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105th CONGRESS, 2d SESSION / SENATE DOCUMENT 105-27

Resolved that the United States Should Substantially Change Its Foreign Policy Toward Russia

NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 1998-99
Pursuant to 44 United States Code, Section 1333

Compiled by the Congressional Research Service
Library of Congress

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(a) The Librarian of Congress shall prepare compilations of pertinent excerpts, bibliographical references, and other appropriate materials relating to:

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(Pub. L. 90-620, Oct. 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1270.)

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Foreword

The 1998-1999 high school debate topic is "Resolved that the United States should substantially change its foreign policy toward Russia."

In complilance with 44 U.S. Code, section 1333, the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress prepared this bibliography to assist high school debaters in researching the topic. This bibliography is intended to assist debaters in the identification of further references and resources on the topic. In selecting items for this manual, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) has sampled a wide spectrum of opinions reflected in the current literature on this issue. No preference for any policy is indicated by the selection or positioning of articles cited, nor is CRS disapproval of any policy or article to be inferred from its omission.

Some of the U.S. government documents listed in this bibliography may be found in U.S. government depository libraries, which can be identified by local public or college libraries. The Library of Congress cannot distribute copies of these or other materials to debaters. This manual is also available on the GPO Access Home Page on the World Wide Web (http://access.gpo.gov)

The bibliography was prepared by Sherry B. Shapiro, Information Resources Specialist, Foreign Affairs and National Defense, Library Services Division, CRS. Production was made possible by C. Lee Burwasser, Library Services Division. Thanks are extended to James P. Nichol, Analyst in Foreign Affairs, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, and Marsha Cerny, Asssistant Head, Subject Specialization Section, Library Services Division for their review of this product.

Good luck to each debater in researching, preparing and presenting arguments on this year's topic.

Daniel P. Mulhollan, Director
Congressional Research Service

Resolved that the United States Should Substantially Change Its Foreign Policy Toward Russia

An Annotated Bibliography on the 1998-1999 High School Debate Topic

Sherry B. Shapiro
Senior Bibliographer
Library Services Division

with the assistance of
Lee Burwasser, Bibliographic Assistant

October 1998

GENERAL INFORMATION

The Access guide to ethnic conflicts in Europe and the former Soviet Union. Edited by Bruce Seymore II. Washington, Access, 1994. 171 p.

After the Soviet Union. Washington, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1994. 30 p.

Contents.--Population displacement in the former Soviet Union.--Chilly reception for refugees in Russia.--Hostages of the empire.--Bitter legacy of banishment.--Tip of the iceberg.--Conflict in the Caucasus.

Albini, Joseph L. Anderson, Julie.
Whatever happened to the KGB? International journal of intelligence and counterintelligence, v. 11, spring 1998: 26-56.

"Contrary to Russia's claim that following the August 1991 coup attempt to reinstall hard-liners the KGB was dismantled and 'disappeared into thin air,' the notorious secret police and intelligence service continues to exist. Any alterations in KGB techniques and methods have been merely cosmetic."

Alexander, James.
Uncertain conditions in the Russian transition: the popular drive towards stability in a 'stateless' environment. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, May 1998: 415-443.

"This article examines what the collapse of the Soviet state has meant to the Russian people, more specifically, the residents of two provincial Russian cities, Syktyvkar and Kirov."

Aris, Ben.
Russia's youth culture. Russia review, v. 5, June 5, 1998: 22-23.

"After growing up surrounded by a Western-style consumerism which their parents' generation never encountered, Russian youth look and behave more like their foreign contemporaries than perhaps any other population group."

Argenbright, Robert.
The Soviet agitational vehicle: state power on the social frontier. Political geography, v. 17, Mar. 1998: 253-272.

Examines the historical spread of communism after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

The Baltic states after communism. International politics, v. 33, Mar. 1996: 27-43.

Contents.--When nations challenge and nations rule: Estonia and Latvia as ethnic democracies, by Graham Smith.--Citizenship and ethno-politics in Lithuania, by Vesna Popovski.--The nature of authoritarianism in interwar Estonia, by Andres Kasekamp.--The origin of the national movements in Russia's Baltic provinces in the latter half of the nineteenth century, by James D. White.--The Baltic states in transition, by Tauno Tiusanen.--The globalisation of the Latvian economy since 1991, by Nick Dale.

Batalden, Stephen K. Batalden, Sandra L.
The newly independent states of Eurasia: handbook of former Soviet republics. 2nd ed. Phoenix, Ariz., Oryx, 1997. 233 p.

Beyond the monolith: the emergence of regionalism in post-Soviet Russia. Edited by Peter J. Stavrakis, Joan DeBardeleben, and Larry Black. Washington, W. Wilson Center Press; Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 997. 259 p.
"Published in cooperation with the Institute of Central/East European and Russian-Area Studies, Carlton University, Ottawa."

Beyond Soviet studies. Edited by Daniel Orlovsky. [Washington] The Woodrow Wilson Center Press; [Baltimore, Md.] Distributed by John Hopkins University Press, 1995. 349 p. (Woodrow Wilson Center special studies)

Beyond the Soviet Union: the fragmentation of power. Edited by Max Beloff. Aldershot, England; Brookfield, Vt., Ashgate, 1997. 285 p.

Boeck, Brian J.
Probing parity between history and oral tradition: putting Shora Nogmov's History of the Adygei people in its place. Central Asian survey, v. 17, June 1998: 319-336.
Examines the role of non-Slavic people in Russian history.

Brawer, Moshe.
Atlas of Russia and the independent republics. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1994. 1 atlas (144 p.)
Includes information on the history, natural features, population, and communications network of the former Soviet Union.

The breakup of the Soviet Union: opposing viewpoints. Edited by William Barbour and Carol Wekesser. San Diego, Greenhaven Press, c1994. 264 p. (Opposing viewpoints series)
A collection of articles debating issues related to the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the future of the region, and America's foreign policy there.

Brown, Sarah.
Modern tales of the Russian army. World policy journal, v. 14, spring 1997: 61-70.
"It is no secret that Russia's army is undergoing a difficult period of transition. Even before the war in Chechnya began in December 1994, the military budget had been drastically reduced, soldiers' wages had dried up, military bases were in disrepair, and enlisted men across Russia were living in substandard conditions."

Brubaker, Rogers.
Nationalism reframed: nationhood and the national question in the New Europe. Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996. 202 p.

The Cambridge encyclopedia of Russia and the former Soviet Union. Edited by Archie Brown, Michael Kaser and Gerald S. Smith. 2nd ed. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1994. 604 p. DK14.C35 1994

First published under title: The Cambridge encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union.

Chufrin, Gennady I. Saunders, Harold H.

The politics of conflict prevention in Russia and the near abroad. Washington quarterly, v. 20, autumn 1997: 35-54.

"Nowhere is the politics of the unfolding Russian-U.S. relationship more clearly and broadly revealed than in the 'near abroad,' those states of the former Soviet Union beyond Russia's borders, excluding the Baltics. Nowhere else can one see more sharply what each side really wants and fears in Russian-U.S. interaction on the world stage. Although unfamiliar to most Americans and an area where most Russians are unaccustomed to U.S. intervention, the Near Abroad is the one region where the two powers are beginning to define the key elements of a sound working relationship."

Cohen, Ariel.

Russia's assault on religious freedom. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1997. 7 p. (Backgrounder no. 1137)

"Religious freedom in Russia once again is in danger. On September 4, 1997, President Boris Yeltsin signed and sent to legislators in the Duma a draft bill 'On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Organizations' which, if passed, will redefine church-state relations in Russia. The draft incorporates Yeltsin's minor changes in a bill that he had vetoed after it was passed by the parliament this summer. In every essential respect, however, this 'compromise' represents only cosmetic changes in the original harmful bill. If passed, this legislation will turn back the clock on religious freedom in Russia."

The Collapse of the Soviet empire: managing the regional fall-out. Edited by Trevor Taylor. London, Royal Institute of International Affairs: International Institute for Global Peace, 1992. 189 p. (Security challenges for Japan and Europe in a post-cold war world; v. 1)

Contents.--State and nation in the former Soviet Union, by Neil Malcolm--The social and ideological consequences of the collapse of communism and the Soviet Union, by Peter Ferdinand--Economic implications of change in the former Soviet Union, by Reizo Utagawa -- Economic and technical assistance to the former Soviet Union, by Margot Light--Japanese-Russian relations: issues and future perspectives, by Hiroshi Kimura--The impact of changes in the former Soviet Union on the communist states of Asia, by Yoshiaki Nakagawa--The impact of changes in the former Soviet Union on Eastern Europe, by Yves Boyer--The security implications of changes in the former Soviet Union for Western Europe, by Trevor Taylor--The security implications of changes in the former Soviet Union for Asia and Japan, by Satoshi

Morimoto--Disarmament and arms control in the post-cold war world, by Ryukichi Imai--European perceptions of the new security situation, by Laurence Martin--Japanese perceptions of the new security situation, by Seizaburo Sato.

Dobbs, Michael.
Down with Big Brother: the fall of the Soviet Empire. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1997. 502 p.
Details events leading up to the fall of the Soviet Union.

Does Russian democracy have a future? Edited by Stephen J. Blank and Earl H. Tilford, Jr. [Carlisle Barracks, Pa.], Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1994. 162 p.
Contents.--The impact of the parliamentary elections on Russian democracy, by Stephen J. Blank--The Russian elections and the future of military-to-military contacts: the spector of Zhirinovsky, by Jacob W. Kipp--The impact of the Russian elections on civil-military relations, by Thomas M. Nichols--Russia's crisis of evolving statehood: the impact of the new constitution and of the parliamentary elections, by Jessica Eve Stern--The United States and a resurgent Russia: a new Cold War or a balance of power recast? by Ilya Prizel.

Five years after the collapse of the USSR. Post-Soviet affairs, v. 13, Jan.-Mar. 1997: 1-18.
"Based on presentations at a panel discussion held at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, MA, November 16, 1996."

Freedman, Robert O.
Russia and Iran: a tactical alliance. SAIS review, v. 17, summer-fall 1997: 93-109.
"Russia and Iran have formed a relationship based on mutual advantage. Iran serves Moscow as a tactical ally, and Russia provides Iran with arms and diplomatic respect. While their alliance has developed smoothly to date, a number of potential obstacles loom ahead."

Garnett, Sherman.
Russia's illusory ambitions. Foreign affairs, v. 76, Mar.-Apr. 1997: 61-76.
"While Russia is wedged between its visions of grandeur and its reduced capabilities, the consolidation of Ukraine and Uzbekistan, the rise of China, and the assertion of the newly independent rimland states are transforming Eurasia. Russia must come to terms with its neighbors' ascendancy and its own economic and military decline. Acting otherwise could plunge Eurasia into turmoil and usher in a new era of tension between Russia and the United States."

Goetz, Roland.
Russian security policy options and their price. Aussenpolitik, v. 47, 1996: 254-261.
"This article highlights the relationship between Russia's foreign policy orientation and ecomonic development."

Haslam, Jonathan.
Russia's seat at the table: a place denied or a place delayed? International affairs, v. 74, Jan. 1998: 119-130.
"The simultaneous expansion of NATO and enlargement of the EU raise questions as to the proper place for Russia in Europe."

Hupchick, Dennis P.
Conflict and chaos in Eastern Europe. 1st. ed. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995. 322 p.

Jordan, Pamela.
The Russian Advokatura (bar) and the state of the 1990s. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, July 1998: 765-791.
"Beginning in the late 1980s Gorbachev-era reforms, advocates encountered opportunities for gaining significantly more control over their professional programmes. This article will examine whether, since the late 1980s, advocates have in fact benefited from those opportunities by becoming relatively autonomous from state officials, or whether their relations are still strongly influenced by Soviet-era legacies."

Juviler, Peter H.
Freedom's ordeal: the struggle for human rights and democracy in post-Soviet states. Philadelphia, PENN, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. 283 p. (Pennsylvania studies in human rights)

Kaminski, Matthew. Palchikoff, Kim.
The crisis to come. Newsweek, v. 129, Apr. 14, 1997: 44-46.
This article says "health officials in the former USSR face an AIDS epidemic they can't begin to handle. By 2000, 800,000 people may be infected in Russia."

Kovalsky, Nicolai A.
Russia and Mediterranean security. Mediterranean quarterly, v. 8, spring 1997: 102-118.
"The global security of Russia is linked with the security of the adjacent regions of Europe and Asia, but the Mediterranean and the Black Sea space plays a special role. It is a part of the so-called arc of vulnerability, which stretches from Gibraltar through the Black Sea and Middle East and up to India and China. Stormy events and conflicts in this area have posed dangerous challenges for both European and Russian security."

Kramer, Mark.
Down on the Soviet farm: collectivization and its discontents. Technology review, v. 99, Apr. 1996: 43-53.
"Reformers in the former Soviet Union thought privatization was key to boosting the nation's flagging agricultural productivity. But as the story of an ambitious young entrepreneur shows, unless one is exceptionally nimble, the person who tries to break with the established system is likely to be broken by it."

Laird, Roy D.
Kolkhozy, the Russian Achilles heel: failed agrarian reform. Europe-Asia Studies, v. 49, May 1997: 469-478.
Reviews the continuing legacy of Soviet agricultural policy on current Russian agricultural conditions.

Lapidus, Gail W.
Contested sovereignty: the tragedy of Chechnya. International security, v. 23, summer 1998: 5-49.
"The first section of this article examines the underlying causes and more immediate catalysts of the conflict over Chechnya, arguing that both the historical legacy of Chechen-Russian relations and the political fluidity associated with the dissolution of the USSR made this relationship an exceptionally contentious one. The second section traces the major stages and turning points in the evolution of the conflict, focusing particular attention on the role of intra-elite competition in Moscow as well as Grozny. The third section examines the failure of the two parties directly involved and of Western governments and international organizations to utilize a variety of available instruments to prevent the resort to military force or to deter its escalation, and offers an explanation of that failure."

Lehman, Susan Goodrich.
Islam and ethnicity in the Republics of Russia. Post Soviet affairs, v. 13, Jan.-Mar. 1997: 78-103.
"Results of survey research conducted in 1993 among Muslims in the five Islamic Autonomous Republics of Russia. The data demonstrate that the strength of Islam as both a religious and social institution varied regionally despite the shared experience of Soviet anti-religious policies."

Lubin, Nancy. Ware, Monica.
Aid to the former Soviet Union: when less is more. Surviving together, v. 14, spring 1996: 5-7.
"Participants with strong partnerships and expertise in the NIS often have limited expertise in tapping into US government assistance funds. Likewise, despite inevitable problems in the way US programs are designed and implemented, there are few constructive feedback mechanisms to raise these problems within the assistance community and encourage change. The new umbrellas should be equipped to act as clearinghouses--informing small partnerships of opportunities, and where relevant, providing constructive feedback to the government on how assistance monies are spent."

Mandelbaum, Michael.
Westernizing Russia and China. Foreign affairs, v. 76, May-June 1997: 80-95.
"In one sense Russia and China pose the same problems. An international order of trade and cooperation has been established, and the two countries are in the process of joining. But their central governments are weak--Russia's military is quasi-independent of Moscow, China's factories do not heed Beijing. Humiliation over

national decline prompts symbolic defiance of the United States. Ukraine and Taiwan remain dangerous flash points that call for tacit deterrence. Like adolescents, Russia and China are in a transitional stage requiring patience and guidance rather than confrontation."

Melvin, Neil J.
The consolidation of a new regional elite: the case of Omsk 1987-1995. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, June 1998: 619-650.
Examines how the Russian Federation has dealt with areas like Omsk. "As a result of the growing power of the regional elite, Moscow has been forced to accommodate the demands of this important section of Russian society; most obviously in the form of a set of bilateral treaties with the provinces."

Monitor: a daily briefing on the post Soviet states; Internet file.
http://www.jamestown.org/monitor.htm ((as of Feb. 9, 1996).)

Nation, R. Craig. McFaul, Michael.
The United States and Russia into the 21st Century. Carlisle, Pa., U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1997. 70 p.
Presents two essays on U.S. policy toward Russia.

Nelan, Bruce W.
Nuclear disarray. Time, v. 149, May 19, 1997: 46-48.
Examines the status of Russia's nuclear arsenal.

New states, new politics: building the post-Soviet nations. Edited by Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras. Cambridge [England]; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997. 743 p.
"Succeeds and replaces Nations [i.e. Nation] and politics in the Soviet successor states, published ... in 1993"--T.p. verso.

Nichol, James P.
Diplomacy in the former Soviet Republics. Westport, Ct., Praeger, 1995. 244 p.
Details the diplomacy of the former Soviet Union and presents case by case examples.

Neimanis, George J.
The collapse of the Soviet Empire: a view from Riga. Westport, Conn., Praeger, 1997. 153 p.

Odom, William E. Dujarric, Robert.
Commonwealth or empire? Russia, Central Asia, and the Transcaucasus. Indianapolis, Hudson Institute, 1995. 290 p.

Olcott, Martha Brill.
Central Asia's new states: independence, foreign policy, and regional security. Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996. 202 p.

Olson, Carl L. Seidenberg, Mark J. Selle, Robert W.
U.S.-Russian maritime boundary giveaway. Orbis, v. 42, winter 1998: 75-89.
"Where precisely to fix the maritime boundary between the two countries in the Arctic Ocean and Bering Sea."

Ordeshook, Peter C.
Lessons for citizens of a new democracy. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, Mass., Edward Elgar Publ., 1998. (The Shaftesbury papers; 10)
This work will be available later in 1998.

Peach, Gary.
Investing in Russia in 1998. Russia review, v. 5, Jan. 30, 1998: 14-17.
"Every year the job gets more difficult. After three straight years of stupefying returns on international equity markets, during which the Dow Jones doubled, and more to the point, The Moscow Times Index catapulted 320 percent, stocks from around the world have reached unfathomable highs."

Perspectives on political and economic transitions after communism. Edited by John S. Micgiel. New York, Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia University, 1997. 267 p.
"Proceedings of a graduate student conference held February 28-March 1, 1997 at Columbia University. Sponsored by the Institute on East Central Europe and the Harriman Institute, Columbia University."

Petro, Nicolai.
Legacy of containment: reshaping US foreign policy toward Russia. Harvard international review, v. 19, fall 1997: 38-39, 62-63.
Argues that "to restore the tenor of US-Russian relations, a more consistent treatment of Russia is needed."

Pipes, Richard.
Is Russia still an enemy? Foreign affairs, v. 76, Sept.-Oct. 1997: 65-78.
"Russia's interests demand good relations with everyone, but older, darker forces tempt it to avenge its fall from superpowerdom. Westernizing democrats govern for now, but ex-communist elites and embittered generals scheme to reinvigorate the military and reassert control over the borderlands. Their machinations are creating a fault line across the oil-rich Caucasus and Central Asia. For Russia to neglect its reconstruction to pursue the illusion of power would be a monumental mistake. While the expansion of NATO is misconceived, the West must not encourage Russian hard-liners with unmerited concessions."

Pluchinsky, Dennis A.
Terrorism in the former Soviet Union: a primer, a puzzle, a prognosis. Studies in conflict & terrorism, v. 21, Apr.-June 1998: 119-147.
"This article examines political terrorist activity in the fifteen newly independent states of the former Soviet Union and the problems that security and terrorism analysts will encounter when assessing this activity."

Popova, Tatiana. Tekoniemi, Merja.
Challenges to reforming Russia's tax system. Review of economies in transition, no. 1, 1998: 13-30.
The objectives of Russia's new Tax Code (1997) were "to ensure simplification of the tax system, restoration of tax discipline, stimulation of production and protection of adequate tax revenues. Subsequently, there has been much discussion as to whether these objectives can be achieved by the proposed Tax Code draft, and thousands of amendments have been proposed. The discussion has centered around income and enterprise taxation, i.e. areas where Russian practice differs considerably from other countries."

Rozman, Gilbert.
The crisis of the Russian Far East: who is to blame? Problems of post-communism, v. 44, Sept.-Oct. 1997: 3-12.
"The Russian Far East has failed to realize its potential as a regional economic and political power. Until leaders stop shifting the blame and take a concerted stand, Russia's gateway to the Pacific will remain closed."

Russia: a country study. Edited by Glenn E. Curtis. Washington, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1998. 728 p.
Provides background information on Russia's politics, government, economics, industry and other topics.

Russia after communism. Edited by Anders Aslund and Martha Brill Olcott. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1997.
This work will be available late in 1998.

Russia and Eurasia. Current history, v. 96, Oct. 1997: whole issue (305-352 p.).
Contents.--The United States and the new Russia: the first five years, by Raymond L. Garthoff.--Russia's reform effort: is there growth at the end of the tunnel? by Marshall I. Goldman.--Democracy unfolds in Russia, by Michael McFaul.--The pitfalls of Russian superpresi- dentialism, by M. Steven Fish.--"Normal" Russia, by Vladimir Shlapentokh.-- Tajikistan's civil war, by Muriel Atkin.--The unruly caucasus--the oil rush in the Caucasus, by Robert E. Ebel.

Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: documents, data, and analysis. Zbigniew Brzezinski and Paige Sullivan, editors. Armonk, N.Y., M. E. Sharpe, 1997. 866 p.
Documents "the Russian efforts since 1992 to make the CIS into a more viable instrument of economic and political integration, and the ambivalent--and, in some cases, negative--responses from the newly independent non-Russian states."

Russia in transition: politics, privatisation and inequality. Edited by David Lane. London; New York, Longman, 1995. 237 p.

Russia's world turned upside down. Orbis, v. 39, summer 1995: 327-415.

Contents.--The Russian Federation's fight for survival, by Susan L. Clark and David R. Graham.--Sovereignty and the "near abroad," by Martha Brill Olcott.--Russia's real drive to the South, by Stephen Blank.--Will modern technology remilitarize Russia? by Sumner Benson.

Russian organized crime: the new threat? Edited by Phil Williams. London, Frank Cass, c1997. 270 p.

Partial contents.--Introduction: how serious a threat is Russian organized crime?, by Phil Williams.--Russian organized crime: a brief history, by Patricia Rawlinson.--The emerging criminal state: economic and political aspects of organized crime in Russia, by Yuriy A. Voronin.--Major mafia gangs in Russia, by Guy Dunn.--Threats to the foreign business community in Moscow, by Joseph Serio.--Recent trends in nuclear smuggling, by Rensselaer Lee.

Russia's demographic "crisis." Santa Monica, Calif., Rand, 1996. 205 p.

Contents.--Family, fertility, and demographic dynamics in Russia: analysis and forecast, by Anatoly G. Vishnevsky.--Fertility decline and recent changes in Russia: on the threshold of the second demographic transition.--Family planning and induced abortion in post-Soviet Russia of the early 1990s: unmet needs in information supply, by Andrej A. Popov.--The Russian epidemiolgoical crisis as mirrored by mortality trends, by Vladimir M. Shkolnikov and France Mesle.--The crisis of Russian health care and attempts at reform, by Boris A. Rozenfeld.--The determinants and implications of an aging population in Russia, by Sergei A. Vassin.

Rutland, Peter.

Explaining the Soviet collapse. Transitions, v. 5, Feb. 1998: 14-21.

Examines reasons for the collapse of the Soviet system.

Sakwa, Richard.

Russian politics and society. 2nd [enl. and rev.] ed. London; New York, Routledge, 1996. 501 p.

Schaffner, Bradley L., 1959-

Bibliography of the Soviet Union, its predecessors and successors. Metuchen, N.J., Scarecrow Press, 1995. 569 p. (Scarecrow area bibliographies; 5)

Schweitzer, Glenn E.

Russia in transition: experiments in cooperation; assessing U.S.-Russian programs in science and technology. New York, Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1997. 89-177 p.

Assesses lessons learned from U.S.-Russian cooperation in science and technology and prospects for future cooperation. Part 2 of 2.

Shlapentokh, Vladimir.

How Russians will see the status of their country by the end of the century. Journal of communist studies and transition politics, v. 13, Sept. 1997: 1-23.

"Without a single dream of the future, the Russian nation is

unlikely to attain the social and political stability that alone can assure its attainment."

Simanovsky, Stanislav.
Science and technology in Russia: problems and prospects. 1998. Cologne, Bundesinstitut fur Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, 1998. 41 p. (Berichte des Bundesinstituts fur Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien no. 18-1998)
"The present paper attempts to provide a comprehensive survey of what is currently going on in Russian science. It looks at the underlying reasons for the present crisis, which affects every component of the national R&D potential, and examines possible ways of remedying the situation so as to restore Russian science to its proper place in society and enable it to play an active part in bringing about further democratic transformation and in facilitating the transition to a market economy."

Singer, Marshall R.
Language follows power: the linguistic free market in the old Soviet Bloc. Foreign affairs, v. 77, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 19-24.
"As Moscow's power waned across the Soviet Union, in Eastern Europe, and on the periphery of empire, so did the linguistic hold of Russian."

Six years after the collapse of the USSR. Post-Soviet affairs, v. 14, Jan.-Mar. 1998: 1-22.
Presents the transcript of a discussion on the situation in Russia and the former Soviet Union.

Smith, Ludmila. Dunlop, John B.
Newly independent states of the former Soviet Union: statistical materials: indexed list. [Washington], Center for International Research, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, [1994] 137 p. (CIR staff paper; no. 74)
Introduction in English; text in English and Russian.

Starovoitova, Galina.
Sovereignty after empire: self-determination movements in the former Soviet Union. Washington, United States Institute of Peace, 1997. 47 p. (Peaceworks no. 19)
"Contrary to the scenarios of global integration, nationalism has not weakened in global society, but has, in fact, gained strength. National feelings are rooted in the idea of a linguistic, religious, and psychological community based on the ancient kinship of the members of a given ethnic group. Only a powerful internal security apparatus could maintain the Soviet Union's facade of a multinational socialist federation, so it is not surprising that the empire disintegrated upon communism's discreditation. The Soviet republics exercised their right to secede soon after the August 1991 putsch."

Stavrakis, Peter J.
Shadow politics: the Russian state in the 21st century. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1997.

whole issue (31 p.).

"Describes the emergence in Russia of a kind of oligarchic capitalism, controlled by old political elites, and thriving amid an extra-legal 'parallel shadow government' . . . . contends that Russia's central power structures to date have derived from a fusion between corrupt government officials and private sector elites."

Treadgold, Donald W.

Twentieth century Russia. 8th ed. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1995. 498 p.

Tsepkalo, Valery V.

The remaking of Eurasia. Foreign affairs, v. 77, Mar.-Apr. 1998: 107-126.

"Russia's post-Soviet orientation is in serious trouble. The West does not want to see any structure in Eurasia that permits Russian hegemony, but abetting continued chaos in the former Soviet space is hardly in the West's interest. Central Asia and the Caucasus are rife with flash points that could ignite and draw in outside powers, and the presence of nuclear weapons raises the stakes even higher. The United States should support integration, not division. For its part, Russia should work with nearby countries to help unite diverse peoples in a stabler system."

U.S. Congress. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Russia's election: what does it mean? Hearing, 104th Congress, 2nd session. July 10, 1996. Washington, G.P.O., 1996. 84 p.

"CSCE 104-2-14"

"The just-completed Presidential elections set the course of Russia's future in terms of economic and political development, rule of law, and foreign policy, and will inevitably affect Russia's relations with the international community and the United States."

U.S. relations with Russia: 1998-99 team debate topic. Congressional digest, v. 77, Aug.-Sept. 1998: whole issue (193-224 p.).

Partial contents.--Russia overview: geography, people, and history.--Map: new independent states of the former Soviet Union.--U.S. policy: national security and foreign aid.--Future agenda: joint statement by the United States and the Russian Federation.--Legislative background: recent action on Russia issues.--Pro & con: should the United States maintain its current policy toward Russia?

Ware, Robert Bruce.

Conflict in the Caucasus: an historical context and a prospect for peace. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, June 1998: 337-352.

"In this article current strife in the Caucasus is placed in an historical context. Russo-Soviet policies of separatism and federalism are viewed as contributing to ethnic conflicts that now threaten the further fragmentation of Russia. However, Daghestan is considered as an anomaly of ethnic accommodation and pragmatic multiculturalism which may provide a model for peace in the region."

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Partial contents.--After empire: what? by Roman Szporluk.--Russia: lost and found, by Mark Medish.--Europe's new frontiers: remapping Europe, by Jacques Rupnik.--Postcommunism: the problems of democratic construction, by George Schopflin.--The postmortem victory of communism, by Istvan Rev.

Aid and other resource flows to the central and eastern European countries and the new independent states of the former Soviet Union (1990-1995) Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998. 53 p. (OECD working papers, v. 6, no. 3)
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Alexandrova, Olga.
The "Third World" in Russian foreign policy. Aussenpolitik, v. 47, no. 3, 1996: 244-253.
"Since 1991, Russian foreign policy has been the subject of keen interest for politicians, observers and analysts inside and outside Russia. The primary focus is Russia's policy towards the West. Little notice has been taken so far, however, of one particular aspect of Russian foreign policy, namely its position on the so-called Third World--the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America--, a region which once played a major role in the Soviet foreign policy doctrine. Nevertheless, the Third World is gradually regaining significance in Russian foreign policy concepts."

Baev, Pavel K.
Bear hug for the Baltic. World today, v. 34, Mar. 1998: 78-79.
"The stream of cooperative and disarmament initiatives launched by President Boris Yeltsin in Stockholm towards the end of last year was more than one of his habitual public relations."

Baev, Pavel.
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Beschloss, Michael R. Talbott, Strobe.
At the highest levels: the inside story of the end of the Cold War. 1st ed. Boston, Little, Brown, 1993. 498 p.

Blackwill, Robert. Horelick, Arnold. Nunn, Sam.
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"If US-Russian relations are to be improved, the initiative will have to come from the American side. This must be done in ways that protect US national interests."

Blank, Stephen.
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Bowker, Mike.
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Brandenburg, Ulrich.
NATO and Russia: a natural partnership. NATO review, v. 45, July-Aug. 1997: 17-21.
"The NATO-Russia Founding Act firmly establishes the basis for a permanent security partnership between the two sides, laying to rest the notion that they were forever destined to be adversaries. The signing of the Act, which took place in Paris on 27 May, does not mean that differences of policy or outlook will vanish overnight. But these differences can lessen over time through a process of broad, regular

consultations on political and security matters within the newly-created Permanent Joint Council. The main task is to give life to the document by exploiting to the full the new opportunities."

Braumoeller, Bear F.
Deadly doves: liberal nationalism and the democratic peace in the Soviet successor states. International studies quarterly, v. 41, Sept. 1997: 375-402.
"A democratic peace in the region is therefore viable but particularly vulnerable to national issues, as well as to the effects of concentration of political power in the hands of a narrow group of elites."

Bremmer, Ian. Bailes, Alyson.
Sub-regionalism in the newly independent states. International affairs, v. 74, Jan. 1998: 131-148.
Examines interrelationships between the nations of the Former Soviet Union.

Brusstar, James H.
Russian vital interests and Western security. Orbis, v. 38, fall 1994: 607-619.
"United States should also jettison the goal of a near-term marketized Russia. Events within Russia over the past two years have demonstrated dramatically the destabilizing consequences of rapid movement towards a Western-style market economy simultaneously with adoption of a Western-style democracy. To put it bluntly, Russians do not share our faith in the free market system. Their commitment to the ideas that the state should play a major role in the economy is as strong as it was under communism, and they will vote out leadership that attempts to reduce the state's role in a manner that appears further to threaten their welfare."

Brzezinski, Zbigniew.
Russia: neither our partner nor patient. Washington times, Dec. 22, 1995: A22.
National Security Advisor to President Carter asserts that "The anti-democratic out-come of the Russian elections could have surprised only those who took seriously the Clinton administration's rhetoric about 'Russian democracy' and its 'mature strategic partnership' with America."

Buszynski, Leszek.
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"This book is primarily a study of a conflict in foreign policy values and the impact on Russia's relations with the external world. It will identify the initially confident attempts to identify with the Western world after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the efforts to formulate a foreign policy. It will examine the conflict that has emerged between government and legislature, between government and public opinion groups, and between different branches of government itself."

Calder, Kent E.
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Checkel, Jeffrey T.
Ideas and international political change: Soviet/Russian behavior and the end of the Cold War. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1997. p. 1-76.
"The remarkable, peaceful end of the Cold War dramatically--and unexpectedly--transformed international politics in the second half of the twentieth century. At the heart of this amazing change was the struggle over new and old ideas. Drawing on rich data from interviews with key Soviet arhitects of 'new thinking' and of Gorbachev-era policy reforms, Jeffrey Chekel offers an absorbing historical narrative of political change in the late Soviet period, along with theoretical insights into the effect of ideas on state behavior."

Chufrin, Gennady I. Saunders, Harold H.
The politics of conflict prevention in Russia and the near abroad. Washington quarterly, v. 20, autumn 1997: 35-54.
"Nowhere is the politics of the unfolding Russian-U.S. relationship more clearly and broadly revealed than in the 'near abroad,' those states of the former Soviet Union beyond Russia's borders, excluding the Baltics. Nowhere else can one see more sharply what each side really wants and fears in Russian-U.S. interaction on the world stage. Although unfamiliar to most Americans and an area where most Russians are unaccustomed to U.S. intervention, the Near Abroad is the one region where the two powers are beginning to define the key elements of a sound working relationship."

"Cold peace" or cooperation? The potential for U.S.-Russian accommodation on missile defense and the ABM treaty. Comparative strategy, v. 16, Apr.-June 1997: whole issue (231 p.).
Contents.--The character of the problem, by Keith Payne and Andrei Kortunov.--Missile proliferation: threat and U.S. response, by Willis Stanley and Keith Payne.--Current Russian objections to U.S. NMD and ABM treaty revision, by Andrei Kortunov and Andrei Shoumikhin.--Alternative futures, by Keith Payne and Willis Stanley.--Expanding the potential for Russian-American accommodation and cooperation, by Andrei Kortunov and Andrew Shoumikhin.--Summary and conclusions, by Keith Payne and Andrei Kortunov.

Collins, Alan R.
GRIT, Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War. Review of international studies, v. 24, Apr. 1998: 201-219.
Examines the strategies employed by Gorbachev as he took a leading role in ending the Cold War.

Cooper, Mary H.
Expanding NATO: does adding new members pose serious risks? CQ researcher, v. 7, May 16, 1997: whole issue (433-456 p.).
"The U.S., Canada and the 14 European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are expected to invite three Eastern European countries to join the alliance in July. Hailed as the most successful military alliance in history, NATO is credited with preventing the Soviet Union from invading Western Europe during the Cold War, speeding the U.S.S.R.'s demise and encouraging the subsequent development of democratic institutions throughout Eastern Europe. With no apparent enemies to defend against, NATO is focusing on promoting stability throughout Europe, which includes extending membership to former Soviet allies. The Clinton administration has led the call for expansion amid growing concern than an enlarged NATO would cost too much and threaten world peace by alienating Russia."

Danilov, Dmitriy. DeSpiegeleire, Stephan.
From decoupling to recoupling: a new security relationship between Russia and Western Europe? Paris, Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union, 1998. 50 p. (Chaillot paper 31)
Contents.--Some history.--The current situation.--Analysis.--Posible improvements.

Dannreuther, Roland.
Is Russia returning to the Middle East? Security dialogue, v. 29, Sept. 1998: 345-373.
"In September 1997, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt paid an official visit to Moscow, during which he frequently expressed his disquiet at the absence of Russia in the Middle East peace process . . . . President Yeltsin, concurring . . . ordered the government to intensify Russia's role as co-sponsor of the Middle East settlement."

Dunlop, John B.
Aleksandr Lebed and Russian foreign policy. SAIS review, v. 17, winter-spring 1997: 47-72.
"Aleksandr Lebed is likely to remain a member of Russia's political elite for many years to come. How his views on the 'near abroad' and NATO enlargement might shape Russian foreign policy could have a profound effect on America's future relations with the Russian Federation."

The Emergence of Russian foreign policy. Edited by Leon Aron and Kenneth M. Jensen. Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994. 211 p.
Partial contents.--Sources and mechanisms of Russian foreign policy.--The near abroad and commonwealth of independent states.--Russia and the far abroad.

Fairbanks, Charles H., Jr.
A tired anarchy. National interest, no. 39, spring 1995: 15-25.
"What Russians and Americans both need most is a better definition of what is going on in the post-communist world. Because Russian

combativeness is more a matter of symbolism than of concrete gains for the disintegrating Russian state, how events are labeled, which policymakers sometimes dismiss as mere 'rhetoric,' becomes a vital part of policy both for Russia and for us."

Five years after the collapse of the USSR. Post-Soviet affairs, v. 13, Jan.-Mar. 1997: 1-18.

"Based on presentations at a panel discussion held at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, MA, November 16, 1996."

The Foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Edited by Roger E. Kanet and Alexander V. Kozhemiakin. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Great Britain, Macmillan Press Ltd.; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1997. 208 p.

Freedman, Robert O.

Russia and Iran: a tactical alliance. SAIS review, v. 17, summer-fall 1997: 93-109.

"Russia and Iran have formed a relationship based on mutual advantage. Iran serves Moscow as a tactical ally, and Russia provides Iran with arms and diplomatic respect. While their alliance has developed smoothly to date, a number of potential obstacles loom ahead."

Garnett, Sherman.

Russia's illusory ambitions. Foreign affairs, v. 76, Mar.-Apr. 1997: 61-76.

"While Russia is wedged between its visions of grandeur and its reduced capabilities, the consolidation of Ukraine and Uzbekistan, the rise of China, and the assertion of the newly independent rimland states are transforming Eurasia. Russia must come to terms with its neighbors' ascendancy and its own economic and military decline. Acting otherwise could plunge Eurasia into turmoil and usher in a new era of tension between Russia and the United States."

The Russian Far East as a factor in Russian-Chinese relations. SAIS review, v. 16, summer-fall 1996: 1-19.

"This essay will consider the basic trends already at work shaping the region and Russian-Chinese relations as a whole. It will also recommend possible Western policy responses to support stability in the region and to keep the Russian Far East from becoming a new source of instability in an already troubled part of the world."

Guide to foreign affairs research organizations in Russia. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1995. 85 p.

Haslam, Jonathan.

Russia's seat at the table: a place denied or a place delayed? International affairs, v. 74, Jan. 1998: 119-130.

"The simultaneous expansion of NATO and enlargement of the EU raise questions as to the proper place for Russia in Europe."

How democracy fits American interests and values. Orbis, v. 37, fall 1993: 501-619.

Contents.--Winning the peace, by Harvey Sicherman.--Promoting liberty and democracy aborad, by Patrick Clawson.--Dangerous democrats.--Threats from the former USSR, by William C. Bodie.--Ultra-nationalism in Central Europe, by Thomas S. Szayna.--When to worry in the Middle East, by Jonathan S. Paris.--Beyond ballots.--Democratic politics and its culture, by Yehudah Mirsky.--Philanthropy's role in East Europe, by Kevin F. F. Quigley.--Free markets and democracy in East Asia, by James A. Dorn.--Humanitarian intervention, by Guenter Lewy.

Jonson, Lena.

The foreign policy debate in Russia: in search of a national interest. Nationalities papers, v. 22, spring 1994: 175-194.

"Russia is at present seeking to define its national interest. A new foreign policy is in the process of being formed . . . . The ensuing debate is the symptom of a search for a foreign policy suited to a radically changed international situation."

Kastl, Joerg.

European security without Russia? Aussenpolitik, v. 48, no. 1, 1997: 31-38.

"Joerg Kastl, a leading diplomat who served his country as ambassador in Moscow prior to his retirement, states his position emphatically on this issue by questioning altogether the value of showing consideration for Russian desires. He makes it clear that the American-Atlantic guarantee is the only supporting foundation of security for Germany and Europe, drawing the conclusion from Russian policy--not uncontested in the country itself--that it is only likely to lead to disappointment."

Kovalsky, Nicolai A.

Russia and Mediterranean security. Mediterranean quarterly, v. 8, spring 1997: 102-118.

"The global security of Russia is linked with the security of the adjacent regions of Europe and Asia, but the Mediterranean and the Black Sea space plays a special role. It is a part of the so-called arc of vulnerability, which stretches from Gibraltar through the Black Sea and Middle East and up to India and China. Stormy events and conflicts in this area have posed dangerous challenges for both European and Russian security."

Kozyrev, Andrei.

Partnership or cold peace? Foreign policy, no. 99, summer 1995: 3-14.

"The scope of the common challenges facing Russia and NATO encourages us to seek to achieve higher aims. It is necessary to agree on the principal guidelines and mechanisms of a joint step-by-step arrangement with NATO for a certain transitional period after which it would be possible to reach a qualitatively new level of relations between NATO and Russia. This would result in withdrawal of our objections against a gradual entry into a new NATO that would include the nations

of Central and Eastern Europe."

Kupchan, Charles A.
NATO maneuvers on Russia. Nation, v. 265, Dec. 15, 1997: 24-26.
"If Russia is not extended full NATO membership, the continent will remain divided."

Larrabee, F. Stephen. Karasik, Theodore W.
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Contents.--The ministry of foreign affairs.--The ministry of defense.--The foreign intelligence service.--The role of the presidential security service.--The role of the Security Council.--The presidential apparatus.--Conclusions and implications for U.S. policy.

Lieven, Anatol.
Restraining NATO: Ukraine, Russia, and the West. Washington quarterly, v. 20, autumn 1997: 55-77.
"The events of the past two years have, however, shown beyond all doubt that the Russia of the late 1990s has neither the military power, nor the economic resources, nor above all the national will to subjugate Ukraine or even seriously to woo it into a new union--not even, probably, if Ukraine itself were to collapse economically. The desire of many U.S. policymakers policmakers to turn Ukraine into a strategic 'buffer state' against Russia is therefore quite unjustified: The Russian military train is not exactly heading so fast toward the West that buffers are required to check its progress."

Linden, Carl A. Prybyla, Jan S.
Russia and China: on the eve of a new millennium. New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1997. 341 p.

Lubin, Nancy. Ware, Monica.
Aid to the former Soviet Union: when less is more. Surviving together, v. 14, spring 1996: 5-7.
"Participants with strong partnerships and expertise in the NIS often have limited expertise in tapping into US government assistance funds. Likewise, despite inevitable problems in the way US programs are designed and implemented, there are few constructive feedback mechanisms to raise these problems within the assistance community and encourage change. The new umbrellas should be equipped to act as clearinghouses--informing small partnerships of opportunities, and where relevant, providing constructive feedback to the government on how assistance monies are spent."

Lynch, Allen.
The Soviet breakup and U.S. foreign policy. Ithaca, NY, Foreign Policy Association, 1992. 72 p. (Headline series, 0017-8780; no. 297)

Mandelbaum, Michael.
Westernizing Russia and China. Foreign affairs, v. 76, May-June 1997: 80-95.

"In one sense Russia and China pose the same problems. An international order of trade and cooperation has been established, and the two countries are in the process of joining. But their central governments are weak--Russia's military is quasi-independent of Moscow, China's factories do not heed Beijing. Humiliation over national decline prompts symbolic defiance of the United States. Ukraine and Taiwan remain dangerous flash points that call for tacit deterrence. Like adolescents, Russia and China are in a transitional stage requiring patience and guidance rather than confrontation."

Masci, David.
U.S.-Russian relations. CQ researcher, v. 8, May 22, 1998: whole issue (457-480 p.).
Partial contents.--Clinton's initiatives.--NATO expansion.--Troubled economy.--Rising nationalism.--What is Yeltsin up to?--Chronology of events since 1990.--Race for space now a team effort.--Progress predicted on nuclear weapons.--Bibliography.

Masker, John Scott.
Signs of a democratized foreign policy? Russian politics, public opinion, and the Bosnia crisis. World affairs, v. 160, spring 1998: 179-191.
"This article focuses on the effects that democratization has had on Russia's policy toward the Bosnian war and on the foreign policymaking apparatus itself."

Mayers, David.
After Stalin: the ambassadors and America's Soviet policy, 1953-62. Diplomacy & statecraft, v. 5, July 1994: 213-247.
"In international policy, Stalin's successors promptly took steps to bolster the Soviet Union's position. Gestures were made toward Mao Tse-tung to consolidate further the Sino-Soviet alliance. Conciliatory moves were taken in the direction of disaffected Tito. Most importantly, the new leadership acted to reduce Cold War tension--but not without anxiety about Washington exploiting the situation to Western advantage."

Nation, R. Craig. McFaul, Michael.
The United States and Russia into the 21st Century. Carlisle, Pa., U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1997. 70 p.
Presents two essays on U.S. policy toward Russia.

NATO expansion: Round II. Problems of post-communism, v. 45, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 3-29.
Contents.--The case for including the Baltics in NATO, by Richard J. Krickus.--After NATO expansion: the East European militaries, by Dale R. Herspring.--Ukraine, Russia, and European security: thinking beyond NATO expansion, by Margarita M. Balmaceda.

Neilson, Keith.
'Incidents' and foreign policy: a case study. Diplomacy and statecraft, v. 9, Mar. 1998: 53-88.
"Anglo-Russian relations during the period 1894-1914 were filled

with incidents in large part stemming from the very different social and political frameworks of the two countries. The two countries had sharply differing traditions concerning individual liberty, freedom of the press and other such matters usually covered by the rubric of human rights. While the realities of great power politics forced the two countries to work together, it is not surprising that their collaboration was often marred by clashes of political and social sensibilities."

The New Russian foreign policy. Edited by Michael Mandelbaum. New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1998.
This work will be available later in 1998.

Nichol, James P.
Diplomacy in the former Soviet Republics. Westport, Ct., Praeger, 1995. 244 p.
Details the diplomacy of the former Soviet Union and presents case by case examples.

Olson, Carl L. Seidenberg, Mark J. Selle, Robert W.
U.S.-Russian maritime boundary giveaway. Orbis, v. 42, winter 1998: 75-89.
"Where precisely to fix the maritime boundary between the two countries in the Arctic Ocean and Bering Sea."

Petro, Nicolai.
Legacy of containment: reshaping US foreign policy toward Russia. Harvard international review, v. 19, fall 1997: 38-39, 62-63.
Argues that "to restore the tenor of US-Russian relations, a more consistent treatment of Russia is needed."

Pipes, Richard.
Is Russia still an enemy? Foreign affairs, v. 76, Sept.-Oct. 1997: 65-78.
"Russia's interests demand good relations with everyone, but older, darker forces tempt it to avenge its fall from superpowerdom. Westernizing democrats govern for now, but ex-communist elites and embittered generals scheme to reinvigorate the military and reassert control over the borderlands. Their machinations are creating a fault line across the oil-rich Caucasus and Central Asia. For Russia to neglect its reconstruction to pursue the illusion of power would be a monumental mistake. While the expansion of NATO is misconceived, the West must not encourage Russian hard-liners with unmerited concessions."

Pravda, Alex.
Russia and European security: the delicate balance. NATO review, no. 3, May 1995: 19-24.
"The overwhelming perception in Russia is that it has no specific enemies, but neither does it have any reliable friends. Therefore, a strategy of insurance for the CEE countries and assurance for Russia, in the military, political and economic domains is necessary. A treaty between NATO and Russia would go some way towards reassuring Moscow. Such a treaty would have to be in the context of a wider, pan-European framework, to involve Russia more constructively in

shaping European security. It is also vital to increase the economic flows linking Russia with Western Europe and the world economy, through more investment and freer trade regimes."

Pushkov, Alexei K.

NATO enlargement: a Russian perspective. Washington, National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1995. 4 p. (Strategic forum no. 34, July 1995)

"NATO enlargement risks poisoning the relationship between Russia and the West for a long time. It is in the interests of both sides to prevent such an unwelcome development. However, right now there are few converging points in the positions of the two sides."

Russia and NATO: on the watershed. Mediterranean quarterly, v. 7, spring 1996: 13-31.

"The year 1996 will probably become the decisive year for the complicated relationship between Russia and NATO . . . . In 1996, Eastern and central Europeans will certainly exert pressure on their Western partners to make a decision specifying the timing and the first candidates for NATO membership . . . . If not, the projected NATO enlargement risks becoming a source of a major discord between them, with harmful consequences for European and world security."

Rogov, Sergey.

Building the NATO-Russia relationship. [Washington] National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1996. 4 p. (Strategic forum no. 76, May 1996)

"Relations between Russia and NATO--not the enlargement of NATO--is the main issue in European security. To preserve hopes for a partnership between Russia and NATO, the gap between declarations and reality must be closed."

Rosner, Jeremy D.

Clinton, Congress, and assistance to Russia and the NIS. SAIS review, v. 15, winter-spring 1995: 15-35.

"This brief evaluation of the relationship between the Clinton administration and the 103rd Congress on national security policy looks in detail at one case study . . . . The effort in 1993 to secure an increased package of assistance for Russia and the other new independence states (NIS) of the former Soviet Union."

Russia: no turning back? International spectator, v. 32, Jan.-Mar. 1997: whole issue (98 p.).

Contents.--Russia after five years, by Silvana Malle.--Business lobbies in contemporary Russia, by Peter Rutland.--How many Russias? Russia's regions and their adjustment to economic change, by Philip Hanson.--Pipelines to prosperity? by Sarah J. Lloyd.--Landscape after the battle: rethinking democracy in Russia, by Sergei Medvedev.--Russia and NATO: expansion and coexistence? by Allen C. Lynch.--Maastricht watch, by Flaminia Gall.

Russia's foreign policy. International journal, v. 49, autumn 1994: whole issue (699-907 p.)

Partial contents.--From situations of weaknesses: foreign policy of the new Russia, by Franklyn Griffiths.--Neither adversaries nor partners: Russia and the West search for a new relationship, by Paul Marantz.--The post-Cold War political symmetry of Russo-Chinese bilateralism, by Ronald C. Keith.--The creation of a sphere of influence: Russia and Central Asia, by Stephen Page.--Russia and the Balkans: pan-Slavism, partnership and power, by Lenard J. Cohen.--Futile interventions: Russia's disengagment from the Third World, by Mohamed M. El-Doufani.--The new Russia in the new Asia, by Stephen Blank.

Russian foreign policy since 1990. Edited by Peter Shearman. Boulder, Westview Press, 1995. 324 p.

Schweitzer, Glenn E.

Russia in transition: experiments in cooperation; assessing U.S.-Russian programs in science and technology. New York, Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1997. 89-177 p.

Assesses lessons learned from U.S.-Russian cooperation in science and technology and prospects for future cooperation. Part 2 of 2.

The Search for stability in Russia and the former Soviet Bloc. Edited by David Carlton and Paul Ingram. Aldershot, [Eng.]; Brookfield, Dartmouth, 1997. 215 p. (Studies in disarmament and conflicts)

Sestanovich, Stephen.

U.S.-Russian relations: remarks by the Ambassador at Large and Special Advisor to the Secretary of State on the New Independent States at the Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., Jan. 15, 1998. U.S. Dept. of State dispatch, v. 9, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 14-18.

Examines challenges to U.S.-Russian relations in such areas as NATO enlargement, strategic nuclear weapons, and relations between the U.S. and the nations of the former Soviet Union.

Shuja, Sharif M.

Moscow's Asia policy. Contemporary review, v. 272, Apr. 1998: 169-176.

"Historically, the Russians have long sought to exert their influence in the Asia-Pacific region and over the Korean Peninsula in particular."

Simon, Gerhard.

Russia's identity and international politics. Aussenpolitik, v. 48, no. 3, 1997: 245-256.

"As a result of the wholesale collapse of the former Soviet Union the Russian successor state finds itself in a serious crisis. Not only in material and institutional terms, but also with respect to the state's political self-awareness."

Singer, Marshall R.

Language follows power: the linguistic free market in the old Soviet Bloc. Foreign affairs, v. 77, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 19-24.

"As Moscow's power waned across the Soviet Union, in Eastern Europe, and on the periphery of empire, so did the linguistic hold of Russian."

Staar, Richard F.
Moscow's plans to restore its power: beyond the unipolar movement. Orbis, v. 40, summer 1996: 375-389.
Examines how the West has reacted to recent action and statements by the Russians.

Russia and the Islamic Middle East. Mediterranean quarterly, v. 8, spring 1997: 163-175.
"The Middle East is viewed from Moscow as a single geopolitical region, with eight of its Muslim countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Trade and aid have been carried over from the Soviet period. They are most useful tools in obtaining a solid foothold throughout the Middle East, paid for mostly in hard currency."

Starr, S. Frederick.
Power failure: American policy in the Caspian. National interest, no. 47, spring 1997: 20-31.
"From the moment the states of the Caspian Basin gained independence, the United States has repeatedly pledged to support their sovereignty and their freedom to develop as democratic societies with free-market economies. While it is clear that many of the Russian initiatives described above directly threaten the achievement of these goals, the United States has failed thus far to produce an adequate response."

Talbott, Strobe.
Endgame: the inside story of SALT II. 1st ed. New York, Harper & Row, 1979. 319 p.

Talbott, Strobe.
Opening doors and building bridges in the New Europe: address before the Paasikivi Society, Helsinki, Finland, Jan. 21, 1998. U.S. Dept. of State dispatch, v. 9, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 9-13.
Deputy Secretary of State addresses U.S. relations with Europe in the Post-Cold War era. "The premise of U.S. policy could not be simpler. It is this: the safety and well-being of the American people depend in no small measure on the peace and prosperity of Europe."

Tsepkalo, Valery V.
The remaking of Eurasia. Foreign affairs, v. 77, Mar.-Apr. 1998: 107-126.
"Russia's post-Soviet orientation is in serious trouble. The West does not want to see any structure in Eurasia that permits Russian hegemony, but abetting continued chaos in the former Soviet space is hardly in the West's interest. Central Asia and the Caucasus are rife with flash points that could ignite and draw in outside powers, and the presence of nuclear weapons raises the stakes even higher. The United

States should support integration, not division. For its part, Russia should work with nearby countries to help unite diverse peoples in a stabler system."

Tsygankov, Andrei P.
From international institutionalism to revolutionary expansionism: the foreign policy discourse of contemporary Russia. Mershon international studies review, v. 41, Nov. 1997: 247-268.
"The purpose of this essay review is to explore the foreign policy discourse in contemporary Russia. The argument is made that Russian foreign policy is still open to the influence of ideas across the political spectrum and that examining the discourse extant in the society is useful in revealing the country's competing schools of thought."

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations.
U.S. relations with Russia and the newly independent states. Hearing, 105th Congress, 1st session. Mar. 12, 1997. Washington, G.P.O., 1997. 97 p.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations.
Meeting the challenges of a post-Cold War world: NATO enlargement and U.S.-Russia relations; a report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, by Joseph R. Biden, Jr., 105th Congress. May 1997. Washington, G.P.O., 1997. 59 p. (Print, Senate, 105th Congress, 1st session, S. Prt. 105-26)
"During the week of March 23, I traveled to Europe to learn more about the process of the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its likely effect upon our relations with the Russian Federation."

U.S. Relations with Russia (21st : 1997 : Dresden, Ger.).
U.S. Relations with Russia: twenty-first conference, Aug. 18-22, 1997. Washington, Aspen Institute, 1997. 48 p.
Partial contents.--Russia's search for new ideals, by Nicolai Petro.--Economic prospects in Russia, by Richard Layard.--Preventive defense, by William Perry.--The economization, rationalization, and normalization of Russian foreign policy, by Celeste Wallander.

U.S.-Russian relations are headed for Siberia. Business week, no. 3578, May 8, 1998: 49.
"Russia is already seeing red over the U.S. Senate vote to expand NATO, and a move afoot could get it even more steamed. Lawmakers are poised to approve a seemingly veto-proof bill this month that would slap economic sanctions on renegade Russian companies that sell advanced missile technology to Iran. The double hit against Russia underscores the sour state of affairs developing between Washington and Moscow."

Utkin, A. I. (Anatolii Ivanovich)
Russia and the West: the day after. 1st English ed. Geneva, Switzerland, Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies, Graduate Institute of International Studies, 1995. 73 p. (PSIS occasional paper; no. 3/1995)

Wenger, Andreas. Perovic, Jeronim.
Russia's ambivalent relation to the West. Swiss review of world affairs, Nov. 1997: 11-13.
"Moscow's present security policy is marked by an ambivalent relationship to the West. The internal debate over NATO's eastward expansion made it evident that Russia still claims special status as a major European power. The Kremlin leadership is faced with a dual challenge: to master a far-reaching transformation process internally, and in the realm of foreign relations to orient itself in the new, multipolar global environment."

MILITARY POLICY ISSUES

Arbatov, Alexei Georgievich.
Military reform in Russia: dilemmas, obstacles, and prospects. International security, v. 22, spring 1998: 83-134.
Examines "what military reform means in the Russian context. Second, consider[s] Russia's new defense requirements in light of the end of the Cold War. . . . assess[es] the availability of material and human resources, ... [and] outlines the principal features of the military crisis."

The Russian military in the 21st century. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, [1997]. 18 p.
"This monograph was prepared for the U.S. Army War College Annual Strategy Conference".

Arnett, Robert.
Can civilians control the military? Orbis, v. 38, winter 1994: 41-57.
Considers the likely role for Russia's military in the future of that nation's political system.

Bakich, Spencer D.
Toward a new quality: the Russian military doctrine and Eurasian security. Journal of social, political and economic studies, v. 21, spring 1996: 3-24.
"Russian military actions since 1991 have brought debate and speculation to the international community regarding Russian designs toward the 'near abroad.' This paper is an attempt to provide the conceptual framework for interpreting such events . . . with Russian military philosophy and how that philosophy relates to foreign policy in general."

Benson, Sumner.
Can the United States and Russia reshape the international strategic environment? Comparative strategy, v. 14, 1995: 237-253.
"The United States and Russia have agreed in principle that they should transform the strategic rivalry of the cold war into strategic cooperation in preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and advanced conventional weapons."

Bertram, Christoph.
Europe in the balance: securing the peace won in the Cold War. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1996. 110 p.
Contents.--Coping with uncertainty.--Alliance without a cause.--Russia and the new NATO.--Eastern Europe and the new NATO.--The Atlantic connection.

Blank, Stephen.
Reform and the revolution in Russian defense economics. [Carlisle Barracks, PA]. Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, [1995] 35 p.

Russia's armed forces on the brink of reform. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1998. 45 p.

"Military policy and the so-called current military reform more resemble bureaucratic exercises in turf-grabbing or the court politics of the Tsars then they do real reform. While efforts are underway to downsize the armed forces, spend less on them, and revamp the force structure, these moves seem driven by concerns other than strategic rationality."

Bodie, William C.

Moscow's "near abroad": security policy in post-Soviet Europe. Washington, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, [1993] 30 p. (McNair papers; no. 16.)

Brown, Sarah.

Modern tales of the Russian army. World policy journal, v. 14, spring 1997: 61-70.

"It is no secret that Russia's army is undergoing a difficult period of transition. Even before the war in Chechnya began in December 1994, the military budget had been drastically reduced, soldiers' wages had dried up, military bases were in disrepair, and enlisted men across Russia were living in substandard conditions."

Brusstar, James H. Jones, Ellen.

The Russian military's role in politics. Washington, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1995. 62 p. (McNair paper, 1071-7552; 34)

Examines how the Soviet military reacted to "the disintegrative trend that eventually overtook the Soviet Union . . . . As part of this focus, we assess the military's action during three critical events: the abortive August 1991 coup, the Belovezh agreement formalizing the demise of the USSR, and the fall 1993 political crisis in Moscow."

Cohen, Ariel.

Russian hardliners' military doctrine: in their own words. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1996. 11 p. (F.Y.I no. 104, May 30, 1996)

Contents.--Russian hardliners' military doctrine: in their own words, by Ariel Cohen.--Army reform and security: conceptual theses of the strategy of reforming the armed forces of the Russian federation. "People like Surkkov and Dementyev advise Communist Party Leader Zyuganov, radical nationalist Zhirinovsky, and President Boris Yeltsin's Atomic Energy Minister, Viktor Mikhailov. Even if Zyuganov loses the presidential elections, the views expressed in this report will influence Russian military and security policy."

"Cold peace" or cooperation? The potential for U.S.-Russian accommodation on missile defense and the ABM treaty. Comparative strategy, v. 16, Apr.-June 1997: whole issue (231 p.).

Contents.--The character of the problem, by Keith Payne and Andrei Kortunov.--Missile proliferation: threat and U.S. response, by Willis Stanley and Keith Payne.--Current Russian objections to U.S.

NMD and ABM treaty revision, by Andrei Kortunov and Andrei Shoumikhin.--Alternative futures, by Keith Payne and Willis Stanley.--Expanding the potential for Russian-American accommodation and cooperation, by Andrei Kortunov and Andrew Shoumikhin.--Summary and conclusions, by Keith Payne and Andrei Kortunov.

Cooper, Mary H.

Expanding NATO: does adding new members pose serious risks? CQ researcher, v. 7, May 16, 1997: whole issue (433-456 p.).

"The U.S., Canada and the 14 European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are expected to invite three Eastern European countries to join the alliance in July. Hailed as the most successful military alliance in history, NATO is credited with preventing the Soviet Union from invading Western Europe during the Cold War, speeding the U.S.S.R.'s demise and encouraging the subsequent development of democratic institutions throughout Eastern Europe. With no apparent enemies to defend against, NATO is focusing on promoting stability throughout Europe, which includes extending membership to former Soviet allies. The Clinton administration has led the call for expansion amid growing concern than an enlarged NATO would cost too much and threaten world peace by alienating Russia."

Diamond, Howard.

Russian export controls fail to stop steel for Iranian missile program. Arms control today, v. 28, Apr. 1998: 26.

Questions Russia's ability to enforce its own export laws dealing with weapons technology.

Eisenhower, Susan.

Starting Cold War II? United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 124, May 1998: 38-43.

"Debate over expanding NATO to include Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic--here, foreign ministers sit with the North Atlantic Council on 16 December 1997--has drawn scant media attention because so many current and former U.S. leaders endorse the plan. But losing sight of the high cost--including the risk of alienating a still-nuclear-armed Russia--could be a strategic blunder of historic proportions."

Epperson, Robert H.

Russian military intervention in politics 1991-96. Journal of Slavic military studies, v. 10, Sept. 1997: 90-108.

"Why has the Russian military decided to intervene in politics? Three explanations for military intervention in contemporary Russia."

Fakiolas, Efstathios T.

Continuity and change in Soviet and Russian grand strategy. Mediterranean quarterly, v. 9, spring 1998: 76-91.

"The principal objective of this essay is to establish the argument that, although Russia's security policy appears to have gained flexibility in the use of means, it is intended at its core to effectuate the same ends as that of the Soviet Union."

Gardner, Hall.
Dangerous crossroads: Europe, Russia, and the future of NATO. Westport, Conn., Praeger, 1997. 279 p.

Garrels, Anne.
Russia's military. [Washington] National Public Radio, 1997. [14] p.
Four-part National Public Radio Series on the status of the Russian army. Addresses such issues as corruption in the military, mission in action, and draft evasion.
Reprinted from the Nexis service (14 p.).

Goetz, Roland.
Russian security policy options and their price. Aussenpolitik, v. 47, 1996: 254-261.
"This article highlights the relationship between Russia's foreign policy orientation and ecomonic development."

Holcomb, James F. Boll, Michael M.
Russia's new doctrine: two views. Carlisle Barracks, PA], Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, [1994] 37 p.

Holden, Gerard.
Russia after the Cold War: history and the nation in post-Soviet security politics. Frankfurt am Main, Campus Verlag; Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1994. 205 p. (Studies from the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt; 27)

Humphreys, Brian.
Converting the weapons of war. Russia review, v. 5, Feb. 13, 1998: 14-17.
"There is a lot of technical knowledge and innovative spirit under the surface of many sickly defense-oriented enteprises. The problem is translating these things into viable products that can be marketed."

Karaganov, S. A. (Sergei Aleksandrovich)
Where is Russia going? Foreign and defence policies in a new era. Frankfurt am Main, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, [1994] 36 p. (PRIF reports; no. 34)

Kastl, Joerg.
European security without Russia? Aussenpolitik, v. 48, no. 1, 1997: 31-38.
"Joerg Kastl, a leading diplomat who served his country as ambassador in Moscow prior to his retirement, states his position emphatically on this issue by questioning altogether the value of showing consideration for Russian desires. He makes it clear that the American-Atlantic guarantee is the only supporting foundation of security for Germany and Europe, drawing the conclusion from Russian policy--not uncontested in the country itself--that it is only likely to lead to disappointment."

Khripunov, Igor.
Have guns, will travel. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 53, May-June 1997: 47-51.
"A cash-starved defense industry is selling Russian weapons to the world--latest models included."

Kozyrev, Andrei.
Russia and the world's new security agenda. International relations, v. 14, Apr. 1998: 41-49.
Examines the state of Russian security in the post-Soviet era and also considers security issues raised by other nations in light of current political difficulties which the Russian republic has encountered.

Kugler, Richard L. Kozintseva, Marianna V.
Enlarging NATO: the Russia factor. Santa Monica, Calif., RAND, 1996. 287 p.
At head of title: National Defense Research Institute.
"Prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defense."

Kulikov, Anatoliy Sergeevich.
Russian policy in the sphere of national security: essence and magnitude of internal threats to stability and order. European security, v. 6, autumn 1997: 16-37.
"Russia's 'national security' includes three basic elements: interests, threat, and protection against threats. The national security strategy is the highest level of articulation of all of a country's means for protecting and safeguarding its national interests. Being an integral system, it comprises other forms of state strategies."

Lambeth, Benjamin S.
Russia's wounded military. Foreign affairs, v. 74, Mar.-Apr. 1995: 86-98.
"The Chechnya misadventure unmasked what Russia's armed forces have known for awhile: the heir to the once-vaunted Soviet military is in shambles. Years of cutbacks in Russia's military budgets, worsened by rapid inflation, have crippled morale, the development of new weapons, maintenance, and training. At the upper echelons, there is now an exodus of talented and experienced officers; in the lower ranks, desertion and draft evasion are widespread. Nevertheless, the Russian military has largely remained above politics and helped to stabilize the nation amid reform. The United States would do well to press for an honest and open military-to-military relationship with Russia. One day, a grave nuclear threat may require it."

Larrabee, F. Stephen. Karasik, Theodore W.
Foreign and security policy decisionmaking under Yeltsin. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corporation, 1997. 54 p.
Contents.--The ministry of foreign affairs.--The ministry of defense.--The foreign intelligence service.--The role of the presidential security service.--The role of the Security Council.--The presidential apparatus.--Conclusions and implications for U.S. policy.

Lee, Rensselaer W.
Smuggling Armageddon: the nuclear black market and the Former Soviet Union and Europe. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1998.
This book will be available later in 1998.

Lieven, Anatol.
Russia's military nadir: the meaning of the Chechen debacle. National interest, no. 44, summer 1996: 24-33.
"The Chechen war may come to be seen as one of the greatest disasters in Russian military history, greater than Tannenberg, greater than Tsushima; not, obviously, because of Russian losses, which have been limited, but because of what Chechnya has revealed about the humiliating depths of contemporary Russian military decline. Quite simply, the Russian army today is weaker in relative terms than it has been for almost four hundred years--a fact which, if it persists, may be of incalculable significance for the future of Eurasia."

Mandelbaum, Michael.
The dawn of peace in Europe. New York, Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1996. 209 p.

Meyer, Peggy Falkenheim. Bolyatko, Anatoly.
Russian security policy in the Asia-Pacific region: two views. Edited by Stephen J. Blank. [Carlisle Barracks, PA., Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1996] 47 p.
Contents.--From Cold War to cold peace? by Peggy Falkenheim Meyer.--Russian national security strategy and its implications for East Asian security, by Anatoly Bolyatko.
"These papers originally were presented to the conference on 'Russian Defense and Security Policy,' King's College, London, May 16-18, 1995, sponsored by the Ministry of Defence of Great Britain, King's College, London, the U.S. Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute, the U.S. Air Force Academy's Institute for National Security Studies, and the RAND Corporation"--T.p. verso.

Moskalev, Boris.
The anatomy of the Chechen conflict. Mediterranean quarterly, v. 7, winter 1996: 99-117.
"This essay will look at the causes of the Chechen conflict and the errors and second-best solutions that led to the horrendous scenes of war displayed on CNN."

NATO enlargement: illusions and reality. Edited by Ted Galen Carpenter and Barbara Conry. Washington, Cato Institute, 1998. p.

NATO expansion: Round II. Problems of post-communism, v. 45, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 3-29.
Contents.--The case for including the Baltics in NATO, by Richard J. Krickus.--After NATO expansion: the East European militaries, by Dale R. Herspring.--Ukraine, Russia, and European security: thinking beyond NATO expansion, by Margarita M. Balmaceda.

Nelan, Bruce W.
Nuclear disarray. Time, v. 149, May 19, 1997: 46-48.
Examines the status of Russia's nuclear arsenal.

Nuclear energy and security in the former Soviet Union. Edited by David R. Marples and Marilyn J. Young. Boulder, Colo, Westview Press, 1997. 177 p.

Proliferation concerns: assessing U.S. efforts to help contain nuclear and other dangerous materials and technologies in the former Soviet Union. Office of International Affairs, National Research Council. Washington, National Academy Press, 1997. 142 p.

Rogov, S. M.
Security concerns of the new Russia. Sergey Rogov, with the assisstance of Alexander Konovalov ... [et al.] ; Edited by Henry Gaffney, Jr. and Paul Olkhovsky. Alexandria, Va., Center for Naval Analyses, 1995- v. <1 > (Occasional papaer / Center for Naval Analyses)

Rogov, Sergey.
Building the NATO-Russia relationship. [Washington] National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1996. 4 p. (Strategic forum no. 76, May 1996)
"Relations between Russia and NATO--not the enlargement of NATO--is the main issue in European security. To preserve hopes for a partnership between Russia and NATO, the gap between declarations and reality must be closed."

Russia and Europe: the emerging security agenda. Edited by Vladimir Baranovsky. Stockholm, Sipri; Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press, 1997. 582 p.
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Sergeyev, Igor.
We are not adversaries, we are partners. NATO review, v. 46, spring 1998: 15-18.
Russia's defense minister discusses his nation's relationship with NATO.

Sanchez-Andres, Antonio.
Privatization, decentralisation and production adjustment in the Russian defence industry. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, Mar. 1998: 241-255.
"This article deals with the second phase of privatisation in the defence industry (from 1993). This period is characterised by a strong desire to push through broad privatisation in the sector. In particular, the article analyses the impact of privatisation and one of its major effects, decentralisation, on the adjustment of production in defence companies."

Staar, Richard F.
Russia's new blueprint for national security. Strategic review, v. 26, spring 1998: 31-42.

"The Federation of Russia has a new national security concept which openly proclaims Moscow's goal of again becoming a great power. Basic prerequisites for achieving this status include establishment of control over the so-called Commonwealth of Independent States . . . and a reformed Russian army equipped with twenty-first century weapons . . . . However, providing Moscow with such assistance may not be in the national interest of the United States."

Talbott, Strobe.
Deadly gambits: the Reagan administration and the stalemate in nuclear arms control. 1st ed. New York, Knopf, Distributed by Random House, 1984. 380 p.

Trenin, Dmitri.
Russia and the emerging security environment in Northeast Asia. Security dialogue, v. 29, 1998: 79-88.
Discusses Russia's emerging relationship with the nations of Asia.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on National Security. Military Research and Development Subcommittee.
Russian national security issues. Hearing, 105th Congress, 1st session. Mar. 19, 1998. Washington, G.P.O., 1998. 34 p.
At head of title: H.N.S.C. no. 105-36.
"General Lebed has agreed to share with us today his views and to answer questions on a broad range of issues affecting United States-Russian relations and international security, including, for example, the safety of the Russian nuclear arsenal, the condition and stability of the Russian Armed Forces, and the implications of NATO enlargement."

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations.
Meeting the challenges of a post-Cold War world: NATO enlargement and U.S.-Russia relations; a report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, by Joseph R. Biden, Jr., 105th Congress. May 1997. Washington, G.P.O., 1997. 59 p. (Print, Senate, 105th Congress, 1st session, S. Prt. 105-26)
"During the week of March 23, I traveled to Europe to learn more about the process of the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its likely effect upon our relations with the Russian Federation."

Wendlandt, Astrid.
Pacifying Russia: international aid and NATO expansion. Fletcher forum of world affairs, v. 22, summer/fall 1998: 131-148.
Examines the changing nature of NATO's relationship with Russia.

Woff, Richard.
The armed forces of the former Soviet Union: evolution, structure and personalities. 2nd English ed. London, Brassey's, c1996. 3 v.

Contents.--v. 1. Section A. The Commonwealth of Independent States. Section B. The Russian Federation.--v. 2. Section C. The Transcaucasian states. Section D. Central Asia. Section E. The western border lands. Section F. The Baltic states.--v. 3. Bibliographies.

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Assistance programmes for Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; Washington, OECD Publications and Information Center [distributor], c1996. 93 p.

Baker-Said, Stephanie.
Shutting Russia out. Russia review, v. 4, July 28, 1997: 12-13.
"Russian producers are crying foul over anti-dumping actions taken by Western governments that threaten to destroy the competitiveness of Russian goods on the world market."

Campbell, Robert W.
Evaluating Russian economic reform: a review essay. Post-Soviet affairs, v. 12, Apr.-June 1996: 181-193.
Reviews three recent works on economic reform in Russia by Anders Aslund (1995), Marshall Goldman (1994), and Maurice Ernst, Michael Alexeev, and Paul Marer (1995).

Challenges for Russian economic reform. Edited by Alan Smith. Washington, Published by the Brookings Institution for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1995. 275 p.
At head of title: Russian and CIS Programme, The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
Revised versions of four papers published originally in the Post-Soviet business forum.

Commander, Simon. Tolstopiatenko, Andrei.
Restructuring and taxation in transition economies. Washington, World Bank, 1996. 23 p. (Policy research working paper 1625)
Examining the speed of economic restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe, finds "that widespread tax avoidance in the private sector can stimulate that sector's growth and result in a speedier transition."

Coulloudon, Virginie.
Privatization in Russia: catalyst for the elite. Fletcher forum of world affairs, v. 22, summer/fall 1998: 43-56.
"The history of privatization in Russia is riddled with scandals, revealing the critical nature of the struggle for state funding in Russia today. At stake is influence over defining the rules of the political game. The aim of this article is to demonstrate how privatization in Russia gave birth to an oligarchic regime and how, paradoxically, it would eventually destroy that very oligarchy. This article intends to study how privatization influenced the creation of the present elite structure and how it may further transform Russian decision making in the foreseeable future."

Crook, Clive.
After Russia, a global deluge? National journal, v. 30, Sept. 5, 1998: 2012-2013.

Says that Russia's "economy has finally toppled over." Says that the ruble has collapsed, foreign debts are in default, and that "Russia's struggle to build a democratic economy is for now at an end."

Dabrowski, Marek.
Different strategies of transition to a market economy: how do they work in practice? Washington, World Bank, 1996. 47 p. (Policy research working paper 1579)

Examines the controversy over how quickly and radically free market rules should be adopted in the formerly planned economies of the Soviet sphere. Finds that "the more fast and comprehensive the economic reform is, the more chance there is to minimize the economic, social and political costs of this process and avoid chronic macroeconomic mismanagement. Less favorable initial conditions and bigger negative external shocks are also arguments in favor of a more radical and disciplined path of transition."

Daniels, Robert V.
Russia's road to Oz: utopian reform vs. modern reality. Dissent, v. 42, summer 1995: 307-312.

Claims that the free market model "is not adequate to describe Western reality, let alone guide a society emerging from the straitjacket of the communist past. This contradiction between the theory that has inspired reform and the actual nature of modern society--particularly the peculiar kind of modern society that was the Soviet system--lies at the root of Russia's troubles of the 1990's."

Desai, Padma.
Beyond shock therapy. Journal of democracy, v. 6, Apr. 1995: 102-112.

Reviews Russia's economic reforms over the past four years as well as its negotiations with multilateral lending institutions.

Devlin, Rose Anne. Grafton, R. Quentin. Rowlands, Dane.
Rights and wrongs: a property rights perspective of Russia's market reforms. Antitrust bulletin, v. 43, spring 1998: 275-296.

Article cites "the important role that well-defined property rights plays in economic transition and development. This framework will then be applied to the experience in Russia in an attempt to determine how privatization affects economic efficiency when property rights are ill defined."

Dmitrieva, Oksana.
Regional development: the USSR and after. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1996. 211 p.

Duch, Raymond M.
Economic chaos and the fragility of democratic transition in former communist regimes. Journal of politics, v. 57, Feb. 1995: 121-158.

Finds "that citizens of the former Soviet Union and of Eastern Europe recognize the differences between institutions and incumbents. While they do not abandon democratic capitalism in the face of economic chaos, they are likely to punish incumbents for economic hardships."

Economic transition in Russia and the new states of Eurasia. Edited by Bartlomiej Kaminski. Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe, 1996. 430 p. (The international politics of Eurasia; v. 8)

Partial contents.--Economic transformation in the post-Soviet Republics: an overview, by Gertrude Schroeder.--Foreign investment and trade in Kazakhstan, by Serik Akhanov and Liazat Buranbayeva.--Central Asia: prospects for regional integration, by Serik Primbetov.--Post-communist economics: expectations, entitlements, and disappointments, by Aline Quester and George Quester.--Reforming intergovernmental relations: Russia and the challenge of fiscal Federalism, by Christine I. Wallich.--Note on privatization in Georgia, by Avtandil Silagadze and Teimuraz Beridze.--Global integration and the convergence of interests among key actors in the West, Russia, Ukraine, and the Commonwealth of Independent States, by John P. Hardt and Gretchen R. Rodkey.

Ellman, Michael. Scharrenborg, Robert.

The Russian financial panic and the IMF. Problems of post-communism, v. 45, Sept.-Oct. 1998: 17-25.

Concludes that "thanks to the IMF, the Kirienko government will narrowly survive the current economic crisis. But unless the temporary reprieve is used to implement genuine reforms, another--and probably worse--crisis looms on the horizon."

Completed on July 21, 1998, the article describes the conditions of Russian banks, wage delays, corruption, and the need for improvement in public finances.

Environmental financing in the Russian federation. Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998. 114 p.

"This volume brings together papers from an OECD workshop that assessed the challenges and opportunities of environmental financing in Russia today. Its case studies focus on the regional and local levels of government, which have taken over the main work of implementing environmental policy in Russia today. The book also looks at the water sector, which has traditionally required large public investments. The papers examine how current financial mechanisms can be used more effectively and consider opportunities for new sources of financing in Russia's current transition to a market economy."

Ericson, Richard E.

The future of market transformation and the Yeltsin succession. Problems of post-Communism, v. 44, Nov.-Dec. 1997: 23-28.

"Judging by recent experience, the race to succeed Yeltsin will likely eclipse efforts at economic reform. Furthermore, the uncertainties about the policies of any potential victor make direct speculation almost fruitless. However, three scenarios are possible: successful marketization, corrupt corporatism, or a resurrected Soviet-like economy."

Ferreira, Margarida Ponte.

The opening of Russia: an assessment of its impact on East-West trade. Journal of world trade, v. 30, Apr. 1996: 83-89.

"This article intends to look into recent changes the Russian foreign trade regime and to discuss possible implications for East-West trade. In particular, it attempts to estimate the proportion of actual trade that might be ascribed to trade policy measures (policy effects) and compares these policy effects with the changes that might result from a 'normalization' of East-West economic relations (short-term trade potential)."

Fish, M. Steven.

The determinants of economic reform in the post-Communist world. East European politics and societies, v. 12, winter 1998: 31-78.

Examines possible causes as to why some of the 26 formerly Communist nations undertook economic reforms faster than the others. "The evidence points clearly to the supreme importance of a single political juncture: the outcome of the initial elections held during the transition from Soviet-type socialism. The second major section of the article investigates the causal logic underlying the relationship between the initial elections and subsequent economic reform and explicates the intervening variables that link the two factors."

Frenkel, William G.

Legal protection against risks involved in doing business in the Republics of the former U.S.S.R. (Commonwealth of Independent States). International quarterly, v. 10, July 1998: 395-506.

Article discusses the various elements of risk when undertaking business and trade relationships with the nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Focuses on contractual safeguards, sales and countertrade agreements, licensing, joint ventures, property rights, and labor rules.

Gaddy, Clifford.

No turning back? market reform and defense industry in Russia: who's adjusting to whom? Brookings review, v. 14, summer 1996: 30-33.

"The biggest change for the defense industry in the past five years has been market reform itself. Under the non-market, 'command-administrative' economic system of the Soviet Union, defense enterprises enjoyed priority access to skilled and disciplined workers, up-to-date technology, and reliable supplies of other high-quality inputs. These inputs were allocated administratively, without regard to their economic costs--that is, their potential value to other sectors of the economy. Once market reforms began to reveal the real cost of these inputs, the advantages previously enjoyed by defense enterprises could not survive."

The price of the past: Russia's struggle with the legacy of a militarized economy. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1996. 250 p.

Contents.--Introduction.--Measuring the militarized economy.--The logic of a hypermilitarized economy.--Perestroika and the defense industry.--The defense industry in the new Russia.--Responding to market rules.--Labor force adjustment.--Defense enterprises as "company towns."--Regional legacy and prospects.--The future.

Gaddy, Clifford G. Ickes, Barry W.
Russia's virtual economy. Foreign affairs, v. 77, Sept.-Oct. 1998: 53-67.
"What has emerged in Russia is a new kind of economic system with its own rules and its own critera for success and failure. The new system can be called Russia's virtual economy because it is based on an illusion about almost every important parameter: prices, sales, wages, taxes, and budgets. At its heart is the pretense that the economy is much larger than it really is."

Gaidar, Yegor.
The IMF and Russia. American economic review, v. 87, May 1997: 13-16.
Former Russian prime minister criticizes International Monetary Fund programs for Russia. Says the "IMF lost time when it was possible and necessary to energetically support reforms and thus condemned Russia to prolonged crisis and stagnation."

Glaeser, Edward L. Scheinkman, Jose A.
The transition to free markets: where to begin privatization. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1995. 27 p. (Working papers in economics E-95-1)
Claims that "it makes sense to privatize industries that will be competitive and industries with a low elasticity of demand (when uncertainty is about costs). Furthermore those industries with large amounts of cost or demand uncertainty should be privatized first . . . . Our informational model is supported by the experience of privatization in Eastern Europe. Russia has been unable to privatize retail trade (for a variety of political reasons). As a result, information about market demand cannot flow to upstream producers, and the entire society suffers."

Goldman, Marshall.
The pitfalls of Russian privatization. Challenge, v. 40, May-June 1997: 35-49.
"Privatization is not working in Russia, writes the author. But it is making many well-placed Russians rich. How could it have been handled better? Shock therapy was too bold."

Goldman, Marshall I.
Is this any way to create a market economy? Current history, v. 94, Oct. 1995: 305-310.
"Notes that previous efforts at reform in Russian history did not succeed, and there is growing anger at Russia's present form of 'bastard' capitalism. It may be a market, but not one that most societies would tolerate."

Gregory, Paul R.
Has Russia's transition really been such a failure? Problems of post-communism, v. 44, Nov.-Dec. 1997: 13-22.
Says despite the fact that economic growth has not resumed after five years of transition, "Russia has put in place many of the necessary institutions. The country now has a constitution, a civil code, a reasonably independent central bank, debt and equity markets, a system

of market prices, presidential elections, and so on . . . . The major gaps that need to be closed are creating property laws, an independent judiciary whose judgments are obeyed, and reasonable tax codes that raise enough revenues for a reasonably sized government."

Hass, Jeff.
Making markets: rationality, institutions, culture, and economic change in Russia. Problems of post-communism, v. 44, July-Aug 1997: 44-52.
Suggests that economic transition is a complicated process "shaped by people's rational behavior as shaped by rules and mediated by culture. Transition is an economic creation, not simply readjustment. Markets are created in a complex process of learning, conflict, and confusion."

Hedlund, Stefan. Sundstrom, Niclas.
The Russian economy after systemic change. Europe-Asia studies, v. 48, Sept. 1996: 887-914.
Examines what has happened to the Russian economy since Jan. 2, 1992, when prices were liberalized. Examines such factors as income distribution, privatization, inflation rates, and prospects for the future.

Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann.
German-Russian economic relations--appraisal and perspectives. Aussenpolitik, v. 46, first quarter 1995: 52-60.
Says that "hopes of comprehensively fostering economic cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany represented a key motive in Gorbachev's policy of opening up to the West. Problems since, however, have worsened. The difficulties associated with the current situation of transition impede economic collaboration with other countries to an even greater extent than the former socialist system."

Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann. Meier, Christian.
Before and after Yeltsin's election on the prospects of Western cooperation with Russia. Aussenpolitik, v. 47, no. 3, 1996: 263-273.
Article explains "the particular risks that Russia, its detractors and its investors can expect as well as discussing the political and economic prospects in general which are unfolding."

Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann. Meier, Christian.
The Halifax G7 summit and western assistance for Russia and the Ukraine. Aussenpolitik, v. 47, first quarter 1996: 53-60.
Discusses the possible enlargement of the G7 economic superpowers by including Russian participation. Also discusses trends in foreign aid to Russia and Ukraine.

Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann. Meier, Christian.
Russia, "Summit of the Eight" and international economic organisations. Aussenpolitik, v. 48, no. 4, 1997: 335-345.
"This year's World Economic Summit held in Denver/Colorado between 20 and 22 June 1997 took place for the first time, as a result of the extensive participation of Russia, as a 'Summit of the Eight'. As a 'major democratic industrial state' the country was involved in the

discussion of a broadly-based economic and political agenda, although there was a conference section during which the previous seven summiteers remained on their own in order to address international economic issues and to state their positions on them in their own summit declaration."

Ickes, Barry W. Murrell, Peter. Ryterman, Randi.
End of the tunnel?: the effects of financial stabilization in Russia. Post-Soviet affairs, v. 13, Apr.-June 1997: 105-133.
"In this article, we contend that the present stabilization in Russia is not sufficient for a resumption of growth. Economic recovery requires that enterprises invest in such growth-oriented opportunities as restructuring and entry into new activities."

Johnson, Simon. Kaufmann, Daniel. Shleifer, Andrei.
The unofficial economy in transition. Brookings papers on economic activity, no. 2, 1997: 159-239.
Presents evidence from Eastern Europe and other nations in transition "on the effects of political control on the unofficial economy. The following section focuses on the determinants of growth. The next section revisits the data on stabilization. The paper concludes with a discussion of the reform agenda of countries in the former Soviet Union, as suggested by our empirical findings."

Kiewiet, D. Roderick. Myagkov, Mikhail G.
The emergence of the private sector in Russia: a financial market perspective. Post-Soviet affairs, v. 14, Jan.-Mar. 1998: 23-47.
Contends that "the financial markets provide a clearer picture of what is happening in Russia than alternative sources of information, such as Western news reporters or official government statistics." Examines the attitude of investors in the Russian stock market which has moved sharply upward during the period of Yeltsin's illnesses. Finds that investors "seem to be wagering that it is the presence of quality human capital and developing infrastructure that make Russia's economic prospects brighter than they appear to most Western observers."

Korhonen, Iikka.
The sustainability of Russian fiscal policy. Review of economies in transition, no. 1, 1998: 5-12.
"This paper briefly examines the sustainability of the Russian fiscal policy. Russia has run quite large general government deficits during the transition years. Some simple simulations show that the present policies are not sustainable in the medium-term, unless economic growth accelerates significantly and real interest rate declines. If these positive developments do not materialize, Russia must tighten her fiscal policy."

Kramer, Mark.
Down on the Soviet farm: collectivization and its discontents. Technology review, v. 99, Apr. 1996: 43-53.
"Reformers in the former Soviet Union thought privatization was key to boosting the nation's flagging agricultural productivity. But as

the story of an ambitious young entrepreneur shows, unless one is exceptionally nimble, the person who tries to break with the established system is likely to be broken by it."

Krushelnycky, Askold.
The visible hand. Transitions, v. 5, June 1998: 38-41.
Discusses current economic conditions in Russia. Says the country "is saddled with a corruption-riddled bureaucracy that is largely hostile to reform and sees any change of the status quo as disadvantageous. Bureaucrats have little motivation to support policies that would eliminate their own jobs . . . . The new prime minister's first priority is to improve an abysmal tax collection rate, which by many estimates generates less than 60 percent of the revenues that should be channeled into government coffers."

Laird, Roy D.
Kolkhozy, the Russian Achilles heel: failed agrarian reform. Europe-Asia Studies, v. 49, May 1997: 469-478.
Reviews the continuing legacy of Soviet agricultural policy on current Russian agricultural conditions.

Leitzel, Jim.
Lessons of the Russian economic transition. Problems of post-communism, v. 44, Jan.-Feb. 1997: 49-57.
"Standard yardsticks may not be effective for measuring or understanding the Russian economy. Russia's success often comes from using local substitutes for Western policies and institutions. Now Moscow must nourish its gains and curb scofflaws."

Malmgren, Harald B.
Dark clouds over Russia? International economy, v. 12, Jan.-Feb. 1998: 30-33.
Says that "until Russia has a widely established rule of law and Western-style credit system with far greater transparency, the country will remain vulnerable to the Asian plague. But it will take time to train a new generation of accountants, financial analysts, credit officers, lawyers, and especially judges; until then, the situation will be precarious. One way out for Russia would be to let foreign corporations and investment banks play a far larger role inside the Russian economy during the next phases of economic transition."

Mau, Vladimir.
The road to Perestroika: economics in the USSR and the problems of reforming the Soviet economic order. Europe-Asia studies, v. 48, Mar. 1996: 207-224.
Attempts "to identify and analyse the process of formation of the intellectual foundations for the reformist course which Gorbachev attempted to pursue and which ultimately led to the destruction of the communist system . . . . We shall begin our analysis with the economic debates at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, when Soviet economists were dealing with the problems of an economic system which had already reached maturity."

McHugh, David.
Yeltsin lays down a new 12-point plan. Russia review, v. 5, Feb. 27, 1998: 24.
"The plan outlines solutions for Russia's economic problems and includes the names of those responsible for implementing them."

McIntyre, Robert.
Regional stabilisation policy under transitional period conditions in Russia: price controls, regional trade barriers and other local-level measures. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, July 1998: 859-871.
"This article explores differences in the economic and social policies adopted at the local level which attempted to buffer the negative effects of national-level 'shock' policies by creating market-mediating structures. Several regions are considered, but the widely noted 'anti-reform' case of Ulyanovsk during the 1990-97 period is emphasised."
Foresees the "adoption of certain features of the Chinese reform path, specifically the rise of some form of local social ownership of small and medium-sized productive enterprises."

Menshikov, Stanislav.
Russia's economic policy--suggestions for an alternative. Transition, v. 8, Apr. 1997: 13-16.
"To help economic recovery, besides eliminating legislative and administrative barriers facing foreign investments, government investment should be increased as part of a well-formulated industrial policy. The government should invest in enterprises, or jointly with enterprises, on the basis of profit-sharing deals that would provide fast added revenue to the budget."
Includes critical comments by David Gisselquist (The World Bank Should Prioritize Recovery).

Mieszkowski, Peter. Soligo, Ronald.
Economic change in Russia: 1985-95. Problems of post-communism, v. 43, May-June 1996: 23-37.
"Until it is complete, Russia's transition to a market economy cannot be judged a success or a failure. In the meantime, a relative evaluation can be made by comparing the Russian experience with that of Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary. Like Russia, Hungary has followed a more gradual approach, while Poland and Czechoslovakia chose variants of shock therapy."

Peach, Gary.
Investing in Russia in 1998. Russia review, v. 5, Jan. 30, 1998: 14-17.
"Every year the job gets more difficult. After three straight years of stupefying returns on international equity markets, during which the Dow Jones doubled, and more to the point, The Moscow Times Index catapulted 320 percent, stocks from around the world have reached unfathomable highs."

Peuch, Jean-Christophe.
Caspian Sea oil: the role of private corporations. Fletcher forum of world affairs, v. 22, summer/fall 1998: 27-41.
"In a policy paper published by the Russian Foreign Ministry in early 1997, experts stated that the two top priorities should be 'to consolidate Russia's role as a great power and one of the centers of the multi-polar world that is taking shape' and 'to defend Russia's territorial integrity' . . . . This article will show how the Kremlin's policy has, until now, prevented the successful development of Russian private energy business in the Caspian basin. The second section will demonstrate how the U.S. administration has pushed for the interests of major American oil corporations in the region and shows to what extent private business has influenced U.S. foreign policy toward the oil-rich NIS of the former Soviet Union (FSU)."

Popova, Tatiana.
The cultural consequences of Russian reform. Review of economies in transition, no. 4, 1997: 23-39.
"Numerous economic and social problems emerging from transition in Russia highlight the nearsightedness of current economic reform policies. Moves such as liberation of culture from direct state control are clearly for the better, but overall, the reforms have had a negative impact on Russian cultural life."

Popova, Tatiana. Tekoniemi, Merja.
Challenges to reforming Russia's tax system. Review of economies in transition, no. 1, 1998: 13-30.
The objectives of Russia's new Tax Code (1997) were "to ensure simplification of the tax system, restoration of tax discipline, stimulation of production and protection of adequate tax revenues. Subsequently, there has been much discussion as to whether these objectives can be achieved by the proposed Tax Code draft, and thousands of amendments have been proposed. The discussion has centered around income and enterprise taxation, i.e. areas where Russian practice differs considerably from other countries."

Powell, Bill.
The Capitalist Czars: the business elite who could be the post-Soviet economy's best hope. Newsweek, v. 129, Mar. 17, 1997: 30-32.
Profiles newly emerging Russian economic leaders.

Rao, Sujata.
Is a bailout in store? Russia review, v. 5, July 3, 1998: 14.
"The G-7 did not rush to rescue Russia from its latest market tumult, choosing to offer moral support instead of money. But some traders see disaster ahead if help isn't forthcoming."

A regional approach to industrial restructuring in the Tomsk region, Russian federation. Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998. 509 p.

"Provides an overview of the Tomsk regional economy and its main sectors, with an examination of key regional and federal policy issues, and investment provisions."

Review of agricultural policies: Russian federation. Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998. 279 p.

In a comprehensive assessment of Russian agricultural policies since 1991, finds that "while significant progress has been made in liberalising the economy, difficulties remain in the agro-food sector. Russia has enormous economic potential and the agricultural economy will continue to form a significant part of Russia's economic and social structure well into the 21st century. But to fulfill this potential, Russia needs to facilitate the development and implementation of effective market mechanisms and to eliminate the structural barriers that are impeding the emergence of a strong and competitive agro-food sector."

Rogov, S. M. (Sergei Mikhailovich)
Russia: the difficult road to a market economy. Alexandria, VA, Center for Naval Analyses, [1996] 52 p.
"CIM 493/December 1996."

Russia and Eurasia. Current history, v. 93, Oct. 1994: whole issue (305-351 p.)

Contents.--Seems like old times? Russia's place in the world, by Yuri N. Afanasyev.--America's Russia policy: the triumph of neglect, by Jerry F. Hough.--Russian politics: the calm before the storm? by Michael McFaul.--Aftershock in Russia's economy, by Padma Desai.--Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the unholy fool, by Mark Yoffe.--Nationalism and the legacy of empire, by Mark N. Katz.--The Baltics: three states, three fates, by Paul A. Goble.--Belarus: you can't go home again? by Ustina Markus.--Moldova after independence, by William Crowther.

Russia: no turning back? International spectator, v. 32, Jan.-Mar. 1997: whole issue (98 p.).

Contents.--Russia after five years, by Silvana Malle.--Business lobbies in contemporary Russia, by Peter Rutland.--How many Russias? Russia's regions and their adjustment to economic change, by Philip Hanson.--Pipelines to prosperity? by Sarah J. Lloyd.--Landscape after the battle: rethinking democracy in Russia, by Sergei Medvedev.--Russia and NATO: expansion and coexistence? by Allen C. Lynch.--Maastricht watch, by Flaminia Gall.

Russia's foreign trade: new directions and western policies. World economy, v. 21, Jan. 1998: 95-119.

Russia's newest revolution: special report. World & I, v. 12, Nov. 1997: 56-77.

Series of articles examines the current state of Russia's economy.

Rutland, Peter.
Russia's unsteady entry into the global economy. Current history, v. 95, Oct. 1996: 322-329.

States that "the Russian economy is experiencing a structural collapse that dwarfs the Great Depression in the U.S., and the turnaround is not in sight." The agricultural sector "remains almost entirely unreformed," industrial output continues to drop, and government revenue sources have eroded. Examines trends in Russia's foreign trade, particularly the export boom to the West.

Schleifer, Andrei. Treisman, Daniel.
The economics and politics of transition to an open market economy: Russia. Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998. 84 p.

Partial contents.--Economic transition in Russia.--Russia's struggle with inflation.--Stakeholders and the politics of stabilisation.--Stakeholders in privatisation.--Conclusion: stakeholders in the Russian reform.

Shama, Avraham.
Inside Russia's true economy. Foreign policy, no. 123, summer 1996: 111-127.

Shlykov, Vitaly V.
The crisis in the Russian economy. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1997. 18 p.

"Defense conversion in the West is . . . a diffuse activity . . . . Nothing like this has happened in Russia so far . . . . The failure to comprehend these fundamental differences between the economic systems of Russia and the rest of the industrial world explains the excessive optimism of the Western public and politicians about the prospects of market reform and demilitarization in Russia. Unfortunately, the difficulties of dismantling a structurally militarized economy have been ignored."

Transforming post-communist political economies. Edited by Joan M. Nelson, Charles Tilly, and Lee Walker. Task Force on Economies in Transition, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, National Research Council. Washington, National Academy Press, 1997. 514 p.

Treisman, Daniel S.
Fighting inflation in a transitional regime: Russia's anomalous stabilization. World politics, v. 50, Jan. 1998: 235-265.

Examines Russia's economic challenges in the early 1990s, during which the economy failed to stabilize in 1992-94, but where stringent monetary and fiscal retrenchment in 1995 led to extremely low inflation rates.

Van Selm, B.
The economics of Soviet break-up. London; New York, Routledge, 1997. 161 p. (Routledge studies of societies in transition; 1)

Van Selm, Bert.
Economic performance in Russia's regions. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, June 1998: 603-618.
Provides data that show the economic performance rankings of Russia's different regions in an attempt to determine whether economic differences among the regions are increasing or decreasing. In terms of economic performance, finds that "regions with the right industries did better than regions with the wrong industries."

Waggener, Thomas R. Backman, Charles A.
Russian trade links with China: research report on forest products. Post-Soviet geography and economics, v. 38, no. 1, 1997: 47-58.

Wedel, Janine R.
The Harvard boys do Russia. Nation, v. 266, June 1, 1998: 11-16.
Writes that officials of Harvard University's Institute for International Development (H.I.I.D.) "acquired virtual carte blanche over the U.S. economic aid program to Russia, with minimal oversight by the government agencies involved. With this access and their close alliance with Chubais and his circle, they allegedly profited on the side. Yet few Americans are aware of H.I.I.D.'s role in Russian privatization, and its suspected misuse of taxpayers' funds."

Wegren, Stephen K. Belen'kiy, Vladimir R.
The political economy of the Russian land market. Problems of post-communism, v. 45, July-Aug. 1998: 56-66.
Says "political, psychological, demographic, economic, and financial factors that affect the land market in Russia have hindered its transformative potential. The result has been a land market in which leasing, not land purchases, dominate and extremely small plots of land are the primary object of land transactions. To understand the transformative potential of the land market, this article assesses its nature and development. The article also examines the Saratov land law, enacted in November 1997, as a possible model for all Russia."

Westin, Peter.
Comparative advantage and characteristics of Russia's trade with the European Union. Review of economies in transition, no. 2, 1998: 5-30.
Examines recent trade trends between Russia and the European Union. "Although Russian exports since 1992 have increased in terms of variety, the development in manufacturing exports is disappointing, especially with regard to light manufacturing and consumer goods. And not surprisingly Russia reveals a comparative advantage in minerals and metals. The level of intra-industry trade between Russia and the EU remains low and there is no sign of an increase; the opposite pattern from that of the Central European countries. On the whole this study shows that there are no clear signs of changes to the structure of foreign trade between Russia and the EU."

Whalen, Jeanne.
Surgut holds its own is a slippery market. Russia review, v. 5, July 3, 1998: 20-21.

"Despite its secretiveness and old-fashioned ways, Russia's third-largest oil company is one of the most profitable and stable in the country."

Whitmore, Brian.
Is an economic renaissance coming to St. Petersburg? Russia review, v. 4, Aug. 25, 1997: 8-13.
"St. Petersburg's recent history has been one of disappointed expectations. Former mayor Sobchak repeatedly proclaimed his intention to make the city the banking and financial capital of the new Russia, yet a myopic protection of the city's banks resulted in stagnation and disaster rather than growth . . . . Yet in the past three months, there have been signs of revival."

Will wage arrears continue in Russia? Transition, v. 9, Apr. 1998: 6-8.
"Wage arrears began to grow rapidly in mid-1995. In the midst of faltering state authority and the collapse of contractual obligations and their enforcement, the government resorted to more wage cuts, enterprises withheld tax and wage payments, and local governments diverted federal funds earmarked for employee remuneration."

Yavlinsky, Grigory.
Russia's phony capitalism. Foreign affairs, v. 77, May-June 1998: 67-79.
Says that reforms are needed for Russia to avoid "corporatist, criminal-style capitalism." Says "the most important step is to separate business from political power in order to fight corruption . . . . The present system of economic management, where most large enterprises are run by insiders who disregard the owners' rights, must be radically reformed . . . . Free competition must be promoted by encouraging small and medium-sized businesses and by removing the red tape and excessive regulation that stands in their way."

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

After communism: what? Daedalus, v. 123, summer 1994: whole issue (194 p.)

Partial contents.--After empire: what? by Roman Szporluk.--Russia: lost and found, by Mark Medish.--Europe's new frontiers: remapping Europe, by Jacques Rupnik.--Postcommunism: the problems of democratic construction, by George Schopflin.--The postmortem victory of communism, by Istvan Rev.

Allensworth, Wayne.

Derzhavnost: Aleksandr Lebed's vision for Russia. Problems of post-communism, v. 45, Mar.-Apr. 1998: 51-58.

"Lebed's vision combines Russian nationalism's great-power statism with populist elements while remaining free of the expansionist rhetoric of Vladimir Zhirinovskii or neo-communist nostalgia."

Aron, Leon.

The remarkable rise of democratic Russia. Weekly standard, v. 3, Apr. 20, 1998: 23-29.

Examines recent governmental trends in Russia.

Belin, Laura. Orttung, Robert W.

The Russian parliamentary elections of 1995: the battle for the Duma. Armonk, N.Y., M.E. Sharpe, 1997. 203 p.

"This study of the 1995 Duma elections examines: the new rules of the game in democratic Russia and the debate over the electoral law; Russia's complicated system of parliamentary representation; the staying power of Russia's numerous political parties and the stablity of the party system; the conduct of the campaign, including platforms and candidate strategies; [and] the roles of money and the media."

Blank, Stephen. Kaplan, Morton.

Russia's uncertain future. World & I, v. 12, Nov. 1997: 291-313.

"Blank argues that Russia's present-day foreign policy is indeed hegemonic, imperialist, and antidemocratic, and stems from the country's internal political forces and struggles . . . . Kaplan argues that, instead of simply viewing Russia as a hegemonic threat, Blank should have given an account of why NATO expansion is not the solution to this problem."

Borer, Douglas A.

War loss and political reform: an ongoing pattern in Russian history. Studies in conflict and terrorism, v. 20, Oct.-Dec.: 345-369.

"This paper argues that the collapse of the Soviet state in 1991 was part of a distinct and ongoing pattern in Russian history in which each major alteration of the political fabric of Russia has been accompanied by a loss in an interstate conflict."

Brandenberger, D. L. Dubrovsky, A. M.

The people need a tsar: the emergence of national Bolshevism as Stalinist ideology, 1931-1941. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, July 1998: 873-892.

Presents historical background on the Russian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet State.

Breslauer, George W.
Political succession and the nature of political competition in Russia. Problems of post-communism, v. 44, Sept.-Oct. 1997: 32-37.
"Political succession in Russia has definite rules, although the temptation for politicians to violate them is great. Issue polarization is muted within the electorate, if not among the politicians, who seek both to criticize the incumbent and to differentiate themselves from one another. Whether this tenuous balance can long survive internal or internal shocks remains to be seen."

Brudny, Yitzhak M.
In pursuit of the Russian presidency: why and how Yeltsin won the 1996 presidential election. Communist and post-communist studies, v. 30, Sept. 1997: 255-275.
"This article seeks to explain why Boris Yeltsin was able to win [the] 1996 Russian presidential election despite prolonged economic crisis and the war in Chechnya. The paper advances the argument which emphasizes Yeltsin's ability to recreate political and social alliances which were crucial to his previous electoral successes, on the one hand, and poor electoral strategy and political beliefs of Yeltsin's main challenger, the head of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Gennady Zyuganov, on the other. In particular, the paper highlights Yeltsin's campaign strategy of turning the election into a referendum on communism rather than on his own record and the success of his two candidates only strategy."

Brusstar, James H.
The Russian military's role in politics. Washington, National Defense University, 1995. 69 p. (McNair paper no. 34, January 1995)
Contents.--The military's response to the USSR's center-periphery crisis.--The military and the union treaty.--The military and the August 1991 Coup.--The military and the demise of the USSR.--The military and Russia's center-periphery problem.--The military and Russia's legislative-executive struggle.

Busygina-Thraenert, Irina.
Russia: difficulties in establishing a federation. Aussenpolitik, v. 46, no. 3, 1995: 253-262.
"The Soviet Union was an empire in which many peoples--often against their will--lived together . . . . The largest and most important successor state, Russia, is now for its part a multinational state. Consequently, observers have occasionally asked whether Russia too might not, sooner or later, experience the fate of the former USSR."

Carnaghan, Ellen.
Alienation, apathy, or ambivalence?: "Don't Knows" and democracy in Russia. Slavic review, v. 55, summer 1996: 325-363.
"Russian citizens have been asked to evaluate their political leaders, to project their nation's future, and to offer opinions on emerging

democratic and market systems. Many Russians have responded to this barrage of questions with 'I don't know.'"

Chafetz, Glenn.
The struggle for a national identity in post-Soviet Russia. Political science quarterly, v. 111, winter 1996-1997: 661-688.
Assesses recent political developments in Russia.

Cohen, Ariel.
Russia's assault on religious freedom. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1997. 7 p. (Backgrounder no. 1137)
"Religious freedom in Russia once again is in danger. On September 4, 1997, President Boris Yeltsin signed and sent to legislators in the Duma a draft bill 'On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Organizations' which, if passed, will redefine church-state relations in Russia. The draft incorporates Yeltsin's minor changes in a bill that he had vetoed after it was passed by the parliament this summer. In every essential respect, however, this 'compromise' represents only cosmetic changes in the original harmful bill. If passed, this legislation will turn back the clock on religious freedom in Russia."

Cohen, Ariel. Volk, Evgueini.
Yeltsin's gambit: political crisis in Moscow. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1998. 2 p. (Executive memorandum no. 522)
"On March 23, 1998, Russian President Boris Yeltsin sacked his entire government. Yeltsin appointed a political rookie, 35-year-old Minister of Energy Sergei Kirienko, as Acting Prime Minister, replacing a five-year veteran Viktor Chernomyrdin, aged 59. First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoly Chubais, a leading economic reformer, was fired by special presidential decree and will not return to the new cabinet. Yeltsin apparently decided to keep others, including Minister of Foreign Affairs Yevgenii Primakov and Minister of Defense Marshal Igor Sergeev." Considers implications of this action.

Coker, Margaret.
Is the Duma fighting the need for reform? Russia review, v. 5, Aug. 14, 1998: 12-16.
"After the Duma killed parts of the government's plan, the IMF reduced its bailout loan. Will the new plan be enough to break Russia's fall?"

Coleman, Fred.
Was Boris a bad bet? U.S. news & world report, v. 121, Sept. 30, 1996: 46-47.
"While acknowledging that the West's ability to influence Russia is limited. Russian analysts nonetheless point to crucial blunders where the United States failed to exercise its leverage to encourage institutional and legal reform. Worst of all was the failure to build a broad political consensus. They say U.S. support should have gone both to Yeltsin and to other reformers in parliament, the regions and even opposition parties. Such a conensus could have pushed Yeltsin to remain on a more democratic track and, at the same time, helped groom

a genuine democratic successor."

Cooper, Mary H.
Russia's political future: will voters turn the clock back in June? CQ researcher, v. 6, May 3, 1996: whole issue (385-408 p.)
"Russia's upcoming presidential election, on June 16, will largely be a referendum on President Boris N. Yeltsin's program of economic and political reforms. In the five years since the Soviet Union collapsed, the bumpy transition from a state-controlled to a market economy has benefited relatively few Russians, leaving the vast majority of the population either no better off or even less prosperous than they were under communism. Yeltsin's main challenger, Communist Party leader Gennadi A. Zyuganov, is appealing to the nostalgia and resentment of Russia's weary electorate by promising to restore the Soviet empire--and communism--as well as to reimpose state control over large industries. Yeltsin, meanwhile, has been backtracking on his reform program, casting doubts on his commitment to democratic change."

Cornell, Svante E.
The unruly Caucasus. Current history, v. 96, Aug. 1997: 341-347.
"Russia's policy in the Caucasus is confused, sometimes contradictory, and often destabilizing. It has failed to dampen ethnic tensions [and] has contributed to anti-Russian feelings."

The Cossacks: a super-ethos in Russia's ribs. Economist, v. 341, Dec. 21, 1996: 21-24.
Discusses the Coassack revival in Russia today and considers implications of this phenomenon.

Dobson, Richard B.
Russians choose a president: results of focus group discussions. Washington, U.S. Information Agency, 1996. 20 p.
"This report examines what Russians want Russia to become and how they view the candidates campaigning for the presidency. It is based on focus group discussions conducted in towns and villages across Russia in April and May 1996. Comparisons are made with similar discussions held at the end of 1995."

Does Russian democracy have a future? Edited by Stephen J. Blank and Earl H. Tilford, Jr. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1994. 162 p.
Contents.--The impact of the parliamentary elections on Russian democracy, by Stephen J. Blank.--The Russian elections and the future of military-to-military contacts: the specter of Zhirinovsky, by Jacob W. Kipp.--The impact of the Russian elections on civil-military relations, by Thomas M. Nichols.--Russia's crisis of evolving statehood: the impact of the new constitution and the parliamentary elections, by Jessica Eve Stem.--The United States and a resurgent Russia: a new Cold War or a balance of power recast? by Ilya Prizel.

Ferguson, Rob.
Will democracy strike back? Workers and politics in the Kuzbass.

Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, May 1998: 445-468.
Examines the influence of the miners in the Kuzbass region of Russia.

Fish, M. Steven.
The pitfalls of Russian superpresidentialism. Current history, v. 96, Aug. 1997: 326-330.
"Russia's 'superpresidentialism'--despite the strength it ostensibly derives from its powers of command, its enormous bureaucratic machinery, and the pomp and glitter that adorn it--lives in constant danger of destruction and replacement or, at best, slow degeneration and decline."

Gregor, A. James.
Fascism and the new Russian nationalism. Communist and post-communist studies, v. 31, Mar. 1998: 1-15.
"This article provides a broad comparison between Italian Fascism and the new nationalism that has arisen in post-Soviet Russia. The focus is on that nationalism which has, in the immediate past, merged with what used to be the Marxism-Leninism of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. The ideas of Gennadii Ziuganov, leader of the CPRF, are traced to Sergei Kurginian and Alexander Prokhanov and compared to those of the ideologues of historic Fascism."

Grodeland, Ase B. Koshechkina, Tatyana Y. Miller, William L.
'Foolish to give and yet more foolish not to take'--in-depth interviews with post-communist citizens on their everyday use of bribes and contacts. Europe-Asia studies, v. 50, June 1998: 651-677.
Traces political corruption throughout Russian history. Examines the use of bribery in the governments of some of the former Soviet states.

Hausmaninger, Herbert.
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"Russia stands on the brink--or is it a precipice? Two Russia hands explain how its historical antecedents provide leads to various plausible futures."

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"This paper examines how the republics of the Russian North (Karelia, Komi and Sakha-Yakutia) have begun to construct national development strategies as 'sovereign' territorial sub-units within the post-Soviet Russian Federation. This paper highlights the important role that boundaries and peripheries have played in the institutionalisation of ethnicty in these former autonomous republics of the Russian Union republic of the USSR."

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"Moscow with a Soviet hangover tests the patience even of those who most wish to engage it. As Chechnya festers, privatization lags, and the world contemplates the possibility of a communist president in the Kremlin dreaming of empire, some ridicule the notion of partnership. Russian chauvinists paint America as the enemy, but the interests of the two countries after the Cold War are compatible. The West should focus its attention--and Russia's--on common interests like nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, regional peace, and full participation in the world economy. America should deal rationally with irrationalities in a nation finding its way."

Matlock, Jack F., Jr.
The struggle for the Kremlin. New York review of books, v. 43, Aug. 8, 1996: 28-34.
"Yeltsin had once again maneuvered himself to victory against what had seemed unsurmountable odds."

McAllister, Ian. Rose, Richard. White, Stephen.
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"The authors find that the end of Communist Party rule was of a type leaving elites intact, enabling them to control the amount and rate of systemic change."

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"Elites, commentators, and the public at large have grown noticeably more disenchanted with the Russian government and more pessimistic about Russia's future since the conclusion of the presidential election in July 1996. The magnitude of the wage arrears problem, coupled with the government's inability to collect taxes and the lack of economic growth, has fueled speculation of impending social upheaval. Though often unreported, wildcat strikes have continued throughout the country since the presidential vote. Unrest in the military also looms as a threat to stability."

Why Russia's politics matter. Foreign affairs, v. 74, Jan.-Feb. 1995: 87-99.

"The neoliberal economic and political models used by Western analysts to explain Russia's recent transformation ignore the interrelationship between the economy and politics. Russia is in the midst of a social revolution. Economic reform without political reform--as attempted by Yegor Gaidar--will fail. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's policies have met with some success because of accompanying political changes. This interrelated pattern of reform must continue."

McHugh, David.

Yeltsin lays down a new 12-point plan. Russia review, v. 5, Feb. 27, 1998: 24.

"The plan outlines solutions for Russia's economic problems and includes the names of those responsible for implementing them."

Mendras, Marie

Interpreting the Russian elections: Yeltsin and the great divide in Russian society-Feature story. East European constitutional review, v. 5, spring-summer 1996: 51-57.

Analyzes the significance of Russia's 1996 election results. "The results confirmed the deep chasm that divides Russia. . . . During the last several years, social inequality and geographic differentiation have grown larger. This internal divide in Russian society is the prinicipal message which voters sought to get across to their leaders."

Miller, Donna R.

Unconstitutional democracy: ends vs. means in Boris Yeltsin's Russia. Transnational law & contemporary problems, v. 4, fall 1994: 873-905.

"On September 22, 1993 Russian President Boris Yeltsin unilaterally dissolved the Russian Parliament: the international community responded with near unanimous support for his action . . . . This Study summarizes President Yeltsin's dissolution of the Russian Parliament. Part II presents the internal and external international reaction to this event [and] . . . establishes the factors useful in assessing whether the international community will support the displacement of a popularly elected government."

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Nagorski, Andrew. Watson, Russell.

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Russia's party system: is Russian federalism viable? Post-Soviet affairs, v. 12, July-Sept. 1996: 195-217.
"Despite constitutional assertions that it is a federation, the issue of whether Russia can or should be federal is another matter . . . . There is little doubt, then, that federal relations will remain a vexing issue in Russia's transition to democracy."

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Peach, Gary.
Transforming the General. Russia review, v. 5, July 3, 1998: 39.
"Alexander Lebed has changed. Gone are the rough edges; the bite and bark of the rebel are tamed. Can this newly emerged political swan fly to greater heights of popularity?"

Phillips, R. Stuart.
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"Recent events suggest that Lebed, former national security advisor and secretary of the Security Council, is attempting to forge a new constituency of 'pragmatic patriots,' appealing to a cross-section of moderates and conservatives whose ideology blends basic economic tenets of liberal democracy with a strong sense of traditional Russian nationalism."

Pipes, Richard.
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"Russia in the last few years has been a great disappointment to those of us who, after the collapse of the Soviet regime, had expected the country to embark on a slow, probably uneven, but still irreversible course of Westernization. What we had in mind was the path followed, in various ways, by the Baltic states, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, all of which had also been recently liberated from Communism."

Rainone, Zebulon T.

Democracy stalled: evaluating the Russian Federation today. East European quarterly, v. 32, June 1998: 269-280.

"As the Soviet Union began to come apart at the seams, the various Union republics, starting with the Baltics, began to seek political independence from the greater Soviet Union. The Russian Republic was forced to cope with these new realities and seek its own path toward modern political independence and a redefinition of its political and social structure."

Razuvaev, V. V.

Power in Russia: the bureaucratic dimension. Russian politics and law, v. 34, May-June 1996: 6-25.

Discusses the composition of Russia's high level bureaucratic elite today.

Remnick, David.

Can Russia change? Foreign affairs, v. 76, Jan.-Feb. 1997: 35-49.

"Russia's era of romantic democracy is over. Boris Yeltsin's victory in the 1996 elections marked the rise of a new class of oligarchs who have profited from post-Cold War chaos. But Westerners who predict a return to authoritarianism and cultural stagnation overlook how far Russia has come since the late 1980s. and how it has opened to the world. It is not the Soviet Union, nor the land of the czars. In the short term, most Russians cannot hope for much, especially from their leaders. But with its political reforms, 98 percent privatized economy, and educated, urban population, Russia has a great deal going for it--maybe more than China."

Ruble, Blair A.

The rise of Moscow, Inc. Wilson quarterly, v. 22, spring 1998: 81-87.

Describes the efforts of Moscow's tough mayor, Yuri Luzhkov. "It is the rough-hewn Luzhkov's brightly lit Moscow, the new Moscow, the home base of Moscow, Inc. that is lighting up post-Soviet Russia. His city, the corrupt but gritty 'city that works,' seems at times almost an elemental force of nature, crude but powerful. It is Moscow--not the more reform-minded, more decorous St. Petersburg--that mesmerizes. And it is Moscow, perhaps, that is defining Russia's future."

Russia drifts: Europe could be heading for a storm. Economist, v. 340, Sept. 28, 1996: 20.

"While Mr. Yeltsin's team concentrates the president's limited energies on the economic front, Russia is drifting dangerously close to trouble elsewhere. Sensitive to Russian nationalist feeling, before the election Mr. Yeltsin several times put off a planned visit to Ukraine to sort out the vexed division of the former Soviet Black Sea fleet and the sharing of its Ukranian home port, Sebastopol."

Russia: what's next? World & I, v. 11, Sept. 1996: 22-43.

"Boris Yeltsin's reelection as president raises as many questions as it answers about Russia's uncertain future."

Contents.--A democratic social contract, by Carl Linden.--A new economic plan, by Keith Bush.--The U.S.-Russia relationship, by Richard F. Staar.

Russia's demographic "crisis." Santa Monica, Calif., Rand, 1996. 205 p.

Contents.--Family, fertility, and demographic dynamics in Russia: analysis and forecast, by Anatoly G. Vishnevsky.--Fertility decline and recent changes in Russia: on the threshold of the second demographic transition.--Family planning and induced abortion in post-Soviet Russia of the early 1990s: unmet needs in information supply, by Andrej A. Popov.--The Russian epidemiolgoical crisis as mirrored by mortality trends, by Vladimir M. Shkolnikov and France Mesle.--The crisis of Russian health care and attempts at reform, by Boris A. Rozenfeld.--The determinants and implications of an aging population in Russia, by Sergei A. Vassin.

Rutland, Peter.

Yeltsin: the problem, not the solution. National interest, no. 49, fall 1997: 30-39.

"Both positive and negative trends in Russia are much obscured by the West's fixation on the personality and power of Boris Yeltsin."

Sezer, Duygu Bazoglu.

From hegemony to pluralism: the changing politics of the Black Sea. SAIS review, v. 17, winter-spring 1997: 1-30.

"Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Black Sea region has evolved from a closed to an open system. Russian, Ukrainian, and Turkish interests interact in an environment increasingly characterized by pluralism. Long-simmering tensions in the Caucasus and competition for oil profits have implications going far beyond the region."

Shevtsova, Lilia.

Dilemmas of post-communist Russia. Security dialogue, v. 28, Mar. 1997: 83-96.

"The question 'Whither Russia?' provokes emotional discussions. Optimists persist in their conviction that Russia has 'turned the corner' and is headed towards liberal democracy. Some even try to prove that this goal has already been achieved. Sceptics, no less energetically, predict a gloomy future. But the political and economic situation is much more complicated than the optimists or sceptics suggest."

Shevtsova, Lilia.

Yeltsin's Russia: challenges and constraints. Moscow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1997. 74 p.

"This paper explores several important issues related to Russia's current development: is Russia heading toward a liberal democracy, a new authoritarianism, or an oligarchy; who makes decisions in Russia? . . . . It is too early to judge what the final results of the transformation will be."

Partial contents.--The president's vertical hierarchy.--Towards a hybrid regime.--The oligarchy is advancing.--Decision-making mechanisms.--Yeltsin's political trajectory.

Shlapentokh, Dmitry.
The Russian 'soul' and Yeltsin's body. Contemporary review, v. 271, Sept. 1997: 119-128.
"The Westernization of Russian society has brought about only modest gains, and therefore a negative perception of the changes continues to dominate society. The positive changes from Westernization are a tiny island of capital surrounded by deeply hostile forces. Yeltsin won the last election not because Western capitalism had captured the imagination of a majority of the populace, but because the majority was tired of change and fearful that another change would make things even worse."

Shlapentokh, Vladimir.
"Normal" Russia. Current history, v. 96, Aug. 1997: 331-335.
"Russians are adapting quickly to the new rules of the market economy and democratic freedoms. This development can only be greeted positively by Russians and the world. When, however, they accept as 'normal' many negative and dangerous phenomena in their lives associated with these changes."

Bonjour, stagnation: Russia's next years. Europe-Asia studies, v. 49, July 1997: 865-881.
Examines Russia's current political directions.

The four faces of Mother Russia. Transitions, v. 4, Oct. 1997: 59-65.
"No single social system completely dominates Russian society. In truth, argues this author, four distinct systems for power, and the one that will ultimately wind up on top is anyone's guess."

Yeltsin, tabloid-style. Transitions, v. 5, Feb. 1998: 46-48.
"The president's former bodyguard provides an account of Russia's unsavory political elite."

Simon, Gerhard.
Boris Yeltsin: post-communist patriot. Swiss review of world affairs, no. 9, Sept. 1996: 6-7.
"To a large extent Boris Yeltsin owes his re-election to the fact that in Russia, unlike most former East Bloc countries, there is no reformed Communist Party that has clearly distanced itself from the old Soviet dictatorship in its symbols and its program. This circumstance also goes far to explain the massive support Yeltsin received from the Russian media and business world."

Stavrakis, Peter J.
Shadow politics: the Russian state in the 21st century. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1997. whole issue (31 p.).
"Describes the emergence in Russia of a kind of oligarchic capitalism, controlled by old political elites, and thriving amid an

extra-legal 'parallel shadow government' . . . . Contends that Russia's central power structures to date have derived from a fusion between corrupt government officials and private sector elites."

Stent, Angela. Shevtsova, Lilia.
Russia's election: no turning back. Foreign policy, no. 123, summer 1996: 92-110.
"The imminent Russian presidential election seems to portend a dreadful irony: This first democratic contest might, depending on its outcome, stifle Russia's emerging democracy and turn the clock back to an era of authoritarianism, or worse. Much of the speculation on the outcome has been gloomy: Boris Yeltsin wins and imposes a more authoritarian and corrupt oligarchy; Gennadi Zyuganov wins and tries to resurrect the Soviet Union with a command economy, censorship, and a reinvigorated secret police, restoring communism and the Cold War."

Treisman, Daniel.
Why Yeltsin won. Foreign affairs, v. 75, Sept.-Oct. 1996: 64-77.
"Reporters and pundits have spun many theories as to why Yelsin won. None of them matches the polling data. Clever campaigning, anticommunist scare tactics, even efforts to end the war in Chechnya were not the critical factors. Boris Yeltsin passed Gennadi Zyuganov in the polls only when he traveled the country ladling out pork. Yeltsin doubled the minimum pension and paid off the backlog in wages. A Vorkuta coal miner asked for a car--and got it. A presidential aide slipped a bystander a handful of cash. High-minded criticism from the West notwithstanding, Tammany tactics are hardly unknown in Western politics, and they did keep a communist out of office."

Umland, Andreas.
The post-Soviet Russian extreme right. Problems of post-communism, v. 44, July-Aug. 1997: 53-61.
"By focusing on communism's possible return to Russia, observers have neglected twentieth-century Russian right-wing extremism, which traces its roots to imperial Russia and is evident throughout the Soviet period. This essay provides a comprehensive critique of recent publications in this genre."

Unger, Aryeh L.
On the meaning of "Sovietology." Communist and post-communist studies, v. 31, Mar. 1998: 17-27.
"The article attempts to explicate the meaning of 'Sovietology.' It traces the origins of the term and discusses the uses to which it has been put in the scholarly literature. Two different meanings have been attached to the term. One reflects the understanding of Sovietology as the study of Soviet politics; the other views it as a 'basket' of several, variously specified, disciplines in the social sciences and--less often--the humanities, distinguished by a common area orientation. The resultant ambiguity has blurred Sovietology's disciplinary identity. Now that the record of Western scholarship on the Soviet Union has become the subject of critical scrutiny and debate, it is especially important that the meaning of 'Sovietology' be clearly stipulated."

von der Heydt, Barbara.
Russia's spiritual wilderness: freedom cannot take root without moral renewal. Policy review, no. 70, fall 1994: 12-19.
"While there has been enormous liberalization in elections, religious freedom, and privatization, there is still no rule of law, no clear definition of property rights, and in much of the country no real democracy. Bureaucratization is actually worse than it was under the Communists."

Ware, Richard. Watson, Fiona M.
Democracy after communism. London, House of Commons, Dept. of the Library, 1996. 38 p. (Research paper 96/47)
"This paper is an attempt to assess the extent to which democratic institutions have taken root in some of the states which formed part of the communist world until the upheavals of 1989-91. It would be impossible in a short paper to examine all of the post-communist democracies, so a reasonably representative sample has been selected. These are the Russian Federation, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine and Georgia."

Ware, Robert Bruce. Kisriev, Enver.
After Chechnya: at risk in Dagestan. Politics, v. 18, Feb. 1998: 39-47.
"Population displacements in the aftermath of the Chechen conflict may undermine a complex political balance existing among the extraordinarily numerous ethnic groups in the neighbouring Republic of Dagestan. The destabilisation of Dagestan threatens to bring ethnic conflict to virtually the only state in the Caucasus to have avoided it thus far. This article considers the basis of ethnic accommodation in Dagestan, the policies and migratory patterns that have placed it at risk, and the regional context in which these have occurred."

Will Russian communism rise again? American enterprise, v. 7, July-Aug. 1996: 55-57.
Considers whether communism will again take hold in Russia. "The most obvious barriers to a return to the Soviet model are regionalism and privatization. Since 1991 Russia has become a federated state somewhat like the United States, with a weak center and semi-autonomous regions that jealously guard their liberties. The endless and intense public haggles over laws and tax revenues between Moscow and the 89 'Subjects of Federation' are testmony to an often overlooked reality: for the first time in 400 years, Russia is not synonymous with Moscow, and control over 'the center' doesn't automatically translate into dominance over the country."

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