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*No. 8/2004*

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# **PART I : BOOKS**

## **PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

2004

355.4 /01411

Swords and Sustenance : The Economics of Security in Belarus and Ukraine  
- Cambridge, MA : MIT Press.

xiii, 266 p. ; 23 cm.

(American Academy Studies in Global Security)

ISBN: 0262621827

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY--ECONOMIC ASPECTS
2. BELARUS--NATIONAL SECURITY--ECONOMIC ASPECTS
3. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC POLICY
4. BELARUS--ECONOMIC POLICY
5. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
6. BELARUS--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Legvold, Robert, ed.
2. Wallander, Celeste A., ed.
3. American Academy of Arts and Sciences (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'The stability of the former Soviet states is threatened by their precarious geopolitical position within a turbulent economic and political environment. This book explores the complex economic dimension of national security for two key post-Soviet countries, Belarus and Ukraine - that is, how they have dealt with the challenges posed by internal economic and political reform and their relationships with Russia and the West. The book first examines how differing commitments to economic and political reform affect Belarusian and Ukrainian approaches to security. It then considers the central role of Russia, and how Russian interests and policies toward Belarus and Ukraine limit the two countries' foreign and domestic policy choices. Two chapters discuss the national security implications for Belarus and Ukraine of two key economic factors in their foreign policy : energy trade (in the form of oil, gas, and pipelines) and military-industrial cooperation (including the sale of arms). Finally, the book considers the relationships of Belarus and Ukraine with regional and global institutions and explores the policies of the EU, NATO, and the United States toward Belarus and Ukraine.'

ID number: 80019327

Year: 2004

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\* This list contains material received as of October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 11 octobre 2004.

327.3 /00628

Relics of Cold War : Europe's Challenge, Ukraine's Experience - Solna : SIPRI.

vii, 66 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(SIPRI Policy Paper ; 6)

Author(s):

1. Bailes, Alyson J. K.
2. Melnyk, Oleksiy
3. Anthony, Ian

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--CEE
2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--UKRAINE
3. CEE--ARMED FORCES--DEMOBILIZATION
4. UKRAINE--ARMED FORCES--DEMOBILIZATION

Added entry(s):

1. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SE)

Notes:

'In 2004 Europe will consign the cold war to history in the most emphatic way possible, with the enlargement on a grand scale of both the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The problem is that the relics of cold war, even if largely banished from the European vision and spirit, are still all too much present around our feet. Weapons are easier to decommission than to destroy, and soldiers are easier to demobilize than to re-employ. Former military real estate is difficult to clean up and convert, and military force structures and deployment patterns change much more slowly than the strategic environment which in principle should dictate them. In the eastern part of Europe especially, and in the Balkans where the first post-cold war decade was one of conflict, large surplus stocks still exist of conventional weapons, munitions and anti-personnel mines. In Russia, daunting quantities of nuclear weapons, materials and facilities still await disposal and only about 3 per cent of the chemical weapons scheduled for destruction under international agreements have been eliminated so far. This paper aims to illuminate the problem, and to provide a basis for debate on future policy approaches, through a general review of the challenges followed by a detailed case study of the scale, impact and policy handling of the cold war's defence-related legacy in Ukraine.'

ID number: 80018993

Year: 2003

441 /00116

EU and Ukraine : A Turning Point in 2004 ? - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

37 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 47)

Author(s):

1. Kuzio, Taras

Subject(s):

1. EU--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 37.

'This paper discusses critical issues in the EU-Ukrainian relationship and provides a number of policy recommendations that could contribute towards fashioning an EU strategy towards Ukraine. At the heart of the current stalemate in relations are virtual policies adopted by the EU and Ukraine towards each other. The EU has never adopted a clear strategy towards

Ukraine and other western CIS states that seek EU membership, and in general has paid far too little attention to the region. Ukraine straddles the Central and East European-Eurasian divide. This makes it all the more imperative that the EU devise a strategy that would support a potential shift within Ukraine towards a more Central and East European identity. This potential is more present in Ukraine than in other CIS states. The most effective manner to support Ukraine's 'European choice' may be by offering it an 'open-door' policy. The 2004 elections will have a decisive impact upon Ukraine's 'European choice'. If the front-runner in polls since 2000, Viktor Yushchenko, won the elections, the EU would be forced to change its 'closed-door' approach. Yushchenko would no longer continue a virtual 'European choice' strategy and the EU would be forced to drop its own virtual policy towards Ukraine. The policy proposals developed in this paper outline a possible EU strategy towards Ukraine.'

ID number: 80018990

Year: 2003

441 /00113

Ukraine in Tomorrow's Europe - Helsinki : Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

46 p.; 25 cm.

(FIIA Report ; 4/2003)

ISBN: 9517691440

Author(s):

1. Moshes, Arkady

Subject(s):

1. EU--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FI)

Notes:

'This report addresses the issue of European integration of European Union's biggest New Neighbour, Ukraine, which will in the coming years test the ability of the enlarged Union to adopt and implement long-term foreign policy strategies. The report argues firstly that, if left to its own devices, Ukraine is unlikely to complete the transformation in the direction of a functioning market economy and democracy. This speaks for the consistent application of conditionality in EU policy. Secondly, to fully uncouple the EU's Ukrainian strategy from that pursued vis-a-vis Russia will not be feasible, and this conclusion means that deepening trilateral cooperation is required in several areas. Thirdly, Ukraine's cooperation with NATO, which is likely to develop, will be of little relevance for the country's relations with the EU. Fourthly, the New Neighbours policy, which is a fair medium-term approach to the area as long as it does not raise false expectations of countries that are not yet ready for membership, makes sense in the long run only if it aims to bring the neighbours closer rather than to avoid responsibility. In this connection it is recommended that recognition of the possibility that Ukraine may join the Union in the distant future should be instrumentalized explicitly and unconditionally as an incentive for change and in preparation for greater EU involvement in the country. As the same time, a set of practical measures should be applied in order to ensure reform in Ukraine, regardless of whether in two decades it is given a seat at the table in Brussels or remains 'just' a neighbour.'

ID number: 80018818

Year: 2003

355.4 /01388

Ukraine and Regional Co-operation in Security : Looking Ahead - Rome :

NATO Defense College.

143 p.; 21 cm.

(Seminar Report Series ; 16)

ISBN: 8887967210

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

11th Partnership for Peace International Research Seminar, Kyiv, 23-26 June, 2002.

The following issues were discussed : Ukraine's main security concerns : terrorism, organised crime, illegal immigration and economic and democratic foundations of state sustainability; the results of five years of the NATO-Ukraine Partnership; various aspects of regional security, in particular Ukraine and the Black Sea; achievements within the framework of GUUAM (a sub-regional organisation of Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova); the effect of the European Union's enlargement on Ukrainian security.'

ID number: 80018997

Year: 2003

2002

382 /00300

Whither Ukraine ? : Weapons, State Building and International Cooperation

- Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xi, 221 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0754609715

Author(s):

1. Jones, Scott A.

Subject(s):

1. ARMS SALES--UKRAINE
2. EXPORT CONTROLS--UKRAINE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 203-218. Includes index.

'Examining the development of and rationale behind the Ukrainian export control system, this text uses an original theoretically informed case study methodology to explain how and why Ukraine has continued to emphasize the importance of not only maintaining but augmenting its export control system. Furthermore, it assesses the utility of four international relations approaches in explaining non-proliferation export control development.'

ID number: 80018280

Year: 2002

355.2 /00254

Ukraine's Defence Reform : An Update - Camberley, UK : Conflict Studies

Research Centre.

8 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Sherr, James

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Conflict Studies Research Centre (GB)

ID number: 80018273

Year: 2002

2001

327 /01072

Towards a New Ukraine III : Geopolitical Imperatives of Ukraine :  
Regional Contexts - Ottawa : University of Ottawa.

178 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1894508211

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Kis, Theofil, ed.
2. Makaryk, Irena, ed.
3. Mychajlyszyn, Natalie, ed.
4. University of Ottawa (CA)

Notes:

Proceedings of a Conference held on October 27-28, 2000, at the  
University of Ottawa.

'This volume examines a spectrum of issues pertaining to  
contemporary Ukraine in relation to its immediate neighbours,  
European integration, and foreign and security policy.'

ID number: 80017781

Year: 2001

1999

441 /00070

Die Ukraine und die Europäische Union : eine Beziehung mit erheblicher  
Frustrationstoleranz - Wien : Bundesministerium für  
Landesverteidigung.

68 p.; 24 cm.

(Informationen zur Sicherheitspolitik ; 22)

Author(s):

1. Wehrschutz, Christian F.

Subject(s):

1. EU--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung (AT)

ID number: 80016155

Year: 1999

495.3 /00053

Endgame in NATO's Enlargement : The Baltic States and Ukraine - Westport,  
CT : Praeger.

xvi, 148 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0275963632

Author(s):

1. Bilinsky, Yaroslav

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--BALTIC STATES
3. NATO--UKRAINE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 127-135. Includes index.

'In the first chapter the author briefly reviews some of the  
arguments contra and pro any kind of NATO's enlargement,  
while the second chapter deals with the specific problems of  
the Baltics and the third with the specific problem of  
Ukraine. A fourth chapter interprets the diplomatic events of  
May 1997 that bear on the Baltics and Ukraine, and a fifth  
chapter brings the story up to date until mid-1998.'

ID number: 80015614

Year: 1999

338.9 /00652

The Ukrainian Economy Since Independence - Cheltenham, UK : Edward Elgar.

x, 173 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(Studies of Communism in Transition)

ISBN: 1858989906

Author(s):

1. Banaian, King, 1957-

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC POLICY

Notes:

Includes index.

'Despite the fact that Western governments have provided Ukraine with over ten billion dollars in foreign aid, little is known of Ukraine's economy since it declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. In this book, the author describes the halting steps towards transition that Ukraine has taken and analyses their effects. Ukraine is an example of how slow or gradual reform was attempted and stopped. The author argues that this has been the result of several political and economic factors, and that the resulting 'arrested transition' may continue indefinitely. Backed by extensive econometric analysis, the book provides insight into its hyperinflationary experience, the causes of continued economic contraction, Ukraine's experience with exchange rate regime changes, its large underground economy and the prospects for long run growth.'

ID number: 80016377

Year: 1999

338.9 /00653

L'autonomie économique de l'Ukraine - Paris : Harmattan.

xvii, 181 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ISBN: 2738473059

Author(s):

1. Grandjean, Michel

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC POLICY

3. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 169-181.

'Cet ouvrage permet de comprendre l'étendue des démarches que doivent accomplir les Ukrainiens pour atteindre leur autonomie économique et de mesurer le chemin parcouru depuis l'indépendance du pays en 1991. Il montre aussi que l'investisseur avisé devra pendant quelque temps encore tenir compte de la relative versatilité du contexte politico-économique - plus ou moins important suivant le secteur d'activité étudié - qui peut se traduire par une accélération aussi bien que par un ralentissement des réformes et des négociations.'

ID number: 80016436

Year: 1999

355.4 /01242

Ukraine and European Security - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

xiv, 288 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0312222947

Author(s):

1. Albright, David E.
2. Appatov, Semyen Iosifovich

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--UKRAINE
2. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Notes:

Includes index.

'Since 1991 Ukraine has become a significant new actor on the European security scene. Such a development gives weight to Ukrainians' views on general European security and on the relationship between Ukraine and European security, on the one hand, and the Atlantic Community and Ukraine's security, on the other. More significant, it raises questions about how the thinking of Ukrainians on these matters compares with that of North Americans and West Europeans. This volume is the first major effort to explore these questions in detail. It lays out the perspectives of leading North American, West European, and Ukrainian security analysts on European security issues during the next decade and their priority, strategies for approaching these issues, Ukraine's role in European security, and the Atlantic Community and Ukraine's security. These reveal a complex pattern of similarities and differences in outlook. After discussing this pattern, the book concludes with an assessment of the implications of the similarities and differences.'

ID number: 80016045

Year: 1999

327 /01016

Between Russia and the West : Foreign and Security Policy of Independent Ukraine - Bern : Peter Lang.

356 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

(Studies in Contemporary History and Security Policy ; 2)

ISBN: 390676382X

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Spillmann, Kurt R., ed.
2. Muller, Derek, 1965- , ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 347-354.

'This book addresses achievements, challenges and problems of Ukraine's foreign and security policy since 1990/91. Emphasis is put on the often problematic, but presently stable, bilateral relations with Russia as well as Ukraine's policies aimed at enhancing its position in the Central Eastern European region and integration into Western and Euro-Atlantic structures. The book contains contributions by well-known Ukrainian, Russian and Western foreign and security policy analysts.'

ID number: 80016368

Year: 1999

352 /00019

Councillors and Civil Servants in the Ukrainian Self-Government - Kyiv :  
 Naukova Dumka.  
 246 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.  
 ISBN: 9660001738  
 Author(s):  
 1. Aarrevaara, Timo  
 Subject(s):  
 1. LOCAL GOVERNMENT--UKRAINE  
 Notes:  
 Bibliography: p. 237-243.  
 ID number: 80015201  
 Year: 1998

321 /00608

Contemporary Ukraine : Dynamics of Post-Soviet Transformation - Armonk,  
 NY : Sharpe.  
 xxi, 290 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.  
 ISBN: 0765602237  
 Subject(s):  
 1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
 2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC POLICY  
 3. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY  
 4. STATE SUCCESSION  
 Added entry(s):  
 1. Kuzio, Taras, ed.  
 Notes:  
 Bibliography: p. 267-277. Includes index.  
 'Although this book deals with all four of Ukraine's transitions,  
 it is more conveniently divided into five parts. Part A lays  
 out the complicated legacies that Ukraine inherited from  
 external domination and totalitarianism and their impact on  
 nation and state building. Part B continues this discussion  
 by focusing on the legacy of regionalism and its influence  
 upon Ukraine's national identity (or identities, as Ukraine  
 has not one but a number of political subcultures). Parts C  
 and D survey the difficulties Ukraine has encountered in  
 undertaking democratization and marketization. Part E  
 includes two chapters devoted to Ukraine's security policies.  
 The central theme running throughout this book points to an  
 important conclusion : that Ukraine's four transitions of  
 nation building, state building, democratization, and  
 marketization cannot be discussed in isolation from one  
 another. They are all intimately bound together, and it would  
 be unwise for Western policy makers and scholars to ignore  
 this crucial facet of Ukraine's post-Soviet transformation  
 process.'  
 ID number: 80015728  
 Year: 1998

321 /00614

Ukraine : State and Nation Building - London : Routledge.

xiii, 298 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0415171954

Author(s):

1. Kuzio, Taras

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. STATE SUCCESSION

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 284-291. Includes index.

'The collapse of the Soviet Union has left many of its former states struggling to forge new political nations out of the legacy of communist rule. Ukraine is no exception and its transition to independent state led many in the West to predict its collapse into ethnic conflict. The author focuses on post-Soviet developments in Ukraine, analysing the role of nationalism in the forging of a new political nation out of the inherited quasi-state of the former Soviet Union. He examines the new elites of Ukraine, their views and role in the state and nation building project. He also explores other important aspects of the transition to an independent state such as borders, symbols, myths and national histories. The book uses primary sources and interviews with leading members of Ukrainian elites to survey the ongoing debates surrounding the transformation of Ukraine into an independent state. It also compares the Ukrainian experience with that of other emerging nations within a theoretical framework. The study finds that the threat of ethnic conflict and separatism has been exaggerated and that Ukraine can build an inclusive political nation based upon civic and ethnic Ukrainian attributes.'

ID number: 80016262

Year: 1998

1997

623 /00816

Non-Proliferation Incentives for Russia and Ukraine - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

91 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 309)

ISBN: 0198293712

Author(s):

1. Baker, John C., 1949-

Subject(s):

1. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION--UKRAINE
3. ARMS SALES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
4. ARMS SALES--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'The primary purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of international incentives as part of a non-proliferation strategy. Chapter 1 examines the political and economic developments that complicate national efforts to exert tight control over dual-use technology enterprises and their export activities. It also explores new opportunities for using incentives to affect the export policies of the former Soviet defence industries. Subsequent chapters assess the potential role for incentives in dealing with two prominent technology providers : Ukraine's space-launch industry; and Russia's nuclear industry. The paper concludes with some observations on the practical and economic challenges associated with using international incentives to influence both the export behaviour and non-proliferation attitudes of emerging technology

providers. These challenges include changing the attitudes of industry managers and government leaders towards non-proliferation, particularly when using international incentives is likely to be constrained by competing policy objectives and unanticipated domestic political developments.'

ID number: 80014188

Year: 1997

355.4 /01192

Keystone in the Arch : Ukraine in the Emerging Security Environment of Central and Eastern Europe - New York : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

viii, 145 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0870031015

Author(s):

1. Garnett, Sherman W.

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CEE

3. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 139-141.

'The emergence of an independent Ukraine and other independent states spanning Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea is a major break with the past - one of great significance not only for these nations but also for Western Europe, for the United States, and even for the future of Russia. Sherman Garnett argues that Ukraine - for reasons of size, location, diversity, historical relationships, and recent resilience - could play the role of the region's security 'keystone'. Tracing the country's domestic politics, steps toward economic reform, and foreign-policy decision making toward both Russia and the West, the study dispels widespread misconceptions and reveals the broad stakes in a thriving and stable Ukraine. Garnett makes the case for a more comprehensive, post-Cold War US and Western approach to both Ukraine and the region - one that looks beyond recent nuclear disarmament success and NATO expansion - and suggests the main elements of such a long-term policy.'

ID number: 80014057

Year: 1997

1995

355.4 /01154

Ukrainian Security Policy - Westport, CT : Praeger.

xiv, 168 p. ; 24 cm.

(The Washington papers, 0278-937X ; 167)

ISBN: 0275953858

Author(s):

1. Kuzio, Taras

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. UKRAINE--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'In this work, Taras Kuzio depicts the emerging geopolitical significance of Ukraine with all its concomitant political internal and external ramifications. His insights and his accounts are a historic record of the rebirth of Ukraine's

defense and security structure and of the debates shaping its security policy. Moreover, his analysis clearly portrays the dilemma faced by many new nations : how to build national awareness, new institutions, and broad consensus while simultaneously providing security and stability in an economically weak and politically polarized country.'

ID number: 80012783

Year: 1995

321 /00575

Ukraine : Back from the Brink - London : Alliance.

40 p.; 25 cm.

(European Security Study ; 23)

ISBN: 0907967639

Author(s):

1. Kuzio, Taras

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC POLICY

3. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)

ID number: 80012282

Year: 1995

327 /00914

Ukrainian-Russian Relations : An Unequal Partnership - London : Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.

ii, 68 p.; 22 cm.

(RUSI Whitehall Paper Series)

ISBN: 0855161108

Author(s):

1. Goncharenko, Alexander

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--UKRAINE

3. UKRAINE--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

4. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

5. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)

Notes:

'Today the main problems of Ukrainian-Russian relations still remain unresolved. To foresee the possible developments in these relations, one needs to analyse the main strategic priorities of the foreign, military and national security policies of Russia and Ukraine after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.'

ID number: 80012268

Year: 1995

327 /01032

Ukraine, Russia, and European Security : Implications for Western Policy  
- Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.  
v, 61 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 13)

Author(s):

1. Ham, Peter van, 1963-

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--UKRAINE
3. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--UKRAINE
4. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'This study examines several problems resulting from the end of the Cold War which have, until now, not escalated, but which could become one of the most significant sources of instability in Europe in the years to come : Ukraine's problematic relationship with Russia and its reluctance to become a non-nuclear power.'

ID number: 80016971

Year: 1994

623 /00737

Proliferation and Nonproliferation in Ukraine : Implications for European and U.S. Security - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.  
vi, 37 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--UKRAINE
2. NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION--UKRAINE

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'This study explores the background, terms, and aftermath of the January 1994 tripartite agreement among Russia, Ukraine, and the United States concerning the removal of nuclear missiles located in Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union. This chapter in international security raises difficult issues for the United States concerning regional security and nuclear proliferation.'

ID number: 80010330

Year: 1994

323 /00549

Ukraine : Perestroika to Independence - Basingstoke, UK : MacMillan.  
xiv, 260 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333579992

Author(s):

1. Kuzio, Taras
2. Wilson, Andrew, 1923-

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS
2. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 253-255. Includes index.

'This book is the first to survey the entire range of developments in the fields of politics, society, independent parties, the Communist Party, independent media, foreign and military affairs on the road to independence, using primary official, samizdat and other sources.'

The main theme of the book is the transition in Ukraine from the policies of perestroika and glasnost, first introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev, to the ultimate break with Moscow which brought an end to both the Soviet empire and his own career.'

ID number: 80010605

Year: 1994

327 /00828

Russia, Crimea, Ukraine : Triangle of Conflict - London : RISCT.

35 p.; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 267)

Author(s):

1. Kuzio, Taras

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)

Notes:

'In this highly topical study Taras Kuzio, a British expert of Ukrainian origin, explains the nature of the intense competition between two states which have close racial and cultural ties. While Ukrainian leaders regard Russia as a direct security threat, Ukraine's threat to Russia is not territorial or military but cultural and psychological. Territorial claims to the Crimea have certainly enlarged the pro-nuclear lobby in the Ukraine. Taras Kuzio concludes that the Crimea is a dangerous flashpoint and the West will ignore any deterioration in Russia-Ukrainian relations at its peril.'

ID number: 80009518

Year: 1994

947 /00053

Ukraine : A History - Toronto : University of Toronto Press.

xiv, 692 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0802005918

Author(s):

1. Subtelny, Orest

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--HISTORY

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 615-645. Includes index.

'With this new edition Subtelny revises the story up to the Spring of 1993. A new chapter explores the forces that brought about the momentous changes of 1991 and the fast-breaking developments in Ukraine since independence, and indicates some likely directions for the future.'

ID number: 80011979

Edition: 2nd ed.

Year: 1994

325 /00079

Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World : A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora - Toronto : University of Toronto Press.

xxxiii, 508 p. : ill.; 26 cm.

ISBN: 0802005950

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINIANS--FOREIGN COUNTRIES

2. UKRAINE--HISTORY

Added entry(s):

1. Pawliczko, Ann Lencyk, ed.

Notes:

'This book examines communities of the same ethnicity, Ukrainian, in virtually all countries of their settlement, as well as in their mother country, and thereby affords a comparative perspective on

them.'  
ID number: 80012069  
Year: 1994

1993

621 /00256

Unchained Reactions : Chernobyl, Glasnost, and Nuclear Deterrence -  
Washington : National Defense University Press.  
xviii, 153 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

Author(s):

1. Hopkins, Arthur T.

Subject(s):

1. CHERNOBYL NUCLEAR ACCIDENT, CHERNOBYL, UKRAINE, 1986
2. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--USSR--PUBLIC OPINION  
GoPAC Report
3. NUCLEAR DETERRENCE--USSR--PUBLIC OPINION

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book focuses on a largely overlooked aspect of Chernobyl's influence on people's attitudes. It examines how the accident affected deterrence and the way people think about nuclear war. The accident undoubtedly made nuclear war less thinkable, strengthening deterrence by increasing the Soviets' fears of nuclear weapon effects. Interestingly, though, it may also have weakened deterrence by increasing the Soviets' confidence in their ability to recover from war's aftermath. There is evidence of both attitudes in their literature.'

ID number: 80010445

Year: 1993

321 /00553

Dilemmas of Independence : Ukraine after Totalitarianism - New York :  
Council on Foreign Relations Press.  
xv, 217 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0876091311

Author(s):

1. Motyl, Alexander J.

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. UKRAINE--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS
3. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Council on Foreign Relations (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'The collapse of the Soviet Union added a large new country to the map of Europe. Alexander Motyl examines the painful choices confronting Ukraine. He considers Ukraine's troublesome inheritance from the Soviet Union and discusses ways Ukraine might overcome this legacy to build a modern, democratic and market-oriented state. Motyl advances an evolutionary approach, one that places equal emphasis on economic reform, the creation of democracy and civil society, state-building and ethnic peace. He also explores Kiev's relations with Moscow, and suggests what the West should - and should not - do to help Ukraine and the other former Soviet republics survive their post-imperial and post-totalitarian challenges.'

ID number: 80010606

Year: 1993

323 /00526  
L'indépendance de l'Ukraine - Bruxelles : Institut Royal des Relations Internationales.  
427 p.; 21 cm.  
Author(s):  
1. Yakemtchouk, Romain  
Subject(s):  
1. UKRAINE--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS  
2. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS  
3. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
Added entry(s):  
1. Institut Royal des Relations Internationales (BE)  
2. Koninklijk Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen (BE)  
Notes:  
Includes index.  
'M. Yakemtchouk analyse de façon percutante et fouillée l'histoire de l'Ukraine de la Première guerre mondiale à nos jours. Il démontre pourquoi l'Ukraine rechigne à abandonner son statut de puissance nucléaire et nous fait comprendre que nous commettrions une grave erreur si, obnubilés par la seule Russie, nous négligeons nos relations avec les autres républiques issues de l'URSS.'  
ID number: 80010083  
Year: 1993

1992

623 /00694  
Ukraine's Non-Nuclear Option - New York : United Nations.  
34 p.; 30 cm.  
(Research Paper ; 14)  
ISBN: 9290450711  
Author(s):  
1. Batiouk, Victor  
Subject(s):  
1. NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION--UKRAINE  
Added entry(s):  
1. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research  
ID number: 80008128  
Year: 1992

321 /00525  
Ukraine : The Unfinished Revolution - London : Alliance.  
41 p.; 25 cm.  
(European Security Study ; 16)  
ISBN: 0907967434  
Author(s):  
1. Kuzio, Taras  
Subject(s):  
1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS  
3. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS  
Added entry(s):  
1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)  
ID number: 80008047  
Year: 1992

321 /00521

Ukraine : en landebeskrivelse - Kobenhavn : Sikkerheds- og  
Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg.  
52 p. : ill.; 22 cm.  
ISBN: 8750397613  
Author(s):  
1. Poulsen-Hansen, Lars P.  
Subject(s):  
1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS  
3. UKRAINE--HISTORY  
ID number: 80007816  
Year: 1992

355.4 /00988

The Eastern Giants : Russia, Ukraine and European Security - London :  
Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.  
i, 63 p.; 22 cm.  
(Whitehall Paper Series)  
ISBN: 0855160802  
Author(s):  
1. Smith, Mark  
Subject(s):  
1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)  
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--UKRAINE  
3. UKRAINE--FOREIGN RELATIONS  
4. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS  
Added entry(s):  
1. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)  
Notes:  
'This monograph examines the potential challenge to European  
security caused by the emergence of an independent Russia and Ukraine. The  
likely future directions of the foreign policies of Russia and  
Ukraine are then explored. The final section analyses the implications for  
European security of a conflictual Russo-Ukrainian relationship.'  
ID number: 80007391  
Year: 1992

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

2004

- Bon, Agnes  
Ukraine - UE : regain d'interet reciproque.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1042, mars - avril 2004, p. 27-38.  
Deuxieme pays de la Communauté des Etats independants par sa population et troisieme par sa surface, l'Ukraine souhaiterait que son importance strategique soit prise en compte par l'Union europeenne. Elle juge que l'Accord de partenariat et de cooperation (APC) signe en 1994 ne constitue plus un cadre adequat pour ses relations bilaterales avec l'Union et compare avec amertume l'aide qui lui est accordee aux montants financiers alloues a d'autres pays, moins avances qu'elle sur le plan de la stabilite politique ou du developpement economique. L'UE, quant a elle, estime que Kiev n'a pas rempli ses engagements et ne voit pas l'utilite de remplacer l'APC. La proximite de l'elargissement de mai 2004 a toutefois provoque a Bruxelles une prise de conscience des menaces concernant la soft security qu'engendrera la presence sur sa frontiere orientale d'Etats pauvres et instables. L'Initiative nouveaux voisins' semble ouvrir de nouvelles possibilites de rapprochement et meme, a terme, d'integration economique aux pays qui accepteront de se reformer. L'election presidentielle ukrainienne d'octobre 2004 revet dans ce contexte une importance capitale car elle peut permettre l'accession au pouvoir du camp reformateur.
  
- Preiger, David  
Maliarchuk, Irina  
Grinkevich, Taisia  
Ukraine, Russia, and the Central Asian States : Cooperation Problems in the Gas Sector.  
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2004, p. 101-110.
  
- Reid, Anna  
Borderland.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 4, April 2004, p. 11-13.  
European Union expansion on May 1 brings new neighbours as well as new members. The arrival of Ukraine on its borders may be just as challenging as welcoming Poland, Hungary and the Baltic States. The Union's new 'near abroad' offers a host of opportunities for all.
  
- Smolansky, Oles M.  
Ukraine and Russia : An Evolving Marriage of Inconvenience.  
ORBIS, vol. 48, no. 1, Winter 2004, p. 117-134.

2003

- Aslund, Anders  
Left Behind.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 73, Fall 2003, p. 107-116.  
If freedom, democracy and prosperity are to take root in Ukraine, the West must play a more active role - for the effects of failure will extend beyond its borders.

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\*\* This list contains material received as of October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 11 octobre 2004.

- Bogomolov, Alexander  
Danylov, Serge  
Is There a Political Islam in Ukraine ?  
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 4, Summer 2003, p. 89-106.  
This article summarizes the main demographic and statistical data, and gives a preliminary analysis, of some important trends characteristic of Ukrainian Islam. A typology of Islamic communities has been attempted based mainly on the criteria of geographic distribution and ethnic variety. The complex phenomenon of Islamic revival is looked at mainly from a political and social angle with a specific focus on how religious affiliation interplays with other group identities and competing ideologies. The general European context has been taken into account whenever appropriate.
  
- Chudowsky, Victor  
Kuzio, Taras  
Does Public Opinion Matter in Ukraine ? The Case of Foreign Policy.  
COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES, vol. 36, no. 3, September 2003, p. 273-290.  
The article critically surveys the impact of domestic public opinion on foreign policy in Ukraine by integrating it within theories of public opinion. Studies of public opinion in Ukraine have not given due weight to the unique characteristics of the Ukrainian 'public', which differs greatly from the Western public. Ukrainian society is passive, atomized and its power is 'submerged' relative to that of the state. The article argues that public opinion is of minimal importance in the area of foreign policy.
  
- Kuzio, Taras  
The 2002 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine : Democratization or Authoritarianism ?  
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 19, no. 2, June 2003, p. 24-54.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The 2002 parliamentary elections, the third since Ukraine became an independent state in 1991, falling towards the end of President Leonid Kuchma's second term of office, marked a new stage in Ukraine's progress in democratization. Although the elections were conducted using the same election law as in 1998 (dividing parliament into equal groups elected by proportional and majoritarian representation), the context was radically different. The 2002 elections were the prelude to the 2004 presidential elections and Kuchma's retirement from office and pitted for the first time the left and right opposition against the pro-presidential centre. Both sides were radicalized either by the 'Kuchmagate' scandal (the opposition) or in the search for immunity from prosecution (Kuchma and the 'oligarchs'). The elections showed that Ukraine is the only CIS state with a large pro-Western reform movement, Viktor Yushchenko's 'Our Ukraine's bloc, which came first in the proportional half of the election. The impact of ethno-cultural and regional factors continued to influence the outcome of the election by inhibiting the popularity of reformist forces such as Our Ukraine in eastern Ukraine.
  
- Kuzio, Taras  
Ukraine's Relations with the West : Disinterest, Partnership, Disillusionment.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 12, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 21-44.  
Ukraine's relations with the West have gone through three periods of development since 1992. When relations with Ukraine have improved this has tended to be at the same time as relations between the West and Russia declined, and vice-versa. The first period is disinterest during 1992-94 when the West prioritised relations with a reformist Russia. The second period was 1995-99 when Ukraine and the West developed a strategic partnership. From 2000, Ukraine's relations with the West are best described as disillusionment due to the growing gap between official

rhetoric of integration into Euro-Atlantic structures and Eurasian domestic policies.

- Protsyk, Oleh

Domestic Political Institutions in Ukraine and Russia and their Responses to EU Enlargement.

COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES, vol. 36, no. 4, December 2003, p. 427-442.

This paper examines the role that key political institutions play in formulating Ukraine's and Russia's responses to European Union enlargement. It provides a structured comparison of how EU-related policies are designed in the two countries. It shows how the differences in institutional setting, mindset of political actors occupying these institutions, and the character of the party system affect the variation in presidential, cabinet, and parliamentary terms of involvement in EU-related matters. It demonstrates that the variation in these terms of involvement has a lasting effect on the nature of policy output in this specific policy area.

- Puglisi, Rosaria

The Rise of the Ukrainian Oligarchs.

DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 10, no. 3, Autumn 2003, p. 99-123.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

Like many post-Soviet societies, Ukraine has experienced over the past decade the emergence of an oligarchic system. Political and economic elites have become locked into a 'partial reform equilibrium'. Unfinished political and economic reforms have fostered the exchange of economic resources against political support, weakened the state capacity and opened the way to undemocratic outcomes. President Kuchma has become the centre of a 'personal rulership', in which rent-seekers and rent-givers have forged an alliance aimed at preserving the current state of affairs. The consequent situation of stall has benefited both economic actors, allowing them access to the redistribution of national wealth, and political actors, allowing them to consolidate unchallenged their position of power. The systematic plunder of economic resources, perpetrated under the oligarchic system, has imposed great costs upon Ukrainian society, condemning it to a vicious circle of underdevelopment, administrative weakness and inability to implement change.

- Sherr, James

Edging Erratically Forward.

NATO REVIEW, Autumn 2003, 4 p., accessed 22/04/04.

<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue3/english/art4> pr.html

Ukraine's integration into Euro-Atlantic security structures and the transformation of its national security system have become indivisible pursuits driven by two impulses. The first is Ukrainian national interest. The second is the NATO-Ukraine relationship. Today, Ukraine is not threatened by those who would attack it, but by those who would undermine it. Reform has come in stages, each of them beset by collisions with vested interests and economic reality. Without the NATO-Ukraine relationship, the sustainability of defence reform would be open to question. Ukraine has participated in the Planning and Review Process of the Partnership for Peace since its inception in 1994. Whereas the original focus was on units declared available for NATO-led PfP activities, Ukraine decided in autumn 2000 to use this planning tool in support of its defence reform efforts. The greatest obstacles to further reforms are the resources available and the security sector beyond the jurisdiction of the Defence Ministry. If Ukraine manages to overcome these obstacles, Ukrainians will almost certainly be looking to NATO for an even closer relationship.

- Bodruk, Oleh  
Lessons of Military Sphere Reformation.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 4, 2002, p. 3-12.
  
- Daubenton, Annie  
Les rapports russo-ukrainiens : empire ou démocratie ?  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 765-782.  
L'eclatement de l'Union soviétique semblait avoir dénoué les liens tissés par l'histoire entre la Russie et l'Ukraine. Au sein de la CEI, celle-ci clamait sa nouvelle indépendance, rivalisait avec la Russie et misait sur un équilibre des influences Est-Ouest pour asseoir sa transition démocratique. Mais le passif économique ukrainien, hérité de la dislocation de l'ex-empire (dette extérieure, litiges sur les ressources énergétiques ...), ainsi qu'une grave crise politique en 2000 ont rapproché les deux pays, destabilisant cet équilibre au profit de Moscou et revenant sur les avancées réformatrices. Parallèlement, la lutte contre le 'terrorisme' engagée en Tchétchénie par la Russie a depuis rejoint les préoccupations internationales (11 septembre) et permis l'entente OTAN-Russie (2002) qui semble finir de releguer l'Ukraine à un rôle secondaire sur la scène internationale.
  
- Dubien, Arnaud  
Elections législatives en Ukraine : le crépuscule de l'ère Koutchma ?  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1024, avril 2002, p. 51-56.  
Alors que le président Leonid Koutchma semble de plus en plus destabiliser et discrediter sur le plan national et international depuis la grave crise politique de l'hiver 2001, les Ukrainiens ont élu, à la proportionnelle et au scrutin uninominal à un tour, en mars 2002, les 450 députés qui forment la Rada suprême. Bien que ce double système soit contesté, ce scrutin avait valeur de test pour l'avenir démocratique du pays et devait clarifier les rapports de forces, en vue de l'élection présidentielle de 2004. Ce ne fut pas le cas. Aucune majorité claire ne s'est dégagée, la très hétéroclite et confuse coalition présidentielle, pour une Ukraine unie, formant le groupe parlementaire le plus important, malgré les bons scores des socialistes et des communistes et privant ces derniers de leur succès. Au total 33 partis et coalitions étaient en lice, et seuls 6 ont franchi le seuil des 4% nécessaires. Enfin, après d'opaques tractations, les partis pro-présidentiels ont fini par imposer fin mai leur candidat à la tête du Parlement. Le président Koutchma a ainsi repris l'initiative, mais pour combien de temps ?
  
- Gorton, Matthew  
The Decline of Ukrainian Agriculture.  
JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 2, no. 3, September 2002, p. 147-163.  
Despite its undoubted potential, agricultural production in Ukraine has almost halved since the break-up of the Soviet Union. The sector has been characterized by decapitalization, a fall in real profitability and growth in rural poverty. Ukrainian policy makers have faced a number of dilemmas regarding agricultural reform and how they dealt with these challenges explains much of the performance of the sector. Three broad challenges are discussed in the article (improving farm efficiency, reorganising the social functions of agricultural enterprises and implementing an appropriate model for governing state-agricultural relationships). It is argued that Ukraine has struggled to develop a consistent framework for governing the relationships between agricultural actors and the state. Agrarian nationalists and reform communists have united to resist attempts at radical decollectivization in parliament. Given this block, farm directors have been able to control the means of production as under the old system but with greater freedom to strike

their own deals and enterprise development. With a production system caught between two models of agricultural-state relationships they have been able to retain the assets of the command economy but use them for market means. This system has acted to minimize foreign involvement and competition for physical assets.

- Guicherd, Catherine  
Ukraine, Bielorussie et Moldavie : entre l'Union elargie et la Russie.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 683-696.  
Si l'Union europeenne a su clairement definir sa politique vis-a-vis des pays d'Europe centrale (elargissement) et vis-a-vis de la Russie (partenariat strategique), elle est pour l'instant relativement absente de la 'zone grise' que representent l'Ukraine, la Bielorussie et la Moldavie. Ces trois pays, dont deux sont fortement tentes de rejoindre le nouveau bloc occidental, n'en restent pas moins largement tournes vers la Russie pour des raisons historiques et economiques, ce qui ne facilite par leur modernisation politique. Partages entre ces deux horizons - Est-Ouest -, ils representent pour l'Europe un interet strategique (acces aux ressources energetiques de la Caspienne pour la Bielorussie, et maintien d'une stabilite politique dans la region pour la Moldavie) qui exige de l'Union qu'elle mene, sans aller jusqu'a l'integration, une politique ferme d'assistance et d'ouverture.
  
- Heuvel, Martin van den  
Oekraïne : de stembus en stemmen per bus.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 6, juni 2002, p. 326-329.  
The author deals with the bleak political climate in Ukraine since its independence in 1991 and presents his personal views and observations as a member of the team of international observers at the parliamentary elections of March 31. Those elections proved to be far from free and fair, as the author personally observed at a polling station in the city of Poltava. This is not to say that Ukraine has now reached the dubious level of countries like Belarus, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. True, the Ukraine is full of 'indecent' politicians and political parties and it is ruled by an autocratic President. But the level of cooperation to be established between President, Parliament (Verchovna Rada) and Council of Ministers will ultimately determine whether Ukraine takes the road towards democracy.
  
- Hrechaninov, Vadym  
Military Domain : Way to Controllability.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 2, 2002, p. 49-57.
  
- Losovsky, I.  
Osnach, M.  
The Decade of Ukraine's OSCE Membership : Results & Priorities.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 2, 2002, p. 32-39.
  
- Losovsky, I.  
Osnach, M.  
Ten Years of Ukraine's Participation in the OSCE.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 1, 2002, p. 32-37.

- Maeder-Metcalf, Beate  
The Gongadze Murder and Ukrainian Democracy.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 1, 2002, p. 39-48.  
The beheading of internet journalist and government critic Georgi Gongadze more than a year ago remains unsolved. And Ukrainian media remain intimidated. Officials see the press primarily as a weapon to wield in political rivalry. The OSCE, the Council of Europe, and NATO in its 'distinctive partnership' with Kyiv should do better in supporting democratic Ukrainians.
  
- Malek, Martin  
Die europäische Integration der Ukraine : einige sicherheitspolitische Aspekte.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 51. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 2002, S. 7-8.
  
- Moshes, Arkady  
Russian-Ukrainian Rapprochement of 2001 : How Viable ?  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 33, no. 2, June 2002, p. 157-170.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The first 18 months of Vladimir Putin's presidency turned out to be a period of unprecedented activity in Russian-Ukrainian relations. A number of problems were seriously approached, among these the issue of Ukrainian gas debts. At the same time, it remains unclear whether the new cooperative dynamics will prevail or whether the conflictual legacy of the 1990s will become an insurmountable impediment to further improvement. This article attempts to analyse the factors which determined the ongoing evolution in Russian-Ukrainian relations in order to demonstrate that the positive dynamics had to do with changes in the views of the Russian leadership and in the export strategies of Russia's big businesses, as well as the evolution of Ukraine's posture vis-a-vis Europe, rather than with the internal political situation in Ukraine in 2001. The article also examines the main remaining controversies between the two countries in the economic and humanitarian spheres and offers a view on whether reciprocally pragmatic approaches are possible.
  
- Mychajlyszyn, Natalie  
Civil-Military Relations in Post-Soviet Ukraine : Implications for Domestic and Regional Stability.  
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 28, no. 3, Spring 2002, p. 455-479.  
<http://www.ingentaselect.com>  
Ukraine's progress towards a fully functioning democratic, civilian model has been weak. Due to the weakness of the military as a political force in Ukraine, this lack of progress itself does not threaten Ukraine's domestic stability. Instead, of greater concern and potential impact are the absence of significant military restructuring and implementation of Ukraine's military and strategic doctrine as well as the absence of any measure of civil-military control over the internal security forces of Ukraine. Moreover, the arrest of military restructuring impacts fundamentally on regional security as it affects Ukraine's ability and capacity to forestall any military aggression as well as Ukraine's contribution to multinational peacekeeping operations, under either NATO or UN auspices. Ultimately, the lack of progress in democratic civil-military reforms in Ukraine is of greater significance at the regional level than at the national one.

- Parchomenko, Walter  
Prospects for Genuine Reform in Ukraine's Security Forces.  
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 28, no. 2, Winter 2002, p. 279-308.  
<http://www.ingentaselect.com>  
Despite a steady increase in official rhetoric about genuine reform in Ukraine's security services, the president and high command of the MOD and non-MOD security forces still do not see a need for dramatic changes in the country's excessive military organization and are not ready for far-reaching reforms. During 2001, defense spending is expected to increase only modestly in absolute terms, once again covering barely 50 percent of the military's needs. Given the harsh economic realities facing the country, and President Kuchma's profound reluctance to press for deep reductions and far-reaching optimization of all security forces, Ukraine in 2005 will likely still have huge, redundant security forces and a poorly trained and equipped military. The military can expect a survival - not reform - budget well beyond 2005, and personnel cuts beyond those scheduled for the end of 2005 seem inevitable.
  
- Pascual, Carlos  
Pifer, Steven  
Ukraine's Bid for a Decisive Place in History.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 175-192.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The current and former U.S. ambassadors to Ukraine chart some of the lessons of the last 10 years and the issues ahead. Although Ukraine's future is its own to define, outsiders can help or hinder the prospects for partnership in the Euro-Atlantic community.
  
- Pavliuk, Oleksandr  
An Unfulfilling Partnership : Ukraine and the West, 1991-2001.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 81-101.  
The political crisis in Ukraine in early 2001 and then the terrorist attacks against the US and the resulting dramatic change of international setting have sealed the trend that had emerged much earlier : the once promising partnership between Ukraine and the West has ended up in mutual unhappiness. As the West is discovering new 'geopolitical pivots' in the aftermath of 11 September, Ukraine has almost disappeared from the radar screen of Western attention. Yet for good reasons what happens in Ukraine, a currently uncertain and weakened country with a poor international reputation, still matters for the West. There has always been a close link between Ukraine's transition and Western attitudes towards Ukraine. This might be the moment to think afresh about past and future Western policies vis-a-vis Ukraine.
  
- Pyrozhkov, Serhiy  
Report of the National Institute for International Security Problems.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 3, 2002, p. 27-35.
  
- Shulman, Stephen  
Sources of Civic and Ethnic Nationalism in Ukraine.  
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 18, no. 4, December 2002, p. 1-30.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
A vigorous debate is under way in Ukraine over what features do or should form the basis for a state-wide national identity. Instead of a simple battle over the primacy of a civic versus ethnic national identity, much of the controversy is over two variants of ethnic national identity : Ethnic Ukrainian and Eastern Slavic. Four sets of factors have a strong influence on the strength of a civic and the two ethnic variants of national identity at the mass level in Ukraine : 1) ethnic and cultural demography; 2) age and effectiveness of the state and its institutions; 3) elite discourse in civic and ethnic nationalism; and 4) state policies. These factors yield a complex pattern of competing pressures on

mass national identification in Ukraine. Only future empirical measurement can assess the relative strength of the civic and two ethnic national identities that result from these competing pressures.

- Toritsyn, Arkady  
Miller, Eric A.  
From East to West and Back Again : Economic Reform and Ukrainian Foreign Policy.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 102-126.  
In this article the authors argue that when Former Soviet Union (FSU) leaders can obtain Western economic resources, then their foreign policy will more often be independent of Russia. The principal factor they examine with respect to securing Western economic assistance concerns the willingness of leaders to implement economic reform, an enabling condition that allows leaders to adopt policies more independent from Russia. In contrast, if leaders cannot secure Western economic resources because of a lack of reform, they are more likely to adopt a pro-Russian orientation. In the case of Ukrainian foreign policy throughout the past decade, the authors contend that there are three distinct phases. These include the initial anti-Russian policy of the early 1990s that proved unsuccessful because of a lack of reform, the more moderate Russian orientation in the middle of the decade when moderate reform was implemented, and a stronger pro-Russian orientation by the end of the decade as reform slowed.
  
- Yukhymenko, Volodymyr  
Export Potential of Ukraine.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 1, 2002, p. 41-47.
  
- Yukhymenko, Volodymyr  
For Joint Motives of Strategic Partnership : Economic Relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 3, 2002, p. 36-43.

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| <b>2001</b> |
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- Biliatsky, Serhiy D.  
Ten Years That Shook Us All.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 3, 2001, p. 3-17.
  
- Denysiuk, Vitaliy  
Distant European Horizons.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 4, 2001, p. 58-67.
  
- Goldsmith, Benjamin E.  
Economic Liberalism and Security Preferences : A Comparative Case Study of Russia and Ukraine in the 1990s.  
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 9, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 399-433.  
In this article, the author seeks to explain what seems to be a puzzling fact : since the fall of the USSR, Russia has had a greater preference than Ukraine for foreign ownership of large enterprises, including 'strategic' enterprises designated as important for national security. This is contrary to reasonable expectations based on military threat or perception of threat and economic interests. The author advances an explanation for this, which is based on psychological factors including the effect of formative events and schematic learning.
  
- Haran, Olexiy  
Can Ukrainian Communists and Socialists Evolve to Social Democracy ?  
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 9, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 570-587.

- Karatnycky, Adrian  
Meltdown in Ukraine.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 73-86.  
In the last several months, Ukraine has descended into chaos. A series of scandals linking President Leonid Kuchma to vote fraud, corruption, the disappearance of journalists, and the harassment of opposition politicians has rocked this struggling country. Meanwhile, Western criticism has only pushed Kuchma toward Moscow's more welcoming embrace. A careful response from Washington and Brussels can still stop Kiev's descent into tyranny - but there's no time to lose.
  
- Kincade, William H.  
Troubled Triangle : Russia, Ukraine and the United States.  
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 24, no. 1, March 2001, p. 104-142.  
A potentially productive triangular arrangement among Russia, Ukraine, and the US emerged in 1994 from efforts to constrain nuclear weapons diffusion. By 2001, this promising initiative was nearly moribund, owing to the inability or unwillingness of the parties to fulfill the commitments of subsequent agreements. The domestic and external causes of this failure are many and clear. Yet the advantages to each of reengaging in a trilateral relationship are also plain. This means fulfilling their unfinished agenda by learning from past mistakes, adopting realistic premises and goals, and pursuing 'bottom up' as well as 'top down' strategies.
  
- Kubicek, Paul  
The Limits of Electoral Democracy in Ukraine.  
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer 2001, p. 117-139.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
In the past two years Ukraine has held new elections for both its parliament and president. Some might claim that these elections are evidence of democratic progress. However, elections are only a necessary, not sufficient component of democracy, and to make judgement about democratic consolidation solely on the basis of elections is to fall victim to the fallacy of 'electoralism'. While it is true that Ukraine does possess an electoral democracy, democratic consolidation remains elusive and is susceptible to a variety of problems. These include a weak civil society and weak political parties, regional divisions, unstable political institutions and a lack of the rule of law. By some measures Ukraine may even have regressed from 1994, as an oligarchy has consolidated itself and authoritarian trends are readily discernible.
  
- Kuzio, Taras  
Moroney, Jennifer D. P.  
Ukraine and the West : Moving from Stability to Strategic Enlargement.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2001, p. 111-126.  
This article surveys the West's engagement with Ukraine during the last decade and argues in support of a more robust, coherent and committed policy towards Ukraine. The West's ambivalent policy towards Ukraine was matched by Ukraine's amorphous and declaratory policy towards integration into Trans-Atlantic and European structures. This weakly defined foreign policy was matched by an unclear commitment domestically to reform. The article is divided into six sections that cover Ukraine's strategic importance to the West and the rise of geopolitical pluralism in the post-Soviet space. It then surveys Ukraine's reform record and the role of national identity in Ukraine's foreign policy. It also discusses the ambivalence in both Western policy towards Ukraine and Ukraine's policy towards 'returning to Europe'. Finally, it makes six policy recommendations for Western governments to increase their strategic engagement with Ukraine.

- Lakhno, Serhiy  
WTO Membership : Problems Are Still There.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 3, 2001, p. 88-91.
  
- Lombardi, Ben  
The Ukrainian Armed Forces, Defence Expenditure and Military Reform.  
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 14, no. 3, September 2001, p. 31-68.  
As one of the largest military establishments in post-Cold War Europe, the Ukrainian Armed Forces have increasingly become the topic of discussions at NATO, as well as in Ukraine's foreign bilateral relations. These talks have included the restructuring and downsizing of the armed forces' establishment inherited from the Soviet-era. Military reform has, until recently, confronted many serious obstacles. Some of these have been political, while others, such as the country's extreme financial uncertainty, are more resistant to rapid change. This article looks at the organisation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, examines the current military reform programme, and raises some of the more important problems associated with restructuring.
  
- Moroney, Jennifer D. P.  
Frontier Dynamics and Ukraine's Ties to the West.  
PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM, vol. 48, no. 2, March - April 2001, p. 15-24.  
Despite Ukraine's ties to NATO, Kyiv fears it will be excluded from Europe. Efforts to improve relations with the European Union have been even more frustrating.
  
- Sasse, Gwendolyn  
The New Ukraine : A State of Regions.  
REGIONAL AND FEDERAL STUDIES, vol. 11, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 69-100.  
Post-Soviet Ukraine is composed of regions which historically have never been united within one independent state. The contribution argues that the 'new' Ukraine has had to face several regional rather than clear-cut ethnic challenges since gaining independence in 1991. Rather than being a destabilizing factor, the regionalization of Ukraine's political, socio-economic and administrative structures has contributed to its political stability. Regional political mobilization occurred in only a few regions, with Crimea posing the only serious ethno-regional challenge to Ukrainian state-building. Conflict in Crimea was widely expected but did not occur due to the absence of clearly demarcated ethno-political boundaries and the weakness of Russian nationalism both in Crimea and in Russia. Most importantly, the protracted process of negotiation at the regional and national level channelled the Crimean issue into a constitutional settlement.
  
- Shea, Timothy C.  
Shaping on NATO's Doorstep : U.S.-Ukraine Relations.  
JOINT FORCE QUARTERLY, no. 29, Autumn - Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 58-64.  
[http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq\\_pubs/index.htm](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/index.htm)  
This article examines how DOD executes the national military strategy in shaping the international security environment relative to Ukraine. US engagement strategy has been moderately successful and is worth continuing, but resources have not been leveraged sufficiently. The government in Kiev has shrewdly exploited American efforts to its own advantage while largely spurning attempts to influence its external behavior or internal politics.

- Sherr, James  
Civil-Democratic Control of Ukraine's Armed Forces : To What End ? By  
What Means ?  
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 17, no. 1,  
March 2001, p. 65-77.  
Ukraine does not have the luxury of regarding the building of democratic  
civilian control of its military establishment as an end in itself. It is  
not enough that the armed forces are subservient to the country's  
political authorities : they must also be capable of performing the tasks  
assigned to them - they must be effective. Otherwise, they can pose as  
grave a danger to national security as an army that is subject to no  
control at all. The challenge for Ukraine is to overcome the negative  
legacies of its communist past, to adopt new democratic norms of  
civil-military relations, and to develop the modern, flexible, effective  
(and cost-effective) armed forces that it so desperately needs. Although  
much progress has been made, especially at an analytical level with the  
drawing up of a new National Security and Defence Concept in 1997, there  
remains far more to be done and the future remains uncertain.
  
- Sherr, James  
A Fresh Start for Ukrainian Military Reform ?  
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 107-126.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Pressing domestic and external problems require not only the reduction,  
but also the restructuring of Ukraine's defence and security force.  
Internally, the dangerous deterioration of the economy makes cuts in  
defence spending unavoidable. Externally, renewed Russian pressures and  
the Kosovo conflict of March-June 1999 enhanced Ukraine's sense of  
geopolitical vulnerability. Moreover, the impending enlargement of the  
European Union reinforces pressure to develop European standards of  
border control along with security forces capable of countering illegal  
migration and transnational crime. To meet these challenges, the  
five-year State Reform Programme appears, in most respects, to be  
realistic and practical. However, the military still wants to maintain a  
larger defence establishment than economic circumstances allow. And there  
is still insufficient awareness of the connections between defence  
reform, economic reform, and democratic reform. The struggles to  
democratise Ukraine and to strengthen its security are becoming  
increasingly inseparable.
  
- Torbakov, Igor  
Apart from Russia or Part of Russia : A Sad Saga of Ukrainian-Russian  
Relations.  
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 9, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 588-602.

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| 2000 |
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- Finberg, Leonid  
Lecons de l'election presidentielle.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1002, fevrier 2000, p. 4-13.  
Parmi les quinze candidats autorises a se presenter au premier tour de  
l'election presidentielle du 31 octobre 1999, cinq etaient reellement  
credibles, et parmi eux, le President sortant Leonid Koutchma, qui  
disposait de ressources et de moyens de propagande largement superieurs a  
tous ses adversaires reunis. Il arriva donc largement en tete, devant le  
communiste Petro Simonenko, les autres candidats se montrant de leur cote  
incapables de former un bloc d'opposition. Il fut finalement reelu au  
second tour, avec 56,3% des voix. Mais ce fut une victoire par default et  
non un vote d'approbation de son quinquennat, qui a vu la montee en  
puissance des oligarchies et des clans, les libertes restreintes,  
l'accaparement des richesses par un petit nombre, les speculations  
douteuses mais lucratives sur les produits energetiques notamment, le  
developpement de l'economie souterraine et la pauperisation d'une grande  
partie de la population.

- Gubsky, Bogdan  
The Enlargement of the European Union : Challenges and Prospects for Ukraine.  
CHALLENGE EUROPE, 3rd October 2000, accessed 23/10/00.  
<http://www.theepc.be>
  
- Laroussilhe, Olivier de  
Les embarras de Kiev.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 89, automne 2000, p. 289-305.  
Nine years after its independence, Ukraine's future remains uncertain. It has established a position as a regional and international player, moving closer to the European Union and NATO while maintaining good relations with Moscow. But the transition to the market economy and the rule of law has been far more difficult in Ukraine than elsewhere in Eastern Europe or indeed in Russia. Long subsumed into the Soviet Union, Ukraine's economy is obsolete and heavily dependent on Russia. Ukraine is indeed faced with an immense challenge. Democratic reform has been restrained by the former Soviet nomenklatura and by the weakness of civil society. Ukrainian identity remains fragile, while the future expansion of the European Union may push the country into Russia's zone of influence. Above all, structural reforms (privatizations, overhaul of industry, administrative, fiscal and banking reform) have been delayed, while corruption undermines power and authority. With time, the country's independence will be consolidated and its national elite will be renewed. The future of the country lies in the younger generation.
  
- Parchomenko, Walter  
The State of Ukraine's Armed Forces and Military Reform.  
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 13, no. 3, September 2000, p. 63-86.  
This article discusses the socio-economic crisis facing Ukraine's armed forces. It argues that real military reform, defined to include Ukraine's parallel 'shadow' armies, is impossible if the current competition for scarce resources between Ministry of Defense (MOD) forces and non-MOD security forces is allowed to continue, and that without reform the armed forces will continue to slip deeper into chaos. The harsh realities facing the Ukrainian armed forces are examined, and Defense Minister Kuzmuk's current course of military reform is discussed, highlighting recent accomplishments and key deficiencies. Finally, prospects for future reform are considered, and recommendations offered for US policy towards Ukraine.
  
- Wolczuk, Roman  
Ukrainian-Polish Relations between 1991 and 1998 : From the Declaratory to the Substantive.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 127-156.  
From the first days of Ukraine's independence, Poland was singled out by Kyiv to act as its 'strategic partner'. This partnership was expected to extend to Poland helping Ukraine integrate with subregional institutions and move ever closer to regional institutions. However, up until 1994, Ukraine's hopes were frustrated - Poland's own objectives precluded it from moving too close to Ukraine. This article will argue that the demands of regional integration, in particular NATO enlargement, promoted a greater harmonisation of policy objectives between Kyiv and Warsaw (especially on the bilateral and subregional levels) from the time it was announced. The positive impact of NATO enlargement contrasts with the deleterious effects of EU enlargement, which threatened to disrupt ties between the two neighbours.

- Cook, Frank  
Zayets, Yvan  
Ukraine and Its Armed Forces : A New Actor on the European Stage.  
DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 1999, 20  
p. (491.6/22).
  
- Kuchma, Leonid D.  
Partnership between Ukraine and NATO already Proved.  
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, no. 1, 1999, p. 138-140.
  
- Meulen, J. W. van der  
Toenadering Polen-Oekraïne : noodzakelijk maar moeilijk.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 3, maart 1999, p. 161-165.  
The author presents an analysis of relations between Poland and Ukraine from Polish perspectives. Close cooperation between these middle powers in Eastern Europe is of vital importance to building new European security structures. Both governments refer to a strategic partnership. Moreover, Polish opinion is convinced of the independence of Ukraine as a crucial element in Poland's security. Historical traumas, however, play a psychologically negative role in mutual relations. Despite Poland's good intentions, Polish priority to membership of NATO (and the EU) will make it even more difficult to pretend to favour Ukraine's incorporation into the European security architecture and to prevent its isolation.
  
- Sherr, James  
Ukraine's New Time of Troubles.  
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 2, June 1999, p. 48-88.  
By means of vigorous cooperation with NATO and a shrewd, 'multi-vectored' foreign policy, Ukraine has done much to develop an independent identity since 1991. Yet these successes have done little to improve the country's samostiynist', its ability to 'stand on its feet'. The dominance of financial-industrial clans and Soviet era dependencies not only risk making an unreformed economy unreformable, but also endanger national security. Western economic assistance (and NATO's programmes of cooperation) have addressed these problems superficially, whereas the European Union's approach to enlargement could shut Ukraine out of Europe. Such an outcome could have adverse consequences in Russia and Central Europe.
  
- Tarasyuk, Borys  
Distinctive Partnership with NATO : Milestone of Ukraine's Security Policy.  
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, no. 1, 1999, p. 142-144.
  
- Wolczuk, Roman  
The Evolution of Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy, 1990-1994.  
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 3, September 1999, p. 18-37.  
On independence in 1991, Ukraine's foreign and security policy was based on four commitments - non-bloc status, non-nuclear status, neutrality and independent bilateral ties - as outlined in the Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty announced a year earlier. This article argues that while non-bloc status and neutrality were achieved quickly if not painlessly, there was vacillation on the implementation of the commitment to denuclearization because of Russian hegemonic tendencies, a disinterested West, and the perceived inappropriateness of the policy. Only with the input of the United States was denuclearization finally achieved. The article concludes that this established a foundation for future successes

in Ukrainian foreign and security policy such as the eventual establishment of harmonious bilateral ties with Russia.

1998

- Arel, Dominique  
Ukraine : The Muddle Away.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 97, no. 621, October 1998, p. 342-346.  
Ukraine has pursued a three-pronged policy of avoiding economic reforms, steering clear of any meaningful integration with Russia, and postponing a determination of the status of the Russian language and Crimea. The writing is now on the wall.
  
- Horbulin, Volodymyr  
Ukraine's Contribution to Security and Stability in Europe.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 9-12.  
Since independence at the end of 1991, Ukraine has not only pursued the goal of integration into European and transatlantic institutions, but has sought to make a useful contribution to security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. This, according to Secretary Horbulin, has entailed political and economic reform at home, participation in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions abroad, as well as setting an unprecedented example for the world in giving up nuclear arms. While Ukraine recognises that there is still a long road ahead and much work to be done, it has positioned itself as a key actor in the emerging European security architecture, helping to maintain security and stability in Europe.
  
- Kalchenko, Valentin  
Ukraine-NATO Cooperation in Civil Emergency Planning.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 13-15.  
A major step forward in Ukraine-NATO cooperation was taken when the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership was signed in Madrid in July 1997. In implementing the Charter, Ukraine is seeking to maximise its utility and civil emergency planning is one of the more concrete areas of cooperation with NATO. In this article, Mr. Kalchenko presents the milestones in Ukraine-NATO cooperation in this field and the importance it holds for Ukraine.
  
- Kuzio, Taras  
The Domestic Sources of Ukrainian Security Policy.  
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 21, no. 4, December 1998, p. 18-49.  
Domestic factors play an important role in the formulation and evolution of a country's foreign and security policy. This is clearly seen in the case study of a Soviet successor state, Ukraine. This article brings together in seven sections theory with the key domestic factors that influence Ukrainian security policy, such as economics, energy, national identity, elites and political parties. The article provides an insight into how these domestic factors influence the course of Ukrainian security policy which is striking a balance between the twin extremes of Soviet re-integration, which would be tantamount to the loss of independence, and nationalist maximalism which seeks to place as much distance as possible between Ukraine and Russia.
  
- Kuzio, Taras  
Ukraine and NATO : The Evolving Strategic Partnership.  
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 21, no. 2, June 1998, p. 1-30.  
The article explores the evolution of Ukrainian-NATO relations since the disintegration of the former USSR. It argues that Ukraine's elites have made a strategic decision in favour of integration into European and Trans-Atlantic structures. These ruling elites are divided into 'romantic' and 'pragmatic' groups. The former support a Baltic-style immediate demand of NATO membership while the latter opt for non-bloc status as a stage to future NATO membership. Ukraine's pragmatic elites

have declared their aim of EU and WEU membership while only outlining a future desire for NATO membership. Nevertheless, whereas NATO has adopted an open door policy the EU/WEU have defined two groups of future members which exclude Ukraine. Such a Western policy could turn Ukraine into another 'Turkey' which may achieve future NATO membership while being excluded from the EU/WEU as somehow 'non-European'.

- Kuzio, Taras

Ukraine : Coming to Terms with the Soviet Legacy.

JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 14, no. 4, December 1998, p. 1-27.

The seven decades of Soviet rule had both a negative and positive impact but broadly advanced the cause of Ukrainian statehood and nationhood. Tsarist Russia administered Ukraine as provinces of Russia and regarded its inhabitants as 'Little Russians', for whom a separate identity was not contemplated. The Soviet system accorded Ukraine the trappings of statehood, including UN membership, and this undoubtedly helped reinforce a distinctive identity; nevertheless, official attitudes against bourgeois nationalism meant that the flowering of Ukrainian identity could not take place in Soviet conditions; the indigenization policy of the 1920s was abandoned and replaced by suspicion and hostility towards manifestations of a Ukrainian ethnos. In the post-Soviet period, state-building is deemed to have been achieved, but the distribution of ethnic and linguistic groups on the territory of modern Ukraine means that nation-building is a continuing process.

- Martel, William C.

Is Ukraine a Universal Example of Non-proliferation ?

DEFENSE ANALYSIS, vol. 14, no. 3, December 1998, p. 309-322.

The purpose of this paper is to examine Ukraine's decision in 1994 to relinquish the nuclear arms that it inherited from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) from the perspective of competing incentives and disincentives. More importantly, that decision represents a critical test of the motivations of states to possess nuclear weapons.

- Mychajlyszyn, Natalie

The OSCE in Crimea.

HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 9, no. 4, 1998, p. 30-43.

How significant has the OSCE been in preventing intra-state ethnic conflict in the post-Soviet region ? According to one popularly held viewpoint, the OSCE has played an invaluable role in this regard. An often-cited positive example of the OSCE's achievements in conflict prevention has been its involvement in Crimea, with specific reference to the activities of the OSCE Mission to Ukraine and the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM). Supporters of this view refer to the OSCE-sponsored round tables, the quiet diplomacy of the HCNM among the disputants, the formal recognition of Crimea's autonomous status in the June 1996 Ukrainian constitution and the absence of violence in Crimea to argue the contribution of the OSCE in preventing conflict in Crimea. This article challenges this view and presents an opposing position. While it disputes neither the OSCE's activities in Crimea nor that conflict has as yet been prevented, it questions the extent to which the OSCE has influenced this outcome. The article argues that the OSCE has played a minor role and supports this argument with the results of an examination of the OSCE's impact on the prevention of conflict in Crimea. These results are based on a comparison of the OSCE's impact with other actors and factors involved in the prevention of conflict in Crimea. They are also based on a comparison of the potential for conflict after the intervention of the OSCE with that prior to its intervention. Thus, factors other than the OSCE can be shown to have influenced the prevention of conflict on the Ukrainian peninsula. The article also concludes that, while the overall potential for conflict in Crimea has diminished since the OSCE's intervention in February 1994, specifically with respect to Crimea's status in Ukraine, the potential for its

escalation remains and the situation in Crimea demands our continued attention and concern.

- Nordberg, Marc  
Domestic Factors Influencing Ukrainian Foreign Policy.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 63-91.  
Ukraine is currently undergoing several large-scale transitions : political, economic and democratic. At the same time Ukraine is gaining in importance internationally. These facts make Ukraine an important country to understand. This article explores the internal factors that affect Ukraine's foreign policy decision making, with the goal of providing an insight into the Ukrainian government. Internal influences are dividing into five broad categories : military capabilities, economic capabilities, political structure, interest groups, and competing elites. It has been found that economic factors, the presidential administration, and competing elites prove to have the most influence on Ukrainian foreign policy.
  
- Potekhin, Olexander  
Features of Ukraine's Foreign Policy.  
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 51, no. 6, 1998, p. 37-56.
  
- Wehrschutz, Christian F.  
Die russisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen unter dem Aspekt der NATO-Osterweiterung.  
OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 36. Jg., Heft 1, Janner - Februar 1998, S. 29-34.
  
- Wehrschutz, Christian F.  
Ukraine : die Parlamentswahl stabilisiert die Stagnation.  
OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 36. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 1998, S. 525-534.
  
- Wise, Charles R.  
Brown, Trevor L.  
The Consolidation of Democracy in Ukraine.  
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 116-137.  
This article analyses the process of democratic consolidation in Ukraine. The ultimate stability of democracy has to do with the persistence and durability of democratic regimes over time, particularly through periods of conflict, crisis and strain. The authors identify a host of challenges newly constituted democracies face early in the process of consolidation which pose threats to the stability of democracy. In discussing the case of Ukraine, the authors elaborate on these threats and examine how Ukraine has faced many of these challenges. They discuss how the manner in which these threats are managed and resolved may contribute to the survivability of democracy in Ukraine over the long run. Finally, they identify the challenges and threats to Ukrainian democracy that still litter the road ahead.

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| <b>1997</b> |
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- Alexandrova, Olga  
The NATO-Ukraine Charter : Kiev's Euro-Atlantic Integration.  
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 4, 1997, p. 325-334.  
As a country renouncing nuclear weapons, Ukraine initially sought a neutral status and, like Russia, set about viewing NATO as its adversary. Its attitude towards the alliance has changed considerably over the years. The determinant political forces in Kiev increasingly turned to NATO in an effort to establish ties which were as close as possible. The result of these efforts is a NATO-Ukraine Charter, which, in contrast to the NATO-Russia Founding Act, is not orientated to safeguards against the

alliance, but to a process of convergence. In this article the author analyses the document from a primarily Ukrainian perspective.

- Bertsch, Gary  
Zaborsky, Victor  
Bringing Ukraine into the MTCR : Can US Policy Succeed ?  
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 27, no. 2, April 1997, p. 9-14.
  
- Birch, Sarah  
Nomenklatura Democratization : Electoral Clientelism in Post-Soviet Ukraine.  
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 4, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 40-62.  
Electoral clientelism could represent a significant threat to democratic consolidation in post-communist states. Recent elections in Ukraine provide a prime example of the way in which communist-era elites have been able to use electoral mechanisms to launder their political resources. Evidence suggests that economic disarray has created a situation in which large sectors of the electorate are willing to have their votes bought by political machines, rather than having them won through competition between parties offering different policy packages. Clientelism of this type appears to be engaged in by two types of political actor in Ukraine : left wing parties and individual members of the economic and political elite.
  
- Bukkvol, Tor  
Ukraine and NATO : The Politics of Soft Cooperation.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 3, September 1997, p. 363-374.  
This article aims to explain the shift in the Ukrainian attitude towards NATO enlargement. It first discusses the nature of present Ukrainian-NATO relations, and then tries to explain the shift in attitude by tracing the balance of costs and benefits that the Ukrainian political leadership expects to result from the more positive position on NATO enlargement. The analysis connects the attitude towards enlargement with the broader issue of how Ukraine is trying to define its identity and place in the new security architecture of Europe.
  
- Castel, Viviane du  
L'Ukraine : un carrefour strategique ?  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 53eme annee, juillet 1997, p. 91-106.
  
- Kharchenko, Ihor  
The New Ukraine-NATO Partnership.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 5, September - October 1997, p. 27-29.  
Why is the Charter signed with NATO in Madrid so important to Ukraine? According to Dr. Kharchenko, who was closely involved in its negotiations, the Charter codifies the special character of Ukraine-NATO relations and represents recognition by the Euro-Atlantic community of Ukraine's key role in European security. It also helps to lock-in the reform process underway in Ukraine, ensuring that the country will be a net contributor to stability in Europe.
  
- Konertz, M. L.  
Coyle, R. G.  
A Tentative Model for a Theory of Conflict between Two States : (1) Development of Theory; (2) Russia and Ukraine : an Illustrative Analysis.  
DEFENSE ANALYSIS, vol. 13, no. 1, April 1997, p. 59-101.  
It can be stated that a large number of factors influence a conflict and that these factors differ from conflict to conflict and even from state to state. Therefore, it is difficult to identify general rules for conflict between two states. However, the various factors can be

organized into groups. The tentative approach used in this paper is that a conflict situation can be described by three major categories of factors : the conflict potential, the internal and external forces, and the approach of the two states to regulating the conflict. After a simplified and compact model for the theory of a conflict between two states is developed, the capability of the model to reflect reality at a satisfactory level needs to be tested. The model should allow one to visualize the past development of a conflict and, ideally, to anticipate future conflict trends. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is used to illustrate the extent to which the model can meet these requirements.

- Kouzmyk, Aleksander I.  
Ukraine's Contribution to World Peace : A Special Partnership with NATO.  
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 42, no. 4, 1997, p. 19-21.
  
- Kubicek, Paul  
Post-Soviet Ukraine : In Search of a Constituency for Reform.  
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 13, no. 3, September 1997, p. 103-126.  
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SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 3, Autumn 1997, p. 33-50.  
The 27-31 May 1997 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Russia and Ukraine, and the accompanying resolution of the status of Russia's Black Sea Fleet, has redefined the relationship between the two states. The accords finally give substance to Russia's rhetorical recognition of Ukraine's territorial integrity, and mark a shift away from pressure towards cooperation as a way of persuading Ukraine that its future lies in closer integration with Russia. The accords also seem to vindicate Ukraine's policy of building up relations with NATO and the West. While there is still opposition to the Russia-Ukraine deal in both countries, and an enduring desire by powerful Russian interests to dominate Ukraine, the Black Sea Fleet accords provide a basis for hope that Russian-Ukrainian relations will continue to improve.'
  
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Theoretically, Ukraine would be a classic country for a federal administrative structure. The historic, cultural and economic situations in the individual regions differ very much from each other. The regional administrations are striving for more autonomy and independence. The present central state hardly meets the requirements of regions. The democratization efforts which are implemented after Western patterns were to facilitate the process of the state reform and to introduce federal values in the country. But despite the administrative reform, the republic is not a modern state yet.
  
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ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 22, no. 4, Summer 1996, p. 573-597.  
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Depuis l'effondrement de l'URSS en 1991, un processus de denuclearisation a ete progressivement mis en place en Bielorussie, en Ukraine et au Kazakhstan, afin, d'une part de repondre aux problemes de securite poses par la presence hors de Russie d'armes nucleaires strategiques ex-sovietiques et d'autre part, d'appliquer START I. Arrivant bientot a son terme, ce processus, qui visait au rapatriement de l'ensemble des armes strategiques en Russie, ne s'est pas deroule sans anicroches, les dirigeants de Minsk, Almaty et Kiev ayant cherche a retirer un benefice financier, politique et strategique maximal de la presence de ces armes sur leurs territoires respectifs.
  
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Five years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the shape of European security is hotly debated. As NATO and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe tackle the issues again, Taras Kuzio argues that Ukraine is in a unique position - vulnerable and influential.
  
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Since achieving independence in 1991, Ukraine has found itself caught between two conflicting pressures : its desire to join all-European institutions on the one hand, and its close economic dependence on Russia on the other. The key question is whether - and for how long - Ukraine can continue this difficult balancing act. Several trends - a slow-down in economic reform, a more assertive Russian policy towards integration in the Commonwealth of Independent States, and NATO enlargement, could combine to complicate Ukraine's security environment and make Ukraine's pursuit of a policy of neutrality more difficult. To ensure Ukraine's survival as an independent, sovereign state the West needs to do more than it is currently doing to support Ukrainian independence and Ukraine's political and economic transition.
  
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Ukraine has yet to solve the challenge of life after communism. Hyperinflation is just a memory and democracy is well entrenched, but production is declining, state industries remain unsold, and investors have largely stayed away. With nationalists ascendant in Russia, Ukraine needs Western money and diplomatic backing to preserve its independence and keep reform on track. A free, democratic Ukraine can serve as a model for Russia, prevent a new Soviet Union, and promote stability among its neighbors. A civil war between its Russified east and its more Ukrainian west, or its absorption into a new Russian empire, would reverberate throughout Europe.

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Crimea has been characterized as a flashpoint for future European  
security and is both part of Ukraine's state-building process and a  
specific case in itself. Ownership of the Black Sea Fleet is but one  
issue : inter-ethnic relations (including the sensitive question of the  
position of the Crimean Tatars), economic and social factors (such as the  
peninsula's heavy dependence on Ukraine for goods and materials and  
Ukraine's dependence on Russian energy), political organization (notably  
the constitutional position within Ukraine and the powers of the Crimean  
president and parliament), and international and strategic aspects (in  
particular the relative claims of Russian and Ukrainian nationalism in  
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Various scenarios place the issue of Crimea at the heart of Ukrainian  
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At present, the principles on nonalignment and neutrality are considered  
to be the keystone of the Ukrainian foreign and security policy. While  
other countries are either striving for membership in NATO or speaking of  
a reevaluation of the neutral principles, the policy of the Ukraine is  
focussed on the implementation of special goals. Are these goals  
innovative or do they simply mean a lack of determination in foreign  
policy ? It is possible to achieve nonalignment and neutrality for the  
Ukraine under today's internal and external conditions ? Will there be  
more security when nonalignment and neutrality has been achieved ? Is  
Kiev really trying to reach these goals or is it playing a diplomatic  
game in order to be able to leave the Russian sphere of influence at the  
right time and to join the Western community ? An analysis of the  
Ukrainian public and political discussion offers only a partial answer to  
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Following Ukraine's 1991 declaration of independence and the disintegration of the USSR, Ukraine inherited a third of the Soviet Union's space industry. This paper presents an overview of the main features of Ukraine's current policy on the exploitation of this capability as a factor in the transformation of its economy. It illustrates how the policy is being realized in the areas of launch systems, Earth observation, satellite communications and international relations, and concludes that Ukraine's strengths in the space field are counterbalanced by obstacles which must be faced, both within the country and externally.
  
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As in all processes of democratization, elections have been playing a key role in post-Soviet Ukraine, and were part of the demands of reformers before the collapse of the USSR. The elections of 1993 and 1994 effected a peaceful transition from the Soviet-style parliamentary institutions elected in 1990 to the new parliament of independent Ukraine, based on a new electoral law. The results of opinion polls and of the actual voting promoted a growing range of parties, programmes and groups, and also revealed regional distinctions in their bases of support. While opposition parties complained of bias in favour of the 'Party of Power', and observers indicated the need for some changes in the electoral procedures, there is hope for stability following the successful resolution of constitutional conflicts between parliament and the presidency.
  
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The so-called 'Ukrainian dilemma' is fundamentally a security problem for the newly-independent Ukrainian state. It is a question of how to best guarantee Ukraine's national security against a historically realized and contemporarily perceived Russian threat, preferably with nuclear weapons; and simultaneously foster and maintain good relations with the West, which feels threatened and alienated by the prospect of Ukraine as a nuclear weapons state (NWS). It is a dilemma for the international community as well, whose policy choices have repercussions in Ukraine and, thus, ramifications for international security.
  
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