

# *Reconfiguring East and West in the Bush-Putin Era*

Center for Slavic and East European Studies, ISEEEES, 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**

Aron, Leon, "Putin's Progress: Russia Joins the West," *The Weekly Standard*, March 11, 2002.

Kluger, Jeffrey, "The Nuke Pipeline: The Trade in Nuclear Contraband is Approaching Critical Mass. Can we Turn Off the Spigot?" *Time Magazine* (December 17, 2001).

"Russian Foreign Policy Revolution?" *United Press International* (UPI), March 12, 2002.

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

Prepared statement by Michael McFaul, "US-Russia Relations After September 11, 2001," February 27, 2002, [http://www.house.gov/international\\_relations/mcfa0227.htm](http://www.house.gov/international_relations/mcfa0227.htm).

Presentation by Celeste A. Wallander, "Russian Foreign Policy: the Implications of Pragmatism for US Policy," February 27, 2002, [http://www.house.gov/international\\_relations/wall0227.htm](http://www.house.gov/international_relations/wall0227.htm).

### **Kathleen Collins**

Allworth, Edward, ed., *Central Asia, 120 Years of Russian Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

Olcott, Martha Brill, Anders Aslund, and Sherman W. Garnett, *Getting It Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).

Poliakov, Sergei, Anthony Olcott trans., *Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992).

Rashid, Ahmed, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

Roy, Olivier, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

Trenin, Dmitry, *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001).

## 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:

Allison, Roy and Lena Jonson, eds., *Central Asian Security: The New International Context*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001).

Rashid, Ahmed, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

Rashid, Ahmed, *The Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

Sagdeev, Roald and Susan Eisenhower, eds., *Islam and Central Asia An Enduring Legacy or an Evolving Threat?* (Washington, DC: Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 2000).

### 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:

United Nations: <http://www.un.org/>

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE): <http://www.osce.org/>

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

### Private Organizations' Web sites:

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty: <http://www.rferl.org/>

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.

International Crisis Group: <http://www.crisisweb.org/>

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**

Clark, Ian, *The Post-Cold War Order: The Spoils of Peace* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Cox, Michael, G. John Ikenberry, Takashi Inoguchi, eds., *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) — with special emphasis on chapters by Tony Smith, G. John Ikenberry, Ole R. Holsti, and Michael Cox.

George, Stephan and Ian Bache, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Huntington, Samuel P., *the Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

Janos, Andrew C., “From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe Under Two International Regimes,” *East European Politics and Societies* 15: 2 (Spring 2001): 221.

## **Juliet Johnson**

Gustafson, Thane, *Capitalism Russian-Style* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Kalicki, Jan and Gene Lawson, eds., *Trade and Investment in Russia and Eurasia* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, forthcoming).

Rutland, Peter, ed., *Business and State in Contemporary Russia* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001).

Smith, Alan, *The Return to Europe: The Reintegration of Eastern Europe into the European Economy* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).

Wedel, Janine, *Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998).

## Michael Nacht

Berlin Information-center for Transatlantic Security, "NATO-Russia Archive": <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/index.htm>

Nassauer, Otfried, "NATO's Nuclear Posture Review: Should Europe End Nuclear Sharing?" *BITS Policy Note* 02.1 (April 2002): <http://www.bits.de/public/policynote/pn02-1.htm>

## Other Recommended Readings

Åslund, Anders, *Building Capitalism: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002).

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.

Browder, William F., "Gazprom and Itera: A Case Study in Russian Corporate Misgovernance," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?pr=2&EventID=468>

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.

Brown, Archie and Lilia Shevtsova, eds., *Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001).

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.

Cirincione, Joseph, "The Declining Ballistic Missile Threat," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://www.ceip.org/files/news/decliningthreat2.asp?from=newsnews>

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

Freeland, Crystia, *Sale of the Century: Russia's Wild Ride From Communism to Capitalism* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2000).

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, David E., *The Oligarchs: Wealth, Power, and the New Russia* (Boulder, CO: Public Affairs, 2002).

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.

McFaul, Michael, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001).

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.

Moniz, Ernest and Rose Gottemoeller, "Non-Proliferation, Nuclear Power, and US- Russia Relations," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?EventID=470>

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.

Serfaty, Simon, *Memories of Europe's Future. Farewell to Yesteryear*, CSIS Significant Issues Series (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies 1999).

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.

Simes, Dimitri K., *After the Collapse: Russia Seeks Its Place as a Great Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

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>

Article by Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul, reprinted from *Foreign Affairs* [80:5 (November/December 2001)] on Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Web site.

"Arms Control in a New Era"

<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/RoseArmsNewEra-washquarterly.asp?from=pubtitle>

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 End of the Cold War"

<http://www.brook.edu/views/op-ed/gordon/20011113.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”

<http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?EventID=445>

A briefing with Grigory Yavlinsky, leader of Russia’s Yabloko Party and a leading liberal voice in Russian politics at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on January 30, 2002. A transcript, summary, and audio (Windows Media format) are available.

“Drugs, Terrorism, and Regional Security: The Risks from Afghanistan”

<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/OlcottTestimony031302.asp?from=pubdate>

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”

<http://www.ceip.org/files/nonprolif/templates/Publications.asp?p=8&PublicationID=856>

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*

<http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/StatusReport.asp>

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”

<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/RoseOnNukes.asp?from=pubauthor>

Rose Gottemoeller’s article reprinted from *The Washington Post* (April 2, 2002).

“Political Twins on the World Stage”

<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/stories/2002/02/28/006.html>

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](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”

<http://www.ceip.org/files/events/events.asp?EventID=459>

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>

Fiona Hill, Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, published this article in *The San Diego Union-Tribune* on July 29, 2001.

“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.

“The START Talks: The Prospects for the Establishment of a New Russian-US Strategic Format”

<http://www.carnegie.ru/english/media/2002/ap020121.htm>

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”

<http://www.npr.org/news/specials/putin/index.html>

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?”

<http://www.ceip.org/files/NewStratFrame.asp?from=newsnews>

In an article published in *Arms Control Today* [31:9, (November 2001)], Joseph Cirincione and Jon B. Wolfsthal outline the possible shifts in US-Russia relations after the attacks of September 11th. Full text on the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Web site.

## Other Classroom Materials

“Alliance of Compliance? Analyzing Power Relationships Inside and Outside Afghanistan,” The New York Times Learning Network Lesson Plan, grades 6-8 and 9-12

[http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20011024wednesday.html?searchpv=learning\\_lessons](http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20011024wednesday.html?searchpv=learning_lessons)

“Defense Mechanisms: Exploring the Recent History of Nuclear Diplomacy Between Russia and the United States,” The New York Times Learning Network Lesson Plan, grades 6-8 and 9-12  
[http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20010620wednesday.html?searchpv=learning\\_lessons](http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20010620wednesday.html?searchpv=learning_lessons)

*Mapping Russia: Geographic and Cultural Diversity* (Stanford: Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education, 2001). See SPICE’s Web site for details on how to order, <http://spice.stanford.edu/index.html>.

“Nuclear Reactions: Exploring the History of Nuclear Weapons and the Current Consideration of Their Inclusion in the United States’ Military Planning,” The New York Times Learning Network Lesson Plan, grades 6-8, 9-12  
[http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20020311monday.html?searchpv=learning\\_lessons](http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/20020311monday.html?searchpv=learning_lessons)

Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty’s on-going coverage, “US-Russian Relations”  
<http://www.refr.org/nca/special/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.