Reconfiguring East and West in the Bush-Putin Era
Center for Slavic and East European Studies, ISEEES, UC Berkeley
April 13-14, 2002

SUGGESTED READINGS

• Readings Suggested by the Speakers
• Other Recommended Readings
• Additional Online Readings
• Other Classroom Materials

Readings Suggested by the Speakers

George W. Breslauer


US House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Europe, “Hearing on US-Russian Relations: An Assessment,” February 27, 2002:


Kathleen Collins


Sheila Gwaltney

Please note: Inclusion of non-US Government publications and Web sites should not be construed as an endorsement of the organizations or the views or information contained therein.

Books:


US Government Web sites:
http://www.state.gov/
Official Web site of the US Department of State: Contains links to background notes and annual reports, such as the Human Rights Report, Annual Trafficking in Persons Report, and other material. Also contains transcripts of remarks by the Secretary of State and other senior State Department officials, press briefings, press releases, fact sheets and other information. Also contains links to US embassies and consulates overseas and to other US Government agencies.

http://www.usaid.gov/
Official Web site of the US Agency for International Development: Contains information on USAID policies, objectives, and programs, organized geographically and by subject.

http://www.firstgov.gov/
Official US gateway to government information at federal, state, and local levels.

International Organizations’ Web sites:

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): http://www.nato.int/

Private Organizations’ Web sites:
RFE/RL is a private, international communications service to Europe and Southeastern Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Middle East, funded by the US Congress.

The ICG is a private, multinational organization committed to strengthening the capacity of the international community to anticipate, understand, and act to prevent and contain conflict. Its areas of interest include Africa, Asia, the Balkans, Latin America, and the Middle East.

The Eurasia Foundation: http://www.eurasia.org/
The Eurasia Foundation is a privately managed grant making organization dedicated to funding programs that build democratic and free market institutions in the twelve New Independent States of the former Soviet
Union—Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

The Soros Foundation: http://www.soros.org/
Site for the numerous nonprofit foundations created by the philanthropist George Soros. All of the national foundations share the common mission of supporting the development of open society. To this end, they operate and support an array of initiatives concerned with arts and culture, children and youth, civil society development, economic reform, education, legal reform and public administration, media and communications, publishing, and health care.

Eurasianet: http://www.eurasianet.org/
Eurasianet is the daily news and information Web site of the Central Eurasian Project, a Soros-sponsored program. It carries news articles and generates policy ideas and advocacy on Russia, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan in English, Russian, and other languages.

Andrew C. Janos


Juliet Johnson


Michael Nacht


Other Recommended Readings


This book provides the most comprehensive empirical analysis of the economic transformation of the countries comprising the former Soviet bloc during the past decade and challenges conventional wisdom. Åslund has served as economic adviser to Boris Yeltsin’s government, to the Ukrainian government, and to President Askar Akaev of Kyrgyzstan.

Breslauer, George W., Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

This book compares and evaluates leadership strategies adopted by Gorbachev and Yeltsin at each stage of their administrations—demonstrating how they used the power of ideas to mobilize support for their policies, to seize the initiative from political rivals, and to mold their images.


William F. Browder, CEO of Hermitage Capital Management in Russia, spoke on the need for transparency in the Russian oil company Gazprom and the failure of Pricewaterhouse Coopers to accurately audit and account for asset-stripping by Gazprom’s top managers.


Focusing on Russia’s three top leaders since 1985, the authors examine their goals, evolving ideas, style of rule, institution-building, and impact in different areas of policy, revealing all the tension and drama of Russia’s transformation under three very different leaders.


Joseph Cirincione’s latest assessment of the ballistic missile threat to the United States.


An account of the oligarchs and reformers who have helped to create postcommunist Russia, the crucial mistakes they’ve made along the way, and the new way of doing business and Russia’s loophole economy.


Hoffman’s book profiles six of Russia’s most influential personalities: Boris Berezovsky, Vladimir Gusinsky, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, Alexander Smolensky, Anatoly Chubais, and Yury Luzhkov. For some, Russia’s oligarchs are criminals, for others they are capitalists. The roots of Russia’s oligarchs stem primarily from neither organized crime, nor the Soviet nomenklatura, but from entrepreneurs who got their starts taking advantage of the opportunities created by the shortage economy in the waning days of the Soviet Union.

Michael McFaul traces Russia’s tumultuous history from rise to power in 1985 through the 1999 resignation of Boris Yeltsin in favor of Vladimir Putin.


A summary of the discussion between Carnegie Senior Associate Rose Gottemoeller and former Undersecretary of Energy Ernest Moniz that focused on how issues of non-proliferation and nuclear power could be worked into the agenda for the then upcoming May summit between Presidents Bush and Putin.


This collection of essays addresses Europe’s future in the post-Cold War era, making a powerful argument for the importance of Europe to the United States on the basis of compatible ideas and converging national interests.


In this book, Simes discusses Russia’s loss of superpower status and articulates his concern that the US is mismanaging its relationship with Russia by focusing on the short-term and by patronizing Russia rather than treating it with hardheaded pragmatism based on US national interests.

**Additional Online Readings**

“America’s Real Russian Allies”
http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/McFaulForeignAffairs110101.asp?from=pubauthor


“Arms Control in a New Era”

Rose Gottemoeller, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, published this article in the Washington Quarterly [25:2 (Spring 2002)]. A summary is posted on this Web page with a link to the full document as a PDF.

“Bush and Putin’s Tentative Embrace”
http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/articles/wpj01-4/bremmer.html

Ian Bremmer and Alexander Zaslavsky published this article in the World Policy Journal [XVIII:4 (Winter 2001/02)].

“Bush-Putin: The End of the Cold War”
http://www.brook.edu/views/op-ed/gordon/200111113.htm

Philip H. Gordon, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, published this article in Handelsblatt on November 13, 2001.

“Crawford and Beyond: The Future of the US-Russian Nuclear Relations”
http://www.ceip.org/files/events/crawfordandbeyond2.asp?pr=1&EventID=402

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace convened a panel on November 6, 2001 to discuss strategic reductions, cooperative threat reduction, and missile defense issues. Panelists included Representative Ellen
Tauscher (CA), Representative John Spratt (SC), and Ambassador Karl F. Inderfurth. An audio recording (Windows Media format) is available.

“Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges of Russia Today”

“Drugs, Terrorism, and Regional Security: The Risks from Afghanistan”
Martha Brill Olcott, Testimony before the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee of Technology, Terrorism and Government Operations, on March 13, 2002.

“Help Russians to Be Approving”
http://www.brook.edu/views/op-ed/gordon/20020214.htm
Philip H. Gordon, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, published this article in the International Herald Tribune on February 14, 2002.

“Look Deep Into Putin’s Eyes and Seal the Deal”
Lee Feinstein, former principal deputy director of the U.S. Department of State’s policy planning staff, offers an analysis on President Bush’s historic opportunity to shape nuclear relations between the United States and Russia. Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times as a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Proliferation Brief [4:18 (November 15, 2001)].

Nuclear Status Report: Nuclear Weapons, Fissile Material, and Export Controls in the Former Soviet Union
Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in June 2001 and edited by Jon Brook Wolfsthal, Cristina-Astrid Chuen, and Emily Ewell Daughtry. The full text is available here as PDF document.

“On Nukes, We Need to Talk”
Rose Gottemoeller’s article reprinted from The Washington Post (April 2, 2002).

“Political Twins on the World Stage”
Article about Bush and Putin by Lilia Shevtsova in The Moscow Times (February 28, 2002).

“Risk Assessment: Russia”
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/terrorism/july-dec01/russia_11-5.html
PBS’s The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer episode from November 5, 2001 examines securing nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union.

“Russia, Energy, and Global Climate Change”
Senior scientist William Chandler (Advanced International Studies at Battelle Memorial Institute’s Pacific Northwest National Laboratory) spoke at the Carnegie Institute for International Peace on February 07, 2002 about global climate change and energy in Russia and other transition economies.
“Russia’s Higher Police: Continuity of the Russian Intelligence Elite”
http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?EventID=446
Summary of a January 29, 2002 talk by Clifford Gaddy, an expert on the Russian economy at the Brookings Institution, on the continuity of Russia’s intelligence elite in Russian history and implications of the rise of the FSB in Putin’s Russia.

“A Set Piece in a Larger Game”
http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/op-ed/hillf/20010729.htm

“Stabilizing World Oil Markets: Russia’s Role in Global Recovery”
http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?EventID=454
In a special briefing at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, Chairman and CEO of Yukos Oil, spoke on February 08, 2002 about Russia’s role in stabilizing world oil markets and the future of his oil company—now the second largest oil company in Russia. A transcript (transcribed into English) of his remarks is available online.

A transcript from a lecture by Alexander Pikayev, Scholar in Residence at the Carnegie Moscow Center, on January 21, 2002 about the problems of reducing strategic offensive arms.

“Two Out of Three Is Not Good Enough”
http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/McFaul2outof3012802.asp?from=pubdate
Article by Michael McFaul, reprinted from The Moscow Times (January 28, 2002).

“US-Russian Relations: Born Again Partnership or Marriage of Convenience?”
http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?EventID=400
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace convened a panel on November 7, 2001 to discuss key agenda items for the then upcoming Bush- Putin summit: the war on terrorism, regional security, economic development, and nuclear security. An audio recording (Windows Media format) and transcript from this event are posted to this Web page.

“Vladimir Putin: The NPR Interview”
Special report on Russian President Vladimir Putin’s call-in interview on National Public Radio. Includes audio files (RealAudio format) and analysis.

“What If the New Strategic Framework Goes Bad?”

Other Classroom Materials


http://www.refrl.org/ncaspecial/RUvsUS/default.asp

Consult our Web page on Teachers’ Links, at http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/outreach3.html, for other sites devoted to teaching about Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.