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THE STATE OF THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY

L'ETAT DE L'ECONOMIE RUSSE

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PART I : BOOKS
PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

Call Number: 338.9 /00535
Title: The Russian Economy in 1992 : Forecasts and Annual Survey of 1991
Published: Middlebury, VT : Geonomics Institute, 1992
Description: 48 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
Series: Occasional Paper ; 5
Subject(s): USSR--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
Added Entries: Geonomics Institute (US)

Call Number: 338.9 /00535
Title: The Russian Economy in 1993 : Forecasts and Annual Survey of 1992
Published: Middlebury, VT : Geonomics Institute, 1993
Description: 53 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
Added Entries: Academy of National Economy. Graduate School of International Business (SU)
Geonomics Institute (US)

Call Number: 338.9 /00586
Title: Post-Communist Reform : Pain and Progress
Published: Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 1993
Description: viii, 183 p. : ill.; 22 cm.
Notes: Bibliography: p. 175-180. Includes index. 'The authors of this report take up the issue of whether Russia's reform without stabilization can succeed or is a pact with the devil, bound to end in failure. They argue that the way to make progress in privatization is to realize that privatization is not about distribution or sale of the assets of 'the state', but rather of assets with many claimants : workers, managers, local authorities, ministries, all with an incentive to oppose a dilution of their claims. Recognizing that convertibility is unlikely to be quickly implemented in the ex-Soviet Union, they draw on the experience of the post-World War II European Payments Union to recommend a similar payments system.'
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
EUROPE, EASTERN--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
PRIVATIZATION--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 0262023628

* This list contains material received as of February 2000 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 29 février 2000.
Chapter I of this survey outlines some significant changes in the structure of the economy since 1991 and traces developments in 1994 and early 1995. Chapter II describes the policy-making process, summarising the state of reform legislation in 1994 and outlining some of the major changes made or planned in 1994-95. Chapter III discusses some of Russia's regional problems, noting the difficulties of establishing a stable system of fiscal relations between the federal and sub-federal levels of government. Chapter IV covers the central problem of the transition: the development of market institutions and behavior at the enterprise level. Chapter V discusses some labour market issues and the treatment of enterprises' social assets. Chapter VI discusses the standard of living and social security.

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added Entries: OECD

ISBN: 9264145877

Russia is not following a pre-determined ballistic path. It is in search of its future, and a maelstrom of complex forces - political, economic, sociocultural and international - will determine which of its possible futures actually eventuates. What one can do is seek to investigate these forces in as much detail as can be mustered. That is the aim of this book, which examines selected developments in Russia's politics, economy, foreign relations, and culture and society which are destined to play a substantial role in shaping Russia's future into the next century.

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Added Entries: Saikal, Amin, ed.
Maley, William, ed.

ISBN: 0521482607

Against the background of Russia's second parliamentary elections of December 1995, this book examines the social aspects of Russia's transition to the market. Chapters from UK and Russian specialists assess past, present and future developments in politics, economics and sociology, demography and the family, social structure, education, youth, the welfare state, labour policy, health care, civil society, national identity and law and order in the period from 1991-96. It is argued that the results of the recent December 1995 parliamentary elections and the communist and nationalist victories over the centrists demonstrate that declining living standards, the collapse of the welfare state, class conflict, rising unemployment, growing crime and the rise of the mafia might well adversely influence Russia's reforms and ultimately effect Russia's prospects of making a successful transition by the end of this decade.

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--SOCIAL CONDITIONS
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Added Entries: Williams, Christopher, ed.
               Chuprov, Vladimir, ed.
               Staroverov, Vladimir, ed.
ISBN: 1855217481

Call Number: 321 /00595
Title: The Search for Stability in Russia and the Former Soviet Bloc
Published: Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 1997
Description: xi, 215 p. ; 23 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'The Rome-based international School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO) has recently organized a series of meetings to review the prospects relating to the countries of the Former Soviet Union and of the other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This volume consists of chapters placed before these meetings.'
Subject(s): FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
           RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
           FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--ECONOMIC POLICY
           RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY
           POLITICAL STABILITY--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
           POLITICAL STABILITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Added Entries: Carlton, David, 1938- , ed.
               Ingram, Paul, ed.
ISBN: 1855218976

Call Number: 323 /00645
Title: The Territories of the Russian Federation
Published: London : Europa, 1999
Description: xi, 286 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'This book is a new work of reference surveying the 89 constituent units of federal Russia. Introductory material provides an historical and political context for the modern state, augmented by analysis of the regional role in the economy together with organizational and statistical details. Features include : a chronology of Russia; an article surveying the territorial economies and the effects of the 1998 crisis; statistics of major demographic and economic indicators; details on the federal government; plus maps showing the location of all the territorial units within the Federation. There is a chapter on every one of the 89 members of the Russian Federation (21 autonomous republics, six provinces, 49 regions, one autonomous region, two federal cities and 10 autonomous districts). Each chapter consists of : a map and geographical details; an historical and political narrative; an outline of the territorial economy, including the latest available statistics; and directory details of the leading political officials.'
Subject(s): FEDERAL GOVERNMENT--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
           RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS--REGIONAL DISPARITIES
ISBN: 1857430700

Call Number: 338.9 /00546
Title: Russia : Country Profile : 1999-2000
Published: London : Economist Intelligence Unit, 1999
Description: 52 p. : ill.; 27 cm.
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
            ECONOMIC INDICATORS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Added Entries: Economist Intelligence Unit (GB)
Notes: 'As a result of the centrally planned economic system, the economic potential of partial republics and individual regions used to be of little relevance for the companies which maintained economic ties with the former Soviet Union. This situation changed completely with the collapse of the USSR. The title of this study refers to the ethnic, cultural, geographical and economic diversity of this country. While such diversity also existed in the former Soviet Union, it was to a great extent "papered over" by central planners, which made it impossible to appreciate the full dimension of this diversity. In light of these facts, the authors of this study have attempted to analyse the Russian economy in its transition to a free market on both a sector and a regional basis. The result provides both a captivating and varied look at Russia.'

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added Entries: Institute for Advanced Studies (AU)
fragmentation is greater, with federal structures and presidential power undermined by the impact of a regional assault and internal systemic decay. The diminution of federal power and institutional effectiveness within the Federation can be attributed to a number of factors, particularly the exercise of contemporary presidential power, the role of FIGs, and the rise of regional power blocs. The decentralisation of power in the Russian Federation as a precursor to de facto federal disintegration is not a concept that most analysts would contemplate. It appears highly unlikely - as unlikely, indeed, as the breakup of the Soviet Union did in 1990. For this reason, if no other, it deserves analysis.'

Subject(s): FEDERAL GOVERNMENT--RUSSIA (FEDERATION) RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added Entries: University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

Call Number: 321 /00587
Author: Leonhard, Wolfgang
Title: Spiel mit dem Feuer : Russlands schmerzhafter Weg zur Demokratie
Published: Bergisch Gladbach : Gustav Lubbe Verlag, 1996
Description: 333 p. : ill.; 22 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'Die brillante Analyse des gegenwartigen Russland und der GUS. Mit einer Fulle aussagekräftiger Fakten und überraschender Erkenntnisse.'
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--CIS
ISBN: 3785708459

Call Number: 327 /00987
Author: Moshes, Arkady
Title: Turn of the Century : Russia Looks at the Baltic Sea Region
Published: Helsinki : Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 1998
Description: 25 p.; 30 cm.
Series: UPI Working Papers ; 12
Notes: 'This paper seeks to analyse new trends in the Russian policy in the Baltic Sea region in the second half of the 1990s. In order to argue that a) Russia is increasingly becoming a part of the Baltic Sea region and b) the importance of the region for Russia is growing, it seems to be correct to focus on quantitatively measurable sides of Russia's regional relationships (trends in economic cooperation, intensity of political interaction, number of people-to-people contacts etc). The idea is not to show that there are no problems between Russia and the other Baltic Sea states, but that the cooperation is possible and is taking place notwithstanding the problems.'
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION) RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Added Entries: Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FI)
ISBN: 9517690762

Call Number: 327 /00928
Author: Odom, William E.
Title: Russia : What Next ?
Published: Norfolk, VA : Old Dominion University, 1995
Description: 19 p.; 28 cm.
Series: GPIS Working Paper ; 95.4
Notes: This paper was prepared for a series of roundtable discussions, entitled 'The Future of NATO', held at Old
It seems clear that over the last two years the US-Russian relationship has gained a potential for serious misunderstandings which could, in turn, lead to a serious crisis. How did this trend come about? And what could be done to avert its potential damage? This essay will argue that US policies are based on assumptions about domestic developments in Russia which are fundamentally flawed: that Russia's progress in creating a market economy is occurring fairly rapidly; that Russia's political system is on the road to a liberal democracy which, although not perfect, still incorporates genuinely contested and periodic elections, relies on an inchoate constitutional order, and can avoid a serious reversal or return to totalitarianism; and, finally, that even though the Russian military may still be fretting about its loss of status and resources, it is adjusting to the new realities and defining a new role for itself within Russian society. In turn, these assumptions are encouraged by the policy advice provided by the Western scholarly community.

Subject(s): USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY

Call Number: 321 /00582
Author: Sapir, Jacques
Title: Le chaos russe : desordres economiques, conflits politiques, decomposition militaire
Published: Paris : La Decouverte, 1996
Description: 328 p.; 22 cm.
Notes: 'De soubresauts economiques en crises politiques, les changements entames en Russie depuis 1992 ont suivi une route bien chaotique. Le demantelement du systeme economique sovietique est loin d'avoir produit les effets que l'on en attendait : non seulement la crise rend chaque jour la vie plus difficile a la population, mais il n'est pas sur que les transformations en cours aient vraiment rapproche la Russie des economies de marche occidentales. Le pays semble divise entre une capitale, Moscou, qui s'occidentalise, et une province qui retourne au sovietisme. Le bilan politique n'est guere meilleur. En depit des elections, la democratie recule et la guerre se poursuit en Tchetchenie. Les gouvernants russes retrouvent les reflexes herites de leurs predecesseurs sovietiques, voire tsaristes. La corruption endemique au sein de la nouvelle elite, dont le developpement des mafias n'est que l'un des aspects, aboutit a l'emergence de guerres privees. Ces dernieres portent en elles le risque de la guerre civile et temoignent de la montee d'une pathologie politique inquietante. Ce livre eclaire d'une lumiere crue l'ensemble de ces evolutions. A partir de l'experience de son auteur, il montre comment un processus dans lequel on avait pu mettre de si nombreux espoirs a deraille. A ce constat, il donne un sens qui n'est pas celui d'un retour ineluctable a la guerre froide, ou a la marginalisation de la Russie. Cette derniere est moins la victime d'une malediction historique que de l'application sans retenue ni reserve du liberalisme occidental.'

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ARMED FORCES

ISBN: 2707125709
Call Number: 338.9 /00640
Author: Shlykov, Vitaly V.
Title: The Crisis in the Russian Economy
Published: Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1997
Description: iv, 18 p.; 23 cm.
Notes: 'Since the Soviet Union crumbled in 1991 and the Russian government set the country on its shaky journey toward capitalism and democracy, the Russian economy has been in a downward spiral; one which has drawn a majority of Russians into poverty and even lowered the average life expectancy by some 10 percent. To provide some scale for comprehending the magnitude of this problem, the more than 1.5 million men and women in uniform in the Russian armed forces and the 600,000 civilian employees of the Ministry of Defense, as well as the several million military pensioners throughout the land must share a total defense budget of $15-$18 billion per year. That is about one-fourth of the US Army's budget. This paper is a brutally honest appraisal of the harsh realities that are a part of today's Russia.'
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING
Added Entries: US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Call Number: 338.9 /00642
Author: Silverman, Bertram Yanowitch, Murray
Title: New Rich, New Poor, New Russia : Winners and Losers on the Russian Road to Capitalism
Published: Armonk, NY : Sharpe, 1997
Description: xvii, 159 p.; 24 cm.
Notes: Includes index.
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
POST COMMUNISM--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ISBN: 1563247046

Call Number: 321 /00554
Author: Sobell, Vladimir, 1948-
Title: The New Russia : A Political Risk Analysis
Published: London : Economist Intelligence Unit, 1994
Description: v, 118 p. : ill.; 27 cm.
Series: Research Report ; M213
Notes: 'The purpose of this research report is to give corporate and political decisionmakers a broader analysis which takes a long-term view of Russia's prospects. The report takes a step back from the daily torrent of events in Russia and describes where Russia comes from and looks at where it is headed. While concentrating on the economic and political transformation in Russia, this study also identifies the main security fault-lines and judges the likelihood of the worst-case scenarios happening.'
Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
ISBN: 0850587980

Call Number: 321 /00547
Author: Yergin, Daniel Gustafson, Thane
Title: Russia 2010 : And What It Means for the World : The CERA Report
Published: New York : Random House, 1993
Description: xiii, 300 p. : ill.; 25 cm.
Notes: Includes index. 'The collapse of the Soviet Union and communism is the most important event at the end of the 20th century. But what comes next? Using the technique of 'scenario
planning' the authors explore what the 'new Russian revolution' will bring. They analyse the consequences of each scenario for the US and other countries, pointing to possible surprises. They provide essential insight into emerging power relationship, local wars that could turn into larger conflicts, the time bombs of ethnic strife and the economic and political opportunities facing us in the future. They analyse the role of foreign investment and international aid, the priorities for arms control, and the fault lines that could shake relations between the US and Russia.'

Subject(s): RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FORECASTING
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT--FORECASTING
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY--FORECASTING
RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FORECASTING

ISBN: 0679429956
- Aspects du niveau de vie en Europe centrale et orientale et en Russie.
  COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 383, octobre 1993, numero entier.

- Multiple Russie : Profils socio-economiques des 21 republiques de la Federation, de la Carelie... a la Lakoutie.
  COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 393, octobre 1994, p. 3-69.

- Russia and Eurasia.

  Russia concludes its seventh year of postcommunist transition with a democratically elected government in place, a market economy under construction, and a society free to experiment. Or so the optimists would argue. This issue finds another Russia in transition : one with a government ruled by men, not laws; a market that prefers barter to cash; and a society more experimented on than experimenting.

- Arbatov, Georgi
  A New Cold War?
  FOREIGN POLICY, no. 95, Summer 1994, p. 90-103.

- Aslund, Anders
  Russia's Collapse.
  FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 5, September - October 1999, p. 64-77.

  Most people think that Russia's economic problems are due to the shock of fast and radical reforms. Actually, the Russian economy is not very liberalized at all, and its problems have been caused by reforms that were too slow and partial, not too sweeping. Russia suffers not from too free a market but from corruption, which thrives by preying on an unwieldy bureaucracy. Still, the outlook for the months ahead is promising. If Poland could do it, why can't Russia ? The private sector got a salutary wake-up call from the 1998 collapse of the ruble, and the strength of the political center bodes well for economic recovery and social change.

- Aslund, Anders
  Russia's Success Story.

  The Western perception of Russia as a destitute country on the verge of collapse or of falling into the hands of fascists could not be further from the truth. Much of the Russian economy has been successfully privatized and is now relatively strong. Russia possesses the basic political and economic institutions to oversee the final stages of its transition to a market economy. It must now move to combat crime and to control inflation by finally adopting a full-fledged economic stabilization program. Even if they don't quite know it yet themselves, the Russians have already turned the corner on success.

** This list contains material received as of February 2000 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 29 février 2000.
- Becker, Abraham S.
Russia and Economic Integration in the CIS.

Committed to reintegrating most of the former Soviet space, Russia has formed a customs union with three other Commonwealth of Independent States countries – Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan – and is forging closer union with Belarus. This expansionist drive could, however, be costly for Russia, including forcing it to postpone or sacrifice the country's extended integration into the world economy. Moscow's actions appear to be part of a general reorientation of Russian policy impelled by a great-power, Russian-nationalist perspective. The West can, by effectively supporting the economic and democratic development of those CIS states that are prepared to guard their independence, help to shape the outcome positively.

- Berelowitch, Alexis
Societe russe : l' avenir a reculons.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 75, printemps 1997, p. 87-103.

Where is Russian society headed ? Competing paradigms, based on transition, continuity or chaos, render the sociologist's task particularly difficult and explain his perplexity. The only thing that can be stated with certainty is that things are indeed changing. The emergence of a moneyed elite, with Western life-styles and values as a model, symbolizes the 'new Russia' and the 'new Russians'. Yet while a very small minority gets richer, the middle class of the Soviet era is disappearing, the victim of accelerated impoverishment. In other words, the majority of the Russians feel that the end of the communist regime has lowered their social status and led to a deterioration of their material situation. Social polarization has spawned violence, as politicians are discredited. People refuse to identify with the new economic players, who are suspected of having mafia connections. At the same time, there is no concrete evidence that this explosive cocktail is about to detonate.

- Boissieu, Christian de
Cohen, Daniel
Pontbriand, Gael de
Le comportement des entreprises russes face a la transition.

L'objet de cet article est d'étudier le comportement des entreprises russes durant la phase de transition vers l'économie de marché et d'en tirer quelques conclusions pour la conduite de la politique économique à ce stade de la transition.

- Braithwaite, Rodric
Pour un statu quo avec la Russie.

La Russie n'est aucunement la seule source d'instabilité potentielle en Europe orientale. Mais, sans elle, il ne peut y avoir de système veritable, efficace et durable de securite dans cette zone. La politique occidentale en Europe orientale doit donc avant tout viser a creer des mecanismes, y compris un cadre institutionnel, a l'interieur desquels la Russie pourra devenir une puissance qui accepte le statu quo dans la region. Cela ne signifie pas que celle-ci doit dicter les modalites du statu-guo, mais que l'Occident doit examiner les problemes de la securite europeenne avec les Russes, en tenant compte du fait que la Russie est la plus grande des puissances europeennes. Cela implique, notamment, qu'il faut prendre au serieux les inquietudes de la Russie au sujet d'un elargissement de l'OTAN et trouver des moyens mutuellement acceptables de les apaiser.
The author looks at the current crisis in Russia. Although many leaders, from Gorbachev to Chernomyrdin, carry responsibility for this crisis, the main culprit is President Yeltsin, who has not given his successive cabinets the support that would have been needed. Foreign advisers must accept their share, in particular since they have counseled 'the big bang', an immediate and comprehensive deregulation, for which the political, legal, and juridical basis was non-existent. The early convertibility of the ruble now looks like the greatest mistake that was made. The results of the collapse of the ruble and the moratorium on debt payments have been disastrous, particularly in that an emerging middle class that supported economic reforms and could have constituted a basis for future democratic developments, seems to have been largely wiped out. The population will be faced with high inflation if, as seems unavoidable, the Primakov government will finance its budget by printing money. Western loans and aid should not be directed to budgetary assistance but rather to the formation of a social safety net for the underclass. The author expects a more authoritarian regime and a guided economy to emerge in Russia, since any support for liberal reforms towards a market economy is now lacking and the bases for such reforms do not yet exist. However, a return to a Soviet style regime is unlikely, and hopefully the seeds of democracy that have been sown will bear fruit in the longer run.

As the December general election looms on the horizon, the Russian Federation looks like an ill-assorted mosaic of 89 more or less autonomous legal entities of highly varied status. With the onset of a fresh wave of privatizations, this time affecting Russia's largest companies, the regions are increasingly reluctant to accept central economic control. The author describes how, between 1990 and 1995, the local executive and legislature were set up, revealing the clashes between the two, as well as between the central authorities and the provinces. Analyzing the situation in three regions which harbor considerable industrial, energy and mineral potential - the Ural region, Tatarstan and Yakut - the author examines the way in which the Kremlin, unable to meet the needs of the provinces and ensure their harmonious development, has resigned itself to negotiating one by one the status and attributions of the 'subjects' of the Federation. A solution which casts some doubt over the cohesion of what remains the world's largest state.
Given the widespread powers accorded to him by the Constitution, Boris Yeltsin is considered by the electorate as being primarily responsible for Russia's economic reforms. They have been imposed on Russia in a somewhat piecemeal way, notably by the IMF, whose aid is conditional to the achievement of precise objectives. The reforms have, nevertheless, led to considerable changes in the Russian economy, though they have also had their side-effects, such as the spread of organised crime and corruption.

The economic crash in Russia in August has intensified long-running debates over the uniqueness of the economic transition there and the roles of Western institutions and advisors. One side argues that the Russian economy is no different in essence from any other capitalist one and that the effective implementation of universal market-oriented policies with minimal state intervention will revive it. Critics claim that it is a unique system, that many policies advocated by Western advisors have been mistaken, and that aid programmes have been ideologically biased, tinged with corruption, and ineffective. These criticisms have become increasingly accepted by centrist and leftist elites in Russia.
are now effectively bankrupt. The second main cause is the obsolescence of manufacturing industry and the emphasis on manufacturing as the driving force of the economy. This secondary sector was overdeveloped, whereas the tertiary sector (services) remained underdeveloped. The third main cause is the fact that until the 1993 Constitution there was no separation of powers in Russia. Consequently, an independent judiciary has failed to develop. A market economy, based on the exchange of goods and services, cannot develop without such a judiciary.

- Drezner, Daniel
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 6, no. 3, Spring 1997, p. 65-111.
This article argues that nation-states will demand and concede more to allies than adversaries when faced with economic sanctions, because they will be more concerned about the implications of backing down with competitors than collaborators. In an adversarial relationship, states will anticipate future threats and future zero-sum conflicts. To test this hypothesis about conflict expectations, the author examines the outcomes of Russian coercion attempts on Kazakstan, Latvia, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine. The article develops in Section Two an argument of how the expectation of future political conflict generates concern for relative gains. Section three demonstrates the effect this concern has on economic coercion. Section Four examines Russia's policy demands across the NIS. Section Five compares the predictions of a conflict expectations argument with alternative explanations about the Russian economic coercion of Kazakstan, Latvia, Turkmenistan and Ukraine. Section Six chronicles how these countries responded to Russian economic coercion in the past five years, comparing the model's predictions with the outcomes. The final section summarizes and concludes.

- Fall, Brian
Whither Russia?
Here, Sir Brian Fall charts Russia's present position through its economic and political situation, attitudes towards the former Republics and the apparent renewal of interest in reintegration, and evaluates western response to the new Russia. He concludes that although change is always unpredictable, whatever western influences are grafted onto the Russian experience, Russia's future will still be defined by her past.

- Favarel-Garrigues, Gilles
La corruption en Russie.
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 833, 21 janvier 2000, numero entier.
La corruption est un phénomène crucial en Russie : affaires Mabetex, de la compagnie Aeroflot, de la Bank of New York, ... mais derrière l'écran médiatique des nombreux scandales qui ont éclaté tout au long de l'année 1999 et qui touchent essentiellement la classe politique et la haute finance russes, se cachent aussi des pratiques ordinaires qui témoignent de l'importance des relations informelles dans l'économie et la société. Aussi bien, si l'on veut expliquer ce phénomène, doit-on l'associer essentiellement, comme ailleurs, à des facteurs socio-économiques et institutionnels, ou bien l'attribuer à des raisons spécifiques ? Quelles sont donc les causes de la corruption en Russie - l'héritage du soviétisme ou les réformes économiques ? - et quelle en est l'ampleur ? Pourquoi l'action des pouvoirs publics a-t-elle des résultats aussi peu convaincants ? La lutte contre la corruption serait-elle entravée par une législation répressive inadaptée ou bien son inefficacité tiendrait-elle au fait qu'elle constitue surtout une arme politique qui la détournait de ses objectifs premiers ?
Most of the Russian economy has not been making progress toward the market. It is rather moving in the other direction. What has emerged in Russia is a new kind of economic system with its own rules and its own criteria for success and failure. The new system can be called Russia's virtual economy because it is based on an illusion about almost every important parameter: price, sales, wages, taxes, and budgets.

The assumption behind the International Monetary Fund's recent bailout of Russia is that the country is gradually reforming its economy according to market principles. But Russia's economy is much smaller than official figures suggest. Workers, the government, and industry all accept the myth that the manufacturing sector produces value, when in fact what it makes is worth less than the labor and resources it consumes. The result is a mountain of wage and pension arrears and government debt that will continue to provoke crises. The day of reckoning will be much worse if the West does not pull the plug soon.

The collapse of the Soviet Union was, to a decisive degree, attributable to its growing economic lag behind advanced industrialised countries. This legacy hindered successor states, especially the Russian Federation, from sustaining both the system and the activity of the economy in its previous form. Consequently, a process of transition was initiated that was designed to help the country catch up on the development of the world economy and, in doing so, attain an international status appropriate to its enormous potential. The author examines here the extent to which the Russian approach is the best way to achieve this goal.
Russia's economic crisis in the summer of 1998 has renewed debate as to whether the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has helped, hindered or been irrelevant to economic transition in the core of the former Soviet Union. The authors examine the relationship between the Fund and Russia over the past ten years, highlighting a mixed record of successes, failures and the limits of the Fund's role. They argue that the institution may well have also inadvertently facilitated the rise of political forces which are today opposed to the second phase of reforms which Russia so desperately needs. In conclusion, the authors question whether the IMF ought to continue to lead Western attempts to foster stability and growth in Russia.

The author provides a typology of the economic profiles of Russian regions, analysing the various forms of regional economic change and of local interventionism in economic activity. On the basis of this analysis he gives an overall evaluation of the evolving relationship between the centre and the periphery in the economic field.

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Virtually all economists now accept four pillars of policy for Russia: controlled inflation, price liberalization, steady privatization and reformed legal and political institutions. A development bank for Russia is still needed to help manage the economic metamorphosis. President Clinton should be leading now, through the Group of Seven industrialized nations, to collar more money and free-market expertise for Russian reform.
- Kolko, Gabriel
Privatizing Communism: Politics and Market Economics in Russia and China.

- Koningsbrugge, J. S. A. M. van
Quo vadis Russia?
The author deals with the current unstable situation in Russia. Instead of developing into a democratic state with a functioning market economy Russia has gradually slipped down to a country in which corruption reigns supreme, witnessed by the emergence of a group of 'new rich', the tycoons, who have strong ties with the government; by a country in which there is a big gap between centre and periphery (Moscow and the regions), as well as between the inner circle of government and the Russian citizen. A reluctance on the part of the tycoons to pay taxes has led to an almost empty treasury, as a result of which the payment of wages has stagnated. This in turn has a detrimental effect on social cohesion in the Russian state. The only way out of this awkward situation is through structural changes, i.e. democratization coupled with a thorough decentralization. But in the Russia of today a strong moral leadership which could take such measures is absent.

- Kryshtanovskaya, Olga
Rich and Poor in Post-Communist Russia.
The collapse of the Soviet system and the transformation of the command economy into a free enterprise system has led to a process of sharp social differentiation based on access to the new wealth. Survey research reveals various routes to wealth, disparate attitudes towards the trend, and equally disparate aspirations on the part of those who have acquired wealth in recent years. Ostentatious displays of wealth have become common, particularly in the capital city, leading to resentment and social dissatisfaction, with potential political consequences. Nevertheless, all the newly rich are clearly hard-workers, and the accumulation of capital is taking place at a rapid pace.

- Lambroschini, Sophie
Russie: corruption et delitement de l'etat.
Russian prime minister Yevgeny Primakov launched a campaign to fight corruption early this year, primarily targeting Russia's oligarchs - the all-powerful tycoons who Primakov accuses of benefiting from their influence on previous governments to gain advantages. But a system of privileges is nothing new in Russia: in fact, it drove the Soviet economy for many years. The oligarchs simply took over these tried and true methods to systematically bleed the economy. Thanks to relatively simple business deals, Russia's tycoons succeeded in taking control of entire sectors of the economy, including banking. But this would never have been possible without the collusion of high-level public officials and politicians. Corruption is ravaging Russian society, both in Moscow and throughout the provinces. Therein lies Russia's problem: the prime minister is by no means impartial as he too is a product of the cronyism he is trying to fight.

- Lipton, David
Reform Endangered.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 90, Spring 1993, p. 57-78.
- Malia, Martin
Les capitalistes de la 'nomenklatura'. Ou va la Russie?

- Malle, Silvana
Russia after Five Years.
This article examines successes and failures of Russian reforms in comparison with other European post-communist countries and China. It tries to identify the peculiar legacies from the communist system confronting Russia; briefly describes Russian transformation policies since 1992; highlights the major pending problems and speculates on possible developments in the light of the programmes and early policy actions of the government formed in August 1996 following the presidential elections.

- Mandrillon, Marie-Helene
La crise sociale en Russie
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 747, 14 avril 1995, numero entier.
Peut-on chiffrer avec precision les changements qui ont marque le niveau de vie des Russes depuis le debut des reformes? Quelles sont les categories sociales les plus touchees par la pauperisation? Comment s'opere la stratification de la societe? Le developpement des classes moyennes, condition sine qua non de l'ancrage du liberalisme economique et de la democratie, correspond-il aux espoirs des reformateurs? Pourquoi aucune explosion sociale ne s'est-elle produite?

- Marciniak, Wlodzimierz
Studies on Changes within Russia.
This text is an outline of the author's own research concept of political changes in Russia. The project rests on the assumption that politics and basic conflicts in the post-Soviet Russia concern three main issues: (1) the formation of a new administrative market, and particularly the birth of a new political and economic elite (oligarchy); (2) the emergence of new economic subjects in result of denationalization; (3) privatization of ownership and regionalization of Soviet space as a prerequisite for a new organization of the market and for the creation of a new political space.

- Millar, James R.
The De-development of Russia.
How reform has managed to move Russia one step forward - and two steps back.

- Moody, Stephen S.
Decapitalizing Russian Capitalism.
The central thesis of this paper is that the monetary and financial system Russia inherited from the Soviets prevents the economy from responding in a conventional manner to the conduct of modern monetary policy. Economic reforms did not redress the primary deficiencies of the Soviet financial system and, under the resulting conditions, the pursuit of tight monetary policies to achieve macroeconomic stabilization has been not only ineffective but economically counterproductive. It has led, in fact, to massive erosion of the Russian industrial base - to the decapitalization of Russian capitalism. The continued application of
these policies risks disastrous political consequences.

- Nolan, Peter

This article analyses the dramatic contrast in outcomes from the reform process in China and Russia. This experience sheds new light on the old debate about the relationship between political institutions, economic progress and human rights. It examines the political setting within which the economic reforms were enacted in China and Russia. It argues that in large reforming communist countries democratization of politics may damage economic performance and hence, have a deleterious effect upon a range of human rights other than the right to vote in elections. In such countries the link between political democratization and human welfare seems to have been inverse.

- Nyberg, Rene
Russia and Europe.

For the first time, in Russia there is no established ideology, there is no censorship and there is no state terror. Lack of land reform is changing Russian agriculture into a 'garden plot economy'. Rising mortality and a plummeting birth-rate depict a dramatic demographic trend. The border between the EU and Russia delineates an epidemic faultline. Russia faces de-industrialisation and the collapse of the infrastructure, and devolution of power faces the choice between decentralisation by design or disintegration by default. A normative divide is opening up between Russia and future EU members, the Baltic States and Poland. The West can influence developments in Russia only to a limited degree.

- Piacheva, Larissa
Economie Russie: pronostic d' une liberale.

The theoretically 'mixed' Russian economy remains, in practice, very much 'socialist' and is characterized by a lack of productivity, squandering and underlying weaknesses in the market mechanisms. Political and legal instability, together with confiscatory taxes, are deterring investors, while the legal basis of private property remains inadequate. Against such a backdrop, growth is unlikely to resume before the year 2000. Half-baked reforms planned by the government for public services and 'natural monopolies' (energy, transportation and telecommunications) will not lay the foundations for economic recovery. Moreover, the government's determination to restimulate investments and finance them through budgetary measures, by drawing on consumer savings, threatens to further impoverish the Russian people. So long as the authorities fail to opt decisively for private property and a market economy, the outlook for the Russian economy will remain gloomy indeed.

- Rogov, Sergei
Eurasian Strategy for Russia.

It has now become fashionable to talk about Russia as a world power. It is proclaimed at the official level that Russian interests encompass all significant international problems, and geographically - practically the whole world. At the same time, it is asserted that it is impossible to effectively solve acute international problems without Russia. Unfortunately, these declarations do not correspond to the reality. Moreover, they do not help a realistic assessment of the seriousness of the international situation in which Russia found itself after the Cold
War. In these circumstances it is critically important to analyse conditions on which Moscow will integrate into the global market and the new system of international relations. Do these conditions meet national interests of Russia? What challenges is Russia currently facing? Does it have a strategy for integration into the world community? Shall it be competitive in the 21st century?

- Royen, Christoph
The West and Russia: Lessons from the Crisis.

The outbreak of Russia's economic and political crisis on 17 August 1998 forced a long overdue critical reevaluation. Russia's transformation into a democratic state with a market economy will not be achieved in a quick transition period but will rather occur over a series of extended periods. Clearly, this will in turn call for a reconsideration of Western approaches to support Russia. While the formation of a new Russian government under Yevgeny Primakov was welcomed generally with some relief - though this is likely to be short lived - this does not diminish the need to undertake the task.

- Saburov, Yevgeny, F.
After a Year of Reform, a Plea for No New Dogmas.

- Shama, Avraham
Inside Russia's True Economy.

- Shapiro, Judith
Bleak Winter.

The Russian devaluation and default of 17 August set off global economic turmoil, in a shockwave powerful enough for the IMF, in its authoritative World Economic Outlook, to move the 'epicentre of world financial pressures' there from Asia. What does the present situation mean for those much closer to this epicentre, the population of Russia? Are the implications as dire as they seemed, judging by the media coverage from Moscow?

- Simon, Gerhard
The Historical Prerequisites for Russia's Modernisation.

Following the collapse of the Soviet empire, whose ideological and institutional basis proved unsustainable and whose rigid command structure caused a backlog of reform, the principal successor state, Russia, has entered a turbulent period. The outcome is uncertain. At the same time there is growing interest in the course the country will take in matters of domestic, foreign and security policy. The author throws light on the options facing the Russian people and state in this account of the historical foundations on which the future will have to be built.

- Simons, W. B.
Rusland: een terugblik en de toekomst.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 52, nr. 12, december 1998, p. 622-628.

The author offers an analysis of the current crisis in the Russian Federation. Ten years ago, no one knew where the perestroika policies of Mikhail Gorbachev would lead, let alone the results that they would produce. Despite the lack of a 'grand design', remarkable - indeed often
unimaginable - changes have taken place in Russia over the past decade. Will this process of remarkable change become more normal and predictable in nature in the near future? An answer is problematic since: a) the USSR has experienced no significant changes in its economic or political systems prior to perestroika; b) the changes of the past ten years have fundamentally altered the political, economic, legal and social bases of society; and c) there has been no grand design behind these changes. Fortunately, the chances of a retreat to the 'good old days' are minimal. But can we expect Russian politicians and government officials in the near future to do no more than 'muddle through'? The answer, unfortunately in part, is an affirmative one. Five discussion points are put forward. 1) Foreign advice has played an increasingly important and visible role in the Russian transition process. Those who are involved herein should be more attentive to the specific features of Russian society; 2) At present, the Russian economic crisis can arguably be reduced to the simple proportions of the 'trust factor'. Private sector economic actors in Russia should be given the chance to (re)develop this trust - 'to believe in the economy'; 3) To help achieve this goal, the new Primakov government should implement a realistic programme of investment promotion: it should be non-discriminatory vis-à-vis foreign investors but should be directed primarily towards domestic investors; 4) The legal system has booked demonstrable success in the enactment of a modern, new Civil Code. However, much subsidiary legislation suffers from a gap between formulation of clear policy goals and the embodiment thereof in precisely-worded legal texts; this problem should be remedied; and 5) The window of opportunity enjoyed by the new government should be

- Sokoloff, Georges
L' economie russe entre stagnation et reprise.

L'auteur explique dans cet article que l'economie russe est devenue une economie de marche mais qu'elle reste fragile. Pour lui, contrairement a ce qui est souvent entendi et attendu apres six annees de depression (1990-1996), la croissance n'est toujours pas au rendez-vous, d'autant plus que la situation des finances publiques ote au gouvernement toute marge de manoeuvre pour relancer l'economie. Ne il y a a peine dix ans, le capitalisme russe, qui est organise autour des grands groupes industriels et financiers, n'est pas encore mur ; il continue de preferer le placement a l'investissement. Dans ces conditions, les concours etrangers s'imposent mais peuvent etre aussi a l'origine de mauvaises surprises.

- Valcarel, Dario
Enigmas rusos.

Se acerca la sucesion de Boris Yeltsin al frente de Rusia, mientras que el pais parece haber fracasado en su eterno desafio historico de aproximarse a las formas politicas de Occidente. Es necesario recordar su historia de los ultimos siglos para valorar en su adecuado contexto la incertidumbre con la que la sociedad rusa afronta el nuevo siglo y los proximos procesos electorales.

- Varese, Frederico
The Transition to the Market and Corruption in Post-Socialist Russia.

- Wanniski, Jude
The Future of Russian Capitalism
Will Russia be run by democrats or oligarchs? The signs are worrying. The West would rather not dwell on the extent to which Russia's market is dominated by robber barons and permeated by crime and corruption. Russia's democracy is weak, with unfair election campaigns, a compromised media, and few checks on the presidency. The West cannot afford to let Russia descend into chaos, which might mean losing control of Russia's arsenal of weapons of mass destruction, but its two-faced NATO expansion policy hurts the democrats' chances.

The transitional economy that has developed over the past six years in Russia is remarkable for its strange behavior and its stark contrasts. Each new crisis heralds a wave of catastrophic forecasts and renewed fears of a popular uprising. But in the end, the tragedy is always postponed. The Russians appear to be resigned to their unhappy lot and their economy displays a surprising instinct for survival in spite of itself! Contrary to generally accepted analyses, the Russian economy is not the vast chaos it is so often portrayed as. Closer analysis reveals a highly original economic order based on principles that are often implicit. In this system, companies continue to exist irrespective of their solvency. Profitability is not the be-all and end-all for Russian companies, since their primary function seems to be social: employees must be kept on even if it means not paying them. Furthermore, close ties are established between companies performing well and those that are in trouble. We may continue to wonder just how long the 'Russian System' will last, but the crisis in August did not drive a stake through its heart.

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