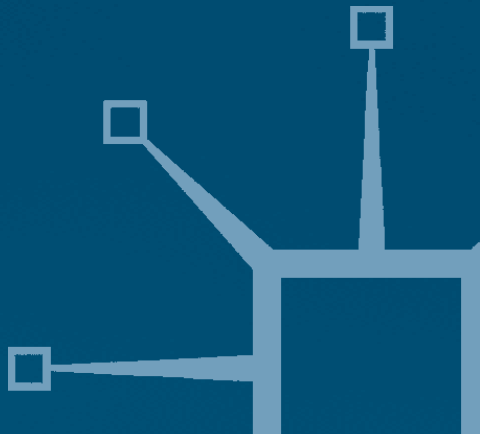


palgrave
macmillan

Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era

Reality, Illusion and Mythmaking

Bobo Lo



Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era

Also by Bobo Lo

SOVIET LABOUR IDEOLOGY AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE STATE

Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era

Reality, Illusion and Mythmaking

Bobo Lo
Visiting Fellow
Carnegie Moscow Center
Russia

palgrave
macmillan

- 1.2 million by April 1999 [see *The Military Balance 1999–2000*, p. 104] were more nominal than real: many of the positions cut were occupied by ‘dead souls’ (rather than live bodies) and therefore naturally redundant, while certain groups of military and other ‘force’ personnel were not counted in official statistics. Similarly, while there was much fanfare about the transition of the armed forces to a four-service structure – army, navy, air force and strategic forces – there is no evidence to suggest that this has led to an increase in efficiency or capabilities. Although the prospects for meaningful reform appear more promising under Putin, the International Institute of Strategic Studies rightly points out that ‘[m]ilitary reform continues to lack not only economic resources but also the human talent capable of implementing radical modernisation’ [*The Military Balance 2000–2001*, p. 109].
7. A very well-respected defence correspondent remarked to me that the most significant aspect about the Military Doctrine was the fact of its existence.
 8. The very different priorities of the two Presidents were reflected in their public comments following the signing of the initial Union Treaty in May 1997. Yeltsin stressed the importance of the provisions on freedom of speech and press, unrestricted party political activity, the sanctity of private property, protection of investor rights and support for ‘free economic competition’. Lukashenko, on the other hand, placed most emphasis on the intended establishment of supragovernmental Union ‘organs of power’. Much of the Russian media were in no doubt that Lukashenko retained aspirations of one day heading a new Russia–Belarus Union state [see Polezhaev, 1997b, p. 1].
 9. Although the term, ‘hegemony on the cheap’, was used by R.W. (‘Johnny’) Apple [2000, p. 112] in relation to American foreign policy, it also fits Moscow’s approach to CIS-related issues.
 10. The rouble devaluation impacted on the structure of Russia’s external trade by making Western imports less affordable than local and CIS-origin items. As a result, the share of total Russian imports from the CIS increased steadily from 26 per cent in 1998 to 27.6 per cent in 1999 to 34.4 per cent in 2000. Belarus was the principal beneficiary of this new environment, supplanting Ukraine as Russia’s largest trading partner in the former Soviet Union in 2000 [*Tamozhennaya statistika ...*, 2000, pp. 7, 9; 2001, pp. 7, 9].
 11. In 1654, Tsar Aleksei Romanov accepted the proposal of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, the *hetman* of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, to place himself and his followers under Russian suzerainty.
 12. The last nuclear weapons components in Ukraine were transferred to Russia in June 1996 [Evstafiev, 2000, p. 220].
 13. There were several important outcomes arising from the accords of 28 May 1997. The first was the fact that the two sides were able to reach agreement, a positive result stemming from Moscow’s decision to adopt a more cooperative approach to relations with Ukraine. Second, the legal status of Crimea and Sevastopol was resolved, signifying substantive Russian recognition of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. Third, the apportioning of the Black Sea Fleet was finalized, along with issues of joint basing, access and leasing arrangements. Finally, progress was made in rescheduling and relief of Ukraine’s debt to Russia [see Sherr, 1997, pp. 33–47 for a good summation of the costs and benefits of the accords for both sides].
 14. Garnett and Legvold [1999, p. 4] note that under Aleksandr Lukashenko Belarus became subject to critical scrutiny by the West not only for its

- 'increasingly marred human rights record, but also from its substitution of authoritarian for constitutional government'. The latest (September 2001) Presidential elections, in which Lukashenko won in the first round with more than 75 per cent of the vote, were marked by claims of widespread electoral abuses, including the stuffing of ballot boxes. Significantly, the OSCE declined to endorse the elections as democratic [Bogdanovich, 2001, pp. 57–8].
15. Although Lukashenko claimed to support the Russia–NATO Founding Act, he criticized Yeltsin for failing to consult or inform Minsk before announcing that Moscow would remove warheads from missiles targeted at NATO member countries. The Belarus president accused Russia of not considering his country's interests in proposing the initiative, and described this behaviour as 'not that of an ally' (*ne po-soyuznicheski*) [Poletaev, 1997, p. 3].
 16. The Russian Foreign Ministry was especially upset by Azerbaijan's decision to sign the so-called 'Contract of the Century' [see comments by MFA spokesman Mikhail Demurin, in Mekhtiev, 1994, p. 3]. This contract, which envisaged joint exploitation of Caspian Sea oil with a group of Western companies (including British Petroleum and Amoco), disregarded the MFA's legal stance that none of the littoral states (Russia, Iran, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) could exploit the energy resources of the Caspian Sea – 'indivisible' and under 'common ownership' – without obtaining prior consent from all the others. With good reason, the MFA position – demanding a right of veto in all but name – was widely viewed as a transparent attempt to maintain Russian control over Caspian energy development while simultaneously preventing the United States from expanding its presence in the Transcaucasus. Unsurprisingly, economic actors – Chernomyrdin, Lukoil – welcomed the opportunity to become involved in the 'Contract of the Century', while more geopolitically driven interests, such as then FIS chief Primakov, emphasized the danger to Russia's national security interests [Mekhtiev, 1994, p. 3]. In the end, the matter was effectively resolved by increasing Lukoil's share in the Caspian Oil Consortium and ensuring that much of the oil produced would be transported to the West via southern Russia [Bovt, 1995, pp. 1, 4].
 17. The most contentious issue here concerned the Baku–Ceyhan pipeline project which, when completed, would carry Caspian Sea oil to the West via Georgia, bypassing both Iran and Russia. Moscow's concerns that others were intending to 'edge Russia out of the energy-rich Caspian region' [Varlamov, 1999, p. 5] were heightened by the signature of an accord on the project between President Clinton and the leaders of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey in Istanbul in December 1999.
 18. Charles Krauthammer [1991, p. 25] distinguished between 'real and apparent multilateralism'. The former involved a 'genuine coalition of coequal partners of comparable strength and stature,' such as the coalition between the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union during the Second World War. By contrast, 'pseudo-multilateralism' occurred when 'a dominant great power acts essentially alone, but, embarrassed at the idea and still worshipping at the shrine of collective security, recruits a ship here, a brigade there, and blessings all around to give its unilateral actions a multilateral sheen'. Although Krauthammer was of course referring to the United States, the same mentality was evident in Moscow's approach towards peacekeeping in the CIS, in other words, where it was the primary actor.

19. Understanding that control of these would reinforce its primacy in the region as the pivotal power, Moscow insisted on exclusively Russian peacekeepers and even rejected the presence of European observers [Plekhanov, 1994, p. 3].
20. It should be acknowledged that Primakov faced enormous difficulties in mediating between Saddam Hussein, UNSCOM and the American and British governments during 1997–98. The Iraqi President frequently denied UNSCOM access to suspect sites and harassed its inspection teams; UNSCOM under Richard Butler's leadership was regarded by many, particularly in the Russian Foreign Ministry, as heavily biased; and Washington and London resisted moves in the UNSC to close the Iraqi nuclear and missile files or soften the sanctions regime (that is, to show Baghdad 'a light at the end of the tunnel'). Given all the problems, the failure of Primakov's efforts was inevitable – leading to Operation Desert Fox in December 1998 and the subsequent indefinite suspension of UNSCOM operations.
21. The term, 'Near Abroad', is seen as increasingly anachronistic, even offensive. These days, it is usual in Russia to use the more neutral (and factual) description of 'Commonwealth of Independent States'.
22. For example, Russia voted against resolutions in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning abuses in China and East Timor respectively [see Chudodeev, 1995, p. 4; Yusin, 1999e, p. 4].
23. Karen Brutents [1994, p. 4] and former Ambassador to Israel Aleksandr Bovin [1997, p. 3] were among the few to argue that Russia could and should assume a primary mediating role in the Middle East Peace Process.
24. This was a constant refrain in my conversations with relevant MFA officials during 1996–99.
25. Somewhat curiously, Brzezinski [1997, p. 56] made much the same suggestion.
26. Yeltsin's *Midnight Diaries* are especially revealing of this elitist mentality. For example, he takes great pride in Russia's acceptance into the G-8 – 'the elite club of states' [2001, p. 136] – as reinforcement of its status as 'one of the most influential countries in the world' [ibid., p. 137].
27. During a time almost exactly contemporaneous with the period of multi-polar foreign policy, Asian diplomats frequently expressed to me their irritation that Moscow continued to see Asia as a relative backwater, one whose main purpose was as an instrument to play off against the West. There was a strong sense that Russia was not serious about deepening its involvement in Asia, whether through multilateral fora such as APEC and the ARF or in bilateral relations with individual countries (for example, the ASEANs).
28. In referring to the United States as the 'foremost... cultural power' in the world, I do not in any way mean to suggest that American culture is qualitatively superior to others, simply that, good or bad, it dominates the globe.
29. A senior diplomat at one of the Western European embassies in Moscow complained to me in 1999 about the Russian elite's Americacentrism, adding that it reflected an enduring (and tiresome) geopolitical obsession.
30. The Russia–EU PCA treaty, signed in June 1994, did not enter into force until 1 December 1997.
31. Typically, Yeltsin [2001, p. 258] pinned the blame for the NATO intervention squarely on the United States, alleging that '[t]he Americans found it necessary to stimulate North Atlantic solidarity by any means,' and that Washington was afraid both of 'the crisis in postwar values' and 'the growing strength of European independence'.

5 The Geopolitical Strain

1. The 'implosion' argument was favoured by Yeltsin and his supporters in the West. It was embodied in the 'truth' that a weak Russia would be a 'constant source of danger to the security of mankind' [Yeltsin, 1994a, p. 1].
2. As Alex Pravda [1992, p. 255] put it, '[w]hat distinguished Gorbachev from his predecessors was not so much that he placed domestic priorities first... The real distinction of Gorbachev's strategy lay in the fact that he radically realigned foreign policy to facilitate rather than avoid domestic change and sustained this radical international realignment to help drive fundamental transformation at home'.
3. Interestingly, in a meeting in early 2000 with Australian Embassy representatives, Kozyrev suggested that it had been inevitable that the West would take advantage of Russia's weakness.
4. Although it had been evident for some time that NATO would seek to include Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic into the alliance, the catalyst for the debate in Russia appears to have been Yeltsin's suggestion during a visit to Warsaw in August 1993 that Moscow would not stand in the way of Polish accession [Dannreuther, 1999–2000, p. 151]. Yeltsin later retracted his comments in a letter to President Clinton, and by November the mainstream Russian position had been firmly established [see Primakov, 1993, pp. 1, 3].
5. The term, 'culture of envy', was used by Hedrick Smith [1991, pp. 199–200] to describe the 'collective jealousy [in Soviet society] against those who rise above the crowd'. However, it seems perfectly applicable to the foreign policy context where American successes post-Cold War have evoked very similar sentiments, especially in the light of continuing Russian difficulties and setbacks over the same period.
6. The liberal scholar, Yuri Davydov [1996, p. 9], was one of a small minority to underplay the importance of NATO enlargement, claiming that it would become 'peripheral' in the event of the emergence of 'special relations' between Russia and NATO and, subsequently, 'a new system of European security'; see also Parkhalina [2000b, p. 39].
7. According to the highly flexible (and indeed ambiguous) wording of the Founding Act [1997, p. 5], the PJC would 'provide a mechanism for consultations, coordination and, *to the maximum extent possible, where appropriate* [author's italics], for joint decisions and joint action with respect to security issues of common concern. The consultations will not extend to internal matters of either NATO, NATO member states or Russia.'
8. I am indebted to Alexei Pushkov for this insight.
9. The USA–Japan Security Treaty posed quite a dilemma for some senior MFA officials. On the one hand, they acknowledged privately the Treaty's positive contribution towards security in Northeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific more generally. On the other hand, they disliked the fact that in doing so it cemented and legitimized the American security presence in the region.
10. Consistent with this approach, Russia rejected attempts at the 1999 OSCE Istanbul Summit to introduce the principle of 'consensus minus one' [Gornostaev, 1999d, p. 6].
11. According to a study by Dean Wilkening [1998, p. 101], the Russian strategic force would be 'largely obsolete by 2005, with the exception of the bomber force'.

12. On several occasions during 1999 Russian officials suggested to me that they favoured a reduction of benchmark levels to as low as 1000 warheads. Although the failure under Yeltsin to ratify either START-2 or the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty suggested a reluctance to engage in arms control, in truth the delay owed more to the President's inability to focus on these issues as well as the intrusion of domestic political factors in foreign policy (see Chapter 2).
13. Notwithstanding their strenuous objections to NMD, Russian officials admitted privately that it posed no direct threat to Russia's nuclear strike capabilities.
14. In two major trials in 2000, the 'hit-to-kill' ground-based interceptor failed to hit its designated target [Bowen, 2001, p. 499], although a subsequent test in 2001 proved more successful.
15. In theory, the Russian government had a number of 'asymmetric responses' at its disposal: non-ratification of START-2; withdrawal from the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR); the construction of an indigenous missile defence system; the conversion of the new generation single-warhead Topol-M into a multiple-warhead missile (or MIRV – multiple independent re-entry vehicle) [see Gulko, 1999, p. 2]. The practical difficulties were enormous, however. With the growing obsolescence of its nuclear arsenal, non-ratification would have been highly counterproductive; withdrawal from the MTCR would have excluded Moscow from participation in the international control regimes that were part of playing the 'good international citizen'; and developing a national missile defence system would have entailed exorbitant costs with no early prospect of success. The 're-mirvization' of the Topol-Ms was technically feasible, but would have been in flagrant breach of START-2 rules, with consequences potentially far worse than those resulting from simply non-ratification of the Treaty.
16. The need for revised flank limits was reinforced by chronic political and inter-ethnic instability in the Transcaucasus.
17. The benefit to Russia of a system of national and territorial ceilings in place of the bloc-to-bloc (NATO–Warsaw Pact) structure was that the former restricted NATO's flexibility in moving troops and treaty-limited equipment (TLE) to its new member-states. Under the old bloc-to-bloc arrangement, NATO would have been able to do this because the total number of its TLE would have remained well below the levels allowed under the CFE Treaty.
18. In the margins of the Yeltsin–Jiang Zemin Summit in Moscow in April 1997, the leaders of the five states adjoining the former Sino-Soviet frontier – Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan – signed an agreement on confidence-building measures (CBMs) in the border regions. This built on progress achieved during Yeltsin's visit to Shanghai one year earlier, in which the various parties undertook not to use force against one another and to refrain from aggressive or unpredictable military actions. Although the Moscow agreement was more concrete in that it established ceilings for ground troops and certain types of matériel, its significance was political rather than military-strategic. In Russia's case, for example, economic constraints had already compelled it to initiate reductions to levels lower than required under the agreement [Bulavinov, 1997a, p. 2].

Although the status of three islands in the Amur river has yet to be definitively resolved, the Yeltsin–Jiang Zemin Summit in Beijing in November 1997 effectively removed the common border as an issue of serious contention. The Presidents' joint statement:

announced triumphantly that all issues relating to the demarcation of the eastern section of the Russian–Chinese state border ... have been resolved, and that [this section] is clearly marked on site for the first time in the history of the two countries' relations. The sides also stated their readiness to complete demarcation work on the western section of the Russian–Chinese border ... in accordance with the agreed timetable [*Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 11 November 1997, p. 7].

19. That said, they also complicated the ongoing dispute with Turkey over Russia's 'southern flank' in the CFE context [Alexei Arbatov, 1996, p. 115], in the process reminding Moscow of the nexus between domestic and external policy. The internal security objective of suppressing the Chechen rebels acquired an external dimension rooted in a formal reading of the concept of balance of power.
20. Russia was especially interested in expanding the quadripartite (USA, China, North and South Korea) talks on the Korean peninsula to include other parties – Russia, Japan and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This was a constant theme in my discussions with the MFA's First Asia Department (China and the Koreas) during 1996–98. By 1999, the Russian position had softened somewhat, with officials saying that Russia would support the Four-Party talks while remaining 'ready to assist' in the (anticipated) event that these would achieve no progress.
21. Similarly, the continuing deadlock in the Korean quadripartite talks was seen as strengthening Russia's case for closer involvement in Northeast Asian security affairs. Deputy Foreign Minister Karasin [1999, p. 6], for example, argued that Russia could play a significant role as a moderating influence on North Korea and, more generally, in enhancing regional stability.
22. Attendance by leaders of the GUUAM member-states acquired an extra edge in the circumstances of NATO military operations against Milosevic and Moscow's consequent boycott of the NATO Summit.
23. The term 'Finlandization' referred originally to the international position of Finland after the Second World War. Although it was not a Soviet satellite or client state, it kept its distance from Western security and economic structures such as NATO and the EU.
24. There are no truly reliable figures for Russian military exports to China, given both the unpredictability of payment arrangements as well as the sensitivity and secrecy surrounding the subject. Most reputable estimates put the figure at around US\$ 1 billion per annum.
25. Recognition of this reality was reflected, for example, in Communist leader Zyuganov's attendance at the 1996 Davos World Economic Forum.
26. The nexus between domestic reforms and foreign policy under Gorbachev might be taken as implicit confirmation of the increasing importance of economic priorities. However, the emphasis in the 'new thinking' of that time

- was more civilizational and political, focusing on general themes such as 'modernization' [Pravda, 1992, p. 255], 'convergence' and 'civilization' [Brown, 1997, p. 224] rather than on specifically economic objectives.
27. Not the least of these critics was Yeltsin himself. In connection with the rise of anti-Western sentiment during the Kosovo crisis, he [2001, pp. 271–2] raised the spectre of Primakov 'uniting the politicians who dreamed of a new isolationist Russia and a new cold war'.
 28. The Australian government, for example, opposed Russian membership of APEC mainly because of two reasons: (i) the very modest level of Russian economic involvement in the Asia-Pacific region; and (ii) fears that Russian accession would change the nature of APEC from an almost exclusively economic grouping to one whose agenda would become increasingly political/strategic.

6 A Question of Priorities – the Practice of Foreign Policy

1. Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) commits all Parties 'to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control'. The article was introduced in September 1967 by Mexico and supported by a number of other Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) to put pressure on the two nuclear superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to contribute to nuclear non-proliferation. Since that time, interpretation of Article VI has been the subject of constant wrangling, with the NNWS regularly accusing the nuclear weapons states of failing to meet their obligations under the Treaty [Timerbaev, 2000, pp. 102–3].
2. A liberal journalist claimed to me in late 1999 that Yeltsin had publicly undertaken to ensure Duma ratification of the START-2 bill on 17 separate occasions.
3. A Duma source told me that it had been intended that START-2 would be ratified on the last Friday in December – Christmas Day 1998.
4. MFA and Duma sources at the time confirmed to me that START-2 ratification had been all but approved when NATO launched its air-strikes.
5. As noted to me by a Duma source. In concrete terms, Russia has already missed a CWC deadline to destroy one per cent of its Category I chemical weapons by 29 April 2000. The construction of destruction facilities is also at a nascent stage: work has begun on one site, but two others remain at the planning stage [see 'Chemical Weapons Implementation', 2001].
6. It is less clear whether the transfer of Russian missile technology to Iran actually violated the MTCR. Alexander Pikayev [1999, pp. 208–9] considered that the main American concern was 'not so much with a limited leakage of fragmented missile hardware and blueprints, but rather with the prospects that through scientific and university cooperation with Russia, Tehran would be able to build a community of professional missile experts, which represents the main prerequisite for obtaining indigenous missile capabilities'. The latter activity, he noted, might be beyond the scope of the MTCR and therefore permissible under international law.
7. Throughout the 1990s, Russia was the main supplier of oil to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). That said, total trade turnover was modest and

declining – US\$ 384 million in 1998, US\$ 297 million in 1999 and US\$ 251 million in 2000 [*Tamozhennaya statistika ... 2000*, p. 9; *Tamozhennaya statistika ... 2001*, p. 9].

The main Russian economic priority in Iraq was recovery of the Soviet-era debt, estimated at around US\$ 8 billion. Additionally, Iraq's position as a major oil producer appeared to offer the promise – once UN sanctions were lifted – of considerable opportunities for Russian companies, particularly in the reconstruction and development of industry infrastructure.

8. A point made by Vladimir Lukin in a conversation with the author in early 1999.
9. At the Krasnoyarsk 'no ties' summit in November 1997, Yeltsin and Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto agreed 'to make every effort' to conclude a peace treaty by the year 2000 ['52 goda sporili – reshili za 2 dnya', *Rossiiskie vesti*, 4 November 1997, p. 1]. This was widely interpreted – including by more optimistic members of the foreign diplomatic community in Moscow – as an indication that the two sides would soon reach an accommodation over the Northern Territories/South Kuriles – a prerequisite for the conclusion of any Peace Treaty. However, in our discussions with senior Russian Foreign Ministry officials at the time they insisted that Russia would, under no circumstances, give up the disputed islands. The subsequent course of developments was to prove them right. Although a joint sub-commission was formed at Deputy Foreign Minister level to consider the question, the drive for a territorial deal steadily lost momentum and, by the end of Yeltsin's presidency, had ground to a halt. Ultimately, the most the Russian government felt able to offer Tokyo was a kind of joint administration and development of the islands, with legal sovereignty remaining with Russia.
10. In this connection, Kosovo helped 'legitimize' Russia's conduct in Chechnya and, more generally, to reassert traditional understandings of sovereignty and especially non-interference after they had taken a big hit [see Putin, 2000a, pp. 157–8]. As Sergei Rogov [1999, p. 5] observed, 'the current war in Chechnya became largely possible because of the war in Yugoslavia; the West has no moral right to lecture us today'. Furthermore, the success of the NATO operation served as a model of what might be achieved through a new military campaign in the rebel province [Alexei Arbatov, 2000, p. 2].
11. When I was serving in Moscow during the second half of the 1990s, the most common juxtaposition of figures was fewer than 7 million Russians in the Far East as against 130 million Chinese in the provinces adjoining the Russian border.
12. Trenin [1999, pp. 41–2] expressed concern about Russia's reliance on nuclear weapons to defend itself in the event of future conflict with China. In his view, the 'enormous investments' necessary to implement such a strategy were 'not readily available'.
13. Although Yeltsin attended the Sharm esh-Sheikh 'Summit of the Peacemakers' in April 1996 and King Hussein's funeral in February 1999, on both occasions his reasons for visiting the region had nothing to do with a bilateral Middle East agenda.
14. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak [1997, p. 1] complained that 'Russia completely ignores us [the Middle East, including Egypt]'

15. In a press briefing on 30 June 1995, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns claimed that Russia had undertaken not to negotiate any new arms contracts with Iran and also to terminate existing commitments 'within a few years' [State Department report of 30 June 1995, in www.fas.org/news/russia/1995/36333118-36372698.html].
16. The most important of these concessions was the agreement in March 1995 to establish four Russian military bases on Georgian territory [see Aves, 1998, p. 184].
17. Baku was one of the strongest critics of Russian policy in the FSU and was noticeably more successful than Georgia in retaining its freedom of manoeuvre. It successfully resisted attempts to station Russian troops on Azeri soil, was able to conclude the 'Contract of the Century' in the face of heavy opposition from Moscow, participated in NATO's PfP programme, and was a leading light in the GUUAM grouping. That said, under the leadership of former Soviet Politburo member Geidar Aliev, Azerbaijan was nevertheless much more sensitive to Russian concerns than it had been under his predecessors. It joined the CIS in November 1993 and was sufficiently cognizant of Russian strategic and economic interests to increase Lukoil's stake in the Caspian Oil Consortium and route the main pipeline for Azeri oil through southern Russia.
18. According to State Customs Committee statistics, EU countries account for about a third of Russian foreign trade [*Tamozhenmaya statistika ...*, 2001, p. 7]. Other sources give a figure of around 40 per cent [Portanskii, 1997, p. 1; *Strategic Survey: 2000/2001*, p. 122].
19. *The Economist Intelligence Unit* of 29 January 2001 noted that Russian WTO negotiators 'remain obdurate on subsidisation of agriculture, on protection of Russian services sectors, especially financial, and on export taxes'. Other continuing difficulties include Russia's slack approach to intellectual property rights (as the flood of pirated music and computer software testifies), lack of transparency in customs regulations and their enforcement, and the use of non-tariff barriers (such as arbitrary and redundant certification requirements) to minimize foreign competition in some areas, particularly food.
20. Russia's first attempts at providing an Individual Action Plan for trade liberalization were unimpressive. While some allowance should be made given the recentness of its accession to APEC, the main problem was that its membership was essentially a political decision, owing nothing to its modest economic credentials in the Asia-Pacific. Within the Russian government as a whole, there was insufficient expertise and interest to ensure preparation of a worthwhile IAP – particularly given other more pressing commitments such as WTO accession. During 1998–99, we in the Australian Embassy felt that our only serious interlocutor on APEC matters was the MFA's Department for Economic Cooperation, whose resources were severely overstretched. My diplomatic sources indicate that under Putin the situation has improved somewhat.
21. According to *The Economist Intelligence Unit* of 21 July 2001, Russia has received less than US\$ 20 billion in foreign direct investment over the past decade. On a per capita basis, this amounted to US\$ 136, compared to more than US\$ 1500 in the Czech Republic and nearly US\$ 2000 in Hungary. In his 2001 State of the Nation address, Putin [2001b, p. 4] noted that 60 per cent of investment in Russian industry had gone to the fuel and energy sector.

22. In the case of India, agreement to sell cryogenic engines and technology led to American sanctions in May 1992, jeopardizing lucrative contracts in the area of Russian–American space cooperation. By July 1993, the issue had been more or less resolved after Yeltsin agreed that New Delhi should receive the hardware only. This climbdown opened the way for the Russian space agency, Glavkosmos, to participate in American commercial satellite launches and joint manned space flight programmes [Pikayev, 1999, pp. 191–5]. Participation in such projects was placed similarly at risk by the porousness of controls over nuclear cooperation with Iran [Steinberg, 2000, p. 18].
23. In the summer of 1996, a Western European diplomat told me that his Ambassador had given an instruction to Embassy policy staff that ‘the Presidential elections shall be deemed fair’.
24. A Russian liberal friend of mine noted the emergence in the late Yeltsin period of a new type of liberal, the liberal-*derzhavnik*, who combined allegiance to economic liberalism with a belief in a strong state and an assertive foreign policy. Andrei Kolesnikov [2000, p. 9] described this in similar terms as ‘national liberalism’.
25. For example, the rate of GDP decline slowed considerably during 1995–97. After a fall of 12.7 per cent in 1994, the figures for 1995, 1996 and 1997 were –4.1 per cent, –3.4 per cent and +0.9 per cent respectively [Obzor ekonomicheskoi politiki ..., 1999, p. 584].
26. Kozyrev was the one prominent dissonant voice, noting that the EU, ‘that is, the whole of Europe,’ supported the operation: ‘It seems that everyone is marching out of step, and that only we are marching in step’ [Segodnya, 25 March 1999, p. 2].
27. It was a measure of the extent of liberal concern that prominent figures in the Union of Rightist Forces (Soyuz pravyykh sil – SPS) – including Gaidar, Nemtsov and Boris Fyodorov – felt moved to undertake a highly unusual and unsuccessful ‘peace mission’ to Belgrade a few days after the NATO attack. Their initiative was disowned by Foreign Minister Ivanov and harshly criticized by Communist leader Zyuganov [see Kamakin, 1999, p. 4]. Unsurprisingly, they were unable to secure a meeting with Milosevic.
28. This point was recognized even by vocal critics of NATO like Migranyan [1999, p. 6].
29. Although the ostensible reason for diluting Primakov’s authority in this way was his alleged failure to manage Russian policy responses satisfactorily in reality he was targeted because, with Duma and Presidential elections looming in December 1999 and mid-2000 respectively, he represented a serious alternative around whom non-Communist ‘democratic’ opinion might unite. As Yeltsin [2001, p. 268] recalled it, ‘[c]ould I allow Primakov to seize the political initiative slowly but surely and lead the country back to the socialism of yesteryear? No, I could not’.
30. A senior MFA official described the Chernomyrdin–Ahtisaari deal to me as a signal illustration of the dangers of allowing ‘non-professionals’ to conduct diplomacy.
31. In this connection, the takeover of Slatina airport (see note 10, p.179) was a most untypical example of foreign policy ‘activism’, motivated more by bluff than any desire for confrontation – particularly taking into consideration the

huge disparity in forces on the ground. In his *Midnight Diaries*, Yeltsin [2001, p. 266] writes:

...I decided that Russia must make a crowning gesture even if it had no military significance. It was not a question of whether we had won the main point. Russia had not permitted itself to be defeated in the moral sense ... This last gesture was a sign of our moral victory in the face of the enormous NATO military, all of Europe, and the whole world.

32. Following the signing of the Founding Act in May 1997, Yeltsin announced that Moscow would henceforth 'dismantle' its nuclear warheads targeted at NATO member-states. In fact, the consensus of experts at the time was that he confused 'dismantling' with 'de-targeting'. The latter was essentially meaningless because (i) Russian and NATO missiles were not targeted against each other in the first place; and (ii) missiles could be re-targeted in a matter of seconds [Bulavinov, 1997b, p. 6].

7 Towards Normalization? Putin and Beyond

1. Putin's experience in high-level government and foreign policy is by no means negligible – KGB colonel in East Germany; Deputy Mayor in St Petersburg with responsibility for foreign relations; head of the FSB and then, briefly, the Security Council. But both Yeltsin (First Party Secretary in Sverdlovsk and then Moscow, Candidate Politburo member, RSFSR President) and Gorbachev (First Party Secretary in Stavropol, Central Committee Secretary for Agriculture, member of the Politburo) had far greater experience at the highest levels of government before becoming Head of State. It should be recalled also that both undertook high-profile trips abroad before they assumed office: Gorbachev to the United Kingdom in 1984, and Yeltsin to the United States in 1989 and Japan in 1990.
2. Such foreign exposure as Putin has experienced before becoming President was essentially European: first, during his KGB posting; and then later as Deputy Mayor of St Petersburg.
3. In the elite survey conducted in April 2001 by the Russian Independent Institute for Social and National Questions and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 89 per cent of respondents considered that Russia should be able to raise its global standing. Compared to 1993, there was an increase in the number of those who believed it could once again assume superpower status. Interestingly, this view was favoured not just by supporters of the Communist Party and the LDPR, but also by respondents under the age of 40 [*Vneshnepoliticheskii kurs...*, 2001, p. 11].
4. The accidental sinking of the nuclear submarine *Kursk* with the loss of all hands in August 2000 was extremely badly handled by the Russian government in general, and Putin personally. However, despite his ill-advised decision not to return to Moscow from holidaying in the Crimea, Putin's public popularity rating remained largely intact. According to a VTsIOM poll taken shortly after the accident, 65 per cent of respondents approved of his performance as President [in Kovalskaya, 2000, p. 23].

5. Although the December 1999 Duma elections did not give the pro-government caucus an absolute majority, in practice the new balance of representation greatly favoured the Kremlin. The Communists and Agrarians (effectively rural Communists) retained only 130 seats in the new Parliament (down from 220 after the December 1995 elections), while the Luzhkov–Primakov party, ‘Otechestvo – Vsyā Rossiya’ – the main centrist alternative – fell well short of expectations in securing a modest 48 places. The latter’s subsequent merger with Putin’s party, ‘Edinstvo’, in December 2001 further strengthened the President’s position with the legislature.
6. While Putin’s rating has fallen to under 70 per cent on occasion, there have been many other times when it has exceeded this standard. For example, following his response to the 11 September terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Putin’s rating attained an impressive 77 per cent [Gallup poll, cited in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 4 October 2001, p. 1].
7. For example, the foreign policy influence of the Security Council is widely perceived to have fallen since Sergei Ivanov’s transfer from Secretary of the Council to Defence Minister.
8. The long-delayed ratification of these two agreements took place literally days before the start of the Sixth NPT Review Conference (Revcon) in April 2000. As a result, Russia was able to deflect onto the USA much of the criticism that the two former superpowers had not done enough to disarm under the terms of Article VI of the NPT – all the more so given the US Congress’s continuing failure to ratify the CTBT.
9. Although somewhat short on detail, the Russian proposals for cooperation in ‘non-strategic’ missile defence envisaged joint threat assessments, technical cooperation and technology sharing.
10. In fairness, it should be acknowledged that Putin has regularly emphasized the importance of legal reform in his annual address to the Federal Assembly.

Bibliography

- Abarinov, Vladimir (1995a), 'Shokovaya terapiya po-serbski', *Segodnya*, 30 May, p. 1.
- Abarinov, Vladimir (1995b), 'MID mezhdru proshlym i budushchim – Vybory zakoncheny, zabudte', *Segodnya*, 22 December, p. 9.
- Abarinov, Vladimir (1996a), 'Russkii sezon vo Dvortse Evropy', *Segodnya*, 30 January, p. 3.
- Abarinov, Vladimir (1996b), 'Vygody soyuza s Kitaem somnitelny', *Segodnya*, 13 March, p. 5.
- Abarinov, Vladimir (1996c), 'Moskva vstupaet v peregovory s NATO', *Segodnya*, 15 December, p. 2.
- Afanasyev, Yuri (1994), 'Russian Reform Is Dead', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 2, March/April, pp. 21–6.
- Agafonov, Sergei (1999), '10 dnei chuzhoi voiny, kotorye potryasli Rossiyu', *Novye izvestiya*, 2 April, p. 1.
- Airapetova, Natalya (2000), 'Stranam SNG sleduet ozhidat syurprizov ot Rossii', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 25 January, pp. 1, 5.
- Albats, Yevgeniya (2000), interview on 'Frontline', Public Broadcasting Service website (www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/putin/putin.html).
- Allison, Roy and Christoph Bluth (1998) (eds), *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia* (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London).
- Antonenko, Oksana (1999–2000), 'Russia, NATO and European Security after Kosovo', *Survival*, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter, pp. 124–44.
- Antonov, Yevgenii (1997), 'Primakova stavyat na schetnik', *Moskovskii komsomol*, 4 December, p. 3.
- Apple Jr, R.W. ('Johnny') (2000), 'US Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy', in *The United States and the World*, pp. 107–19.
- Arbatov, Alexei (1994), 'Realnaya integratsiya: s kem i kakaya?', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 24 June, pp. 1–2.
- Arbatov, Alexei (1996), 'A Russian–U.S. Security Agenda', *Foreign Policy*, no. 104, Fall, pp. 102–17.
- Arbatov, Alexei (2000), *The Transformation of Russian Military Doctrine: Lessons Learned from Kosovo and Chechnya*, Marshall Center Papers, no. 2 (George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen).
- Arbatov, Georgi (1994), 'A New Cold War', *Foreign Policy*, no. 95, Summer, pp. 90–103.
- Aron, Leon (1998), 'The Foreign Policy Doctrine of Postcommunist Russia and Its Domestic Context', in Mandelbaum (1998), pp. 23–63.
- Asmus, Ronald D., Richard L. Kugler and F. Stephen Larrabee (1995), 'NATO Expansion: the Next Steps', *Survival*, vol. 37, no. 1, Spring, pp. 7–33.
- Aves, Jonathan (1998), 'The Caucasus States: the Regional Security Complex', in Allison and Bluth (1998), pp. 175–87.
- Baev, Pavel K. (1996), *The Russian Army in a Time of Troubles* (PRIO, International Peace Institute, Oslo).

- Bai, Yevgenii (1998), 'Prizrak "polukholodnoi" voiny', *Obshchaya gazeta*, no. 44, 5–11 November, p. 6.
- Bai, Yevgenii and Gennadii Charodeev (1995), 'Prezident reshil ukreplit vneshnyuyu politiku eshche odnim Sovetom', *Izvestiya*, 28 December, pp. 1, 3.
- Barakhta, Boris (1992), 'Ustarel li kitaiskii opyt?', *Pravda*, 22 December, pp. 1, 3.
- Baranovsky, Vladimir (2000), 'Russia: a part of Europe or apart from Europe?', *International Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 443–58.
- Barban, Efim (1999), 'Televidenie reshaet vse', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 13, 6–12 April, p. 3.
- Becker, Abraham (1996–97), 'Russia and Economic Integration in the CIS', *Survival*, vol. 38, no. 4, Winter, pp. 117–36.
- Berlin, Isaiah (1994), *Russian Thinkers* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England).
- Bertsch, Gary K. and William C. Potter (eds) (1999), *Dangerous Weapons, Desperate States* (Routledge, New York and London).
- Blacker, Coit D. (1998), 'Russia and the West', in Mandelbaum (1998), pp. 167–93.
- Blank, Stephen J. and Alvin Z. Rubinstein (eds) (1997), *Imperial Decline: Russia's Changing Role in Asia* (Duke University Press, Durham and London).
- Bocharova, Oksana and Natalya Kim (2000), 'Rossiya i Zapad: obshchnost ili otchuzdenie?', summary report of VTsIOM survey in January 2000.
- Bogdanovich, Andrei (2001), 'Samootverzheny vybor', *Ekspert*, no. 34, 17 September, pp. 57–8.
- Borko, Yurii (1995), 'Ot ambitsii – k pozitivnoi diplomatii', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 61, 10–17 September, p. 5.
- Bovin, Aleksandr (1997), '13-i punkt Kodeksa', *Izvestiya*, 5 November, p. 3.
- Bovin, Aleksandr (1998), 'NATO delaet oshibku, rasshiryayas na vostok', *Izvestiya*, 14 July, p. 3.
- Bovt, Georgii (1995), 'V politike nichya chasto oznachaet pobedu', *Kommersant-Daily*, 10 October, pp. 1, 4.
- Bovt, Georgii (1998), 'Chuzhaya voina na chuzhoi territorii', *Segodnya*, 11 August, p. 3.
- Bovt, Georgii (1999a), 'NATO perekhodit vse granitsy', *Segodnya*, 12 March, pp. 1, 3.
- Bovt, Georgii (1999b), 'Klintonu privet iz Podnebesnoi', *Izvestiya*, 10 December, p. 1.
- Bovt, Georgii and Aleksandr Chudodeev (1997), 'Obeshchannogo tri goda zhdut', *Segodnya*, 4 November, p. 4.
- Bowen, Wyn Q. (2001), 'Missile Defence and the Transatlantic Security Relationship', *International Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 3, pp. 485–507.
- Bowker, Mike (1995), 'Russian Policy toward Central and Eastern Europe', in Shearman (1995b), pp. 71–91.
- Braithwaite, Rodric (1994), 'Russian Realities and Western Policy', *Survival*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 11–27.
- Breslauer, George *et al.* (2000), 'Russia at the End of Yel'tsin's Presidency', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 1–32.
- Brown, Archie (1997), *The Gorbachev Factor* (Oxford University Press).
- Brutents, Karen (1994), 'Pora vozvrashchatsya', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 7 October, p. 4.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1994), 'The Premature Partnership', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 2, March/April, pp. 67–82.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1997), 'A Geostrategy for Eurasia', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 5, September/October, pp. 50–64.

- Budakov, Ivan (1997), 'My dolzhny probit stenu', *Kommersant-Daily*, 25 October 1997, p. 1.
- Bulavinov, Ilya (1997a), 'Bezgranichnaya družba Rossii s Kitaem', *Kommersant-Daily*, 25 April, p. 2.
- Bulavinov, Ilya (1997b), 'Chto imel v vidu Boris Eltsin', *Kommersant-Daily*, 29 May, p. 6.
- Charodeev, Gennadii (1999), 'Vladimir Lukin: Prikaz mog otdat tolko odin che-lovek – prezident', *Izvestiya*, 15 June, pp. 1, 3.
- 'Chemical Weapons Implementation' (2001), Arms Control Association Fact Sheet, March (www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/cwcimp.asp).
- Chernov, Vladislav (1993), 'Natsionalnye interesy Rossii i ugrozy dlya ee bezopasnosti', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 29 April, pp. 1, 3.
- Chernov, Vladislav (1994), 'Moskva dolzhna khorosho podumat', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 23 February, p. 4.
- Chubchenko, Yurii (1999a), 'Lukashenko shantazhiruet Moskvu', *Kommersant*, 3 July, p. 3.
- Chubchenko, Yurii (1999b), 'Klinton prolozhil trubu', *Kommersant*, 19 November, p. 11.
- Chudodeev, Aleksandr (1995), 'Kitai govorit Rossii "spasibo"', *Segodnya*, 10 March, p. 4.
- Chudodeev, Aleksandr (1997), 'Rossiisko-kitaiskie pesni o sushchnosti miroz-daniya', *Segodnya*, 24 April, pp. 1, 4.
- Crow, Suzanne (1993), 'Processes and Policies', *RFE/RL Research Report*, vol. 2, no. 20, 14 May, pp. 47–52.
- Danilov, Dmitrii (2000), 'Stroitelstvo vtoroi opory Evropeiskogo soyuza: Ispolzovanie novykh tekhnologii', in Parkhalina (2000a), pp. 30–53.
- Dannreuther, Roland (1999–2000), 'Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO–Russian Relations', *Survival*, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter, pp. 145–64.
- Dashichev, Vyacheslav (1994), 'Vykrutasy rossiiskogo vneshnepoliticheskogo myshleniya', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 23 April, p. 4.
- Davydov, Yurii (1996), 'Prorubit li Rossiya okno v NATO?', *Segodnya*, 23 February, p. 9.
- Dokuchaeva, Aleksandra, Andrei Grozin, and Konstantin Zatulin (1997), 'Respublika Kazakhstana i interesy Rossii', *NG-Stsenarii*, no. 8, 10 July, pp. 5–6.
- Dolgov, Anna (1999), 'Russia Defaults on \$1.3 Billion Debt', 20 April, Center for Defense Information, www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/3251.
- Dubnov, Arkady (1999), 'Russia Wants to Be "Without Fault"', *Vremya MN*, 16 December, p. 6, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. 51, no. 50, pp. 16–17.
- Eggert, Konstantin (1992), 'Rossiya v roli "Evraziiskogo zhandarma"?'', *Izvestiya*, 7 August, p. 6.
- Eggert, Konstantin (1994), 'Moskva predlagaet družhit, v Pekine otvechayut vezhlivoi ulybkoi', *Izvestiya*, 1 February, p. 5.
- Eggert, Konstantin (1995), "'Derzhavnaya" vneshnyaya politika stoit slishkom dorogo', *Izvestiya*, 16 December, p. 3.
- Eggert, Konstantin (1996), 'V NATO ponimaet Rossiyu s trudom', *Izvestiya*, 29 November, p. 3.

- Eggert, Konstantin (1997), 'Bryussel khochet sygrat na raznoglasiyakh Eltsina i Primakova', *Izvestiya*, 14 May.
- Eggert, Konstantin (1998a), 'Rossiiskie kompanii postradali iz-za Irana', *Izvestiya*, 30 July, p. 1.
- Eggert, Konstantin (1998b), 'Master delikatnykh missii', *Izvestiya*, 11 September, p. 1.
- Eggert, Konstantin and Bobo Lo (2000), 'The Yeltsin Era and Russia's Search for a Post-Soviet Identity', paper presented at the VI World Congress of the International Council of Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Tampere, Finland, 30 July.
- Evstafiev, Dmitry (2000), 'Regionalnye osobennosti mezhdunarodnogo rezhima nerasprostraneniya yadernogo oruzhiya', in Orlov and Sokov (2000), pp. 168–222.
- Felgengauer, Pavel (1995a), 'Rossiiskoe obshchestvo prikhodit k konsensusu po voprosu o natsionalnykh interesakh', *Segodnya*, 26 May, p. 9.
- Felgengauer, Pavel (1995b), 'Ostrov Svobody snova ponadobilsya Rossii', *Segodnya*, 17 October, p. 2.
- Felgengauer, Pavel (1996), 'Rossiya i konflikt v Taivanskom prolive', *Segodnya*, 13 March, p. 5.
- Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Russian Federation* (1997), 27 May, Paris.
- Furman, Dmitrii (1992), 'My i nashi sosedy', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 3 July, p. 3.
- Furman, Dmitrii (1999), 'Sindrom otstavnogo nachalnika', *Obshchaya gazeta*, no. 15, 15–21 April, p. 4.
- Gankin, Leonid (1996), 'Zalpy rezervogo fronta', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 25, 23–30 June, p. 10.
- Gankin, Leonid (1999a), 'Putin strashnee Rubina', *Kommersant*, 11 November, p. 10.
- Gankin, Leonid (1999b), 'Voina i MID', *Kommersant*, 16 November, p. 1.
- Garnett, Sherman W. (1998), 'Europe's Crossroads: Russia and the West in the New Borderlands', in Mandelbaum (1998), pp. 64–99.
- Garnett, Sherman W. and Robert Legvold (1999), 'Introduction: Assessing the Challenge of Belarus', in Garnett and Legvold (eds), *Belarus at the Crossroads* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC), pp. 1–18.
- Gerasev, Mikhail and Viktor M. Surikov (1997), 'The Crisis in the Russian Defense Industry: Implications for Arms Exports', in Pierre and Trenin (1997b), pp. 9–25.
- Golotyuk, Yurii (1997), 'Moskva prinimaet kosmicheskii vyzov Vashingtona', *Izvestiya*, 22 May, p. 3.
- Golotyuk, Yurii (1999), 'Moskva vystraivaet "poslednyuyu liniyu oborony"', *Izvestiya*, 27 March 1999, p. 1.
- Golotyuk, Yurii and Vladimir Mikheev (1999), "'Zvezdnye voiny" vozvrashchayutsya', *Izvestiya*, 19 March, p. 1.
- Golovachov, Vitalii (2000), "'Kholodnaya voina" v proshlom?' *Trud*, 7 March, p. 1.
- Golovnin, Vasilii (1997), 'Rossiya zakreplyaetsya na Tikhom okeane', *Izvestiya*, 27 November, pp. 1–2.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1995), 'Kozyrev reshitelen', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 19 April, p. 1.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1997a), "'My obmanuli russkikh'", *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 22 January 1997, p. 4.

- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1997b), 'Boris Eltsin vse-taki vvel Rossiyu v uzkiy krug mirovykh liderov', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 24 June, pp. 1–2.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1997c), 'Rossii udalos predotvratit novuyu voinu v persidskom zalive', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 21 November, pp. 1, 4.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1998a), 'Otnosheniya Moskvyy i Rigi rezko obostrilis', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 7 March, p. 6.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1998b), 'Ivanov razvivaet idei Primakova', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 23 September, p. 6.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1999a), 'Poslanie prezidenta sensatsii ne prineslo, no bylo ubeditelnym', commentary in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 31 March, p. 3.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1999b), 'Karibskiy krizis mozhet povtoryatsya na Balkanakh', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 10 April, pp. 1, 3.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1999c), 'Eltsin nameren ubedit zapad', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 November, p. 1.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1999d), 'Rossiya vyigrala u zapada stambulskuyu partiyu', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 20 November, pp. 1, 6.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii (1999e), 'Eltsin napomnil Klintonu i miru: Rossiya ostaetsya yadernoi derzhavoi', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 10 December, pp. 1, 6.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii and Petr Chernyakov (1999), 'Lidery Evrosoyuza kollektivno osudili Rossiyu', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 11 December, pp. 1, 6.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii and Igor Korotchenko (1999), 'Belgrad soglasilsya s mirnym planom', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 4 June, pp. 1, 6.
- Gornostaev, Dmitrii and Sergei Sokut (1998), 'SShA prodemonstrirovali, chto mogut bombit kogo ugodno i kogda ugodno', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 22 August, pp. 1–2.
- Grachev, Pavel (1995), 'Kak ponimaet Rossiya smysl transformatsii NATO', extracts from speech to NATO Defence Ministers in Brussels, *Rossiiskie vesti*, 30 November, p. 1.
- Gulko, Nikolai (1999), 'Strategicheskaya protivoraketnaya initsiativa', *Kommersant*, 6 October, p. 2.
- Guly, Sergei (1999), 'Taktika rastopyrennykh paltsev', *Novye izvestiya*, 20 April, p. 1.
- Guseinov, Elmar (1999), 'Nazemnye operatsii NATO v Kosovo mogut stat realnostyu', *Izvestiya*, 1 April, p. 3.
- Huntington, Samuel L. (1998), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (Touchstone Books, London, New York).
- Ivanov, Igor (1997), 'Nikto v zhizni Yugoslavii zamenit Rossiyu ne smozhet', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 5 February, p. 4.
- Ivanov, Igor (1998a), address to the UN General Assembly in New York on 22 September (www.un.int/russia/statement/ga/53rd/plenary/98_09_22.htm).
- Ivanov, Igor (1998b), 'Igor Ivanov: "Postaraemsya ne podvesti stranu"', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 30 September, pp. 1, 6.
- Ivanov, Igor (1998c), 'Ya ne predstavlyayu sebe nashu stranu v sostave NATO', interview in *Izvestiya*, 28 October, pp. 1, 6.
- Ivanov, Igor (1999a), 'There Were No Grounds for NATO's Aggression', interview in *Trud*, 7 May, p. 2, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. 51, no. 18, pp. 4–5.
- Ivanov, Igor (1999b), 'Rossiya v menyayushchemsya mire', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 25 June, pp. 1, 6.

- Ivanov, Igor (1999c), 'Igor Ivanov: "Ostavka prezidenta destabiliziruet situatsiyu v mire"', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 12 October, pp. 1, 6.
- Ivanov, Igor (2000a), 'Rossiya i sovremenny mir', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 20 January, p. 9.
- Ivanov, Igor (2000b), 'Rossiya i Evropa na rubezhe stoletii', *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 2, pp. 24–9.
- Ivanov, Igor (2000c), 'The Missile-Defense Mistake', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 5, September/October, pp. 15–20.
- Ivanov, Igor (2001), 'Perspektivy sotrudnichestva na sovremennom etape', *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 1, pp. 3–9.
- Jaffe, Amy Myers and Robert A. Manning (1998–99), 'The Myth of the Caspian "Great Game": the Real Geopolitics of Energy', *Survival*, vol. 40, no. 4, Winter, pp. 112–29.
- Kalashnikova, Natalya and Andrei Smirnov (1999), 'Kuzkina mat dlya vnutrennego potrebleniya', *Segodnya*, 14 June, p. 1.
- Kamakin, Andrei (1999), 'Pravye zanyalis diplomatiei', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 30 March, p. 4.
- Kapralov, Yurii (2000), 'Problema PRO na sammite', *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 7, pp. 11–18.
- Karaganov, Sergei (1995a), 'Vspomnim o "neogollizme"', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 47, 9–16 July, p. 5.
- Karaganov, Sergei (1995b), 'Gadat, chto budet s Andreev Kozyrevym, bessmyslenno', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 21 October, p. 2.
- Karaganov, Sergei (1996a), 'Problemy, stoyashchie pered Primakovym', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 January, p. 2.
- Karaganov, Sergei (1996b), 'Diplomatiya: kommunisty ukhodyat bez boya', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 25, 23–30 June, p. 5.
- Karaganov, Sergei (1998), 'Vrag vneshnii i vnutrennii', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 50, 20–27 December, p. 5.
- Karaganov, Sergei (2000), 'Novaya vneshnyaya politika', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 8, 29 February–6 March, pp. 5, 11.
- Karasin, Grigory (1997a), 'Russia Eyes the East', interview in *Business in Russia*, no. 74, February, pp. 15–17.
- Karasin, Grigory (1997b), '"Zolotogo dozhdy" ne ozhidaetsya', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 48, 30 November–7 December, p. 5.
- Karasin, Grigory (1999), 'Nasha kontseptsiya – "bezopasnost cherez ekonomiku"', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 26 March, p. 6.
- 'Kazhetsya za god osobykh oshibok vo vneshnei politike my ne nadelali' (2000), round-table discussion in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 28 December, p. 11.
- Kirichenko, Elena and William C. Potter (1999), 'Nuclear Export Controls in Russia: the Players and the Process', in Bertsch and Potter (2000), pp. 27–43.
- Kokoshin, Andrei A. (1998), *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917–91* (The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA and London).
- Kolesnikov, Andrei (2000), 'Pokolenie "P"', *Novoe vremya*, no. 8, 27 February, p. 9.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1993), 'Chto pytaetsya podpravit Vashington posle rossiiskikh vyborov', *Izvestiya*, 30 December, p. 4.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1994), 'Diplomaticheskie poteri na voenno-chechenskoj doroge', *Izvestiya*, 31 December, p. 2.

- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1995a), “Strategiya sderzhivaniya” Rossii kak otvet Zapada na chechenskuyu voynu’, *Izvestiya*, 12 January, p. 3.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1995b), ‘Kak uvazhat sebya zastavit’, *Izvestiya*, 7 April, p. 3.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1996a), ‘Kto kogo peretyanul v Berline’, *Izvestiya*, 8 June, p. 3.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1996b), ‘Diplomaticeskoe Evangelie ot Evgeniya v kanun vtorogo votsareniya Borisa’, *Izvestiya*, 9 August, p. 3.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1997a), ‘S rasshirenym alyansom my gotovy sosushchestvovat, no na svoikh usloviyakh’, *Izvestiya*, 16 May, pp. 1, 3.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1997b), ‘U nas svoe litso, i my nigde ne skatyvalis k konfrontatsii’, *Izvestiya*, 23 December, p. 3.
- Kondrashov, Stanislav (1998), ‘Amerika uchitsya skromnosti, no Rossii ot etogo ne legche’, *Izvestiya*, 23 June, p. 3.
- Kontseptsiya vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (2000), *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 11 July, pp. 1, 6.
- Kontseptsiya natsionalnoi bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (2000), *Nezavisimoe voennoe obozrenie*, no. 1, 14–20 January, pp. 1, 6–7.
- Korbut, Andrei (1999a), ‘Reanimatsiya obshchikh interesov’, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 21 May, p. 5.
- Korbut, Andrei (1999b), ‘Putin i Kreml opredelilis’, commentary in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 13 November, pp. 1, 3.
- Koretskii, Aleksandr (1999a), ‘Moskve pridetsya prosit u MVF na rakety’, *Segodnya*, 22 January, pp. 1, 3.
- Koretskii, Aleksandr (1999b), ‘Levye predlagayut vvesti na televidenii voennuyu tsenzuru’, *Segodnya*, 9 April, p. 2.
- Korotchenko, Igor (1996), ‘Igor Rodionov vystupil za sozдание oboronnoogo soyuza stran SNG’, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 26 December, p. 1.
- Kortunov, Andrei (1993), ‘Vneshnyaya politika Rossii: tri vzglyada’, comment in *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 1, 3 January, p. 13.
- Koshkareva, Natalya and Rustam Narzikulov (1997), ‘Moskva uzhestochaet pozitsiyu na peregovorakh so Vsemirnoi Torgovoi Organizatsiei’, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 September, p. 1.
- Kosolapov, Nikolai (1993), ‘Vneshnyaya politika Rossii: problemy stanovleniya i politikiformiruyushchie faktory’, *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya*, no. 2, pp. 5–19.
- Kozyrev, Dmitrii (2000), ‘PACE dala Rossii ispytatelnyy srok’, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 28 January, pp. 1, 6.
- Kovalenko, Yurii (1997), ‘Chubais prevratil Parizhskii klub v agenta Kremlya’, *Izvestiya*, 19 September, p. 3.
- Kovalskaya, Galina (2000), ‘Osnovnoi instinkt’, *Itogi*, 29 August, p. 23.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1992a), ‘Preobrazhennaya Rossiya v novom mire’, *Izvestiya*, no. 1, 2 January, p. 3.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1992b), ‘Vyzov preobrazheniya’, *Izvestiya*, 31 March, p. 5.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1992c), ‘Soyuz ostavil Rossii plokhoe vneshnepoliticheskoe nasledstvo’, interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 1 April, pp. 1, 3.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1992d), ‘Vneshnyaya politika Rossii – MID predlaget i otstaivaet’, *Rossiiskie vesti*, 3 December, p. 2.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1994a), ‘Ne partiinye, a natsionalnye interesy’, *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 2 February, pp. 1, 6.

- Kozyrev, Andrei (1994b), 'Rossiya i SShA: Partnerstvo ne prezhdvremenno, a zapazdyvaet', *Izvestiya*, 11 March, p. 3.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1994c), 'The Lagging Partnership', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 3, May/June, pp. 59–71.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1995a), 'Chechnya ne byla dlya menya Rubikonom', interview in *Segodnya*, 20 October, p. 9.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1995b), *Preobrazhenie* (Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, Moskva).
- Kozyrev, Andrei (1995c), 'Partnership or Cold Peace?', *Foreign Policy*, no. 99, Summer, pp. 3–14.
- Kozyrev, Andrei (2000), 'Zapadnya tsentrizma', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 2, 18–24 January, p. 6.
- Krauthammer, Charles (1991), 'The Unipolar Moment', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 23–33.
- Kremenyuk, Viktor (2001), 'Vneshnyaya politika Moskvy v poiskakh puti', *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 4, pp. 13–21.
- Krutikov, Evgenii (1998), 'Vashington schitaet SNG zonoj svobodnoi konkurentsii', *Segodnya*, 31 March, p. 6.
- Kutkovets, Tatyana and Igor Klyamkin (1997), 'Russkie idei', *NG-Stsenarii*, no. 1, 16 January, pp. 2–3.
- Lang, Semen (1999), 'ASEANom po gegemonizmu', *Novye izvestiya*, 27 July, p. 3.
- Lapskii, Vladimir (1999), '24 marta. 16.00. "Tomagavki" eshche ne vzleteli, a inykh rossiiskikh politikov ne kontuzilo', commentary in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 25 March, p. 7.
- Latsis, Otto (1994), 'Boris Eltsin: Ni odnoi problemy ne reshit v usloviyakh konfrontatsii', *Izvestiya*, 25 February, pp. 1, 4.
- Latsis, Otto (1997), 'My ne znaem v kakom gosudarstve prosnemysya 3 aprel', *Izvestiya*, 29 March, p. 2.
- Latsis, Otto (1999a), 'Udary po Serbii porazhayut Rossiyu', *Novye izvestiya*, 26 March, pp. 1–2.
- Latsis, Otto (1999b), 'Natsionalnoe soglasie nakonets-to naideno?', *Novye izvestiya*, 20 November, pp. 1–2.
- Levitin, Oleg (2000), 'Inside Moscow's Kosovo Muddle', *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 1, Spring, pp. 130–40.
- Lieven, Anatol (1999), 'The Weakness of Russian Nationalism', *Survival*, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer, pp. 53–70.
- Light, Margot (1996), 'Foreign Policy Thinking', in Malcolm *et al.* (1996), pp. 33–100.
- Lipitskii, Vasillii (1992), 'Kogda zhe budet pereotsenka tsennosti', *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 26 June, p. 7.
- Lipskii, Andrei (1992), 'SNG god spustya: itogi i perspektivy', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 22 December, p. 3.
- Litovkin, Viktor (1993), 'Voенnoi doktrine Rossiya net obyazatelstv primenyat yadernogo oruzhiya pervoi', commentary in *Izvestiya*, 4 November, pp. 1–2.
- Lukin, Vladimir (1992a), 'Amerika i nashi reformy', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 10 September, p. 4.
- Lukin, Vladimir (1992b), 'Our Security Predicament', *Foreign Policy*, no. 88, Fall, pp. 57–75.
- Lukin, Vladimir (1994), 'Bengalskii ogon v araviiskikh peskakh', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 50, 23–30 October, p. 13.

- Lukin, Vladimir (1995), 'Chto stroitsya v Evrope: novy dom ili stary zabor?', *Izvestiya*, 12 May, p. 3.
- Lynch, Dov (2000), *Russian Peacekeeping Strategies in the CIS: the Cases of Georgia, Moldova and Tajikistan* (St Antony's and Macmillan Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke).
- MacFarlane, Neil L. (1993), 'Russia, the West and European Security', *Survival*, vol. 35, no. 3, Autumn, pp. 3–25.
- Malcolm, Neil (1995), 'Russian Foreign Policy Decision-Making', in Shearman (1995), pp. 23–51.
- Malcolm, Neil (1996), 'Foreign Policy Making', in Malcolm *et al.* (1996), pp. 101–68.
- Malcolm, Neil and Alex Pravda (1996), 'Introduction', in Malcolm *et al.* (1996), pp. 1–32.
- Malcolm, Neil, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison and Margot Light (1996), *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy* (The Royal Institute of International Affairs and Clarendon Press, Oxford).
- Malkina, Tatyana (1994), 'Eltsin i Kol po-druzheski reshili vopros o vyvode rossiiskikh voisk', *Segodnya*, 12 May, p. 1.
- Malkina, Tatyana (1999), 'Russia Is Saved', *Vremya MN*, 9 December, p. 1, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. 51, no. 49, p. 14.
- Mandelbaum, Michael (1997), 'Westernizing Russia and China', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 3, May/June 1997, pp. 80–95.
- Mandelbaum, Michael (ed.) (1998), *The New Russian Foreign Policy* (Council on Foreign Relations, Brookings, Washington).
- Mark, David (1996–97), 'Russia and the New Transcaucasus', *Foreign Policy*, no. 105, Winter, pp. 141–59.
- Markov, Sergei (1998), 'Irak usilil antiamerikanizm vo vsem mire', *Izvestiya*, 26 February, p. 3.
- Marsov, Vitalii and Nikolai Ulyanov (1999), 'Chernomyrdin zaimetsya yugoslavskim krizisom', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 15 April, pp. 1, 3.
- Masyukov, Yurii (1998), 'SNV-2: torg neumesten – Dogovor i sudba strategicheskikh yadernykh sil Rossii', *Izvestiya*, 16 December, pp. 1, 6.
- Medvedev, Roy (2000), 'I vse-taki – epokha Eltsina', *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 6 January, pp. 4–5.
- Mekhtiev, Aidyn (1994), 'Chernomyrdin i Kozyrev sporyat o kaspiiskoi nefiti', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 27 October, p. 3.
- Menon, Rajan (1997a), 'Russo–Japanese Relations: Implications for Northeast Asian Security', in Blank and Rubinstein (1997), pp. 129–52.
- Menon, Rajan (1997b), 'The Strategic Convergence between Russia and China', *Survival*, vol. 39, no. 2, Summer, pp. 101–25.
- Menon, Rajan (1998), 'After Empire: Russia and the Southern "Near Abroad"', in Mandelbaum (1998), pp. 100–66.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1992a), 'Podlinnye i mnimye orientiry vo vneshnei politike', *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 4 August, p. 7.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1992b), 'The Soviet Union Has Gone Off in All Directions', *Megapolis-Express*, 28 October, pp. 20–1, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. 44, no. 43, pp. 11–14.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1993), 'Vneshnyaya politika Rossii: tri vzglyada', comment in *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 1, 3 January, p. 13.

- Migranyan, Andranik (1994a), 'Rossiya i blizhnee zarubezhe', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 12 January, pp. 1, 4.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1994b), 'Rossiya i blizhnee zarubezhe', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 January, pp. 4–5, 8.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1994c), 'Kto "osedlyaet" integratsiyu', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 30, 24–31 July, p. 5.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1994d), 'Vneshnyaya politika Rossii: katastroficheskie itogi trekh let', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 10 December, pp. 1, 3.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1997), 'Oshibka ili net? Segodnya v Parizhe Boris Eltsin podpishet dogovor Rossiya–NATO', comment in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 27 May, pp. 1–2.
- Migranyan, Andranik (1999), 'Nuzhno li nam pomogat Yugoslavii?', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 28 April, pp. 1, 6.
- Mikhailov, Boris and Aleksandr Shumilin (1998), 'SNG gotovitsya k voine s talibami', *Kommersant-Daily*, 13 August, p. 4.
- Mikhailov, Vladimir and Georgii Smolnikov (1998), "'Transkaspii" – konkurent "golubogo potoka"', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 4 November, p. 5.
- Mikhailov, Vladimir and Georgii Smolnikov (1999), 'Niyazov podderzhivaet SNG', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 7 May, p. 5.
- Mikoyan, Sergo A. (1998), 'Russia, the US and Regional Conflict in Eurasia', *Survival*, vol. 40, no. 3, Autumn, pp. 112–26.
- The Military Balance 1999–2000* (IISS and Oxford University Press).
- The Military Balance 2000–2001* (IISS and Oxford University Press).
- Mlechin, Leonid (1992), 'Kto tolkaet ministra Koyzreva v otstavku', *Novoe vremya*, no. 32, August, pp. 8–10.
- Mlechin, Leonid (1993), 'Ministr Kozyrev obeshchaet peremeny vo vneshnei politike Rossii', *Izvestiya*, 18 December, pp. 1, 3.
- Mlechin, Leonid (1995), 'Rossiya dolzhna ponimat, chto ee zhdet v Tadjikistane', *Izvestiya*, 22 April, p. 1.
- Mlechin, Leonid (1996), 'Temnye ochki meshayut uvidet istinnoe litso ministra', *Izvestiya*, 15 May, p. 6.
- Mndoyants, Sergei and Aleksei Salmin (1995), 'Syurprizov ne budet', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 73, 22–29 October, p. 6.
- Moshes, Arkadii (2001), 'Ukraina i Belorussiya v Rossiiskoi vneshnei politike 90-kh godov', unpublished theses of a round-table presentation at the Carnegie Moscow Center on 2 April.
- Mroz, John Edwin, and Oleksandr Pavliuk (1996), 'Ukraine: Europe's Linchpin', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 3, May/June, pp. 52–62.
- Mubarak, Hosni (1997), 'Hosni Mubarak: "Rossiya dolzhna vernutsya na blizhnii vostok"', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 23 September, pp. 1, 5.
- The National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers (NTE)*, (2001), Office of the United States Trade Representative, www.ustr.gov/html/2001_russia.pdf.
- Neumann, Iver B. (1996), *Russia and the Idea of Europe* (Routledge, London and New York).
- Nikolaev, L. (2000), 'Zlopoluchny zavtrak s frostom', *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, 7 March 2000, p. 3.
- Nikonov, Vyacheslav (1994a), 'Rossiiskii neogollizm', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 24 May, p. 5.

- Nikonov, Vyacheslav (1994b), 'Rossiya i NATO', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 14 September, p. 4.
- Nikonov, Vyacheslav (1997), 'Union in Crisis', *Trud*, 8 August, p. 2, in *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, vol. 49, no. 34, p. 9.
- Obzor ekonomicheskoi politiki v Rossii za 1998 god* (1999), (Fond 'Byuro ekonomicheskogo analiza', ROSSPEN, Moskva 1999).
- Orlov, Vladimir (1999), 'Export Controls and Nuclear Smuggling in Russia', in Bertsch and Potter (1999), pp. 164–87.
- Orlov, Vladimir and Nikolai Sokov (2000) (eds), *Yadernoe nerasprostranenie* (PIR – Tsentri politicheskikh issledovaniy, Moskva, 2000).
- Pain, Emil (1994), 'Konsolidatsiya Rossii, ili Vosstanovlenie Soyuza', *Segodnya*, 22 July, p. 9.
- Pakhlin, Nikolai (1998), 'Treugolnik Moskva–Pekin–Deli', *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 22 December, p. 7.
- Parkhalina, Tatiana (ed.) (2000a), *Evropeiskii soyuz na rubezhe vekov* (INION, Moscow).
- Parkhalina, Tatiana (2000b), 'Russia and NATO', in Ries (2000), pp. 39–47.
- Petro, Nikolai N. and Alvin Z. Rubinstein (1997), *Russian Foreign Policy: from Empire to Nation-State* (Longman, New York).
- Pierre, Andrew and Dmitri Trenin (1997a), 'Developing NATO–Russian Relations', *Survival*, vol. 39, no. 1, Spring, pp. 5–18.
- Pierre, Andrew and Dmitri Trenin (eds) (1997b), *Russia in the World Arms Trade* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington).
- Pikayev, Alexander (1999), 'Russia and the Missile Technology Control Regime', in Bertsch and Potter (1999), pp. 188–212.
- Pipes, Richard (1997), 'Is Russia Still an Enemy?', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 5, September/October, pp. 65–78.
- Plekhanov, Georgii (1994), 'Karabakhovskoe uregulirovanie: Moskva po-prezhnemu khochet byt glavnoi', commentary in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 10 November, pp. 1, 3.
- Pletnev, Sergei (1999), 'Skandal vokrug Soyuza', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 2 October, pp. 1, 5.
- Poletaev, Mikhail (1997), 'Lukashenko obizhen parizhskim zayavleniem Eltsina', *Kommersant-Daily*, 29 May, p. 3.
- Polezhaev, Matvei (1997a), 'Belorussiya gotova otkazatsya ot suvereniteta', *Kommersant-Daily*, 30 April, p. 3.
- Polezhaev, Matvei (1997b), 'Soyuz usyago', *Kommersant-Daily*, 24 May, p. 1.
- Portanskii, Aleksei (1997), 'Soglashenie s ES otkryvaet pered Rossiei put v tsivilizovannuyu ekonomiku', *Finansovye izvestiya*, no. 91, 2 December, p. 1.
- Posuvalyuk, Sergei (1997), 'Saddam – mina zamedlennogo deistviya', interview in *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 47, 23–30 November, pp. 2–3.
- Pravda, Alex (1988), 'Ideology and the Policy Process', in White and Pravda (1988), pp. 225–52.
- Pravda, Alex (1992), 'The Politics of Foreign Policy', in White, Pravda and Gitelman (1992), pp. 250–75.
- Pravda, Alex (1996), 'The Public Politics of Foreign Policy', in Malcolm *et al.* (1996), pp. 169–229.
- Pravda, Alex and Neil Malcolm (1996), 'Conclusion', in Malcolm *et al.* (1996), pp. 286–309.

- Prikhodko, Sergei (1997), 'Administratsiya prezidenta – ne apparat TsK KPSS', interview in *Segodnya*, 17 October, p. 3.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1993), 'Opravdano li rasshirenie NATO?', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 26 November, pp. 1, 3.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1994), 'Rossiya–SNG: Nuzhdaetsya li v korrektyrovke pozitsiya Zapada?', report by the Foreign Intelligence Service, *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 22 September, pp. 1, 6.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1996a), 'Primakov nachinaet s SNG', extracts from press conference in *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 2, 14–21 January, p. 13.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1996b), 'Rossiya ishchet novoe mesto v mire', interview in *Izvestiya*, 6 March, p. 3.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1996c), 'Rossiya ne protivodeistvuet islamu', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 18 September, p. 2.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1996d), 'Ministr, kotorogo ne rugaet oppozitsiya', interview in *Obshchaya gazeta*, no. 37, 19–25 September, p. 4.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1997a), 'God Evgeniya Primakova', interview in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 10 January, p. 2.
- Primakov, Yevgenii (1997b), 'My rabotaem po vsem azimutam', interview in *Trud*, 3 December, p. 4.
- Privalov, Aleksandr (1999), 'Chego ne spishet voina', *Izvestiya*, 26 March, p. 2.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1993–94), 'Russia and America: the Honeymoon's Over', *Foreign Policy*, no. 93, Winter, pp. 76–90.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1994), 'Andrei Kozyrev: unosimy vetrom', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 63, 11–18 December, p. 6.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1995a), 'NATO nachinaet "vostochnuyu partiyu"', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 67, 1–8 October, p. 11.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1995b), 'Vneshnyaya politika Rossii', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 16 November, pp. 1, 5.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1996a), 'Solo dlya Evgeniya Primakova', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 36, 8–15 September, p. 5.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1996b), 'Virus porazhenchestva i evropeiskaya politika Rossii', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 10 December, p. 2.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1997a), 'Mavr sdelaet delo – mavra mozhno "uiti"?'', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 20 May, p. 2.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1997b), 'SShA nachinayut otkryto revnovat Rossiyu', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 28 November, pp. 1, 4.
- Pushkov, Alexei (1999), 'Sindrom Chernomyrdina', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 11 June, p. 3.
- Pushkov, Alexei (2000), 'Rossiya v novom miroporyadke: ryadom s zapadom ili sama po sebe?', *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 10, October, pp. 33–44.
- Putin, Vladimir (2000a), *Ot pervogo litsa: razgovory s Vladimirom Putinyim* (Vagrius, Moscow).
- Putin, Vladimir (2000b), Open letter to the Russian voters, www.vladimir-putin/d2/frame31.htm.
- Putin, Vladimir (2000c), 'Rossiya: novye vostochnye perspektivy', address to the 2000 APEC Summit in Brunei, in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 14 November, pp. 1, 6.
- Putin, Vladimir (2001a), 'Prezident V. Putin o zadachakh Rossiiskoi diplomatii', address to the Foreign Ministry on 26 January 2001, *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 2, February, pp. 3–7.

- Putin, Vladimir (2001b), 'Ne budet ni revolyutsii, ni kontrrevolyutsii' address to the Federal Assembly, 3 April 2001, *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 4 April, pp. 3–4.
- Putin, Vladimir (2001c), Address to the Bundestag, 26 September, <http://english.pravda.ru/politics/2001/09/26/16209.html>.
- Reutov, Aleksandr (1997), 'Eltsin prinyal gostei iz Indii i Kitaya', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 26 March, p. 1.
- Ries, Tomas (ed.) (2000), *NATO Tomorrow* (National Defence College, Helsinki).
- Rodionov, Igor (1996), 'Kakaya oborona nuzhna Rossii?', *Nezavisimoe voennoe obozrenie*, no. 22, 28 November, pp. 1, 4.
- Rogov, Sergei (1994), 'Itog pechalen, no vykhod iz tupika est', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 31 December, pp. 1, 4–5.
- Rogov, Sergei (1997), 'Pyat punktov soglasiya – vstrecha v verkhakh v Khelsinki: uspek ili proval?', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 26 March, p. 4.
- Rogov, Sergei (1999), 'Ne nado khlopat dveryu', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 45, 23–29 November, p. 5.
- Rossiisko-amerikanskii otnosheniya na rubezhe vekov* (2000), Doklad rabochei gruppy Soveta po vneshnei i oboronnoi politike (Council on Foreign and Defence Policy and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow and Washington).
- Russell, Wynne (1995), 'Russian Relations with the "Near Abroad"', in Shearman (1995b), pp. 53–70.
- Russia: Foreign Economic Relations – Trends and Prospects*, quarterly review, no. 1, 2000 (All-Russia Market Research Institute, Moscow 2000).
- 'Russia's Struggle with Debt' (1999), BBC News report, 24 June, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/business/the_economy/newsid_377000/377011.stm.
- Rybin, Ivan (1997), 'O kontseptsii natsionalnoi bezopasnosti Rossii', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 29 April, pp. 1–2.
- Sadchikov, Aleksandr (1998), 'SNV-2: torg neumesten', *Izvestiya*, p. 1.
- Safranchuk, Ivan (2000), 'Poslednii dovod', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 2, 18–24 January, p. 5.
- Saikal, Amin (1995), 'Russian Policy toward Central Asia and the Middle East', in Shearman (1995), pp. 267–82.
- Saivetz, Carol (2000), 'Russian Foreign Policy Free-Lancing: the Cases of Lukoil, Gazprom, and Rosvooruzhenie', in Breslauer *et al.* (2000), pp. 25–31.
- Sazonov, Vadim (1994), 'Zapad: Friend or Foe?', *Segodnya*, 6 December, p. 10.
- Sergeev, Igor (1998), 'Zayavlenie ministra oborony RF marshala I. Sergeeva', official statement in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 19 December, p. 7.
- Service, Robert (1998), *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England).
- Sestanovich, Stephen (1994), 'Russia Turns the Corner', *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, pp. 83–98.
- Sevostyanov, Igor (1996), 'Islamskii fundamentalizm i islamskii ekstremizm – eto sovsem ne odno i to zhe', *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn*, no. 5, pp. 31–40.
- Shearman, Peter (1995a), 'Russian Policy toward the United States', in Shearman (1995b), pp. 111–33.
- Shearman, Peter (1995b), *Russian Foreign Policy since 1990* (Westview Press, Boulder and Oxford).
- Shelov-Kovedyaev, Fedor (1992), 'V kritike vneshnei politiki Rossii my stalkivaemsya s opasnym neprofessionalizmom', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 30 July, pp. 1, 5.

- Shermatova, Sanobar (1997), 'Razvod prodolzhaetsya', *Moskovskie novosti*, no. 13, 30 March–6 April, p. 8.
- Sherr, James (1997), 'Russia–Ukraine *Rapprochement?*: the Black Sea Fleet Accords', *Survival*, vol. 39, no. 3, Autumn, pp. 33–50.
- Shevtsova, Lilia (1999), *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC).
- Shinkarenko, Pavel (1995), 'V mirovykh delakh bez Rossii ne oboitis', *Rossiiskie vesti*, 20 June, p. 2.
- Shiryayev, Vyacheslav (1998), 'Vashington khotel by prisutstvovat na Kaspii na vse 100 protsentov', *Novye izvestiya*, 5 August, p. 2.
- Shishkov, Yurii (2001), 'Rossiya–SNG: neudavshiisya brak po raschetu', *Pro et Contra*, Winter–Spring 2001 (*Vneshnyaya politika Rossii: 1991–2000 – chast I*), pp. 91–106.
- Shokhin, Aleksandr (1993), "'Biznes" na Rossii, ili biznes Rossii', *Izvestiya*, 7 July, p. 4.
- Smith, Hedrick (1991), *The New Russians* (Avon Books, New York).
- Smolansky, Oles M. (1997), 'Russia and the Asia-Pacific Region: Policies and Polemics', in Blank and Rubinstein (1997), pp. 7–39.
- Sokolov, Viktor (1997), 'Konstruktivnye podkhody vneshnei politiki Moskvy', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 3 December, p. 4.
- Sokolov, Viktor (1999), 'RF protiv izmenenii dogovora po PRO – Igor Ivanov dovolen rabotoi svoego vedomstva', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 23 January, pp. 1, 6.
- Stankevich, Sergei (1992a), 'Derzhava v poiskakh sebya', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 28 March, p. 4.
- Stankevich, Sergei (1992b), 'Rossiya uzhe sdelala antiimperskii vybor', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 6 November, p. 2.
- Steinberg, Gerald (2000), *Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Developments in the Middle East: 1998–99*, Security and Policy Studies no. 44 (The Begin–Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel).
- Stent, Angela (1995), 'The Return of a Great Power', in Yergin and Gustafson (1995), pp. 238–64.
- Strategic Survey: 2000/2001* (IISS and Oxford University Press).
- Surikov, Anton (1997): "'Obrezanie" raketam v obmen na podachki', *Pravda-5*, 19–26 September, p. 4.
- Sysoev, Gennadii (1999a), "'Tolko sumasshedshie khotyat postavlyat oruzhie Yugoslavii', *Kommersant*, 7 April, p. 2.
- Sysoev, Gennadii (1999b), 'Rossiiskie generaly protiv mira v Yugoslavii', *Kommersant*, 5 June, p. 1.
- Sysoev, Gennadii (2000), 'Robin Kuk zashchitil Rossiyu', *Kommersant*, 24 February, p. 1.
- Sytaya, Ekaterina (1997), 'Itogi yubileinoi vstrechi prezidentov stran SNG okazalis neuteshitelnyimi', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 29 March, pp. 1, 3.
- Tamozhennaya statistika vneshnei torgovlya Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (2000) (Moscow).
- Tamozhennaya statistika vneshnei torgovlya Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (2001) (Moscow).
- Tikhomirov, Vladimir (1997), 'Public Finance and Foreign Investment in Russia', *Russia and Euro-Asian Bulletin*, August, http://nongae.gsnu.ac.kr/~whcho/economy/FDI_1997.html.
- Timerbaev, Roland (2000), 'Mezhdunarodny rezhim yadernogo nerasprostraneniya: istoriya sozdaniya i evolyutsiya stanovleniya. Dogovor o nerasprostranении yadernogo oruzhiya', in Orlov and Sokov (2000), pp. 77–112.

- Tregubova, Elena (1995), 'Andrei Kozyrev: u Rossii net imperskikh ambitsii, no ...', *Segodnya*, 7 July, p. 1.
- Tregubova, Elena (1999a), 'Eltsinu ponravilos miritsya posle draki', *Kommersant*, 22 June, pp. 1, 3.
- Tregubova, Elena (1999b), 'Prezident vse uspel', *Kommersant*, 19 November, p. 1.
- Trenin, Dmitri (1999), *Russia's China Problem* (Carnegie Moscow Center).
- Trenin, Dmitri (ed.) (2000), *Rossiia i osnovnye instituty bezopasnosti v Evrope: vstupaya v XXI vek* (Moskovskii Tsentri Karnegi, S & P, Moskva).
- Trenin, Dmitri (2001), *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border between Geopolitics and Globalization* (Carnegie Moscow Center).
- Tsepkalo, Alexander (1998), 'The Remaking of Eurasia', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 2, March/April, pp. 107–26.
- Tuleev, Aman (1996), 'Uvazhaya drugie gosudarstva, nauchitsya uvazhat sebya', interview in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 19 December, p. 3.
- The United States and the World* (2000), Summary Record of Seminar Series in the All Souls Foreign Policy Studies Programme, Oxford University, Hilary Term 2000.
- U.S.–Russian Relations at the Turn of the Century* (2000), Report of a Working Group organized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Carnegie and Council for Foreign and Defence Policy, Washington and Moscow).
- Varlamov, Konstantin (1999), 'Sammit OBSE – porazhenie Moskvyy?', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 23 November, p. 5.
- Velekhov, Leonid (1995), 'MID mezhdru proshlym i budushchim – kto by ni prishel posle Kozyreva, prisheltsu ne pozaviduesh', *Segodnya*, 22 December, p. 9.
- Visens, Elena (1994), 'Rossiia podpisala soglashenie s ES', *Segodnya*, 25 June, p. 1.
- 'Vneshnepoliticheskii kurs stal bolee sootvetsvovat natsionalnym interesam strany' (2001), survey conducted in April 2001 by the Russian Independent Institute for Social and National Questions and the Moscow office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation – in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 7 June 2001, pp. 9, 11.
- Voennaya doktrina Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (2000), *Nezavisimoe voennoe obozrenie*, no. 15, 26 April–11 May, pp. 1, 4–5.
- Volkova, Marina (1997), 'Mer Moskvyy – za obedinenie s Belorussiei', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 29 April, pp. 1, 3.
- Volkova, Marina (2000), 'Energeticheskii krizis sblizil Moskvu s Evrosoyuzom', *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 31 October, pp. 1, 3.
- White, Stephen (2000), *Russia's New Politics: the Management of a Postcommunist Society* (Cambridge University Press).
- White, Stephen and Alex Pravda (eds) (1988), *Ideology and Soviet Politics* (Macmillan Press (now Palgrave Macmillan), Basingstoke and London).
- White, Stephen, Alex Pravda and Zvi Gitelman (1992) (eds), *Developments in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics* (Macmillan Press (now Palgrave Macmillan), Basingstoke and London).
- Wilkening, Dean (1998), 'The Future of Russia's Strategic Nuclear Force', *Survival*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 89–111.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1992), 'Chto skazal Eltsin rossiiskim diplomatam', address to the MFA, *Rossiiskie vesti*, 29 October, p. 1.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1994a), 'Strategicheskaya tsel – sozdat protsvetayushchuyu stranu', address to the Federal Assembly, *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 25 February, pp. 1–2.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1994b), 'Pravo i dolg razvedchika', address to the leadership and employees of the Foreign Intelligence Service, *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 29 April, pp. 1–2.

- Yeltsin, Boris (1994c), 'Obshchee prostranstvo bezopasnosti', address to the Budapest OSCE Summit, in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 7 December, pp. 1, 6.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1995a), 'O deistvennosti gosudarstvennoi vlasti v Rossii', address to the Federal Assembly, in *Rossiiskie vesti*, 17 February, pp. 1, 3–7.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1995b), 'Boris Eltsin: Bosniiskii krizis ne imeet silovogo resheniya', interview to Japanese newspaper *Nihon Keizai*, in *Rossiiskie vesti*, 10 August, p. 1.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1995c), 'Boris Eltsin: Rossiya i SShA ne dopustyat vozvrashcheniya "kholodnoi voiny"', summary of interview to Russian and American journalists, in *Rossiiskie vesti*, 21 October, p. 9.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1995d), 'Glavny interes Rossii – stabilnost v Evrope i Azii', speech at the 50th UN General Assembly, in *Rossiiskie vesti*, 24 October, p. 1.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1996), 'Svoboda i demokratiya – glavnoe uslovie progressa i protsvetaniya', address to the Federal Assembly, in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 24 February, p. 2.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1997a), 'Sotrudnichestvo vmesto konfrontatsii', interview with *Helsingen Sanomat*, in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 18 March, pp. 1–2.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1997b), 'Novye obyazatelstva pered Evropoi', speech at the signing ceremony of the Russia–NATO Founding Act, *Rossiiskie vesti*, 28 May, p. 1.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1998), 'Podryv mezhdunarodnoi bezopasnosti', presidential statement, in *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 18 December, p. 3.
- Yeltsin, Boris (1999), 'Rossiya na rubezhe epokh (O polozhenii v strane i osnovnykh napravleniyakh politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii)', state-of-the-nation address, *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 31 March, pp. 3–6.
- Yeltsin, Boris (2001), *Midnight Diaries* (Phoenix, London).
- Yergin, Daniel and Thane Gustafson (1995), *Russia 2010 – and What It Means for the World* (Vintage Books, New York).
- Yershov, Yurii and Sergei Merinov (1998), 'Tanki u granitsy', *Rossiiskaya gazeta*, 14 August, p. 2.
- Yusin, Maksim (1992a), 'Otmena vizita svidetelstvuet ob izmenenii rasstanovki sil v rossiiskom gosudarstve', *Izvestiya*, 11 September, pp. 1, 5.
- Yusin, Maksim (1992b), "'Shokovaya terapiya" Andrey Kozyreva', *Izvestiya*, 15 December, p. 6.
- Yusin, Maksim (1994), 'Moskva ne udalos provesti perestroiku Evropy', *Izvestiya*, 12 October, p. 3.
- Yusin, Maksim (1995), 'Tri ukaza prezidenta, kotorye preobrazuyat MID', *Izvestiya*, 17 March, p. 3.
- Yusin, Maksim (1996), 'Upushchenny shans ministra Kozyreva', *Izvestiya*, 10 January, p. 3.
- Yusin, Maksim (1998a), 'MID terpit porazhenie na Balkanakh', *Izvestiya*, 22 January, p. 3.
- Yusin, Maksim (1998b), 'Kreml nashel sebe vraga', *Izvestiya*, 10 April, p. 3.
- Yusin, Maksim (1999a), 'Rossiiskoe ekho balkanskoj voiny', *Izvestiya*, 26 March, p. 1.
- Yusin, Maksim (1999b), 'Rossiya Serbii nichego ne dolzhna', *Izvestiya*, 7 April, p. 1.
- Yusin, Maksim (1999c), 'Morskaya blokada Yugoslavii privedet NATO k konfliktu s Moskvoy', *Izvestiya*, 27 April, p. 1.
- Yusin, Maksim (1999d), 'Vashington soznatelno obostryaet otnosheniya s Moskvoy', *Izvestiya*, 6 July, p. 1.
- Yusin, Maksim (1999e), 'Aziatskii vzglyad Moskvoy', *Izvestiya*, 29 September, p. 3.

- Yusin, Maksim (1999f), 'Golos Ameriki – "Rossiya dorogo zaplatit" za Chechnyu', *Izvestiya*, 8 December, p. 1.
- Zagorskii, Andrei (1996), 'Kompromiss s NATO neobkhodim i vozmozhen', *Segodnya*, 21 June, p. 9.
- Zatulín, Konstantin and Andranik Migranyan (1997), 'SNG posle Kishineva', *Sodruzhestvo NG*, no. 1, December, pp. 1–2.
- Zhuravlev, Petr (1995), 'Vladimir Lukin ne zhivet v Alyaske', *Segodnya*, 20 October, p. 1.
- Zinets, Natalia (2001), 'Ukraine, Russia End \$1.4Bln Gas Dispute', *The Moscow Times*, 5–7 October, p. 5.
- Zmeyushchenko, Vladimir, Konstantin Zborovskii and Inessa Slavutinskaya (2001), 'Ekstremalnoe chtivo', *Profil*, no. 21, 4 June.
- Zubko, Marat (1998), 'Tri punkta Evgeniya Primakova', *Izvestiya*, 2 June, p. 3.
- Zyuganov, Gennadii (1999), 'Ostanovit aggressiyu', declaration of the National-Patriotic Union of Russia, *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, 27 March, p. 1.

Index

- Abkhazia conflict 32, 49, 51, 70, 81, 82, 143
actors, foreign policy 13, 27, 30–8, 162–3
Afghanistan, various conflicts in 54–5, 83–4, 90, 127, 139, 172, 180
Africa 48, 68, 95
Ahtisaari, Marti 37, 154, 191
aid, foreign, *see* assistance
Albright, Madeline 96
Aliiev, Geidar 190
'alternative rational consensus', principle of 89–90, 109, 134
Ambartsumov, Yevgenii 49
America, *see* United States
Americacentrism, *see under* United States
Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty 111, 120, 126, 130, 132
anti-Westernism 15–16, 27–8, 58–9, 63, 104–5, 149, 188
Arbatov, Alexei 74, 78, 111, 121
Arbatov, Georgi 23, 54
'arc of crisis' 49
arms exports, *see also under individual countries* 34, 68, 119, 147–8, 171
ASEAN 184
 ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) 109, 134, 184
Asia, policy and attitudes towards 14, 17–18, 94, 102, 184, 190
 Northeast Asia 113–14, 126, 134, 187
 South Asia 126
 Southeast Asia 184
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 25, 71, 121, 146, 184, 188, 190
assistance, foreign 44–5, 180
Atlanticism 43–4, 72
August 1998 financial crash 71, 77
autocracy (*samoderzhavie*) 15
Avdeev, Aleksandr 26
Azerbaijan 77, 102
 relations with Russia 82, 143, 183, 190
Baker, James 105
Baku–Ceyhan pipeline project 117, 183
balance of power, notions of 8, 106–14, 119, 130, 140, 152, 158, 168, 169
 bipolar 60–1, 107–9
 nuclear 109–11
 regional 81, 111–14
'balanced' foreign policy, idea of 22, 24, 42, 58–9, 67, 94–5, 120, 158, 173, 177
Balkans, *see also* Bosnia, Kosovo 16, 19, 37, 95, 101, 115, 116, 126, 133, 139, 143, 153, 154
 Russian membership of the Balkans Contact Group 93, 142
Ballistic Missile Defense, *see* NMD
Baltic states 49, 78
 Russian policy towards Latvia 78, 90
basing issues in the CIS, Russian military 52, 71, 74, 115, 143, 190
Belarus 15, 182–3
 denuclearization 128–9
 Russia–Belarus Union 22, 34, 35, 64, 76, 77, 86, 118, 120, 126, 178, 182
 Russian policy and attitudes towards 74, 76, 81–2
Berdyayev, Nikolai 50
Berezovsky, Boris 34
Berlin, Isaiah 17
Bishkek Declaration of the 'Shanghai Five' 151
'bloc politics' 117–18, 136
Borko, Yurii 62

- Bosnian crisis
 disagreements with the West 25, 54, 127
 policy and attitudes towards 20, 37, 62, 88, 102, 120, 133, 142, 144
 and the UN 88
- Braithwaite, Sir Rodric 52
- Brezhnev, Leonid 80
- Brezhnev doctrine 50, 180
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew 51, 184
- bureaucracy, role and influence of 30–4, 36–8, 58, 162–3
- Bush (Jun.) Administration 174
- Butler, Richard 184
- Caspian Sea
 ‘Contract of the Century’ 183, 190
 energy development 77, 85, 140, 183
 pipeline routes 82–3, 117, 183, 190
 Russian policy and attitudes towards 33–4, 118, 140, 152, 163, 164, 167, 172
 Western involvement in 117, 183
- Catherine the Great 66, 181
- Central Asia 74, 83–4, 113, 114, 137, 167
- Central Committee (of the Soviet Communist Party), foreign policy role of 28, 30
- centrism 5, 49, 58, 105, 151
- Chechnya
 and human rights 151, 173
 and international terrorism 128, 151, 172
 and Kosovo 189
 Kozyrev’s support for first Chechen war 46, 180
 and Moscow bombings (1999) 177
 and public diplomacy 162, 163
 Russian policy and attitudes towards first Chechen war (1994–96) 71, 81, 90, 177
 Russian policy and attitudes towards second Chechen war (1999–) 26, 90, 135–6, 150–1, 160, 162–4
 and Russia’s territorial integrity 135–6, 150
- Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) 131, 188
- Chernomyrdin, Viktor 33, 34, 152–4, 162–3, 183
- Chernomyrdin–Ahtisaari peace plan, *see under* Kosovo
- China, People’s Republic of (PRC)
 161, 174
 arms sales to 119, 137, 138, 147–8, 171, 187
 attitudes towards 18, 22–4, 107, 108, 114, 126, 137–8, 152, 155, 179
 balance of power with 137, 138, 189
 border agreement and demarcation 18, 113, 114, 135, 138, 178, 187
 ‘China factor’ in global affairs 22–3, 60, 94, 107, 108, 155
 cooperation in Central Asia 137
 demographic ‘imbalance’ with 18, 137, 189
 economic cooperation with 138
 ‘illegal migration’ from 17–18, 177–8
 relations with 17–18, 22–3, 60, 64, 68, 94, 126, 127, 137–8, 152, 155, 157, 161, 167, 173
 Shanghai Five agreement on confidence-building measures (1996) 113, 134, 138, 186
 Sino–Indian rivalry 137
 ‘strategic convergence’ with 137
 ‘strategic relationship’ with 112–14, 137, 159
 Taiwan 137
 Yeltsin–Jiang ‘Joint Declaration on a Multipolar World’ (1997) 24–5, 87, 91, 94, 117–18, 134
- Chubais, Anatolii 31, 34, 145, 152
- Churchill, Winston 1
- civil society, construction of 100, 149–51, 164, 173
- civilization, notions of 14, 16–17, 21–3, 25, 42–4, 50, 139, 144, 159–60, 166, 187–8
- Clinton, Bill 96, 104, 127, 151, 180, 185
- Cold War 25, 41, 57, 98, 103–5, 127

- collective security
 in the CIS 133
 in Europe 58, 105, 134
 global 70, 134
- Collective Security Treaty, *see under*
 CIS
- 'Common European Home',
 Gorbachev's idea of a 17, 159
- Common Foreign and Security Policy
 (CFSP) 121
- Common Security and Defence Policy,
see under ESDP
- Commonwealth of Independent
 States (CIS)
 attitudes towards 20, 22, 39,
 49–52, 56, 72–86, 99
- Collective Security Treaty 73, 75,
 85, 117
- common 'external border' 75
- common market ('Common
 Economic Space') 16, 75, 86
- Customs Union 73, 85, 86
- economic interdependence 77, 85
- economic union 75
- as foreign policy priority 47, 66–7,
 72, 75, 79, 86, 94, 97, 124, 125,
 143–4
- free trade 86
- integration 16, 21–2, 50, 58, 68,
 74, 75–7, 86, 123, 126, 127,
 159, 165
- interventionism in 50–2
- Joint Air Defence 73, 86
- joint peacekeeping 75, 86
- as organization 73–4, 115
- as political-military bloc 115
- as Russian sphere of influence 20,
 115–17, 170
- Communism 3, 14, 15, 28, 40, 42, 53
- Communist Party of the Russian
 Federation (CPRF) 3, 64
- Communist-Nationalist opposition,
 foreign policy influence of 27,
 56, 128
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
 (CTBT) 110, 169, 186, 193
- 'concentration' (*sosredotochenie*) in
 foreign policy 7
- 'Concert' of great powers 67, 94, 181
- condominium, ideas of
 Russian–American 43–4, 86–7,
 106
- Conference on Security and
 Cooperation in Europe (CSCE),
see OSCE
- confrontation and quasi-confronta-
 tion, politics of 25, 27, 60–1
- consensus (and non-consensus) in
 Russian foreign policy 3–6, 12,
 19–20, 23, 35, 38–9, 41, 45–8,
 64–5, 69–70, 74, 75, 82, 86,
 104–5, 116, 117, 123–5, 146, 152,
 154–6, 160, 163, 165, 171,
 175–6
- 'consultation reflex' 54
- Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)
 Treaty 112–13, 132, 136, 154, 186
- 'modernization' and flank limits
 112, 132, 136, 186, 187
- Cook, Robin 151
- 'cool peace' 25
- coordination in Russian foreign policy
 31, 36–8
- cordon sanitaire*, notion of 32
- Council of Europe 139, 150
- Council on Foreign and Defence
 Policy 43, 82, 130, 147
- crime 135, 141
- crisis and conflict management 54,
 58, 74, 75, 81, 92, 102, 120, 123,
 124, 133, 141–4, 173
- Cuba 48, 94, 159
- 'culture of envy' 103, 185
- Customs Union, *see under* CIS
- Czech Republic/Czechoslovakia 48,
 105, 190
- Dagestan 135, 177
- Davydov, Yurii 185
- debt
 CIS debt to Russia 81, 164, 167,
 182
 Soviet-era debt to the West 102,
 145, 172
- decision-making processes
 bureaucratic 2, 8, 28–37, 69, 86,
 102, 163, 179
- in the CIS 75, 88–9

- decision-making processes – *continued*
 international 54–5, 67, 87–93,
 106, 109, 111, 128, 132, 136,
 141, 145, 185
- Defence Council (of the Presidential
 Administration) 30, 32–3
- Defence Ministry, *see* Ministry of
 Defence
- De Gaulle, Charles 60
- de-ideologization of foreign policy 7,
 40, 46, 68, 98, 163–6
- Democratic People's Republic of Korea
 (DPRK), *see under* Korea
- 'democratization'
 in the conduct of foreign policy
 27–30, 92
 as foreign policy priority 27–30,
 125, 148–9, 164, 173
 of international affairs 67, 92, 94
- democratization in Russia 31, 100
- demokraty-derzhavniki* 41
- denuclearization in the CIS, *see also*
under Belarus, Kazakhstan and
 Ukraine 130
- derzhavnost* ('great power-ness') 19,
 20–1, 53, 56, 59, 93, 105, 115,
 164, 177
- Diaoyu/Senkaku islands territorial
 dispute 137
- diaspora issues, policy and attitudes
 towards 15, 16, 50, 55, 78–9, 85,
 91, 92, 115, 126, 167
- 'dictatorship of the law' 163
- discipline (and indiscipline), policy
 30, 38, 64, 162
- 'diversification' in foreign policy 7,
 10, 22, 39, 57–61, 67, 94–6, 97,
 167, 173, 175, 177
- domestic factors in foreign policy
 12–13, 26–30, 161–2
- domino effect 49, 82, 135
- drug trafficking 141
- dual technology items, transfer and
 control of 131, 147, 152, 191
- Duma, foreign policy role and
 influence of 27–30, 120, 161
- dumbing-down of foreign policy
 102, 142
- Dyachenko, Tatyana 179
- East Timor 184
- Eastern Europe 68, 115, 126, 133,
 141
- economic actors in foreign policy
 33–4, 178
- economic integration, *see under*
 integration
- economic priorities in foreign policy
 7, 44–5, 47, 61, 62, 70, 81, 98,
 102, 131–2, 144–8, 157, 172, 173
- economic rationalism, use of 164,
 170–1
- 'economization' of foreign policy
 44–5, 64, 99, 117–21, 147, 175
- Eggert, Konstantin 14, 53, 120
- Egypt 139
- elections, parliamentary (Duma) 28,
 191, 193
- elections, Presidential 28, 45, 128,
 180, 191
- elitist attitudes in Russian foreign
 policy 67, 92–4, 168
- Enduring Freedom, Operation 169,
 172
- energy lobby 34, 178
- Eurasian Economic Community 85
- Eurasianism 12, 14, 18–19, 21, 38–9,
 50, 59
- European Security Charter 118, 134,
 136
- European Security and Defence
 Identity (ESDI) 121
- European Union (EU) 127
 Common Strategy on Russia (1999)
 122
 enlargement of 121
- European Security and Defence
 Policy (ESDP) 169
- Partnership and Cooperation
 Agreement (PCA) 45, 96, 146,
 184
- Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) 169
- Russian policy and attitudes
 towards 68, 108, 121–2, 155,
 172
- Europeanization of foreign policy
 26, 96, 173, 174
- 'European-ness' 12, 14, 16–17, 21–2,
 38, 39, 44, 157, 159

- export controls on dual technology items 131
- 'Family', the Yeltsin 34
- Federal Security Service (*Federalnaya sluzhba bezopasnosti* – FSB) 162
- 'Finlandization' 118, 187
- Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) 32, 56
- foreign investment 126, 129, 135, 147, 150, 161, 164, 170, 173, 178, 179, 190
- Foreign Ministry, *see* Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Foreign Policy Administration 36–7
- Foreign Policy Commission (of the Security Council) 36
- Foreign Policy Concept 7, 10, 58, 66–70, 75, 97, 126–8, 160, 163, 164, 166, 171
- Foreign Policy Council 36–7
- Foreign Policy Guidelines, MFA 44
- Former Soviet Union (FSU), *see also* CIS
policy and attitudes towards 16, 20, 22, 49–52, 70, 124
- Founding Act, Russia–NATO, *see under* NATO
- France 107, 108, 140, 169
- 'Fundamentalist Nationalists' 41
- Fyodorov, Boris 191
- Fyodorov, Svyatoslav 181
- Gaidar, Yegor 34, 137, 191
- Gazprom 147, 152
- General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), *see* WTO 45
- 'geographic interstitiality' 19
- 'geopolitical disadvantage', concept and issues of 101–2, 128, 132–4
- 'geopoliticization' of economic priorities 121–2, 158–9, 170, 174
- geopolitics
changing nature of 8, 118–22, 168–71
primacy in Russian foreign policy 7–8, 64, 98–103, 119–22, 133, 158, 169–71, 174, 175
- Georgia 77, 102
- civil war in 82
- relations with Russia 82, 143
- Russian policy and attitudes towards 90, 143, 163, 164, 167, 171
- Germany 108, 140, 169
- global environment, Russian views of the 6, 23–6, 38, 39, 86–96, 103–4, 106–9, 111–12, 114, 115, 129, 142–3, 160–1, 173–4
- 'global multipolar order', *see* multipolarity
- globalism 19–21, 53–5, 160, 164
- globalization 68, 92, 94, 119, 167, 170
- Gorbachev, Mikhail 17, 101, 105, 185, 187–8, 192
- Gore–Chernomyrdin arrangement on arms sales to Iran, *see under* Iran 140, 190
- Grachev, Pavel 111
- great power ideology and notions 19–20, 52–9, 96–7, 125, 127, 164, 165, 168, 170, 177
- Group of Seven/Group of Eight (G7/G8) 62, 68, 71, 121, 184
- GUUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova) 77, 117, 187, 190
- Hashimoto, Ryutaro 37, 189
- hegemonism, *see under* United States
- 'hegemony on the cheap' 77, 182
- human rights 68, 91, 98, 150–1, 166, 173, 184
- 'humanistic universalism' 42
- humanitarian intervention, principle and practice of 91, 139, 151, 181
- humiliation, feelings of national 47, 56, 57, 62, 103, 164
- Hungary 48, 105, 190
- Huntington, Samuel 14, 16, 21
- Hussein, King 189
- identity, views and issues of Russian 13–23, 92, 94, 95, 100, 159–60, 165
- 'ideologization' of foreign policy 46–7, 60–1, 64–5, 167

- 'ideologized democratic internationalism' 41
- ideology, nature, role and influence of 10, 40–1, 52–3, 62–5, 180
- illusion, existence and use of 5, 6–7, 66–8, 71, 86, 93, 96–7, 103, 156, 166–8
- imperial syndrome 20, 39, 48–52, 58, 73, 77, 80, 102, 114, 116–17, 125, 164
- imperialism and proto-imperialism 50–2, 80, 85, 106
- 'implosion' argument 185
- inclusiveness, issues of 18–19, 132–4
- 'independent' foreign policy 57–61, 123, 155, 167
- India
- arms sales to 171
 - nuclear cooperation with 147, 191
 - and nuclear non-proliferation 130
 - and rivalry with China 137
 - relations with 67, 94, 108, 127, 161, 167
- 'indispensability', notion of Russia's 53–5, 103, 107, 142
- Individual Action Plan (IAP) in APEC 146, 190
- 'indivisibility' of European security 134
- Ingushetia 135
- institutional climate 30–9, 64, 102–3, 162–3
- instrumentalism in Russian foreign policy 7, 26, 44–5, 60–1, 64, 78, 81, 82, 86–92, 109, 113–14, 116, 132, 138, 148–9, 151, 160, 173
- integration 169
- with the CIS, *see under* CIS
 - into Europe 68, 121, 150, 172
 - into the global community 13–14, 43, 148–9, 173
 - into the global economy 34, 61, 100, 146, 155, 165
 - with the West 21, 38–9, 42–3, 45, 58, 119, 148–9
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 187
- International Financial Institutions (IFIs), relations with 44–5, 70
- international law and 'political-diplomatic methods' (in conflict resolution) 67, 89–91, 109, 126
- International Monetary Fund (IMF) 8, 44–5, 68, 145, 148, 152
- international terrorism, *see* terrorism
- investment, *see* foreign investment
- Iran
- arms sales to 140, 171, 190
 - exports of dual technology to 131, 147, 152
 - exports of missile technology to 131, 147, 188
 - Gore–Chernomyrdin arrangement 140, 190
 - nuclear weapons potential of 130
 - relations with 112–14, 139, 167
 - 'strategic partnership' with 94, 140
- Iraq 103
- debt to Russia 189
 - policy and attitudes towards 102, 115, 120, 133, 142, 144, 189
 - Russian mediation efforts 41, 55, 89, 142–3, 184
 - support for Saddam Hussein 133
 - UN sanctions against 15, 133, 184
 - United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) inspections 91, 143, 184
 - Western military action against 25, 41, 54, 88, 90, 130, 133, 143, 184
- Islamic world 18, 26, 138–40, 159, 161
- Islamic 'extremism' and radicalism, threat of 26, 49, 74, 75, 83–4, 92, 114, 135, 136, 138–9
 - Islamic 'fundamentalism' 51, 138
- Israel 54, 103, 130
- Ivanov, Igor 162
- and Chechnya 150
 - and the CIS 73, 76
 - criticisms of the West 25, 89, 92, 165
 - and foreign policy consensus 45
 - and foreign policy priorities 45, 126
 - foreign policy views of 25, 47–8, 89, 92

- Ivanov, Igor – *continued*
 and international terrorism 139, 151
 and multipolarity 25, 153
 Ivanov, Sergei 162, 193
 Ivashov, Leonid 131, 179–80
- Japan
 attitudes towards 18, 24, 108, 114, 152
 cancellation of Yeltsin's 1992 visit 29, 178
 Krasnoyarsk 'no ties' summit (1997) 37, 179, 189
 relations with 152, 167
 territorial dispute (Northern Territories/South Kuriles) 29, 33, 37, 47, 135, 152, 178, 179, 189
 Jiang Zemin 87, 186–7
- Karaganov, Sergei 43, 59–62, 149, 153
 Karamzin, Nikolai 14
 Karasin, Grigorii 113, 121, 187
 Kazakhstan 75–6, 84–5
 denuclearization of 85, 128–9
 and participation in the Shanghai Five 186
 policy and attitudes towards 84–5
 Khmel'nitsky, *Hetman* Bogdan 182
 Khrushchev, Nikita 80
 King Hussein 189
 Kiriyyenko, Sergei 135
 Kokoshin, Andrei 108–10
- Korea
 Democratic People's Republic of (DPRK) 130, 131, 159, 187
 Four-party talks on the Korean peninsula 113, 187
 Republic of (ROK) 187
- Kosovo conflict
 and Chechnya 189
 Chernomyrdin–Ahtisaari peace plan 37, 154, 179–80, 191
 and pan-Slavism 16, 177
 policy and attitudes towards 8, 15, 20, 24, 25, 27–8, 33, 35–7, 62, 72, 88, 90, 96, 102, 103, 106, 108, 112, 120, 128, 144, 153–4, 160, 181, 184, 187, 191
 policy divisions over 6, 33, 35, 37, 153–4
 Pristina (Slatina) airport, Russian seizure of 37, 55, 179, 191–2
 and START-2 ratification 64, 130
 and the UN 88, 128
- Kozyrev, Andrei 4, 27, 64
 complaints about bureaucratic interference 37
 and the 'consultation reflex' 54
 and criticisms of opponents 5, 58
 and the democratization of foreign policy 27
 and the Foreign Policy Concept 69
 and foreign policy priorities 98
 and the FSU 49
 and 'great power' ideology 63
 and an 'independent' foreign policy 57
 and integration with the West 42–5, 69, 95
 and NATO enlargement 105–6
 and Russian identity 177
 and 'strategic partnership' with the United States 39, 63, 86–7, 107, 154
 and unipolarity 103
 views about 34, 41, 46–7, 60–3, 95, 180
 and zero-sum 105–6, 185
- Kremenyuk, Viktor 180
kto kogo ('who wins over whom'), principle of 39, 99, 119
 Kursk submarine, accidental sinking of 161, 192
- Kyrgyzstan 186
- Latin America 19, 68, 95, 116
 Latsis, Otto 5
 Latvia, *see under* Baltic states
 Lebed, Aleksandr 31
 legislature, role in foreign policy, *see* Duma, Supreme Soviet
 Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) 63, 178
 liberal *derzhavniki* 191

- liberal foreign policy agenda 39, 42–8,
58, 77, 119, 125, 145, 149, 164
‘liberal romanticism’ 57, 58
‘Liberal Westernizers’ 41
Libya 15
lobbies and lobbying, influence of
33–4
London Club 121, 145
lowest common denominator
principles in foreign policy
26–7, 154, 175
Lukashenko, Aleksandr 76, 182–3
Lukin, Vladimir 28, 41–3, 54, 55,
59–60, 67, 180
Lukoil 33–4, 118, 152, 183, 190
Luzhkov, Yurii 34, 193
- marginalization, the threat of 116,
133–4, 141
market access issues 44, 68, 145–7
market economy, development in
Russia of 100, 144–8
Markov, Sergei 89
Marxism-Leninism 40
Mazar-i-Sharif, Taliban capture of 84
mediating role, Russia’s 19, 89, 107,
143
Medvedev, Roy 35
messianism 20, 49–50
Middle East 26, 48, 127, 133, 142,
189
Middle East Peace Process (MEPP)
19, 54, 68, 93, 103, 107, 114,
126, 142, 184
Migranyan, Andranik 31, 46, 74, 84,
103, 180
Military Doctrine, Russian 7, 10, 66,
70–2, 166, 181, 182
military reform 72, 100, 181–2
Milosevic, Slobodan, *see under*
Yugoslavia
Ministry of Atomic Energy
(MINATOM) 34, 131–2, 152
Ministry of Defence (MOD), role and
influence of 31–2, 37, 71, 141,
153, 162
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), role
and influence of 28, 30–3, 37,
40, 135, 141, 153, 178
Ministry of the Interior 32, 141
missile defence cooperation 134,
169, 193
Missile Technology Control Regime
(MTCR) 154, 186, 188
Moldova 77, 81, 90
‘Monroe doctrine’ (*doktrina Monro*),
Russia’s 50–2, 180
moral universalism, Western 42–3,
70, 89
Most Favoured Nation (MFN)
provisions 146, 147
Mubarak, Hosni 189
multilateralism 67, 87–95, 167–8,
183
Multiple Independent Re-Entry
Vehicle (MIRV) 186
multipolarity, theory and practice of
12, 18, 24–5, 59, 67, 70, 87, 92–5,
97, 108–9, 112, 137–8, 148, 153,
155, 159–61, 165, 167–8, 184
‘multivector’ foreign policy 58–9,
108–9
mythmaking in foreign policy 5–7,
66–8, 96–7, 156, 166
- Nagorno-Karabakh, conflict and
peacekeeping in 49, 70, 81, 82,
88, 143, 184
Napoleon, Emperor 17
‘national interests’ foreign policy 40,
57–61, 95, 108–9, 123, 152, 165,
168, 177
National Missile Defense (NMD) 6,
8, 99, 111, 130–2, 172, 186
‘asymmetric’ responses to NMD
111, 186
National Security Concept, Russian
7, 10, 66, 70–1, 120, 132, 153,
160, 166, 181
nationalism 14, 55–7, 63, 149
nationalist impulse, the 55–7, 164
‘nation-mindedness’ (*narodnost*) 15
Nazarbaev, Nursultan 76, 85
Nazdratenko, Yevgenii 178, 179
‘Near Abroad’, the 91, 169, 184
Nemtsov, Boris 135, 152, 191
Neo-Gaullism 59–60
Netanyahu, Benjamin 54, 103

- ‘new thinking’ in Soviet foreign policy 42, 101, 187–8
- Nikonov, Vyacheslav 77, 121, 149
- Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) or ‘nuclear threshold’ states 85, 130, 188
- Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) 188, 193
- Article VI 188, 193
- Review Conference (Revcon) 193
- ‘normalization’ of Russian foreign policy 20–1, 175
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- attitudes towards 109, 121–2, 132–4, 140, 152, 155, 161, 167, 169, 172, 177, 178
- and the CFE 112–13
- enlargement 6, 8, 17, 24, 25, 29–30, 32, 33, 35, 39, 48–9, 60, 62, 64, 80–1, 98, 99, 101–2, 104–6, 112–13, 115, 117–18, 121, 127, 130, 132–3, 136, 149, 152, 168, 172, 174, 178, 185
- and Kosovo 17, 25, 55, 72, 102, 161
- Partnership for Peace (PfP) 117, 133, 190
- Permanent Joint Council (PJC) 106, 133, 185
- relations between CIS member-states and NATO 117, 187
- Russia–NATO Founding Act (1997) 25, 62, 64, 104, 106, 133, 152, 185, 192
- Washington Summit (1998) 187
- North Caucasus 82, 83, 135, 150
- Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) 134
- nuclear weapons
- deployment of tactical nuclear weapons 15, 120
- ‘de-targeting’ and ‘re-targeting’ of 192
- and deterrence 110
- in foreign policy 109–11, 130
- non-proliferation of 126, 128–32
- obsolescence of 110, 129, 185
- parity, concepts of 110
- reductions 110, 129, 186
- utilization threshold 71
- oil and gas 80, 145, 147, 171, 190
- oligarchs 153
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 45, 121
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) 5, 49, 88, 90, 93, 105, 109, 118, 121–2, 134, 136, 161, 167, 183, 185
- European Security Council 93
- Executive Committee 93
- Orthodoxy (*pravoslaviye*) 14, 15
- Osama bin-Laden 169
- Ottoman Empire 2, 113
- Pain, Emil 56
- Pakistan 130, 131
- Paris Club 102, 121, 145, 172
- parliament, *see* Duma, Supreme Soviet
- partnership, ideas and views of 108–9
- with China 94, 108
- with CIS member-states 94
- with Cuba 94
- with the EU 108
- with India 94, 108
- with Iran 94
- with NATO, *see under* NATO
- with the United States 4, 6, 20, 43–4, 46, 57, 60, 86–7, 95
- with the West 59, 168
- Pastukhov, Boris 84
- ‘patrimonial mentality’ 51
- Pax Americana* 63, 107
- peacekeeping
- in the Balkans 55
- in the CIS 51, 75, 88, 90, 143
- ‘permanent national interests’, notion of 57–8, 123, 127
- personal factors, influence in foreign policy of 30–1, 34–6, 63–4, 102–3
- Peter the Great 14
- Pipes, Richard 100
- pokazukha*, notion of 181

- Poland 105
- politicization of foreign policy 6, 26–30, 46–7, 102, 167
- ‘politics of patriotism’ 50
- positive-sum ideas in international politics 104
- Posuvalyuk, Sergei 55
- Potemkin, Prince 181
- Potemkinization (and reverse Potemkinization) of foreign policy 7, 66–72, 86, 166–8
- ‘power’ (*silovye*) institutions, influence of 32, 162
- ‘Pragmatic Nationalism’ 41, 57, 177
- ‘pragmatism by default’ 8, 125, 154–6, 175
- pragmatism in foreign policy 1, 22, 58, 151, 155, 161, 164, 165, 168, 173, 175, 177
- Presidential Administration (*apparat*) 33, 76
- ‘presidential’ foreign policy, idea of 36, 38
- Prihodko, Sergei 37, 179
- Primakov, Yevgenii 4, 64
- career of 34, 179, 180
- and Central Asia 74
- and CIS integration 75, 128
- and crisis and conflict resolution 141
- and criticisms of liberal foreign policy 58
- and diversification 39
- and foreign policy priorities 75, 123, 127–8
- as head of the FIS 32
- and the IMF 45, 120
- and Islam 74, 138, 139
- and Kosovo 55, 120, 153
- and multipolarity 59, 107
- and ‘national interests’ 123
- and NATO 32, 55, 64, 101–2, 105, 152
- ‘pragmatism’ of 63, 95
- and Russia–Belarus Union 152
- and spheres of influence 139
- and START-2 64
- views about 34, 41, 63–4, 95, 151–2, 180, 191
- and Westerncentrism 63
- and Yeltsin 188, 191
- prioritization in foreign policy 15–16, 125–8, 154, 155, 172–4
- profit agenda in foreign economic policy 146–8
- ‘pseudo-multilateralism’ 183
- public diplomacy 66, 93, 141, 162, 166, 173
- public opinion 162
- influence of 27–9
- polls/surveys 27–8, 178, 181, 192, 193
- Pushkov, Alexei 41, 46, 53, 178
- Putin, Vladimir
- and Americacentrism 173–4
- and the bureaucracy 162
- career of 192
- and the CIS 79, 94, 172
- and ‘dictatorship of the law’ 163
- and disarmament 168
- and domestic priorities 172–3, 193
- dynamism of 2
- and elections 71
- and Eurocentrism 172–4
- and the Foreign Policy Concept 68
- and foreign policy management 157–8, 174–6
- and foreign policy priorities 171–4
- and identity 14, 159–60
- and international terrorism 172, 174
- and missile defence 172
- and multipolarity 160–1
- and NATO 161, 167, 168, 172
- political dominance of 160–2, 193
- and popularity 161, 162, 193
- and spheres of influence 170
- and strategic stability 168
- views about 157, 174–5
- and Westerncentrism 160–1
- and Yeltsin 136
- reform fatigue 3
- regions, influence of the 179
- ‘restraint’ (*sderzhannost*) in foreign policy 62
- retrenchment, ideas of foreign policy 10, 20, 61–2, 153

- 'revised bipolarity', idea of 108
 Robertson, Lord George 151
 Rodionov, Igor 31, 113, 137
 Rogov, Sergei 59, 189
 Romanov, Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich 182
 'romantic masochism' 45
 Rosvooruzhenie 34, 147
 Russia's foreign relations, *see under individual countries, regions and organizations*
 Russian Far East (RFE) 135, 137, 179
 Ryurikov, Dmitrii 37

 Saddam Hussein, *see under* Iraq
 'safety margin' in Russia's relations with the West
 sanctions (UN and other) 15, 46, 47, 131, 133, 154, 189
 Saudi Arabia 139
 sectionalism in foreign economic policy 146–7
 sectionalization of foreign policy 5–6, 8, 9, 39, 65, 123–5, 151–4
 securitization of foreign policy 8–9, 158, 170, 175
 security apparatus, role and influence of 32, 158, 162
 Security Council (of the Presidential Administration) 32–3, 141, 162, 163, 178, 193
 security priorities, *see also under individual issues* 128–44, 172
 'selective engagement' (*izbiratel'naya vovlechnost*) 61–2
 'self-restrained democratic nationalism' 41
 September 11, 2001 and its impact on Russian foreign policy 163, 165, 172, 175, 193
 Serbia 15
 Sergeev, Igor 162
 Sevastopol, status of 182
 'Shanghai Five' agreement, *see under* China
 Sharm ash-Sheikh 'Summit of the Peacemakers' 189
 Shelov-Kovedyaev, Fedor 37
 Shevardnadze, Eduard 47, 143
 Shevtsova, Lilia 180
 Shokhin, Aleksandr 180
 Shumeiko, Vladimir 53
 Slavism and pan-Slavism 12, 14–18, 21–2, 38–9, 177
 Soskovets, Oleg 94
 South Asian (Indian and Pakistani) nuclear tests 126, 131
 South Ossetia, conflict in 32, 49, 51, 82
 sovereignty, concepts and issues of 91–2, 109, 126, 164
spetsifika, concept of 12, 14–16, 18, 59, 93, 150
 spheres of influence 8, 50–2, 71–4, 76–7, 99, 114–20, 158, 168–70
 Spratley Islands 137
 Stankevich, Sergei 16, 50
 START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) process 95, 120, 129, 154
 START-2 ratification 29, 64, 110, 129, 130, 132, 151, 169, 178, 186, 188, 193
 START-3 110, 129, 130
 strategic disarmament agenda 32, 128–32
 strategic missile defence, *see under* NMD
 'strategic partnership', *see* partnership
 'strategic stability' 106, 110–11, 126, 129, 132, 168, 170, 172
 Sudan, American air-strikes against 54–5, 90, 180
 Supreme Soviet 28–9, 49, 148, 178
 Syria 139

 Taiwan, *see under* China
 Tajikistan, conflict in 49, 83–4, 90
 Taliban 83–4, 139, 169
 Tariq Aziz 91
 territorial integrity, issues of 4, 58, 91–2, 123, 125, 126, 134–6, 151
 terrorism 128, 136, 139, 141, 151, 159, 162, 164, 166, 172
 threat assessments and perceptions 32, 134–41
 'torn' country, Huntington's conception of 21

- Transcaucasus 82–3, 143, 155, 167, 186
- Transnistria, conflict in 32, 49, 51, 70, 81
- Trenin, Dmitrii 22, 60, 108, 138, 189
- 'triangularism' in geopolitics 108, 168
- triumphalism in Russian foreign policy 55
- Tuleev, Aman 77
- Turkey 112–14, 139
pan-Turkism 113
- Turkmenistan, relations with Russia 77
- Tyutchev, Fedor 14
- Ukraine 15, 51, 75–7, 155
Black Sea fleet, division of 80, 182
Crimean question 79, 182
denuclearization of 80, 85, 127–9, 182
economic relations with Russia 80–1, 163, 167, 171, 182
and NATO enlargement 80–1, 118
Russian policy and attitudes towards 51, 79–81, 152, 164
Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership (1997) 80–1, 182
- Union of Rightist Forces (*Soyuz pravyykh sil* – SPS) 191
- unipolarity 59, 70, 88, 95, 112
- United Kingdom (UK) 108, 140
- United Nations (UN)
primacy in global decision-making 67, 87–8, 109, 128, 136
reform, Russian attitude towards 93
Security Council (UNSC) 13, 87, 88, 93, 105, 109, 184
United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), *see under* Iraq
- United States of America (USA) 15
Americentrism in Russian foreign policy 21, 23–6, 67, 95–6, 124, 145, 173–4
American interest in the CIS 83, 117
attitudes towards 18, 39, 59, 140
cooperation with 26, 39, 54, 63, 95, 107, 126, 140, 154, 167, 191
diktat and hegemonism of 89, 92, 108, 138
relations with 26, 39, 124, 126, 154
strategic rivalry with 52–3, 90, 99, 107–9, 138, 140, 165–6
United States–Japan Security Treaty 109, 185
Uzbekistan 77, 79
- Vietnam 48
- 'virtual' foreign policy 97
- Visegrad states 24
- Voloshin, Aleksandr 179
- Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), non-proliferation of 24, 68, 100, 126, 128–31, 133, 170, 174, 181
- Westerncentrism in Russian foreign policy 8, 21–3, 63, 67, 94–6, 129, 145, 160–1
- Western Europe 24, 126–7, 167, 173, 174
- World Bank, The 68
- world order, Russian attitudes towards post-Cold War, *see also* global environment 23–6, 54, 89, 90, 92–4, 168
- World Trade Organization (WTO), Russian accession to 34, 35, 45, 64, 71, 102, 121, 146, 152, 161, 190
- Yastrzhembsky, Sergei 37, 80, 81, 152, 179
- Yavlinsky, Grigorii 153, 181
- Yeltsin, Boris
and China 87, 94, 187
and the CIS 74, 77, 85
and the Communist Party 3
conflict with the legislature 28
defects of 35–6, 47, 102–3
and disarmament 127, 129–130, 188
and diversification 58
divide-and-rule approach to power of 6, 35, 38, 162

- Yeltsin, Boris – *continued*
 and elections 28, 71
 and elitism in foreign policy 94, 184
 and foreign policy management 31, 35–6, 38, 69, 102–3
 and the G7/G8 93
 health of 2, 31, 35
 and the Islamic world 140, 189
 and Japan 189
 and the Kosovo crisis 24, 177, 184, 188, 192
 and Kozyrev 34
 and multipolarity 87, 93–4
 and NATO 106, 184, 192
 and pan-Slavism 177
 and Primakov 188, 191
 and Putin 136
 qualities of 35
 and ‘respect’ 54
 and the Russia–Belarus Union 182
 unpopularity of 181
 and the West 148, 184, 185, 188
 and Westerncentrism 129
- Yugoslavia, Federal Republic of (FRY),
 Russian policy and attitudes
 towards 15, 47, 54, 188–9
 Russian attitude towards Slobodan
 Milosevic 133, 177
- Yumashev, Valentin 179
- Zavarzin, Viktor 179
- zero-sum mentality 8, 98, 99, 103–6,
 119, 140, 152, 158, 168–70
- Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir 28, 63, 178,
 181
- Zyuganov, Gennadii 15, 181, 187,
 191

