakia, readers may consult B. Wheaton and Z. Kavan, *The Velvet Revolution* (1992); two biographical accounts of its leader, communicating the playwright-statesman's thought and influence: E. Kriscova, *Václav Havel: The Authorized Biography* (1993), somewhat uncritical; J. Keane, *Václav Havel* (2000), exploring in depth his political career both as dissident activist and as president. An informative survey of Czech history carrying the story toward the present is D. Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (1999), while E. Stein, *Czecho/Slovakia: Ethnic Conflict, Constitutional Fissure, Negotiated Breakup* (1997), helps explain the peaceful separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993. A recent account of the Velvet Revolution is J. Duberstein, *A Velvet Revolution: Václav Havel and the Fall of Communism* (2006). For the revolt against the Romanian dictator, one may read N. Ratesh, *Romania: The Entangled Revolution* (1992), an informative brief account; P. Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989* (2005), a well-informed, comprehensive study; and A. M. Pusca, *Revolution, Democratic Transition and Disillusionment: The Case of Romania* (2008).

The Baltic states, where the independence movements helped catalyze the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., are studied in A. Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence* (1993), and R. J. Misiunas and R. Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1990* (1993), a detailed account of the years under Soviet rule. For

a broad account of their postwar history see A. Purs, *Baltic Facades: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania since 1945* (2012).

The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

To books cited earlier on Balkan history one should add M. Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804–1999* (2000), and M. Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (2000), an insightful distillation of the complex story. For the background and nature of the Tito years, one should read A. Djilas, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919–1953* (1991), cited earlier; R. West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (1995); and J. R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country* (1996), focusing on the years 1918–1941, the Second World War, and the years 1945–1991.

The events of the 1990s may be followed in T. Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (rev. 2009), which graphically demonstrates that the breakup was the consequence of demagogic incitement of ethnic animosities, not the ethnic differences themselves; L. Silber and A. Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (1999); and M. Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War* (rev. 1996). The Serb dictator and his regime are studied in R. Thomas, *Serbia under Milosevic: Politics in the 1990s* (1999); D. Bužosevic and I. Radovanovic, *The Fall of Milosevic: The October 5th Revolution* (2003); and in N. Vladislavljević, *Serbia's Antibureaucratic Revolution: Milošević, the Fall of Communism and Nationalist Mobilization* (2008). Additional biographical details are provided in D. Dodier and L. Branson, *Milosevic: Portrait of a Tyrant* (2000); and in A. Lebor, *Milosevic: A Biography* (2002). Secession and the wars that followed are studied in M. Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (rev. 2010); N. Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (rev. 1996); and for a study of reconciliation in the multiethnic nation, see

G. Toal and C. T. Dahlman, *Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and Its Reversal* (2011).

For the international reactions to the ethnic warfare, one may turn to J. Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (1997); W. Bert, *The Reluctant Superpower: United States Policy in Bosnia, 1991–1995* (1997); D. Rohde, *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica: Europe's Worst Massacre since World War II* (1997), on the mass slaying of Bosnian Muslims; and R. Holbrooke, *To End a War* (1998), by the American diplomat who helped negotiate the Dayton accords. M. Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (1998), reflects on the moral dilemmas the events posed to the international community; and S. J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (2001), and V. R. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War* (2004), provide additional insights on eastern Europe. Recent contributions to the history of these events include J. Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe: Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia* (2011); and D. Gibbs, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (2009).

For the suppression of the rebellion in Kosovo, one may read N. Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (1998), and M. Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo* (1998); and for the American-led NATO air offensive against Serbia, M. Ignatieff, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond* (2000), and T. Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (2000). Accounts that bring the narrative further toward the present include M. Weller, *Contested Statehood: Kosovo's Struggle for Independence* (2009); and D. Phillips, *Liberating Kosovo: Coercive Diplomacy and U.S. Intervention* (2012).

After Communism: Russia and Central and Eastern Europe

The transitions in Russia after the Yeltsin era are examined in various books about

Vladimir Putin, including P. Baker and S. Glasser, *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution* (2005); L. Jonson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: The Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy* (2004); and A. Roxburgh, *The Strongman: Vladimir Putin and the Struggle for Russia* (2012). The biographical accounts often stress Putin's authoritarian tendencies, but other works emphasize the challenges that required decisive leadership; the contextual themes emerge in K. C. Lynch, *Vladimir Putin and Russian Statecraft* (2011), and in P. Sutela, *The Political Economy of Putin's Russia* (2012).

Insightful books on eastern Europe after 1989 include R. Dahrendorf, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe* (1991); T. Rosenberg, *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts after Communism* (1995); and R. Skidelsky, *The Road from Serfdom: The Economic and Political Consequences of the End of Communism* (1996). There are also well-informed analyses of central European societies in T. Garton Ash, *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches, and Dispatches from Europe in the 1990s* (1999). The efforts to establish stable democracies are assessed in R. Rose and others, *Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies* (1998); P. Juviler, *Freedom's Ordeal: The Struggle for Human Rights and Democracy in Post-Soviet States* (1997); and V. Tismaneanu, *Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism and Myth in Post-Communist Europe* (1998). Some unsavory aspects of the post-liberation era are described in P. Hockenos, *Free to Hate: The Rise of the Right in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* (1993). Observations written with greater historical distance from the events are J. Mark, *The Unfinished Revolution: Making Sense of the Communist Past in Central-Eastern Europe* (2010); G. Kolodko, *The World Economy and Great Post-Communist Change* (2006); and P. Kenney, *The Burdens of Freedom: Eastern Europe since 1989* (2006).

Useful Web Sites and Online Resources

There are useful links to diverse resources on the recent history of central and eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union at *REENIC: Russian and East European Network Information Center*, <http://reenic.utexas.edu/index.html>, a site at the University of Texas; at the East Central European Center of Columbia University, at <http://ece.columbia.edu>; and at the University of Pittsburgh's *Russian and East European Studies Virtual Library*, www.ucis.pitt.edu/reesweb, an excellent starting point for links to materials on both the fall of Soviet communism and the later history of the former communist nations in central Europe.

26. EUROPE AND THE CHANGING MODERN WORLD

Europe since the 1990s

Books that examine the new configuration of European relationships and the evolving EU include A. E. Stent, *Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, the Soviet Collapse, and the New Europe* (1999); E. Pond, *The Rebirth of Europe* (rev. 2002); M. Keens-Soper, *Europe in the World: The Persistence of Power Politics* (1999); and M. Emerson, *Redrawing the Map of Europe* (1999). There are helpful accounts of international cooperation in E. Bomberg and A. Stubb (eds.), *The European Union: How Does it Work?* (2008); and D. Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union* (2004). T. Judt, *A Grand Illusion? An Essay on Europe* (1996) expresses pessimism on the future of European unity, but he has provided further analysis of this process in his comprehensive *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (2005), cited earlier. The most optimistic view on this subject is the stimulating, if not entirely convincing, M. Leonard, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* (2005). Europe has suffered major shocks to its economic well-being since 2005. Some recent assessments—many of them pessimistic—which