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**RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER
VLADIMIR PUTIN
RUSSIE : LA POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE DE
VLADIMIR POUTINE**

Bibliographies Thématiques
No. 1/2002

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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

355.4 /01286

La politique de securite de la Russie : entre continuité et rupture -

Paris : Ellipses.

250 p. : ill. ; 20 cm.

(Reperes strategiques)

ISBN/ISSN: 2729801286

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Boyer, Yves, ed.

2. Facon, Isabelle, ed.

3. Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique (FR)

Notes:

'La politique exterieure et de securite russe fait l'objet en France d'appréciations divergentes souvent polemiques. Elle est parfois mise a l'index. Il est vrai que les sujets de discorde ne manquent pas, depuis la question de l'élargissement de l'OTAN jusqu'a la guerre de Tchetchenie, en passant par la crise du Kosovo. Malgre les incomprehensions, Paris souhaite voir Moscou associe a la construction de l'équilibre mondial et participer a la stabilite du continent europeen. Cet ouvrage reunit des chercheurs russes et francais et propose des analyses croisees totalement inedites sur l'adaptation de la politique de securite de la Russie. Il permettra au lecteur de comprendre le role que joue la Russie post-Guerre froide dans les relations internationales.'

ID number: 80016995

Year: 2000

355.2 /00193 REF

Jane's Sentinel : Russia and the CIS : December 2001-June 2002 -

Coulsdon, UK : Jane's Information Group.

xvii, 800 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

ISBN/ISSN: 0710614616

Subject(s):

1. CIS--ARMED FORCES

2. CIS--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

3. CIS--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

4. CIS--FOREIGN RELATIONS

5. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ARMED FORCES

6. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

7. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

8. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

ID number: 80017701

Year: 2001

* This list contains material received as of January 21st, 2002 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 21 janvier 2002.

323 /00670

The Kosovo Crisis : The End of the Post-Cold War Era - Washington :
Atlantic Council of the United States.

iii, 27 p.; 28 cm.

(Occasional Paper)

Author(s):

1. Arbatov, Alexei G.

Subject(s):

1. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--KOSOVO (SERBIA)
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
4. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Atlantic Council of the United States (US)

Notes:

'NATO's military operations against Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999 represented a watershed in the post-Wold War II history of Europe. Even from the vantage point of US policy, the decision to lead a NATO operation against a European state on account of a dispute concerning its own national territory was a remarkable one, notwithstanding the steady development of the crisis triggered by Serbia's behavior that may have made the actual outbreak of war seem more like an incremental step to implement the threats previously made. But for many other countries, the US and NATO decision was no less fateful, while often appearing in a rather different perspective. This paper is a lucid and thorough analysis of how the crisis and NATO's action affected opinion in Russia and Russian views of the prospects for US-Russia relations.'

ID number: 80016808

Year: 2000

327 /01021

U.S. Military Engagement with Transcaucasia and Central Asia - Carlisle
Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

iv, 43 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN/ISSN: 1584870230

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. CAUCASUS--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. CAUCASUS--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
4. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'The United States has adapted a strategy of engaging and enlarging the democratic community of states. Transcaucasia and Central Asia have become important testing grounds of this strategy, by virtue of their strategic location adjacent to Russia, the Middle East, and Europe's periphery, and their large-scale oil and natural gas deposits. A US goal of irrevocably integrating these states into the Western state system economically, politically, and militarily can make them an intensifying focus of international rivalry with Russia. Moscow still perceives these areas as part of its sphere of interest and deeply resents US engagement there. Furthermore, Moscow's current war with the breakaway province of Chechnya demonstrates its willingness to contest expanding US interests forcefully. Moreover, in this region many factors exist that could cause other conflicts. Accordingly, it is a sensitive place to test the strategic rationale of the engagement strategy and its military corollary, a strategy whose goal is to shape the emerging environment in directions that we wish to see.'

ID number: 80016641

Year: 2000

327 /01070

The Geostrategic Triad : Living with China, Europe, and Russia -
Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.
xi, 75 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

(Significant Issues Series, 0736-7136 ; v. 23, no. 1)

ISBN/ISSN: 089206384X

Author(s):

1. Brzezinski, Zbigniew K., 1928-

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
6. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
7. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'Global stability in the early twenty-first century will be conditioned largely by how the United States handles its relations with China, Europe, and Russia - the 'geostrategic triad' - according to Zbigniew Brzezinski. Thus, the United States needs a well-defined strategy to manage the two 'Eurasian power triangles' : the United States, Japan, and China; and the United States, Europe, and Russia. With this work, Brzezinski offers a comprehensive geostrategic road map for such US engagement.'

ID number: 80017748

Year: 2001

327 /01028

Engaging Russia : Can International Organizations Help ? - Washington :
Atlantic Council of the United States.

11 p. : ill; 28 cm.

(Occasional Paper)

Author(s):

1. Heuven, Marten H. A. van

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Atlantic Council of the United States (US)

Notes:

'In this paper, the author has taken on himself the important challenge of attempting to sort out the potential roles and uses of the different institutions that have been established to further the Western goal of engaging Russia in a new and more productive relationship since the end of the Cold War. Studying international issues through the lens of institutions is often seen as a somewhat sterile enterprise, on the theory that it is policies and people, not institutions, that determine the outcomes of international dealings. While this may be largely true, it does not tell the whole story and the author's approach here yields some important insights as to how Western policy towards Russia could be more effectively prosecuted in the coming years.'

ID number: 80016807

Year: 2000

327 /01004

Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS : The Cases of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

xi, 265 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN/ISSN: 0312224222

Author(s):

1. Lynch, Dov, 1970-

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
2. FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ARMED FORCES
4. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs (GB)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 237-254. Includes index.

'On its periphery, Russia is surrounded by a new crescent of instability and conflict. In these circumstances, peacekeeping operations have become a primary tool of Russian security policy in the post-Soviet 'space'. These operations have raised significant controversy but have been subject to little systematic analysis. This major study offers an analytical framework for understanding Russian peacekeeping policy. It examines the evolution of Russian peacekeeping strategies towards the conflicts in Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan, devoting particular attention to the internal and external factors influencing Russian strategies. Russian peacekeeping operations are a prism for understanding wider Russian security policy towards the so-called 'near abroad'. The Russian Federation has employed peacekeeping as a tool to advance its interests abroad. This instrumental use of peacekeeping highlights the fragility of Russian policy and points towards a long-term trend of Russian disengagement from the former Soviet Union.'

ID number: 80016144

Year: 2000

327 /01044

Russia's Policy vis-a-vis Georgia : Continuity and Change - Stockholm : Swedish Defence Research Agency.

54 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

(FOI-R-0168-SE)

Author(s):

1. Normark, Per

Subject(s):

1. GEORGIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GEORGIA

Added entry(s):

1. Swedish Defence Research Agency (SE)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 47-49. Includes index.

'Russian policy towards Georgia at the turn of the century is compared to that of the first years of Georgian independence in three important aspects. With regard to Abkhazia, it is shown that the Russian policy has been characterised by continuity, both in the formal support of Georgian territorial integrity, and in the informal support of the Abkhazian separatists. Concerning Russian armed units in Georgia, Russian initially promised to withdraw them. However, they remained and their presence was formalised in two agreements. Later, the border troops were withdrawn and an agreement was reached on pulling out the military units as well. Then Russia started to drag its feet, and in the Summer of 2001 the prospects for a complete withdrawal looked uncertain. Regarding the war in Chechnya, Russia was pleased that Georgia supported its attempt to crush separatism there in 1994-96. But when Russia resumed the war in 1999 and Georgia tried to stay neutral, the relations deteriorated and Russia introduced a visa regime, which became

a hard blow to the Georgian economy. Russian policy thus was inconsistent with a discrepancy between words and deeds.'

ID number: 80017360

Year: 2001

327 /01042

Developing the 'Moral' Arguments : Russian Rhetorical Strategies on Security Post-Kosovo - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

v, 25 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 28)

Author(s):

1. Wagnsson, Charlotte

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

3. NATO--ARMED FORCES--KOSOVO (SERBIA)

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'This paper analyses how the Russian top leadership's rhetoric on security and the West evolved during and after NATO's Operation Allied Force against Serbia in 1999. By grasping the logic inherent in political rhetoric, one can arrive at a better understanding of the messages that a political actor is trying to convey, which may also enhance one's ability to predict how that actor will reason in the future. Political implications for relations between Russia and the European Union are discussed in the final section.'

ID number: 80017278

Year: 2001

321 /00618

Russia's New Politics : The Management of a Postcommunist Society - Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press.

xiii, 386 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN/ISSN: 0521587379

Author(s):

1. White, Stephen, 1945-

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--SOCIAL CONDITIONS

3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ECONOMIC POLICY

4. POST-COMMUNISM--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

5. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

'Just as the Bolshevik revolution defined the early politics of the 20th century, the transition from communist rule is the landmark event of its final years. In this book, based on a wealth of references including interview and survey material, the author offers a full, discriminating account of the dramatic process of change in what is still the world's largest country. After an early chapter examining the Gorbachev legacy, the book analyses the electoral process, the powerful presidency, and the intractable problem of economic reform. Later chapters cover social divisions, public opinion, and foreign policy, and a final chapter places the Russian experience within the wider context of democratisation.'

ID number: 80016504

Year: 2000

PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- Lithuania and Russia.
LITHUANIAN FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, no. 2, 2000, Whole Issue.

- Adomeit, Hannes
Russia and Germany : A 'Normal' Relationship.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 6, December 2000, p. 55-61.

- Alekseev, Alexander
Russia in European Politics.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 37-44.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Ambrosio, Thomas
Russia's Quest for Multipolarity : A Response to US Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 45-67.
A good deal of attention has recently been focused on whether and how new 'poles' will rise to challenge American hegemony. This article examines the conscious effort by Russian policymakers and commentators to foster a multipolar world designed to resist American domination of the international system. In particular, three policies are examined : the formation of a Slavic Union with Belarus; the developing de facto alliance with China; and the 'democratization' of international politics. In light of Moscow's policies, the author concludes that American foreign policy has become counterproductive by sparking balancing behavior on the part of other great powers.

- Antonenko, Oksana
Putin's Gamble.
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 49-59.
<http://www4.oup.co.uk/surviv>
For the first time since the Second World War, Russia, the United States and Europe are working together to address what all of them view as vital security interests. Russia is important not only for the war against Taliban and al-Qaeda, but also for longer-term goals such as targeting terrorist money flows, identifying and eliminating al-Qaeda cells throughout the world, addressing the proliferation of weapons-of-mass destruction (WMD) materials and technologies and finding effective responses to bio-terrorist threats. Russia President Vladimir Putin took a major gamble after 11 September, setting aside outstanding disagreements and offering full Russian support to the US-led coalition against terror. It is now up to the NATO allies to respond with similar imagination to accommodate Russia's legitimate strategic concerns and bring Moscow into the global economy. If this chance is missed, the next ten years are likely to resemble the 1990s as a decade of lost opportunities in Russian-Western relations.

- Avdeyev, Aleksandr
Russian-Lithuanian Relations : An Overview.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 6, 2000, p. 75-80.

- Azimov, A.
Moscow and Delhi in a Multi-Polar World.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 5, 2000, p. 88-97.

** This list contains material received as of January 21st, 2002 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 21 janvier 2002.

- Baalen, Hans van
De Russische keizer heeft geen kleren meer.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 6, juni 2000, p. 307-310.
The author argues that Russia can no longer claim to be a great power. Its economy, not its political rhetoric could secure Russia's place in the world. In order to achieve structural economic growth, Russia must first establish the rule of law, create an independent Central Bank, allow free media and opt for an efficient and politically neutral bureaucracy and liquidate and/or privatise its state industry. In short, Russia must become a modern civil society and free market democracy in which private initiative will be rewarded. President Putin was part of the Yeltsin oligarchy and the former KGB network and Soviet nomenklatura. One could imagine better credentials for a leader who has to guide Russia into the 21st century where the position of a nation will not be determined by nostalgia for the 20th century state structures. It is in Putin's hands : either structural reform or structural decay. It remains to be seen whether he is 'the man with whom we can do business' as British Prime Minister Tony Blair, US President Bill Clinton and Dutch Foreign Minister Jozias Aartsen claim. The West must judge Russia on its actual policy results.

- Baev, Pavel K.
Russia's Policies in the Southern Caucasus and the Caspian Sea.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2001, p. 95-110.
During the first year of Putin's presidency, Russia's policy has become better coordinated and more firmly controlled by the Kremlin, however, it still has no clear and realistic aims and continues to rest on an insufficient and shrinking resources base : the Russian leadership has no strategy for the Southern Caucasus and plays far too little attention to the potentially grave problems there. The economic interests have been proclaimed to be the core of Russia's strategy for the mid-term, but no comprehensible assessment of these interests has been offered. Russia has intensified bilateral contacts with Azerbaijan and put Georgia under considerable pressure, still there is hardly anything resembling a strategic course behind the day-to-day activities. Moscow finds the CIS structures to be of very little use, and has grown increasingly reluctant to cooperate with international organizations in the Southern Caucasus. Overall, policy-makers in Moscow have reasons to assume that the international setting in the Southern Caucasus is now more favourable for advancing Russia's interests than it was a few years ago. The recent US initiative regarding Nagorno-Karabakh might upset these assumptions, but more fundamentally, Russia remains unprepared to meet the new security challenges that are growing in the Southern Caucasus.

- Baranovsky, Vladimir
Russia : A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe ?
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 443-458.
The controversial framework of interaction between Russia and Europe is defined by some enduring parameters - geographic realities, historical experiences, religious beliefs, normative values, psychological characteristics, behavioural patterns, cultural orientations. The incongruity between cultural/civilizational and geopolitical identities further complicates Russia's perception of, and attitudes, to Europe. Russia's initial pro-Western enthusiasm in the early post-Cold War period was soon overshadowed by serious difficulties in its adaptation to a reduced position in Europe, as well as by numerous grievances with respect to the West. At a result, Russia's attempts to develop a 'pan-European architecture', as well as its policy with regard to multilateral structures operating in continental Europe, have been marked by deeply contradictory patterns of promoting openness towards Europe on the one hand and keeping a certain distance from it on the other. The enlargement of NATO and especially recent NATO military operations in the Balkans have been perceived in Russia not only as confrontational but also as relegating it to the sidelines of European developments. Although Russia's long-awaited transition to the post-Yeltsin era and its new European perspective have been undetermined by the war in Chechnya, President Putin's unexpected pro-Westernism (its pragmatism notwithstanding) is a promising sign of 'rapprochement' with Europe.

- Besancon, Alain
Theses sur la Russie passee et presente.
COMMENTAIRE, no. 94, ete 2001, p. 339-354.

- Blank, Stephen
Partners in Discord Only.
ORBIS, vol. 44, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 557-570.

- Braun, Aurel
The Risks of Selective Europeanization : Russia and Eastern Europe.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2000, p. 510-521.

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Living with Russia.
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 61, Fall 2000, p. 5, 12 p. (MasterFILE Premier).
<http://search.epnet.com>
The progressive inclusion of Russia in the expanding transatlantic community is the necessary component of any long-term US strategy to consolidate stability on the Eurasian mega-continent. The pursuit of that goal will require patience and strategic persistence. There are no shortcuts on the way. Geostrategic conditions must be created that convince the Russians that it is in Russia's own best interest to become a truly democratic and European post-imperial nation-state - a state closely engaged to the transatlantic community.

- Chernega, V.
Russia's Chances in the 21st Century.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 2, 2000, p. 143-151.

- Cherniavskii, S.
The Caucasian Track in Russia's Foreign Policy.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 5, 2000, p. 152-164.

- Chkhikvishvili, Vladimir
Areas of Differences and Agreement.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 4, 2000, p. 7-14.

- Chubarian, Aleksandr
A Decade of Russia's Foreign Policy.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, p. 13-18.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Dannreuther, Roland
Can Russia Sustain Its Dominance in Central Asia ?
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 2, June 2001, p. 245-258.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
President Putin has placed considerable emphasis on achieving greater coherence in Russian foreign policy. It is in Central Asia that Putin's diplomatic efforts have been the most intense and fruitful. Moscow has been able to consolidate its position there as a result of Putin's effective promotion of Russia as a serious economic and political partner and a guarantor of regional stability. However, besides the sensitivity of the regional elites to Russia's hegemony, the extent of the security commitment which Russia is offering to the region must be critically addressed. There is a real question as to whether, if it came to the crunch, Russia would have either the military capabilities or the will to engage in a major intervention in Central Asia. Besides, a fixation on Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism leads to ignoring the socio-economic roots of the problems of insecurity in the region - and Russia looks set to have little to offer Central Asia in real economic terms in the foreseeable future. The danger for Russia is that, if it jealously guards its prerogatives in this region, it will become responsible for such problems as the spread of instability and Islamic radicalism from Afghanistan, the drugs trade and the lack of a stable environment for developing the region's natural resources. In reality, these issues are far beyond the capabilities of Russia alone and can be met effectively only when Russia, the West and all other interested parties work together in cooperation rather than in geopolitical competition.

- Deliagin, Mikhail
American 'New Pragmatism' as Applied to Russia.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 78-88.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
- Dobriansky, Paula
Russian Foreign Policy : Promise or Peril ?
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 135-144.
Russia's political and economic problems have been important factors pushing Moscow towards a much more anti-Western course. How does this bode for US-Russian relations in the near term ?
- Drachevskii, L.
Russia and Belarus Form a Union.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 1, 2000, p. 61-67.
- Dubien, Arnaud
De l' URSS a la Russie.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 41, printemps 2001, p. 157-162.
Jamais pays n'a connu en une decennie davantage de bouleversements que la Russie. Solder l'heritage sovietique, s'adapter a une perte manifeste de puissance, reformer le pays, autant de defis que la Russie est mise en demeure de relever. Fossoyeur de l'URSS, la Russie a fait les frais du declin de son influence au moment de l'echec de la CEI. Sur le plan economique, le caractere inacheve des reformes mises en branle l'a empechee de se doter d'une veritable economie de marche, cependant que la richesse nationale a connu un effondrement sans precedent. La decrepitude de son economie fait echo a l'instabilite politique chronique dont elle patit. Une nouvelle Russie peut-elle des lors emerger ? L'election de Vladimir Poutine, la refonte du systeme federal, la volonte affichee de mettre au pas les 'oligarques', la restauration de l'autorite de l'etat sembleraient le prouver. Mais cela ne va pas sans atteinte aux libertes fondamentales.
- Dubien, Arnaud
Russie-CEI : une hegemonie contestee.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, ete 2000, p. 159-168.
Apres de longs debats destines a conceptualiser la notion d' 'interet national', un large consensus a emerge au sein des elites politiques russes sur les grandes orientations strategiques du pays. Convaincue que son statut de grande puissance dependra de l'influence qu'elle exercera dans son environnement geopolitique immediat, la Russie a fait de l'integration de l'espace postsovietique l'objectif majeur de sa diplomatie. Toutefois, pres de dix ans apres l'effondrement de l'URSS, les positions de Moscou dans ce qu'elle considere comme son 'etranger proche' sont en recul. La CEI, dont la Russie entendait faire l'instrument privilegie de sa politique, est en crise. Les nouveaux Etats independants diversifient leurs politiques exterieures et de puissants acteurs exterieurs sont desormais presents dans cette zone, entrainant la mise en place de nouveaux rapports de force.
- Elagin, Viacheslav
Estonia : A Difficult Road from Tallinn to Moscow.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 152-160.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
- Elsuwege, Peter van
De positie van Rusland in Europa : het gevaar van nieuwe breuklijnen op het oude continent.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 12, december 2000, p. 616-621.
The author looks at the position of Russia in post Cold War Europe. Russia plays an essential role in the current European political landscape. It remains important for the balance of power and the stability on the European continent. During the Cold War Europe feared a Soviet invasion; nowadays it is an unstable and weak Russia Europe worries about. In this respect the importance of tying Russia to the rest of Europe may once again be underlined. Many problems would be resolved when Russia is included in the European political structures and when it

will develop into a reliable European partner.

- Fredholm, Michael
The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation
Against the West.
CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, vol. 19, no. 3-4, September - December 2000, p.
315-327.
- Freedman, Robert O.
Russian Policy Toward the Middle East : The Yeltsin Legacy and the
Putin Challenge.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 58-90.
Given its greatly weakened geopolitical position after the collapse of
the Soviet Union, Moscow has had to reorient its foreign policy.
Displaying increasing concern about the newly independent states of
Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, which many Russians see as the 'soft
underbelly' of the Russian Federation, Russian policy has had a special
focus on Iran and Turkey. Russia developed a close tactical alliance with
Iran which not only was a major purchaser of Russian nuclear reactors and
military equipment, but also shared with Moscow a common policy approach
toward developments in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan. Russia
has had a more mixed relationship with Turkey, although by the time
Vladimir Putin took over as Russia's president, the relationship had
moved toward greater cooperation, especially in the area of energy.
- Froment-Meurice, Henri
Tchetchenie, Islam et petrole.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 89, printemps 2000, p. 21-28.
- Galuzin, M.
Relations with Japan.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 3, 2000, p. 27-39.
- Galuzin, Mikhail
Japan : A Frank Dialogue is Essential.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, p. 96-102.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
- Galuzin, Mikhail
The Japanese Track : Quietly Balancing Relations.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 6, 2000, p. 33-40.
- Garnett, Sherman
The Challenges of Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 41-54.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
Sino-Russian behavior is a particularly clear example of a response to
U.S. power that is hardly limited to these two states. Ultimately, the
United States should welcome their normalization but be wary of the
Russian contribution to Chinese military modernization.
- Gleason, Gregory
Why Russia is in Tajikistan.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 20, no. 1, January - March 2001, p. 77-89.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
Since the Soviet breakup in 1991, the Russian government has maintained a
substantial military and diplomatic presence in Tajikistan, yet
Tajikistan shares no common border with Russia, the once sizable Russian
population largely has abandoned the country, and there is little in
Tajikistan of commercial value to Russia. What then accounts for Russia's
continuing involvement in Tajikistan ? This paper argues that Russia's
commitment to Tajikistan has psychological, tactical and strategic
dimensions.

- Heuvel, Martin van den
Kazachstan : van satelliet tot bondgenoot van Rusland ?
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 4, april 2000, p. 191-197.
The author looks at current political developments in Kazakhstan, one of the five states that emerged in the Central Asian region following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Contrary to the other four states, Kazakhstan does not really belong to Central Asia, but has much closer historical, ethnic and economic ties with Russia. Therefore, since 1991 relations with the Russian Federation have been fairly good. Kazakhstan is not yet a full-fledged democracy, but is nowhere near a dictatorship. President Nazarbayev, in power for over decade, has wide discretionary powers, but he does not abuse his strong leadership position. He strives for good relations with both Russian and the West as well as gradual modernization and reforms.

- Hill, Fiona
Russia : The U.S. Response to Changing Policy Imperatives.
BROOKINGS REVIEW, vol. 18, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 12-14, accessed 23/10/00.
<http://www.brook.edu/press/REVIEW/fall2000/hill.htm>
In the wake of the Cold War, Russia is still trying to reposition itself in its single most important relationship, that with the United States, and to define a new role regionally and globally. The quest for international respect will pose major challenges for a new U.S. administration seeking to manage the relationship with Russia.

- Huterer, Manfred
Krumrei, Claus
Russland und der Westen : eine schwierige Integrationsaufgabe.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 10, Oktober 2001, S. 27-34.
Russland ist ein wichtiger Partner gerade auch bei der Bekämpfung neuer sicherheitspolitischer Bedrohungen im 21. Jahrhundert. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass die Modernisierung von Staat und Gesellschaft einhergeht mit Europaisierung und Demokratisierung; hierbei ist Geduld gefragt.

- Ivanov, I.
Formation of New Russian Foreign Policy Completed.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, p. 1-7.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Ivanov, Igor
The New Russian Identity : Innovation and Continuity in Russian Foreign Policy.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 7-13.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
The Russian minister of foreign affairs outlines the new Russian foreign policy concept and summarises the debates of the last decade that formed it.

- Ivanov, Igor
Russia and the World at the Boundary of Milleniums.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 4, 2000, p. 1-6.

- Iwanow, Igor S.
Neue Prioritaten russischer Aussenpolitik.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2000, S. 65-70.
Grundlage der russischen Aussenpolitik sei auch nach Verkundigung eines neuen aussenpolitischen Konzepts der Kurs auf Partnerschaft und die Suche nach gegenseitig annehmbaren Losungen selbst bei schwierigsten Problemen. Fur die Weltgemeinschaft, so der Autor, bleibe das in eine lange Phase politischer und wirtschaftlicher Stabilitat getretene Russland ein zuverlassiger, verantwortungsvoller und kalkulierbarer Partner.

- Jalili, Ali A.
The Strategic Partnership of Russia and Iran.
PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 98-111.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
The author of this article presents a detailed and timely analysis of the strategic needs of both Russia and Iran. The author's research indicates that this developing relationship entails much more than just a new arms deal. He adroitly points out that this partnership is based on mutual political and security issues, a fear of US penetration into the region, and the proliferation of religious extremism. The author concludes that regardless of the motivations for the parties involved, it is in the best interests of the United States to discourage any collaboration between Russia and Iran.

- Jingjie, Li
Pillars of the Sino-Russian Partnership.
ORBIS, vol. 44, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 527-539.

- Jonson, Lena
Russia, NATO and the Handling of Conflicts at Russia's Southern Periphery : At a Crossroads ?
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 4, Winter 2000, p. 45-72.
The institutional arrangements and mechanisms for preventing and managing conflicts will determine the future of European security and the balance of power in a wider Europe. Russian policy and Russia-NATO relations are analysed within the context of the ongoing changes at Russia's southern periphery. The embryos of three distinct security systems are developing - a Russia-led, a NATO-led and one led by the international community. The article suggests that instability in the southern periphery in the future will require security cooperation and a joint approach by Russia and NATO countries.

- Kaplan, Robert D.
Where Europe Vanishes.
ATLANTIC MONTHLY, vol. 286, no. 5, November 2000, accessed 23/10/00.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2000/11/kaplan.htm>
Civilizations have collided in the Caucasus Mountains since the dawn of history, and the region's dozens of ethnic groups have been noted for 'obstinacy and ferocity' since ancient times. Stalin was born in these mountains, and it was also here that the Soviet empire began to crumble. The story of the Republic of Georgia illustrates that the peoples of the Caucasus may prove as incapable of self-rule as they were resistant to rule by outsiders.

- Karpov, Mikhail
India as Russia's Foreign Policy Priority.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 5, 2001, p. 36-42.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
India's centuries-old culture has absorbed the vastness of human experience and enduring spiritual values. This and remarkable achievements of modern-day India are sources of unflagging interest to the Russians who have since olden times cherished deep friendly feelings toward the Indian people. The history of relations between Moscow and Delhi is full of varied events. The cooperation between Russia and India is a demonstration of what can be achieved thanks to goodwill, mutual respect and confidence. These principles, like the entire store of positive experience accumulated between Russia and India, are written into the 1993 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and the Declaration on Strategic Partnership signed in 2000.

- Katz, Mark N.
Saudi-Russian Relations in the Putin Era.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 603-622.
Saudi-Russian relations have been negatively affected by differences over several issues in recent years. These include oil pricing policy, investment and trade, Russian allegations about Saudi policy toward Chechnya and other Muslims in the former USSR, and Saudi security concerns about Russian arms transfers as well as the growing Russian-Israeli relationship. This article examines contrasting Saudi and Russian perspectives on each of these issues and explores the possible consequences of their troubled relationship.

- Khotkova, Helena
Russia's Relations with Central-Eastern European Countries : Beginning of a New Stage ?
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 2001, p.75-81.
The author exposes the changing nature of Russia's relations with Central European countries. Despite Russia's opposition to NATO enlargement, there are numerous issues of common interest that have shaped relations between Russia and the Visegrad group. While dialogue between Russia and the countries of Central Europe has not always been easy and continues to be marked by memories of recent Soviet history, the author remains optimistic citing prospects for more constructive relations in the future.

- Kimura, Hiroshi
Putin's Policy toward Japan : Return to the Two Islands, or More ?
DEMOKRATIZACIJA, vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 276-291.

- 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.

- Klepatskii, L.
Foreign Policy Dilemmas of Russia.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 5, 2000, p. 79-87.

- Konovalov, Alexandre
Les relations russo-américaines de 1991 à 2000.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, été 2000, p. 169-183.
On peut distinguer trois périodes, après la fin de la guerre froide, dans les relations russo-américaines. La première, qui s'étend de 1991 à 1993, a donné beaucoup d'espoirs et offrait de nombreuses opportunités. Pourtant, du fait, entre autre, d'une appréhension différente de la fin de la guerre froide, les dirigeants des deux pays n'ont pas su saisir ces opportunités. Il en a résulté une forte déception et une nette détérioration de leurs relations dans la période suivante, de 1994 à 1997, détérioration qui s'est cristallisée en particulier sur la question de l'élargissement de l'OTAN vers l'est. L'adhésion à l'OTAN de la Pologne, de la République tchèque et de la Hongrie a signé, enfin, le début d'une troisième période. Cette décision, extrêmement préjudiciable, a en effet entraîné à partir de 1998 une nette montée de l'anti-américanisme en Russie. Cette période n'est pas achevée et l'avenir s'annoncerait donc aujourd'hui sous de très sombres auspices si quelques événements récents ne permettaient pas de tempérer ce pessimisme. En tout état de cause, l'avenir des relations russo-américaines dépend en définitive et avant tout, de la prise en compte par les Etats-Unis des intérêts russes.

- Kremeniuk, Viktor
The Ideological Legacy in Russia's Foreign Policy.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 18-26.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
- Kremeniuk, Viktor
Russia and the West : Seeking the Right Distance.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 6, 2000, p. 65-74.
- Krivokhizha, Vasilii
Notes on Geopolitical Issues.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 27-36.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
- Kuchins, Andrew C.
Russia's Relations with China and India : Strategic Partnerships, Yes; Strategic Alliances, No.
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 259-275.
- Kuzio, Taras
Geopolitical Pluralism in the CIS : The Emergence of GUUAM.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 81-114.
This article argues that the 12 states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) are evenly divided into two groups that are grouped around Russia and Ukraine. The emergence of these two groups, one of which is decidedly pro-Western and pro NATO-GUUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova) is a sign of what Brzezinski defined as early as 1994 as geopolitical pluralism has finally emerged in the former USSR. US policy, he argued, should be the consolidation of this geopolitical pluralism within the former Soviet Union as the means by which a non-imperial 'normal' Russian nation-state would emerge with whom a 'genuine American-Russian partnership' could be secured. Brzezinski signalled that Ukraine was the key state that prevented the revival of a new Russian empire and therefore aided the consolidation of Russian democracy. One could add that GUUAM, as an organization led by Ukraine, should also therefore play a central role in US and Western policy towards the former USSR.
- Lawson, Michael
The Problems that Drive Russia : American Perspectives on Major Issues Confronting U.S.-Russian Foreign Policy.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 5, October 2001, p. 32-38.
- Leahy, Anne
Putin's Russia.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2000, p. 633-646.
- Levesque, Jacques
Les relations russo-americaines.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 96, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 791-794.
- Lieven, Anatol
Against Russophobia.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 17, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 25-32.
- Light, Margot
Debats sur la politique etrangere russe et l' evolution de la doctrine : 1991-1999.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, ete 2000, p. 121-131.
La doctrine russe en matiere de politique etrangere a fait l'objet de nombreux debats depuis 1991 et a donne lieu a de multiples remises en cause. Differents courants se sont distingues au cours de ce debat, notamment pour determiner ce que l'on entendait par identite nationale russe. Il en est ressorti un veritable consensus en matiere de politique etrangere. Ainsi, dans la periode postcommuniste, une serie de concepts de securite nationale se sont succedes, jusqu'au plus recent, en date de janvier 2000. L'evolution doctrinale de ces concepts apparait comme le reflet des oppositions d'idees et des luttes d'interets qui ont marque la perception que ces courants se faisaient de la place de la Russie dans le

champ des relations internationales. Cette evolution - realiste - se concretise par des prises de position plus fermes de la Russie qui entend bien s'affirmer comme un acteur influent sur la scene internationale.

- Light, Margot
White, Stephen
Wild Theories.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 7, July 2001, p. 10-12.
In the two years since Vladimir Putin first assumed real political power the inner circles of the Kremlin have become less accessible to westerners. Despite growing exposure to international summitry, the President has yet to develop his own world view. But the theories put forward by those around him are alarming indeed.
- Lloyd, John
Russia : The Common Home at Last ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 2, April - June 2001, p. 91-100.
After providing an overview of the current foreign policy discourse in Russia, the author examines some major trends in its relations with the US and Europe as well as the influence that the initiatives undertaken by President Putin may have on the transatlantic link. His conclusion is that Russia should definitively renounce both its anachronistic aspiration to regain superpower status and its futile attempts to stir up divisions between the US and European governments and should instead choose the EU as its main partner and, more generally, embrace policies that can bring it into the 'European home'. Finally, substantial and long-standing divergences exist between the US and European countries over relations with a number of 'states of concern'.
- Lobova, Ludmilla
Aktuelle Entwicklungen in der Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik Russlands.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 39. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 2001, S. 589-596.
- Losiukov, Aleksandr
Big Treaty, Big Prospects.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 5, 2001, p. 16-22.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
On July 15-18, 2001, PRC Chairman Jiang Zemin arrived in Russia on an official state visit, which culminated in the signing of the Good Neighborly Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China. The Treaty consists of 25 articles, harmoniously complementing each other and encompassing all the main spheres and lines of Russian-Chinese relations. It would not be an exaggeration to say that each provision of the Treaty is of major importance. The high contracting parties undertake to develop on a long-term basis good neighborly relations of friendship, equal partnership, and strategic cooperation in accordance with rules of international law; not to use force or threat of force in their relations; to respect each other's choice; and to support each other in matters pertaining to protection of state and territorial integrity.
- Lynch, Allen C.
The Realism of Russia's Foreign Policy.
EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES, vol. 53, no. 1, 2001, p. 7-31 (MasterFile Premier).
<http://search.epnet.com>
- MacFaul, Michael
Getting Russia Right.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 117, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 58-73.
Pundits have wasted their time quibbling over 'who lost Russia'. Not only is Russia not 'lost', but it has made enormous strides since 1991. And despite some occasional missteps, US policy has generally been on target. Now is the time to focus on what works, not on who's to blame. Otherwise, all the finger-pointing about the supposed failure of US policy toward Russia could turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

- MacFaul, Michael
 Realistic Engagement : A New Approach to American-Russian Relations.
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 648, October 2001, p. 313-321.
 Russian and American leaders have to define a United States-Russian relationship that neither rekindles cold war rivalry nor refuels illusions about alliances and special relationships. More distance than a decade ago might be healthy for the bilateral relationship. Too much distance will be dangerous.

- Marin, Anais
 Dix ans de relations russo-baltes : entre ingerence et recherche de stabilite regionale.
 COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1003, mars 2000, p. 4-16.
 Depuis que la Russie a admis l'indépendance des 3 états baltes, leurs relations ont souvent été houleuses et les contentieux difficiles à régler : fixation des frontières, montant des réparations, retrait des 100 000 militaires russes, prétention de Moscou à s'ingérer dans les affaires concernant les fortes minorités russophones, et dont elle conteste le statut au nom des droits de l'homme, problèmes du transit vers l'enclave de Kaliningrad... Depuis 1995, de nouvelles tensions ont vu le jour avec la volonté balte d'entrer dans l'OTAN, ce que les Russes considèrent comme une menace pour leur sécurité. Dans ce jeu diplomatique, il n'existe pas d'unité de la 'maison balte', la Lituanie a en effet de bien meilleurs rapports que ses 2 voisines avec la Russie; cette dernière, de son côté, divise pour régner. Une amélioration des relations pourrait venir des acteurs locaux des régions transfrontalières.

- Menon, Rajan
 Structural Constraints on Russian Diplomacy.
 ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 579-596.
 U.S. policy toward Russia attracted interest again in the wake of the first Bush-Putin summit in June 2001. But irrespective of whatever personal rapport may have been established between their leaders, the old Cold War adversaries will find their bilateral relations constrained by geopolitical and economic structures of long standing. Thus, the author advises us not to become too excited or chagrined over President Vladimir Putin's rhetoric and instead focus on the strategic and financial woes bound to drive the foreign policy of any Russian leader.

- Naoumkine, Vitali
 La Russie et le Proche-Orient.
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, été 2000, p. 199-206.
 La politique étrangère de la Russie au Proche-Orient a connu de profondes évolutions au cours des dix dernières années. La disparition de l'Union soviétique a eu pour conséquence une reorientation des priorités diplomatiques de Moscou dans cette région : tandis que les liens avec les états clients de l'URSS au temps de la guerre froide (Syrie, Irak) se distendaient, de nouveaux partenariats se sont progressivement mis en place. Moscou a notamment accordé une importance particulière au développement de relations de coopération avec la Turquie et l'Iran, puissances régionales traditionnellement rivales de la Russie en Transcaucasie et en Asie centrale. Les relations avec Israël ont également connu un nouvel essor du fait de la présence dans ce pays d'une très importante communauté russophone. Alors que l'intérêt porté par la Russie au Proche-Orient avait semblé-t-il baisser depuis 1991, on assiste actuellement à un retour de la diplomatie russe dans cette région, désireuse de faire entendre sa voix et de se réinsérer dans un processus de paix largement dominé par les États-Unis.

- Nikonov, Vyacheslav
 Russian-Belarusian Relations.
 BELARUS IN THE WORLD, no. 1, 2001, p. 37-40.
 In this article, the author highlights a series of issues relating to the development of Belarus-Russia integration. The author analyses achievements and problems occurring as the two nations become further integrated.

- Niquet, Valerie
 Chine-Russie : quel partenaire strategique ?
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, ete 2000, p. 184-198.
 Depuis la fin des annees 80, Moscou et Pekin ont progressivement mis en place un partenariat strategique qui, en apparence, va en s'approfondissant. Ce partenariat repose essentiellement, pour ne pas dire uniquement, sur une volonte commune de contrer les 'ambitions hegemonistes' de la superpuissance americaine. Sur ce champ de la multipolarite, les interets de Pekin et de Moscou peuvent rejoindre les positions d'autres puissances a la recherche d'une plus grande marge de manoeuvre sur la scene internationale. Cette communaute d'interets, dirigee contre les Etats-Unis, masque l'absence d'approches veritablement communes dans le domaine economique, mais egalement dans le domaine strategique. Au niveau bilateral, la fin du conflit sino-russe, la mise en place de mesures de confiance militaires et le reglement de la question frontaliere apparaissent comme les seuls veritables succes de ce partenariat strategique.

- Nosov, Mikhail G.
 Zwei Seiten eines Dreiecks : das Duo Russland-China (und die USA).
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 4, April 2001, S. 17-24.
 Die Beziehungen Russland-China befinden sich im Aufwind : die Grenzstreitigkeiten sind weitgehend beigelegt; die Beziehungen konzentrieren sich mehr auf die Entwicklung von Ressourcen als auf die Aufstellung von Streitkräften; China ist Russlands zweitwichtigster Handelspartner. Problematisch ist allerdings die chinesische demographische Expansion im russischen Fernen Osten sowie das unterschiedliche Tempo beider Lander bei politischen und wirtschaftlichen Reformen.

- Orlov, Valeriy
 Foreign Policy and Russia's Regions.
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 6, 2000, p. 81-92.

- Paris, Henri
 Elections russes et bascule strategique.
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 56eme annee, no. 3, mars 2000, p. 58-70.

- Pastukhova, Nadezhda
 The Union Between Russia and Belarus.
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 4, 2000, p. 126-131.

- Pushkov, Aleksei
 Russia and the New World Order.
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 6, 2000, p. 4-17.

- Rahm, Julie M.
 Russia, China, India : A New Strategic Triangle for a New Cold War ?
 PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 87-97.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
 This article examines the possibility of a new strategic triad encompassing Russia, China, and India. The author examines the motivation for this strategic relationship, the threat to US strategy resultant of the partnership, and the possibility that such a relationship could usher in a return of Cold War tensions. Of special interest are the number of military-technical, joint research and development, and military training factors contributing to this relationship. The reader quickly realizes that it is much more than the mutual opposition to the unipolar, US-dominated world that draws these three together.

- Rahr, Alexander
 Hat Putin neue politische Optionen ? Russland zwischen dem Westen und Asien.
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 10, Oktober 2001, S. 35-40.
 Angesichts der geplanten Einbeziehung Russlands in den weltweiten Kampf gegen den Terrorismus und der Tatsache, dass die russisch-chinesische Allianz auf wackeligen Füssen steht, stellt der Autor die Frage nach Russlands Rolle und Politik im eurasischen Raum.

- Rozman, Gilbert
A New Sino-Russian-American Triangle ?
ORBIS, vol. 44, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 541-555.

- Rucker, Laurent
Russie : une nouvelle politique etrangere ?
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1005, mai 2000, p. 62-72.
La politique etrangere de la Russie semble prendre de la vigueur avec l'arrivee au pouvoir de V. Poutine. Apres l'adoption d'un texte sur la securite nationale en janvier 2000, puis d'un autre sur la doctrine militaire en avril, Moscou devrait logiquement redefinir les grands principes censés guider sa conduite sur la scene internationale. Sont presentes ici, au travers de differents articles traduits de la presse russe, les termes du debat entre experts. La teneur generale va au realisme et nombreux sont ceux qui pronent le renoncement a l'idee que la Russie doit a tout prix recouvrer son rang de grande puissance. Mieux vaudrait pour elle adopter une politique plus attentive a ses interets vitaux et immediats. Des lors, il lui faut cesser de 'monter au creneau' pour defendre des positions difficilement tenables dans un monde domine en grande partie par les Etats-Unis et eviter ainsi toute confrontation avec l'Ouest. A cet egard, les relations entre Moscou et Washington, sur lesquelles pesent de nombreux differends, doivent etre au plus vite normalisees et deboucher sur un partenariat constructif, objectif a atteindre avec tous les pays occidentaux. Enfin, les liens que la Russie entretient avec les autres membres de la CEI doivent etre avant tout fondees sur le pragmatisme et une attitude plus ferme en ce qui concerne la dette contractee a son egard.

- Rudov, Georgii
Kyrgyzstan : On the Russian Presence in Central Asia.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, p. 117-122.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Schippers, Hans
Rusland en het Midden-Oosten : continuïteit en verandering.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 6, juni 2000, p. 311-316.
The author analyses continuity and change in Russian policy towards the Middle East. The interest in this region has long roots, going back to the 19th century. After the breakdown of Communism, Russian policy was a sort of mirror reflecting general tendencies in new political thinking. At first Moscow tried to establish a coalition with the West, distancing itself from its former allies Iraq and Syria; diplomatic ties with Israel were restored. After some years disillusion with the Western attitude to the country led to a new foreign policy, in which Russia defines itself as a competitor but not as an enemy of the West. In the Middle East this meant that Moscow tried to establish itself as counter balance to American influence. Mostly for economic reasons the sale of weapons and technology played an important role in this policy. However, because of the instable political situation in the region Moscow took care not to export sensitive weapons systems. With the ideological barriers of communism gone, Moscow was able to broaden its regional influence in the Middle East. However, its weak economic position means that this influence is still limited.

- Serfaty, Simon
A Euro-Atlantic Ostpolitik.
ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 597-607.
One of the structures to which Russia will have to adjust is the European Union, which stands between it and the United States. Can Europe function as a bridge between East and West, or will it constitute the third side of an unstable triangle? That is the question that the author of this article addresses. But of course the answer will depend at least as much on the Europeans themselves as they struggle to persuade the world that they exist as a unitary actor.

- Sergunin, Alexander
Regionen contra Zentrum : ihr Einfluss auf die russische Aussenpolitik.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 2000, S. 29-36.
Russlands Regionalisierung muss keinesfalls zwingend zu einem Zerfall des Landes fuhren - im Gegenteil : sie bewirke, so der Wissenschaftler aus Nishnij Nowgorod, die fortschreitende Demokratisierung des russischen Verwaltungssystems, die Stimulierung eines Föderalismus-Modells 'von unten nach oben' und ein Entgegenwirken der Marginalisierung oder internationalen Isolation Russlands.

- Serrano, Silvia
La Russie et le Sud-Caucase : la tentation du retour.
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1009, octobre 2000, p. 16-28.
Les deux guerres en Tchetchenie ont revele qu'il n'existait pas d'identite ni de solidarite caucasienne, bien au contraire, comme l'avaient d'ailleurs deja montre les conflits lies a l'Abkhazie, a l'Ossetie et Haut-Karabagh. Chacun des pays, Armenie, Azerbaïdjan et Georgie, reagit a sa facon vis-a-vis de Moscou, soupconnee de vouloir s'imposer politiquement et economiquement a la faveur d'une moindre presence des Occidentaux, en raison de l'instabilite regionale. La Russie ne semble pourtant pas avoir de strategie tres precise, sauf a exercer des pression en tous genres, y compris par la force, notamment sur la Georgie, seul pays a avoir une frontiere avec la Tchetchenie. Elle ne peut par ailleurs qu'assister impuissante a l'integration progressive des trois Etats dans les instances internationales. Mais rien n'est simple dans ces relations tres fluctuantes, aux enjeux souvent peu explicites, les allies d'hier pouvant brusquement devenir des ennemis et inversement, d'autant que la corruption, l'affairisme et la presence d'importantes ressources petrolieres brouillent encore un peu plus les cartes.

- Sestanovich, Stephen
Where Does Russia Belong ?
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 62, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 5, 12 p. (MasterFILE Premier).
<http://search.epnet.com>
This article focuses on issues surrounding the integration of Russia into Western institutions.

- Sezer, Duygu Bazoglu
Turkish-Russian Relations a Decade Later : From Adversity to Managed Competition.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 6, no. 1, March - May 2001, p. 79-98.
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/sam/>

- Sigov, Jury
Friends and Foes.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 4, April 2001, p. 8-9.
Suspicion and misunderstanding characterise relations between the new boys in the White House and the Kremlin. Washington's priorities are elsewhere, whereas Moscow is still trying to come to terms with its new status. There will be no bear-hugs between pragmatic partners for now.

- Smyser, William R.
Putin spielt die deutsche Karte.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 2000, S. 15-20.
Die Wahl Putins zum russischen Prasidenten hat fur Deutschland wichtige internationale Implikationen, so der an der Washingtoner Georgetown University lehrende der Autor. Deutschland stehe vor dem Problem, dieser grosseren Aufgabe gerecht werden zu müssen, ohne das Verhaltnis zu seinen westlichen Verbundeten grosseren Spannungen auszusetzen.

- Sobell, Vlad
Russia Turns West.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 11, November 2001, p. 18-19.
The campaign against terrorism is fundamentally changing the international climate. Russia's relations with the west are high on the list of areas under transformation. Ten years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia is finally arriving as a fully-fledged member of the western community.

- Sofinskii, Nikolai
Russia and the U.S. after Ljubljana.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, p. 8-12.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Sredin, Vasilii
Russia and Africa.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 5, 2001, p. 23-29.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
In recent times the Russian public, media and business community have been showing a considerably heightened interest in African problems. Russia has always regarded states of the African continent as advantageous and time-tested partners. This attitude is reflected in the Russian Federation Foreign Policy Concept approved by President Putin on 28 June 2000.

- Thom, Francois
Les ambitions russes en Europe.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 4, avril 2001, p. 25-41.
Cet article a pour objet d'eclairer la politique europeenne de la Russie, en expliquant l'importance pour les dirigeants russes de theories geopolitiques en vogue a Moscou des 1992. Les constructions geopolitiques permettent de restaurer une continuite dans la politique etrangere russe : l'adversaire reste les Etats-Unis qu'il s'agit d'evincer du continent europeen. Les methodes employees n'ont guere change non plus : instaurer des relations bilaterales avec les Etats europeens, en commençant par l'Angleterre, la priorite restant comme toujours a l'Allemagne, le seul veritable allie potentiel de la Russie aux yeux de Moscou dans le projet 'continental'. Quatre facteurs ont permis a la Russie de relancer sa politique europeenne : la crise energetique, le projet americain de defense antimissiles, la creation de l'euroforce et la panne du moteur franco-allemand. En signant des accords de cooperation militaires bilateraux avec les principaux pays europeens, la Russie poursuit un double but : faire assumer aux europeens une partie de l'entretien et de la modernisation du complexe militaro-industriel russe; saper les liens transatlantiques. La proposition russe de la creation d'un systeme de defense antimissiles europeen s'inscrit dans cette logique.

- Tinguy, Anne de
De l'Asie centrale au Guuam : la relance de la diplomatie russe.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 8-9, aout - septembre 2001, p. 69-79.

- Tinguy, Anne de
La Russie entre puissance et impuissance.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, ete 2000, p. 207-219.
'La Russie est et restera une grande puissance'. Toute relative qu'elles soit, cette remarque recouvre tout de meme un certain nombre de realites. En effet, si le concept meme de puissance a fortement evolue depuis la fin de la guerre froide, il semble toutefois difficile de se departir des representations qui ont fonde, a un moment donne, la grandeur d'un pays. Aujourd'hui, la place et le role accordes a la Russie sur la scene internationale varient selon les discours et les perceptions que l'on a de ce pays, mais egalement en fonction des zones geographiques d'influence potentielle. En outre, ce qui est plus ou moins remis en cause, concernant la Russie actuelle, ce sont les sources censees fonder sa puissance, qui ne correspondent plus aux criteres traditionnels, mais qui ne l'empêchent pas pour autant d'etre consideree comme un acteur important des relations internationales. Entre grandeur et decadence, et alors qu'elle traverse une periode de transition sur tous les plans, la Russie se cherche un avenir a la taille de ses nouveaux facteurs d'influence.

- Tinguay, Anne de
Vladimir Poutine et l' Occident : l' heure est au pragmatisme.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2001, p. 515-533.
Le 31 decembre 1999, Vladimir Poutine arrive au pouvoir dans une Russie affaiblie qui a perdu beaucoup de son influence dans un monde en mutation. Face a la deterioration des echanges avec les Etats-Unis, le nouveau president s'engage dans l'urgence sur la double voie de l'alliance avec les pays europeens - depassant le stade d'accords avec les seuls moteurs allemand, anglais et francais et se tournant desormais vers d'autres nations europeennes - et du renouveau de l'influence russe dans l'espace anciennement sovietique et en Asie. Retrouver une place qui, sans etre dominante, soit au moins reconnue sur la scene internationale est donc le pari aleatoire de Vladimir Poutine pour son pays. Mais cette strategie pragmatique de rapprochement de la Russie avec ses voisins europeens et asiatiques comporte a ce jour une faiblesse : les alliances se construisent d'abord de facon negative, notamment a travers la lutte en commun contre l'hegemonie americaine - la resistance au projet de bouclier antimissile de l'Administration Bush en constitue un parfait exemple - et se traduisent plus rarement par la recherche de partenariats positifs.

- Tiraspolsky, Anita
Russie - [URSS] - Russie.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 3-4, automne - hiver 2000, p. 757-770.
From Nicolas II to Vladimir Poutine, Russia passed through many changes. To the tsarist empire succeeded the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. To Lenin's international revolutionary ambition succeeded Stalin's continental imperialism, and later on Khrouchtchev's and Brejnev's world imperialism. But the superpower 'homeland of socialism' could not resist the explosion of the empire announced by the fall of Berlin's wall, in 1989 : in 1991, Russia was reborn, and a new page of Russian history was turned. But despite the specificities and tensions which are still shaking the country, between North and South, East and West, Christianity and Islam, Russia wants eventually to be integrated into the world community and to stop being considered as an alien actor on the international stage.

- Titarenko, M.
Russia in Asia.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 2, 2000, p. 127-133.

- Trenin, Dimitri
Russia and the Double-Headed West : Contours of a New Triangular Relationship.
STUDIEN UND BERICHTS ZUR SICHERHEITSPOLITIK, Nr. 3, Oktober 2000, S. 77-96.

- Trenin, Dmitri
Less Is More.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 135-144.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
What is most troubling for the Kremlin is not the tough tone Washington has taken, but the symbolic and real downgrading of Russia's importance. Overall, what Russia want is treatment as a coequal and less, not more, from the United States.

- Umbach, Frank
Russia as a 'Virtual Great Power' : Implications for Its Declining Role in European and Eurasian Security.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 87-122.
Instead of analyzing just some recent developments of Russia's domestic, foreign and security policies, this article focuses in particular on mid- and long-term strategic trends and the consequences of Russia's decline for European and Eurasian Security. It argues that Russia is still in a long-term socio-economic decline and it is unrealistic to expect that Moscow will regain its former status as a Great Power or even Superpower in the mid-term future even if its economy and military power improve

rapidly and substantially. Against this background, two other powers of the Eurasian landmass, the EU and China will surpass Russia in international standing and secure great power status in the coming decades with far-reaching consequences for the international system and Russia's security as well as for its role in Europe and Central as well as East Asia. In this light, the article analyzes strategic trends in domestic, foreign and security policies, including the impact of often overlooked factors such as demographic trends and the health crisis, of decentralization, regionalization, and fragmentation within the Russian Federation, the future of Russia's military reform policies (including Russia's draft military doctrine of October 1999 and its nuclear illusions) and their implications for Russia's future foreign and security policies.

- Vushkarnik, Anton
Russian Baltic Policy : the Song Remains the Same.
STUDIEN UND BERICHTS ZUR SICHERHEITSPOLITIK, Nr. 1, Marz 2001, S. 125-149.
- Weitz, Richard
Managing an Unpredictable Moscow.
PARAMETERS, vol. 24, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 72-85.
- Yang, Baoyun
Confiance et prudence : la diplomatie chinoise au debut du XXIe siecle.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 44, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 99-110.
En 1978, la Chine etablisait des relations diplomatiques avec les Etats-Unis. Depuis, l'evolution de la situation internationale, l'approfondissement des reformes et l'ouverture de la societe chinoise semblent determiner une recomposition des relations diplomatiques entre Pekin et le reste du monde. Sur la scene internationale, la Chine de l'apres-guerre froide se positionne a la fois en fonction de necessites internes liees a son propre developpement economique et du role qu'il lui incombe d'assumer au triple titre d'acteur international influent, de puissance regionale incontournable et de chef de file d'un nouvel ordre mondial, respectueux de la securite economique et de la souverainete nationale. Au debut du XXIe siecle, la diplomatie chinoise propose une configuration du monde originale.

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